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DISRUPTING THE NARRATIVE:
LABOR AND SURVIVANCE FOR THE MONTAUKETTS OF EASTERN LONG ISLAND

by

ALLISON MANFRA MCGOVERN

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Anthropology in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

2015

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This manuscript has been read and accepted by the Graduate Faculty in Anthropology to satisfy the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Abstract

DISRUPTING THE NARRATIVE: LABOR AND SURVIVANCE FOR THE MONTAUKETT OF EASTERN LONG ISLAND

by

Allison Manfra McGovern

Advisor: Dr. Diana diZerega Wall

This dissertation focuses on how the Native Montauketts of eastern Long Island, New York, negotiated the forces of colonialism and capitalism between 1750 and 1885, a well-documented period when the Montaukett people's identity was challenged by the growing strength of the "vanishing Indian" narrative. This project includes a critical analysis of previous anthropological research for decolonization to recognize the role anthropology has played in the construction of Native cultural identity, and to propose a new narrative. This is accomplished by investigating the historicity of colonialism, deconstructing the categories of difference that were established and re-established to accommodate colonial policies, and highlighting the power dynamics of capitalism. This dissertation therefore disrupts and replaces the narrative of the "vanishing Indian" with a new narrative of survivance that illuminates the historical processes that impacted the construction and maintenance of Montaukett cultural identities. Historical sources are critically reviewed, and archaeological collections re-investigated for clues to indigenous Montaukett lifeways during rapidly changing social, economic, and political conditions. In particular, the archaeological collections from two homes at Indian Fields, a Montaukett habitation site, provide an intra-site, diachronic comparison against a complex economic, social, and cultural backdrop between 1750 and 1885. Montaukett survivance at

Indian Fields was informed by indigenous strategies for subsistence, exchange, and social reproduction that were well-established in the pre-Columbian era. While the earlier household at Indian Fields demonstrates greater continuity in indigenous foodways, craft production, and discard patterns, the later household shows evidence of a greater struggle to demonstrate Native identity during a time of unavoidable economic and social change. The data from the Indian Fields site are also compared with documentary sources from Freetown, a multicultural neighborhood in nineteenth-century East Hampton. This regional analysis emphasizes the local and extra-local opportunities for work, the multiple possibilities for access to goods (local and non-local), networks of kin and social organization, and the social conditions of economic production, consumption and exchange. I argue that the social and economic networks established by Montauketts were central to their ability to survive the consequences of settler colonialism (which include dispossession, migrations, racialization, tribalization, and detribalization). At the local level, this project produces a more accurate understanding of Native history, and the present-day Native conditions that may exist as consequences of the colonial experience. In addition, this research adds to the dialogue of colonial processes and experiences in a global context.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

This dissertation investigates the economic and social struggles faced by the indigenous Montaukett peoples of coastal New York, and their strategies for survivance, through the analysis of documentary and archaeological data from the eighteenth through the early twentieth centuries. The term survivance is borrowed from indigenous studies and employed here to emphasize a Native presence that is informed simultaneously by indigenous continuity and the challenges of colonialism (Atalay 2006). These challenges, which for the Montauketts reach back to the 1600s, include a long period of conflict over land ownership, labor relations, racialization, and cultural entanglements that characterize the Montaukett experience with settler colonialism. In particular, this project focuses on the well-documented period between roughly 1750 and 1885, when the Montaukett people's survivance was challenged by the growing strength of the "vanishing Indian" narrative. It includes the moment of Montaukett dislocation from their ancestral habitation site in Montauk, called Indian Fields,¹ in 1885 and their subsequent detribalization by New York State in 1910. In addition, it is during this period that the Montaukett people (along with wealthy and poor whites and free and enslaved people of color) became integrated into the expanding capitalist world economy.

Racialization, which is the process by which people of different ethnic groups (e.g., Native Americans, African Americans, etc.) become marked, categorized, and/or stigmatized through time, is a central theme running through this research.² Specifically, this project is about

¹ This place has been referred to as both Indian Fields and Indian Field in historical accounts. For the purposes of consistency, I am following Johannemann's lead by referring to the archaeological site as Indian Fields (Johannemann 1993).

² For a discussion of race ideology and how ethnic minorities became racialized in the United States, see Smedley 2011:254.

how as a racialized group some Native Montauketts engaged with settler colonialism and capitalism. This work does not presume to speak on behalf of Montaukett identity, either individually or as a group. Instead, this project seeks to understand how the Montauketts became racialized, how they engaged with institutional racism, and how racialization was a fundamental aspect of both colonialist and capitalist constructions of identity. To this effort, this project seeks to demonstrate the roots of several myths that are associated with Montaukett identity. These myths, which include long-held assumptions by outsiders about Montaukett authenticity as Native Americans, have for a long time been supported by anthropological and archaeological research. In this project, they are necessarily deconstructed to demonstrate their relationship to colonialist and capitalist “progress.” In order to deconstruct these myths, it is necessary to engage with race as a category of difference that has and continues to complicate outsider perceptions of Montaukett identity. Yet this is a complex, sensitive, and often uncomfortable phenomenon. Race, as a social construct, is influenced by perceptions of biological difference. Racial categories are not straightforward; they change through time, and that variability is an important feature of colonialist agendas.

This is a difficult narrative to re-tell. It involves the inclusion of racial categories that are meaningless biologically, but the social consequences of these constructed categories are very real. In eastern Long Island, racialized policies constructed by white settlers and their descendants segregated and subjugated non-white people. These efforts were mostly successful and the consequences long lasting. By writing about them here, I run the risk of reifying those social categories, giving primacy to white perceptions of others. My intention, however, is to establish a context for understanding long-term processes of entanglement, social organization

(and re-organization) and settlement patterning, as investigations of the past can shed light on the social, economic, and political conditions of the present.

1.1. Project Significance

In 1910, after a court battle to recover lost tribal lands which included Indian Fields, the Montauketts faced a New York State court decision which included an official statement that their “tribe” no longer existed, despite their presence in the court room. Notions of Native “authenticity,” supported by hegemonic racism, were the rationale for the judgment. Since then, the Montauketts of eastern Long Island have struggled with the larger, public perception of their disappearance. Today, their presence is a symbol of opposition, or resistance, to that judgment. Their struggles are framed by an historical context that extends beyond 1910, to include a long period of conflict under settler colonialism. This conflict, comprised of labor, racialization, and colonial entanglements, is explored throughout this dissertation.

By addressing the struggles and negotiations of the Montauketts under settler colonialism, we can shed light on their present challenges and investigate how identity construction and negotiation have changed over time. The Montauketts of eastern Long Island provide an interesting case for linking historical relationships and experiences with indigenous struggles in the present, although not a unique one. Local histories have nearly erased the presence and historical contributions of Montaukett people, and the New York State Judicial System stripped the group of their legal authenticity at the beginning of the twentieth century. But today’s Montauketts, descendants of the people who lived at Indian Fields in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, remain in the coastal New York region, are organized in an effort to regain their State recognition, and are in consultation with the present researcher. In fact, despite nineteenth century accounts of “vanishing Indians,” many Native American groups in northeast

North America survived the colonial past, only to confront numerous challenges that are the legacy of colonial processes (Baron et al. 1996; Den Ouden 2005; Paynter 2000:181-2; Strong 2001:31). The case discussed here is not unique to the history of colonial entanglements in northeast North America; rather it is intended that data from this site will make a valuable contribution to current multidisciplinary research trends in the region (c.f., Mrozowski and Hayes 2007; Rubertone 2000; Silliman 2009).

Contemporary studies that focus on indigeneity under the effects of colonialism have the complicated task of revising previous studies that focused on decline, loss, and inevitable obscurity. Those histories, or “narratives of decline” (Jordan 2008), were informed by acculturation theories that marginalized indigenous experiences to the hegemony of European cultures. Modern anthropological research seeks to redress the narratives of decline, but as Neal Ferris points out, the judgmental language (and the assumptions that are reflected in that language) is deeply embedded and difficult to overcome. He argues “the use of such language echoes earlier acculturation sensibilities, reaffirming the ultimate conclusion those studies reached: that the final chapter remains one of Native people being overwhelmed and lost in a European/American/Canadian national history” (2009:16).

For the Montauketts, it seems inevitable that their tribal history ended with their dispossession, forced detribalization, and subsequent integration into the masses. However, their persistence and organization as a tribal group forces us to reconsider tropes of decline. The archaeological record, too, provides supporting evidence of continuity from pre-contact through the twenty-first century.

Indeed, this study situates the archaeological and documentary evidence of the Montaukett village of Indian Fields within a complex socio-historical context. This work is

anthropological because it attempts to understand negotiations of cultural identity, but it is historical too, as it situates these negotiations of identity within a complex web of activity and perceptions, and attempts to disrupt the “vanished Indian” narrative. My work is an example of Historical Archaeology because it examines human experiences as they unfold in the construction of our modern world, and relies on historical documents, oral histories, and material culture to examine those experiences (Deetz 1996; Orser 2010; Schuyler 1978). In short, this project relies on multidisciplinary resources to interrogate and deconstruct the “vanishing Indian” narrative and replace it with a narrative of survivance.

Economic opportunities and labor patterns have important implications for the movement of indigenous people, and for the creation and maintenance of social relationships. Indeed, indigenous movement- for work, seasonal resource extraction, and exchange- was likely a significant factor in the white society’s perception of Montaukett disappearance. In an effort to explore these themes, this project uses multiple lines of evidence to reconstruct labor patterns and lifeways on and off Indian Fields. Data from Town records, censuses, account books, ship logs, and company ledgers provide information on indigenous labor. These data are cross-referenced with archaeological assemblages from two households at the Indian Fields habitation site, which provide the traces of daily activities. Together, these data, which include information on the production, consumption, and exchange of material objects, provide a means for understanding how Montaukett people negotiated labor networks and participated in local and global markets. Although these resources are static- providing glimpses of moments in time- I attempt to weave them together to trace movements and interactions. In this effort, I attempt to construct a dynamic setting against which cultural identity can be negotiated. This is particularly

important for the Montauketts, who faced detribalization by New York State in 1910 on the basis of their perceived lack of authenticity.

The economic choices that Montaukett people made to sustain their households had strong implications for the formation and maintenance of social relationships. In this project, I investigate the varied experiences of economic viability for Montaukett peoples through a diachronic and comparative study of archaeological assemblages from two households at Indian Fields. This approach emphasizes the local and extra-local opportunities for work, the multiple possibilities for access to imported and/or exotic goods, and the social conditions of production, consumption, and exchange. I argue that the social and economic networks established by Montauketts were central to their ability to survive the consequences of settler colonialism (which include dispossession, migrations, racialization, tribalization, and de-tribalization).

1.2. The Indian Fields Site

This project relies on a collection of previously-excavated materials from the Indian Fields archaeological site. The Indian Fields site was excavated by professional archaeologists from the Long Island Archaeology Project, a cultural resource management (CRM) firm that operated out of the SUNY Stony Brook Anthropology Department in the 1970s and 1980s. The site was investigated for the Suffolk County Parks Department as part of a larger survey of resources throughout the County Parks to identify and assess any significant archaeological and/or historical resources on parks grounds.

The survey and subsequent excavations yielded evidence of a rich historic-period site eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places. The site includes the remains of

house foundations, sheet middens, Indian barns,³ stone-walled enclosures, and wells, all dating from the eighteenth through the late nineteenth century (Johannemann and Schroeder 1980b). Although excavated in the late twentieth century, the materials were left in storage with the Parks Department for more than 30 years with analysis incomplete, until this project was initiated. This dissertation, therefore, demonstrates the importance of new research strategies to pre-existing archaeological and museum collections (especially those recovered through contract archaeology).

The Indian Fields site provides an excellent opportunity for investigating long-term historical processes and indigenous responses to the conditions of settler colonialism. In fact, it is the only historic-period indigenous village site from coastal New York that has been professionally excavated, which, again, indicates its importance to understanding the range of historical experiences.⁴ Furthermore, Indian Fields is the last place that the Montauketts inhabited as a group before facing eviction from their ancestral homeland in 1885 (Johannemann and Schroeder 1980). The occupation of the village site (ca. 1750-1885) reflects a period of struggle for Montaukett people, to preserve traditional lifeways and maintain their relationship with the land at Montauk. Confronted by the growing presence of whites in coastal New York, Montauketts made important decisions about labor strategies; many moved away from Indian Fields, established diasporic communities elsewhere on Long Island, and sold or exchanged their labor as a commodity in the early capitalist society. Those who remained at Indian Fields were forced to adapt to a new settlement pattern, which is visibly displayed in the layout of the village at Indian Fields. Montauketts living at, and away from Indian Fields created social networks with

³ An Indian barn is a pit that was dug for food storage (Johannemann 1993:649).

⁴ A surface collection of nineteenth-century materials was recovered from the Shinnecock Indian Reservation in 2004. This material was recovered by volunteers during construction of the Shinnecock Family Preservation Center (see Button 2014). However, no professional archaeological investigations have been conducted on the Shinnecock Indian Reservation.

other Algonquians and people of color, forged relationships across class lines, and maintained connections with Montaukettts at various settlements. Numerous labor strategies permitted Native people to participate in local and global markets, and this is explored in the analysis of data from the Indian Fields archaeological site.

The Indian Fields site is located in Montauk in the Town of East Hampton, Suffolk County, New York (Figure 1). At roughly 125 miles east of Manhattan, its unexcavated remains are now buried within present-day Montauk County Park near the eastern-most tip of the south shore of Long Island. At the east end of Long Island, two peninsulas, or forks, project into the Atlantic Ocean. These forks were formed from the movement of the Wisconsin Ice sheet and deposition of moraine.⁵ Although the Wisconsin glacial movement produced uneven terrain, barriers, and islands throughout Montauk, the Indian Fields site was located about 2.5 miles north of the southern coastline within gently rolling hills. The hills of Montauk County Park make the area feel peaceful and protected, especially within the valleys and low-lying areas, which are sheltered from the rough winds that come off the Atlantic Ocean and other large bodies of water surrounding the South Fork. These environmental conditions, and perhaps the feeling of seclusion, were probably factors in the establishment of the permanent Montaukett settlement there in the eighteenth century. Montauk is the eastern-most census-designated place (CDP) and hamlet on the South Fork.

Today, Montauk is a popular vacation destination. Its location- secluded at the tip of Long Island and accessible by only one east-west, two-lane “highway” (NY Route 27)- made it the last of the East End locations (following all of the Hamptons) to welcome wealthy part-time residents, jet-setters, and their followers. In fact, in order to reach Montauk by car, you must

⁵ The South Fork was formed by the deposition of the Ronkonkoma terminal moraine, and the North Fork was created by a series of recessional moraines.

drive through the infamous and ostentatious Hamptons. Meanwhile, the long-term white residents of Montauk- many of them linked to seafaring and/or the tourist industry- have been resistant to changes that would accommodate the trendy, wealthy tourists of the 21st century. These “old-timers” have cherished memories of the Montauk of their childhood, which incorporate an appropriation of indigenous history through legends, folk tales, and artifacts that have made their way into local history books and historical societies. While these “old-timers” speak with reverence about the “ancient” Montaukett past- they even named a popular bar and club after one of Montauks most renowned Montauketts (“The Stephen Talkhouse” in Amagansett⁶)- they have separated that past from the indigenous Montaukett people who remain settled throughout the East End of Long Island through a long-term power-laden process of racialization.

⁶ Ownership of “The Stephen Talkhouse” has changed over the years. The current owner is civic-minded and concerned with promoting a positive image of the club that highlights Montaukett history.



Figure 1.1. Map of New York State with an inset for Montauk. Upper map: "USA New York location map" by NordNordWest - own work, using United States National Imagery and Mapping Agency data World Data Base II data U.S. Geological Survey (USGS) data. Licensed under CC BY 3.0 via Wikimedia Commons - http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:USA_New_York_location_map.svg#/media/File:USA_New_York_location_map.svg. Lower map: Map of Montauk, New York State GIS Clearinghouse.

1.3. Research Goals

By focusing on labor patterns and social organization, this dissertation re-focuses attention on the Algonquian presence in coastal New York during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to determine how indigenous men and women adapted to changing social and economic conditions. An economic approach is employed to investigate the contributions of indigenous labor and land to the rise of capitalism in northeast North America, as well as the impact that the emerging capitalist economy had on indigenous ways of life. This is accomplished through the critical analysis of documentary and archaeological resources pertaining to the Montauketts.

In order to accomplish this goal, I employ a diachronic view of everyday life to investigate the articulations between local lived experience and broader historical circumstances. This long-term approach allows me to address socio-political and economic changes that occurred between 1750 and 1885. These include the rise and fall of the commercial whaling industry, the migrations of Montaukett peoples from Indian Fields to elsewhere on Long Island and further abroad (i.e., to Brothertown in Oneida County, New York), the expansion of white settlers in the town of East Hampton, and the eventual dispossession of Indian Fields. My focus on labor and material traces highlights the social relationships and networks that were established by Montauketts. The research agenda for this project can be broken down into three different goals, outlined below.

1.3.1. The Local, Lived Experience at Indian Fields

My primary goal with this project is to understand the material dimensions of specific economic strategies and the construction and maintenance of Montaukett identity. This is accomplished through a comparison of two households. These two households, or domestic

contexts, are locations where Native identity is investigated for clues of struggle between labor opportunities and the maintenance of traditional lifeways (c.f., Lightfoot et al. 1998). Although the emphasis is on households, these domestic contexts are also situated in the larger landscape of the Indian Fields village settlement.

Households, as archaeological sites, are typically comprised of pieces of mundane material items associated with daily activities. When archaeologists recover these items, they are interpreted in relation to the identity of the site's occupants. At Indian Fields, the presence of quartz flakes, a stone pestle, and bone needles for basket making- items associated with traditional indigenous lifeways- are contrasted by the presence of gun flints, metal cutlery, refined earthenwares, and metal sewing tools within the same contexts. The significance of these items lies not in their origin of manufacture (i.e., indigenous vs. Euro-American goods), but in their patterning of daily activities and lived experiences. They provide intimate clues to individual choices, actions, and negotiations that are valuable for understanding the range of experiences of Montaukett people against the backdrop of settler colonialism.

At the time that the two Indian Fields households were occupied, whaling was an important economic activity in which many Montaukett men sought employment. The significance of the whaling industry, and the role of indigenous laborers in the commercial industry, is demonstrated in several historical works (Barsh 2002; Dolin 2007; Shoemaker 2013; Silverman 2001; Strong 1996, 2001; Vickers 1997). But because these works focus on the industry, which removed men at sea for sometimes years at a time, the domestic contexts at home are often ignored. This project explores the ways Montaukett households at Indian Fields were sustained while men were absent from home. The archaeological comparison between the two households, which cover the height and decline of the whaling industry, provide a

comparison for understanding subsistence, production, consumption, and exchange. It also provides an opportunity for connecting women's activities to the larger socio-political and economic themes.

1.3.2. Tracing Movements and Networks

In an effort to contextualize the Montaukett economic strategies, I constructed a comparative data source. I looked to other places in the Town of East Hampton where Native American people lived and worked; these were places where African American people also lived and worked. Beginning with the Federal Census data, I constructed a database of all "people of color" who were documented as residents of the town of East Hampton between 1790 and ca. 1900. Then, using maps and historical accounts, I identified their residences geographically in the historic landscape. A settlement north of East Hampton village comprised of free people of color (African Americans, Native Americans, and mixed-heritage people) established in the late eighteenth century, emerged from the records. Through Town Records, account/day books, and ledgers, I reconstructed labor patterns for these individuals.

I found that comparisons of economic activities (regarding employment in whaling, but also consumption) could be made between the residents of Indian Fields and people of color who were settled elsewhere in East Hampton Town. In addition to finding similarities in economic strategies, the data seem to suggest that they inevitably crossed paths, as consumers who frequented the same stores (Van Scoy 1829, 1835; Hand 1855a and b) and in many cases labored together for white farmers and on whaling ships. These plural settings- locations within the public sphere that brought people of Native, African, and European ancestries together- provided opportunities for multicultural interaction and influence, both locally and at sea. My comparative

data became a spatial entity when it was reconciled with local memory of a place called Freetown in East Hampton Town.

The history and composition of Freetown is explored in Chapter 6, but its significance to Indian Fields must be highlighted. When the last remaining Montaukett families at Indian Fields were dispossessed in the late nineteenth century, they were offered small lots of land at Freetown in exchange for their rights to Indian Fields. At least two of the structures from Indian Fields were relocated to the new lots in Freetown. Today, a few of the Montaukett parcels in Freetown are still owned by Montaukett people (descendants of the families that lived at Indian Fields). These properties possess material evidence for the continuity of Montaukett survivance into the twenty-first century.

1.3.3. Consultant Work for Suffolk County Parks Department of Historic Services

The final goal for this project was to organize the excavation data for the Department of Historic Services of Suffolk County Parks. The archaeological materials were left in disrepair for more than 30 years on park property after a small exhibit space which housed them, called the Pharaoh Museum, was dismantled. Richard Martin, Director of Historic Services accompanied me to the park in 2010 to find the materials, and along with Laurie Biladello (a lead archaeologist from the Indian Fields excavations) and Ron Glogg (Park Supervisor at the time), we were able to recover most of the artifacts from the excavations. Because the site was excavated within the boundaries of Montauk County Park, the materials are owned and curated by the Parks Department of Historic Services. In exchange for access to the materials, I agreed to inventory all of the artifacts, comprise electronic databases of artifacts and excavation data, and consult on the National Register nomination form for the park. This work (particularly the work on the National Register nomination form) will continue following completion of this

dissertation. Some of these items may also be incorporated into a future historical exhibit within Third House, one of the historic buildings on park property that is currently under renovation.

1.4. Race and Indigeneity

Throughout this dissertation, I use the terms indigenous, Indian, Native, and Native American to refer to Montaukett cultural identity, and as descriptive terms for objects and places of meaning. It seems obvious to use such terminology, following precedence set in indigenous studies and employing the same terminology used by the subject group. However, it is mentioned here because the Montauketts struggle with local misperceptions of their identity. Like most Americans, many current Montaukett individuals have mixed ancestry: heritages that are the embodiment of historical relationships and that demonstrate the longevity of Montaukett survivance. But Montaukett identity was and is challenged by a process of racialization that was aggressively promoted throughout the nineteenth century. Indeed, the authenticity of the Montaukett people was determined by racial categories and public (mis)perceptions of indigeneity.

The case for Native invisibility, or rather the erasure of the Native presence, is linked most strongly to cultural practices as representations of perseverance; this was demonstrated clearly by the New York State court statement on Montaukett identity in 1910 (see Chapter 4). But accounting for indigenous cultural perseverance remains a problem when cultural groups become entangled in colonial processes. Instances of entanglement required constructed categories of difference, which were necessary to establish identities as well as the basis of power and wealth. In northeastern North America, cultural identity was often misrepresented through racial categories, causing people of often different backgrounds to be lumped into categories of “people of color.” In southern New England, for instance, the lumping of people of

color on Federal enumerations effectively erased the presence of many indigenous individuals, allowing for government control over Native lands (Mancini 2009:68-9). These misrepresentations, however, are rooted in the presence of new relationships and networks that resulted from colonial entanglements. In many ways, labor networks were also kin networks.

1.5. Outline of Chapters

This project situates the interactions between Native Montauketts, whites, and others in coastal New York within the larger body of research on colonialism, capitalism, and survivance. In doing so, Chapter 2 addresses these themes in anthropological and historical research, outlines the historicity of colonialism, and establishes a framework that allows for global comparisons (Dirks 1992; Murray 2004; Stoler 1989; Thomas 1994). Following Stephen Silliman, the emphasis here is on the historical process and long-term effects of colonialism (2005). In northeast North America, societies and cultures are best understood as products of and/or reactions to colonial processes, rather than historical instances of contact between disparate groups. By emphasizing the historical process, this research demonstrates power dynamics and struggles between social actors.

The remaining chapters of this dissertation weave together different resources in a larger narrative of economic activities, movement, and social relationships. This begins with Chapter 3, which addresses the theoretical concerns of working with archaeological collections. Because this dissertation is based on an archaeological collection from a previously-excavated site, it became necessary to address the methods and biases of the original excavation strategy. It was during this process that I began to think about the formation of other archaeological and museum collections on Long Island, and how they inform local community members and organizations on the Native American past. The prejudices that Native Americans face in the present are, to a

certain degree, the product of public perceptions of the past. The emphasis on traces of pre-contact histories as authentically Native remains sacrosanct in historical societies, museums, and local histories, even though Montaukett survivance is evident in its living members. But we must remember that this discord is the legacy of a divide between prehistoric and historical archaeology. In this chapter, I review the museum collections that inform local history, and discuss the historicity of collecting. This chapter also outlines the excavation methods used for the Indian Fields site.

Chapter 4 provides the historical context for this larger work. It introduces the reader to the Montaukett people and exposes the challenges they faced by first contact and later settler colonialism. Following English settlement, expansion caused tension and conflict between whites and Montauketts that continued to build until Montaukett dispossession at the end of the nineteenth century. But amidst this tension, Montauketts played an integral role in white expansion and economic growth as a vital labor source. This chapter demonstrates the entanglement of Montauketts and whites in the early capitalist society, highlighting the social, cultural, and economic challenges faced by the Montauketts.

My methodology for reconstructing households is the subject of Chapter 5. Here I explore the ways that anthropologists define and examine households, outlining my approach for analysis of two households at Indian Fields. These Montaukett households are loci for identity construction, consumption, and labor. But because Indian Fields was geographically distant from the white villages, there is limited documentation linking names and/or families to the excavated households. In this chapter, I outline the variety of sources that were consulted to identify the Indian Fields occupants during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

These households are then discussed in relation to the larger landscape of East Hampton Town in Chapter 6. The social and economic activities of Indian Fields residents are discussed in relation to larger social and economic networks. In this chapter, the history of Freetown is discussed, and the kin networks that were established between Montauk and Freetown are examined. The labor opportunities and the market activity for people of color in the Town of East Hampton provide interesting clues to individual experiences. For men who made a living at sea, for instance, their labor opportunities exposed them to new markets and unfamiliar territories which challenge tropes of indigenous provincialism and decline. Yet their long absences at sea fueled local claims of tribal decline and sometimes left households in economic strain.

Chapter 7 provides the archaeological description of lifeways at Indian Fields based on the previously-excavated data. Each structure is discussed individually, relying on regional comparative data. This is followed by an intra-site comparison of the two structures, informed by the background of larger economic, social, and political forces. Finally, I draw these households, their occupants, and the activities that they were engaged in, into the regional and global economies.

Chapter 8 provides the conclusion of this dissertation. Facing settler colonialism, racialization, and discriminatory practices, the Montauketts persist culturally as a tribal group. The archaeological record at Indian Fields provides evidence for economic changes during the nineteenth century, but this does not demonstrate cultural stress or loss. In fact, the economic changes that are exemplified at the Indian Fields households are representative of regional and global changes associated with the expanding capitalist world economy. The Montauketts were, after all, local participants in labor activities that were part of larger economic trends. In terms of

cultural identity, however, these households must be viewed against the longer history of the Montaukett presence. The archaeological record from pre-contact through the nineteenth century demonstrates both continuity in presence and Montaukett survivance. Furthermore, their efforts for State tribal re-recognition are further testimony to their persistence. This chapter concludes with the significance of this case to future studies in colonialism and historical narratives.

Chapter 2: The Powers at Work: Colonialism, Capitalism, and Survivance

As mentioned in Chapter 1, this project situates Montaukett experiences within the contexts of colonialism, capitalism, and survivance to understand the long-term effects, and reactions to, cultural and economic entanglements. This approach draws attention to the relationships between individuals, the organization of power, and the negotiations or struggles that become visible at local sites. Primary to these relationships is the construction of categories of difference, notably race, class, and gender. These “vectors of social inequality” (Orser 2010; Voss 2008; see also Meskell 2002) were mutable, and necessarily so in order to support the fluctuating forces of colonialism and capitalism. And yet these categories were (and are) so powerful, that they feel natural and therefore remain deeply embedded in historical memory and the process of forgetting (cf., Hayes 2013). The power of these categories lies in their ability to both support the dominant forces of colonialism and capitalism, and be manipulated through resistance or survivance.

Although this chapter is broken into separate sections on colonialism, capitalism and survivance, it is important to note that these are not three distinct contexts. Indeed, the forces of settler colonialism were influenced by the social relations and economic forces associated with the rise of capitalism. Survivance, which will be discussed later, is concerned with the strategies employed by Montaukett people to survive, resist, or re-contextualize these forces. In order to interpret indigenous action and meaning, it is necessary to understand each phenomenon in relation to the others.

2.1. Colonialism

In 1998, Michael Rowlands argued that colonialism was under-theorized:

“The use of the past to justify contemporary colonialism implies that archaeology has never been able to approach the subject without a basic assumption that arguments for continuity between ancient and modern colonialism should be dismissed out of hand and specific parallels avoided. This reluctance has led neither to conceptual clarity nor exposure to a wider comparative literature to stimulate debate” [1998:327].

Following this statement, several edited volumes, monographs, and journal articles have been completed which tackle the theories, methods, and politics of the archaeology of culture contact, colonialism, and cultural encounters (c.f., Cusick 1998; Dirks 1992; Gosden 2004; Hall 1993; Lightfoot 1995; Lyons and Papadopoulos 2002; Murray 2004; Rubertone 1989; Schrire 1991; Silliman 2005; Stein 2005). While many practitioners disagree on the particulars of approach, most will agree that new attention to studies of contact and colonialism is necessary to understand the short- and long-term consequences of colonial interactions, and to address the hegemonic assumptions that are deeply embedded in the history of archaeology.

Historical archaeology is uniquely positioned to investigate colonial processes and colonial sites, through the use of multiple lines of evidence. As Kent Lightfoot has argued, it is through this methodology, and the ability for historical archaeologists to research colonial contexts, that historical archaeology can be best understood as historical anthropology (1995). Through its emphasis on European expansion and the creation of the modern world, historical archaeology has always engaged with colonial processes. However, historical archaeologists have been less likely to engage with the indigenous experience as it pertains to colonialism. Patricia Rubertone notes that the archaeology of seventeenth century Native Americans has fallen into one of two categories of research (i.e., dominant approaches that influence

archaeological interpretation): colonial archaeology and acculturation studies. In historical archaeology, colonial archaeology has focused on the study of early European sites in the Americas (e.g., Plimoth Plantation, Jamestown, etc.). These studies glorify the early Euro-American experience and ignore the existence and contribution of Native American peoples. Acculturation studies, in contrast, have focused on the study of continuity and change in Native American ways of life based on the materials (indigenous vs. Euro-American) recovered from the site. Native peoples, or more specifically their cultures, were depicted as gradually or rapidly assimilating into European society; there was no imagined resistance or agency. According to Rubertone, these two frameworks support “an ideology of conquest that not only justified the occupation of Native America in the seventeenth century, but continues to serve as a basis for subverting the rights of Indian people today” (1989:37).

Fortunately, archaeologists have responded to the challenges put forth by Rubertone and Lightfoot, and contemporary research on Native Americans in historic contexts has focused on redressing the impacts of colonialism, as well as the hegemonic assumptions embedded within an archaeology of colonialism (c.f., Ferris 2009; Jordan 2008; Silliman 2005). This dissertation project follows their lead, as it situates the Native Montaukett experience within the conditions of colonial domination, but challenges previous assumptions of decline and cultural loss.

In order to successfully investigate colonial processes, it is necessary for historical archaeologists to engage with the theories and data uncovered through investigations of colonial processes and experiences. The goal here is to situate the interactions between Native Algonquians, whites, and others in coastal New York within the larger body of research on culture contact and colonialism. This approach emphasizes the dynamics of historical process and the long-term effects of colonialism (Silliman 2005). In northeast North America, Native and

European societies and cultures are best understood as active processes, rather than historical instances of contact between disparate groups. This attention to historical process emphasizes power dynamics and struggles between social actors, particularly as they change through time.

According to Gil Stein, there remains some disagreement among anthropologists on definitions of colonies, the variations among colonies, and the appropriate level of analysis (i.e., the focus on colonies, colonization, or colonialism) (2005:4). Colonialism is frequently defined by the presence of a colonizing group, or a group of foreigners, that moved from their place of origin to a new location. The presence of this colonizing group presents new conditions that impact the colonizers, the indigenous residents, and the environment. The new conditions present a moment of culture “contact,” when individuals- replete with their distinct technologies, ideologies, and subsistence strategies- encounter foreigners.

There is a long history of “culture contact” studies in archaeology that, over time, became the niche for studies of Native Americans before they were “forever changed” by European technologies, socio-politics, and ideologies. These studies have focused on archaeological remains as representative of two, distinct cultural entities: Native Americans and Europeans. The emphasis on contact, however, conceals the complexity of Native-European interactions. Use of the phrase “culture contact” is problematic because it contributes to a static notion of impact, downplays colonial processes, and masks long-term effects of imbalanced power and coerced labor (Silliman 2005:56). Colonialism, on the other hand, is seen as a process of interaction, marked by the power of one social group over another.

Stein, in contrast, employs “colonial encounters” to emphasize the dynamics of interaction, while avoiding the “semantic baggage” associated with the use of colonialism as a social construct (2005:5). This approach, he argues, is useful in developing a comparative

framework for understanding the archaeology of colonial encounters. Acknowledging that colonialism is power-laden in its attention to colonizers, Stein proposes an alternative perspective on encounters to challenge the dominant role of the colonizer (2005:7).

Unfortunately, avoidance of colonialism as a comparative concept presupposes an avoidance of the power relations involved in the process.

Indeed, colonialism is about power relations; more specifically, it involves the socio-economic exploitation or domination over the colonized (Rowlands 1998:328). Power relations are frequently exemplified through dichotomies, such as domination/resistance; colonizer/colonized. Although these categories provide a means for contrasting conditions, they have also been criticized for reducing colonialism “to a matter of the degree of ‘contact’ between native and foreign rather than how local structures of power were experienced and contested by actors of diverse origins who could play positive and dynamic roles in localized processes of power, knowledge, appropriation, and control” (Rowlands 1998:331). Methodologically, resistance may be visible in mundane, everyday activities, but these actions may transcend binary categories, as they may be found in the same context. Furthermore, the shifting nature of these binary categories must be understood (Stoler 1989:136).

For Chris Gosden, the power structures of colonialism are exercised through material culture, which is used to “galvanise and move people” (2004:5). The desire for material culture and resources moves people, leading to geographical expansion by colonizers, and the creation of new power structures (Gosden 2004:153). This process, which is a consistent mark of colonialism, resulted in a variety of social products. He states that “colonialism is a relationship of desire, which creates a network of people and things, but the exact shape of desire and the

ensuing network will vary” (2004:153). This dynamic approach to the archaeology of colonialism places resources, labor, and capital at the forefront of analysis.

Colonialism is contextual, historical, and varied. European expansion gave rise to varied regional experiences at colonial sites. The people involved- colonizers and colonized- were diverse, and these factors, along with geography, politics, and time period, contributed to unique experiences under colonialism. There were impacts of colonization on both the colonizers and the colonized. Each colonial frontier, therefore, can be understood as a new creation. A larger understanding of colonial processes, therefore, is dependent on broad comparisons between contextual examples. After all, it is the historicity of colonialism that is essential for making global comparisons (Dirks 1992; Murray 2004; Stoler 1989; Thomas 1994).

The experiences of the Montauketts, therefore, are presented in this dissertation as a particular, historical case that can be drawn into global comparison with other settler societies: settings that were products of European colonialism, and involved European migration to newly appropriated lands where they displaced indigenous inhabitants. In North America, Australia and New Zealand, for instance, settler societies demonstrate connections between “mass migration, major ecological change, the introduction of new diseases, and a catastrophic impact on the viability of indigenous populations” (Murray 2004:6). In these locations, indigenous populations were pushed to the margins of viability.

2.1.1. Types of Colonialism

In Gosden’s review of colonialism, he outlines three categories of colonial societies. These “types” provide the basis for cross-cultural comparison. Two categories in particular- the middle ground and settler societies- are useful for understanding the history of colonial encounters and interactions in coastal New York and southern New England.

The middle ground is characterized by a working relationship between migrants and local people, colonizers and indigenous, where both groups held power in interactions (Gosden 2004; White 1991). This relationship depended on the need for both parties to participate in exchange. Gosden notes that the participants did not have the same expectations from the encounters, and the values of each group were often misunderstood and/or questioned (2004:82-3).

The middle ground was defined by Richard White's research on the relationship between Algonquians and the French in eastern Canada (1991). An alliance between the two groups served as the basis for the middle ground- a setting where both groups could meet on equal footing. This was facilitated by the formation of "alliance chiefs"; these were "cultural brokers" from both indigenous and European social groups that negotiated socio-economic activities (White 1991:177). The middle ground was successful because the two groups "created an elaborate network of economic, political, cultural, and social ties to meet the demands of a particular historical situation" (White 1991:33). However, the balance of power shifted, causing the middle ground to collapse, when the Algonquians were viewed as a category of "other" by whites.

Indeed, both Algonquians and Europeans always viewed each other as foreign, or "other." Yet by the end of the eighteenth century, Native Americans were viewed as alien, savage beings that must be civilized by Euro-Americans through forced assimilation. Native identity was constructed by others (i.e., Europeans and Euro-Americans) in relation to the construction of whiteness. Identities were constructed in relation to power, status and land. These identities were then reinforced in social, economic, political, and cultural practices, producing institutionalized racism that survived long after changing colonial regimes. Yet these identities

were not straightforward; they were ambiguous, and often drew on conflicting notions of what it meant to be “Indian.” Michael Taylor succinctly states that:

“Whiteness as an ideological practice of the Euro-American settler colonist grounded in the formation of identity is presented as a paradoxical dilemma as it rejects notions of the Indian as it also accepts contrary notions of the Indian in making a Post-Contact construct of identity. Whiteness is then able to measure itself in relation to the Indian and validate its self-perceived superior position by casting Native Americans as debauched societies and peoples” (2013:17).

So, while Euro-Americans set out to civilize Native American people through directed acculturation, they also held onto old assumptions which were later used to reinforce the presumed loss of indigenous culture. Both of these notions- the “noble savage,” and later, the “vanished Indian”- were constructed to validate the removal of Native people from land.

A brief look at early colonial encounters in eastern Long Island provides a case for comparison with White’s analysis of the middle ground. First contact was made between the Montauketts of eastern Long Island and European traders in the sixteenth century. Wampum (shell bead) production was an important component of the European trade for beaver furs with inland indigenous groups, and the Montauketts produced wampum for exchange with Europeans for trade goods. The trade with Europeans seemed to have had important effects on the placement and organization of Montaukett settlements during the colonial period (Ceci 1980). This relationship between the Montauketts and the Europeans is characterized as one met at the middle ground (Strong 1995:13). However, as the beaver trade declined and European colonialism changed to a settler strategy, the balance of power shifted toward the colonizers. Montaukett territory became the object of settler acquisition. One historian notes that the Montauketts gradually lost their sovereignty through “directed acculturation,” wherein “religious

ceremonies prohibited, trade restricted, the choice of leaders manipulated by whites, and villages moved” (Strong 1995:13).

Settler colonialism, which relies on access to territory, is a structure of continuous acquisition of seized and dispossessed lands (Wolfe 2006). North America, Australia, and New Zealand were settings of settler colonialism, where colonizers from the British Empire arrived, established colonial governments, and acquired territory for expanding settlements. Settler societies are best understood in relation to the doctrine of terra nullius, which was deployed under British colonial law in Australia (Banner 2005). Terra nullius refers to unowned land. The idea that land was not owned by indigenous people in North America, Australia, and New Zealand, established a rationale for the means of European appropriation of the “new” territories.

According to Stuart Banner (2005), the implementation of terra nullius in British colonial Australia distinguishes colonial policy there from the British colonies in North America and New Zealand. By the middle of the eighteenth century, for instance, although North American settlers trespassed on indigenous lands, they viewed Native groups as possessing rights to land, and sought rights to those lands through transactions. This was certainly the case for the Montaukett who maintained grazing rights⁷ in Montauk through the end of the nineteenth century, as whites both bartered/exchanged and paid for access to those rights (Fattig Fields Books, East Hampton Library Long Island Collection; see Chapter 3).

Although there are differences, perhaps these societies are best understood in their shared lack of recognition for indigenous lifeways that supported settler appropriation of lands. In New England, settlers viewed indigenous peoples as under-utilizing, or not improving available lands. This perspective justified settler acquisition of those lands (Cronon 2003[1983]:56).

⁷ The Montaukett community maintained grazing rights in Montauk for fifty head of cattle or horses, and were permitted to lease those rights to individuals in accordance with a 1703 agreement with the East Hampton town (Strong 2001:94).

Furthermore, violence, wars, and disease were the means for not only acquiring vast territories but for destroying social relations and eradicating populations (Gosden 2004:26). Indeed, coerced assimilation served to reduce the indigenous populations, and thus, indigenous claims to land (Wolfe 2006). And as the European settlers became Euro-American residents, the policies of settler colonialism were maintained through the nineteenth and into the twentieth centuries.

2.1.2. Colonialism and Race

The primary importance of race to the modern colonial agenda is debated. Stoler, for instance, notes that while racism seems to be a critical feature of colonial cultures, the reality is that the quality and intensity of racism varied greatly in different colonial contexts (1989:137). Likewise, Patrick Wolfe notes that the motivation of colonizers (in settler societies) for elimination of indigenous populations was not based on race, but rather their access to territory (2006:388). It is important to remember that colonial societies were fluid; therefore power structures and categories of difference were likely malleable for colonizers and likewise, the colonized probably found ways to take advantage of, adapt to, and resist these changes, too.

The development of race and racism, however, is linked to changes in colonialist policies over time. These developments are contextually based. Julian Go argues that race-based difference in the United States was not monolithic; instead, it “constituted a multidimensional field traversed by multiple and often competing classifications of colonized people” (2004:36). For Go, the importance of race to colonialist policies lies in the distinct meanings of race. Most scholarship on colonialism and race emphasizes the social dimensions of categories, and the relationship of race-based policies to colonial governance, but gloss over the particulars. However, Go is dissatisfied with the general treatment of race as a “natural” phenomenon of colonial policy. Instead, he argues that the particularities are important for understanding how

race-based difference supports colonialist agendas. This approach highlights how American colonialist policies produced “variations in authoritative practice across the empire” (2004:28). Race-based differences, which in some contexts can be quite varied, are not simply discursive; they are based on the development and practical applications of colonial policies.

Even though race is a social construction, its application in colonial and contemporary practice makes race-based differences feel natural. This is because, in the United States at least, physical appearance and/or phenotype is linked to race-based categories. This is evident in the racialization of both Native and African Americans, whose identity was constructed in opposition to whiteness. For many Long Island Native Americans, including the Montauketts, Native identity as perceived by outsiders has always been framed in race-based assumptions. Newspaper accounts from the nineteenth through the twenty-first century include comments about Native American people by outsiders who see them as not authentically Indian, stating that they look like black or mixed-heritage people and that they do not practice “traditional” indigenous lifeways. These outsider perceptions are defined by perspectives on race.

The racialization of Native Americans and people of African descent in the United States served to keep both groups subordinate to whites, but there are significant differences in the processes. For instance, Cheryl Harris (1993) argues that whiteness was central to gaining access to property. For African-descended people, this was enacted in the reduction of black people to status as property in slavery. For Native Americans, indigenous lands were expropriated by a process that depended on whiteness as a prerequisite of property ownership. According to Patrick Wolfe (2006) the divergences in the racialization of Native Americans and people of African descent have to do with the colonial objectives: Europeans were appropriating Native American land and African labor. As such, there were implications for each objective. The racialization of

African-descended people was focused on the “one-drop” rule, which served to enlarge the population of black people, and thus the captive labor force. In contrast, coerced assimilation served to reduce the indigenous populations, and thus, indigenous claims to land.

This process is evident with the indigenous groups of Long Island, particularly the Montaukett. John Strong (1995:25) mentions an increase in the number of references to mixed-blood individuals in the records of the early eighteenth century. He argues that while “many of these ‘mustees’ were as much Indian as they were African-American, the whites categorized them into a lower socio-economic status, denying them their ‘Indianness.’ This arbitrary racial classification was romanticized by the whites who ‘lamented the vanishing Indians’”(Strong 1995:25). However, ‘vanishing’ the Indians was precisely the goal that whites were working towards, as this would eliminate any challenge to their land claims.

For Native and African American people, authenticity was constructed differently in relation to blood quantum levels. Yet over time, the histories of both groups were conflated, as their identities on censuses and other documents were lumped into “people of color,” a category that masks the variability of heritages. So while racial designations and categories of difference may have little significant meaning to how the colonized self-identified, the categories themselves and the myriad ways in which they were used and changed are incredibly significant to the interactions between colonizer and colonized. Furthermore, as these categories developed over time, they presented problems for indigenous, African American, and mixed-heritage peoples, who increasingly found themselves marginal to American society (Mebane-Cruz 2015).

2.1.3. Themes in the Archaeologies of Colonialism

Studies of colonialism draw attention to four themes that are significant to the research presented in this study: scale, exchange, identity, and the relationship of humans to the landscape.

Archaeological investigations of scale specifically address bridging the local with the global (Orser 2010:116; Van Buren 2010:179). In the historical archaeology of colonial societies, the local, household context is connected to global world processes through the interactions of its residents in local and global markets as producers and consumers. The particular experiences of locally-lived sites become the basis for cross-cultural comparison with other local sites that are similarly integrated into a global network. This approach reminds us that the activities that took place at archeological sites have both local and global significance.

For Barbara Mills, archaeology can uncover the historical process of “becoming modern” by examining the long-term history of people that were eventually “made global through colonial entanglements” (2008:219). Through an analysis of the long-term history (beginning with the pre-contact period) at Zuni Pueblo sites, Mills traced instances of diversity, resistance, and appropriation as evidence of change enacted through colonial processes. Such research follows the lead of Lightfoot (1995) and Robert Paynter (2000), in attempting to bridge the boundary between the prehistoric and historic periods.

The exchange of goods, labor, and people also draws on a theoretical understanding of colonial entanglements. Although exchange has been studied in a variety of colonial contexts, including both the middle ground and settler colonialism, it is perhaps best exemplified in Nicholas Thomas’s research in the Pacific (1991). Thomas’s research is a postcolonial investigation of material culture exchange in the Pacific, where capitalist systems met indigenous

systems of gift exchange. By analyzing the re-contextualization of goods he uncovered an emphasis on social relations rather than objects (1991).

The analysis of exchange is well-suited for archaeological analysis, as it engages the relationships between people (colonizers and colonized) through the movement, or transactions, of goods and labor. It is social (i.e., it connects individuals in social relationships), political (i.e., through attempts to exert power), and economic/material (i.e., it involves material goods) (Rothschild 2006:88-89). Exchange can be uni-directional or bi-directional, and these processes are representative of the demonstration of power in relationships. Researchers can examine what goods were exchanged, how these items supplemented what was already in use, and what economic activities people were involved in through the analysis of exchange systems. This type of research acknowledges the diversity of the colonial experience and the relationships that developed during colonial processes.

Identity construction is a common theme in the field of historical archaeology, but certainly not one without problems. In order to properly investigate identity construction it is first important to identify and understand the relationships between vectors of inequality: race, class, and gender. In the archaeology of colonialism, researchers focus on identity construction generally as a local response to colonial processes. Since colonialism is best understood as a dynamic, though frequently long-term, process of political and social relations, the investigation of identity construction yields promising expectations through the engagement of people in relationships, demonstrated through the use of material goods. For some researchers, the notions of hybridity and ethnogenesis are useful categories for understanding identity construction in uniquely-created colonial contexts.

In his analysis of Hawaiian exchange, James Bayman focuses on the bi-directional exchange of goods, derived from documentary and archaeological evidence, to support his argument that hybrid identities were constructed materially (i.e., through architecture and artifacts) during the period of emergent colonialism in the Hawaiian islands. This period followed the middle ground, after power shifted towards Europeans and Americans (2010).

Nan Rothschild identified the flow of goods predominantly in one direction in two cases of European and Native American exchange: among the Pueblo and Spanish in New Mexico and among the Mohawk and Dutch in New York (2006). Material culture was investigated to understand identity construction. She interpreted different circumstances, derived from environmental differences, ease of access to goods, acquisition of indigenous labor, and attitudes toward relationships between indigenous women and European men, which produced different results in the two colonial contexts (2006:104). Following Thomas (1991), she argues that colonial settings are characterized by “the endlessly shifting nature of contact situations, in which events, the actions of individuals, or objects will have different meanings, depending on the context of the moment” (Rothschild 2006:105).

The construction of space and landscape also have interesting implications for the archaeology of colonialism, but, as one researcher notes, this direction has drawn minimal attention from historical archaeologists (Van Buren 2010). Attention to human-landscape interactions is productive for situating landscapes in history and environmental change. This can have interesting results for demonstrating power relations through the conditions of colonial processes. It can also be a necessary component in the construction of indigenous histories, as it can link the past with the present in ways that are meaningful to descendant communities (Rubertone 2000; Van Buren 2010).

These four themes- scale, exchange, identity, and landscape- are all significant to an historical archaeology of colonialism. However, it is important to note that even in the examples discussed above, these themes are frequently entangled. For instance, Bayman (2010) and Rothschild (2006) study identity construction through the actions of exchange. Likewise, issues of identity construction, landscape, and exchange are linked to analyses of scale, as these themes necessarily connect local contexts with global forces. Furthermore, these themes have application to other important aspects of society and culture, namely social and economic relations. It is therefore necessary to consider how people in the past were entangled socially and economically as well. To accomplish this goal, a brief discussion of capitalism is presented.

2.2. Capitalism

If, as Gosden (2004) states, the power structures of colonialism are driven by desire for material wealth, then capitalism is the means by which the structures of power operate. As colonialist regimes expanded throughout the world, colonizers appropriated new lands, uncovered new resources, and sought wealth through the acquisition of those new lands and resources. Their actions cultivated capitalism through geographic expansion and the commodification of goods (and labor) for international markets.

Capitalism is an economic system characterized by private ownership of the means of production. It is not a culture or set of beliefs; it is a set of social relations that, according to Mark Leone, often masquerades as culture (1999:13). Relations exist between a landless workforce that must sell their labor in order to survive and economic production that is controlled by owners, governments, and agencies that alter the structure of the labor force by introducing technological change (Leone 1999:4). It is exploitative, as it creates an imbalance of

power between a wealth-holding class and the wealth-producing class that sustains it, leading to poverty.

Leone pointed out that capitalism is largely a western phenomenon, and therefore may not be studied cross-culturally. However, more recent research indicates that there are variations to capitalism, and these can be examined on a larger, comparative scale between areas that were impacted by European expansion, such as among hinterlands and/or colonial outposts that contributed to capitalist wealth (c.f., Croucher and Weiss 2011). In some regions, therefore, colonialism and capitalism go hand-in-hand. Eric Wolf explained that although European economic exchange was widely networked in early history, it was not until the late eighteenth century that the capitalist mode developed. The change to a capitalist mode emerged when the means of production and labor power became commodities bought and sold on the market (Wolf 1982:298).

Capitalism is a central focus of this dissertation because it brings current social and economic conditions into focus. The composition of the working class, the relationships among classes, and the layout of the landscape of eastern Long Island are altogether meaningful as we begin to think about the rise and fall of economic activities and neighborhoods. In light of historical actions and relationships, we can understand how lives were impacted in the past, and continue to be impacted in the present, by the capitalist mode. As simply stated by Parker Potter:

“Nobody experiences capitalism, but virtually all Americans experience a host of phenomena that are products of capitalism. These expressions of capitalism in American daily lives include, but are certainly not limited to, worries about job security, vacations, profit sharing, concerns about property values, union membership, and pleasure with, or dissatisfaction over, consumer goods. Furthermore, modern American lives are filled with categories such as work, leisure, family, money, home, gender, and dozens more that are determined, more or less strongly, by the character of particular participations in a capitalist

economy and the culture that surrounds it. Any of these phenomena and categories may be used as the basis for a historical archaeology of capitalism, all of these things have histories that could be explored archaeologically and interpreted publicly” (1999:53).

Cultural material, therefore, connects people with other people, and people with markets.

Through the lens of capitalism, things or artifacts are seen as objects, not as social relations. In fact, social relations, too, become transformed into commodities (Leone 1999:5). The concept of scale becomes a necessity for understanding the relationships between artifacts and market forces, but the meanings associated with artifacts are demonstrated through patterning at archaeological sites (Leone 1999). Individual agency, therefore, is not predetermined by market forces; agency at archaeological sites is the mechanism for understanding human responses to and negotiations of the forces of capitalism. At the household level, for instance, archaeologists can investigate “niches of evasion”: patterns created by tenancy, squatting, or any other “strategies produced by people who believed that you don’t buy what you cannot carry away; that it’s better to mend what you own, so buy what’s mendable; that you should never do just one thing to make a living; and that cash is not the only medium of exchange” (Leone 1999:15). This set of beliefs is perceived almost as a strategy of resistance to capitalism, which is based on the manufacture of goods for a market of consumers.

In upcoming chapters, the relationships between elite whites and people of color are exemplified through colonial policies, changing economic conditions, and social and labor networks. The social and economic entanglement of people from various backgrounds in eastern Long Island was dynamic, but it was also discursive. Daily interactions within the rural landscape may not immediately reflect the economic forces at work. But people made sense of their world- of the changing social and economic conditions, of the expanding divide between

the wealth-holding and wealth-producing classes, and the cultures and ideologies that developed to maintain those differences- in subtle, often changeable ways, through patterns of negotiation.

Interestingly, the historical archaeology of Native Americans has made little impact on investigations of capitalism. To be sure, Native American involvement in trade has always been emphasized as an early feature of the colonial experience. Trade is often the means through which Native Americans “made sense” of their experiences with European strangers, as new objects were appropriated with old meanings for incorporation in their cultural and symbolic systems. However, through time European power tipped the balance, causing indigenous people seemingly to lose their so-called authentically indigenous ways and fade into the abyss of the working class. What does this mean for a narrative of Native presence?

For Christopher Matthews, capitalism presents an alternative lens for understanding indigenous meaning and adaptation at indigenous sites (2010). His reinvestigation of Native American sites in the northeast emphasizes the appropriation of new goods to mitigate trade and new relationships. Indigenous participation is presented as active, negotiated, and integral to American colonial society:

“The historical archaeology of Native America in fact situates Indian people precisely in the position where organizational networks based on kin and community confronted and awkwardly merged with networks based on individualized market exchange. As indigenous and settler systems contradicted one another, archaeology illustrates not just blending of old- and new-world cultures, but the creation of entirely new Native American cultures that only incompletely healed the ruptures in Native life caused by their entanglement with capitalism” (Matthews 2010:28).

These “new” Native American cultures are often described as a form of ethnogenesis, wherein a new cultural identity is constructed (Voss 2008). Ethnogenesis provides an alternative means for explaining the social and material responses to the encounters of different cultural worlds.

The lens of ethnogenesis has gained popularity in archaeology, anthropology, and history. However, its use is often employed in an attempt to understand change in the past that cannot be otherwise explained. Some researchers even argue that it provides another means for silencing histories and minimizing difference, as it glosses over the complicated processes that led to new, socially-constructed identities (Hämäläinen 2011). I think it is important to remember that ethnogenesis is a process, and not a cultural product. Therefore, identities continue to change. This notion of change, or adaptation, complicates main-stream, public understandings of identity, particularly as they relate to Native Americans. The larger American public (and government officials) relies on a static perception of Native American identity that is reinforced by expectations of bounded cultures. One of the problems with ethnogenesis is that it can be misrepresented to gloss over historical processes and the particular experiences of conflict for Native Americans and other groups. If not handled properly, the end result can be the same as erasing the Native presence.

2.3. Survivance

My focus on survivance comes out of my own frustration with comparative archaeologies of Native-lived colonialism. Although many contemporary studies focus on the Native experience, they are still influenced by narratives of decline and interpretations of “traditional” indigenous culture that can be read as “degrees” of acculturation. As Neal Ferris so poignantly argues, the judgmental language is deeply embedded and difficult to overcome (2009:16).

The quest for “survivals” of indigenous culture is, to say the least, dissatisfying. The use of items as signifiers for identity is a constant challenge for archaeologists, who are expected to make connections between objects and the people who make and use them. Cultural survivals, or

ethnic markers, are often useful as an initial reference point. However, the presence of ethnic markers at archaeological sites has been exploited over time, as ethnic markers become signifiers for particular cultural traditions (Singleton 2006). Eventually, ethnic markers came to represent evidence of cultural survival in essentialized notions of identity at archaeological sites, and the absence of ethnic markers meant change, or worse, cultural loss.

Even as contemporary historical archaeologists investigate indigenous contexts, their interpretations of “indigenous,” “modern,” and “Euro-American” material culture carry the assumption of decline and cultural loss. What are we really implying when we look for indigenous items in a nineteenth-century context of settler colonialism? How do we avoid measuring degrees of authenticity in archaeological assemblages? And how does the existence of descendants, who state their identity as Native, truly relate to these archaeological contexts? Contemporary members of the Montaukett Tribal Nation are currently fighting for tribal re-recognition in New York State. Their presence and their contemporary struggle make the search for indigenous markers irrelevant. By meeting with Montaukett individuals, discussing their challenges and learning about their goals, this project acknowledges Montaukett self-identification. So rather than search for evidence of cultural survival (or loss), this project employs an approach for understanding how native survival is manifest in social relations and material practice.

My frustration, therefore, lies in the connections between the present and the past: the imaginary divides between prehistory and history, and between history and the present. In an effort to solve this frustration, the cultural concept of “survivance” is employed. “Survivance,” which derives from indigenous studies, emphasizes a Native presence that is informed by both indigenous continuity and the challenges of colonialism. According to Sonya Atalay,

“...Native people are active, present agents whose humanity is emphasized as their responses to struggle are poignantly portrayed. Presenting the horror, injustice, and multi-faceted aspects of Native peoples’ struggles while simultaneously highlighting their active engagement and resistance to onslaughts is not to portray Native people as victims. One cannot appreciate and experience the power of Native survivance if the stories and memories...are not placed within the context of struggle” (2006:609-10).

An emphasis on survivance allows researchers to present indigenous history that is informed by Native voices and experiences. This approach does not preclude the power that existed (and continues to exist) within colonial societies. Instead, this approach can address the power of colonial regimes as a process, or struggle, to which Native people adapted (Atalay 2006:611).

Native adaptation may take the form of change, maintenance, or re-contextualization. In this dissertation, the archaeology of survivance continues to focus on the material traces of daily lives, but the interpretation emphasizes negotiation, rather than reactions or resistance to the power of the colonizers. This approach attempts to decolonize archaeology; to shift the paradigm in light of Native-lived experiences, and present an interpretation that emphasizes what James Merrell described as “a way of life at once firmly grounded in the past and open to the future” (1989:124).

2.4. Theoretical Trends and Exhortations

In most academic disciplines, the writing of Native histories begins from a point of disadvantage. The power of the Eurocentric paradigm emphasizes Native American experiences as marginal to the dominant history. As a result, researchers construct new theoretical orientations for approaching “marginal” histories: through acculturation, hybridization, resistance, and ethnogenesis, to name a few. Although these approaches begin with positive

intentions, they inevitably treat Native American contexts as responding to forces beyond their control. Adaptation and change did occur in the past, as they do in the present. These actions are difficult to capture in static archaeological contexts. The contexts themselves are moments on a continuum of change. But change occurred for all people- Native Americans, African Americans, and Euro-Americans. Their lives were impacted by the forces of colonialism and capitalism in material and social ways. Survivance was the means by which they survived these forces. Regardless of the popular theoretical term we employ, the archaeological patterning reflects the choices that people made in light of larger social and economic conditions.

Chapter 3: Archaeology, History and “Prehistory”: the View from Long Island

“...A few hours’ walk from East Hampton, an ancient and flourishing hamlet, will leave civilization behind. The Indian reservation embraces a portion of the peninsula- the home of the remnant of the once powerful Montauk tribe of Indians, one of the original thirteen that ruled the island of Sewanhaka [Long Island]. These Indians consist of several families, and in the neighborhood are contemptuously considered half-breeds, though the elders claim to be pure blooded, and one of them the lineal ruler of the tribe. At best they are degenerate representatives of a once illustrious and noble race; for, if not deteriorated by miscegenation, they have become so by dissipation, now resembling their progenitors only in respect to their love of fire-water and indolence, not indulging in the hearty sports they might indulge in, and eking out a miserable living by menial services. Their own statements are very contradictory, some evidently wishing to be considered genuine Indians, while others vehemently disdain the connection. They are dark-skinned rather than copper-hued, and the tendency to “kink” in the hair of many leaves no doubt as to their pedigree. There are, however, several tall, well-formed, straight-haired men among them, who are undoubtedly “pure Indian.” The leading and “royal family” is that of Pharaoh, and evidently all in the settlement belong to the family, or, at all events, bear the name. One of this family is putatively the king or chieftain; but there never was a more impotent and poverty-stricken ruler, being, in fact, no ruler at all, not even by courtesy. It is said that these full-bloods are the most industrious in cultivating the ground allotted to them, and probably, if thought something of by the whites, and not regarded and treated as a worthless community, they would do much better. They dwell in crudely-constructed huts or shanties, and the half-breeds are much in the majority. It is needless to add that they are a source of trouble to the township.

Though the Indians are disappearing so fast many of their traditions and names are still remembered. Nearly all the Aboriginal designations of localities have been retained, and some of the traditions, no doubt forgotten by the Indians themselves, have been treasured by the whites...” (printed in *New York Times*, August 12, 1873).

“Gunder Frank (1969) argued that all the Indians of the Americas were the products of a long-term encounter with capitalism and colonialism. Anthropologists, he implied, colluded with the state in portraying dispossessed peasants and serfs as untouched survivors of the distant past, the better to create them as objects for supposed development, ironically the very same project that had dispossessed and oppressed them” (Wilk 2006:154).

As elsewhere in North America, the pre-Columbian lifeways of ancient Long Islanders are understood through archaeology. Archaeological collections (pre-Columbian and post-Columbian) reside in museums, historical societies, and other repositories throughout New York State, where they inform visitors about the ancient past. These collections form a baseline for

understanding indigenous lifeways; and yet, the formation and acquisition of some of these collections provides interesting information about the process of archaeological and ethnological collecting over time. In fact, past and present expectations of indigenous authenticity on Long Island are strongly linked to the formation of some these collections.

At the end of the quote (above) from the *New York Times*, the author points out that the traditional practices of the Montauketts were necessarily remembered and preserved by white residents because the “degenerate” Montauketts had apparently “forgotten” them. One of the ways this history was “treasured” by whites has been through the process of archaeological collecting and looting. Collecting, therefore, may be seen as a form of paternalism that derives from the colonial experience, as the power of remembering the Native American past is held by whites, who collect the items and present them in exhibits.

The *New York Times* quote is a painful reminder of the legacy of colonial categories and capitalist social relations. But, as Gunder Frank reminds us, anthropology, too, has played a role in constructing the history of Native American people.

This chapter has two goals: to decolonize archaeology by exploring the politics of collecting as it relates to the construction of “Indian-ness,” and to establish a framework for understanding indigenous agency that is informed by continuity of presence. Both of these goals are meant to challenge the hegemony of a prehistory-history divide.

3.1. Collecting Long Island’s Ancient Past

The collections of the Southold Indian Museum exemplify the influence of antiquarian collectors on Long Island’s history. The Southold Indian Museum is owned and operated by the Long Island Chapter of the New York State Archaeological Association, a chapter that was

founded by avocational archaeologists in 1925. Nathaniel Booth, Charles Goddard, and a few other Long Island farmers grew up in the early nineteenth century and collected lithics from plowed fields from the time they were children (Truex 1982:51). Some of their collections are exhibited at the Southold Indian Museum in a building that was purchased in 1962 with contributions from Goddard. While the museum includes collections and exhibits from pre-contact archaeological sites throughout the Americas, the collections are dominated by pre-contact materials from sites throughout Long Island. These Long Island collections were mostly acquired by Goddard, Booth, and Roy Latham.⁸

The founders of the Long Island Chapter of the New York State Archaeological Association were thorough in their investigations of pre-contact sites. Their collections were not solely formed from the recovery of exposed lithics in plowed fields. They excavated sites, employing methods that Latham had learned from working with Foster Saville, a professional archaeologist with the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation. They saved lithics and pottery, recorded finds, and published their results. However, James Truex (1982:51-53) noted that their approach left little, if any, of the site preserved for future investigations. Likewise, the artifacts that they recovered were kept in their private collections, in attics and barns, until they were donated to the chapter in the second half of the twentieth century. There was minimal concern for context during their investigations (Truex 1982:51), and although these men kept records of their excavations, the collections at the Southold Indian Museum consist mainly of artifacts with little information about provenience.

In addition to the implementation of educational programs, much of the work at the Southold Indian Museum today is concentrated on maintaining or preserving the collections, cataloging the material, and organizing some of the artifacts into displays. In some cases, sherds

⁸ Roy Latham is considered a naturalist who collected biological samples in addition to Native American artifacts.

of pre-Columbian pottery have been mended and clay added to reconstruct full vessels. Exhibited material is organized by site, with little additional information provided. Upon a 2010 visit to the museum, a docent explained that the absence of records for these collections makes them of little use to current researchers. For most archaeologists, the absence of context leaves the collection with an incomplete story which may not necessarily be representative of the site or the period (Chase et al. 1996:35).

The exhibition of this material is alarming because it does not confront the ethical distinctions between archaeology and looting. Although the avocational archaeologists were employing the scientific methods of the period (Truex 1982:51), for many of them their actions were driven by self-interest in building personal collections. The disregard for research design and questions was certainly representative of this period in archaeology, whether the collections were destined for museums or private ownership. However, most of these collections were formed out of the interest in owning pre-Columbian materials for one's own pleasure. Unfortunately, the display of these collections legitimizes the process by which these materials were retrieved (Chase et al. 1996:35).

Not surprisingly, the looting of archaeological sites continues to be a problem on Long Island. Contemporary looters are informed by the work of past collectors, and past and present archaeologists. That is to say, they know where to look for pre-Columbian archaeological sites, their expectations are in line with the established pre-Columbian chronologies and typologies for the region, and they are bold in their search. Modern-day collectors feel they know as much, and have as much right to investigate sites, as archaeologists. This much I have experienced in conversations with looters and collectors.

The early history of collecting on Long Island is, without question, based on a romanticized notion of the prehistoric “Indian” and the presumed loss of indigenous culture and identity from the post-contact period until the present. These views, which are perpetuated in local historical narratives and historical society exhibits, have been internalized through subsequent generations of Long Islanders and continue to guide the amateur collectors, looters, and a number of historical museums on Long Island in the twenty-first century. But these ideas are also a legacy of the history of American archaeology. Archaeologists were (and some still are) responsible for constructing static, etic descriptions of cultural groups based on archaeological materials. And these descriptions were frequently used to promote nationalist agendas (Trigger 1984). Native American “cultures” were being salvaged by archaeologists and anthropologists at the same time that Native Americans were being aggressively civilized as part of the colonial project (Thomas 2000). According to Bruce Trigger, “the most important single factor that has shaped the long term development of American archaeology has been the traditional Euroamerican stereotype which portrayed America’s native peoples as being inherently unprogressive” (Trigger 1980:662). In order to confirm their “dominance” over Native Americans, Euro-Americans created myths about them, “condemned as brutal murderers, or romanticized as noble savages” (Trigger 1980:663). As a result, the work of archaeologists validated the conquering of Native peoples and seizure of their lands. It is obvious, therefore, that the disciplinary divide between prehistoric and historical archaeology that has, until fairly recently been left unaddressed (cf. Scheiber and Mitchell 2010), is directly related to archaeology’s engagement with the Native American presence.

3.2. A Brief History of Long Island Archaeology and the Construction of “Indian-ness”

During the late nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth centuries, professional archaeologists investigated pre-Columbian archaeological sites throughout Long Island. These collections are now housed in both large and small museums, including the American Museum of Natural History (AMNH), the New York State Museum (NYSM), and the Nassau County Museum. M. R. Harrington, Arthur C. Parker, Foster Saville, Ralph Solecki, and Carlyle Smith were among the earliest professional archaeologists to apply scientific methods to archaeological sites in the region (Truex 1982). Their research was invaluable for constructing early chronologies for the region and for providing an early base for future work. The sites that they excavated were extraordinary: ranging in date from the Archaic period until the seventeenth century, these sites included villages, burials, and forts. In some cases, the artifacts, notes, and publications are all that remains of village and burial sites from Long Island’s pre-contact period; sites are frequently lost to development. Current archaeological investigations on Long Island, which generally are the result of contract efforts, rarely expose sites with content or preservation comparable to the sites excavated in the early twentieth century.

The early works in professional Long Island archaeology are representative of the period in which they were investigated. The research was grounded in a descriptive, culture-historical approach. For instance, Harrington’s investigation of burials and storage pits at a village site in Port Washington was dominated by descriptions of these features with little emphasis on faunal material, pottery decoration, or the relationship of the site to other work in the region (Browning-Hoffman 1982:80). Although the early archaeological collections are curated in museum repositories for future research, the formations of these collections reflect the research strategies

of the time, and as a result, may (or may not) be of limited use to contemporary anthropological research.

These early archaeologists also recorded minimal information about eighteenth or nineteenth century Native American archaeological sites. This negligence is a consequence of the interests of the time period; archaeological remains from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were apparently considered too recent (or not “pure” Indian) to be of any interest in anthropology. After all, archaeology developed out of the traditions of antiquarianism and imperialist expansion (Patterson 1999). At that time, archaeology was funded by museums, cultural organizations, and wealthy patrons with an interest in the arts. There was an obvious interest in ancient societies, in so far as those societies were representative of early civilizations and their artifacts were worthy of display.

Native American archaeological sites received more attention when researchers argued for the advancement of evolutionary perspectives (Hinsley 1985). Then researchers began to investigate pre-Columbian archaeological sites in an effort to draw connections between the archaeological past and the ethnographic present. Over time this approach perpetuated myths of the pre-Columbian past in North America by promoting the study of cultures as static, unchanging entities (Trigger 1980).

While American archaeologists of the early nineteenth century were studying the ancient past, ethnologists of the time were collecting descriptive information and ethnographic items from living tribal groups in an effort to recover traditional aspects of indigenous society and culture before they were forever lost in the process of acculturation (Parezo 1987; Stocking 1985, 1992).⁹ Unfortunately, this ethnological focus was not directed to the Algonquian cultures

⁹ The inclusion of ethnographic and archaeological data on Native peoples in natural history museums (while European materials were exhibited with the arts) is also a legacy of colonial thought.

of Long Island. This bias was probably linked to public opinion toward indigenous Long Island groups. By the late nineteenth century, Montaukett, Shinnecock, Unkechaug, and other Native American groups had already suffered from segregation, disease, and loss of land for nearly two hundred years (Strong 1996). Their identity was frequently challenged by outsiders who saw them not as Indian, but as African Americans masquerading as Indians. Claims to the near disappearance of the Montauketts, for example, were declared near the end of the nineteenth century (Tooker 1895; Westez 1945). In particular, the wreck of the freighter ship *Circassian* was believed to have taken the lives of the last of the “true-blooded” Long Island Indians (Moeran 1942). Perhaps the presumed acculturation of the Montaukett, Shinnecock, Unkechaug, and other indigenous groups, as well as the promotion of the idea that these groups were no longer “pure” served to make them of little interest to late nineteenth century researchers. Meanwhile, little effort was made to connect archaeological materials with these living Native peoples. And since the archaeological sites were not representative of large-scale complex societies, perhaps the materials would not attract museum visitors.

At the AMNH, the bias towards the living, indigenous cultures in other parts of the country in the late nineteenth century is apparent in exhibits. Very little information is displayed regarding Algonquian Indians in the culture hall for the Eastern Woodlands and Plains Indians. Likewise, a search of the collections at the National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) produces five entries (i.e., a basket, a broom, and five scrub brushes) which range in date from ca. 1840 to ca. 1950. Each of these items arrived at the NMAI through different journeys: the basket was collected by Alfred Skinner in the late nineteenth century, a collection of Montauk scrub brushes and a broom were collected by Carlos Westez, a Montauk scrub brush was

acquired from the Southold Indian Museum, and a Shinnecock scrub brush was donated from a private collection. No further provenance is available for the material.

Although the exhibits of Algonquian lifeways in large and small museums have changed very little over the past 100 years, archaeological research has changed significantly. Anthropological archaeology is now directed toward a greater range of sites to explore variability, and it is accomplished through both academic and contract archaeological projects.

On Long Island, government mandated archaeology at pre-Columbian and historic-period sites was performed in the 1970s and 1980s by the Long Island Archaeology Project (LIAP), a contract archaeology firm that operated within the Anthropology Department at Stony Brook University. These archaeologists were hired by the Suffolk County Parks Department to conduct archaeological surveys in many of the county's parks. Although the reports remain on file in the Suffolk County Department of Historic Services, the collections are scattered in various park buildings. Through personal inquiries and investigations, the archaeological collection from the Indian Fields site was located in the possession of the Suffolk County Parks Department. The LIAP had been hired to conduct reconnaissance in Montauk County Park in the 1970s. At that time, archaeologists located the remains of domestic sites that were occupied by Montauketts during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Excavations were then conducted as a summer field school for undergraduates through the Anthropology Department at Stony Brook University (Johannemann 1993).

The Indian Fields collection provides a unique sample of material from a context that remains minimally understood archaeologically. Few other sites provide comparative information about indigenous lifeways on Long Island during the historic period. But the history of the archaeological research at Indian Fields, too, is important for understanding the history of

archaeology on Long Island. This project was conducted by researchers who crossed the boundary between contract and academic archaeology. The project began as compliance, to aid in the management of archaeological resources within the park, and it was driven with research questions in mind about indigenous subsistence and habitation. Unfortunately, it seems the approach was hindered by a general lack of funding. The researchers turned to student labor during the summers, and returned to the field in the fall and winter months when possible.

Since the 1970s, as in the rest of the country, Long Island archaeological research has been accomplished largely through contract archaeology, with a few exceptions.¹⁰

Archaeologists at Stony Brook University continued to combine CRM with academic archaeology, first under the direction of Kent Lightfoot in the 1980s and then David Bernstein from the 1990s through the present. Professional and student archaeologists investigated settlement patterns and resource procurement on pre-contact (and historic-period) sites that were threatened by development. Unfortunately, this work does not present a complete picture of pre-contact lifeways on Long Island, because so much development has focused on valuable coastal lands (Lightfoot 1989:31). Since most of the more recent research on pre-contact sites has focused on coastal communities (which were strategically situated to maximize coastal and interior resources [Bernstein 2008:58]), the bias towards coastal communities leaves the interior portions of Long Island less well understood (Lightfoot et al. 1985).

Although pre-contact artifacts have been recovered in abundance in and around Montauk, few sites have been scientifically investigated. For the most part, an archaeological understanding of pre-contact lifeways comes from regional data from sites that have been

¹⁰ In the 1980s, several academic archaeological projects were conducted on Long Island by Kent Lightfoot (SUNY Stony Brook) and James Moore (Queens College), including investigations at Twin Ponds, the Grace Estate, and Oak Tree Bay. Between 2000 and the present, academic archaeological projects include the Sylvester Manor project on Shelter Island and the A Long Time Coming Project in East Setauket.

identified throughout coastal New York and southern New England (Bernstein 2006). Currently, contract archaeologists make the greatest contribution to expanding our knowledge of pre-contact Long Island, so it is within their reports - the gray literature - that researchers must look for comparative data.

3.3. Beginning with the Beginning: Understanding Prehistory in Montauk and Beyond

As many archaeologists have pointed out, the study of Native Americans would benefit from a bridge between prehistoric and historical archaeology (c.f., Lightfoot 1995; Paynter 2000; Silliman 2010). In an effort to interpret change and continuity following European contact, it is necessary to think hermeneutically about prior actions and their meanings. A bridge of the gap between prehistory and history will emphasize historical processes, including the impacts associated with colonialism. Lightfoot advises that the best approach for future research will result from the integration of pre-contact and historic archaeology to understand the long-term effects of European exploration and the formation of multi-ethnic communities. Along similar lines, Paynter (2000) argues for the unification of historical archaeology and anthropological archaeology in successful investigations of the contact period, the result of which “would be a history of the modern world that is inclusive, rather than exclusive, a history that recognizes that the present is shaped by and constructs many histories” (2000:202).

For the Montauketts of eastern Long Island, their history has been written as a story of “appearance” and “disappearance.” Their appearance was best-documented in the eighteenth century by white missionaries and East Hampton townspeople (see Chapter 4), and their disappearance is marked by removal and detribalization at the turn of the twentieth century. But their pre-contact presence on Long Island is legitimated through Algonquian oral histories and archaeological sites/collections.

The Montauketts are indigenous Algonquian people of coastal New York, who were once speakers of the Mohegan-Pequot-Montauk Algonquian language (Salwen 1978). According to the history of the Montaukett Indian Nation,¹¹ all of Long Island east of the present-day Queens County line was occupied by the Algonquian Native Nation called Matouwac or Montaukett prior to 1637 (see <http://montauknation.org>). At the time of European arrival, the Montaukett people occupied the territories of present-day East Hampton Town. Like other Algonquian people from coastal New York and southern New England, they maintained a foraging lifestyle, intensively relying on marine and estuarine resources for thousands of years prior to European arrival. Long Island is often considered part of southern New England (Figure 3.1), which, as a cultural region, is characterized by shared patterns of indigenous subsistence and languages (Salwen 1978).

The indigenous people from the South Fork of eastern Long Island were first identified by Europeans as the Indians from Montauk (Strong 2001:9). By the mid to late seventeenth century, the term Montaukett or Meantauket was used by whites to identify the indigenous people in documents; later it was replaced by Montauk, for both the region and the people. The current use of the term Montaukett was revived by its members in the 1990s (Strong 2001:10). John Strong, a historian of Long Island indigenous cultures, does not specify how the Montauketts referred to themselves during the colonial period.

It is important to note that the names Montauk and Montaukett, as identifiers for a tribal group, are historical products. Local residents know the Montauk people as one of the thirteen “tribes” of Indians that occupied Long Island at the time the Europeans arrived (Strong 1992). This myth, though taught in schools and repeated in local histories, presents Native socio-

¹¹ The Montaukett Indian Nation is the name of an official tribal group that is seeking re-recognition. They maintain a website (<http://montauknation.org>) that includes information about their history and their progress in the re-recognition process.

political formation incorrectly (Strong 1992) and masks the realities of cultural and economic continuity that Bernstein (2006) points out is highlighted in the archaeological record.

3.4. Tribal Names and Geography Games

The Native tribal groups that comprised Long Island, as they are understood today, generally reflect modern geographical boundaries: the Montauketts occupied East Hampton town; to the north, the Manhassetts occupied Shelter Island and the Corchaug occupied the North Fork; the Montaukett western boundary met Shinnecock territory in Southampton town; the Unkechaug were west of the Shinnecoeks in Brookhaven town. It is a relatively organized division of tribal territories that is easy for modern Long Island residents to comprehend. However, it is based on the local history, or myth, of the thirteen tribes of Long Island which, according to John Strong, stems from misuse of the anthropological categories “tribe” and “race” (Strong 1992).

Tribal organization was not a primordial feature of pre-contact Algonquian lifeways on Long Island. Indeed, tribal organization and individual leadership developed from European intervention during the early colonial period, when Europeans appointed Native tribal leaders to facilitate land transactions (Strong 1992). Broader patterns of Native socio-political formations are better understood through linguistic evidence. Although few Native languages from southern New England are still used today, their traces were documented by explorers, missionaries, and early settlers. Anthropologists have used this data to trace cultural patterning within the region. The similarities in Algonquian languages, subsistence strategies, and socio-political formation suggest a shared cultural pattern for southern New England (Salwen 1978) and the formation of pre-Columbian extended kin networks that transcended local geographies (Figure 3.1).



Figure 3.1. Tribal territories of southern New England. From Wikimedia Commons - Image: Wohngebiet_Südneueingland.png, as of 5 July 2006.

Rather than emphasizing distinct tribes, regional patterning suggests fluid, and perhaps less distinct socio-political configurations across a large geographic territory (i.e., on both sides of the Long Island Sound). Salwen viewed the village as the basic unit of social organization (1978:160), and Strong argues that these villages were probably loose confederations that united with other nearby villages for specific purposes (1992:43). According to Eric Johnson, communities were the basic social unit, comprised of family members and close friends with extensive ties that were established through kinship and alliance (2000:119). Patterns of Native lifeways transcended both modern political and geographic boundaries, and were in flux as Native people experienced social, political, and economic pressures.

This dynamic context can be difficult to navigate when interpreting the material record, if the material record is read as a static resource of bounded cultures. Even researchers who search for nuanced clues of continuity and change fall victim to the legacy of acculturation models, as they inadvertently reify notions of tradition within the material record. The material record, therefore, must be understood as active, negotiated, and representative of social relations. Although there are regional trends in cultural patterns and demonstrated relationships through alliances and kin, it is still necessary to understand the particulars of historic circumstances, events, and social interactions. Native social formation and identity construction in the sixteenth century were negotiated under significantly different pressures than those at work in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (see Chapter 4). The archaeological record, as a record of the material conditions of life, must be understood with attention to those pressures.

Consider, for example, kinship patterns and identity construction among the Shinnecock Indians, as they were understood in the late twentieth century. In her 1975 dissertation, Rose Oldfield Hayes explored kinship and descent patterns among the contemporary Shinnecocks, which was the primary means for establishing and maintaining modern tribal membership. Oldfield Hayes argued that descent was traced through ancestors who were Shinnecock; ancestors who were not Shinnecock provided no purpose for establishing tribal membership and were thus ignored (although not unrecognized). The purpose of this descent pattern was to maintain “blood members” of the tribe (Oldfield Hayes 1983:336-7). Shinnecock descent, especially if it was traced to one of four surviving ancestral lines, was necessary for establishing residency rights on the reservation. It was also more influential than socio-economics in determining social status within the tribe.

Oldfield Hayes noted that although a non-Shinnecock could marry onto the reservation, a non-Shinnecock could not marry into the tribe. For instance, in a marriage between a Shinnecock and a non-member, if the Shinnecock member died, the non-member spouse was expected to move off the reservation. If that union produced children, however, the children were entitled to the rights and privileges of Shinnecock membership. As a result, there was often tension in households and on the reservation, as non-members were often ostracized by resident Shinnecoaks.

According to Oldfield Hayes, the nuclear family was the basic production unit among the Shinnecoaks, but extended families, clans, and lineages would work together during certain family events (such as funerals) and to mitigate crises. There were also obligations to extended kin who were elderly, infirm, or generally in need of assistance. If assistance was not offered to those in need, there could be negative social consequences (Oldfield Hayes 1983:336).

These particulars of Shinnecock descent are worth noting because there were marriages between Shinnecoaks, Montauketts, and many other Native individuals from coastal New York and southern New England, as well as non-Natives. Many Shinnecock members would travel or migrate to work, while others moved off the reservation completely (Oldfield Hayes 1983:334). Oldfield Hayes argued that the migratory pattern of movement to and from the reservation was an example of cultural continuity, albeit in a nuanced form, as members sought work for wages in urban areas. Shinnecock members maintain tribal affiliation on and off reservations. For the Shinnecock, however, the patterns of descent described by Oldfield Hayes were well defined in the twentieth century as a means for maintaining reservation and tribal rights with New York State and eventually the United States government. Indeed, this genealogical record supported their efforts for gaining federal recognition in 2010, but it doesn't necessarily represent broader,

historical social configurations for the Shinnecock or other nearby tribal groups. These social patterns must be understood in relation to the pressures of colonialism and capitalism.

3.5. Establishing a Framework for Understanding Native Lifeways

In general, the culture-historical model previously established for the southern New England area follows three periods of prehistory: Paleoindian, Archaic, and Woodland (Ritchie 1965; Snow 1980). These divisions mark changes in social context, population size, food procurement, and adaptations to changing ecologies as demonstrated at archaeological sites. The Archaic and Woodland periods are further subdivided into Early, Middle, and Late categories, and there is a Transitional period (sometimes called the terminal Archaic) between the Late Archaic and Early Woodland. In general, the mobile hunter-gatherer lifeways of the Archaic period were replaced by increased sedentism and horticulture during the Woodland period. However, eastern Long Island differs from mainland southern New England in the lack of evidence for pre-contact horticulture (Bernstein 1999:101; 2006). It has been further argued that the development of maize agriculture, and the cultural adaptations that accompany it, may have been a by-product of European colonization (Ceci 1982).

According to David Bernstein (2006), the prehistoric chronology that researchers use for understanding cultural change is overstated for coastal New York and southern New England. Rather, he argues that pre-contact indigenous lifeways were marked by “long established patterns of generalized hunting, gathering, and fishing, eventually adding small amounts of domesticated plants to the mix” with the general absence of intensified agricultural production (2006:277). Late Woodland-period settlements were frequently situated along tidal bays and inlets, and there is little evidence to reflect the maintenance of an elite class or hierarchy (Strong

2001:8). Kin-based forms of organization dominated; yet, social reproduction and political action occurred through larger, regionally-based alliances (Strong 1992).

Although contemporary anthropological archaeology often still relies on existing chronologies and typologies as a baseline for interpretation, contemporary archaeologists are now investigating the range of experiences and adaptations for pre-Columbian people in coastal New York and southern New England. These studies highlight variability in the human experience, and de-emphasize the limited range of characteristics that have traditionally been associated with stages of development, or periods of culture (Bernstein 2006; Duranleau 2009). However, it takes longer for contemporary anthropological and archaeological research to become incorporated in local history narratives and exhibits (cf. Strong 1992). These circumstances are further complicated by the construction of social memory, the process of forgetting, and the politics of story-telling (Hayes 2013; Mills and Walker 2008; Rubertone 2009; Van Dyke and Alcock 2003).

Regional archaeological data do provide a baseline for understanding pre-Columbian lifeways. Archaeological research throughout coastal New York and southern New England demonstrates shared patterns in subsistence, mobility, and social organization (Bernstein 2006; Duranleau 2009; Hayes 2013). This information is enhanced by ethnohistorical data that highlights the social interactions of indigenous people in the region in the early Colonial period (Bragdon 1996).

In general, settlement patterns were variable. Kathleen Bragdon demonstrated that settlement patterns in southern New England reflected adaptations to three different ecosystems: riverine (semi-sedentary settlements based on seasonality with some incorporation of agriculture), estuarine (variably mobile with little to no emphasis on cultivation), and upland

(this model is not as well-defined, but reflects seasonality and in some cases emphasizes lacustrine resources) (1996). Within this tri-partite model, the archaeological data for the Long Island region seems to reflect “conditional sedentism,” marked by “limited mobility and site diversity within a restricted estuarine/coastal region” (Bragdon 1996:69). More recently, Deena Duranleau (2009) has tested David Bernstein’s model for regional continuity (2006) with archaeological data recovered from contract archaeology. After surveying the “gray literature” she argued that there is, in fact, generalized “homogeneity in habitation... across the [coastal] region and between the Late Archaic and Late Woodland periods” (2009:126). This homogeneity is demonstrated through similar activities demonstrated at sites and comparisons of site re-use. She observed stability in habitation especially at coastal sites where, in some places, people remained settled year-round. She calls this “flexible sedentism.”

Against the background of regional patterns, it is possible to also take a closer look at pre-contact lifeways in and around East Hampton town. This is useful for providing a local context for understanding indigenous subsistence, mobility, and social organization. Inferences about pre-contact indigenous lifeways in and around East Hampton Town are based on archaeological collections from twentieth century professional excavations, and to a lesser extent, on some amateur collections. These resources must be used carefully and critically when constructing new narratives.

Archaeological sites and materials have been found throughout Montauk, ranging in time period from the Late Archaic (6000-3000 years ago) through the historic period (Bernstein et al. 2005). However, not all of these sites have been thoroughly examined by professional archaeologists, and in many cases, various small sites may be components of larger archaeological landscapes that spread over huge areas (Mark Tweedie, pers. comm.). These finds

are listed in the site files of the New York State Museum, the New York State Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation, the Suffolk County Archaeological Association, and the Institute for Long Island Archaeology at Stony Brook University.¹² The sites that are recorded with these organizations have varied levels of documentation associated with them; some are listed based on local memory with no data on artifacts recovered, while others are recorded by avocational and professional archaeologists following more detailed analyses. Collectively, these site files provide information on the sensitivity of the region and the range of sites that researchers might encounter.

Perhaps the largest collection of pre-contact and colonial-era indigenous artifacts from the South Fork of Long Island was the product of collecting by William Wallace Tooker. Hundreds of items- including lithics, pottery, ornaments, and faunal remains- were collected from settlements throughout Montauk, East Hampton, and Sag Harbor villages (Rattray 1938:14). This collection, which demonstrates the proliferation of indigenous habitation prior to European arrival in the Town of East Hampton, was purchased at auction in 1898 by the heirs of Arthur Benson¹³ for \$3000, and later donated to the Brooklyn Institute for Arts and Sciences.¹⁴ However, the inventory for the collection (which lists detailed descriptions of the items, proveniences, and ecology) was purchased separately at the same auction by Morton Pennypacker and filed in the Long Island Collection at East Hampton library. A note on the

¹² The ILIA files from projects that were excavated in the Towns of Southampton and East Hampton, which were consulted for this dissertation, are now housed at the Eastville Community Historical Society in Sag Harbor, New York.

¹³ Arthur Benson purchased the Montauk lands at auction from the Montauk Proprietors in 1873 and proceeded to remove the Montauketts from the land. This violated the 1703 agreement between East Hampton Town and the Montauketts to purchase of land that included Indian Fields. After he died, his heirs continued with Arthur Benson's plans. It is interesting to consider the purpose for buying the artifact collection- whether it was out of interest in owning a part of the prehistory of Montauk, or to conceal the material evidence of Montaukett habitation.

¹⁴ The Tooker collection may be housed in the Brooklyn Historical Society now, but my inquiries were left unconfirmed. A small collection of items from the Tooker collection is on exhibit at the Brooklyn Museum. The inventory list remains in the Long Island Collection at the East Hampton Library.

inventory remarks that it should have been purchased with the collection... “What will ultimately be made of the collection we do not know, but the discarded inventory that should have been preserved with it was purchased by me and is now a part of the Long Island Collection. Morton Pennypacker.”

In general, the Montauk area was (and is) rich with natural resources, of which people in the past (and present) made use. The site files indicate that people settled along fresh water ponds, lakes, and streams; made extensive use of coastal resources; and hunted game and collected edible plants in interior and upland areas. Archaeological sites vary in size and scope, from small lithic scatters and tool production sites, to larger camps and village sites. Individual burials and cemetery sites have also been identified in and around Montauk.

The Capurso site is one of the more intensively studied archaeological sites in Montauk. Investigated by the Institute for Long Island Archaeology in 1994, this interior site was located near freshwater and contained two areas of activity. Based on the presence of grit-tempered pottery (two sherds of which contained Sebonac decoration) and a triangular-shaped projectile point, the site was identified as a late-Woodland-period occupation. The lithic artifacts (which included quartz, quartzite, chert, felsite, and rhyolite) indicate that people were engaged in the entire sequence of tool manufacture at the site (Bernstein et al. 1994). Unfortunately, no features were unearthed, and very little shell and faunal material was recovered due to preservation conditions.

Another late-Woodland-period site was investigated by the Institute for Long Island Archaeology at Culloden Point (Pappalardo et al. 1994). Although no radiocarbon dates were obtained, the date for the site was determined by the presence of triangular-shaped projectile points and grit-tempered pottery. Four areas of pre-Columbian activity were identified. One of

these areas was intensively occupied: it contained a buried pre-contact living surface (buried A horizon) with lithic tools and flakes, pottery sherds (some exhibiting Sebonac decoration), possible post molds, cooking areas and associated features. The other pre-contact areas included mostly lithic debitage from tool manufacture at different stages (i.e., one location suggested initial reduction, while another location seemed to be an area of final lithic reduction). The Culloden site was revisited by the Institute for Long Island Archaeology in 2005/6 during an archaeological survey on an adjacent property (Bernstein and Manfra 2005; Bernstein and Merwin 2006). At that time, an extension of the pre-contact living floor (previously identified in 1993) was encountered, containing a high volume of pre-Columbian artifacts. Overall, these investigations indicate a significant late-Woodland-period site in Montauk that, if excavated, could provide a much-needed image of late, pre-contact Montaukett lifeways.

Together, the Capurso and Culloden Point sites¹⁵ indicate one important indicator for pre-contact Montaukett lifeways: the Montauketts were settled (at least seasonally) and intensively utilized coastal, estuarine and interior resources on North Neck prior to the arrival of Europeans. This might also be true for the area east of Lake Montauk (including Indian Fields), but the lack of archaeological attention to pre-contact sites in that area makes that possibility speculative.

Elsewhere in the Town of East Hampton, professional and avocational archaeologists investigated Montaukett burial sites from the contact and early historic periods. The Pantigo Hill cemetery site, for instance, generated the attention of Foster Saville from the Museum of the American Indian in the early twentieth century. Located at Amagansett (two miles east of the village of East Hampton, and roughly twelve miles west of Montauk), the burials were initially uncovered on a farm when the farmer was digging the foundation for a new chicken house. Approximately 58 burials were uncovered at the site. The presence of eighteenth century

¹⁵ These might not necessarily be discrete sites, but components of a larger archaeological landscape.

European and indigenous artifacts in the burials indicated that the site dated to the eighteenth century (Saville 1993[1920]). Significantly, Saville identified this cemetery as Montaukett (although he called it a Montauk cemetery) in identity and he began to explore social differentiation based on the variety of burials and grave goods at the site. These burials, along with additional Native burials found at the old town cemetery (in the village of East Hampton) and at Burial Point (also in Amagansett), provide a unique data set at an important moment in time- a moment of intensive transition following the arrival of Europeans (Strong and Stone 1993). Unfortunately, the general lack of field notes and the resulting absence of context at these two additional burial sites make their contribution to Native-European interactions tentative.

Saville recognized the Pantigo Hills burials as Montaukett in identity; this is significant for multiple reasons. First, these excavations happened just after New York State forcibly detribalized the Montauketts. So even though, at the time, the state did not recognize the existing Montauketts as authentically indigenous, Saville still identified the burials in relation to the local Native tribal group. This was uncharacteristic at the time for archaeology, too, because few archaeologists in the region were willing to identify pre-contact and contact-period archaeological sites as ancestral to post-seventeenth century Native American tribal groups (Stone and Strong 1993). Today, pre-contact archaeological sites are recognized as precursors to contemporary Native cultures. The differences in lifeways before and after the contact-period divide, however, remain a problem for researchers and collectors who seek to decipher identity in terms of modern tribal groups. This, not coincidentally, raises a third significant point in Saville's study: the geographic distribution of the Montaukett people following the contact period. The Pantigo Hill cemetery is not located in Montauk, where many Montaukett people were living in the eighteenth century; yet it is still identified as Montaukett, probably because of

the general understanding that the Montaukett people lived within the modern boundaries of the East Hampton town (see above).

3.6. Previous Archaeology at Indian Fields

The Indian Fields archaeological site is located in present-day Montauk County Park in Montauk, New York. Several CRM reports were completed for the Suffolk County Parks Department (Johannemann and Schroeder 1980a, 1980b), and Edward Johannemann wrote a chapter about the history of the project and the findings which was published in *The History and Archaeology of the Montauk* (Stone 1993). However, Johannemann never completed his intended comprehensive study of the Montauk site.

The site investigation began in the 1970s when Dean Phillippe, then Park Supervisor of Montauk County Park, invited Edward Johannemann to investigate and assess the significance of a number of archaeological features located within the park. Three areas south of Big Reed Pond were tested for remnants of Native American occupation during the historic period. One location yielded promising results for archaeological investigation, as well as evidence of looting. Labeled feature AII, this location turned out to be one Montaukett-occupied feature within the eighteenth and nineteenth century Indian Fields village. It was at this location in 1974 that Phillippe recovered a bone tool handle with “Jeremiah Pharaoh” carved into it. Following some looting activity at the site, the bone tool handle was left exposed until Phillippe carefully salvaged it. This find prompted the investigators to name the archaeological site the “Pharaoh site.”

Excavations began at archaeological feature AII of the Pharaoh site in the summer of 1975 when Edward Johannemann ran an archaeological field school offered through the Anthropology Department at Stony Brook University. Archaeologists returned for two more

summer seasons of work in 1976 and 1977. Led by Johannemann and Laurie Schroeder Biladello, the archaeologists included professionals from the Long Island Archaeology Project (LIAP), graduate students, and local amateur archaeologists/collectors (some of whom were affiliated with the Long Island Chapter of the New York State Archaeological Association, mentioned above).

The fieldwork began in 1975 with site mapping and the layout of a grid that was anchored to key points in the landscape, which were plotted and mapped. The excavators used a grid system that was designed to accommodate 5x5 foot excavation units (to fully explore features), but separate grids were also used for investigating rectangular features that were contrary to the grid system. Although these separate grid systems were tied to the original grid through angles and distances (Johannemann 1993:645), it has been difficult to recreate these angles and distances from the excavation notes. This has complicated my understanding of the excavation process and my ability to connect disparate features to the larger site. One sketch map of the overall site is the best record for placement of the excavated features within the site, but situating this site map within the landscape proves difficult because of the absence of natural features (except for a seasonal stream that was mapped) (Figure 4.2). During a 2010 visit to Montauk County Park, we found that the site has been covered by grass and low-lying vegetation, masking many of the previously-excavated and preserved features of the site.

Grid layout and excavation were conducted using a scale that measured tenths of feet, and excavations were conducted in arbitrary measurements within natural soil changes. Features were sampled to gain a maximum amount of data and minimize further disturbance of the site (i.e., preserve some portions of features). Features that were already disturbed were investigated as thoroughly as possible to save important information from further disturbance, while taking

into account previous disturbance in the research design. Soils were screened through wire mesh for the recovery of artifacts (although the size of the mesh is unknown), and some soil samples were taken (although they were never processed and most were lost in later storage and movement of the archaeological collection). Additional excavation details for two houses (features AII and AXXV) are described in Appendices B and C.

Following investigation of feature AII, the LIAP was hired to perform a cultural resources survey of Montauk County Park in 1980. Phillippe was aware of the archaeological sensitivity of the park, and was concerned about further looting of the many archaeological features scattered throughout the site. A survey was planned to document the known features and sites.

Phase I of the Cultural Resources Survey of Montauk County Park involved archival research, interviews with park staff and local collectors, and field reconnaissance. The investigators outlined three pre-contact and 18 historic-period sites (in addition to the Pharaoh site) within the confines of the park. Each of these sites was numbered following the designation 20 (for Station 20, a designation in the LIAP Suffolk County Parks CRM reports for Montauk County Park). The Pharaoh site is identified in the Phase I report as Site 20-20 (Johannemann and Schroeder 1980a).

The pre-contact sites (Sites 20-7A, 7B, and 18) include what is described as the remains of an Archaic period village that was excavated in 1954 by Melville King, an amateur archaeologist and collector from East Hampton (see Ritchie 1965:138). Additional deposits in the park that were inventoried by Johannemann and Schroeder include pits with hard clam, soft clam, and whelk shells; small animal and turtle bones; and lithic material (including straight-stemmed projectile points, a piece of a biface, a celt fragment, and a shell-tempered pottery

sherd) (1980a:2). Although represented by small numbers, this material is evidence for the continuity of the Native presence in the vicinity of Indian Fields from pre-Columbian to post-Columbian eras. These activity areas also suggest that coastal resources were consumed at the shore front during the pre-contact period, but further field investigation is necessary to support this supposition.

In the Autumn of 1980, a Phase II report was written following additional testing throughout Montauk County Park (Johannemann and Schroeder 1980b). This phase of the survey was designed to look for unidentified pre-contact inland sites and to provide dating information for some of the historic-period features within and around the Indian Fields settlement. Investigators uncovered a total of 23 features, including 5 house patterns, 3 middens, 7 storage features, 2 stone walls, and 6 additional unidentified features (Johannemann 1993). Each of these features was tested to various levels of intensity. A pattern of habitation was identified for one portion of the park, but the true boundaries of the eighteenth through nineteenth century Indian Fields site are still unknown. There are likely more features from the Indian Fields site left buried, as the entire 1200 acre park is highly-sensitive for pre-contact and historic-period sites associated with the Montauketts.

3.7. Conclusion: The Challenge

The re-investigation of archaeological collections for this dissertation demonstrates the value of museum and CRM collections to new directions of archaeological research: to decolonize archaeology, to challenge existing narratives with new questions, and to bring renewed attention to “old” collections. The collections discussed in this chapter were the products of various strategies of archaeological collecting: avocational, culture-historical, and

government-mandated. Together, they provide tangible data for investigating broad patterns of Native habitation on eastern Long Island.

As mentioned above, shared linguistic patterns and similarities in subsistence and socio-political formations on both sides of the Long Island Sound suggest shared cultural patterning and kinship connections (Goddard 1978; Salwen 1978; Strong 1992). These anthropological data provide the background for solid regional analogies, as comparative archaeological data can be drawn from throughout eastern Long Island and beyond.

The Bianco/Carroll archaeological site provides an interesting local comparison with Indian Fields. It was identified in the town of East Hampton, west of Three Mile Harbor, in 1994 (Bernstein et al. 1994; Habib 1994). Archaeological investigations were conducted at the site by three different contract archaeology firms at different stages of work (Stages 1-3) in 1994 and 1998 (Bernstein et al. 1994; Cammisa et al. 1999; Habib 1994). This work was required in advance of a lot line modification under the New York State Environmental Quality Review Act (SEQRA). The site contained pre-Columbian (Archaic and Transitional) and historic (eighteenth through nineteenth century) period components. No named historical individual(s) have been connected to the site, but the location, the architecture, the assemblage of historic period cultural material, and the apparent recycling of pre-Columbian artifacts suggest the site was occupied by Native Americans. The collection from this site is quite similar to the early component of the Indian Fields collection. Both are from the same time period, are domestic sites, and demonstrate modest economic positions. Across the Long Island Sound, archaeological investigations at the Mashantucket Pequot and Eastern Pequot reservations in Connecticut provide household data that are comparable to the Indian Fields archaeological site (see Chapter 7).

It is important, though, to note the limitations of the Indian Fields archaeological collection. As previously mentioned, the village site was not excavated in its entirety. Instead, a limited number of features were identified and tested to varying levels of intensity. The data, therefore, can not be used to reconstruct the complete history of lifeways at Indian Fields. In a similar vein, the data from the site can not be used to make broad generalizations about indigenous lifeways in coastal New York or southern New England. Two household contexts were selected from the larger collection for an intra-site, diachronic comparison as these provide the material record for lifeways for a particular group of Native Montauketts who remained at Indian Fields at a time of rapid social and economic transformations. Their activities, choices, and social negotiations represent a particular experience for some Native Montaukett people that can shed light on social reproduction amidst change on eastern Long Island. These contexts, therefore, are the means for investigating how some Montauketts negotiated identity and survivance in under the conditions of colonialism and capitalism.

Chapter 4: Forces of Change

This chapter provides the historical context for understanding the experiences of the Montaukett peoples in relation to colonial interactions, white settlement and expansion, and changing social and economic conditions. The eighteenth century Montaukett settlement at Indian Fields was, in fact, constructed in light of trade, pressures for European land acquisition, economic changes (and demands for labor), and Native engagement with Christianity. These experiences are reconstructed through the use of documents, secondary historical accounts, and archaeological sources.

4.1. Colonial Interactions: Trade, Settlement, and Social Reproduction

The earliest interactions between indigenous peoples and Europeans focused on trade and exchange. Contact began in the sixteenth century, when Portuguese and Basque fishermen of the North Atlantic encountered indigenous peoples along coastal areas (Strong 2012a:101).

Although historic accounts are few and fragmented for this period, it appeared that European visits to northeast North America became more frequent and trade for indigenous commodities (i.e., furs and wampum) more profitable. Indigenous people, too, were exposed to new, exotic items from Europe- items that would be appropriated to satisfy prestigious roles in indigenous lifeways. The trade intensified in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, with the rise of forts, trading-houses, and eventually colonization (Ceci 1990:137).

Wampum (beads made from shells) was manufactured by Native people prior to European arrival. It was exchanged through long distance trade and as forms of tribute, and served both ornamental and diplomatic functions. Yet wampum functioned differently for Native people who produced it and Native people who received it in trade. Marshall Becker notes that

diplomatic functions of wampum were more characteristic of inland groups whose social organization included confederacies; these groups acquired it through exchange. The producers of wampum, who were located in coastal areas like eastern Long Island, made wampum which was used as tribute and ornament; there was less emphasis on its use to mediate diplomatic relations. Wampum emerged as a commodity for people along the shores of the Long Island Sound between 1600 and 1620 (Becker 2010).

The ways Native people made and used wampum (for tribute, trade, ornament, and mediating diplomatic relations) were well-established regionally before Europeans became involved in the trade. The initial trade was controlled by Native groups: the Pequots, in particular, brokered wampum distribution by taking control of production locales along the coast (Becker 2010:143). The Pequots and the Narragansetts grew wealthy and powerful as wampum brokers, and were a threat to Europeans who after their arrival sought control of the trade.

Both long-distance trade (especially regarding wampum) and extended kin networks (see Chapter 3) were in effect long before Europeans arrived. Pre-Columbian indigenous networks mediated exchange and conflict, and provided opportunities for social organization and re-organization. These networks were constructed across modern political and geographical boundaries (including the Long Island Sound) and were negotiated over time to accommodate changing social, economic, and political forces during the pre-Columbian era. When Europeans arrived, Native people incorporated new interactions with Europeans within pre-existing indigenous patterns of trade, exchange, and social organization.

During the seventeenth century, Montauketts and other Native people from eastern Long Island produced wampum as tribute for Pequots, Narragansetts, and later Europeans. Montauketts also traded wampum for European goods. Wampum production was an important

component of the European trade for beaver furs with inland indigenous groups. This trade seems to have had important effects on the placement and organization of Montaukett settlements during the early colonial period. Lynn Ceci argued that sources for raw materials, access for market transport, and socio-political context were important considerations in the establishment of indigenous Long Island settlements (1980). Both indigenous and European forces competed for control of the wampum trade, and this led to changes in indigenous political systems (Strong 2012a:102).

In 1635, Lion Gardiner, a European, was commissioned by the English to build and run a fort at the mouth of the Connecticut River. Called Fort Saybrook, the fortification was constructed to keep control of the wampum trade out of Dutch hands. Wampum that was made by Montauketts was collected and stored at Fort Saybrook for English traders (Ceci 1977).

Meanwhile, local indigenous groups competed with the Dutch and English for control of the wampum trade. They would travel to coastal and inland areas to negotiate prices on their own terms, aggravating European competition. Military actions were directed against the Pequots, who were the most powerful of the indigenous competitors in the trade. These actions culminated with the massacre of more than 700 Pequots at Mystic, Connecticut, remembered as the Pequot War (1637), which, according to Lynn Ceci, was fought for control of the wampum trade (1977).

Not long after the massacre at Mystic, sachem Wyandanch of the Montauketts sought an agreement with the English, one of several groups interested in controlling trade with the former Pequot tributaries, of which Long Island was one. At this time, indigenous groups (i.e., Montauketts, Manhassetts, Mohegans, Narragansetts, and Niantics) were also seeking new alliances to protect their communities. Leaders of the Mohegans, Narragansetts, and the Niantics

all wished to control access to trade with the English, and all three leaders attempted to undermine Wyandanch's alliance with Gardiner (Strong 2012b:151). These leaders, referred to by John Strong and Richard White as "alliance chiefs," met at the middle ground for socio-economic and political negotiations (Strong 2012b; White 1991). When Ninigret, sachem of the Niantics, sent a war party after Wyandanch, the Montauketts sought and received assistance and protection from the English. This led to the legendary invitation by the Montauketts to Lion Gardiner for settlement on Long Island. Gardiner negotiated the purchase of present-day Gardiner's Island and moved there in 1639 (Strong 2001:14).¹⁶ He then became the first documented English resident of New York State (Wunderlich 1989). His settlement, called Gardiner's Island, predated any other permanent European presence on eastern Long Island. It was located between the North and South Forks, north of the village of East Hampton (Figure 4.1).

Meanwhile, European settlement of the western end of Long Island began in 1636 when the Dutch crossed the East River from Manhattan, and Jacobus van Cortland was granted land in the Flatlands (Bunce and Harmond 1977:5). The Dutch had already inhabited the island of Manhattan, which they called New Amsterdam, by 1625, when the Dutch West India Company arrived. They became interested in the western end of Long Island in the pursuit of gold and fur (Shorto 2004). Long Island was a promising location to settle, due to its abundance of wildlife and game, fish, fresh water ponds, and natural ports.

The Dutch presence in the areas of Manhattan, Albany, New Haven, and Hartford, was motivated by interest in the fur and wampum trades, but there was growing interest among the English to settle in these areas. English colonies were established in Connecticut, Massachusetts,

¹⁶ Local history accounts and Gardiner descendants present a story of Gardiner's Island as a gift from Sachem Wyandanch, but Gardiner actually purchased the land by royal grant from the King of England (Wunderlich 1989).

and the Chesapeake, and by the 1640s, the English had traveled south across the Long Island Sound to the eastern forks of Long Island. Southold and Southampton were the two earliest communities established by the English there (Bayles 1874). These, and later settlements on the eastern part of Long Island, were small maritime communities. The English residents of Southampton petitioned the government of Connecticut to be received under their jurisdiction (Onderdonk 1965:13), but they were settled on unclaimed land. In the absence of an official charter from the crown, the settlers were squatters on land that was contested by the English and the Dutch (Strong 2012b:152). Even when the English seized all Dutch-claimed territories and renamed the colony New York, the English settlers found themselves on contested lands and wished to remain linked to the Connecticut and Massachusetts colonies.

In 1649, a permanent settlement was established by English settlers at East Hampton; some of these residents came from the settlement at Southampton. They joined the Gardiner family, who were already settled at Gardiner's Island. Gardiner established a mainland homelot for his family in 1653 in the village of East Hampton (Gardiner 2012:198).

Geographical, cultural, and political connections were maintained, by indigenous and European residents, between eastern Long Island and the mainland colonies of southern New England into and throughout the historic period. During that time, Long Island Sound was a frequent means of travel for Native Americans and Europeans (Cronon 1983; Weingold 2004). An excerpt from the Boston News Letter, 1741, notes the ease of travel between Long Island and the mainland : “[T]he Sound is frozen over at Stratford & the people ride over it every day to L.I., being 3 leagues across, which was never known before” (from Onderdonk 1965:24). Although it was unusual for the Sound to freeze to this extent, waterborne travel was common in all weather conditions.

In the seventeenth century, Montauketts traded for European goods, which held a prestigious value, and re-appropriated the new items for old uses. For instance, steel drills replaced indigenous tools in the manufacture of wampum. Within the first twenty years of interaction with Europeans, many Montauketts were trading for guns, powder, shot, tools, knives, needles, blankets, shoes, clothing, and alcohol from Europeans (Strong 1994:566). The acquisition of European trade goods led to significant changes in Montaukett subsistence and social organization. Yet, indigenous social organization was also recast by the European desire for land (Strong 1992). Tribal organization, characterized by Chief leadership that held the power to sell Native lands (i.e., “alliance chiefs” [Strong 2012b; White 1991]), was essential for European settlement and expansion.

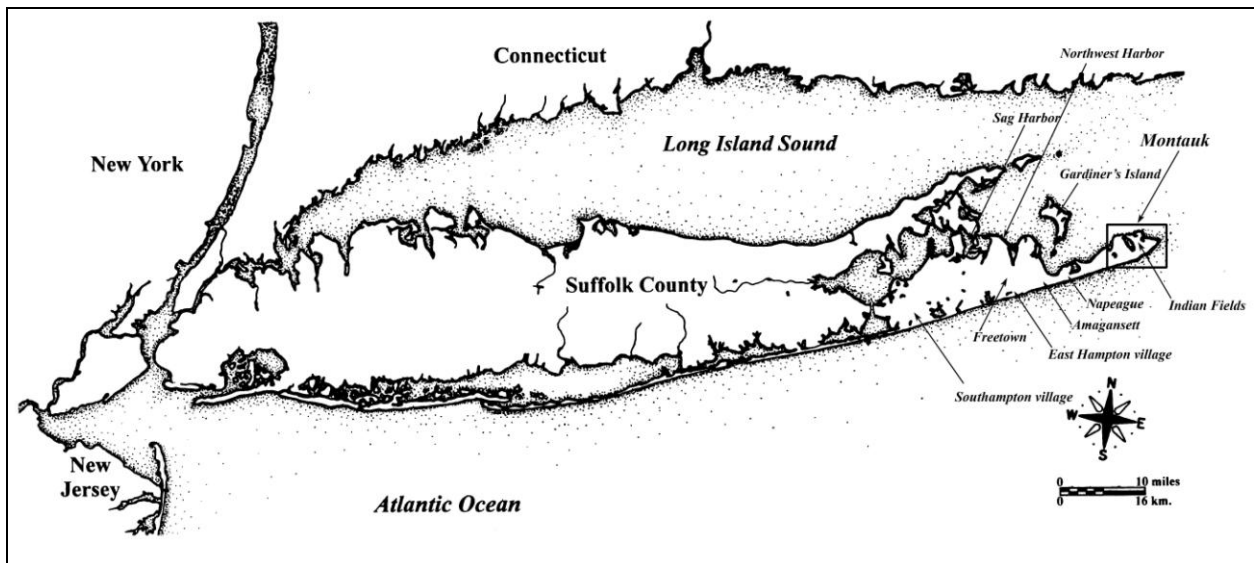


Figure 4.1. Map Long Island showing Gardiner's Island, the villages at Southampton and East Hampton, and Montauk. Drawn by Daria E. Merwin.

4.2. The Common Pasture System and the Formation of the Trustees¹⁷

English governors from the Connecticut colonies purchased 31,000 acres of land east of Southampton on the South Fork in 1648 from Sachems Wyandanch (Montaukett), Poggatcut (Manhasset), Momoweta (Corchaug) and Nowedonar (Shinnecock) (Figure 4.2). The purchase described the joint use of land, including Native rights to hunt, fish, collect shell fish for wampum, and take fins and tails from beached whales (Strong 2001). Connecticut officials then sold shares of the land to settlers from already-established New England and coastal New York towns, including Southampton to the west.

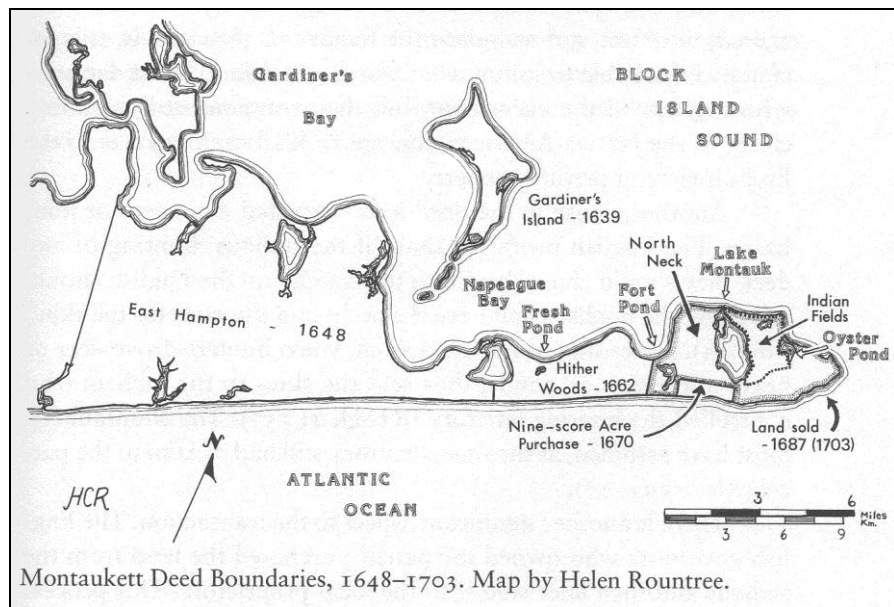


Figure 4.2. Map of the Town of East Hampton showing dates of land transactions (Strong 2001:15).

¹⁷ Steve Boerner, Archivist at the East Hampton Library Long Island Collection, provided invaluable assistance with this section on the history of the settlement and common pasture system.

English settlement in East Hampton resembled that of New England villages. The thirty-four original European settlers were considered proprietors who owned a share of the land, harbors, and ponds of the town. They established a linear settlement pattern with houses lining either side of a long street that was “an extension of the village green where cattle were gathered from farmyards along its length to be driven to the common pasture further east” (Suffolk County Parks 1992:8; Jameson 1883). Cattle would graze on the common lands which surrounded the village. Each proprietor established their home-lot in the village, and had a share of fertile land east or west of the established home-lots. Agriculture was a dominant source of livelihood for the settlers. Livestock (including cattle, sheep, hogs, goats, and horses) became a central aspect of the agrarian economy as it was raised for export to coastal and West Indian markets. Early on, roads were established connecting the home-lots to the port at Northwest Harbor (Figure 4.1) and to the agricultural lands, meadows, and wood-lots along the way.

As the English village at East Hampton grew, the villagers sought to expand their cattle pasturage. They looked east to the rolling hills and pasture that extended to Montauk Point, comprising 10,000 acres. In 1653, some East Hampton proprietors negotiated pasture rights at Montauk from the Montauketts. English settlement did not extend much further east than Amagansett at the time, but the importance of livestock warranted the need for access to new pasture.

Expansion of the English farming communities led to increases in demand for land, and in the presence of European-owned livestock at indigenous settlements. These conditions were constant sources of tension between the English and the Montauketts. The Montauketts complained to officials of the English letting their hogs roam freely in woods until harvest time, and of unattended grazing animals invading unfenced Montaukett fields. Montauketts would

keep winter food in storage pits near their wigwams, which were left open when they moved temporarily to another location for seasonal resources. But grazing livestock frequently fell into those pits. East Hampton officials in turn pressured the Montauketts to move further east of Napeague (Strong 2001).

In 1655, the proprietors agreed to build and maintain a fence and pay for damages to Montaukett resources in exchange for rights to graze livestock east of Fort Pond. Success in raising livestock depended on access to thousands of acres of rolling pasture; thus the Montauk lands became highly desired.

The East Hampton proprietors attempted to control resources for their own profit in other ways, too. Any new, aspiring settlers of East Hampton must gain approval and access to purchase lands and shares from all of the proprietors. When granted, many of these new settlers received much smaller parcels, and not all new settlers were granted shares in rights to the commons (Steve Boerner, pers. comm.). This effectively kept wealth and access to resources in the hands of the proprietors, limited settlement growth, and presumably prevented undesirable individuals from joining the settlement.

Over time, three different groups purchased Native land for the proprietors of East Hampton, each expanding East Hampton rights further east. The “proprietors” were eventually merged into one group called the “Trustees” and all the rights of the three purchases were consolidated in 1742. The proprietors shared rights to pasture at Montauk. They were permitted to graze a limited number of cattle per share of ownership, which was recorded by the town in Common Pasture and Fattening Fields lists. The proprietors were all tenants in common to the land, thus creating a common pasture system which the East Hampton Town Trustees managed on their behalf (Suffolk County Parks 1992:8-9).

4.2.1. Expansion and Conflict in Montauk

Through the 1650s as the English settlement was expanding, the Montaukett population was in decline. Military attacks, a plague, and other European diseases decimated the population (Strong 2001:27). The English asserted their sovereignty over the Montauketts by negotiating unfair land transactions and threatening their subsistence with unattended livestock that damaged hunting grounds and planting fields.

The town purchased the remaining land east of Fort Pond in 1687 for one hundred pounds, and granted the Montauketts residency rights in perpetuity. The Montauketts agreed to accept two pounds per year instead of the lump sum of one hundred pounds (in addition to amounts received yearly for grazing access). But the relationship between the Montauketts and the town grew tense as Montauketts complained of damages by grazing animals and missed annuity payments (Strong 2001:56). Dissatisfied with their treatment by the town, the Montauketts negotiated a more lucrative sale of the same lands east of Fort Pond to two wealthy men from New York. This deal, however, violated a previous agreement between the Montauketts and the town which allowed the Trustees exclusive rights to the purchase of Montauk lands. The town challenged the Montaukett sale to the New York men, and moved quickly to establish a new agreement with the Montauketts, detailing transactions and rights between the two parties.

The subsequent 1703 “Agreement Between the Trustees of East Hampton and the Indians of Montauk” (reprinted in Stone 1993:69) specified that the Montauketts were to inhabit the land referred to as North Neck (between Great Pond and Fort Pond), establishing fencing where necessary. The land east of Great Pond was reserved for English use, which primarily consisted of cattle grazing. The Montauketts were permitted to move east of Great Pond if they did not

interfere with the English right to graze. The agreement also specified how the Montauketts were able to use their land: fields were expected to remain open for the English's livestock grazing and they were permitted to keep a 30-acre field enclosed to protect crops of winter wheat. If the Montauketts were to move from North Neck and relocate to Indian Fields, they must take possessions with them; they could return to North Neck, but not inhabit both locations concurrently (Strong 2001:58).

At this time, the Montauketts had limited access to their traditional hunting lands, which were now pasture lands for whites. They were forced into a more sedentary lifestyle, dependant on raising livestock for subsistence. They registered ear marks for their cattle with the town. In an effort to control the number of grazing cattle, and probably to control growth of the troublesome Montaukett population, the town placed limits on the amount of livestock owned by the Montauketts. The 1703 agreement included a limit on livestock to 250 swine and 50 head of cattle or horses.

Despite the enforced limitations on lifeways, the Montaukett population grew in small numbers and reinforced social and economic networks through exogamous marriage practices. The English responded to this threat of an expanding Montaukett population in 1719 with another "agreement" that prohibited Montaukett marriages with non-Montauketts. Altogether, these eighteenth-century encumbrances left the Montauketts, resentful of their white neighbors, in a position of tenancy on their ancestral homelands (Strong 2001:60-61).

4.2.2. The Montauk Proprietors

While the Trustees of the Freeholders of the Town of East Hampton maintained corporate ownership of the lands of East Hampton, they were not the owners of the lands at Montauk. The Trustees established the nucleus of the East Hampton settlement near the village, also called East

Hampton, around 1648. These settlers had travelled east from the 1644 settlement at Southampton with knowledge of the land division system that was used there (Steve Boerner, pers. comm.). Each white settler received an equal share of land and rights to pasture, and the lands at Montauk remained occupied by the indigenous Montaukett without transference of title until about 1660. At that time, a purchase by the East Hampton Trustees and a subsequent gift resulted in the ownership of Montauk by East Hampton Trustees. But because the Sachem who transferred title to the town died shortly thereafter, the Trustees of the Town again purchased the Montauk lands in 1687.

Around 1703, several white East Hampton men bought the rights to Montauk from the Montauketts (the deed was signed or marked by 32 indigenous individuals) and by 1712 Montauk was privately owned by a group of East Hampton residents who were subsequently called the Proprietors of Montauk (East Hampton Trustees 1926). This is an unusual situation for eastern Long Island settlement, and as confusing now as it was in the eighteenth century. It seems the Town Trustees facilitated the purchases of Montauk lands from the Montauketts on behalf of the Proprietors, but the Trustees managed the lands until the middle of the nineteenth century.

In 1838 when the Trustees assumed ownership of lands at Montauk (by attempting to use profits from the lease of Montauk to pay for town expenses), the Montauk Proprietors sued the Town Trustees. After investigating the deeds and agreements established during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Judge asserted the Proprietors' full title of the lands at Montauk in 1851. This action enabled the proprietors, who formed a new corporation and named themselves the Trustees of Montauk, to then sell the lands at auction to the highest bidder in 1879 (East Hampton Trustees 1926:9; Strong 1993a:94).

4.3. Changing Labor Patterns and Social Reproduction

The permanent English presence in the eighteenth century affected the indigenous peoples in many ways: through the introduction of new products and technologies, by imposing new ideologies and theologies, by introducing new diseases, and by impacting existing economies and subsistence strategies. As time marched on, the diverse peoples of East Hampton became entangled economically, socially, and politically. But rather than working together, it seems Montauketts, African-descended peoples (who arrived in the region as captive and free laborers) and some whites labored in various ways for the wealthier elites. People were often paid in goods and services, sometimes cash, or even a combination of these. These exchanges, which were often recorded in day books and ledgers, were controlled by wealthier whites who offered credit to skilled and unskilled workers.

4.3.1. Herding, Cattle Pasturing, and Labor

The English began herding their cattle to Montauk for summer grazing in 1655. The grazing season began with the cattle drive east in May and ended with the removal of cattle back west in November. The initial herds were monitored by all the men of East Hampton, who rotated shifts throughout the season. In 1663, twelve men from East Hampton were sent to Montauk to build a cattle yard and shelter, in the form of temporary structures, for the cattle keepers (East Hampton 1887).

Montauketts, too, were employed in agricultural activities by whites. In 1670, an indigenous man identified as Obadia was paid ten shillings a week to keep cattle at Montauk. He was employed for one month, and replaced by another indigenous man named Wabatiene for a

month at the same rate (East Hampton 1887:330). Twelve years later the Town contracted with an indigenous man named Quasequog and his wife:

“To Gin at the East End of the playne & to set their wigwam there Just within the fence & to be Continually there boath Night and day so as to secure horses and other catell from Comeing to doe damage in the plains until Indian harvest Next be fully Ended and the towne of Easthampton is to pay and allow being for his payns an Indian coate or ye Vallew of it and to allow and plow for them a acker of good Land in some convenient place Near where their wigwam is to stand and also to pay them as they shall have occasion ten bushells of Indian corne as witness their hands...” (East Hampton Records April 9, 1682; reprinted in Woodward 1995:51).

The spatial organization of Montauk shows the effects of white power on the Montaukett community. Whites kept both Natives and cattle contained in a space beyond the view of white villages, though they were both beneficial to the well-being of white settlers. In particular, the Montaukett presence in Montauk was useful for activities related to the drive and tending of livestock. Montaukett men constructed fences, monitored fence lines, tended livestock, and rescued animals from swamps and wetlands (Strong 2001:43). When their fields were kept open to grazing cattle, they were probably responsible (or liable) for those animals' well-being, too.

Permanent structures for white cattle keepers were constructed in the 1740s. The houses, called First, Second and Third Houses, were maintained by the Trustees who compensated the cattle keepers with use of the keeper house, barn, garden and yards, pasture rights, and access to a limited amount of firewood (Rattray 2012:392) (Figure 4.3).

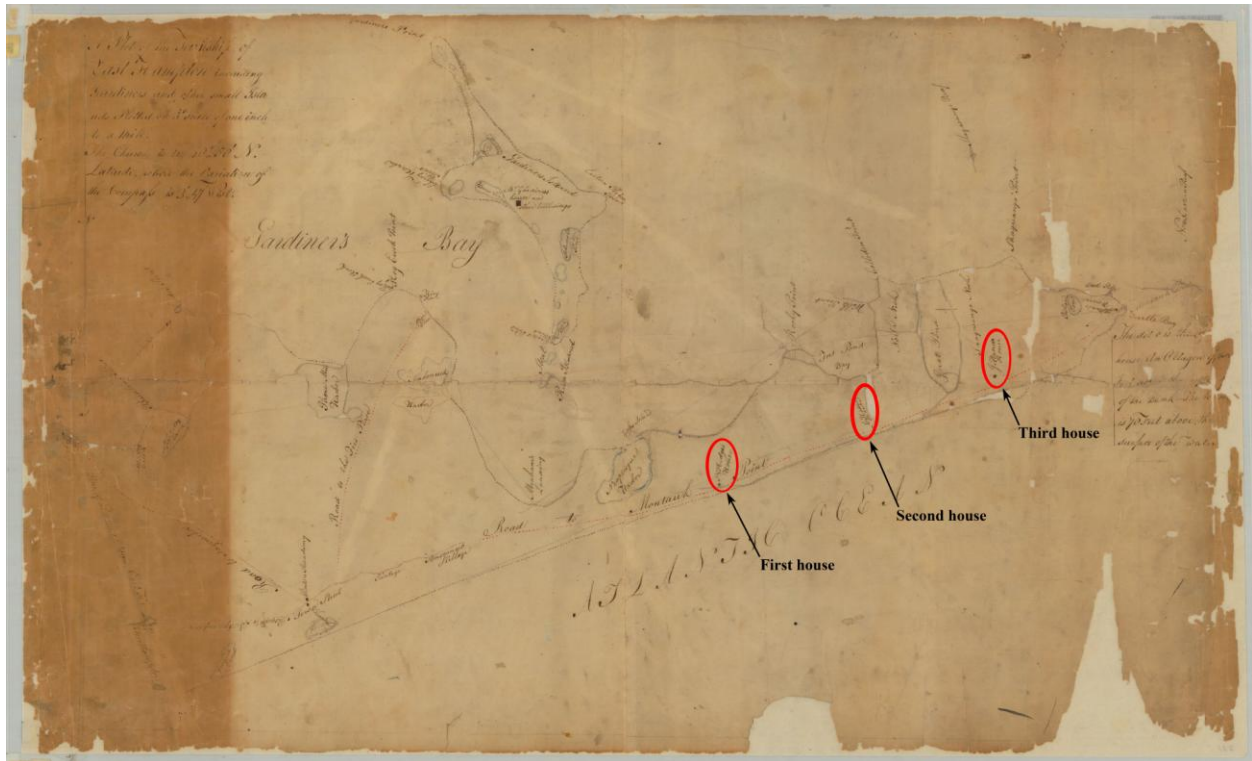


Figure 4.3. ca.1797 Survey of the Town of East Hampton showing First, Second, and Third Houses. Map courtesy of the New York State Archives.

The oldest house, called First House, was built in 1744 in the western portion of Montauk. The keeper at First House entered all the cattle on the Common Pasture List and monitored the sheep pasture. By 1744, the sheep pasture extended from Hither Hills to Fort Pond and hogs roamed west of Fort Pond. East of Fort Pond included the Common Pasture, bull and calf pastures, Fattening Fields, and Indian Fields (Rattray 2012:393). Second House was built on the southwest side of Fort Pond in 1746. The keeper there was instructed to stop sheep from straying east, keep cattle out of sheep pasture and probably to maintain the boundary between the Montauketts and the Proprietors' lands. An agreement for this house was established one year after a disagreement was noted in the Trustees' journal between the Montauketts and the Proprietors of Montauk. Following the Proprietors' complaint of "Indian encroachment" on their lands, a survey line was established to mark the boundary of separation in 1745. Third House

was built east of Lake Montauk in 1747. The keeper of Third House managed all of the cattle and held the June roundup (Rattray 2012:394). Cattle were pastured at Point Fields and Indian Fields too, which was located northeast of Third House, while Montauketts were settled there.

4.3.2. Whaling

The seventeenth-century settlers of East Hampton learned early on from Montaukett traditions of the value of whale products. In fact, the residents of Southampton who moved there to build the settlement were already familiar with the presence of whales that swam close to the shoreline. In the early years, the residents waited for drift whales to wash upon the shore. They were considered the rightful property of the town proprietors, who divided shares accordingly. But by the 1660s, there was a growing demand among East Hampton residents for European consumer goods. In order to obtain those goods, the East Hampton settlers increased their production of goods that were in demand in Europe. It was at this time that the residents of the East End turned to coastal whaling (Breen 1989:143-205; Wetterau 1983; Rattray 1938).

Coastal whaling, which involved the use of small boats just off the coast to herd whales onto the shore, started in the 1660s. This economic change from communal to private, for-profit enterprise marks the interest of the European settlers of East Hampton to participate more effectively in the English mercantile economy (Breen 1989:155-168). The “Whale Design,” as it is referred to in the East Hampton Town Records, demanded not only the construction and use of small boats, but a cheap, willing source of labor. Although the white men of the town wanted to profit from whaling, they were unwilling to perform the labor themselves; they had learned from mining drift whales that it was arduous, dangerous, and nauseating work. The indigenous residents of the town, therefore, became useful to the white residents as a labor source.

According to local history, indigenous people were highly-desired participants in whaling ventures from the beginning because of their familiarity with whales. Early town records, including land deeds between the Montauketts and the white settlers, noted that the Montauketts maintained rights to whales that were beached or drifted near the shore. They were known to use parts recovered from beached whales, and local lore suggests that they had a long history of whale hunting in small boats off the coast. But according to Lynn Ceci, there is no archaeological evidence for indigenous whaling in canoes or other small watercraft before the arrival of Europeans (1993:2). The indigenous community was an obvious source of labor because they were available and willing to work. Also, they wanted commercial goods and whaling provided the means to acquire them. In the earliest contracts with white whaling companies, indigenous laborers were provided with small boats, harpoons, and other equipment, and were promised half of all the right whales that were caught (Breen 1989:170). For example, a 1675 entry in the town records notes that eleven Montauketts

“bynde & ingage themselves...to goe to sea upon the Designe of whale killing the present yeare & soe from time to time & at all times, soe long as this company of English aforesaid see cause to employ them... to preserve the boats irons & warpes & to cut out the whale & bone & secure it so it can bee carted home for wch & in consideration hereof, the aforesd English men doe bynd & engage themselves...to Allow the aforesd Indyans halfe of what they get both whale bone and blubber...each Indyan to provide one oare for this yeare...” (Records of the Town of East Hampton, Dec 2, 1675).

The terms of profit for the laborers are vague in subsequent contracts, and shortly after this point, the indigenous laborers no longer receive half of the catch. Historians point out a level of coercion from the beginning that was designed to ensure indigenous participation. There is evidence of controlling the labor source to return season after season to the Whale Design in the

use of liquor, debt, and indentured servitude (Breen 1989; Strong 2001). The contract of laborers to pay off already-established debt is well-recorded, like the following entry from the town records:

“Bee it knowne to all men by these presents that I Harry Alias quauquaheid Indian of Montaukut doe firmly bind and engeadge my selfe to John Stretton Sr: of Easthampton upon Consideration that I am Much indebted to him upon former accompts : and his present supply of my present necessity : doe I day bind and engeadge my selfe to goe to sea awhealing for the said John Stretton the next Winter after this present instant that is to say ye year : 1681 : Naither will I engeadge my selfe to any other parson upon any accompt Whatsoever to defraud the said John Stretton in the premises hee allowing mee one halfe shear as formerly...” (East Hampton 1887:94).

At least eleven similar contracts, including mention of debt, are recorded in the town records between 1677 and 1684.¹⁸ A system of credit, called the “lay” system, allowed indigenous men to purchase goods from local merchants and traders, in exchange for their share (or lay) of the catch during the following whaling season (Strong 1995:17). Yet whalers often came back empty-handed. By this system, the indigenous laborers were in a form of bondage, or debt peonage, to their creditors with little chance of ever paying off debt. The system guaranteed their labor season after season, and kept indigenous whalers at the mercy of merchants and creditors, who controlled the sale and pricing of consumer goods to debtors. The whaling season ran from December through April, and those men who worked for whaling companies were often employed during the remainder of the year in farm labor (Bailey 1956; Rattray 2001:7).

The seventeenth century East Hampton settlement profited quickly and substantially from coastal whaling, meeting demands for whaling products worldwide. In 1687, seven whaling companies from the East End produced 2418 barrels of whale oil (each sold for between 1£ 10s. to 2£ a barrel) (Woodward 1995:59). Try-works (large pots for processing whale oil and blubber)

¹⁸ John Strong identified nineteen contracts in East Hampton Town Records from 1675 to 1684 (2001:53).

and warehouses for the preparation of raw goods were constructed at Northwest Harbor, near Gardiner's Bay. Whalebone and oil, horses, animal meats and hides, fur, cordwood, planking, turpentine and other raw materials were traded from the port at Northwest Harbor, established in 1653, to Boston, Rhode Island, England, and the Caribbean (Woodward 1995:50). Commercial goods, including ceramics, glasswares, guns and ammunition, sewing tools, textiles, molasses, sugar, and rum, were imported from Europe and the Caribbean (Wettereau 1983:4). Off-shore whalers from Southampton would travel to Northwest, too, for access to the Harbor.

Eventually, the whale population in coastal New York and southern New England was exhausted by over-hunting. When coastal whaling became less lucrative, the small-boat whalers were replaced by schooners that eventually had to travel out farther from the coast and deeper into international waters in search of whales. Nantucket led the northeast colonies in deep-sea whaling from roughly 1712 to 1750 (Dolin 2007:91). According to Kathryn Grover, more than half of the Nantucket whaling crews between 1725 and 1734 were comprised of Native Americans from Long Island, Cape Cod, and Martha's Vineyard (2001:39). Whaling companies sent ships forty or fifty miles off shore at first, then around 1750, when try-works were performed on deck, larger ships and bigger crews were sent out to deeper and deeper ocean waters (Silverman 2001:624). East Hampton whites also participated in these ventures, and a few organized companies and outfitted ships that sailed from Northwest Harbor and Sag Harbor. They continued to rely on indigenous labor, and sought legal action to insure their employment. In fact, in 1708 "the Encouragement of whaling" was passed by New York Governor Lord Cornbury, preventing indigenous men

"...at any time or times between the First Day of November and the Fifteenth Day of April following, yearly, [from] be[ing] sued arrested, molested, detained or kept out of that Employment by any person or persons whatsoever, pretending any

Contract, Bargain Debt or Dues unto him or them except and only for or concerning any Contract, Debt or Bargain relating to the Undertaking and Design of the Whale-fishing and not otherwise under the penalty of paying treble Costs to the Master of any such Indian or Indians so to be sued, arrested, molested or detained...”

Furthermore, action would be taken against anyone who interferes with indigenous whaling by

“... purchase, take to pawn or anyways get or receive any Cloathing, Gun or other Necessaries that his Master shall let him, from any such Indian or Indians or suffer any such Indian to be drinking or drunk in or about their Houses, when they should be at Sea, or other business belonging to that Design of Whale-fishing or shall carry or cause to be carried any Drink to them, whereby such Indians are made incapable of doing their Labour and Duty in and about their Master's Service...” (Bradford 1732:72).

This statute became law in 1710, and subsequently renewed twice, making it effective through 1726 (Starbuck 1878:26). As other historians have noted, the language of this statute and of whaling contracts represents indigenous whalers as bound to their employers (Breen 1989; Dolin 2007; Strong 2001). Whereas the seventeenth-century contracts indicate bondage through debt, this eighteenth-century statute suggests bondage by contractual employment. Contractual employment may have been another means to pay off accumulating debts. According to David Silverman, indigenous men were drawn into systems of indenture to pay off debts to creditors and legal fines, and in many cases, their labor was sold by creditors to whaling companies, fishing merchants, and farmers (2001). They were not considered captives, legally held in bondage against their will (unlike captive Africans, who were legally owned and forced to labor on whaling ships and in other activities against their will). Yet the language of the statute places indigenous whalers in subordination of their employers, referred to here as “Masters.”

Furthermore, the 1708 statute was designed to protect the companies from profit loss by

identifying the laborers, it seems, as company property. This is one of several measures that whites in colonial New York established to maintain power and wealth within the control of the elites.

Indigenous labor was vital to deep-sea whaling throughout the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth century. Although maritime enterprises and trade suffered from taxation, trade embargoes, and several wars leading up to the Civil War, indigenous men remained employed in whaling and seafaring. By this time, a port at Sag Harbor was growing, as Northwest Harbor could not accommodate the larger ocean-going vessels. Montaukett and Shinnecock men (from neighboring Southampton) sailed out of ports at Sag Harbor in the town of Southampton, New London in Connecticut, and Nantucket in Massachusetts.

In many cases, indigenous men continued to face coercion through advanced credit lines, European goods, and alcohol (Strong 2001:54). But to say that all indigenous men in southern New England faced coercion, debt, and indentured servitude in seafaring is inaccurate. Indeed, historians disagree on these issues across space and time (Barsh 2002; Dolin 2007; Shoemaker 2013; Silverman 2001; Strong 1996, 2001; Vickers 1997). Indigenous autonomy and power are demonstrated in Nantucket account books from the second quarter of the eighteenth century, when they earned four times the salary of Boston seamen (Dolin 2007:93). Perhaps the history of indigenous employment in Nantucket whaling, along with the ability of indigenous laborers to negotiate higher salaries, are some of the reasons that Montaukett men like Jeremiah Pharaoh, who lived at Indian Fields, chose to sail out of Nantucket instead of eastern Long Island ports (see Chapters 5 and 7). Through the nineteenth-century, whaling ships often included tri-racial and multi-national crews. White, indigenous, and African-American seamen encountered sailors from international ports as vessels travelled for sometimes years at a time. By this time, New

Bedford replaced Nantucket as the leading whaling port in New England, while Sag Harbor rose to prominence, too (Grover 2001; Dolin 2007). The northeast coast witnessed a whaling boom between roughly 1820 and 1860, of which Sag Harbor's ventures are best-documented. In 1847, 63 whale boats with 23,330 tons shipped out of Sag Harbor with 1800 whalers aboard and 32 vessels returned with 4,000 barrels of sperm oil, 64,000 barrels of whale oil, and 600,000 pounds of baleen (Dolin 2007:217; Wettereau 1983:42). Crews included Portuguese, Hawaiian, Fijian, Malay, Ethiopian, Cape Verdean, West Indian, African American, and Montauk and Shinnecock men.

The 1859 discovery of petroleum in Pennsylvania, along with the growing demand for kerosene and the onset of the Civil War, led to whaling's demise. Men of all backgrounds left whaling for employment in factories. However, indigenous men from eastern Long Island continued to work in whaling through the end of the nineteenth century. They sailed from ships out of Sag Harbor until 1871,¹⁹ a year that marked the final deep-sea departure from the port.

From 1830-1920 indigenous whalers went to work as free agents. Indigenous New England men voluntarily went to sea, a viable alternative to mainland and reservation opportunities (Shoemaker 2013:114). They climbed ranks (often achieving higher positions than their African American counterparts), earned larger shares of profits, and earned other privileges like better food and private quarters, the right to be called "sir", and the ability to order mates (who were often white). Some purchased and furnished houses with their lays, which served as an economic "windfall" upon their return (Button 2014). According to Nancy Shoemaker, some indigenous whalers even sold their shares of voyages to middlemen, allowing them to receive cash up front, leaving middlemen to assume more of the risk (2013:111). But there were still many other men, of all backgrounds, who received poor compensation and suffered exploitation

¹⁹ After 1871 Montaukett men sailed out of New Bedford (Appendix F.6, F.7).

through the lay system, which left some of the financial risk for whaling voyages on the crew as well as the owners (Grover 2001:27).

All of these opportunities produce a range of possibilities for Montaukett men, whose experiences remain minimally understood. From 1828 through 1859, approximately 54 Native American, African American, or mixed-heritage men were listed on Dering company crews sailing out of Sag Harbor. One of those men, a Montaukett, definitely lived at Indian Fields, and three other Montaukett men probably did as well. In addition to these men, there were other Native residents of Indian Fields who sailed for different companies and out of alternative ports (Appendix F.6, F.7). Although whaling was a reliable means of employment for nineteenth-century Montaukett men, it also contributed to their “invisibility” in the East Hampton landscape.

4.4. Missionary Presence and Migration to Brotherton

In the eighteenth century, the Montauketts were visited by two missionaries who stayed in Montauk in separate instances. Azariah Horton, a white missionary from Southold, visited and stayed in Montauk in the 1740s (Strong 2012c:379). He was followed by Samson Occom, a Mohegan-born missionary, who arrived in Montauk around 1749 (Cipolla 2010:46; Strong 2012c:386). Both missionaries left accounts of their visits and progress with the Montauketts (see Stone 1993). Diaries and letters from the missionaries provide descriptions of Montaukett lifeways, including clues to architecture, health, social activities, and some suggestions as to settlement locations. These were certainly not the Montauketts’ first, nor only, encounters with white religions. Indeed, Montauketts were introduced to Protestantism by East Hampton’s first minister Thomas James (Eells 1939 [1993:161]; Wood 1828 [2000:73]). But the presence and

teachings of eighteenth-century missionaries- Oocom, in particular- would leave lasting effects on Montaukett social organization.

Azariah Horton began ministering to the indigenous peoples of the Rockaways in western Long Island in 1741, and continued east until he reached Montauk. Educated at Yale and influenced by the philosophies of the Great Awakening, Horton joined the New Light religious movement and was effective in sharing its message throughout Long Island. He arrived in Montauk in 1741, and encountered a small group of indigenous people in the vicinity of present-day Napeague (Figure 4.1). A drought in Montauk may have caused the Montauketts and grazing livestock to be settled in this area at the time Horton arrived (Horton 1741 [1993:195]).

Horton's diary (reprinted in *The Christian Monthly History* 1763) documents his time among Long Island indigenous groups between 1741 and 1744. While most of the entries document indigenous responses to his message, there are also included some interesting, albeit brief, descriptions of Montaukett lifeways. In December of 1741, for example, he mentioned visiting the wigwams of Montaukett people in Montauk who were suffering from illnesses. His entries provide clues to Montaukett settlement locations, at a time when according to agreement with the town of East Hampton, Montauketts could live at either North Neck or Indian Fields (but not both locations). On December 24th, he wrote of his experiences at Fresh Pond:

“It may be noted, That *Freshpond* is about six Miles Westward from that Part of *Montauk* where the *Indians* in general are now seated: It may also be noted, that some few live about four or five Miles Eastward; and the Reason of their thus dispersing, is, that they more easily get Provision; and some move from the more usual Place of their Abode in the Summer-season, in order to attend the Whaling Design, in which they are engaged with some of the Inhabitants of *Easthampton*” (1763; emphasis in original).

During his time at Montauk, Horton apparently tended to many ill Montauketts during a smallpox epidemic. His journal entries ended in 1744, although he continued to minister (perhaps in the Long Island area) for several more years. According to John Strong, he recommended the appointment of Samson Occom to continue services for the Montauketts (1993b:194).

Samson Occom, an indigenous missionary of Mohegan and Mashantucket-Pequot ancestry, was trained by Reverend Eleazer Wheelock of Lebanon, Connecticut. He arrived at Montauk in 1749 to preach sermons, tend to the sick, and hold weddings and funerals. He lived in the community and supplemented his income from preaching with the same kinds of work done by the Montaukett residents. In 1751, he married Mary Fowler, daughter of James and Elizabeth (Betty) Pharaoh Fowler. The union violated the 1719 agreement with East Hampton whites preventing Montaukett marriages with non-Montauketts, but there are no recorded complaints of the marriage. Mary's brothers David and Jacob Fowler, influenced by Occom's teachings, left to attend Wheelock's school for Indian missionaries, too (Strong 2001:71).

During his time at Montauk, Occom lived in a wigwam that he constructed, like the other members of the Montaukett community. The settlement was probably at North Neck at this time. In his diary, he wrote:

"I Dwelt in a wigwam, a Small Hutt fram'd with Small Poles and Covered with Matts made of Flags, and I was obliged to remove twice a year, a bout 2 Miles Distance, by reason of the Scarcity of wood, for in one Neck of Land they Planted their Corn, and in another, they had their wood, - and I was obliged to hire my Corn Carted and my Hay also, - and I got my Ground Plowed every Year, which cost me about... 12 Shillings an Acre; and I kept at Cow and a Horse, for which I paid [21] shillings every year... My Family Increasing fast, and my Visitors often, I was obliged to Contrive every way to Support my Family; I took all opportunities... to feed my Family Daily... I planted my own Corn, Potatoes, and Beans... [and] I was ablt to raise my own Pork, for I was allowed to keep 5

Swine...Some Mornings & Evenings I would be out with my Hook and Line to Catch fish, and in the Fall of year and in the Spring, I used my Gunn...for Fowl...I Could more than pay for my Powder & Shott with Feathers... At other Times I Bound old Books for Easthampton People, Made wooden Spoons and Ladles, Stocked Guns, or worked on Cedar to make Pails, Piggans, and Churns..." (Reprinted in Stone 1993:240).

This excerpt provides a vivid material representation of mid-eighteenth century lifeways for indigenous people living in Montauk. In addition to indicating the need to supplement his own income from missionary work (which was less than what a white missionary earned [Strong 2001:68]), he described the various activities that he, and probably many other Native men and women, engaged in to meet their family's daily needs. Montaukett men and women, it seems, relied heavily on hunting, fishing, and planting, and performed skilled and unskilled jobs to supplement their income. Their diet was a mix of locally-obtained foods to which products obtained at market, including molasses, sugar, tea, and coffee, were added. The purchase or barter for market goods is recorded in East Hampton account books, ledgers, and day books (see Chapter 7). Similarities are seen in another missionary's diary. In the 1770s, David McClure visited the Montauketts, noting a village of about 100 people living in wigwams, with overgrown cornfields nearby. He described his experience in James Fowler's wigwam:

"...we wrapped ourselves in our cloaks, the last night, and lay down on a mattress, or spreading of dry flags, and slept comfortably. Some young men went out early, on the water, and brought a fine bass, which we had for breakfast, with a tolerable dish of tea..." (Dexter 1899:139).

At the time of these observations, the Montauketts faced greater restrictions by East Hampton whites on hunting practices, obtaining wood (which was needed for fences and hearths), seasonal movement, and marriages with non-Montauketts. The Montauketts responded with instances of

resistance, by letting their hogs roam free and continuing to cut wood, and by registering complaints with the New York State government. Many Montaukett men were employed at sea, but those that were living in Montauk were uneasy about what the future held. Rather than suffer the geographic isolation and economic restrictions, many Montauketts moved for access to more economic opportunities.

Among the Fowler family, however, there was an interest in relocating families off Long Island to a new territory where, they hoped, they would be free from white coercion and economic limitations. While visiting the Oneida with his brother-in-law Occom, David Fowler discussed the possibility of relocating Montaukett families to the Oneida territory in present-day upstate New York. The relocation plan was delayed several years by conflicts, but in 1774, the Montauketts were approved for a land grant by the Oneida Council. Brothertown was founded by Samson Occum, David Fowler, Jacob Fowler, and Joseph Johnson in 1775, but relocation was further delayed by the American Revolution.

According to John Strong, there was a split among the Montaukett families, more or less between “devout Christians” and “traditional Montaukett” peoples, regarding the migration to Oneida (Strong 2001:79). Finally, in 1784, about thirty Montauketts left Montauk with Occom and the Fowler brothers to resettle among the Oneida nation. Among them were Ephraim Pharaoh, Samuel Scipio, and their families. But even at Brothertown, the Native peoples were confronted with encroachment, limited resources, and economic expansion associated with national growth during the early Federal period. In response, they eventually relocated further west to Wisconsin (see Cipolla 2010).

The migration to Brothertown fractured Montaukett tribal life during the late eighteenth century, but a small group of Montauketts remained at Montauk despite the mounting challenges. It is around this time that a more permanent settlement was established at Indian Fields.

4.5. Labor, Craft Production, and Living off the Land

The Montauketts engaged in a variety of strategies for survival in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Due to the strict agreements with East Hampton whites, they were forced to practice mixed farming, raising livestock in small numbers while planting some vegetables and corn. This was supplemented with hunting, fishing, and gathering local, wild foods. Commercial goods were obtained through barter (in exchange for bushels of shellfish or craft products), on credit, or with cash.

The Montauketts received payments from East Hampton officials for the field rights at Indian Fields, to be shared among the tribal group. Their rights were determined yearly and recorded in proprietors' journals, like the Fattening Fields books. The Fattening Fields books listed all of the white proprietors of Montauk and their shares for grazing rights from roughly 1794-1879. In addition, these books list the owners of livestock and whose rights they graze on (i.e., proprietor or Montaukett rights). For the years when the Montauketts were listed by name, the cattle keepers also noted which livestock owners were using Montaukett rights. Between roughly 1830 and 1850, these records are less detailed. It seems that during this period some Montauketts sold their rights to Aaron Fithian, who in turn leased those rights to white cattle owners.

Beginning around 1850, individual Montaukett rights were itemized by name in the Proprietors' Fattening Fields books. A small number of Montauketts received rights to Indian Fields until 1879 (Appendix F.5). This was a necessary source of income for the Montauketts.

Clues to Montaukett employment, foodways, and cultural practices are preserved in local memories, newspaper editorials, and other written accounts (including the missionary accounts mentioned above). After 1850, Federal Census rolls provide data on employment for non-reservation Natives (as well as other people of color and whites) (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1850). Account books provide more detailed information about labor networks, while ship crew lists and logbooks provide information about whalers and other sailors (see Chapter 6).

In addition to whaling and seafaring, many men did farm labor for whites. Stephen Pharaoh, George Pharaoh, and their wives pulled acres of flax for Lion Gardiner in exchange for food (Gardiner 1799; 1801). Another George Pharaoh was listed in the 1870 Federal Census as a farm laborer in William Osborn's household. Men worked as hunting and fishing guides, like Charles Fowler, who was a late-nineteenth-century guide to Arthur Benson, a wealthy businessman from Brooklyn. Men and women also worked as domestics and did laundry for whites in Montauk (in the homes of the cattle keepers and the lighthouse keepers²⁰) and throughout the town of East Hampton. These incomes were supplemented with hunting deer and trapping small animals, picking berries, fowling, fishing for freshwater and saltwater fish, shellfishing for oysters, clams, and mussels, planting and raising livestock.

A valuable record of Montaukett life is available from a brief personal account of Maria Fowler Pharaoh Banks, recorded by Edith A. Dayton in the 1930s. This account describes life at Indian Fields in the late nineteenth century. Maria's parents were William and Mary Fowler, residents of Indian Fields in 1870, and Maria's first husband was David Pharaoh, Chief of the Montauketts. She remembers her grandparents (Abbie and John Fowler) and other relatives who made their living by

²⁰ The Montauk Lighthouse was built in 1796 and was home to a European lighthouse keeper, his family, and servants. On occasion, the lighthouse keepers (and the cattle keepers) would entertain visitors of Montauk.

“...raising their own stock and raising their own garden stuff, gunning and trapping for fur skins, and shellfish out of the water; making baskets and other things to sell, such as small brooms and scrub, picking cranberry and other berries to bring off at East Hampton and Bridgehampton and Sag Harbor, to sell and get money for their shoes. Made most of their clothes” (Banks 1930).

The Montauketts consumed oysters from Oyster Pond in abundance, but also traded bushels of oysters in the villages for flour, cornmeal, and sugar. They raised potatoes, beans, turnips, and pigs for their own consumption, picked blackberries and cranberries, and fished for perch, which was sent to New York. Maria also remembered her father and his friends hunting and trapping for mink, raccoon, and fox, which they sold to Montauk tourists. They made baskets, too, for tourists who seemed to buy everything the Montauketts had offered to sell (Banks 1930).

Basket making has a long tradition among Long Island indigenous groups (Rapito-Wyppensenwah and Bacha 1993). Many local museums and historical societies have historic, indigenously-crafted baskets in their collections. Elisha Pharaoh was remembered as a skilled basket maker (*Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, October 13, 1899). The indigenous craft of making scrubs is also mentioned in many local history accounts, and some late-nineteenth century examples are curated at the National Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation (Figures 4.4 and 4.5). Carlos Westez, a Native American who was anthropologically-trained and recorded aspects of Montaukett culture-history and ancestry, described a scrub as “a tough and stubby sort of brush ...made by splintering the ends of short lengths of oak branches into durable hair-like filaments”...used for “scouring fireplace smoke and encrustations of cooking from pot and skillet” (1973). Scrubs and baskets, needlework and jelly making, were all crafts performed within the home, but these goods were peddled in villages and local markets for cash or credit

with merchants and storekeepers. Naomi Wright, for instance, was remembered for making brooms and scrubs, which she sold along with home-made root beer (*East Hampton Star*, March 5, 1953).

Stephen Talkhouse Pharaoh, a notable Montaukett, is remembered for a variety of activities, including whaling, walking long distances, and working for P.T. Barnum. Local memories from the turn of the century also mention that he worked at the Montauk lighthouse on laundry day in exchange for bread and ham (but not money) and was a skilled scrub maker (*East Hampton Star*, February 17, 1938).

Ephraim Pharaoh, who lived with his mother Jerusha at Indian Fields, was a servant in the home of Sylvanus Osborn in 1880 (U.S. Bureau of the Census). Later, he lived at Freetown where he did laundry work in his own house. He was identified as a cook when he was admitted to the Almhouse in 1917, and was remembered locally for making molasses candy, doing house work, and as a fine cook who worked for Gardiner Osborn's mother (*East Hampton Star*, March 5, 1953).

Before Maria Fowler married David Pharaoh, she was listed in Charles Seaman's home at age fourteen, with Emeline Cuffe, another indigenous woman, forty years old, as domestics (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1860). They were probably not far from Indian Fields because this household was listed in the census between William Gardiner (the lighthouse keeper) and Samuel T. Stratton (who was keeper at Third House, south of Indian Fields). Jerusha Pharaoh was listed as a domestic servant in Stratton's house at that same time (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1860).

Through the nineteenth century, it seems the relationships that existed between Montauketts from Indian Fields and people in other villages/settlements/regions was, to a certain

extent, determined by geographic proximity. There were some hardships faced by the settlement's distance from whites. Following Occom's departure, Indian Fields Montauketts travelled to villages at Amagansett and East Hampton for weddings and other religious activities. Montaukett children were also far from schools. In 1842, the lighthouse keeper sent for a school teacher who was hired for three months (Halsey 1935:125), but it is unclear if any Montaukett children attended instruction there. In 1872, David L. Pharaoh petitioned the state to establish a school for Montaukett children because, he argued, there were no accessible schools nearby, but his request was opposed by the Montauk proprietors (New York State Department of Public Instruction 1872:25-26). He eventually hired Jacon Mitchell to teach Montaukett children for five winters (Banks 1930). Meanwhile, many other relationships seemed to develop that transcended geographical boundaries.



Figure 4.4. Montauk scrubs, ca. 1920-40. Collected by Carlos Westez. National Museum of the American Indian, catalog number 20/5282.



Figure 4.5. Montauk broom, ca. 1920-40. Collected by Carlos Westez. National Museum of the American Indian, catalog number 20/5283.

4.6. The Benson Era and its Consequences

The Trustees of Montauk included about 130 white proprietors in 1851 (Ales 1993:62). Apparently there was disagreement among them about plans and uses of the lands, and in 1878, a couple of proprietors filed for partition. The Judge decided that the landholdings of the Trustees (which included Indian Fields) could be sold at auction, but the rights of the Montauketts must be maintained (Ales 1993:62; Strong 1993a:94; Strong 2001:100). A total of 11,500 acres of land at Montauk was to be sold at auction to the highest bidder, and the public notice mentioned that the property “will be sold subject to the rights and privileges of the Montauk Tribe of Indians.” The bidding opened on October 22, 1879 at \$40,000, and closed with the highest bid of \$150,000 (*New York Times* October 23, 1879; Strong 2001:105).

Arthur Benson, the highest bidder, was a member of a wealthy, notable Brooklyn family. He was President of the Brooklyn Gas-Light Company, an investor in the Brooklyn Bridge, and developer of the Brooklyn neighborhood that he subsequently named Bensonhurst. He was familiar with Montauk even before the partition sale because, an avid sportsman, he had travelled east to the end of the Island for hunting and trapping. In fact, he was familiar with the Montaukett families who lived there in the 1870s. Charles Fowler, who lived at Indian Fields in the 1870s and 1880s, served as a hunting guide for Benson and many other sportsmen (Strong 2001:104).

The intent to transform Montauk into an elite hunting preserve began shortly after the purchase. Benson entertained guests, many of whom were wealthy businessmen, and hired Stanford White and Frederick Law Olmstead for architecture and landscaping, respectively, in his development plans. Austin Corbin, who formed the Long Island Development Corporation and eventually purchased the Long Island Railroad, was a guest who became interested in developing

an international port at Montauk. He purchased a small piece of land from Benson for \$100,000 to build a station that would serve as an extension of the railroad line to Montauk (Strong 2001: 108-110).²¹

Although Benson was legally required to recognize the rights of the Montaukett residents at Indian Fields, he immediately put to action a plan to remove the encumbrances to the land. The Federal Census listed about a dozen Montaukett people living in two or three houses at Indian Fields in 1880, but there may have been more residents (some of whom were at sea) than were documented. John Strong notes that in a court case in the first quarter of the twentieth century, Maria Pharaoh, who lived at Indian Fields, testified that thirty Montauketts were living there in the 1880s (2001:111). In addition to the residents of Indian Fields, there were many more Montauketts settled in segregated sections of the villages of Sag Harbor and East Hampton, and as far west as Islip and Amityville. They all had residence rights at Indian Fields, regardless of their settlement there, according to an 1878 court ruling²² which identified them as a tribal group (Strong 2001:101; 111-12). But Benson ignored this statement too, and chose to negotiate land purchases with the individual residents at Indian Fields.

With the assistance of Nathaniel Dominy VII, an East Hampton lawyer who was descendant of one of the oldest white families there and familiar to the Montauketts, Benson purchased land in Freetown that he would offer in exchange for Montaukett residence rights at Indian Fields. Freetown was a segregated section of the village of East Hampton that was originally settled by free blacks in the early nineteenth century (McGovern 2015; see Chapter 6).

²¹ Early twentieth century development plans were halted by the Great Depression, leaving the area around Indian Fields minimally developed through the twentieth century. In the 1970s, a portion of this land was purchased by Suffolk County and became Montauk County Park (Porco 2005).

²² When two Trustees of Montauk sued the other proprietors for partitioning, David Pharaoh, Stephen Pharaoh, and William Fowler (residents of Indian Fields) also filed a complaint to protect their land. Despite their complaint, Judge J. O. Dykeman ruled in favor of the partition sale but noted that the Montauk tribe existed and was comprised of “David Pharaoh, Stephen Pharaoh, and William Fowler and their respective wives and children and of other persons not now residing upon the lands at Montauk” (reprinted in Strong 2001:101).

A number of Montauketts were also living there, which Benson probably thought was a selling point for relocating the Indian Fields residents. In 1885, Benson offered cash payments and lots of land at Freetown to Maria Pharaoh, and her two younger brothers Charles Fowler and George Fowler. By this time, Maria Pharaoh's husband David, the chief, was deceased and their young son Wyandank was expected to replace him. Benson agreed to move their houses from Indian Fields to Freetown. Although the transactions detail the sale of residence rights at Indian Fields, it seems Dominy told them they would be able to return, as always, in accordance with the terms of the 1662 purchase (see Strong 2001:112).

According to John Strong, the Benson family negotiated for residence rights with Samuel, Ebenezer, and Margaret Pharaoh (Maria's children), and Ephriam Pharaoh (Jerusha Pharaoh's son) in the 1890s following Arthur Benson's death (see Strong 2001:114-5). Again, the family offered cash payments and deeds for land at Freetown, negotiated this time through Frank Stratton, whose father Samuel worked for the Trustees and lived in Third House south of Indian Fields. None of these Pharaohs appear to be living at Indian Fields at the time of the transactions,²³ but it seems these transactions were important for ending any potential unresolved land claims.

The Montaukett people and their homes were described in a number of newspaper and magazine articles during the 1860s through the 1880s. Most of these depictions were negative, offering racialized stereotypes of the Montauketts, attacking their lack of authenticity as "Indians." However, these accounts do often provide material descriptions of economic activities and households which are useful for comparison with the historical and archaeological record for Montauketts at Indian Fields. Importantly, and unfortunately, these editorial accounts also provide the context for understanding detribalization of the Montauketts by New York State.

²³ There is no Federal Census data available for the Town of East Hampton, Suffolk County, New York in 1890.

In 1895, the Montauketts set out to challenge the Benson purchases in court. Led by Wyandank Pharoah, son of David and Maria Pharaoh, the Montauketts argued that they were deceived during negotiations with Benson's representatives. Some of them, illiterate, were not fully informed about the documents they were signing. The Montauketts also had a long-standing relationship with the town of East Hampton for rights to Indian Fields (detailed in the 1703 agreement), that they believed (and was attested to by Dominy, Benson's representative) would be honored by Benson and his heirs (Strong 2001). In 1897, the Montauketts filed a suit against the Long Island Railroad for unlawful possession of lands in Montauk, but in response, the defense attorney filed a demurrer, claiming the Montauketts could not sue in New York State court because they were not a tribe. The judge sustained the demurrer, forcing the Montauketts to petition the State legislature for a bill to allow them to sue in court (Strong 2001:120-121).

In 1906, the legislature passed an act that would allow the Montauketts to sue in court. This time, their suit was filed against the Benson family, the Montauk Development Company, the Montauk Dock and Improvement Company, Alfred Hoyt, the Montauk Extension Company, and the Long Island Railroad Company. The enabling act, however, included an amendment (supported by Benson's lobbyists), stating that "the question as to the existence of the Montauk Tribe of Indians shall be a question of law and fact to be determined by the court" (Strong 1993a:141; Strong 2001:127).

In 1910 New York State Judge Blackmar ruled that the Montauk "tribe" no longer existed. It "...[had] disintegrated and been absorbed into the mass of citizens..." (Court of Appeals, reprinted in Strong 1993a:111). The identity of the Montauketts was challenged, as the Judge, the defense, and others examined the apparent lack of "Indianness" among the Montaukett. Judge Blackmar declared that the Montauketts "...had no internal government

and...lived a shiftless life of hunting, fishing, and cultivating the ground and often leaving Montauk for long periods and working in some menial capacity for whites” (Court of Appeals, reprinted in Strong 1993a:111). Interestingly, these observations— particularly hunting, fishing, and cultivating the ground— are of activities that are traditionally associated with “authentic” Indians. But Judge Blackmar used these observations as judgments against Montaukett character and as invalidation of tribal organization. With these statements, the Montauketts became detribalized by New York State— a situation that has still not been effectively resolved, as late as 2015.²⁴

4.7. Conclusion

According to one historian, the exchange relationship between the Montauketts and Europeans in the mid-seventeenth century is characterized as one met at the middle ground (Strong 1995:13; White 1991). However, as the beaver trade declined and European colonialism changed to a settler strategy, the balance of power shifted toward the colonizers. Montaukett territory became the object of settler acquisition. John Strong notes that the Montauketts gradually lost their sovereignty through directed acculturation, wherein “religious ceremonies prohibited, trade restricted, the choice of leaders manipulated by whites, and villages moved” (Strong 1995:13). He argues that Montauketts became accustomed to European trade goods, and became increasingly dependent on them through time. That dependency on European trade goods led to significant changes in Montaukett subsistence and social organization (Strong 1994:566).

²⁴ On June 18, 2013, the New York State Senate passed the Montaukett Act, a bill that challenged Judge Blackmar’s statement on the Montaukett presence and permit the Montauketts to pursue State recognition. However, on September 27, 2013, Governor Andrew Cuomo disapproved the bill. The Montauketts continue to move forward, under the leadership of Chief Robert Pharaoh, grandson of David and Maria Pharaoh, in their quest for state recognition.

Montauketts, along with many other poor residents of East Hampton, were thoroughly entangled in labor, social activities, and kinship patterns. However, their activities are better understood as negotiations of power and labor, rather than through directed acculturation. While the Montauketts were faced with economic, social and political pressures (from the time of contact through the early twentieth century), their presence is marked by struggle and survivance. They worked as laborers, whalemens, and domestics in the English economic system and many moved closer to English villages outside Montauk for employment through the end of the eighteenth century (Strong 1994:566). The decision to leave Indian Fields may have been at difficult one- perhaps as difficult as the choice to stay at Indian Fields while others left.

Many East Hampton whites worked to eradicate the Montaukett population by forcing them into white village life, restricting hunting access, placing limits on Montaukett livestock counts, and preventing them from marrying outside their group. Some indigenous responses to white incursions led to disruptions to Montaukett tribal life. Many “Indian” servant children are recorded as living in white households throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and some Montaukett families relocated to live near or within white villages, which afforded them access to economic opportunities but separated them from their kin and community. Others left Long Island entirely to establish a new home with other indigenous peoples at Brothertown in upstate New York. Those who remained at Indian Fields continued to work at sea (even after the demise of the whaling industry), did skilled and unskilled work for whites, and produced craft goods for the local market. But these actions are best understood within a reconstruction of the local political economy (Jordan 2008) as people make economic choices, for instance, to work for whites in their homes and fields, to pursue long-term employment at sea, or to remain at Indian Fields.

Chapter 5: Reconstructing and Integrating Households

This chapter explores two Indian Fields households as units of archaeological analysis. These two households, referred to archaeologically as Feature AII and Feature AXXV, are identified and their architectural features are described. Feature AII was the home of Jeremiah Pharaoh, his wife Aloosa, and their son. Feature AXXV was the residence of the Fowler family: William Walter, his wife Mary, and their children. Documentary data, which were used to reconstruct the identities of household occupants, are also discussed here to provide a backdrop of the composition of Indian Fields residents between roughly 1760 and 1885.

In this study, household contexts are places where Native identity is investigated for clues of struggle between labor opportunities and the maintenance of traditional lifeways (cf., Lightfoot et al. 1998). Households constitute one of the most frequently studied sites by archaeologists because they retain important evidence of economic activities, social processes, and identity construction (Wilk and Rathje 1982). They are often locations of struggle over power and resources, and they can provide contexts for understanding gendered activities.

However, it is important to remember that a household is one unit in a larger web of economic and social activity. As sites of production and consumption, households are part of larger global processes, but as locations of daily activities, they remain local places of social action. For this reason, they are integral units of analysis in multi-scalar investigations of colonialism and capitalism.

5.1. Defining the Household

The archaeological investigation of domestic contexts (i.e., the architecture, the building's material contents, and associated features) is frequently referred to as household archaeology (cf., Wilk and Rathje 1982; Netting and Wilk 1984; Beaudry 1989; Blanton 1994; Allison 1999; Barile and Brandon 2004). Household archaeology, properly defined, is concerned not only with domestic activities, but with the individuals and social units that occupied or interacted within domestic spaces. Households are highly variable, in terms of numbers of residents, the relationships among residents, and the activities in which they engaged at domestic sites. Understanding the complexities of household composition is a critical component in the investigation of domestic archaeological sites.

The household has been described as “a social unit, specifically the group of people that shares in a maximum number of definable activities including one or more of the following: production, consumption, pooling of resources, reproduction, co-residence, and shared ownership” (Ashmore and Wilk 1988:6). With this in mind, the composition of a household may go beyond the links associated with kinship alone, a concept useful for understanding social situations where extended families, employees and enslaved persons, short- and long-term boarders, and otherwise itinerant individuals may have occupied a domestic structure. Furthermore, the variability of household composition has implications for how the archaeological record is understood. For instance, a household is a context for understanding production, distribution among households, reproduction, inter-generational transmission of property, co-residence, and consumption (Wilk and Rathje 1982; Netting and Wilk 1984; Ashmore and Wilk 1988). Co-residence refers to shared living quarters, but not necessarily shared household activities; this is significant for understanding contexts of extended families

and/or boarders. Production may be for household use, or for market. And the absence of household members for short or long periods of time should be taken into account.

Because households are variable, Mary Beaudry has argued for an approach to the study of households that is contextual, detailed, and multidisciplinary (1989). Such an approach emphasizes the activities of a household's members, their links and activities within and outside the household, and the contexts of household artifacts and features. This data can be further enhanced with the incorporation of environmental data to understand site formation processes at household sites. In this approach, the particular details are instrumental in defining household contexts and building cross-cultural comparisons.

Most important to this study, households are local contexts that are integrated into larger patterns of activity. In other words, they are nodes in the local-global nexus of economic and social action. Charles Orser has pointed out that historical archaeologists often do not connect households to a broader scale of analysis because of the failure to “envision the scale of archaeological research as a continuum that extends from the household to the various interlinked, intra- and transcontinental networks of interaction” (2010:117). Orser's challenge is addressed in this chapter with a method for integrating local sites into regional (and transcontinental) networks.

5.1.1. The Households at Indian Fields

Among the many challenges of working with the previously-excavated collection from Indian Fields is the task of defining the household contexts. From an archaeological standpoint, although it is difficult to interpret excavation notes, the household features are spatially and contextually obvious. In terms of identifying the household occupants, however, it remains difficult to determine household dynamics (including names, ages, genders, etc.). The challenge

for a group like the Montauketts at Indian Fields, and probably for most “outsider” and/or reservation communities elsewhere, is recovering a reliable documentary record for the occupants.

Few population enumerations exist for the Montauketts, and those listings that do exist do not resolve questions of inclusion- that is, it is difficult to know if a census list included only people living at Indian Fields (or Montauk more generally), or included Montaukett people who moved closer to white villages for work, or even included people working at sea. The U.S. Federal Census, which began in 1790, contains no enumerations for the residents at Indian Fields until 1870. Prior to 1870, Native Americans not taxed were excluded from the census, which was used to determine the apportionment population base. For this reason, Native Americans living on reservation lands are absent from the census rolls. However, there were Native American people living off-reservation in New York who were identified in the census (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1790-1870).

Perhaps because of the historic agreement between the Town of East Hampton and the Montauketts that permitted them residence rights, when it came time to take census counts the Indian Fields village was considered an Indian reservation. This piece of land was not a reservation in the legal sense, however, because the 1703 agreement actually made the Montauketts tenants on the lands owned by the Montauk Proprietors (see Chapter 4).

Based on the inconsistent documentary record, it is nearly impossible to recreate family and/or household lifecycles (which would be useful for building a temporal framework [e.g., Groover 2001]). Nonetheless, a variety of sources were consulted in hopes of reconstructing some aspects of household dynamics, and these proved more useful for identifying the residents of Indian Fields as a whole. Town Records, account books, land transactions, legal documents

and formal complaints by and about the Montauketts, impromptu censuses and other local enumerations were consulted to reconstruct an account of the residents at Indian Fields over roughly 150 years.

5.1.2. Looking for Traces

Piecing together the history of Indian Fields is no small task. A number of sources were consulted to build a data set of Indian Fields residents. I first turned to primary documents to look for people and identify settlement patterns.

The Records of the Town of East Hampton include whaling contracts, land transactions, economic policies, and instances of conflicts that involve Native Americans as early as 1653 (Appendix F.10). These records sometimes identify Native individuals by name. Although the accuracy of the names is not without question, there is continuity in the descriptions of some Native individuals and Native activities. For instance, deeds for land and other transactions between Native Montauketts and East Hampton whites contain the names of several Native American individuals, including a person named Hannibal. Different spellings of the name Hannibal are seen on documents dating to 1724, 1738, 1742, 1754, 1761 and later, and it remains a recognizable surname for Native Montauketts into the nineteenth century (Appendix A).

As the white East Hampton village expanded and their herds of animals grew, the settlers sought land east of the village toward Indian Fields for pasture. Land transactions and documents for annuities (i.e., compensation paid to Native individuals for grazing rights at Indian Fields) include the names of late-seventeenth century and eighteenth century Native Montauketts (Figure 5.1).²⁵ John Strong used these records to outline the historical relationships between the Native Montauketts and the European settlers of East Hampton, and explain the processes

²⁵ These documents are currently being scanned and digitized on the Long Island Memories website cooperatively by the East Hampton Library Long Island Collection and the Brooklyn Historical Society.

involved in Montaukett land loss over time in *The Montaukett Indians of Eastern Long Island* (2001).

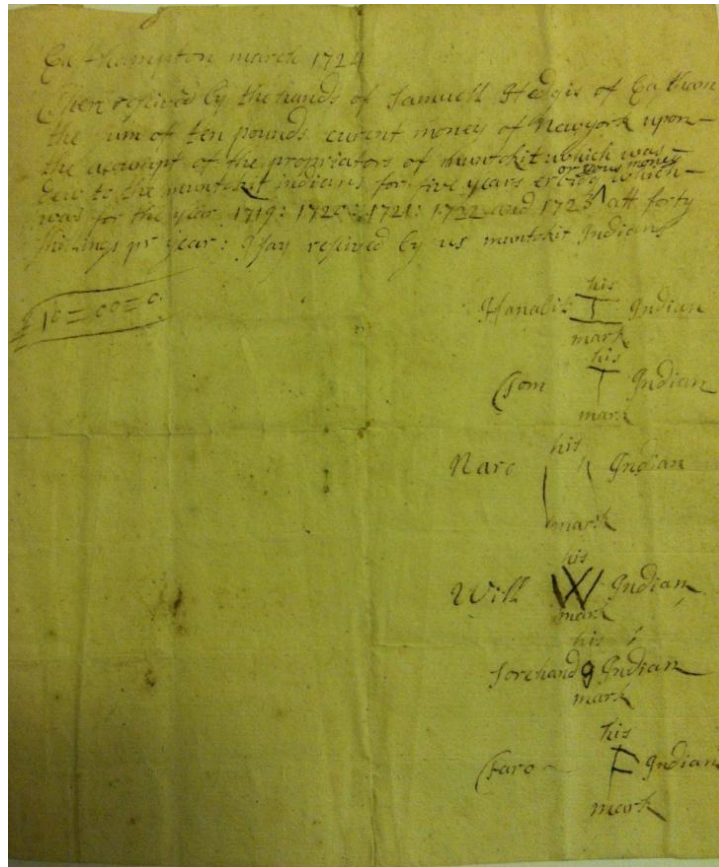


Figure 5.1. 1724 annuity receipt signed by Montaukett Indians. Brooklyn Historical Society, Benson collection.

The eighteenth-century presence of missionaries- first Azariah Horton, followed by Samson Occom- was well-documented, and their diaries include the names of Montauketts that they encountered at settlements throughout Montauk. As mentioned in Chapter 4, these accounts point to the presence of settled (or semi-sedentary) Montauketts in the vicinity of Napeague and North Neck in the early to mid eighteenth century. The estimation of 160 Montauketts in

residence throughout Montauk comes from a 1761 enumeration compiled by Occom.²⁶ The names listed at that time are also documented on eighteenth-century documents. In addition, Montaukett complaints of disruptions to their gardens and properties by grazing and herded animals are recorded in municipal archives. These, too, provide a means for identifying the names of Montauketts living at Indian Fields. I used all of these resources to construct a database of Montaukett individuals (Appendix A).

Based on these records, the Montaukett population, which numbered about 160 living at Montauk (probably throughout the area east of Napeague and west of Montauk Point) in the mid-eighteenth century, shrank to 117 by 1806.²⁷ At that time, a census of the “True Blooded Natives,” entitled “A memorandum of the Familys and the number of each family of Natives living and residing on Montauk” listed residents as being full-blooded Indians with “not an instance of negro mixture...but few of whight... generly owing to the honour of our hampton Neighbors” (reprinted and transcribed in Stone 1993:408-9). In this statement, the Montauketts challenged outsider misperceptions of their identity by acknowledging miscegenation with East Hampton whites, but denying black-Indian relations.

The purpose of the 1806 census is unclear, but because the document draws attention to racial categories, it appears to be a Montaukett response to developing racism. The 1806 census lists the names of heads of households, a wife or mother (if the head of household is male), and total numbers of sons and daughters to each household. Altogether, 37 households are documented in Montauk, and these range from 1 to 10 individuals in size (Figure 5.2; Appendix

²⁶ 1761 enumeration of Indians at Montauk by Samson Occom, included in “A Letter from Rev. John Devotion of Saybrook, to Rev. Dr. Stiles, Inclosing Mr. Occum’s Account of the Montauk Indians,” *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*. S. Occum, Ser. 1, IX (1809): 105-10, reprinted in Stone 1993:153.

²⁷ This demographic change is partially the result of the migration of Montauketts to Brotherton; this was discussed in Chapter 4.

A). This document appears to have been compiled by the Montauketts themselves, but because many Montauketts were illiterate, perhaps they were aided by white officials.²⁸

Figure 5.2. Heads of households on the 1806 Montaukett list.

Head of households by gender	Identifier	Single, family, etc.	Total
Male		Family	17
Male	Adult	Single	5
Female	Widow	Single	5
Female	Widow	Family	8
Female		Single	2
Total number of households			37

It should not be assumed that all of the households listed in 1806 were at Indian Fields. As mentioned in Chapter 4, East Hampton whites forced the Montauketts to choose between North Neck and Indian Fields as a place of residence in the eighteenth century. However, there are toponymic clues that suggest some Native Montauketts (and perhaps mixed-heritage people) may have established homes away from Indian Fields but still in Montauk (Appendices A and F). Elisha’s Hole, for instance, is remembered as a place in Montauk southwest of Indian Fields where “two old Indians, Elisha and Jerusha, had a shack...about 1870 (Rattray 1938:91). Elsewhere in Montauk, Rod’s Valley is so-called “for Rod and Riah, two old negroes who lived there in the 1870s” (Rattray 1938:93). The practice of establishing small, perhaps temporary shacks throughout the Town of East Hampton was documented into the early twentieth century, and is generally associated with seasonal labor.²⁹

²⁸ 18th and 19th century deeds show an X in place of a signature for Montaukett signers.

²⁹ Around 1731, it was noted that “the Indians Commonly Dwell in the summer time” on the west side of Three Mile Harbor (East Hampton Trustees 1926:72-73). In the History Project Inc., Anthony Drexel Duke referred to squatters in Springs in the early 20th century, including a German couple who built a cabin, dug a well, used a pot belly stove,

Indian Fields, on the other hand, was the primary settlement site for Native Montauketts in Montauk through the end of the nineteenth century. The 1806 document is, therefore, the only nineteenth-century enumeration that includes the residents of Indian Fields prior to the 1870 census. Then in 1870, the Federal Census listed six households living within five structures at Indian Fields (Appendix A). The population at Indian Fields decreased throughout the nineteenth century as individuals moved further west to settle throughout the Towns of East Hampton, Southampton, and elsewhere. In 1880, only two households remained at Indian Fields. These remaining households, one Pharaoh and one Fowler, were dispossessed and relocated in the 1880s (Appendix A) (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1880, Rapito-Wyppensenwah 1993, Strong 2001, McGovern 2015).

and came back seasonally over 15 years; also mentioned the “lagoon” man- a squatter who built a shack and used it when he dug for clams. East Hampton Library, Long Island Collection.

5.1.3. Feature AII

Of the two Indian Fields domestic contexts that comprise this study, the earlier was labeled Feature AII by archaeologists (Figure 5.3). It is a small structure, roughly 14 x 14 feet in size, partly constructed of unmortared fieldstones (Figure 5.4). Only the south and west walls were recovered; a few displaced fieldstones marked a possible east wall, but no remains of a north wall were detected (Johannemann 1993). The south wall of the structure was constructed by incorporating a stone fence wall that extended from the corner of a larger fieldstone enclosure, which was identified as Feature AXXIX. Archaeologists located several smaller features (including an Indian barn,³⁰ two u-shaped depressions, a stone-lined pit, and a possible kitchen midden) within the enclosure Feature AXXIX, which may have been constructed to keep livestock out of Native spaces (Johannemann 1993) (Figure 5.3).

It was from this location, Feature AII, that a scrimshaw knife handle was recovered with the name “Jeremiah Pharaoh” carved into it (Figure 5.5). Jeremiah Pharaoh was employed on many deep-sea whaling ventures in the early part of the nineteenth century. Along with his wife and son, he is listed as a “True Blooded native” resident of Montauk on the 1806 census. But his memories of his voyages indicate that he often spent years at sea, as he ventured in and out of the port at Nantucket (*Sag Harbor Express* 1924; see below).

Nantucket was the leading port in offshore whaling in the mid-eighteenth century (Dolin 2007:91). At that time, whaling ships were travelling deeper into the ocean because shore whaling had exhausted the local whale populations. Nantucket flourished because deep-sea ventures could easily launch from the island. Although Nantucket whaling suffered during the

³⁰ An Indian barn is a pit that was dug for food storage (Johannemann 1993:649).

American Revolution, around 1790 it picked up again and continued to flourish until the eve of the war of 1812 (Dolin 2007:182-186).

This was the period when Pharaoh sailed out of Nantucket. He probably sought work there because Nantucket whalers had a history of hiring indigenous crewmen, but the local indigenous population had declined rapidly in the eighteenth century (Vickers 1997:103). It was there at Nantucket in 1794 that Pharaoh married his wife Aloosa Tallman (Massachusetts Town and Vital Records, 1620-1988). Their son Jeremiah was born in 1802, but died only six years later (*Sag Harbor Express* 1924).

The 1806 census places their home at Indian Fields, and the archaeological remains provide tangible evidence that corroborates timing. The material deposits suggest that the house was inhabited from the late eighteenth into the early part of the nineteenth century, even while Pharaoh was at sea. An open hearth was present within this small structure near the south wall, and an abundance of faunal material, including the remains of some medium-sized mammals, shell, fish, and turtle bones, was recovered from within and outside the structure. Pharaoh may have owned a cow or sheep, and in 1813, he profited by having a white East Hamptoner's cattle graze on his share of land (Common Pasture List 1813). But the dynamics of household composition raises important questions about labor, specifically concerning Aloosa Tallman Pharaoh's maintenance of the household when her husband was away at sea for years at a time.

There are many unanswered questions about Aloosa Tallman Pharaoh's identity. She and Jeremiah may have met in Nantucket, but archival research produced no results for Aloosa/Lois Tallman in Massachusetts, Connecticut, or New York (other than the record of her marriage to

Jeremiah). Her ancestral heritage, too, remains a mystery, so it is difficult to imagine her experiences at Indian Fields: was she an outsider or a member of the Montaukett tribal group?³¹

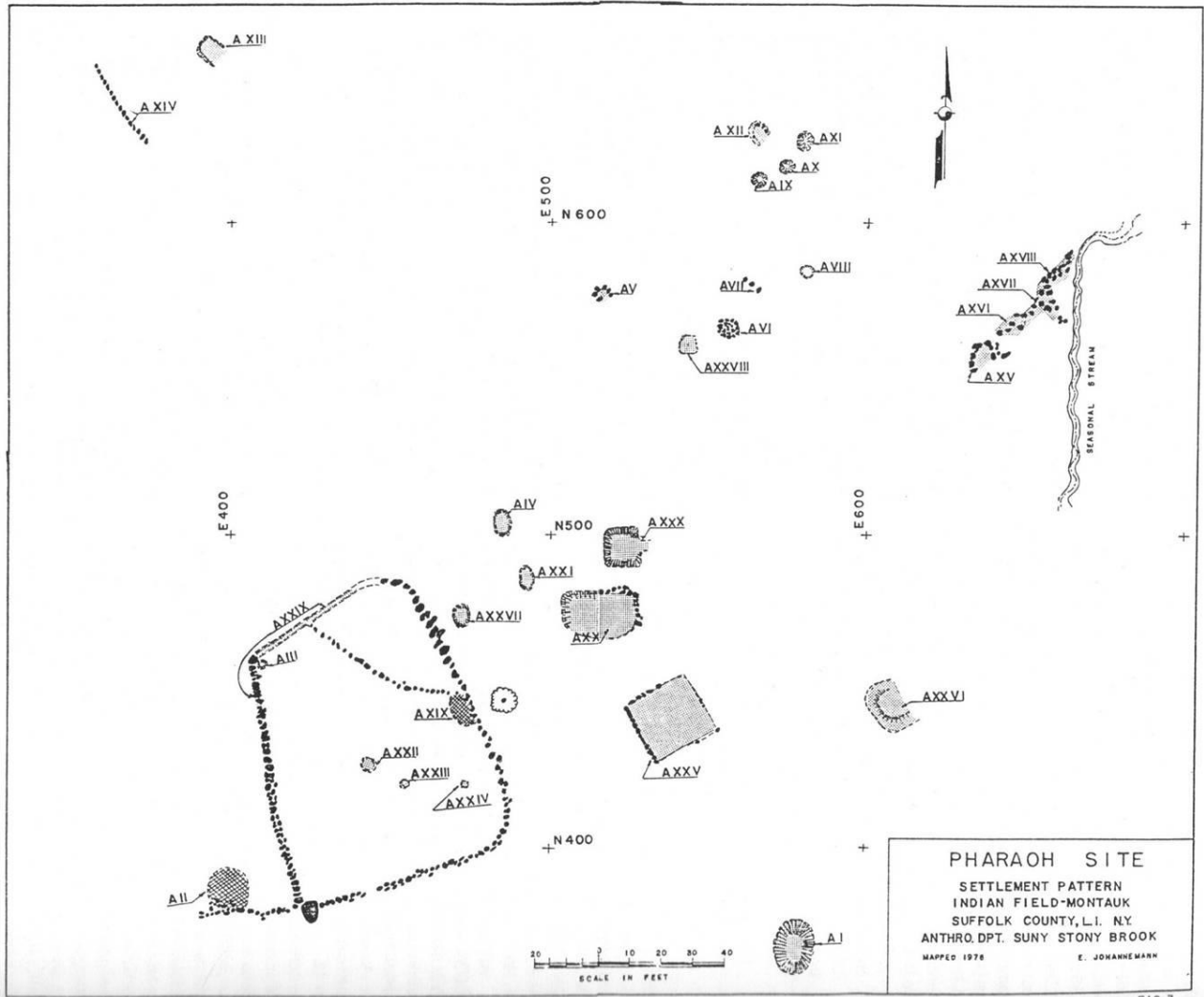


Figure 5.3. Excavation map of the Indian Fields archaeological site. Drawn by Edward Johannemann and Laurie Schroeder Billadello, c. 1975.

³¹ However, there was one man named Samuel Tallman, a member of the Delaware tribal group, who attended Wheelock’s Indian Academy in 1762 (Kelly 1929). There was also a Delaware woman named Miriam Stores who attended in 1761. A nineteenth century resident of Freetown (see Chapter 6) also has the last name Stores.

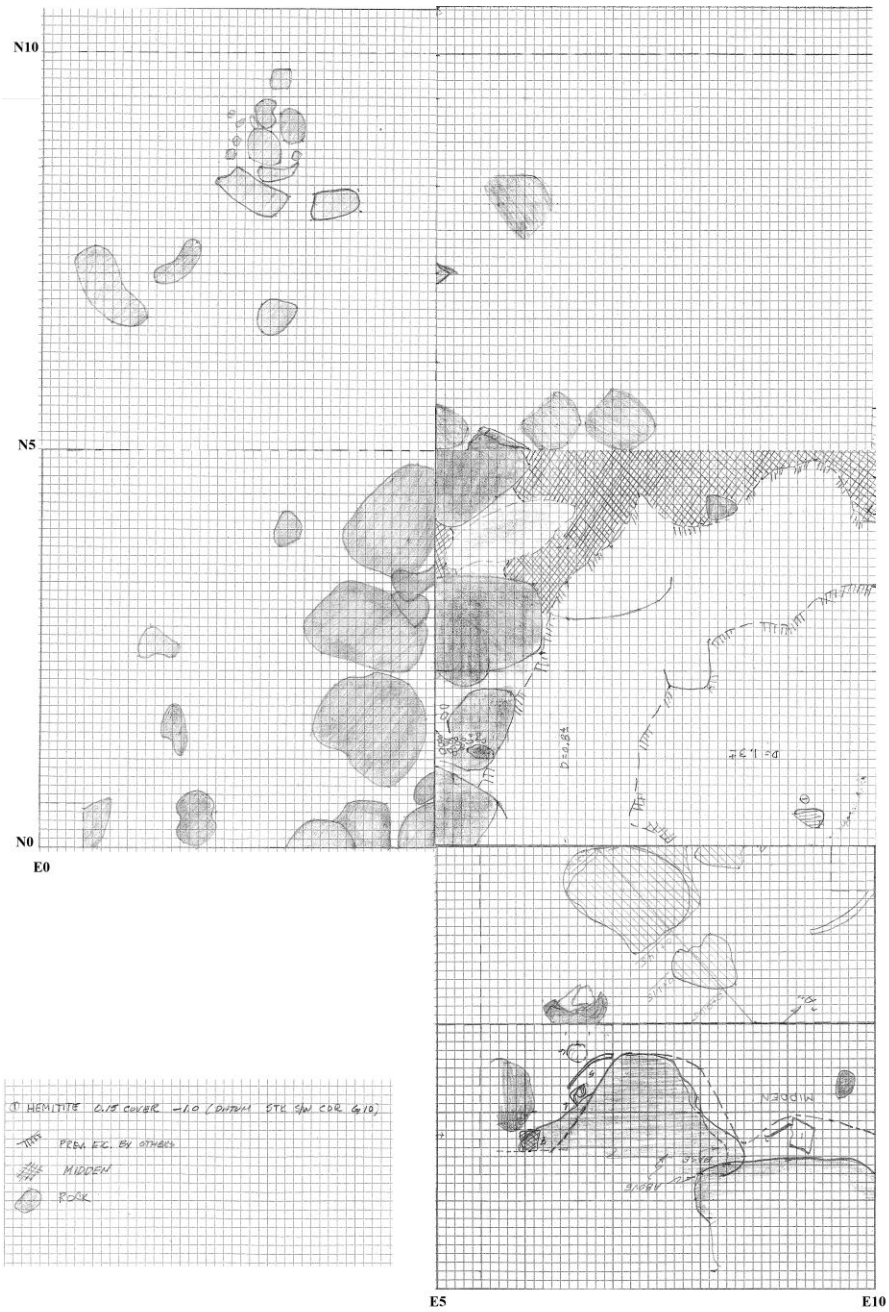


Figure 5.4. Plan view of Feature AII excavations including the northwest foundation wall, scanned and pieced together.



Figure 5.5. Carved mammal bone handle (scrimshaw). “Jeremiah” is carved on one side (the left view) and “Pharaoh” is carved on the other side (right view). Photographed by the author. Courtesy of Historic Services, Suffolk County Parks.

Jeremiah Pharaoh’s house exhibits features that are similar to a mid-eighteenth century architectural type that was described by Kevin McBride for the Mashantucket Pequot reservation in Connecticut. He described an eighteenth-century house pattern that included aspects of both wigwams and Euro-American frame houses:

“These dwellings are identified on the basis of the concentrations of domestic debris such as bones, charcoal, and ceramics. They were built into south-facing hillsides with a fieldstone retaining wall constructed against the hillside. A low stone wall two to three feet wide was then built in a U or D shape from the frame and mats were used in these structures, or if they supported some kind of more formal frame structure with shingles” (1990:113).

At the Eastern Pequot reservation in North Stonington, Connecticut, mid-eighteenth century house patterns contain a mix of domestic refuse including ceramics and glass, faunal material, construction materials, and small finds (such as tobacco pipe fragments, sewing items, etc.) (Silliman 2009; Silliman and Witt 2010). One house pattern was noted as either a wigwam with a window pane and some nailed construction or a small wood frame house with the absence of a foundation, cellar, or chimney (Silliman 2009:220). Although the results presented in 2010 were

from analysis that was still underway, it seems that the small dimensions and ephemeral construction details are similar to the Feature AII house pattern at Indian Fields.

More significant, however, are the local patterns that resemble the AII Feature in size and layout. A 1746 agreement by the East Hampton Trustees for a shepherd's house near Fort Pond in Montauk (one of the grazer's houses mentioned in Chapter 4) mentions the dimensions as 16 x 16 foot, which was noted as "suitable for habitation" (East Hampton Trustees 1926:17). In addition, the archaeological remains of a ca.1750-1840 structure at the Bianco/Carroll site on the west side of Three Mile Harbor was described as measuring roughly 16 x 21 feet, constructed of dry-laid fieldstone on the east and west walls, with some evidence for post-in-hole construction (Cammisa et al. 1999:104-105). Described as a possible cross between a cabin and a wigwam (Cammisa et al. 1999), the structure was built on top of an Archaic-period archaeological site, with materials from that site apparently recycled into the construction of the eighteenth-nineteenth century structure (including lithic cores and fire-cracked rock which were found in the foundation, and mortar made from mixing crushed and burned shell from a nearby midden with water and sand), along with poorly-fired brick (Bernstein et al. 1994). Although the identity of the occupants is unknown, ethnohistorical and archaeological evidence suggests the occupants were possibly Native American or mixed-heritage people, but definitely a group that was economically marginal to East Hampton society (Cammisa et al. 1999).

5.1.4. Feature AXXV

The second household assemblage is from Feature AXXV, a slightly larger square or rectangular house pattern that measures around 15 by 24 feet and is outlined with fieldstones (Figure 5.6). Based on census data, individual and family histories, and a ca1870 sketch from the

guest book at Third House (Figure 5.7), this structure was inhabited from the mid to late nineteenth century by William Walter Fowler and his family.

In order to understand the household that is represented by Feature AXXV, it is necessary to first briefly discuss William Walter Fowler's genealogy. William Walter Fowler was the son of Walter Fowler and Hannah Hannibal. He was also the great-grandson of James Fowler and Betty (Elizabeth) Pharaoh.³² William Walter Fowler's grandfather, also named William Fowler, was brother to David, Jacob, and Mary Fowler. Mary married the Mohegan preacher Samson Occom. With Occom's assistance, David and Jacob were educated at Wheelock's Indian Academy, and they subsequently founded the Brotherton settlement (see Chapter 4; Cipolla 2010). William remained at Indian Fields, while David, Jacob, and Mary left for Brotherton. Their other sister Phoebe married Ephraim Pharaoh, and it is unclear what became of their other brother Daniel (Devine 2014). Little is known about William, but it is important to note that it was during his lifetime that economic pressures, racialized policies, and Christian beliefs impacted Montaukett tribal life so significantly that it caused a split in the larger group, and most significantly, in his family. This is the same time that Jeremiah Pharaoh was living at Indian Fields (Feature AII).

William had at least one son, named Walter. Walter Fowler³³ married Hannah Hannibal in the early nineteenth century, and their son William Walter Fowler was born at Indian Fields in 1822. He was one of seven children. Around 1842, William Walter Fowler married Mary (Eliza?) Cuffee (Appendix F.3). They lived in the house that became Feature AXXV (which he

³² Betty Pharaoh was the daughter of George Pharaoh, who was the son of Weon-com-bone and the grandson of Wyandanch (Devine 2014).

³³ Walter Fowler was probably a child at the time of the 1806 census. On that document, only one Fowler household is listed: Nale Fowler, a widow with two sons.

probably built), and their eleven children were the last Fowlers to be born on the reserved lands at Montauk (Devine 2014).

William Walter Fowler's employment is unclear, but he has been located in at least two account books bartering his services in fishing for goods like cordwood and sundries (Captain James Post Ledger; Nathaniel Hand Daybook). He does not seem to be documented on any whaling voyages, even though many other Native American men from East Hampton were sailing out of Sag Harbor between 1840 and 1860.³⁴ This was the Golden Age of whaling, and many men of color from eastern Long Island sought employment in the industry. The port at Sag Harbor, which has one of the most complete records for whaling during this time, peaked at 1840 (Barsh 2002:90).

³⁴ There is, however, a William Fowler who was Captain of whaling vessels during this period. He was listed in the Dering Crew lists in the Long Island Collection, East Hampton Library, and was a white resident of Southampton. Fowler was a common name among the English settlers, too, throughout the Towns of East Hampton and Southampton, thus complicating my research in whaling documents.

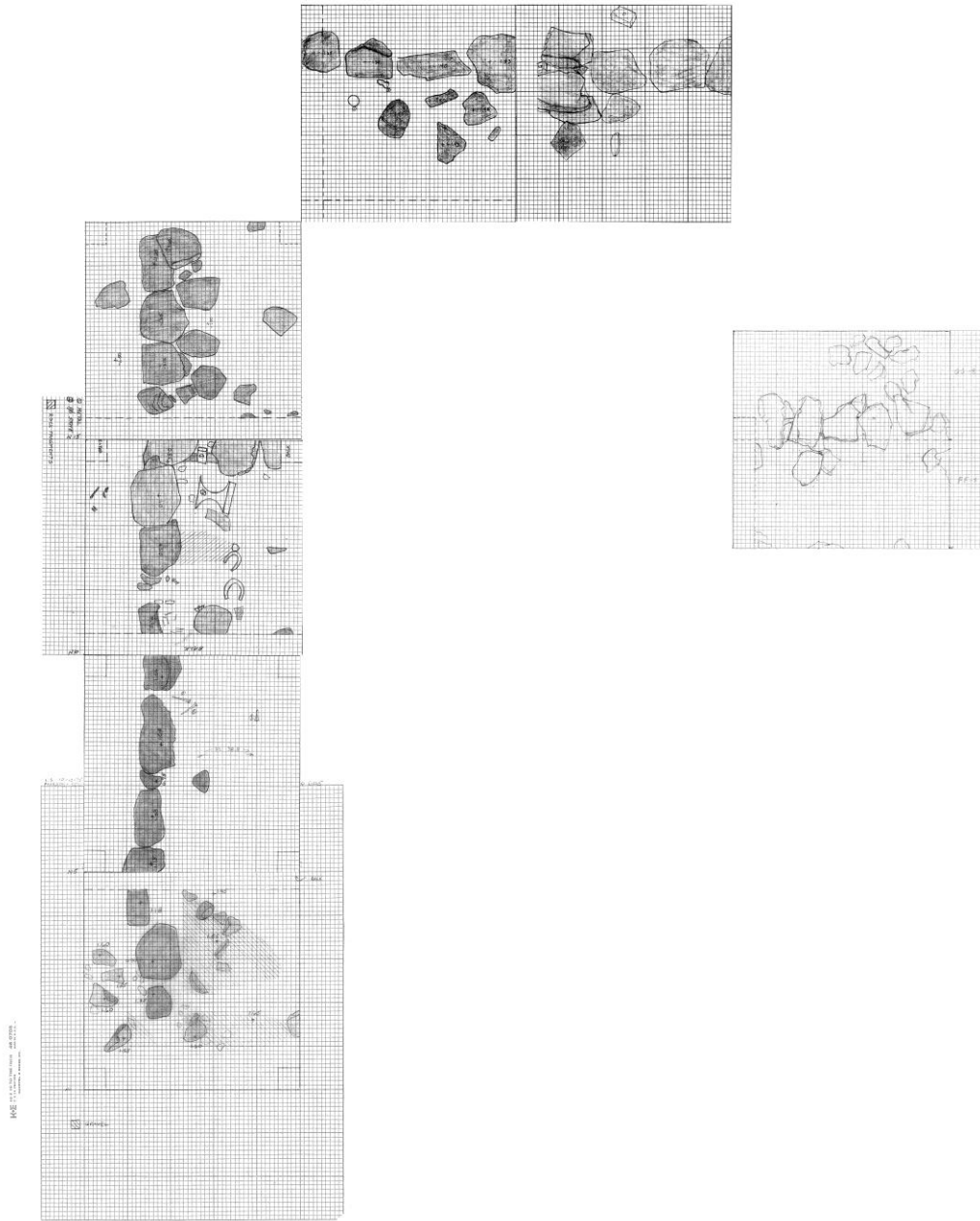


Figure 5.6. Plan view of the excavations at Feature AXXV, scanned and pieced together.

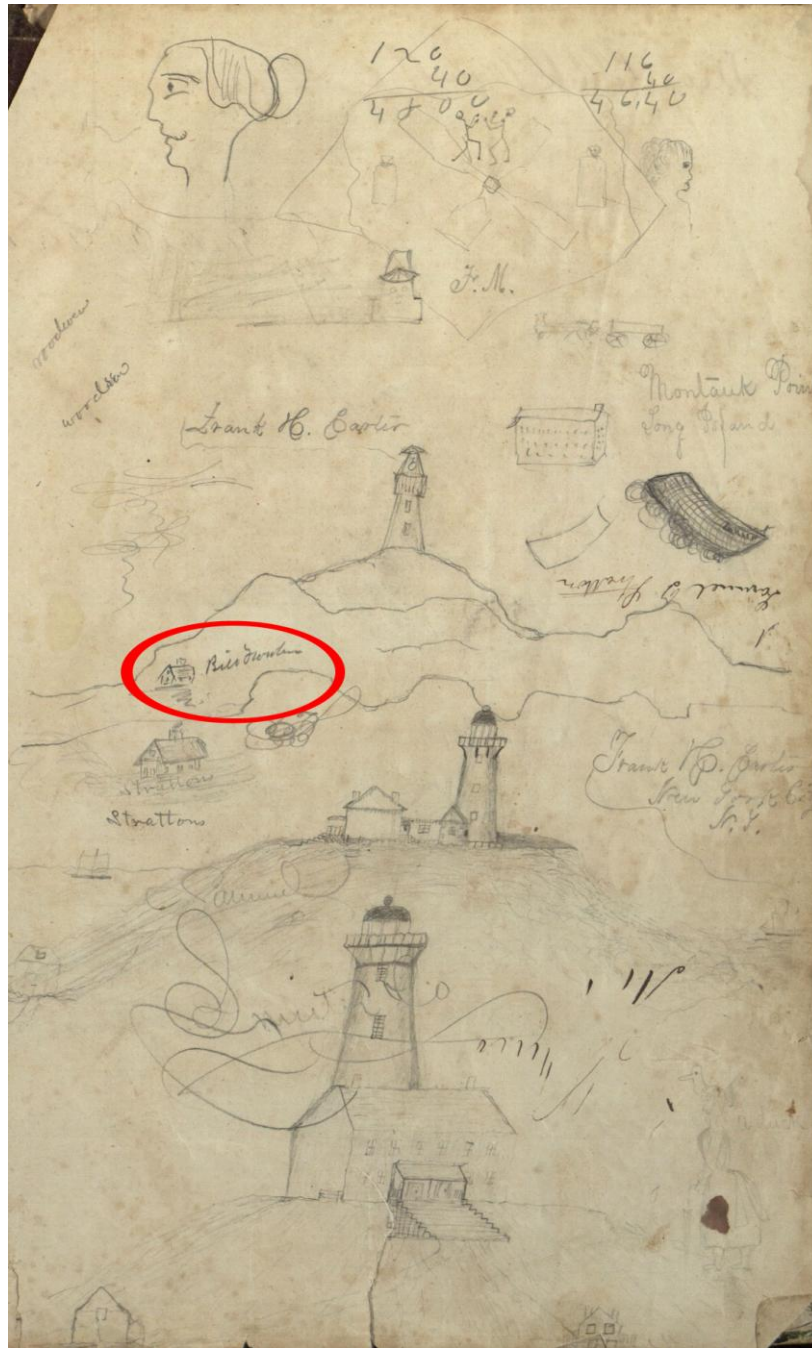


Figure 5.7. This doodle from the guest book at Third House shows Bill Fowler's house depicted behind "Stratton" on the left side of image (Stratton was keeper of Third House at that time). Registers and guest books of the Third House at Montauk, kept by Samuel Stratton, Vol. 2 (1872-1886). East Hampton Library, Long Island Collection.

In 1870, six households at Indian Fields are listed on the Federal Census. Fowler's house includes him, his wife Mary, and five children (John, Hannah, Charles, George, and Herbert) ranging in age from 25 to 5 years old (Appendix A). By that time, their daughter Maria was married to Chief David Pharaoh, and they had their own household with four children at Indian Fields. William Fowler was listed as head of household again on the 1880 Federal Census, but his household included only his wife and three youngest children (Charles, George and Herbert) (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1880; Appendix A). William Fowler died around 1880, and it is unclear what happened to his wife, Mary. Their son Charles Fowler, who worked as a hunting guide in Montauk and was hired by Benson, was one of the Montauketts who challenged the Benson purchase by returning to Montauk "to pick wild grapes and cranberries as their ancestors had done" (Strong 2001:117). By 1910, Charles Fowler was living on Cedar Street north of the village of East Hampton, where he owned 27 acres of land (Charles Fowler probate, #29313, Suffolk County Surrogate Court). His younger brother George received a much smaller parcel of land in Freetown in 1885, in exchange for his residency rights in Montauk (Suffolk County Deed Liber 289:342-45).

The 1885 agreements between Benson's legal team and George Fowler, Charles Fowler, and Maria Fowler Pharaoh mark the end of occupation of the house referred to as Feature AXXV. One of Benson's contracts included the "transportation of the materials of the houses belonging to the above-mentioned Indians, now on Montauk, to ... lands in Free Town and their re-erection thereon" (Suffolk County Deed Liber 278:463).³⁵ Benson instructed that those houses that could not be moved were to be burned.³⁶

³⁵ Copy of Contract between Montauk Indians George Fowler, Maria Pharaoh and Wyandanch Pharaoh, and Arthur W. Benson, 1885, East Hampton Library, Long Island Collection.

³⁶ A receipt from Dominy on file at the East Hampton Library, Long Island Collection.

A house thought to be George Fowler's was recently rediscovered in Freetown by the Suffolk County Parks Department of Historic Services and the East Hampton Historical Society (Figure 5.8).³⁷ The construction and layout of the structure suggests that it was one of the cabins from Indian Fields that was moved to Freetown by Benson's agents, but further architectural investigation is necessary to confirm this possibility. From the outside, George Fowler's house measures roughly 15 x 15 feet, with a front porch (7.5x15 feet), plus a small, later addition to the side in the vicinity of the kitchen (8x2 feet), making it close in size and layout to Feature AXXV (William Fowler's house at Indian Fields). Machine cut nails fasten the frames and boards, as well as the wood shingles that clad the outside of the house. The house stands on field stone corners, but does not appear to have a full fieldstone foundation or basement.



Figure 5.8. George Fowler's house on Springs-Fireplace Road in Freetown, East Hampton. Photos taken by the author, April 2014.

³⁷ The house was seized by Suffolk County for unpaid taxes in 2001, and has since remained in a state of disrepair. In 2013, Suffolk County Parks Department of Historic Services drafted a resolution to landmark the property and transfer it to the Town of East Hampton for preservation and historic interpretation. The resolution was passed by the County Legislature in December 2013.

The house in Freetown was occupied by George Fowler and his family from roughly 1885 through the end of the twentieth century, and it provides an important comparison for Feature AXXV from Indian Fields. There were two bedrooms in the house (1 downstairs and 1 upstairs) in addition to the kitchen and living room downstairs. The downstairs included a front living room that measured roughly 11.5 x 15 feet; to the rear were the kitchen and a bedroom, each measuring 7.5 x 8.5 feet. Upstairs there was a small storage area, and what appears to have been a work space under a sky light. The house lacked central heating and indoor plumbing. A stove in the living room served to heat the house, and a small, circular sub-floor brick-lined pit is visible under the sink in the kitchen to drain water that was brought into the house.

5.1.5. The Indian Fields Households: an Intra-site Comparison

The two homes, Features AII and AXXV, provide two different temporal contexts for understanding Native lifeways amidst cultural and economic change. The earlier household, occupied by Jeremiah Pharaoh and his family, was occupied from the late eighteenth until just before the middle of the nineteenth century. At that time, many Native American men from throughout the Northeast sought work on whalers that were beginning to navigate the deep sea. This was before Sag Harbor was established as a whaling port, so Jeremiah Pharaoh travelled to Nantucket to find work. However, he was still aware of the changes that were occurring at his homeland in Montauk. He recorded births, deaths, and the changes he witnessed at home in a law book that was once owned by Samson Occom.³⁸ His excerpts included the following entry:

“I, Jeremiah Pharaoh the bold mariner I sailed the world all over nine long years. When I returned home I found my relations stranded which grieved my heart full [sic] so” (*Sag Harbor Express* 1924).

Pharaoh was clearly familiar with the economic hardships and racialized policies that negatively impacted Montaukett lifeways. He also knew about the influence of Christian beliefs and Occom’s presence on the settlement at Indian Fields, as suggested by the entries he wrote in a book that was once owned by Occom. Pharaoh’s household, therefore, provides a material context for understanding these particular conditions for social and economic change at Indian Fields.

At the time that Pharaoh’s house was abandoned, William Walter Fowler’s household was beginning. By the mid-nineteenth century, Fowler was married and had started a family.

³⁸ Copy of some entries in a law book which once belonged to Samson Occom. Notes on file at EH Library, purchased by Pennypacker as part of Ackerly’s collection (after Ackerly died). Written by Orville B. Ackerly ca.1921, then the notes were reprinted by Pennypacker in *Sag Harbor Express* 1924.

During his grandfather's time, Montaukett tribal life was recast by the relocation of several families to Brotherton. This continued through the mid-nineteenth century, with many more Montaukett individuals having moved off Montauk to live closer to employment opportunities. This was the "Golden Age of Whaling," and some men of color settled near ports where they could be hired (including Sag Harbor). Other men and women settled on the outskirts of white settlements (e.g., Freetown and Eastville), and found work in the homes and fields of prosperous white landowners. Fowler, in contrast, remained with his family and a small number of additional households at Indian Fields; his household operated within this context. Because his name is absent from whaling records during this well-documented period, it is likely that he made a living as a seasonal laborer for East Hampton elites.

5.2. Thinking about Scale: Geography, Labor, and Networks

As mentioned earlier, households are units in multi-scalar processes of colonialism and capitalism. Whenever possible, the activities that took place within a household should be placed in relation to broader socio-economic patterns. Reconstructing those broader patterns requires attention to historical and contextual information: this establishes a background for understanding human agency within a realm of social, economic, and political possibilities.

This study draws on aspects of political economy, political ecology, and complex network theory to establish a multi-scalar framework for understanding the Indian Fields households. The two household deposits, therefore, are described in relation to local, regional, and global contexts to understand how local and regional activities are connected to each other, and tied into global economics. This approach emphasizes local responses to colonial and

capitalist processes, and reminds us that neither colonialism nor capitalism were monolithic, hegemonic phenomena.

Looking beyond the household, local-global connections depend on both locational and relational data. Local-global articulations, or intersections, are considered nodes in a network of social and economic interaction, as are local-local articulations. Aletta Biersack points out that “place” has a central meaning in local-global articulations, but an understanding of relational space is necessary for connecting the dots between “places” or nodes (2006:16).

In this study, nodes are places of settlement (i.e., households, villages, and neighborhoods), places of work/production (e.g., whaling ships, ports and destinations; fields and homes of whites; etc.), and places of consumption (e.g., shops). Places of consumption are indicated by account books from stores, warehouses, and perhaps homes of white merchants, farmers, and company owners: generally, a place where the transactions of goods took place. These records indicate important economic ties between consumers, laborers, and merchants. The obvious links between the nodes are labor, production and consumption. But, as is demonstrated in Chapter 6, kinship and community also link these nodes.

In order to map labor patterns and movement, I began by constructing a database of all the names of people of color through town records, deeds and land-transaction documents, whaling ship crew lists, account books/ledgers, and Federal Census data (Appendices A and F). Individual names were compiled as they were identified in these documents. I then turned to identifying these sources in geographic space with the aid of historic maps and local history accounts. In general, the account books/ledgers were associated with well-known East Hampton whites whose homes, stores, or warehouses could be located in the historical landscape. For

whaling crew lists, I located the name of the ship that the crewmember was employed on, and recorded the port out of which it sailed and its intended destination. Each individual in my database can be mapped at one, or multiple nodes. For Jeremiah Pharaoh, for instance, I located him at Indian Fields/Montauk and Nantucket. During his time, the destination for his and other ships out of Nantucket could not be identified. But a ca. 1830-40s Montaukett whaler named George Pharaoh is better documented and represented at a number of nodes: Indian Fields/Montauk, Freetown, Sag Harbor (from where his ships sailed), and destinations that included the Northwest Coast of North America, the South Seas, and Brazil.

Network theory (Sindbaek 2007) and/or social network analysis (Brughmans 2010; Knappet 2013) are useful tools for connecting the dots between individuals/communities and places of employment in eastern Long Island and abroad (Figure 5.9). Commonly used in the study of ancient exchange and communication, network theory and analysis helped me to establish a framework against which connectedness could be interpreted dynamically, and on multiple scales. These data demonstrate that Montaukett people were entangled in a web of social and economic activity that transcended local geographical boundaries. They were integrated into a complex network of labor, production and consumption, and their participation was integral to the successes of capitalism through various flows of social and economic activity.

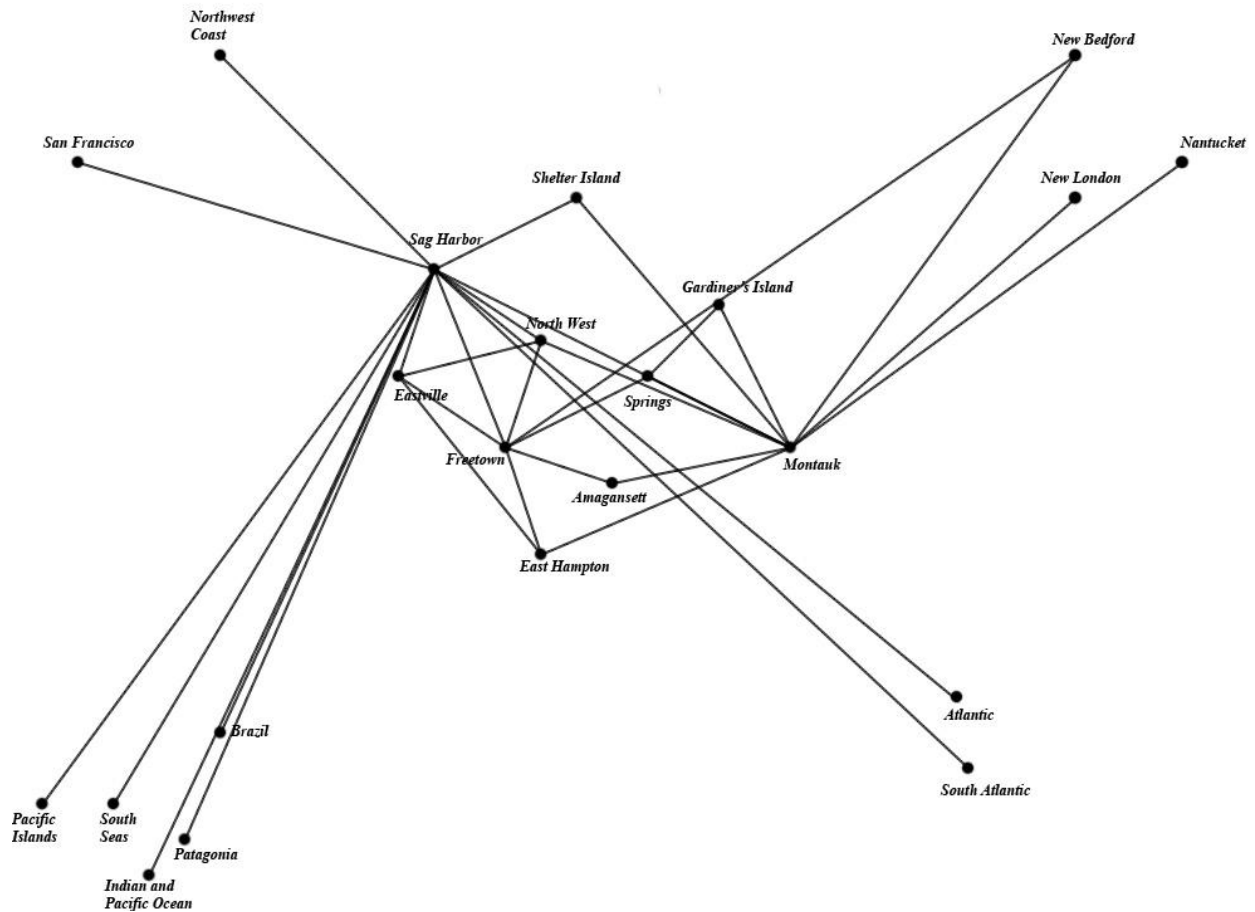


Figure 5.9. Network graph of local, regional, and global nodes that demonstrates the connectedness of eighteenth and nineteenth century Montaukett.

5.3. Conclusion: the Importance of Local, Regional, and Global Links

The residents of Indian Fields experienced numerous social and economic changes that impacted their lives in various ways. These are explored locally through archaeology at the homes of Jeremiah Pharaoh and William Walter Fowler. But these households were not isolated at the eastern end of Long Island. In fact, the residents of these and other households at Indian Fields were entangled in complex social and economic relationships that transcended local and regional boundaries. As whalers on ships destined for international waters, laborers in

agricultural fields, tenders of livestock that grazed throughout Montauk, and fishermen and shellfish harvesters, they were instrumental in the accumulation of wealth for the landed gentry who maintained political and economic control of the landscape of eastern Long Island. Their movement throughout the landscape and seascape is fundamental to understanding how they navigated changing social and economic contexts, as these factors often simultaneously provided them opportunities for establishing new, and strengthening existing, social and kin relationships.

In this study, political economy and ecology are used to understand the power structures that impacted the lives and experiences of people within these complex networks (cf., Wolf 1972; Biersack 2006). As we will see in Chapter 6, ecological restrictions on Native populations forced them to participate in local markets, where they exchanged their labor for commercial goods. These local and regional power dynamics were established by whites and created conditions of impoverishment and debt peonage. But, as we will see, these dynamics do not account for all opportunities for Montaukett survival or survivance.

Chapter 6: Connecting the Dots: Land, Labor, and Kin

The Native Americans of Long Island have faced numerous social, economic, political and cultural challenges since the arrival of Europeans. Their identities were frequently challenged with claims that they were degenerate, racially mixed, and above all, not Indian (see Chapters 2 and 3). The development and use of categories of difference were designed with colonial policies, and altered at various times to accommodate the growing European needs for labor, land, and status. On Long Island, as elsewhere throughout the United States, long-held race-based assumptions and prejudices continue to be used by outsiders to challenge Native American authenticity, both biologically and culturally. These prejudices are deeply embedded in historical policies and entangled in the complicated histories of Native, European, and African descended peoples in the Americas.

Interactions between African-descended and indigenous peoples were common in many places throughout the Americas. They labored in similar jobs, were pushed to the fringes of white society, and were victims of racialized policies that structured white power. Whether they were forced together by the dominant white society, or sought relationships as a means of resistance to white oppression, remains unknown, though it is likely both possibilities occurred. Both populations were circumscribed by the hegemonic discourse of white society, and therefore were often grouped (on government and local historical documents) into a category of “other people of color,” whose experiences were conflated and whose constructed identities were constantly challenged.

In this chapter, the social and economic networks that placed people of color together in the cultural landscape are explored. Places of work, locations of exchange, and communities

(i.e., households and villages) are the nodes of interaction. These nodes were connected through labor and kin relationships that, when traced, depict a web of activity locally, regionally, and internationally.

6.1. A Method for Dot Connecting and Web Drawing

In order to trace social, kin, and labor networks in the Town of East Hampton, I constructed a database consisting of the names collected through Federal Census data. I used the constructed categories of difference- “all other free people of color” in particular (which included African descended people, Native American people, and people of mixed ancestral heritages) - to identify individuals. Moving forward in time from the 1790 Federal Census, I was able to gather more pertinent information, including last names for “free people of color” and eventually information about household demographics and kin (as the categories on Federal Census listings were gradually expanded).

I merged my “free people of color” and Montaukett/Indian Fields data into a single database (Appendix A), and continued to search for the names within it on documents pertaining to labor, looking for overlaps. Moving through account, day and ledger books, I found evidence that people of color (i.e., Native Americans, African Americans, and mixed-heritage people) were performing a variety of tasks in exchange for goods and sometimes cash. A system of credit was organized and documented by white merchants, store keepers, farmers, and other business owners. Debts for purchased goods were paid by baling hay, caning chairs, cutting cordwood, and various other tasks. In some cases, the debts were paid in cash, and sometimes they were paid by white men who employed Native and African American men and women. Native American, African American, and white men and women were interconnected in a web of economic exchange. These documents also include details about Native American and African

American men outfitted for whaling ships: they were provided with necessary items for upcoming whaling voyages on credit, with the expectation that a portion of their share from the expedition would be returned in payment.

Patterns of consumption illuminated by the purchase of shoes, candles, and sundries provide traces of necessities; the purchase of cloth, thread, teawares, and crockery indicate traces of household activities; the purchase of meats, fish, corn, flour, molasses, liquors, tobacco, and a variety of other items provide traces of food ways and affinities. These snapshots in time beg archaeologists and historians to imagine the daily practices involving these items, and the social relations that characterized these activities.

The demographic data also shed light on how the constructed cultural landscape of color constrained cultural movement. Federal Census data, land and mortgage deeds, wills, and probates provide geographic placements in the landscape that can be cross-referenced with nineteenth and early twentieth century maps (Appendices F.2, F.9). The pathways from homes and neighborhoods to work, shops, the harbor, and other neighborhoods are traced, presenting a web of travel and communication across the town of East Hampton (Figure 6.1). Settlement was circumscribed by whites, who sold land to Native American and African American people in designated areas (often in close-enough proximity to the places of employment, which were often the homes and fields of the whites who sold them land). While some free people of color resided along the wooded portions of the roads that connected villages (e.g., Peter and Triphenia Quaw lived on a road that connected North West Road and Hands Creek Road on the west side of Three Mile Harbor in the mid nineteenth century [Appendices A, F.2]), there were also neighborhoods of people of color, like Freetown, Accobonack or Springs, a section of Sag

Harbor that was eventually named Eastville, an area in Bridgehampton, and Indian Fields (Figure 6.1; Appendix F.9).

The history of Freetown has remained elusive to local historians. It is a place that is marked on late-nineteenth century maps and linked in historical memory to the freed slaves who worked for the Gardiner family in the early nineteenth century. After 1850, there was a noticeable influx of southern African Americans looking for work; many settled in Freetown. The Federal Census provides information about the names, residence patterns, occupations, and even extended kin networks that existed there since the beginning of the nineteenth century. The Freetown residents become ever more familiar while reading through account and day books that contained their names as consumers and laborers who were embedded within the economic activities of the town of East Hampton. Once you begin to peel back the layers of history, the neighborhood becomes more visible.

The Freetown neighborhood is significant to this dissertation for two reasons. First, it is the place that Arthur Benson chose to buy land for small house lots, which were offered to Maria Pharaoh, George Fowler, and Charles Fowler in exchange for their rights to North Neck Field and Indian Fields in 1885 (Brooklyn Historical Society Proprietors of Montauk Collection, ARC.066, Box 1, Folder 3, Item 5). Their settlement in this location is meaningful as evidence of Montaukett survivance in East Hampton into and throughout the twentieth century. Second, some individual and household-level data from Freetown has been reconstructed for comparison with individual and household-level data from Indian Fields. This was necessary for establishing regional economic patterns.

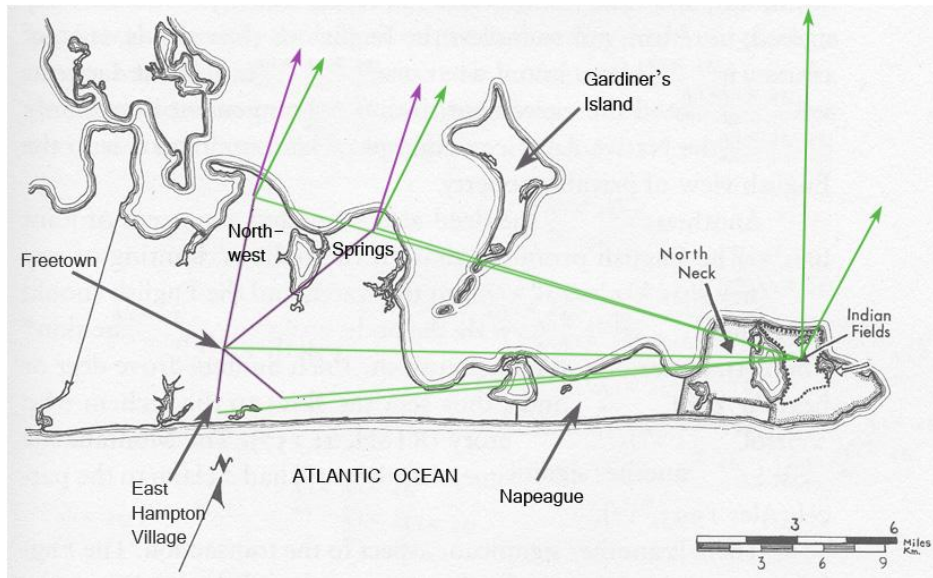


Figure 6.1. This map demonstrates paths which connected people with kin networks and labor networks across the Town of East Hampton. Movement was certainly not restricted within town boundaries; people travelled to points west, north (especially to New England), south and internationally at sea.

6.2 On the history of Freetown

Local historians link Freetown with a nineteenth-century free black presence. Although it is part of the elite East Hampton town today, this location would have been visibly distant from the centrally-situated white village on Main Street. In other words, the Freetown settlement was close enough for people to find work in the homes and fields of the landed gentry, but far enough from the village to remain out-of-sight. People of color began to settle this northern intersection in East Hampton around the beginning of the nineteenth century, finding work as whalers and seamen, farm laborers, and servants (Hefner 1990; McGovern 2015). As a collective, Freetown residents are a mixed-heritage group of residents of African, European, and/or Native American descent. In early census listings (i.e., 1800-1840), Freetown residents were identified as “all other free people.” In account books, probates and deeds from the early to mid nineteenth

century, they are described as “coloured”, “mulatto”, “mestize”, “negro”, “Indian” and “black.” In some cases, individuals are referred to by different racial designations in different records. These descriptions show how inconsistently in regard to racial categories people of color were perceived by whites, and no definitive information about individual heritages.

The perception of white and black as fixed categories was often difficult to navigate in the past, particularly for people of racially mixed heritages. Terms like black, mulatto, mustey, and colored were often used to identify individuals of African, Native American, and/or European ancestries. Rather than complicating our understandings of racial identities in the past, these terms should be understood as representative of categories that were probably fluid and changeable. They suggest that historic Long Islanders were entangled in a variety of ways that are meaningful to our constructions of the past.

As mentioned in the previous chapters, the long history of indigenous peoples began thousands of years prior to the seventeenth century. When Europeans arrived at that point, they formed economic and social relationships with the Native communities, employing them, often unfairly, at sea and in agricultural fields. Not long after European arrival, Europeans began to draw on Africans for captive³⁹ labor. In 1687, the population of East Hampton consisted of 502 people, which included 26 male servants, 9 female servants, 11 male slaves, and 14 female slaves (O’Callaghan 1850:360-1). This remains the earliest and perhaps only population count for the town until the eighteenth century, and probably does not include the Montauketts. But during that time, the Records of the Town of East Hampton list many purchases, births, and contracts for “Negro” and “Indian” slaves.⁴⁰

³⁹ In this dissertation, the terms “captive” and “enslaved” are used in place of the word “slave” to describe the position of an individual in relation to the larger society. However, the word “slave” is still employed in this study when it was used as category in government documents.

⁴⁰ There is a great deal of ambiguity in the identities of “slaves” in the Records of the Town of East Hampton.

Not all people of color were captive in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Some were indentured (held in contract for labor to an individual for a length of time) by themselves and by others for various lengths of time, some were enslaved, and some were free. There were different levels of freedom and autonomy associated with each. Generally, people who were enslaved were viewed as property, while indentures were often negotiated by individuals (or their parents) who were considered free. Locating these individuals (free, captive, and indentured) within the early landscape is a challenge, but tracing their involvement with whites, their work, and some aspects of their personal lives (including kin, social relationships, and autonomy) is facilitated through the Records of the Town of East Hampton, where indentures, contracts, and records for cattle ear marks were recorded (Appendix F.10).

It is not until 1800, however, that “free people of color” were documented within households that are independent of whites (although the early censuses do not detail this, some of these free heads of households were Native Americans living away from reserved lands).⁴¹ On the 1790 Federal Census, for instance, 99 “all other free people” and 99 “slaves” were listed within white households. Because they were within white households, there are no names of people of color for this decade of the census. These two categories comprise 13% of the Town of East Hampton population (which consisted of 1497 people) as documented on the 1790 census (it is important to note, though, that this list does not include Native Americans who were living east of the white village, in Napaeague and Montauk). By 1800, 113 free people of color and 66 enslaved individuals were documented in the Town of East Hampton. Of that total, only 13 free people of color were listed in white households. The vast majority of free people of color, therefore, were living in 21 households that were exclusively comprised of people of color

⁴¹ This understanding comes from knowledge of the names associated with individuals and families. This knowledge developed during the research process (Appendix A).

(Figure 6.2). Meanwhile, only two of the 29 white, slaveholding households in the town of East Hampton also included free people of color (Figure 6.3). The establishment of these free households of color was an early step towards the construction of the working class in East Hampton and the separation of the labor force from the elites who employed them. It is important to recognize, too, that the enslaved laborers who lived in white households were not altogether separated from the free black and Native American residents of the town. Indeed, the slaveholders of East Hampton also employed free people of color for short and long-term work; this presented opportunities for shared experiences and the development (or maintenance) of social and kin connections. John Lyon Gardiner, whose household included 4 enslaved individuals in 1800, employed many free African American and Native American people between 1799 and 1806 (Figures 6.3-6.5). Daniel Hedges, Isaac Van Scoy, and Nathaniel Hand, too, were slaveholders who employed free African American and Native American people. These interactions are recorded in ledgers and day books (Appendix F.1).

Figure 6.2 Free black/mixed-heritage households in the town of East Hampton, 1800.

HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD	OCCUPANTS
Cuffee Cuffee	5
Philip	2
Ben:Jack	8
Isaac Plato	7
Edward	8
Plato	5
Rufus	6
Prince	2
Sirus	4
Quough	3
Judas	2
Abraham Cuffee	6
Caleb Cuffee	6
Virgil	3

Jane	5
Sampson Cuffee	9
Salle Peters	4
Harvey [?]	2
Amos Cuffee	6
Binah	4
Jane Domine	3
TOTAL	100

Figure 6.3 Slaveowners in the census for East Hampton town, 1800.

WHITE HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD	FREE PEOPLE OF COLOR	SLAVES
Hunting Miller		4
Jeremiah Miller		5
Elisha Mumpford		5
Marcy Mumpford		1
Mary Buell		2
Isaac Wickham		2
William Hunting		1
Josiah Mumpford		1
Nathaniel Gardner	2	2
Mary Isaac		1
Isaac Isaacs		1
John Dayton		1
Rhebecca Miller		5
Stephen Stratton		1
Rachel Mulford		2
Daniel Hedges		2
Archibald Gracie		1
Seth Barnes		6
Jeremiah Osborn		2
William Risum		3
Zephiniah Hedges		2
Elisha Conkline		1
David Conkline		1
John Lyon Gardner	1	4
Samuel Dayton		1
Nathaniel Hand		2
Saml Mulford		2
John Parsons		2
Elnathan Parson		1
David Miller		1
TOTAL	3	66

In local memory, the presence of free people of color in Freetown is historically linked to the Gardiner family- proprietors of Gardiner’s Island from roughly 1640 until the present day. The Gardiner family operated an extensive plantation on their private island that produced wool,

meat, wood, farm produce and many other products for export to New England, New York, and the West Indies. They also had a home in East Hampton village on Main Street that was occupied in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. As mentioned in Chapter 4, the first proprietor of Gardiner's Island, Lion Gardiner, was well-acquainted with the Montauketts through economic transactions for land and labor. From the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries, the Gardiner family relied on Native American and African American labor- enslaved, indentured, and eventually freed. John Lyon Gardiner, who was the proprietor at the turn of the nineteenth century, employed several men of color and maintained records of his transactions with them in his Account Book of Colours or Mulattos, 1799-1801 and his Account Book No. 2, 1801-1806 (East Hampton Library Long Island Collection). The pages of these books list accounts with 33 people of color (Native American and African American), with records of debts to Gardiner in the form of goods, cash, some services, and sometimes land, which were paid off through work performed, goods traded, and occasionally cash from the debtors. It is in these records that we find the sale of land at Freetown to his laborers Plato and Prince, who each purchased a third of Gardiner's Freetown land for £12 in 1802 and 1803 (Figure 6.4). These listings appear to be the earliest instances of documented land purchases by free people of color in the town of East Hampton. These two transactions, along with a payment for Tom Jack's land (which he purchased from one of the Mulfords), are all of the land transactions listed in Gardiner's Account Book No. 2 (Gardiner 1806). These debts stand out among smaller debits for produce and sundries: each third of Gardiner's Freetown land was sold for £12.00, while a debit of £14.60 was made for Tom Jack's land. Credits from labor, farm/maritime products, and sometimes cash were made on each individual's accounts. The longevity of these transactions, however, remains unclear. Unlike other land purchases in the town of East Hampton, these

transactions were not written as deeds and were not registered with the town or the county. Because they were not recorded in any legal capacity, these transactions left the opportunity open for land loss by this often impoverished work force.

Date	Description	Amount
1803	To one third of my freetown land sold you	12 0 0
Octo 25	To 2 th Chops	0 1 4
	To Interest on 12 £ from 1 April to 1 Octo 1803	0 8 0
	To do on 6 £ from 1 Octo 1803 to 1 Aug 1804	0 7 2
	To Interest from 6 Octo 1804 to 1 July 1805	13 0 6
1806	To 3/8 Prince - 2/8 interest - 2/8 due me	1 11 0
Octo 07	To cash for Prince	0 9 0
Nov 1	To cash for Prince	2 00 0

Figure 6.4. A page from John Lyon Gardiner's Account Book No. 2 (East Hampton Library Long Island Collection,). The first debit listed is for land at Freetown.

Prince and Plato are listed as free people of color and heads-of-household near the home of Gardner Miller on the 1800 Federal Census, along with Edward, Rufus, Sirus, Quough, Judas, Abraham Cuffee, Caleb Cuffee, Virgil, and Jane. These 11 households include 50 free people of color (Figure 6.1), comprising roughly 45% of the documented people of color in the town of East Hampton. And although the names listed are incomplete and perhaps not entirely accurate (i.e., the single names continue to be used as first and/or last names throughout the nineteenth century), they represent the earliest documentation for some of the longest-lasting families of color in eastern Long Island: Plato, Quaw/Quough, and Cuffee.

The boundaries of Freetown were not fixed; that is to say, Freetown does not resemble a neighborhood or enclave of streets and cross streets, like Eastville in Sag Harbor (McGovern 2015). Instead, Freetown appears to begin as a place along North Main Street/Three Mile Harbor Road where whites provided some of their least valuable land for settlement of their laborers (Hefner 1990). Some people of color settled along Springs/Fireplace Road, too in the nineteenth century, and Floyd and Jackson Roads, which are cross streets between North Main Street/Three Mile Harbor Road, Springs/Fireplace Road, and Old Accobonack Road (Figure 6.7).⁴² These north-south routes connected the village with the protected harbor of the north shore of the South Fork, where ships would arrive (prior to the rise of Sag Harbor) and passage could be made to Gardiner's Island, Shelter Island, and Connecticut. These roads meandered through woodlots, past agricultural lands and homes of white farmers, merchants, and whaling company owners.

In order to understand the placement of free households of color, it is necessary to investigate the locations of wealthy farmers, merchants, and company owners. Freetown developed, for instance, due to its close proximity to the central village area where most of the wealthy whites were settled. Most of the elite whites were descendant of the early families who settled the town and owned, in addition to agricultural lands, portions of woodlands, meadows, and marshes. They chose small sections of their extensive landholdings to sell or allocate to their workers for settlement. And it seems that the landed gentry shared ideas about sections of the town that would be allocated collectively to settling the labor class, as they began to sell portions in similar areas to people of color. This is illustrated in clusters or enclaves in the Federal Census listings. In addition to the Gardiner family, the Dominy, Osborn, Miller, and Dayton families all

⁴² Today, Freetown includes the area along Three Mile Harbor Road between Jackson Street and Abraham's Path (Thompson 2014).

allocated lands at or near Freetown to this early construction of workforce housing (Appendices F.2, F.9).

A few households of color were also established in Springs (also known as Accobonack). Benjamin Miller, a white farmer and extensive landowner, lived there in the late eighteenth century and into the nineteenth century at a place called Springy Banks. He owned most of the land on the west side of Three Mile Harbor to Cedar Street in Freetown (Cammisa et al. 1999; Rattray 1953:456, 461; East Hampton 1889:226, 1905:1). The households of color that were settled in this vicinity probably sought employment with Benjamin Miller. This location was also proximate to Gardiner's Island; a short trip by skiff or canoe could easily reach the island, where the Gardiner family employed men and women for short and long-term work in the fields and in the Manor.

By 1810, established settlement patterns are well-defined and clearly overlap with labor strategies. Nineteen free households of color are listed in the Federal Census containing altogether 76 free people of color. Approximately 6 of these households were listed near John Lyon Gardiner, who also had 10 free people of color and 4 enslaved individuals within his household. The heads of 5 of these households of color were listed in John Lyon Gardiner's account books (Figure 6.5; Appendix A). It remains unclear if the Gardiner family was living in the village of East Hampton or on their private island at this time. Either way, it seems likely that the free households of color were located between Freetown and Springs. When employed on Gardiner's Island, they probably stayed in short-term housing there (Robert Hefner, pers. comm.)

The number of free households of color (which include African American and Native American people) jumps to 40 in 1820, containing a total of 159 people. The census taker provides few clues to the order of households enumerated, but by referencing other sources,

including deeds and probates, the patterning of small enclaves becomes more obvious (Appendix F.2). In the 1830s the earliest settlements in Eastville emerge; this was a section of Sag Harbor that was geographically distant from the waterfront, white village of Sag Harbor. Deed research demonstrates that whites began to sell land in this area to people of color in the 1830s, although their names remain largely absent from maps until the 1870s⁴³ (Appendix F.9). People began to settle here in larger numbers after the establishment of the African Methodist Episcopal Church around 1839 (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1830-1870; Appendix F.2)

Figure 6.5. Names of accounts for people of color with John Lyon Gardiner.

Account Book of Colours or Mulattos, 1799-1801	Account Book No. 2, 1801-1806
Ben	Amos Cuff
Martin	Amos Cuff
Amos	Benjamin Jack
John Cuff	Ben Pharaoh
Isaac Plato	Caleb Cuff
Caleb Cuff	Cyrus
Aaron Cuff	Cato
Dence	Dence
Sampson	George Pharaoh
Plato	Isaac Plato Jr
Rufus	Isaac Cuff
Nance	Isaac Plato
John Joe	Isaac James
John James	John Cuff
Stephen Pharaoh	John Joe
George Pharaoh	John Joe Jr
	Noah Cato
	Luce
	Martin
	Nance
	Plato

⁴³ The 1854 *Map of Sag Harbor, Long Island* shows few African American and/or Native American households in the Eastville section of Sag Harbor. However, this map, which was published by Wall & Forest, includes a list of subscribers whose names and properties were identified on the map. It is probable that this map was drawn on the basis of subscription only.

	Prince
	Phillip
	Rufus
	Robert James
	Noah Rufus
	Samson
	Steven Pharaoh
	Stephen Jackson
	Syl... Rufus
	Silas Joe
	Warren Cuff

The data from the 1810-1840 censuses (Appendix F.2.d) demonstrate the endurance of families, and in some cases, the longevity of their households. Although the households are listed in Appendix F.2.d based on the route of the census taker, the data were also sorted separately to expose geographic patterning. For instance, the households by the names of Gardiner, Right/Wright, Stove/Store, Jack, Dep(p), and Coles were located in Freetown or Accobonack/Springs,⁴⁴ and seem to remain there until nearly the turn of the twentieth century (Appendices F.2, F.9). Early on, the homes of Isaac Plato and Martin Plato were also located in Accobonack/Springs; later on, their relatives settled in Eastville. Similarly, the Cuffee family settled in Northwest Woods near Russell's Neck in the early part of the nineteenth century, but their descendants eventually moved to Eastville in the 1830s (Appendices F.2, F.9). Notably, Lewis Cuffee was a farmer with extensive landholdings for a person of color at that time. He and Peter Quaw, another farmer of color, were cattle owners; they were the only people of color to put their cattle out to pasture in Montauk along with the many white farmers of eastern Long Island (Fattening Fields Books for 1838, 1840 1843, East Hampton Library Long Island Collection).

⁴⁴ It looks like the early purchases by people of color in Accobonack are very close to Freetown and may in fact be the same place.

Through time, the Montauk, Freetown, Accobonack/Springs, and Eastville families became connected (or maintained previously-established connections) by marriages and children. The Quaw, Hannibal, Peters and Right/Wright families, who are among the households listed in the nineteenth-century census rolls, are of Montaukett ancestry. These families were among the earliest Montaukett families to leave Montauk for work and settlement closer to East Hampton village. Meanwhile, the Montaukett families with the surnames Pharaoh and Fowler remain absent from the Federal Census, because Indian Fields was not enumerated. The Cuffee name, which is listed in the Towns of East Hampton and Southampton, is a common Native American and African American surname throughout coastal New York and southern New England. Over time, Native American unions with whites and blacks contributed to the mixed-heritage composition of these neighborhoods.

From 1840 through 1920, the Freetown neighborhood grew to include African American migrants from the southern United States who formed unions with the already-established African American and Native American families of Freetown, Springs, Eastville, and Bridgehampton. Although changing economic patterns produced new labor opportunities, people of color remained employed together in similar capacities, as seamen, laborers, and domestic servants. The earliest map to show the households comprised of free people of color in Freetown and Springs is the 1873 *Atlas of Long Island* (Beers 1873; Figure 6.6). In the Springs area, the homes of Henry Mitchell and Thomas Jefferson Davis (sometimes referred to as Henry Davis) are believed to still stand, providing potential material evidence of home size, structure, and location for these late nineteenth century laborers (Robert Hefner, pers. comm.)

other people of color. A survey of sixteen account books at the East Hampton Library Long Island Collection demonstrates the repeated employment of, and credit system for goods with, Native American and African American people (Appendix F.1). They were residents of Freetown, Springs, and Indian Fields, and their transactions indicate an entanglement of laborers and employers in a system of debt peonage.

As mentioned in Chapter 4, the whaling industry has a long history, beginning with drift whaling, and ending with an expansive industry reliant on deep-sea ventures. The industry was impacted through the years by competition between nations, changing demands for energy sources, the desire for luxury goods, and trade regulations, which resulted in highs and lows in profits. Whaling drew all types of men for employment at sea, but the involvement of indigenous (Montaukett, Shinnecock, Unkechaug, and other Algonquians from throughout New England) and African American men in North American whaling was particularly conspicuous (Cash 1989; Strong 1989).

Each New England port rose to prominence and then declined as another New England port prospered. For instance, Nantucket rose to prominence in the eighteenth century, followed by New London in the early nineteenth century, Sag Harbor between 1820 and 1840, and finally New Bedford. Crew lists demonstrate that Native American and African American men from eastern Long Island (and elsewhere) were employed on ships out of each of these ports. They went to ports where work was available, and sometimes they remained settled at or near those ports after whaling ended, finding work in farming and factories. The New Bedford economy, where whaling ships continued to sail after the turn of the twentieth century, was based largely on maritime commerce and agriculture even after whaling ended. Kathryn Grover notes that unlike other Massachusetts cities that turned to production of shoes and textiles, New Bedford

did not become an industrial city (2001:8). She states that “whaling, more than any of the relatively tolerant maritime trades, had welcomed the participation of people of color, and as white and immigrant labor entered the factories the decks and forecastles of whalers may have grown especially dependent on whalemens of color until the 1850s. Those laborers in turn viewed whaling, despite its disadvantages, as one of the only occupations available through which they might support themselves and their families” (Grover 2001:8). This economic pattern is similar to eastern Long Island. A few factories were established in East Hampton (for processing maritime commodities), but the area did not become industrialized. East Hampton remained largely rural, with a growing resort contingent. People of color continued to find work on whaling ships until the turn of twentieth century, and the connections they made with crew members should not be underestimated. By searching crew lists and whaling accounts, it becomes evident that African American and Native American men from Long Island sailed together, settled together, and eventually formed kin relationships between their families (Figure 6.7; Appendices F.1, F.2, F.3, F.6, F.7, F.9).

Whaling also exposed men to unfamiliar parts of the world, particularly as the voyages travelled farther in search of whales. The men of whaling crews met people from all parts of the world, occasionally stopped in foreign lands for supplies and crew (where they also purchased or traded for personal goods), and some abandoned their ships to settle far from home (Shoemaker 2013, 2014). Contrary to contemporary white perspectives, East Hampton’s men of color were worldly, as they learned about new people and cultures at sea and in foreign ports. Their experiences at sea force us to reconsider their involvement in shaping global commerce (Cohen 2008). These experiences would have been altogether different from those of the whites that employed them at home, who viewed Native Americans, for instance, as living relics of ancient

cultures. At ports like Sag Harbor and New Bedford, the presence of whalers from other lands throughout the Caribbean, the Azores, Cape Verde, and the South Pacific contributed to a sense of cosmopolitanism, as men occasionally joined whaling ships that were already at sea (Grover 2001; Shoemaker 2014). Foreign whalers that remained at Sag Harbor also formed kin relations with people of color in East Hampton town (Zaykowski 1991).

Figure 6.7. Table of ship crews that contained 2 or more Native American and/or African American members. Many of these men lived in Freetown. A more complete list of Native American and African American crew by ship (1807-1892) is available in Appendix F.7.

Year	Ship	Port	Native American and African American crew	Source
1826	Thames	Sag Harbor	Samuel Walkus (shipkeeper), Amaziah Cuffee (cook), James Arch, William Prime, Abraham Jack, Jerry Butler, Jason Cuffee, Aphy Cuffee, John Brush, Joseph Wright	Whaling Scrapbook, John Jermain library
1827	Thames	Sag Harbor	Jason Cuffee, Wm Prime, Isaac Cuffee, Isaac Wright or Rufus, Samuel Walkus, Simeon Jabez, Tobias Coles	Whaling Scrapbook, John Jermain library
1828	Henry	Sag Harbor	Jeptha Depp, George Pharaoh	Dering crew list
1828	Thames	Sag Harbor	James Arch, Jason Cuffee, Pink, Peter Gabriel, Simeon Jabez, John Warren, James Cuffee, Henry Killis, Silvester Pharaoh, Amaziah Cuffee (cook)	Whaling Scrapbook, John Jermain library
1829	Henry	Sag Harbor	Douglas Cato, Dep Mulford, George Pharaoh	Dering crew list
1829	Thames	Sag Harbor	Jason Cuffee, James Cuffee, Peter Coles	Whaling Scrapbook, John Jermain library
1831	Franklin	Sag Harbor	David Bunn, Samuel Wright	Dering crew list
1831	Henry	Sag Harbor	James Cuffee, Jason Cuffee, John Cuffee (cook), George Pharaoh	Dering crew list
1833	Thomas Williams	New London	Jeremiah Coffin, Ismael Cuffee	New London crew list
1834	Nimrod	Sag Harbor	Benjn Ceasar (steward),	Dering crew list

			William Simpson	
1836	Nimrod	Sag Harbor	Benjn Ceasar Jun, Lewis Cuffee	
1838	Nimrod	Sag Harbor	Silas Coles, Nathaniel Jack	Dering crew list
1839	Franklin	Sag Harbor	Caleb Cuffee, Jeremiah Cuffee	Dering crew list
1840	Nimrod	Sag Harbor	Wickham Cuffee, Wm F. Cuffee, George Fowler (?)	Dering crew list
1841	Nimrod	Sag Harbor	Wickham Cuffee, Caton Joseph	Dering crew list
1842	Hamilton	Sag Harbor	Abraham Cuffees, Joshua Pharaoh	Dering crew list
1843	Nimrod	Sag Harbor	James Arch, Thomas Coles	Dering crew list
1844	Barbara	Sag Harbor	Seth Butler, Benjn Ceasar (cook)	Dering crew list
1844	Italy	Sag Harbor	Nathl Bunn, Abm Cuffee, Isaac Hannibal	Dering crew list
1844	Nimrod	Sag Harbor	James Arch (steward), Thomas Coles	Dering crew list
1844	Sabina	Sag Harbor	Abraham Jack, Isaac Wright George Pharaoh	Dering crew list
1848	Noble	Sag Harbor	Abraham Jack, Joseph Pharaoh	Dering crew list
1853	Nimrod	Sag Harbor	Nelson Bunn, James L. Cuffee (steward), Paul Cuffee, Caton Joseph, Frank Joseph	Dering crew list
1856	Sunbeam	New Bedford	Eleazer Pharaoh, Ebenezer Pharaoh	New Bedford crew list

While some men were still working at sea, many known whalers and others were listed as general laborers in 1850 (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1850; Appendix A). By 1860, there are even fewer seamen; men from out of state travelled to Long Island in search of farming work, and both men and women sought employment in service work, as gardeners, washerwomen, and domestics, to whites. This new labor pattern was a reflection of economic changes.

Farming continued as an important economic activity. The railroad expanded east to Southampton, East Hampton, and Southold townships in the 1860s and 1870s, offering fast and

efficient transport of agricultural products to the west. But resort communities also developed on the east end of Long Island. For East Hampton town, this was facilitated by the presence of artists and writers who visited, captured images of the villages, and shared their art and stories with the world through articles in Harper's Weekly and Scribner's Monthly Magazine (Cameron 1999; Richard Martin, pers. comm.). Mid-nineteenth century American landscape painters arrived first, followed by the artists who formed the Tile Club. This group of artists visited, among other places in East Hampton town, the settlement at Indian Fields in the 1870s. Their accounts of East Hampton town influenced Thomas Moran and other artists of the time to establish homes and studios in East Hampton. These artists employed Native American and African American men in their homes and gardens (e.g., Hefner 2013).

From the mid to late nineteenth century, the development of hunting clubs and lodges also supported economic growth and socio-cultural change in East Hampton town. Wealthy, white businessmen from Manhattan, Brooklyn, and elsewhere arrived for hunting and fishing parties, employing Montaukett men as guides to the area. Vacationers stayed at Third House and the Lighthouse in Montauk, which served as lodges that catered to overnight guests (Laffan 1879).⁴⁵ The presence of these outsiders would have been felt by the residents of Indian Fields, whose houses were nearby, and who found employment in service to visitors. Jerusha Pharaoh (who lived at and received annuities for Indian Fields), for instance, was listed as a domestic in the home of Samuel Stratton, the keeper of Third House (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1860; Appendix A). The keeper of the Montauk Lighthouse, too, was known to employ Montaukett men and women in the late nineteenth century (Devine 1996). Finally, Arthur Benson, who purchased the Montauk lands that included Indian Fields at auction in 1879, gained his intimate

⁴⁵ Walt Whitman wrote an account of his trip to Montauk, which included a scathing description of the Montaukett and a failure to receive dinner accommodations at the Lighthouse (Twomey 2012).

knowledge of the area from Charles Fowler, an Indian Fields resident who served as his hunting and fishing guide.

Generalizations about Native American and African American women's work prior to the nineteenth century are based on patterns associated with agricultural life in rural northeast North America, while records of men's employment were better-preserved (mentioned above). More specifically, some women worked in the homes of whites as domestics. Montaukett women of Indian Fields were also involved with men in small-scale farming activities, at home and in the fields of the elites. In 1799, for instance, Stephen Pharaoh and his wife pulled 2 acres of flax for John Lyon Gardiner (Gardiner 1801).

By 1850, women of color were documented as domestic servants in white homes, and as washerwomen. Washing was often taken into their own homes, as noted in the Federal Census after 1850. Women of color were listed as heads of household as early as 1800, but the details of post-1850 census listings indicate that their households often included boarders and extended kin (Appendix A). Eliza Cooper, for example, was listed as a head of household on the 1880 Federal Census. Her household included Clarissa Depth, a 13 year old boarder who worked as a servant, a 10 month old boarder by the name of Benjamin C. Coles,⁴⁶ and the following extended kin: grandson Silas C. Fowler, grandson Samuel Quaw, granddaughter Maggie Banks, and nephew John L. Horton, who was at sea at the time. Cooper's occupation was listed as "keeping house," but her household was probably supported by income from its members.

An oral history recorded in 1929 by Thomas Edwards, a life-long white resident of East Hampton, provides a vivid description of the setting and the people of Freetown (Edwards 1929). Like most Long Island histories written from local memory, the source must be considered

⁴⁶ The young boarders in Cooper's household may have been foster children; this pattern, though not well documented, seems to have continued through the twentieth century.

carefully. But in this rare find, the names of Freetown residents from just 50 years prior come to life, along with the memories of the work they performed. Edwards remembered “ ‘Aunt Peg’, a colored soap maker,” who smoked a clay pipe and baked in an old brick oven; Hannah Hannibles, a Native American woman who caned chairs; Levi Stoves, a whaleman who worked for farmers; Sylpha, who “cooked sometimes at summer boarding houses, washed and did other kinds of work for the village people”; Kate Jack, who made scrub brushes and was a domestic in several white homes; Ed Deesberry, who labored on farms, cut wood, and performed other odd jobs, and his wife Dorcas, who “had been married before, and was the mother of Israel Quaw and Mary B., who married Robert Montgomery, an ex-slave, and a very religious man...”; John Horton (worked for Norman Barnes); Isaac and Jerry Wright (farmed and fished); and Sam Butler (1929:254-6). Edwards’ memories provide interesting details about work, craft production, and kin that are difficult to reconstruct from primary documents alone. These memories are even more significant to the process of tracing kin connections and social relationships.

6.3.2. Social and Kin Networks

In this dissertation, the tracing of social and kin networks began in the process of mapping labor patterns and movement. The results demonstrated not only patterning in types of labor, but also social connections that were established and maintained across geographical distances. Those distances included separation of 20 or more miles of land from Indian Fields to settlements in Freetown, Springs, and elsewhere, as well as years and miles at sea. The significance of tracing social and kin networks lies in our ability to understand these networks from an emic perspective. They were not simply networks that resulted from white enforcement

into a conscripted labor class. In fact, as mentioned in Chapters 3 and 4, Native systems of exchange (which functioned for trade and social/kin organization) were well-established across broad landscapes in the pre-Columbian era; post-contact networks were therefore not new cultural constructions. However, the families discussed here should be understood as comprising networks of survival that helped to minimize risk while men and women sought work outside their homes (see Young 2004; Stack 1974). Furthermore, it is through these relationships that Montaukett survivance, both on and off Indian Fields, was maintained. In this section, kinship is traced in a few individual cases. Based on information presented in previous chapters, these names should sound familiar.

Abraham Pharaoh was a whaler, who in 1848, sailed out of New Bedford. Although his name is absent from all Federal Census listings, his presence is documented in labor, and legal documents pertaining to real property. His absence from the Federal Census, interestingly,⁴⁷ provides some hints to his early life and activities. In his early years, he probably grew up with other Pharaohs at Indian Fields. He married Catherine (“Kate”) Jack in the Presbyterian Church in East Hampton in 1856. That same year, he bought a previously foreclosed parcel at public auction. This property is described as adjacent to Levi Stow’s⁴⁸ property (a free person of color who was living on Three Mile Harbor Road in 1830 and 1840 [U.S. Bureau of the Census 1830, 1840; Appendices A, F.2, F.9]). Abraham is absent from the 1850 and 1860 Federal Censuses, suggesting that he may have been at sea. Meanwhile, Catherine, who was 19 years old in 1850, was listed in the home of Abraham Jack (a 43 year old laborer who was probably her father) with

⁴⁷ Because it is unclear where Pharaoh’s home was, his absence from the census could be for a couple of reasons. While the Federal Census did not include “American Indians not taxed” as a rule of apportionment before 1870, Native Americans who were living off reserved lands often were listed. If this was the case for Pharaoh, then he may have been at sea when the census was taken. However, if he was living at Indian Fields, his absence from the census would have been because that settlement was on reserved lands.

⁴⁸ Levi Stow of Freetown has also been recorded with the last name Stove and Storr.

Dinah (37 years old), Samuel (a seaman, 27 years old) and Margaret (13 years old). In 1860, Catherine Faro⁴⁹ was listed as a domestic (along with Oliver Cuffee) in the home of Elias H. Miller, a white farmer in East Hampton. In 1875, Abraham Pharaoh's will directed that his house at Freetown be left to his wife Kate Jack, and then his sister Jerusha Pharaoh after Kate's death. The will was witnessed by Benjamin F. Coles, another free person of color, who received a mortgage for some Freetown property from Catherine Pharaoh in 1861 (Appendix F.9).

Abraham recognized Jerusha as his sister, but they may have been related through marriage (i.e., as in-laws). Jerusha married Sylvester Pharaoh, the Chief or "King of the Montauks," in 1861 in the Amagansett Presbyterian Church. She lived with Sylvester and her son Ephraim in Montauk. Following Sylvester's death, Jerusha continued to receive "field money" for rights⁵⁰ to Indian Fields, where she probably lived in the late nineteenth century.⁵¹ This was her second marriage, it seems, as she previously had married Isaac Pharaoh, with whom she had her son Ephraim. At least one document indicates that Jerusha was a Fowler before marrying Isaac Pharaoh (Suffolk County Almhouse Record #2014, November 16, 1917).

Isaac Pharaoh and his brother William were indentured to Samuel Gardiner around 1834; their indenture was expected to last until they were twenty years old. They lived at Sylvester Manor on Shelter Island, where they worked within the Gardiner home. According to local lore, William Pharaoh fled the manor and plantation to become a whaler, while Isaac remained at Sylvester Manor until his death. Carvings of ships in the wood beams of the garret where they slept have been interpreted as material evidence of their presence (Griswold 2013). Isaac was

⁴⁹ The name Faro is likely misspelling of Pharaoh.

⁵⁰ "Field money" refers to payments that the Montaukettts received for rights to Indian Field. These were recorded in the Fattting Fields books. This was also discussed in Chapter 4.

⁵¹ One local history reference points to a possible habitation near Rod's Valley (Appendix F.8).

listed as the head of a household on Shelter Island in the 1850 Federal Census, but no records of his marriage or death have been found.

Although his activities are minimally documented prior to 1870, Benjamin F. Coles was probably a life-long resident of Freetown. He married Hannah Farrow (an alternative spelling of Pharaoh), who may have been a daughter of Chief Sylvester Pharaoh, in 1867. Coles was a farm laborer in 1870 (U.S. Bureau of the Census; Appendix A). At that time, Coles was 34 years old and living with his wife, who was 24, infant daughters Mary and Kate, and in-law Mary Pharaoh (a 35 year old domestic servant). His parentage is unknown, but he is likely the son of Benjamin F. Coles who was the administrator of Stephen Coles's estate in 1839. When Stephen Coles died, his kin included his wife Hannah Coles; Sabiner, wife of John Joseph; Ruth Peterson (deceased) and Silas Coles (deceased). According to the Federal Census, Stephen Coles lived in Freetown in 1820, and Silas Coles lived there in 1850 (curiously, Stephen Coles's probate indicates that Silas was already deceased by 1838, suggesting there was more than one Silas Coles). Silas Coles sailed out of Sag Harbor on whaling ships in 1830, 1831, and 1838, and was outfitted by Isaac Van Scoy for whaling voyages between 1828 and 1838. He and members of the Coles family were listed in the account books of Gardiner and Parsons, Isaac Van Scoy, and another unidentified (but probably Gardiner family) account book (Account Book 1830; Appendix F.1).

Although the marriages of Abraham Pharaoh and Benjamin Coles demonstrate just two unions between Indian Fields and Freetown residents, many more existed over time. These unions created bonds across geographic distances that may have been necessary strategies for survivance. In addition to housing nuclear families, many households seemed to include extended kin networks, including sisters and brothers, mothers, grandmothers, and grandchildren (e.g., Eliza Cooper, mentioned above; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1850-80; 1900). Furthermore,

the unions that were formed by marriages between Indian Fields and Freetown residents were informed by previously-established labor and social networks. Both neighborhoods yielded whalers, seamen, and fishermen, as well as laborers and domestic servants, who probably knew each other well from shared work experiences.

Primary documents are incredibly useful for tracing family members, especially through legal actions. This is exemplified with the family of Isaac Plato, a free person of color and head of household on the 1800 census. At that time, he probably lived between Freetown and Springs, two distinct, but geographically close, areas north of the white village of East Hampton. His household included seven free people of color. In 1829 and 1830, he mortgaged property in Accobonack and Springs⁵² with Isaac S. Van Scoy, a white farmer and extensive property owner who lived in Northwest Woods. One of these mortgages mentions his wife, Huldah. Isaac and Huldah had five children: Isaac, Charles R., Alfred, Silas, and Harriet. Charles R. purchased land with his mother Huldah in the area of Sag Harbor that came to be known as Eastville in the 1830s. Their purchases are among the earliest for the neighborhood. Charles is also listed as one of the Trustees of the African Church of Sag Harbor (which was built in Eastville). Meanwhile Isaac, another son of Isaac and Huldah, drowned at sea while employed on the Hudson, a whaler. His 1846 probate lists his two brothers (Alfred and Silas) and sister Harriet as heirs of his estate. At the time, Alfred was living in Hartford, Connecticut and Silas was employed on the whaling ship Tuscany. Harriet, who was a minor living with her mother, inherited a share of her brother's estate and was subsequently appointed a guardian for her inheritance.

The petition for the administration of Hannah Dep's estate provides one of the most interesting accounts of kin and social networks, because it also includes telling comments by white administrators about their perceptions of people of color in East Hampton town (Appendix

⁵² These were probably the same place, though named differently some times in documents.

F.9). Hannah Dep, identified as “a coloured woman,” died in December of 1844. The name Dep first appears in 1820 related to 3 separate households (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1820; Appendix F.2.d). In 1840, there were 2 Dep households and Hannah Dep may have been living in one of them (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1840). Four men named Dep (Jeptha Depp, Dep Mulford, Charles Dep,⁵³ and Lewis Dep) were listed on whaling crews between 1828 and 1838 (Appendix F.7). Yet following the death of Hannah in 1844, county officials were unable to locate any of her kin to reliably administer her estate. According to a letter from Josiah Dayton included in her probate file, her son and daughter could not be located and several other individuals who presented themselves as her relatives were deemed either incompetent or their claims illegitimate. These relatives include William, Jonathan and/or Isaac Fowler, Naomi and Jonathan Wright, and John Joseph. John Joseph was a Montaukett who worked as a whaler and laborer; he and his wife Sabiner owned land in Accobonack in the 1820s (Appendix F.9). Naomi Wright was also a Montaukett resident in the Freetown and/or Accobonack area (Appendix A). Dep’s probate file identifies the Fowlers, who were residents of Indian Fields, as her great grandsons, but their claim to administration was denied on the basis of their presumed lack of competence. William Fowler was described as a minor and Jonathan (and/or Isaac) Fowler was at sea on a whaling voyage at the time.⁵⁴ Dayton and others provide an interesting account of the attitudes toward Dep’s family:

“I am unable to ascertain as yet who are the Legitimate heirs of Hannah Dep dec'd. I send you a written renunciation of John Joseph who I think it probable may turn out be the sole heir to said estate. I did not take it because he is more competent to administer than the others but at his request, and that his name might

⁵³ Charles Dep sailed on two whaling voyages for Derring. He is probably the same Charles Dep (Charles W. Dipp) who died a veteran in 1865 and was buried in St. David AME Zion Cemetery in Eastville.

⁵⁴ Jonathan and Isaac Fowler were sons of William Walter Fowler and Mary Cuffee of Indian Fields. William Fowler is possibly their son, too, but I have not yet located his name in genealogies. His name, and Jonathan/Isaac, may not be accurately represented.

be used by others against me for I consider all of others concerned in the distribution of said estate alike incompetent to administer upon any property according to the meaning and intent of the 32nd Sec of the Administration Act. I have also taken the opinion of the substantial men of our town with whom you are acquainted which I presume coincide with nine-tenths of our community as to the incompetence of William and Isaac Fowler whom I presume are your new petitioners to administer upon said estate. I also drew a petition for Naomi Wright on behalf of her son Jonathan who she says is great grandchild to the intestate but on finding that the said Jonathan was doubly illegitimate I did not think it necessary for them to execute said petition. The said Hannah had a son and a daughter who left East Hampton several years ago of whom I have made inquiry by writing to different parts of the country but have not learned whether they be living or dead..." (Probate File 3492, Surrogate's Court, Riverhead, New York).

Dayton, who moves forward as the administrator of Dep's estate, requests testimonies from other white men from East Hampton to evaluate the Fowlers' claim. Their response (with noted changes) is included in the probate file:

"...We the undersigned have been called upon by Mr. Dayton for an expression of our opinions as to the incompetency of William and Isaac Fowler who claim to be the heirs of the late Hannah Dep to receive letters of administration upon her estate, do not hesitate to state that from our knowledge of and acquaintance with said Indians we believe them to be incompetent to administer upon that or any other estate from their incapability of making contracts by reason of improvidence and want of understanding...Yours very respectfully, Samuel Miller [and] Abel Huntington" (Probate File 3492, Surrogate's Court, Riverhead, New York).

This file is important for two reasons. First, the kin connections between Montauketts at Indian Fields and Freetown/Springs are identified by members of the Joseph, Wright, and Fowler families as they each were evaluated as potential heirs of Hannah Dep's estate. Second, the sentiment of white townspeople toward the Montauketts was well defined in testimonies against them. The Fowlers, who were probably not literate, were identified as incompetent on the basis of lack of education, "want of understanding," and perceived "incapability of making contracts." These prejudiced judgments against the Fowlers were entrenched by more than a century of disagreements between whites and Montauketts over land rights.

The presence of probates for people of color in the nineteenth century is, at first, surprising. These files provide a record of people's presence, their kin, their lifeways, and their property (real and personal) after their memories are seemingly wiped away from history and the landscape. However, these records are also important reminders of the economic relationships between whites and people of color, because most of these individuals died intestate. Their real and personal property was evaluated to satisfy debts to creditors who were oftentimes also their employers. Hannah Dep's probate, for instance, includes an inventory of her estate which lists a bond with Josiah C. Dayton, the white administrator who identified Dep's kin as incompetent to administer her estate. Isaac Plato's estate went to probate, too, because he died at sea on a whaling voyage, presumably with some debt to his creditors. The appointment of a white guardian for his sister, who was living with her mother and inherited some of his estate as a minor, is another example of the paternalistic sentiment toward people of color. The estate of Levi Stove/Store went to probate to satisfy unpaid accounts with William Lefever, Henry B. Tuthill, and Jeremiah L. Dayton; Jeremiah L. Dayton eventually purchased Store's property at public auction (Appendix F.9).

6.4. Systems of Exchange and the Rise of Capitalism

In addition to tracing social and labor networks, the day books, account books, and ledgers provide a means for tracing the movement of goods from markets to households, and the system of exchange (i.e., payment in cash, payment through labor, barter, etc.). It is important to note that there are few cash transactions recorded in the account books. Most people of color were buying on credit, exchanging labor for goods. Most of the accounts found for people of color were for people settled at Freetown and Springs.

There were far fewer accounts for people at Indian Fields, and for those accounts that were found, the debt accrued was less substantial than for Freetown and Springs residents. The reason for this is probably two-fold: fewer exchanges probably occurred because of the distance between Indian Fields and the stores/creditors who were located in Northwest, Springs, Amagansett, and East Hampton village. Secondly, the residents of Indian Fields subsisted largely on locally-obtained and/or wild-caught foods: freshwater fish, saltwater fish, shellfish, fowl, wild and domesticated animals (e.g., deer, sheep, and pig), wild fruits, and perhaps some home-grown vegetables. Hunting, fishing, and shellfishing could be accomplished under the limited gaze of whites before the mid nineteenth century. Although East Hampton whites restricted these and other Native lifeways, there were few whites in Montauk to closely monitor Montaukett behavior.

For people of color who lived closer to the village (i.e., in Freetown, Springs, etc.), there were town-wide restrictions on hunting and access to the shellfish beds. This came from the growing enterprises that developed on private landholdings. The Freetown residents clearly purchased these goods from local farmers and merchants, like Isaac Van Scoy. Their involvement with white farmers and store owners drew them into the local market, which they relied on for food.

The production of agricultural goods for market, and simultaneous relationship of people of color, is best exemplified by the account books of Isaac Van Scoy, Junior (1825-1835; East Hampton Library, Long Island Collection). His father owned a 180 acre farm in Northwest, on which he employed both captive and free people of color. Isaac Van Scoy Junior continued to live and farm at Northwest, outfitted crews of whalers, sold all kinds of goods to local residents, rented out a horse and wagon, and according to Jeanette Edwards Rattray, was a pioneer in

oyster-growing (1938:245). His account books are an excellent example of the system of exchange that functioned in nineteenth-century eastern Long Island. Personal accounts for whites and people of color were recorded together in day books, and included notes on payment for goods in work for Van Scoy, credits on individual accounts by other white landowners (who were compensating their laborers with goods from Van Scoy), credits from barter (e.g., rum purchased against 8 chickens), and debts that were paid without details. But most significant is his power, as an elite white male who profited substantially from whaling, shellfishing, and farming. Not only did he sell these items to New England for profit; he profited at the expense of his laborers, who were kept in a system of debt peonage. To make matters worse, his laborers could not supplement their income with shellfishing because through his business, he owned the rights to the oyster beds (Rattray 1938). They could not farm, either, because their landholdings were generally not large enough for production and all cattle were kept at least 20 miles east at Montauk.

The rise of wealth for the East Hampton elite came at the expense of “marginal” communities (see Breen 1989:186). But these “marginal” communities were really integral to the economic successes and the cultural world of the elites. Following the decline of whaling and the rise of the resort era, East Hampton whites continued to rely on the laboring class to maintain the wealth and social standing that they grew accustomed to.

Eastern Long Island was one of the many regions in the world that was “influenced by the advances of the capitalist mode but not engulfed directly by machine production or ‘factories-in-the-field’” (Wolf 1982:306). Although agricultural production and whaling were performed on a massive scale and drew East Hamptoners into a global economy, a system of exchange (based on labor for commodities) remained in place until the end of the nineteenth

century. Here, the capitalist mode of production was exemplified by the capitalists (East Hampton elite whites) owning the means of production, and the working class selling their labor to the capitalists. However, the working class did not sell their labor for wages. Instead, they sold their labor for commodities, which in turn commodified their labor. A system of commodity exchange, therefore, existed in the hinterland of eastern Long Island. This system reflected changes in the market, and changes in the capitalist mode of production, that occurred on a global scale throughout the world in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The expansion of the capitalist market caused new conditions of stress in the hinterland of eastern Long Island. The balance of exchange was clearly in favor of the merchants, who were producing for the global market, while the working class of eastern Long Island grew more dependent on market items (see Wolf 1982:307).

6.5. Conclusion

The lives of people of color, it seems, were always based on working for others. By working in the homes and fields of whites and by working for whaling companies, men and women of color were drawn into the market economy, selling (or trading) their labor for subsistence and leisure goods. This trend continued into the twentieth century with the construction of more elaborate elite estates and the rise of the resort communities (also catering to elites) (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1870-1930). Few were permitted the opportunity to make a living at farming (exceptions include Lewis Cuffee and Peter Quaw, mentioned above). This was assured by the separation and/or dispossession of people of color from the land. Although Montauketts east of Napeague were directed by whites to give up their traditional subsistence strategy in favor of farming, they were restricted in their agricultural production and aggressively dispossessed throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. At the same time, Native

American and African American men who worked in whaling bought houses with whaling income (Button 2014; Shoemaker 2014), but their estates rarely included extensive landholdings and few remained out of debt. It seems, therefore, that these two conditions- whaling and land dispossession- effectively contributed to the formation of a working class, and that this working class was epitomized by racism and economic subordination.

Chapter 7: Montaukett Lifeways at Indian Fields: A Comparison of Two Households

The lives of Montauketts at Indian Fields were entangled in numerous economic, social, political, and cultural changes over the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; these were discussed in Chapters 4 and 6. In this chapter, the artifacts from the 1970s excavations at Indian Fields are used to examine indigenous agency with respect to these changes, as responses to different flows of exchange in the form of daily practice, however mundane. The archaeological assemblages from the Pharaoh and Fowler homes provide a descriptive image of some Montaukett lifeways at different moments in time during the continuum of Montaukett habitation. The approach is comparative, as it is designed to map out the variation in the practices of Native Montauketts within the Indian Fields village. The analysis is also diachronic, as it considers local responses to changing flows of exchange and broader historical circumstances.

Although this analysis is framed within the broader context of historical change, the lived experiences of these and other people at Indian Fields were active, relational, and “in the moment.” The point is not to measure cultural change within the household deposits, but to interpret household-level activity in relation to contemporary forces (or from our point of view, the historical context).

7.1. Architectural Variation

The Pharaoh and Fowler houses represent two different architectural examples at Indian Fields at different moments in time. They were spatially separated by roughly 120 feet,

positioned on either side of a fieldstone-surrounded enclosure (Feature AXXIX; Figure 5.3), but were not occupied at the same time.⁵⁵

Roughly one third of the Pharaoh house was excavated. Excavations exposed the southwest corner of the house, which was marked by dry-laid fieldstones (Figures 7.1 and 7.2). The south wall of the house was an extension of a rock wall or fence that was part of the large enclosure. Post-in-ground construction was not identified at the Pharaoh house. The concentration of nails and window glass suggest that the house was of frame construction. But, like at least one house identified at the Eastern Pequot reservation (Silliman 2009:220), the Pharaoh house lacked a cellar.

Inside the house, kitchen-related activities took place in the southern portion of the structure. Although the interior was initially identified as disturbed, the excavations later revealed some materials in situ, including a crushed turtle carapace. These new finds led the archaeologists to reinterpret the disturbance as a midden context comprised mainly of oyster shells (along with other shells, animal bones, and other discarded items) throughout the interior of the house. There was also evidence of digging into the shell matrix, perhaps by the occupants in preparation for the construction of a new hearth.

⁵⁵ It is not known if Jeremiah Pharaoh's house was still standing when William Walter Fowler's family was living at Indian Fields.



Figure 7.1. This is a south view of the Jeremiah Pharaoh house. The south wall of the structure is part of a rock wall enclosure. This photo was taken during excavations. Courtesy of Historic Services, Suffolk County Parks.



Figure 7.2. Looking southwest at the archaeological remains of the Jeremiah Pharaoh house (Feature AII; units H9, H10 and G10). This photo was taken during excavations. Courtesy of Historic Services, Suffolk County Parks.

The “shell midden” that the archaeologists identified within the structure is reinterpreted here as the living surface where cooking and other food-related activities probably took place. Similar contexts were observed at sites in Nantucket where dense living floors comprised of compacted soils with shell, bone and artifacts were identified in pre-contact sites that were occupied into the Colonial period (Rainey 2010:47-8), and in Connecticut where shell pockets were identified within eighteenth-century wigwam-like structures (Handsman 2013). Animal skins or reed mats lined the floor or served as raised bedding within these structures (c.f. Rainey 2010:48; Sturtevant 1975; Figure 7.3). In the Pharaoh house, the shell and artifact matrix that comprised the living surface measured roughly seven inches deep and included some charcoal. A few fieldstones mark the location of a possible open hearth.

Although the Pharaoh house does not resemble a particular housing type (as it seems to include aspects of both wigwam and English-style frame housing), it is representative of the vernacular architecture recorded at Native American sites throughout southern New England (Sturtevant 1975; McBride 1990; Cipolla et al. 2007; Rainey 2010; Silliman and Witt 2010). As Mary Lynn Rainey has noted for Nantucket, there is a range of possibilities for Native American houses in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries that may incorporate aspects of wigwams, longhouses, and English-style frame houses. Often hindered by the complicated stratigraphy of multi-component activity and more recent disturbance, these sites may be represented by a range of cultural and natural features, including soil compaction, builder’s trenches, and the use of natural topography (in addition to the more recognizable post-in-ground and/or dry-laid fieldstone construction) (see Rainey 2010:42). The variability of Native American architecture during the early historic period suggests that settlement practices were dynamic and changeable, but certainly influenced by indigenous building traditions.

The Fowler house (Feature AXXV) represents a different vernacular architectural type at Indian Fields. The most obvious factor in the variability of these two houses is temporal. The ca.1840 Fowler house was small in dimension, measuring roughly 15 x 24 feet (360 square feet) (Figure 7.3), but recognizably larger than the 14 x 14 foot, 196-square-foot Pharaoh house. The Fowler house is comparable in size and layout to other homes of nineteenth-century working-class individuals (mostly Native American and African American) in eastern Long Island, including the George Fowler house (mentioned in Chapter 5) that was lived in by descendants in Freetown. Some working-class houses are summarized in Figure 7.4. In 1870, the William Fowler house was one of six households at Indian Fields (U.S. Bureaus of the Census 1870). The other households were inhabited by William's daughter Maria and her husband Chief David Pharaoh (and three children); Chief Pharaoh's mother Aurelia Pharaoh and her daughter Sarah; Stephen Pharaoh and his son Samuel E.; Sylvester Pharaoh, his wife Jerusha, and her son Ephraim; and Elisha Pharaoh. Except for one, the remains of these additional households have not been investigated by archaeologists. By 1880, only William Fowler and Maria Pharaoh's households were documented at Indian Fields (US Bureau of the Census 1880).

The foundation of the Fowler house was constructed of dry-laid fieldstones, and the presence of architectural debris (including construction nails, window glass, and some brick and mortar fragments) suggests that it was wood-framed and contained windows. Neither an intact hearth nor chimney was encountered in the excavations, but the brick was probably used in construction of a chimney. Roughly 45% of the Fowler house was excavated; most of the investigation focused on the west and north external foundation walls. The presence of an interior partition wall suggests that the interior of the house was organized into at least two rooms; one measured 15x15 feet, and the other measured 9x15 feet. According to archaeologist

Ed Johannemann, the interior foundation wall supported floor joists for a wood floor (1993:651).
The house did not appear to have a basement or a cellar hole.



Figure 7.3. This is a view of the west and north walls of the William Fowler house. This photo was taken during excavations. Courtesy of Historic Services, Suffolk County Parks.

Nearly all of the excavation units were placed to investigate the layout of the foundation walls. The archaeologists bisected each excavation unit to investigate the interior and exterior of the structure. These proveniences were lost following excavation when the artifacts were initially analyzed. So although the artifacts are associated with excavation units, it is unclear whether each artifact is from inside or outside the structure. However, based on the types and dates of the artifacts, and the stratigraphic descriptions, all of the archaeological materials (inside and outside the house) were deposited during the same occupation (Appendix E).

Figure 7.4. The dimensions of some working-class houses in eastern Long Island. These are mostly Native American and/or African American. More research is necessary to investigate the housing patterns of white, working-class laborers.

Name of household	Identity	Location	Date of occupation	Dimensions	Reference
Jeremiah Pharaoh house	Native American	Montauk, Town of East Hampton	ca1790-1830	14x14, fieldstone foundation; no cellar	
Bianco/Carroll archaeological site	Native American or mixed heritage	Three Mile Harbor, Town of East Hampton	ca1750-1840	16x21, partly fieldstone and partly post-in-ground construction; blend of wigwam and frame house	Cammisa et al. 1999)
Betsey Prince archaeological site	Free black	Rocky Point, Town of Brookhaven	ca1780-1840	11x13 with a 6x8 kitchen wing; fieldstone foundation, frame construction; cellar and root cellar	(LoRusso 1999; McGovern 2011)
Hart house	Free black	Setauket, Town of Brookhaven	19th century	Frame construction; single pen house (possibly 12x18) with lean-to addition	Christopher Matthews, personal communication
Floyd-Murray-Petty house	Not known	Mastic, Town of Brookhaven	19th century	frame construction; two attached single pen houses	Burt Seides, personal communication
Henry Mitchell house	Free black or mixed heritage	Springs, Town of East Hampton	ca1870	frame construction; single pen house with small addition	Robert Hefner, personal communication
William	Native	Montauk,	ca1840-	15x24,	

Fowler house	American	Town of East Hampton	1885	fieldstone foundation, two rooms	
George Fowler house	Native American	Freetown, Town of East Hampton	ca1885-1985	15x15, with a 7.5x15 porch, 8x2 foot kitchen wing; 1.5 story frame house; no cellar	

All of the nine excavation units and some of the surface collection indicated evidence of burning. Melted glass, burned refined earthenware ceramics, some pieces of burned wood, fire-cracked and/or fire-reddened rocks, and soils with charcoal flecks were identified and recovered during the excavations (Appendix E). These data indicate a burning episode at the house, probably by house fire. It is difficult to determine the source and course of the burning episode, as there are many natural and cultural elements that can impact the course of a fire (Doroszenko 2001). However, there are historical testimonies that indicate fires took place at Indian Fields after (and perhaps while) the Montauketts were dispossessed by the Benson family. Maria Fowler Pharaoh stated that both her house and her father's house (i.e., William Fowler's house) were broken into, ransacked, and burned down (Banks 1930; Strong 1993, 2001). The melted glass artifacts provide compelling evidence for destruction of the house by fire, as glass is known to soften at 1000° F and flow at 1300° F (Doroszenko 2001:42). In addition, some large sherds of stoneware vessels were collected from the surface by the archaeologists (Appendix E). These sherds, which when mended indicate nearly complete vessels, suggest that the site was abandoned and destroyed quickly. At least two of the other houses at Indian Fields were moved

or rebuilt in Freetown for the dispossessed Indian Fields residents; perhaps the absence of a brick⁵⁶ chimney at William Fowler's house is explained by its recycled use in Freetown.

The artifacts from within and outside the structures provide information about the inhabitants of the site, the activities that took place at each home, and the socio-economic contexts.

7.2. A Closer Look at the Jeremiah Pharaoh Household

Approximately 4,566 artifacts (including charcoal and coal), 5,801 pieces of bone, 232 pieces of shell, and 4 organic items were recovered from the Pharaoh's house. These numbers are estimated because some of the items are missing from the collection and do not have counts, while other items have been broken during curation. The presence of several types of ceramics that were manufactured before the middle of the eighteenth century and hand wrought nails suggest that the site may have been inhabited before the end of the eighteenth century. The absence of whiteware at the site indicates that the site was abandoned by (if not well before) the middle of the nineteenth century.

At the time this site was inhabited, the residents of this and other households at Indian Fields were linked into local, regional, and global networks. The marriage of Jeremiah and Aloosa/Lois was recorded in Nantucket, where they may have met, and the whaler ships on which Jeremiah was employed were exploring the greater Atlantic Ocean. Although the details of Jeremiah's employment remain unknown, he probably went to sea with the promise of a share of the catch (referred to as a lay) which would be fulfilled when a whale was caught. In his absence, his lay may have provided a line of credit for which his wife could purchase household

⁵⁶ There is no mention of mortar in the excavation notes.

goods from merchants. This was the typical method of employment for whalers in the nineteenth century (see Chapter 4).

The faunal and shell material from the Pharaoh house indicates that the people who lived there- Jeremiah, Aloosa/Lois, and their son- ate a diet of mostly marine foods (freshwater and saltwater fish, oysters, and clams) and turtle, with some evidence for larger, land based animals and birds. The remains of pig, cow, sheep and/or deer were recovered in small quantities at the site, along with a few turkey, duck, and possibly gull bones. There were cattle and sheep grazing at and around Indian Fields, and Jeremiah also owned a cow or sheep of his own. Yet his family subsisted largely on locally-gathered foods. The presence of gun flints, lead shot, and gun barrel fragments indicates that guns were probably used in hunting deer, turkey and duck. Shellfish was gathered from local tidal pools, and fishing took place in fresh and salt water. All of these foods were a part of the Long Island diet- whether Native, African, or European American. But the high percentages of turtle (roughly 29% of the bone) and fish (roughly 43% of the bone) are notable, and indicate autonomy, as opposed to a dependence on the local market, for feeding the household.

Mammal and bird bones were worked into a number of different items at the site. One bird bone was carved into a tube that may have been used for duck calling (Figure 7.5; Appendix D). Two additional bird bones have notches carved out, suggesting they may have been attempts at making similar items. Forty-five pieces of bone needles were also recovered (Figure 7.6; Appendix D). These would have been used in making baskets and weaving mats. In addition, several dining utensils and/or tools had carved bone handles (Figures 7.6 and 7.7). Although it is unclear if the tools/utensils were purchased at local/regional markets or fashioned on site, it is likely that at least two- the knife with Jeremiah Pharaoh's name carved into it (see Chapter 5)

and a bone-handled metal knife with the metal ground down to a pointed awl (Figure 7.6)- were altered by the site's occupants.



Figure 7.5. A tube (possibly a duck call) carved from a bird bone. Photo taken by the author. Courtesy of Historic Services, Suffolk County Parks.



Figure 7.6. Two bone button backs, a bone-handled metal awl, fragments of a bone needle, and a possible bone tooth from a comb. Photo taken by the author. Courtesy of Historic Services, Suffolk County Parks.

Metal buttons and buckles, metal straight pins, metal dining utensils, ceramics, glass bottles, chimney glass, and a painted glass tumbler are among the many market items that were

recovered from the archaeological record (Figures 7.7-11; Appendix D). In fact, there is an interesting variety of refined earthenware ceramics from the eighteenth century that includes an Astbury-type teapot, a Jackfield-type teapot or jug, a green glazed Whieldon-type creamware vase or pitcher, at least three different patterns of polychrome painted pearlwares, and some edge-decorated creamwares and pearlwares. The minimum number of vessels recovered at the site is 22, and includes three plates, two teapots (one Jackfield and one Astbury), a Staffordshire slipware platter and pitcher, two redware platters (one might be a milk pan), seven pearlware vessels (teacups, bowls, or small mugs), a vase/pitcher, an English stoneware mug, a Rhenish blue and grey jug, a creamware chamber pot, two hollow storage vessels (one redware and one stoneware), and an unusually chunky undecorated redware shallow dish (Figure 7.11).

Figure 7.7. Artifacts from the Pharaoh household.

Tools and hardware

INSIDE	OUTSIDE
2 gunflints	2 gun flints
5 gun barrel pieces	
4 lead shot (and molds)	2 lead shot
	1 lead musket ball
56 flaked stone tools (flakes, bifaces, etc)	18 flaked stone tools (flakes, bifaces, etc.)
	3 ground stone tools (2 abrader/whetstone, 1 grooved hammerstone)
	1 green glass bottle base, possibly retouched
	1 metal key
	1 metal furniture knob
	Misc metal hardware
	1 metal fishing pole loop
	1 metal file
1 metal container or bucket	1 metal container or bucket
1 metal horseshoe	

Personal, adornment, and craft

INSIDE	OUTSIDE
10 bone buttons	3 bone buttons
2 glass beads	3 glass beads (2 red, 1 blue)
10 metal buttons	3 metal buttons
1 metal buckle	1 metal buckle
1 unid button	1 unid button
44 bone needle frags	1 bone needle frag
	2 bone needle point or comb tooth
	1 carved bone (bird) tube
5 straight pins	4 straight pins
1 metal awl with bone handle	
1 metal crochet hook	
	Writing slate fragments

Kitchen, food preparation, food and beverage storage, and dining

INSIDE	OUTSIDE
1 creamware plate	1 creamware (green edge) plate
1 jackfield teapot or pitcher	1 jackfield teapot
1 staffordshire slipware pitcher	Staffordshire slipware
1 stafforshire slipware platter	
1 polychrome painted pearlware tea cup or bowl	1 polychrome painted pearlware tea cup
1 polychrome painted pearlware bowl	
1 polychrome painted pearlware bowl or jug	
1 green glazed, embossed creamware vase or pitcher	1 polychrome painted pearlware pitcher
	Same
1 blue painted pearlware tea cup or bowl	1 blue painted pearlware cup or bowl
1 blue transfer print tea cup	1 blue transfer print tea cup or bowl
1 blue transfer print mug or pitcher	1 blue transfer print cup base
	1 pearlware (scallop edge) plate
1 hand painted tumbler, Stiegel-type (inside and outside)	Fragments of same
Fork	Fork w/bone handle
1 Knife tip	
1 Knife blade	
	2 spoons
	3 bone handles (dining utensil or knife/tool handles)
1 trail slipped redware milk pan or platter	1 trail slipped redware milk pan or platter
1 redware coggle-rim platter	1 redware coggle-rim platter
1 redware bisque shallow dish	

1 redware bisque holloware	1 redware bisque holloware
1 rhenish blue and grey jug	1 agate redware holloware
1 English brown stoneware mug	1 rhenish blue and grey jug
1 Albany slipped stoneware holloware	
	1 white salt glazed stoneware item (1 sherd)
10 pieces of burnished coarse earthenware	1 Chinese export porcelain item (4 sherds)
Misc redwares	1 piece of burnished coarse earthenware
Misc pearlwares	Misc redwares
Misc creamwares	Misc pearlwares
Basalt	Misc creamwares
Astbury	1 Astbury teapot or pitcher
2 green wine bottles	1 green wine bottle
	1 clear medicine bottle
Aqua bottle glass	Aqua bottle glass
Clear bottle glass	Clear bottle glass
Green bottle glass	Green bottle glass

Miscellaneous

INSIDE	OUTSIDE
1 creamware chamber pot	Same
Chimney/lamp glass	Chimney/lamp glass
29 pieces of tobacco pipe	26 pieces of tobacco pipe

Buttons (both bone and metal), beads, needles and straight pins were recovered from inside and outside the structure, but a greater frequency of these items came from inside the dwelling. Such items often enter the archaeological record through loss, as they fall from clothing. But these items also represent sewing and perhaps household-level craft production. The bone buttons and single-hole button blanks (or button backs) may have been manufactured on site. These items, along with the 44 pieces of bone needles, a metal crochet hook, and a metal and bone awl (Figure 7.7) demonstrate household-level craft production that might be attributed to Aloosa, perhaps when her husband was away at sea. The results of these activities may have

been sold itinerantly, bringing additional money into the house in her husband's absence, or she may have offered the service of sewing, mending, and washing clothes.⁵⁷



Figure 7.8. These metal straight pins, buttons, and the glass bead fragment were recovered inside the Pharaoh house. Photo taken by the author. Courtesy of Historic Services, Suffolk County Parks.



Figure 7.9. Enamel painted glass mug. Photo taken by the author. Courtesy of Historic Services, Suffolk County Parks.

⁵⁷ After 1850, the Federal Census lists many women washing clothes for a living.



Figure 7.10. A bone handle, part of a knife blade, and a metal spoon from the Pharaoh household. Photo taken by the author. Courtesy of Historic Services, Suffolk County Parks.



Figure 7.11. A stoneware base, a Staffordshire slipware base, and a redware bisque shallow dish. Photo taken by author. Courtesy of Historic Services, Suffolk County Parks.

The recovery of flaked and ground stone tools at the site is also notable. All of the quartz and non-quartz flakes are categorized as tools, along with the more recognizable bifaces and projectile point fragments. This was done based on the analysis of ware on the edges, and the size/shape of the flakes. I initially attempted to categorize the flakes as debitage associated with projectile point and other tool manufacture at pre-contact sites in the northeast (see Bernstein and

Lenardi 2008). There is a classification system of debitage based on archaeological and experimental research of Long Island quartz from pre-contact sites (Lenardi 1998). However, these categories did not seem to fit the pattern of flakes that was recovered from the Pharaoh house. Many of the flakes were large, rather chunky, contained cortex, and had some wear on the edges (either unifacially or bifacially), showing signs of expedient tools. It could not be determined if these flakes were recycled from pre-contact sites, or were made in the eighteenth century. However, in addition to these and several convincing bifaces, at least one green wine bottle glass base has scarring from retouching and/or scraping. These items, and their presence at a late-eighteenth through early-nineteenth century sites, challenge existing typologies in both pre-contact and post-contact archaeology (Cobb 2003).

Another challenging artifact type that was recovered from within the structure is a collection of ceramics that do not seem to fit in a ceramics typology for either pre-contact or post-contact archaeology. These items are red-bodied coarse earthenwares, but they are definitely not traditional redwares (Figure 7.12). They are thin-walled, hand built vessel sherds with a small temper grain size, and they appear to be burnished on the exterior surface. Some of the sherds have scratches on the exterior, but the sherds are too small to be able to identify patterning. They seem to resemble the fragments of Shantok-ware that were recovered from the Sylvester Manor plantation site on Shelter Island (Priddy 2004; Hayes 2013). While it is tempting to interpret these ceramics as a form of colonoware, it is also problematic. Colonoware is a local, hand-made ceramic ware that is often found in multicultural contexts (i.e., plural contexts that include Native Americans, African Americans, and/or European Americans). As an intercultural artifact, colonoware provides a starting point for discussing contexts of meaning, use, and appropriation. However, the presence of colonoware has often been used to indicate an

ethnic presence- usually Native American or African American- based on constructed typologies that focus on its manufacture. If used uncritically, the term can lead to essentialized notions of identity at archaeological sites (Singleton and Bograd 2000).

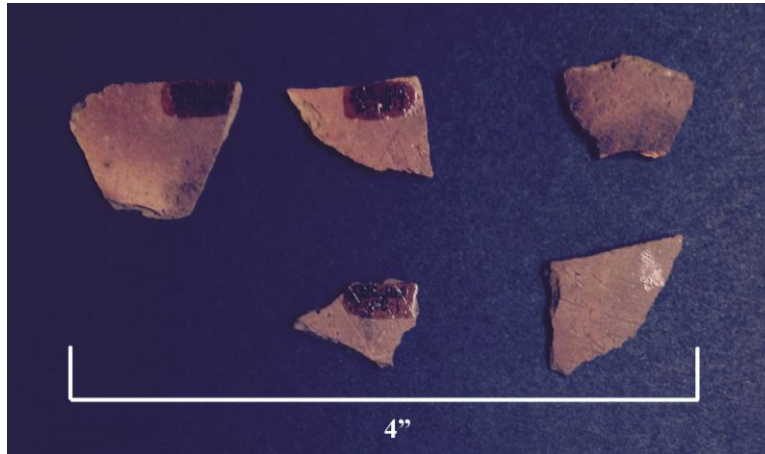


Figure 7.12. These sherds of pottery are burnished, low-fired wares with some scratching on the exterior surfaces. Unfortunately, these sherds were treated with a clear sealant over the catalog number that masks some of the descriptive features of the wares. Photo taken by the author. Courtesy of Historic Services, Suffolk County Parks.

Some residents of Indian Fields worked for John Lyon Gardiner, presumably at Gardiner's Island (Gardiner 1801, 1806). George Pharaoh obtained potatoes, corn, pork, salt, and sundries from Gardiner and paid for them with locally-caught bluefish and bushels of oysters. Stephen Pharaoh, his wife, his daughter, and possibly his sons pulled flax, bottomed chairs, and exchanged bushels of oysters for pork, corn, wheat, and an old skiff. Between 1760 and 1845, the economic exchanges of at least eleven residents of Indian Fields were recorded among many transactions in the account books of John Lyon Gardiner, Abraham Talmadge, Gardiner and Parsons, Nathaniel Hand, and Isaac Van Scoy (Appendix F.1). These transactions indicate that men and women apparently worked equally hard to maintain their households, obtain consumer goods, and bring food to the table. In Jeremiah's absence it might have been Aloosa who was fishing, gathering oysters, bottoming chairs and making baskets in exchange for corn, wheat,

potatoes, pork and even molasses. Yet, Jeremiah and Aloosa are not listed among the exchanges in the account books from 1760-1845. Certainly Jeremiah and Aloosa must have been active in the same local networks as the other residents of Indian Fields, but they may also have participated in networks that extended beyond the Town of East Hampton. Jeremiah's labor at sea would have led him to other points of exchange along the Atlantic seaboard. Likewise, visitors to Montauk (from New England and beyond), including white and indigenous missionaries, may have brought items for exchange with them. These external trade networks might explain the presence of the polychrome enameled blown-glass mug that was recovered at the site (Figure 7.9). This item was manufactured in Europe ca1775-1825 (Palmer 1993:88-89)⁵⁸ and, according to the author's experience, is not encountered with any level of frequency on eighteenth-nineteenth century archaeological sites on Long Island. Inquiries were made to some historical societies on eastern Long Island, and their collections do not contain comparable items. In fact, it was at some regional conferences that I learned more about this type of glass.⁵⁹

It is unclear at this point if local merchants sold this type of glass. The account and ledger books provided no information that could be matched with this type of item, and as the curator of the Suffolk County Historical Society informed me, if they had it would have been listed as "glass, fancy" or "glass, extra fancy" with little other detail (Amy Folk, pers. comm.). To add further context to the regional presence of this item, a similar item was recovered from the Bianco/Carroll site near Three Mile Harbor in East Hampton (mentioned in Chapter 5). That site, also occupied by indigenous people near the end of the eighteenth century, exhibited a vernacular architectural type of blended wigwam and frame housing, and contained worked glass

⁵⁸ Mary Mills, historic glass expert at AECOM, aided in the identification of this item.

⁵⁹ At the 2010 Conference of the Council for Northeastern Historical Archaeology, I saw an image of a similar item in the Plenary presentation. Then in 2013, I showed an image of this item at a Graduate Student Conference at the McNeil Center for Early American Studies, and I was approached afterwards by a researcher who recognized it as Stiegel-type glass. I have since learned that this glass is European made (probably German).

and recycled Archaic-period lithics and fire-cracked rocks (Cammisa et al. 1999). The presence of this enamel painted European glass at two contemporary indigenous sites challenges long-held assumptions of Native American provincialism.

The household was probably occupied for less than a thirty year period. This is based on the approximate manufacture dates of ceramics and other artifacts (Appendix D). Only one child was documented during that time, and he died at six years old. No information is available to indicate that the house was passed to other children or relatives, nor is it known if Jeremiah and Aloosa left Indian Fields.

The residents of the Jeremiah Pharaoh household made up a small family whose lifeways probably challenged outsiders' expectations of Indian-ness. Like the other late eighteenth and early nineteenth century residents of Indian Fields, they were using manufactured goods that were obtained through exchange systems at local and regional markets. Yet their choice to remain at Indian Fields while many other Montauketts were moving on suggests that their heritage played an important role in the construction of their identity. They relied on local, traditional foods obtained through fishing, hunting, and shellfishing even though they were facing limitations on access to those lands; yet they kept one cow or sheep, suggesting they participated in agricultural life on a small scale. Like their neighbors at Indian Fields, they might have obtained corn, wheat, and other agricultural products through exchange. They used metal and stone (quartz, granite, gneiss, etc.) tools for hunting, cutting, sharpening knives, and pounding corn or grain. They drank tea and ate from refined earthenwares, but also used locally-made ceramic wares. The interior of their home would have been a blend of indigenous and European material traditions that marked their presence in a changing world.

7.3. A Closer Look at the William Walter Fowler Household

William Walter Fowler and his wife Mary Cuffee established their household after they were married in the Presbyterian Church of East Hampton in 1842 (Appendix F.3). In 1854 William was listed in the Fattening Fields Book with Sylvester Pharaoh, Samuel Pharaoh, Elisha Pharaoh, and Charity Talkhouse; all were living at Indian Fields. The payments that Montaukettts received for their grazing rights to Indian Fields were recorded in the Fattening Fields books (see Chapter 4). That year William Fowler received six field shares (twice as much as Charity Talkhouse), while Sylvester Pharaoh, the Chief, received 18 shares (Fattening Fields Book 1854). William Fowler continued to receive his field shares until 1879, the last year recorded in the Fattening Fields books.

The presence of cut iron nails support a post-1800 construction date for the house, and the abundance of whitewares, ironstone, a few pieces of yellowware, and several china buttons⁶⁰ place occupation around the middle of the nineteenth century. Roughly 5,058 artifacts (including coal and charcoal) were recovered at the site, but only 189 pieces of bone, 10 shell fragments, and 9 organic items (nuts, pits, and seeds) were identified (Appendix E). This is a substantial difference from the earlier Pharaoh house. Of the 189 pieces of bone, 35% was fish, 32% bird, and 32% was mammal. No turtle bones were recovered from the Fowler house. Although there are far fewer faunal remains at the site, there is still evidence for autonomous, local food gathering. Four metal fish hooks and 40 pieces of metal ammunition suggest the residents were involved in hunting. In fact, William Fowler's son Charles led Arthur Benson and other wealthy white visitors to Montauk on many hunting expeditions. The bird bones and pellet fire may be attributed to him.

⁶⁰ Prosser-manufactured china buttons date to after 1840 and are common on mid-nineteenth century archaeological sites (Aultman and Grillo 2003 [DAACS]; Sprogue 2002).

The Fowlers met their ceramic, glass, and smoking needs at the local market; yet some of these items may have been family heirlooms or hand-me-downs. A minimum of 20 vessels was recovered, including 1 salt glazed stoneware teacup or bowl, 1 Jackfield vessel, 1 Staffordshire slipware vessel, 2 ironstone plates or platters, 2 whiteware teacups, 2 whiteware plates, a creamware plate, a pearlware plate, an unidentified pearlware vessel, two additional whiteware vessels, a yellowware vessel, a creamware chamber pot, and four stoneware jugs (Figure 7.13-14). Some of these items would have been quite out of date by the time they made it to the Fowler household (suggesting they may have been passed down from older family members). Two case bottles, 2 liquor bottles and 3 wine bottles were recovered with 25 pieces of kaolin smoking pipe and 3 medicine bottles. The Fowlers drank from undecorated glass tumblers and stemware, and at least one oil lamp provided light.



Figure 7.13. Sherds of whiteware and green edge pearlware from the Fowler household. Photo taken by author. Courtesy of Historic Services, Suffolk County Parks.

Differences from the Pharaoh house are seen in a number of activities that took place at the Fowler house. Approximately 38 buttons, 1 metal cuff link, 7 beads, and some additional clothing fasteners were identified. Only two of the buttons were bone. But no straight pins, needles, basket making tools, or sewing tools were recovered, suggesting that sewing was not an

important commercial activity at the site. Some children's items were also recovered archaeologically, presumably left by some of William and Mary's six or more children (Figure 7.14).

Figure 7.14. Artifacts from the Fowler house.

Tools and hardware

1 metal doorbell cover	29 flaked stone tools
1 metal drawer pull	2 ground stone tools
2 metal files	4 metal fish hook
1 metal horseshoe	1 metal hoe
1 metal key	1 metal harness ring
1 metal key hole	1 metal bucket
1 metal container or bucket	1 barrel stave
1 metal coat hook	40 shell caps, shell fragments, pellets, and shots

Personal and adornment

Children's items

2 bone buttons	1 porcelain teacup, children's set
18 prosser buttons	1 porcelain doll arm
2 grey porcelain buttons	1 marble
1 glass button	1 writing slate
3 black rubber buttons	
1 unidentified button	
11 metal buttons	
1 metal cuff link	
7 beads	
2 metal aglets	
2 metal buckles	
7 metal clothing fasteners	
1 vulcanite comb	
1 metal token	

Kitchen, food preparation, food and beverage storage, and dining

1 metal stove part	1 white salt glazed stoneware teacup/bowl
3 metal forks	1 staffordshire slipware vessel
1 metal knife	2 ironstone plate/platter

2 metal utensil handles	1 blue transfer print whiteware cup
1 clear glass stemware	1 blue transfer print whiteware plate
1 clear glass stopper	1 red transfer print whiteware
1 clear glass tumbler	1 dark pink painted whiteware
1 clear medicine bottle	1 flow blue whiteware plate
1 aqua medicine bottle	1 flow blue whiteware teacup
1 solarized medicine bottle	1 Jackfield vessel
Lamp glass and a metal lamp base	1 blue edge creamware plate
25 pieces of tobacco pipe (kaolin)	1 green edge pearlware plate
2 green case bottles	1 blue sponge/splatter pearlware vessel
1 green liquor bottle	1 creamware chamber pot
1 clear liquor bottle	1 yellowware vessel
3 green wine bottles	1 blue painted grey stoneware jug
1 grey stoneware jug (Albany slip)	1 black glazed stoneware jug
Misc redwares	1 dark brown stoneware jug
Misc stonewares	

Flaked and ground stone tools were utilized by the Fowlers. Some of the flaked tools were large, expedient flakes exhibiting edge use. However, 15 flakes of rose quartz appear to be from the same cobble that may have been reduced to make a projectile point or biface. In addition, one quartz projectile point that was broken in three pieces, and two ground stone tools were recovered, of which one was a possible notched hammerstone or pounder/pestle (Figure 7.15). Due to the availability of gun flints, shots, and glass (which could produce cutting edges as quickly as quartz cobbles), the projectile points and debitage from stone tool manufacture at the Fowler house were likely from pre-contact contexts at the site. The Fowlers' nineteenth century use of other stone tools in food preparation (for cutting and pounding) is interpreted here as Montaukett survivance.



Figure 7.15. Large ground-stone hammerstone or pounder/pestle. Photo taken by the author. Courtesy of Historic Services, Suffolk County Parks.

Account books contain a valuable yet incomplete record for Montaukett consumption for the mid nineteenth century. Between 1820 and 1880, several residents of Indian Fields were acquiring goods from merchants and at stores throughout East Hampton town. They were frequenting the same points of exchange as other people of color from East Hampton town. Yet William Fowler's economic activities have been found in only two account books, and with minimal detail. Mary Fowler purchased calico cloth and laudanum in 1853, and William purchased cornmeal, cloth and other items from Nathaniel Hand in 1857 (Hand 1855a and b). Hand's store sold molasses, tea, laudanum, rum and other spirits, cloth, salted meats, sundries, and many other items; it was located in Amagansett, roughly 12 miles west of Montauk. There is no information on payment for the Fowler purchases. Then in 1877, William Fowler purchased 1 ½ cords of wood from Captain James Post of Southampton (Appendix F.1). The debt was not credited. At a time when many Montaukett men were employed on whaling voyages, including his relatives George and Jonathan Fowler, William Fowler, it seems, remained at Indian Fields to tend to his growing family (Appendices A, F.1, F.6, F.7). His name is absent from whaling documents in the mid to late nineteenth century, and both he and his wife were identified as customers in merchant account books during this period.

There were far more people living in the Fowler house, yet there was less density and diversity of archaeological materials when compared to the Pharaoh house. There are also fewer archaeological clues to the strategies taken for meeting the daily needs of the household. The Fowlers' daughter Maria married David Pharaoh (before he became Chief) when she was 15 years old (Banks 1930). At that time she established her own household at Indian Fields. David's parents, Chief Samuel and his wife Aurelia, were also living at Indian Fields with their other children (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1870) (Figure 7.16).

William and Mary Fowler's sons probably contributed to the household. Their son John Fowler was 25 years old and living with them in 1870, although there is no information about his employment (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1870). In 1880, William's three youngest sons Charles, George, and Herbert were around 20 years old and living with their parents; they probably assisted in supporting the household by hunting, fishing, guiding hunts, and working for East Hampton whites (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1880). The Fowlers may have also made baskets, brooms and scrubs (for scouring pots) for itinerant sales. Brooms, scrubs, and baskets were made by men and women at Indian Fields and Freetown (see Chapters 4 and 6),⁶¹ and Maria Pharaoh's daughter Pocahontas Pharaoh continued to make and sell brooms and scrubs to East Hampton residents after they left Indian Fields (Figure 7.17). These activities, along with the shares received every year for cattle grazing at Indian Fields, probably provided little support for household and individual survival.

The Fowler home seems to exhibit a greater sense of struggle economically, but it also includes a more direct sense of constructing (or re-constructing) Montaukett identity. Evidence for Montaukett identity construction comes from local and family memories of material practices

⁶¹ In *The New Long Island*, Wm. F. Laffan quoted a Miss Young, who mentioned that "the queen's mother and the rest of the tribe are basket makers" (1879:39). She was referring to Maria Pharaoh, wife of Chief David Pharaoh, as "the queen."

(i.e., hunting, collecting shellfish and berries, and making scrubs, baskets, and brooms), rather than archaeological evidence for those practices. But the very presence of both William Fowler's house and his daughter Maria Pharaoh's house at Indian Fields at the end of the nineteenth century are material evidence for their desire to demonstrate their Montaukett identity. Furthermore, Maria and her husband David named their children, who were all born at Indian Fields, after notable, historical Native Americans. Their son Wyandanch was probably named after Chief Wyandanch of the seventeenth century, but Ebenezer Tecumseh, Samuel Powhattan, and Pocahontas were named after well-known Native American individuals from the southern and midwestern United States (Figure 7.16).⁶² This appears to have been a new naming practice for the Montauketts, and it is an undeniable statement of indigenous identity construction near the end of the nineteenth century.

⁶² Tecumseh was a Shawnee leader who allied with the British against the United States in the early part of the nineteenth century. Chief Powhattan was the chief of the Tsenacommacah at the time the Jamestown colony was established, and Pocahontas was his daughter.



Figure 7.16. This ca.1876 photo is of the Pharaoh and Fowler family members who were among the last remaining residents of Indian Fields. According to a note that accompanies the photo, the individuals are (left to right) George Fowler, Wyandanch Pharaoh, Aurelia Pharaoh with her grandson Ebenezer Tecumseh Pharaoh in front, Chief David Pharaoh, young Margaret standing next to her mother Maria Pharaoh, her son Samuel, George Pharaoh, and John Fowler. Courtesy of the East Hampton Library Long Island Collection.



Figure 7.17. This ca1940 photo is of Pocahontas Pharaoh, daughter of Chief David and Maria Fowler Pharaoh, holding a scrub that she made. The collections of the Suffolk County Historical Society contain a similar scrub that she made and sold to an East Hampton resident; it was later donated to the historical society. Photo courtesy of East Hampton Library Long Island Collection.

7.4. Conclusion: Local Economics, Consumption and Capitalism

According to Christopher Clark, the industrial age and the rise of capitalism in northeast North America occurred between 1800 and 1860 (Clark 1979). These movements were dependent on two interrelated economic and social transformations: a shift from local self-sufficiency to dependence on outside markets, and the removal of household-level manufacture

to workshops and factories (1979:169). It is interesting to consider these factors in light of the Pharaoh and Fowler households, which were occupied within this time of change.

Based on the archaeological assemblages from the Pharaoh and Fowler houses, the two families obviously employed different strategies to maintain their households at Indian Fields. These differences are demonstrated in the quantities and types of faunal materials recovered, the specialized tools recovered, and architecture. It is evident that whereas the earlier (Pharaoh) household was relying heavily on resources that were available on or around Indian Fields, the faunal material recovered at the later (Fowler) household suggests that they (and by extension other residents of Indian Fields) were relying more on foods and items obtained through credit and exchange in the market economy with merchants in the villages roughly 12-20 miles west of Indian Fields. The Fowlers and other contemporary residents of Indian Fields may have also felt the pressure of privatized lands that limited their access to locally-procured foods. Yet there was still evidence of hunting and fishing at the Fowler house, and at least one of the residents of the household was a known hunting and fishing guide.

The paucity of faunal, fish, and shellfish samples at the Fowler site may also be attributed to unidentified discard patterns. It is notable that at the Pharaoh site the midden is on the floor of their structure. In a sense, the Pharaohs were living on top of their midden: an artifact pattern seen at other Native American sites in southern New England dating to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Rainey 2010; Handsman 2013). The Fowler site did not exhibit this pattern. The Fowlers were probably disposing their trash elsewhere. This change in artifact patterning at Indian Fields may indicate a change in mindset for the Montauketts living there in the mid- to late nineteenth century.

The Pharaoh assemblage includes a greater diversity in ceramics than the Fowler assemblage. This is interesting in relation to household size (the Pharaoh household included fewer people than the Fowler household), economics, and manufacture dates. Based on ceramics alone, the Pharaoh household seems to have been better off economically than the Fowler household; perhaps whaling was lucrative during Pharaoh's lifetime. The Fowler assemblage, on the other hand, included many out-of-date ceramics and fewer vessels.

It should also be noted that the earlier household demonstrates greater autonomy through the range of sewing and other tools recovered at the site. Yet, the absence of similar tools from the Fowler site may lead to false interpretations of craft activities. In fact, a few of the metal tools may have been used in making scrubs and brooms, a craft that was documented among the late-nineteenth century Montauketts of Indian Fields, including Pocahontas Pharaoh.

These two households, along with the other unexplored households at Indian Fields, were inhabited by Montaukett families who chose to remain settled on their ancestral homeland. Yet the residents of Indian Fields were fully integrated into local, regional, and even transcontinental economic networks. When the paths between households and employment/creditors/stores are mapped, a web of social networks and economic exchange becomes visible (see Chapter 6). We can imagine a dynamic setting of cultural and economic interactions. There are distinct patterns of consumption, too, that reflect differences in lifeways between the Indian Fields and Freetown residents throughout the nineteenth century. The choices of certain goods and their subsequent uses provide the basis for reconstructing identity through lifeways, but they also exemplify the agency of purchasers.

The Freetown residents purchased cuts of meat with more frequency than the Indian Fields residents. Based on the archaeological deposits from Indian Fields, in the early nineteenth

century the Montaukett residents there consumed an abundance of fish, shellfish, and turtle in addition to small amounts of meats. They presumably caught the fish and turtle, and gathered shellfish on their own from local waters, because there is no evidence that these items were purchased from East Hampton merchants. Some of the Freetown residents, in contrast, purchased fish and shellfish from local merchants.

Shoes were purchased in great quantities by residents of both locations, as was cloth, molasses, sugar, tobacco, and grains. Rum, brandy, and other spirits were also purchased, but with much greater frequency by Freetown residents than by Indian Fields residents. Sometimes people would get a glass, sometimes a pint or more to take home.

Women from both settlements were represented as consumers with the East Hampton merchants. Some women made purchases with their own accounts, satisfying their debts with work performed, like laundering. Other women made purchases on men's accounts (their husbands or fathers). The men were whalers and general laborers. Women purchased proteins (e.g., pork, eggs, fowl, etc.), crockery, candles, combs, toys, different kinds of fabrics (e.g., cotton, silk, calico, gingham) as well as finished items (e.g., stockings, shawl, gloves, handkerchief, etc.).

The goods purchased provide glimpses into the lives of working-class Natives from Indian Fields and Freetown, and African Americans from Freetown, between ca.1790 and 1877. They purchased some foods, but also everyday household items (e.g., plates, drinking glasses, crockery, eating utensils, and furniture). Some items were for subsistence, others were for pleasure (e.g., alcohol, tobacco). They purchased finished goods and materials to make things, like clothes. They purchased personal hygiene products and items of personal adornment. These

items, along with the artifacts recovered from the Indian Fields households, provide a range of items that were available for people's consumption, and suggestions about people's activities.

Despite the seemingly remote location of Indian Fields, Montaukett men and women were deeply entangled in local and global markets as producers and consumers; and they maintained social relationships with other laborers, employers, and kin throughout and beyond East Hampton Town.

Chapter 8: Conclusion



Figure 8.1. This ca1924 photo is of some of the Indian Fields Montauketts who were dispossessed, and their children. By the time of this photo, most of these individuals were living at Freetown.

The research presented in the preceding chapters has investigated Montaukett survivance at Indian Fields between ca.1750 and 1885. During that time, Montauketts were continuously constructing and reconstructing their identities through labor, kin networks, and daily practices. They were deeply entangled in complex relationships with whites, who demanded Native land and labor for economic expansion. Yet they were confronted with misperceptions about Native identity, and oppressed by racialized policies that aimed to encumber their ability to survive. Indeed, Montaukett decisions to leave Indian Fields (for employment in whaling, for work in the fields and homes of white East Hamptoners, or to establish a new settlement at Brotherton) or to

stay should be considered in light of the complex social, economic and political changes that Montauketts faced in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

But this dissertation is about more than simply describing Native lifeways at and away from Indian Fields. The research presented here is intended to challenge pre-existing notions of Native cultural loss and disappearance. These ideas, which are pervasive in histories of Native North America, are deeply entrenched in colonialism and capitalism. The “noble savage” and the “vanishing Indian” are myths supported by antiquarian notions of culture and constructed to support the ideology of “engines of progress.” These ideals continue to guide local museums, historical societies, and amateur collectors/looters of archaeological sites on Long Island and elsewhere. In fact, archaeological collecting is one of the ways that Native history has been appropriated by non-Native people. It is a form of paternalism that derives from the colonial experience, as the power to present and interpret the Native past remains in the hands of whites. In this process, Native identity has been constructed based on acculturation models, and used to reinforce notions of cultural loss based on material changes. This has resulted in public and governmental challenges to Native authenticity.

Constructed categories of difference further complicate public notions of Native authenticity in identity construction. The racialization of Native American and African American people in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was a process that served to construct white and non-white identities in relation to power, status and land. Native, “colored,” black, and white identities were then reinforced in social, economic, political, and cultural practices, producing institutionalized racism that survived long after changing colonial regimes. This means that the categories of difference that were used to identify individuals in government documents, family papers, and historical accounts are not straightforward. They draw on often conflicting notions of

what it means to be Indian, black, and white, because these categories were frequently adjusted by people in power to accommodate colonial policies. The colonized probably found ways to take advantage of, adapt to, and resist these changing categories, too. But contemporary public misperceptions of Indian identity are based on these constructed categories of difference. They are also based on biological assumptions of race that over time have been used to represent cultural/social identity. These processes have led to the myth of Native American extinction on Long Island.

The Montauketts are one of many tribal groups that have survived the myth of extinction, dispossession, and detribalization. This dissertation, which is concerned with their strategies for survival, emphatically replaces the narrative of the “vanishing Indian” with a new narrative of survivance. This is accomplished by investigating the historicity of colonialism, highlighting the power dynamics of capitalism, decolonizing previous anthropological research, critically reviewing historical sources, and re-investigating archaeological collections for clues to indigenous lifeways during rapidly changing social, economic, and political conditions.

Although a number of archaeological collections were reviewed in this work, the Montaukett survivance narrative presented here is based on the archaeological collection from the Indian Fields site in Montauk. This previously-excavated collection was sitting in Suffolk County Parks storage for roughly 30 years. Working with museum and contract archaeology collections like the Indian Fields site can be a challenge. However, their value to contemporary archaeological research lies in our ability to ask new questions of old data sets and challenge existing narratives with new questions. All of the collections discussed in this dissertation were the products of various strategies of archaeological collecting: avocational, culture-historical, and government-mandated. Together, they provide tangible data for investigating broad patterns of

Native habitation on eastern Long Island. Furthermore, my work with the Indian Fields archaeological collection will support park interpretation and the narrative of significance for the National Register nomination form for Montauk County Park.

The Indian Fields site provides the material traces for Montaukett lifeways between ca.1750 and 1885, but its interpretation demands our attention to several factors: social and economic conditions, power structures, multicultural interaction, and most importantly, how Montaukett people made sense of the world. Indeed, Montaukett survivance during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was informed by indigenous strategies for subsistence, exchange, and social reproduction that were well-developed before Europeans arrived. Archaeological research at pre-Columbian sites in coastal New York and southern New England demonstrate continuity in settlement and coastal foraging. Social reproduction was facilitated through local and regional networks built on exchange. These practices were disrupted by the arrival of Europeans, who joined pre-existing coastal and inland trade networks, but indigenous people actively negotiated the new exchange systems.

As Europeans began to settle, the relationships between Europeans and Natives changed. The European desire for land and labor gave rise to cultural conflict. Native Americans became racialized as whiteness became a criterion for membership in civilized society. Native subsistence strategies were restricted as whites sought ownership of surrounding territories. By the end of the eighteenth century, the Montauketts (who were accustomed to a semi-sedentary, coastal foraging strategy) were circumscribed to roughly 30 acres of land in Montauk, known as Indian Fields. Montauketts who left Indian Fields were encouraged to settle with free black men and women on the outskirts of the white villages in neighborhoods like Freetown and Eastville, and work for whites. They established homes on parcels of land that were too small to farm, and

were dependant on the market economy for survival. They sold or exchanged their labor for food, household goods, personal items, and raw materials because they were not permitted to hunt, fish, or collect shellfish on the privatized lands that surrounded their neighborhoods. This patterning marks the beginnings of the working-class. At this time, many Native American men were employed in whaling (through the end of the nineteenth century); others worked in the fields and homes of whites.

Those who remained at Indian Fields, on the other hand, were visibly and geographically distant from the white village at East Hampton. Although they were faced with limitations on hunting, fishing, and owning cattle in Montauk, it seems that they continued to rely on local, wild-caught resources (with some domesticated mammals) for survival. This strategy, which demonstrates continuity of practice in light of forced limitations, is best interpreted as survivance. Yet, the Pharaoh and Fowler households exhibit change in daily practice between the early and the late nineteenth century.

The late eighteenth-early nineteenth century Pharaoh household demonstrates greater continuity in traditional indigenous foodways, craft production, and discard patterns. The Pharaohs ate fish, shellfish, turtle, and mammals. This is evident in the floor of the structure, where the waste from their meals was deposited. Sewing and basketmaking took place at this home site, and there appeared to be a broad range of ceramics for this small household of two adults and one child.

The mid- to late nineteenth century Fowler house, on the other hand, demonstrates a greater degree of struggle between “traditional” and “modern” patterns. The Fowlers were living in a slightly larger wood frame house with a wood floor and depositing their trash in a different pattern than the Pharaohs. This home contained many more people (two adults and a number of

children, some of whom stayed until their early 20s), yet demonstrates evidence for much less density and diversity of ceramics. This home site also contained less material evidence for how the household was sustained economically. Interestingly, the economic struggles at the Fowler household are contrasted by a more direct sense of Montaukett identity construction. In a sense, the Fowlers and their relatives were demonstrating their identity as Montaukett in the continued use of stone tools and production of indigenous crafts, in hunting and gathering (along with market integration), in choosing to remain at Indian Fields, and in naming children after notable Native American figures, at a time of unavoidable economic and social change. This effort was likely a response to impending socio-economic changes (i.e., the arrival of wealthy elite vacationers) which threatened the continuation of their lifeways at Indian Fields.

Through archaeological (from the Pharaoh and Fowler households) and documentary (from account books) resources it is evident that the Indian Fields residents employed different strategies for survival than the Native and African American residents of Freetown. Yet, they were employed in the same labor networks, purchased food and goods from the same merchants, and were often part of the same kin networks. Through mapping labor and kin networks, it became evident that Montaukett individuals on and off Indian Fields established family relationships with other Native American and African American people that they knew through work. These networks, too, were strategies for survivance, as they facilitated social reproduction while East Hampton whites circumscribed their marital practices.

As time went by in the nineteenth century, the Indian Fields village shrank in size. The search for employment changed the composition of the settlement. Whaling, which employed Montaukett men from the eighteenth through the end of the nineteenth century, resulted in the periodic absence of men from Indian Fields; women were left behind to maintain the households

and village life. Some Montauketts left for better economic opportunities (i.e., in whaling, or through working in the villages for whites), while others left for the chance to maintain or redefine their indigenous identity (i.e., through Christianity and the formation of the Brotherton settlement). Yet a few households hung on; this is a testament to Montaukett identity and survivance.

Near the end of the nineteenth century, the economic challenges were even greater. Whaling was in decline, and East Hampton society was transforming as extremely wealthy white families began vacationing there. The demand for land was felt again, and colonial land holdings and economic patterns faced modern pressures. As a result, cattle grazing in Montauk came to an end, and the lands that were held corporately were sold at auction to the highest bidder. The Montauketts, who also transformed socially and culturally, were eventually dispossessed from the lands on which they were told they would always have a home.

For many residents of eastern Long Island- white and non-white alike- the Benson purchase of the Montauk lands marked the end of Montaukett tribal life. The memory of dispossession by Benson and his heirs, and subsequent detribalization by New York State, are so painful that the collective remembrances of Montaukett tribal life end there. The loss of Indian Fields was (and is) devastating, as it disrupted long-held cultural patterns. Yet, the Montauketts did survive.

The final goal of this dissertation, therefore, is to demonstrate how and where their story continues. For this, we must re-examine the cultural landscape, social networks, and constructed history of Freetown. The “hidden history” of this neighborhood is illuminated in relation to Indian Fields. It wasn’t simply a place to relocate the dispossessed residents of Indian Fields. It was chosen because of the previously-established relationships that had connected the two

neighborhoods (and several others) for roughly 100 years. These relationships were recognized by Native Americans, African Americans, and Euro-Americans, and they were appropriated by Benson's team of agents when they were shopping for land to relocate the Indian Fields residents.

After 1885, the last remaining Indian Fields residents moved to Freetown. Some of them lived in houses that were moved or rebuilt from Indian Fields. They travelled "ancient" pathways that connected the neighborhood to other villages and to the protected harbors (Devine 2014), and they worked in service for wealthy East Hampton whites (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1900-1930). Their homes are marked on early twentieth century maps and their stories are waiting to be retold. Freetown is one of many American neighborhoods that have yet to be explored for its hidden history of the Native American presence.

Appendices

Appendix A: Database Tracing People of Color in the Town of East Hampton

This appendix contains data from a Microsoft Excel database for named individuals in the Town of East Hampton. The database was constructed to cross-reference individuals who have been identified in documents to trace geographic movement and network activity. The database was designed for shuffling and sorting to identify patterns. The data is presented here in table form. The dates in the final column of the table indicate the archival reference that identifies the individual by name. Unless otherwise noted, the data from decades between 1790-1900 are from Federal Census roles. HOH refers to “head of household” and the names of ships are italicized. Additional abbreviations are listed below and can be cross-referenced with the sources listed in Appendix F and References Cited.

Abbreviations:

- AB Account Book, 1830, East Hampton Library (Account Book 1830)
- CHS Samson Occom papers, 1784, Connecticut Historical Society
- EH East Hampton Town Records (East Hampton 1887, 1889, 1905)
- EHL East Hampton Library Long Island Collection
- GBC Gardiner Book of Colours; Gardiner Account Book 2, East Hampton Library (Gardiner 1801, 1806)
- NHD Nathaniel Hand Day Book, East Hampton Library (Hand 1855a, 1855b).
- SO Samson Occom List for Montauketts living in Montauk, 1761 (Occom 1809)
- VS Van Scoy Account Book, East Hampton Library (Van Scoy 1829, 1835)
- VSW Van Scoy Whaling Accounts, East Hampton Library (Van Scoy 1832)

Last	First	HOH	Date and archive
Arch	Jas	Jas Arch	1860
Arch	Richard	same	1860
Banks	Anna	Sara Banks	1900
Banks	Anna A.	Thomas Banks	1880
Banks	Edith	Edward Banks	1900
Banks	Edward	same	1900
Banks	Eliza A.	Thomas Banks	1880
Banks	Frank	Sara Banks	1900
Banks	Fred	Sara Banks	1900
Banks	Frederick	Thomas Banks	1880
Banks	George	Sara Banks	1900
Banks	Janine	Edward Banks	1900
Banks	John L	Sara Banks	1900
Banks	Maggie	Eliza Cooper, Sara Banks	1880, 1900
Banks	Margaret	Thomas Banks	1880
Banks	Maria	Edward Banks	1900
Banks	Mary	Sara Banks	1900
Banks	Sara	Thomas Banks, Sara Banks	1880, 1900
Banks	Thomas	Thomas Banks, Sara Banks	1880, 1900
Barnes	Dinah	same	1830
Beaman	Samuel	Eliza Cooper	1900
Benjamin C	Coles	Eliza Cooper	1880
Bower	Amy	same	1796 (EH); 1830
Bradley	Robert	Samuel B. Gardiner (Gardiner's Island)	1880
Butler	Charles	Samuel Butler	1880
Butler	Eliza A.	John Joe	1850
Butler	John	Samuel Butler	1880
Butler	Libby	Samuel Butler	1880
Butler	Ollie	Samuel Butler	1880
Butler	Samuel	same	1880
Butler	Samuel G.	John Joe/John Joseph	1850, 1860
Butler	Sarah	John Joe	
Butler	William	Samuel Butler	1880
Cato	Noah		1801 (GBC)
Cesar	Barth Sherly	same	1830

Cezer	Stephen	same	1761 Montauk (SO [4 in family])
Charles	Cyrus	same	1754 (land agreement), 1761 Montauk (SO [4 in family])
Cipio	Cato	same	1830, 1840
Coles	Bashaba	Peter Gabriel	1850
Coles	Benjamin	Mary Pharaoh	1870 Freetown?
Coles	Benjamin	same	1870
Coles	Clatura	same	1840
Coles	Fannie	William Osborn (w)	1870
Coles	Fanny	Silas/Siles Coles	1850, 1860
Coles	Hannah	Silas/Siles Coles	1850, 1860
Coles	Hannah A	Benjamin Coles	1870
Coles	Jason		1830 (VSW)
Coles	Kate M	Benjamin Coles	1870
Coles	Mary J	Benjamin Coles	1870
Coles	Siles/Silas	Silas/Siles Coles	1830 (VSW, <i>Nimrod</i>), 1840, 1850, 1860
Coles	Stephen	same	1820
Cook	Lucy	same	1840
Cooper	Eliza	Eliza Cooper	1870, 1880 Freetown
Cooper	Sara	Eliza Cooper	1870 Freetown
Cuff	Rachel Beeman		1810 (Indenture, EHL)
Cuff(e)	Amos	same	1800, 1801 (GBC)
Cuff(e)	Caleb	same	1800, 1801 (GBC), 1811 (Indenture, EHL), 1830 (VSW)
Cuff(e)	Eliphalet		1813 (Indenture, EHL); 1830 (VSW)
Cuff(e)	Isaac		1801 (GBC)
Cuff(e)	Jason	same	1840
Cuff(e)	John		1801 (GBC), 1830 (AB), 1840 (NHD)
Cuff(e)	Thomas		1830 (VSW)
Cuff(e)	Warren		1801 (GBC)
Cuffe	Emeline	Charles Seaman	1860 EH
Cuffe	Oliver	Elias H. Miller	1860
Cyrus	Widow	same	1761 Montauk (SO [4 in family])
Davis	Caroline	Thomas J. Davis	1860
Davis	Hannah	Thomas J. Davis	1860
Davis	Henry	same	1840 (EH)
Davis	Infant	Thomas J. Davis	1860
Davis	John	Thomas J. Davis	1860
Davis	Mary	Thomas J. Davis	1860
Davis	Sarah	Thomas J. Davis	1860

Davis	Thomas J.	same	1860
Davis	Vincent	Thomas J. Davis	1860
Dep	Clarissa	Eliza Cooper	1870, 1880 Freetown
Dep	Miriam	Phillis Disberry	1830 (AB), 1840, 1850 Freetown
Dep	Philena	Eliza Cooper	1870 Freetown
Dep	Syrus	same	1830
Depth	Emma	Benjamin Miller/poorhouse	1860
Depth	Jane	Benjamin Miller/poorhouse	1860
Dick	Polly (wd)	same	1806 Montauk (1 in family)
Disberry	Dorcas	same	1850, 1860 Freetown
Disberry	Dorcas	Philip Disberry/Edward Disberry	1860, 1880
Disberry	Edward	same	1850, 1860 Freetown
Disberry	Edward	Philip Disberry/Edward Disberry	1860, 1880
Disberry	Philip	Philip Disberry	1860 Freetown
Disberry	Philis	Robert Montgomery	1870 Freetown
Disberry	Phillis	Phillis Disberry	1840 (AB), 1850 Freetown
Dominy	Caroline	same	1820 Freetown
Draper	Jack		1830 (VSW; <i>Nimrod</i>)
Draper	John		1830 (AC)
Faro	Catherine	Elias H. Miller	1860
Fowler	Andonia	same	1761 Montauk (SO [4 in family])
Fowler	Charles	William Fowler	1870, 1880 Montauk
Fowler	D		1784 Montauk (CHS [9])
Fowler	Eliza	George Fowler	1900
Fowler	George	William Fowler/George Fowler	1870, 1880 Montauk, 1900 Freetown
Fowler	Hannah	William Fowler	1870 Montauk
Fowler	Herbert	William Fowler	1870, 1880 Montauk
Fowler	Herbert W	George Fowler	1900 Freetown
Fowler	James	same	1761 Montauk (SO [8 in family])
Fowler	John	William Fowler	1870 Montauk
Fowler	John	George Fowler	1900 Freetown
Fowler	Marguerite	George Fowler	1900 Freetown
Fowler	Maria	George Fowler	1900 Freetown
Fowler	Mary	William Fowler	1870, 1880 Montauk
Fowler	Nale (wd)	same	1806 Montauk (3 in family)

Fowler	Sara	George Fowler	1900 Freetown
Fowler	Silas C.	Eliza Cooper	1880 Freetown
Fowler	Widow Esther	same	1784 Montauk (CHS [3])
Fowler	William	same	1840 (NHD), 1870, 1880 Montauk
Fowler	William	George Fowler	1900 Freetown
Gabriel	Peter	Peter Gabriel	1850, 1860, 1880
Gardiner	Cato	same	1840 (EH)
Gardiner	David	Shem Gardiner	1850
Gardiner	Ellen	Shem Gardiner	1870 Freetown
Gardiner	Fanny	Shem/Sherman Gardiner	1850, 1860
Gardiner	Helen/Hannah/Ellen	Shem/Sherman Gardiner	1850, 1860
Gardiner	Luce	same	1810, 1820 Freetown
Gardiner	Shem/Sherman	same	1840-70 Freetown, 1880 Gardiner's Island
Gardiner	William/Bills	same	1820, 1830, 1830 (AB), 1840 Freetown
Gaunuck	Gid	same	1761 Montauk (SO [2 in family])
Green	Tobias	same	1840
Hand	Peter	same	1830, 1840
Hannaball	David	same	1794-5 Montauk (EH); 1806 Montauk (1 in family)
Hannaball	John	same	1806 Montauk (7 in family), 1820 Freetown
Hannaball	Widow S.	same	1806 Montauk (5 in family)
Hannibal	Hannah	Isaac Wright	1850, 1860 Freetown
Hannibal	Phillis	John Hannibal	1850 Freetown
Hannibal	Sara		1840 (NHD)
Hanniball	Dorence	same	1794-5 (EH), 1806 Montauk (1 in family)
Hanniball	John	same	1830 (VSW), 1850 Freetown
Hedges	Cyrus	same	1810
Hempstead	David	same	1840 Eastville
Horton	Betsey	John Horton	1870 Freetown
Horton	Dorothy	George Fowler	1900 Freetown
Horton	John	Benjamin Miller/poorhouse	1860
Horton	John	same	1870, 1880 Freetown
Horton	John L	John Horton	1870, 1900 Freetown
Horton	Julia	John Horton	1880, 1900 Freetown
Horton	Morgan R	John Horton	1900 Freetown
Horton	William H	John Horton	1900 Freetown

Jabez	Luther	Patrick T. Gould	1860 Montauk
Jabez	Sarah	Patrick T. Gould	1860 Montauk
Jack	Abraham	same	1830 (AB), 1850
Jack	Benj	same	1800, 1801 (GBC), 1810 Freetown
Jack	Catherine	Abraham Jack	1850
Jack	Dence	same	1820
Jack	Dinah	Abraham Jack	1830 (AB), 1850
Jack	Jason		1843 (<i>Tuscarora</i> , Cold Spring Harbor)
Jack	Margaret	Abraham Jack	1850
Jack	Nathaniel		1820 (VS), 1830 (VS), 1845 (<i>Talmadge</i> , Cold Spring Harbor)
Jack	Samuel	Abraham Jack	1850
Jackson	Stephen		1801 (GBC)
James	Isaac	same	1801 (GBC), 1806 Montauk (3 in family)
James	Robert		1801 (GBC)
James	Widow	same	1761 Montauk (SO [7 in family])
Joe	John	same	1801 (GBC), 1810, 1830 (AB), 1840, 1850
Joe	Rachel	same	1830 (AB), 1840 (EH)
Joe	Sabrina	John Joe	1850
Joe	Silas		1801 (GBC)
Joe	Vincent	John Joe	1850
Joe Jun	John		1801 (GBC)
Joe/Joseph	John	same	1850, 1860
Joe/Joseph	Sabrina	John Joe/John Joseph	1850, 1860
Joe/Joseph	Vincent	John Joe/John Joseph	1850, 1860
John L	Horton	Eliza Cooper	1880
Johnson	Edmund	Samuel B. Gardiner (Gardiner's Island)	1880
Johnson	Eliza	Sara Banks	1900
Johnson	Hannah	Samuel B. Gardiner (Gardiner's Island)	1880
Johnson	Minerva	Stephen Johnson	1860
Johnson	Nellie	Sara Banks	1900
Johnson	Stephen	same	1860, 1870
Joseph	Amelia A.	Silas C Joseph	1860
Joseph	Caroline	Silas C Joseph	1860

Joseph	John	George Bell	1870
Joseph	John	John Joseph	1830 (VSW), 1870
Joseph	Sara	John Joseph	1860
Joseph	Silas C.	same	1860
Joseph	Vincent	Samuel B. Gardiner (Gardiner's Island)	1880
Joseph	Vincent	John Joseph	1870
Joseph Jun	John		1830 (VSW)
Kings	Wilsher M.	Stephen Johnson	1860
Leonard	Clarence	same	1900
Leonard	Clinton	Clarence Leonard	1900
Leonard	Rena	Clarence Leonard	1900
Levi	Milly J	Prince Levi	1860
Levi	Peggy	Jude Peterson	1850
Levi	Prince	Prince Levi	1840, 1860
Madeen	Lucy Goddock	same	1806 Montauk (1 in family)
Madeen	Martha Dick	same	1806 Montauk (1 in family)
Mapes	Jason	same	1840
Margaret	Peggy	same	1840
Maurice	Benjamin	same	1900
Maurice	Margaret	Benjamin Maurice	1900
Michael	Henry	same	1840 (EH)
Miller	Samson		1830 (VSW, <i>Nimrod</i>)
Montgomery	George	Robert Montgomery	1880
Montgomery	Hilda	Robert Montgomery	1870, 1880
Montgomery	Julia A	Robert Montgomery	1870, 1880
Montgomery	Mary B	Robert Montgomery	1870, 1880
Montgomery	Robert	same	1870, 1880
Montgomery	Robert H	Robert Montgomery	1880
Moses	Peggy (wd)	same	1806 Montauk (2 in family)
Mulford	Dep	same	1830 (AB), 1840
Mulford	Maria/Miriam	Maria/Miriam Mulford	1860, 1880
Mulford	Miriam	same	1870 Freetown
Neases	Samuel	same	1761 Montauk (SO [2 in family])
Ned	Hannah	same	1806 Montauk (1 in family)
Peter	G		1784 Montauk (CHS [3])
Peter	Isaac		1794-5 (EH)

Peter	John	same	1761 Montauk (SO [3 in family])
Peter	Peggee	same	1761 Montauk (SO [2 in family])
Peter	Widow Betty	same	1761 Montauk (SO [1 in family])
Peter, Jun.	John	same	1761 Montauk (SO [6 in family])
Peter, Widow	Temp	same	1806 Montauk (1 in family)
Peterson	Jude	same	1840, 1850
Peterson	Ruth	Jude Peterson	1850
Pharaoh	Andrew	same	1806 Montauk (3 in family)
Pharaoh	Aurelia	same	1870 Montauk
Pharaoh	Ben	same	1800 Montauk (EH), 1801 (GBC), 1806 Montauk (10 in family)
Pharaoh	Betsey (wd)	same	1806 Montauk (4 in family)
Pharaoh	Charles	same	1806 Montauk (3 in family)
Pharaoh	David	same	1870 Montauk
Pharaoh	Ebenezer	David Pharaoh/Maria G. Pharaoh	1870, 1880 Montauk, 1913 Almshouse
Pharaoh	Ebenezer	Benjamin Maurice	1900
Pharaoh	Elisha	same	1840 (NHD), 1870 Montauk
Pharaoh	Eph	same	1784 Montauk (CHS [5])
Pharaoh	Ephraim	Sylvester Pharaoh	1870 Montauk, 1917 Almshouse
Pharaoh	G		1784 Montauk (CHS [4])
Pharaoh	George	same	1761 Montauk (SO [4 in family]), 1801 (GBC), 1806 Montauk (4 in family)
Pharaoh	George	William Osborn (w)	1870
Pharaoh	J		1784 Montauk (CHS [2])
Pharaoh	Jamimy?		1784 Montauk (CHS [1])
Pharaoh	Jane	same	1761 Montauk (SO [7 in family])
Pharaoh	Jeremiah	same	1806 Montauk (3 in family)
Pharaoh	Jerusha	Samuel T. Stratton	1860 Montauk, 1870 Montauk
Pharaoh	Joseph	same	1754 (land agreement), 1761 Montauk (SO [5 in family])
Pharaoh	Little		1754 (land agreement)
Pharaoh	Lucy	Miriam Mulford	1870 Freetown
Pharaoh	Maggie	David Pharaoh/Maria G. Pharaoh	1870, 1880 Montauk
Pharaoh	Maria	David Pharaoh/same	1860 EH (as Fowler in Charles Seaman household), 1870, 1880 Montauk
Pharaoh	Mary	Benjamin Coles	1870

Pharaoh	Ned	same	1806 Montauk (4 in family)
Pharaoh	Peter	same	1806 Montauk (4 in family)
Pharaoh	Pocahantas	Maria G. Pharaoh	1880 Montauk
Pharaoh	Pocahontas	Benjamin Maurice	1900
Pharaoh	Richard	same	1761 Montauk (SO [3 in family])
Pharaoh	Samuel	Benjamin Maurice	1900
Pharaoh	Samuel E.	Stephen Pharaoh	1870, 1880 Montauk
Pharaoh	Sarah	Aurelia Pharaoh	1870 Montauk
Pharaoh	Sarah (wd)	same	1806 Montauk (2 in family)
Pharaoh	Stephen	same	1761 Montauk (SO [4 in family]), 1800 Montauk (EH), 1801 (GBC), 1806 Montauk (8 in family)
Pharaoh	Stephen (Talkhouse)	same	1840 (NHD), 1870 Montauk
Pharaoh	Sylvester	same	1840 NHD, 1870 Montauk
Pharaoh	Widow S.	same	1806 Montauk (2 in family)
Pharaoh	Wyandank	David Pharaoh/Maria G. Pharaoh	1870, 1880 Montauk
Pharaoh 3rd	George	same	1806 Montauk (1 in family)
Pharaoh Jun	George	same	1806 Montauk (5 in family)
Pharo	Naomi	Patrick T. Gould	1860 Montauk
Pharoe	Bashba	Benjamin Hedges	1850
Plato	Charles	same	1830 (AB), 1840 Eastville
Plato	Isaac	same	1800, 1801 (GBC), 1830 (VSW)
Plato Jun	Isaac		1801 (GBC)
Quaw	Amelia	Israel Quaw	1870 Freetown
Quaw	Edward	Edward Disberry	1880
Quaw	Edward	Isreal Quaw	1870 Freetown
Quaw	Isabella	Isreal Quaw	1870 Freetown
Quaw	Israel	same	1870 Freetown
Quaw	Julia	Peter Quaw	1850
Quaw	Mary	Philip Disberry	1860
Quaw	Peter	Peter Quaw	1850
Quaw	Samuel	Eliza Cooper	1880 Freetown
Quaw	Silas	Eliza Cooper	1880 Freetown
Quaw	Triphenia	David D. Parsons	1880
Right	Robbin	same	1806 Montauk (5 in family)
Right	Rufus	same	1810
Right	Silomus	same	1820
Roben family		same	1761 Montauk (SO [6 in family])
Ruckets	David	same	1761 Montauk (SO [3 in family])
Rufus	Noah		1801 (GBC)

Rufus	Syl...		1801 (GBC)
Schellinger	Scipio	same	1830
Scipio	Obadiah		1784 Montauk (CHS [2])
Scipio	S		1784 Montauk (CHS [4])
Shime	Widow	same	1761 Montauk (SO [7 in family])
Simenson	Elisa	same	1830
Snirly?	Catherine	David Snirly	1880
Snirly?	David	same	1880
Sorehand	Hannibal		1754 (land agreement)
Store	Levy	same	1840 Freetown
Stores	Fina	same	1840 Eastville
Talkhouse	Jonathan		1840 (NHD)
Tallman	Aloosa	Jeremiah Pharaoh	1806 Montauk (3 in family, not listed by name)
Tetchkags	Jonathan	same	1806 Montauk (2 in family)
Thompson	Caroline	same	1830
Tooker	Margaret	same	1840 Eastville
Tut	Phebe (wd)	same	1806 Montauk (1 in family)
Tutt	David	same	1761 Montauk (SO [2 in family])
Tutt	Widow	same	1761 Montauk (SO [5 in family])
White	Fidelle	same	1840 Freetown
White	Julia	Lucy White	1850 Freetown
White	Lucy	same	1850 Freetown
White	Sarah	Lucy White	1850
White	Stephen	Lucy White	1850 Freetown
White	Stephen	Maria Mulford	1860 Freetown
White?/Pharaoh	Lucy	Maria/Miriam Mulford	1860, 1880 Freetown
Whitness	Abraham	same	1806 Montauk (6 in family)
Whitness	Sall (wd)	same	1806 Montauk (4 in family)
Whitness	Sampson	same	1806 Montauk (3 in family)
Whitness	Seaser	same	1806 Montauk (6 in family)
Williams	Noah	same	1840 Eastville
Wright	Elisabeth	Isaac Wright	1850 Freetown
Wright	George	Isaac Wright	1860 Freetown
Wright	Hannah	Isaac Wright	1850 Freetown
Wright	Henry	Isaac Wright	1850 Freetown
Wright	Isaac	same	1850, 1860, 1870 Freetown
Wright	Jeremiah	Isaac Wright/Naomi Wright	1850, 1860, 1880 Freetown
Wright	Jeremiah	same?	1870 Freetown
Wright	Jonathan	Isaac Wright	1850, 1860 Freetown

Wright	Mary	Isaac Wright	1850, 1860 Freetown
Wright	Nancy	same	1830
Wright	Naomi/Mehoma	Isaac Wright/Naomi Wright	1850, 1860, 1870 Freetown
Wyemph	John	same	1806 Montauk (1 in family)
Youngs	Frank	same	1840 Eastville
	Betty and daughter		1784 Montauk (CHS [5])
	Cato		1801 (GBC)
	Cato		1806 (slave bill, EHL)
	Cyrus		1801 (GBC)
	Daniel		1747 (Indenture, EHL)
	Dence		1801 (GBC)
	Dep	same	1820
	Edward	same	1800 Freetown?
	Florough (wd)	same	1806 Montauk (1 in family)
	Hanabal (Hannibal)	same	1754 (land agreement), 1761 Montauk (SO [6 in family])
	Hannah (wd)	same	1806 Montauk
	Hugh	same	1761 Montauk (SO [6 in family]), 1806 Montauk (3 in family)
	Iyoumus?		1784 Montauk (SO [1])
	Jane	same	1800 Freetown?
	Judas	same	1800 Freetown?
	Luce		1801 (GBC)
	Martin		1801 (GBC)
	Nance		1801 (GBC)
	Ned		1754 (land agreement [Long Ned])
	Ned	same	1761 Montauk (SO ["Old" Ned; 4 in family])
	Ned		1804 Sandy Hook/Freetown (deed, EHL)
	Ned	same	1761 Montauk (SO ["Molatto" Ned; 4 in family])
	Nezer	same	1761 Montauk (SO [9 in family])
	Nimrod	same	1761 Montauk (SO [15 in family])
	Phillip		1801 (GBC)
	Plato	same	1800, 1801 (GBC)
	Prince	same	1800 Freetown, 1801 Freetown (GBC)
	Quough		1801 (GBC)
	Rufus	same	1800 Freetown, 1801 (GBC)

	Samson		1801 (GBC)
	Scipio		1754 (land agreement)
	Sippio	same	1806 Montauk (5 in family)
	Syrus	same	1800 Freetown
	Virgil	same	1800 Freetown
	Widow Moll	same	1761 Montauk (SO [8 in family])
	Widow Pegge	same	1761 Montauk (SO [9 in family])
	Widow Rafe	same	1761 Montauk (SO [2 in family])

Appendix B: Descriptions of Feature AII Excavations and Soils, Indian Fields

B.1: Descriptions of Feature II Excavations

The following excavation descriptions come from the ca.1970s field notes.

Unit name	Date opened	Description
F10	1976	Only the northern half of this 5x5 foot excavation unit was dug, beginning on July 24, 1976. A dark grey sandy humus (stratum I) was excavated to 0.23 foot below the ground surface. It was underlain by a shell midden (stratum IA) which was encountered on July 24 and 26, 1976 and measured 0.23 foot thick. A sandy humus with marl (stratum IB) was encountered on August 16, 1976. This layer was dug to 0.09 foot thick, and contained artifacts. It is unclear why excavations stopped at this point.
F12 (test square)	1975	A 2x1 foot test square was dug in the northeast corner of the 5x5 foot unit (but the rest of the unit remained unexcavated) on December 6, 1975. A dark sandy humus (stratum I) with artifacts measured 0.25 foot thick. It was underlain by a midden layer which measured 0.23 foot thick and was partially excavated on December 6, 1975 and June 16, 1976. All layers contained artifacts.
G10	1975	This 5x5 foot fully-excavated unit was first investigated May 30, 1975. The first layer (stratum I) was a dark brown sandy humus that measured 0.36 foot thick and contained shell, animal bone, ceramics, glass, nails, and possibly some pieces of brick (dug May 30, June 3, 4, July 2, 3). It is underlain by a thick shell midden (stratum IA), which measured 0.45 foot and contains shell, fish and turtle bones, animal bones, ceramics, glass, nails, etc. (July 3, 5, 8, 11, 24, 29, 30). Below the midden, excavators identified another layer with artifacts and faunal material was encountered (stratum II) which measured 0.39 foot thick (July 29, 30, 31, August 20). A fourth cultural layer (stratum IC) was described as humus stained marl. This layer, which measures 0.31 foot thick, has a lower density of artifacts and, it is noted, showed little evidence of disturbance (August 20, 23, 1975). In fact the excavator noted that only a few bones leached into the subsoil. This unit was not dug to sterile subsoil. On June 16, 1976, excavators returned to do some cleaning in the unit. It seems that this excavation unit was placed on the outside of the house feature (dwelling exterior), which is suggested by the presence of a line of large rocks along the eastern wall of the excavation unit.
G11	1975	Excavations began on this 5x5 foot unit on June 7, 1975. A

		humus layer (stratum I) of dark sandy loose soil with fish, bird, and animal bone, ceramics, nails, and shell measured 0.44 foot thick (June 7, 14, 1975). It was underlain by a midden layer (stratum IA) with turtle, fish, bird, and mammal bones, ceramics, beads, smoking pipe fragments, bottle glass, metal utensils, etc (June 28, July 2, 5, 25). Below the midden was the subsoil (stratum (sub)), which was a light grey soil mixed with marl and contained small bits of broken shells (August 6, 1975). This excavation layer measured 0.02 foot thick. Rodent burrowing was noted on one of the plan drawings for the unit.
G12 (shell sample only)	1976	This unit was left unexcavated, except for a shell sample that was taken west of the southeast stake (August 30, 1976).
G14	1975	This was a test square that was excavated over two days (November 29 and December 6, 1975). Two layers were identified: a humus layer with artifacts (stratum I, measuring 0.53 foot thick) and a midden layer below it (stratum IA measuring 0.57 foot thick). Brick was noted in stratums I and IA, along with ceramics and faunal material.
H9	1975	This 5x5 foot square unit was begun on June 28, 1975, when a layer of dark sandy humus with some charcoal was removed to a depth of 0.37 foot. Below the humus, a sandy layer with rocks and oyster shells was encountered on the second day of excavation (July 2, 1975). This layer was initially identified as disturbed, but when a cache of turtle carapace was discovered as crushed <i>in situ</i> , the excavators realized they had encountered a midden layer. The disturbed context (described by lumps of loam that were appearing throughout an intact layer of oyster shell) was later determined to be by the evidence of digging within the dwelling during the time of occupation, possibly for the location of a new hearth. According to Ed Johannemann's notes, this area of the excavation unit included a concentration of kitchen refuse, decayed organic materials, animal bones, and other discarded items. A small illustration suggests that this was near the southern portion of the unit. It seems that this unit was bisected N/S and excavated individually based on the presence of the midden and three boulders that appear to have been part of a wall that extended from the rock-wall enclosure to the east (Feature ?). The southern portion of the unit (described as "south trench") was excavated with care taken to the changing soil colors and textures. Below the midden (which measured 0.71 foot), a mottled humus was encountered. In the northern portion of the unit (described as "north trench"), a yellowish marl subsoil was encountered below the midden, with pockets of disturbance throughout. The disturbances were described as sandy, sometimes grey soils

		<p>with pieces of charcoal. A small test unit, labeled AII4, was excavated near the stake marking N0/E10 to investigate the disturbances. The nature of the disturbances was not identified. Excavations ended on September 22, 1975. In April 1976, the field crew returned to this unit to do small-scale excavation and cleaning around the rock wall in the western portion of the unit, and continued to clean and map until June 28, 1976. Looting within the unit was noted.</p>
H10	1975	<p>This 5x5 foot square unit was begun on June 3, 1975. Johannemann noted that a possible house pattern was identified with a stone outline, although several stones had been displaced by the perimeter wall. The house pattern was also described with scattered crushed shell (mostly oyster and hard clam), fish bones, and animal bones. Broken pieces of ceramics, metal (including an iron hook), and a smoking pipe bowl. According to a sketch of the unit, there was some looting of the site. On the second day (June 7, 1975), the excavators focused on the southern half of the unit to avoid the disturbance. They excavated a dark loam that contained a variety of shells; turtle, fish and animal bones; ceramics, metal, glass, and smoking pipe fragments. No depths were recorded for this first level, identified as Stratum I. On day 3 (June 21, 1975) it seems that the excavators encountered a shell midden with artifacts within the north side of the unit. Stratum II was encountered below the midden on day 5 (July 23, 1975). Stratum II, which measured roughly 0.6-.27 foot in the northern portion of the unit, was described as yellow marl with artifacts and faunal materials. It was underlain by Stratum III, a charcoal layer roughly 0.17 foot thick. The next year, the excavators returned to the unit to clean and straighten walls, and explore the connections between H10 and H11 (to the north).</p>
H11	1975	<p>This completely-excavated 5x5 foot square unit was begun on June 7, 1975. A dark, fine, sandy humus layer (stratum I) was excavated to .53 foot below the ground surface and included a bone handle, a broken knife blade, a quartz flake, small pieces of bone, ceramics, nails. Etc. (dug on June 7, 17, and 21, 1975). The excavators encountered a midden layer (stratum IA) below the humus on June 28, 1975 which measured 0.74 foot thick (excavated on June 28, July 2, 8, 11, 19, 22, 1975). The midden layer contained animal, fish, and turtle bone with historic ceramics, glass, nails, etc. flecks of charcoal and a concentration of charcoal and some burned shell (although there was no ash layer or evidence of burned soils). The excavators suspected this was evidence of a baking pit. On July 23, 1975, a sandy brown layer was identified (stratum II)</p>

		below the midden layer. Although it also contained shell, charcoal, and the same kinds of artifacts from the midden layer, it is distinguished by a different soil color/texture and a lower density of cultural materials. A lower midden (stratum III) was encountered on July 25, 1975 measuring 0.12 inch thick (excavated on July 24, 25, 30). This stratum was further explored in a 1 foot test square (AII ₁) dug 1.21 feet from the southeast corner of the unit and demonstrated 0.25 inch thickness of stratum III, which was underlain by yellow marl (substratum). Another 1 foot test square (AII ₂), which explored stratum III, was excavated in the northwest corner to an unknown depth (August 1, 13, 1975). The excavators returned to the site on June 15, 1976 for cleanup. (See profiles)
H12	1976	The eastern half of this 5x5 foot square unit was excavated beginning on July 7, 1976, when the humus layer (stratum I, measuring 0.29 foot thick and containing historic artifacts and faunal materials) was excavated. It was underlain by the midden layer (stratum IA, measuring 0.16 foot thick and containing shell, animal bones, and historic artifacts) which was excavated on July 9 and 10, 1976. The third cultural layer (stratum II) was a marl mottled with dry sandy humus, artifacts, and faunal material (August 5, 1976). The fourth layer (stratum IB) was a humus mottled with marl and included artifacts and faunal materials (0.04 foot thick) (August 16, 1976).
H13	1975	This test square was excavated near the southeast corner of the unit. A humus layer (stratum I), excavated on November 29, December 5, and December 6, 1975, included artifacts, brick fragments, and shell fragments in a layer that measured 0.63 foot thick.
I9	1975	A 2 foot wide trench was excavated in the northern portion of unit I9, beginning August 2, 1975. The humus layer was investigated on August 2, 27, September 20, and 22, 1975. On September 22, a layer of humus with some disturbance was encountered, followed by the midden layer. Another mottled layer with cultural material was encountered on September 29, 1975.
L7	1975	Because this unit contained large, fire-reddened rock that occupied roughly 75% of the unit, this 5x5 foot square was minimally excavated (see plan drawing). The unit was opened on August 27, 1975, and excavated again on September 1, 1975.

B.2: Feature AII Soil Descriptions

Unit F10

Notes: northern half only excavated (outside house); cultural material in all 3 layers.

Stratum	Depth	Description	Cultural material	Notes
I	0.23 thick	Dark grey sandy humus	Bone and turtle shell; small, thin glass frags; ceramics	
IA	0.23 thick	Shell midden	Turtle shell, bone, bottle glass, ceramics, oyster shell 130mm-150-145-110-95-110-100; clam shell; slipper shell; conch shell; quartz core and flakes, nails, fish bone	
IB	0.09 thick	Marl-mottled humus	Some shell (oyster and conch); turtle; ceramic, glass	

Unit F12

Notes: test square 2'x1' at NE corner of square (outside house; see sketch); cultural material in all layers, though scarce.

Stratum	Depth	Description	Cultural material	Notes
I	0.25 thick	Dark sandy humus		
IA	0.23 thick	Shell midden	Blue mussel, oyster, clam; ceramics, glass; turtle, nails, pipe stem, animal bone	

Unit G10

Notes: fully excavated square (5'x5'); possibly the exterior of the dwelling (outside house); cultural material present, in order of abundance in strata IA, I, II, IC; line of large rocks runs along eastern side of wall

Stratum	Depth	Description	Cultural material	Notes
I	0.36 thick	Dark brown sandy humus	Land snail, scallop, oyster, ceramics, nails, bone, turtle	
IA	0.45 thick	Shell midden	Bone, ceramic, glass, fish, pipe stem, turtle; oyster, conch, charcoal (northern half)	
II	0.38 thick	No description	Fish bone, turtle, animal bone, gun flint, spike, glass, ceramic, metal, graphite, button,	
IC	0.31 thick	Humus-stained marl (scattered charcoal with occasional shell and small clay deposits)	Ceramic, turtle, fish bone, quartz, charcoal, glass, bone needle?, metal spike	

Unit G11

Notes: fully excavated square (5'x5') (outside house); some evidence of small shell pits; clustered, circular shell pattern; cultural material present, in order of abundance in strata IA, I, and subsoil

Stratum	Depth	Description	Cultural material	Notes
I	0.44 thick	Dark sandy humus	Fish, bird, animal bone, nails, ceramics, oyster shell	
IA	0.79 thick	Shell midden	Bone, ceramic, glass, fish, pipe stem, turtle, etc.	
Subsoil	0.02 thick	Fine, light gray soil w/marl		

Unit G12

Notes: a shell sample was removed (2.20'x1.80'); unexcavated square otherwise (outside house)

Stratum	Depth	Description	Cultural material	Notes
I	0.19 thick	none		
IA	0.49 thick	Shell midden		

Unit G14

Notes: test square only (outside house); cultural material, in order of abundance, in Strata IA, I, and ?

Stratum	Depth	Description	Cultural material	Notes
I	0.53 thick	Dark humus		
IA	0.57 thick	Shell midden		
?	0.16 thick	mottling		

Unit H9

Notes: completely excavated square (inside house?); cultural material found in all strata; rock along southern and western walls of square.

Stratum	Depth	Description	Cultural material	Notes
I	0.37	dark sandy humus w/some charcoal	Y	
IA	0.71	Shell midden w/charcoal (Floor) Humus 7.5YR 3/2 (Floor) Mottled brown humus 7.5YR 5/4	Y	First thought to be disturbed in south half of square after habitation, but much turtle carapace crushed in place; mixture of shell may be result of digging for new hearth; loam lumps began appearing at el. 32.30 (probably the result of excavation within dwelling) oyster shell at bottom of IA undisturbed
IB	N/A	Humus mottled w/marl; contains charcoal	Y	
II	N/A	Yellow marl mottled with humus and containing small	Y	Began at el/ 32.34

		pebbles		
X1 (dist)	N/A	Gray sandy soil w/charcoal	Y	Center
X2	N/A	Containing charcoal	Y	Area north of rock wall feature
X3	N/A		Y	Balk at west side of I9 and I10 around N0E10 stake
AII4			y	Located in northern half of square consisting of 3 patches of dark disturbed soil. Feature surrounded by humus-stained marl and charcoal (see plan).

Unit H10

Notes: completely excavated square (inside house); line of rock along west side of square.

Stratum	Depth	Description	Cultural material	Notes
I		Fine sandy dark humus 10YR 3/1	Animal bone, oyster, clam, fish, ceramic, metal, pipe bowl, nails, glass, turtle,	Disturbed in some areas from previous excavation
IA		Shell midden	Mostly oyster, small animal bones, ceramics, nails, charcoal, pipe bowl, mussel shell, turtle, fish	
II	0.17 thick	Yellow marl mottled w/ humus and pebbles	Ceramic, fish bone, bead, metal, turtle, glass	
III		charcoal	Charcoal, nail	

Unit H11

Notes: completely excavated square (inside house); rocks halfway along southern wall; cultural material in all layers. Datum stake SW corner of G10 33.91' (later the datum elevation changes to 33.45', 33.35', etc.; excavations took place from June through August 1975, then unit was closed in June 1976).

Stratum	Depth	Description	Cultural material	Notes
I	0.53 thick	Fine sandy, dark humus		
IA	0.74 thick	Shell midden	Charcoal; evidence of possible baking pit; concentrations of charcoal and burnt shell	
II		Sandy brown humus mottled w/ yellow loamy soil	Charcoal flecks	
III	0.12 thick	Charcoal-mottled marl	charcoal	
AII(1) test square	0.25 thick	Light brown sandy silty loam		Dug 1.21' from SE corner, 1' square
	0.25 thick	Light brown sandy silty loam (containing 0.2-0.3 ϕ stones)		
	at El. 32.15	Yellow marl		
AII(2) test square				Pit in NW corner

Unit H12

Notes: only eastern half of square excavated; cultural material found in all layers

Stratum	Depth	Description	Cultural material	Notes
I	0.29 thick	Sandy humus		
IA	0.16 thick	Shell midden		
II	0.09 thick	Marl mottled with dry sandy humus		
IB	0.04 thick	Humus mottled with marl		

Unit H13

Notes: test square excavated only; cultural material in all layers;

* it only looks like one layer was excavated

Stratum	Depth	Description	Cultural material	Notes
I	0.63 thick	dark humus		
IA	?	Shell midden		
?	1.5 thick	mottled		

Unit I9

Notes: trench 2' wide (beginning at E10 line) excavated; cultural material in all layers; big rocks in SW corner

Stratum	Depth	Description	Cultural material	Notes
I	0.64 thick	Light, sandy, hard packed humus		
X	0.10 thick	Disturbed humus mottled with marl		
IA	0.09 thick	Shell midden		Soil within midden is dark brown humus mottled with marl and charcoal
IB	0.07 thick	Brown sandy humus with some evidence of disturbance (marl)		
?	0.14 thick	Humus mottled w/marl and charcoal		

Unit L7

Notes: see plan for excavated portion; cultural material in both layers; huge, fire-cracked rock takes up $\frac{3}{4}$ of square

Stratum	Depth	Description	Cultural material	Notes
I	0.23 thick	Dark brown humus		
IA	0.17 thick	? mottled with charcoal		

Appendix C: Descriptions of Feature AXXV Excavations and Soils, Indian Fields

C.1. Descriptions of Feature AXXV Excavations

Unit name	Date opened	Description
DD5	1975	This 5x5 foot square unit was completely excavated, beginning on October 17, 1975. On the second day (October 24, 1975), the excavators distinguish between items found within versus outside the house. Researchers returned to the field on June 16, 1976, beginning with some surface cleaning to expose excavations from the previous summer. On July 12, 1976 they continue digging, bagging material separately that was uncovered inside and outside the house. At this time, it was noted that they were excavating the southwest corner of the structure, as three large foundation stones laid-out on a N/S axis, mark the exterior of the house. A “heavy concentration of gravel” was noted inside the foundation and some large stones were identified on the outside of the foundation. On July 13, 1976 some excavation continued within the foundation. (see plan drawing).
EE5	1975	This fully-excavated 5x5 foot unit was located north of DD5 and included the west wall of the structure. Excavations began here on October 3, 1975 and continued on October 7 in the humus layer. On October 10, 1975 the excavators noted the line of rock in the formation of a wall that ran N/S. Artifacts were recovered from the humus on October 13 and 17. They encountered the IA horizon on July 12, 1976, and began distinguishing between artifacts found within and outside structure. A heavy concentration of gravel was noted along the stone wall (west) in the southern 1/3 of the square. On July 13, the excavators dug outside the foundation, recovering artifacts from the IA horizon.
FF5	1975	This fully-excavated 5x5 foot unit was located north of EE5 and contained the foundation wall that ran N/S through units DD5 and EE5. Excavators began here on October 3, 1975, exposing the humus , and continuing in the same layer on October 6 and 7 (noting flecks of charcoal). The researchers returned on June 22, 1976, exposing the IA horizon on the inside of the foundation wall. On July 13, 1976 they distinguished between materials found within and outside the foundation, and continued excavating on July 26, and August 2 in the same manner. Excavations on August 3 and August 6 were conducted outside the foundation only.

FF7	1975	Johannemann began excavating this unit on October 14, 1975, noting that half of the trench showed signs of disturbance. Only the northern half of this unit was investigated. On October 17 and 24 researchers were recovering artifacts from the humus. This continued on November 29, December 6, and December 12. Excavators returned on July 12, 1976, noting a concentration of loamy gravelly soil (IA) in the SW corner under the humus. Excavations end there, possibly because they encountered a line of rock along the northern wall of the unit (see plan drawing).
FF8	1976	This fully-excavated unit was begun on July 13, 1976. Apparently, the excavator did not distinguish between the humus and IA layer in depth (but IA contained artifacts). On July 20, excavations continued in the northern half of the unit, and Johannemann noted that the southern side of the partition supporting wall showed evidence of fire-cracked rock, melted glass and brass, and a concentration of artifacts. On July 22 and 30, the II horizon was investigated.
GG5	1975	This 5x5 foot fully-excavated square was opened on October 3, 1975. Excavators continued to expose the humus on October 10, 11, 13, and on the 14 th it was noted in parentheses that the humus was an occupation level within the house. The researchers returned on June 20, 1976 to expose the IA horizon within the foundation. On July 26, a II horizon was investigated outside the foundation. They continued to dig this layer on July 27. Based on the plan view, it seems a rock foundation wall ran N/S through the western half of the unit (see plan).
GG6		Unexcavated?
GG7		Unexcavated? Empty folder
GG8	1976	Only the southern half of this square was excavated, beginning on August 2, 1976, when they exposed the humus layer. The next day, they continued digging the humus, then exposed the II layer, which contained "very little cultural material." Based on the plan view, it looks like the excavators worked to expose the rock foundation wall that occupied the southern half of the unit (see plan)
HH5	1975	This unit was begun on September 30, 1975 and located east of unit GG5. In the paperwork it was noted that this unit contained the NW corner of the stone foundation. On October 4 and 24, the humus (I horizon) was dug, distinguishing between artifacts from within and outside the house. Excavations inside the house were continued on November 1 and 29. On December 6, excavations

		addressed the outside of the foundation. The archaeologists returned the following summer, focusing on the outside of the foundation on July 20, 1976. (see plan view)
HH6	1975	This fully-excavated 5x5 foot unit was opened on October 14, 1975, and included four rock foundation walls. Archaeologists investigated the humus (I horizon) on October 17 and November 29, presumably inside the foundation. Excavations resumed inside the foundation on December 16. The archaeologists returned on July 16, 1976, to dig inside the foundation, then outside the foundation on July 27. (see plan)
HH7	1975	This fully-excavated 5x5 foot unit was opened on October 3, 1975. A field stone foundation wall runs W/E nearly through the center of this unit. The northern half of the unit is outside the foundation. The archaeologists removed the humus on October 3, 4, 6, 7, and 11 to expose the foundation wall, noting materials that were removed in association with the feature, and inside the feature. They noted disturbance inside the foundation, especially in the southeast quadrant. They returned in July 1976 to continue excavating within the foundation. The disturbance in the southeast corner was not explained.
HH8		Surface collection? no paperwork

C.2. Feature AXXV Soils

Unit DD5

Notes: entire square excavated; heavy concentration of gravel within foundation

Stratum	Depth	Description	Cultural material	Notes
I	0.10 thick	Dark brown humus		
IA	0.18 thick	Light tan sandy humus	abundance	

Unit EE5

Notes: entire square excavated; heavy concentration of gravel along stone wall (mostly in southern 1/3 of square west of stone wall)

Stratum	Depth	Description	Cultural material	Notes
I	0.43 thick	Dark brown sandy humus		
IA	0.13 thick	Brown sandy humus	abundance	

Unit FF5

Notes: entire square excavated; gravel layer begins at EL. 38.53 approximately; pc of wood found at S1.85 E1.05 EL. 38.40; cultural material, in order of abundance, in Strata IA, I, & II

Stratum	Depth	Description	Cultural material	Notes
I	0.16 thick	Dark brown sandy humus; flecks of charcoal toward bottom of layer		
IA	0.16 thick	Brown sandy humus w/small traces of marl and an abundance of cultural material	abundance	
II	0.13 thick	Marl mottled with humus and containing pebbles		

Unit FF7

Notes: northern half excavated only

Stratum	Depth	Description	Cultural material	Notes
I	0.65 thick	Dark brown sandy humus (easterly half of trench shows signs of disturbance); mottling appears at EL 38.67 in NW corner		
IA		sandy humus containing cultural material; concentration of gravel in SW corner; layer of loamy, gravelly soil being exposed	Y	

Unit FF8

Notes: entire square excavated; combined thickness of I and IA is 0.52

Stratum	Depth	Description	Cultural material	Notes
I		Light tan humus	none	
IA		Light tan humus containing artifacts; NE quadrant shows evidence of disturbance in that it is soft, non-packed	Y	
II	0.09 thick	Humus with gravel	some	

Unit GG5

Notes: entire square excavated; cultural material in order of abundance in Strata IA, II, I

Stratum	Depth	Description	Cultural material	Notes
I	0.41 thick	Dark sandy humus	none	
IA	n/a	Dark sandy humus containing	Y	

		abundance of cultural material		
II	0.39 thick	Marl mottles with humus (outside foundation only)	some	

Unit GG8

Notes: southern half of square excavated.

Stratum	Depth	Description	Cultural material	Notes
I	0.23 thick	Humus (contained many artifacts)	Y	
II				

Unit HH5

Notes: entire square excavated.

Stratum	Depth	Description	Cultural material	Notes
I	0.45 thick	Dark brown, fine sandy humus		
IA	0.18 thick	Gray sandy humus containing abundant cultural material	Y	
II		Mottled soil containing pebbles		

Unit HH6

Notes: entire square excavated.

Stratum	Depth	Description	Cultural material	Notes
I	0.37 thick	Dark brown, fine sandy humus		
IA		Dark sandy humus containing cultural material	Y	

Appendix D: Artifact, Faunal, and Floral Catalog for Feature AII

The artifact and faunal analysis for this dissertation followed the classification protocol established by the ca.1970s archaeologists. The author made changes to artifact identifications as needed. For items that were missing, the author relied on previous artifact identifications that were recorded on inventory sheets. There are discrepancies in catalog numbers (which are identified here as “item #,” for consistency with the ca.1970s paperwork), but the author chose to keep the numbering system that was previously established by the ca.1970s archaeologists.

D.1. Artifact Catalog for Feature AII, Inside House

* indicates item is missing

	Unit	item #	count	material	descrip	descrip 2	descrip 3 (decoration)
	H09	1.1	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	trail slipped
*	H09	1.2	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H09	1.3	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	Staffordshire-type slip	
	H09	1.3	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
*	H09	2	1	ceramic	kaolin	pipe	stem frag
	H09	2	1	lithic	quartz	flaked stone	secondary flake
*	H09	3	1	glass	window	aqua	
	H09	3	1	bone	unidentified	needle	
*	H09	4.1	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
*	H09	4.2	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H09	5.2	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H09	5.3	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H09	7	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	black glazed
	H09	8	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	Jackfield-type	
	H09	9	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H09	10	4	metal	nail frag	unidentified	
	H09	10.1	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed

*	H09	10.2	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H09	11.0	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H09	11	2	metal	spike frag		
	H09	12	2	metal	nail frag	unidentified	
	H09	12	11	metal	container frag		
*	H09	14	1	charcoal	charcoal		
*	H09	16	1	ceramic	earthenware		
	H09	17	1	ceramic	coarse earthenware	burnished	
	H09	18	1	ceramic	stoneware	grey salt glazed	
	H09	19	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	trail slipped
	H09	20	5	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H09	21	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	trail slipped
	H09	22	15	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H09	22	1	ceramic	coarse earthenware	burnished	
	H09	23	8	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
*	H09	24	1	metal	nail frag	unidentified	
	H09	25	1	metal	unidentified		
*	H09	29	1	charcoal	charcoal		
	H09	30	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
*	H09	31	1	lithic	quartz	flaked stone	projectile point
	H09	32	1	metal	pot hook	s-shaped	
	H09	33	1	metal	nail frag	unidentified	
	H09	35	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H09	36	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H09	37	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H09	39	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H09	49	1	bone	unidentified	needle	
	H09	53	1	metal	tool	crochet hook?	
*	H09	55	1	ceramic	kaolin	pipe	bowl and stem
	H09	60	9	metal	flat		

	H09	62	4	lithic	quartz	flaked stone	unidentified, chunky flakes
	H09	64	3	metal	nail frag	unidentified	
	H09	66	1	glass	window	aqua	
*	H09	67	1	glass	unidentified		
	H09	68	1	ceramic	stoneware	grey salt glazed	
	H09	69	1	ceramic	stoneware	grey salt glazed	
	H09	70	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	H09	71	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	brown mottle glaze
	H09	72	3	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	black glaze ext, ginger glaze int
*	H09	73	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H09	74	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted ext, banded int
	H09	75	6	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H09	75	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	
	H09	76	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H09	77	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted brown and dark brown lines (dipped?)
*	H09	78	1	ceramic	porcelain	hardpaste	
	H09	81	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	
	H09	81	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
*	H09	82	1	mineral	graphite		
	H09	85	19	metal	nail frag	unidentified	
*	H09	86	1	glass	bottle	green	
	H09	87	1	ceramic	stoneware	English brown?	
	H09	88	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	trail slipped
	H09	89	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H09	90	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	black glaze ext, ginger glaze int
	H09	91	1	ceramic	porcelain	Chinese export? (orange peel)	
	H09	92	1	ceramic	refined	redware	clear glazed

					earthenware		
	H09	93	1	glass	window	aqua	
	H09	94	2	bone	unidentified	needle frag	
	H09	99	9	metal	flat		
	H09	101	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue transfer print
	H09	103	2	lithic	quartz	flaked stone	block/shatter
	H09	104	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	hand painted green/brown hatching
*	H09	105	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
*	H09	106	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H09	107	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	black glazed
*	H09	108	2	ceramic	kaolin	pipe	bowl frag
*	H09	109	1	ceramic	kaolin	pipe	stem frag
*	H09	110	1	metal	button	brass	
	H09	112	1	lithic	quartz	flaked stone	large, chunky flake (tertiary)
	H09	113	1	lithic	quartz	flaked stone	chunky primary flake
	H09	114	1	lithic	quartz	flaked stone	biface frag
	H09	115	6	mineral	slate	tablet frag	
	H09	116	6	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H09	116	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	
	H09	117	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue transfer print
	H09	118	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue edge
	H09	119	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	green edge
	H09	120	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
*	H09	121	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
*	H09	122	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
*	H09	123	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	Staffordshire-type slip	
*	H09	124	1	glass	bottle	dark green	
*	H09	125	1	glass	unidentified	clear	

*	H09	126	1	glass	unidentified	clear	
*	H09	127	1	glass	unidentified	aqua	
	H09	128	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	hand painted, green/brown annular band
	H09	129	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	underglaze blue painted, int and ext
	H09	130	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	underglaze blue painted, int and ext
*	H09	131	1	glass	bottle	olive green	
*	H09	133	1	glass	window	aqua	
*	H09	134	1	glass	bottle	olive green	
*	H09	138	1	charcoal	charcoal		
	H09	139	5	metal	nail frag	unidentified	
	H09	140	21	metal	nail frag	unidentified	
	H09	140	1	metal	nail	forged	
	H09	141	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	gravel temper
	H09	143	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H09	144	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	trail slipped
	H09	145	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	trail slipped
*	H09	146	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H09	147	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	trail slipped
*	H09	148	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H09	149	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H09	150	1	ceramic	stoneware	grey salt glazed	
	H09	151	1	ceramic	stoneware	grey salt glazed	
	H09	152	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	Staffordshire-type slip	
	H09	153	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	black glaze ext, slip glaze int
	H09	154	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	H09	155	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H09	156	1	ceramic	refined	redware	unglazed

					earthenware		
	H09	157	1	mineral	slate	tablet frag	
	H09	158	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	
*	H09	159	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	
	H09	160	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted
	H09	161	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	hand painted green/brown hatching
	H09	162	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H09	163	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	unidentified	burned
	H09	164	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H09	165	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H09	166	21	metal	nail frag	unidentified	
*	H09	167	1	ceramic	kaolin	pipe	bowl frag
*	H09	168	1	bone	button		
	H09	169	1	lithic	quartz	flaked stone	biface frag; big and chunky; no cortex
*	H09	170	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
*	H09	171	1	ceramic	unidentified		
*	H09	172	3	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted
	H09	173	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	Staffordshire-type slip	
*	H09	174	1	ceramic	kaolin	pipe	bowl frag
*	H09	175	1	bone	button blank/mold		
	H09	176	1	bone	unidentified	needle	
	H09	178	1	metal	unidentified	lead	
	H09	179	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	Jackfield-type	
	H09	180	1	bone	button blank/mold	single hole, frag	
	H09	183	3	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	H09	184	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed

	H09	185	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H09	186	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H09	186	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H09	188	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	brown mottled/tortoise glaze
*	H09	189	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
*	H09	190	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H09	191	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H09	192	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	brown mottled/tortoise glaze
	H09	193	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	gravel temper
	H09	194	1	ceramic	coarse earthenware	burnished	
	H09	195	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	Jackfield-type	
	H09	196	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H09	197	1	ceramic	coarse earthenware	burnished	
*	H09	198	1	ceramic	unidentified		
	H09	199	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	
	H09	200	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	
	H09	201	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	
	H09	202	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted floral int
*	H09	203	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted
*	H09	204	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted
*	H09	205	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue transfer print
	H09	206	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue transfer print
*	H09	207	1	ceramic	refined	pearlware	blue transfer print

					earthenware		
	H09	208	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	underglaze blue painted, int and ext
*	H09	209	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	underglaze blue painted, int and ext
	H09	210	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue transfer print
	H09	211	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H09	212	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	brown hand painted
	H09	213	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H09	214	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H09	215	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H09	216	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H09	217	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	
	H09	218	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H09	219	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H09	220	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H09	221	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	
	H09	222	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H09	223	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	Staffordshire-type slip	
	H09	224	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	trail slipped
	H09	225	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	Jackfield-type	
	H09	225	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	black glazed
	H09	226	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue transfer print
*	H09	227	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H09	228	8	ceramic	refined	creamware	

					earthenware		
	H09	229	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	brown hand painted
	H09	229	13	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H09	230	3	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	brown mottled/tortoise glaze
	H09	231	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	trail slipped
	H09	232	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	brown hand painted
	H09	233	8	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H09	234	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	trail slipped
	H09	235	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	trail slipped
	H09	236	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	trail slipped
	H09	237	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	
	H09	238	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H09	238	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	H09	238	1	ceramic	stoneware	buff-bodied, grey salt-glazed ext	
	H09	239	5	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H09	240	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	H09	241	1	ceramic	stoneware	grey salt glazed	
	H09	242	1	ceramic	stoneware	grey salt-glazed, pink slip int	
	H09	243	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	trail slipped
	H09	244	11	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H09	245	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	trail slipped
	H09	246	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	trail slipped
	H09	247	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	black glazed
	H09	249	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	trail slipped

	H09	250	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H09	251	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	black glaze ext, greenish glaze int
	H09	252	1	ceramic	stoneware	grey salt glazed	
	H09	254	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H09	255	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
*	H09	256	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
*	H09	257	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
*	H09	258	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
*	H09	259	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H09	260	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H09	261	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
*	H09	262	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome painted floral and annular
*	H09	263	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
*	H09	264	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H09	265	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H09	266	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H09	267	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	H09	268	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	trail slipped
*	H09	269	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	trail slipped
	H09	270	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	H09	271	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	H09	272	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	trail slipped
	H09	273	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed

	H09	274	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	H09	275	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	H09	276	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	H09	277	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	H09	278	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	H09	279	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	H09	280	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
*	H09	281	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	H09	282	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	trail slipped
*	H09	283	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	H09	284	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	trail slipped
	H09	285	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue hand painted
	H09	286	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	unidentified	
	H09	287	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H09	288	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H09	289	1	ceramic	stoneware	grey salt glazed	
	H09	294	14	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H09	296	1	ceramic	stoneware	black basalt	embossed leaf design ext
	H09	299	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	gravel temper
	H09	300	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	
	H09	301	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
*	H09	302	1	metal	spike frag		
	H09	308	2	lithic	quartz	flaked stone	secondary flakes used as scrapers?
*	H09	309	1	ceramic	refined	redware	unglazed

					earthenware		
*	H09	311	1	charcoal	charcoal		
	H09	312	1	metal	nail	forged	
	H09	312	3	metal	nail	square cut	
	H09	312	5	metal	nail frag	square cut	
	H09	315	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
*	H09	318	1	charcoal	charcoal		
	H09	320	2	glass	bottle	clear	
*	H09	321	3	glass	curved	aqua	
	H09	326	1	metal	button frag		
	H09	327	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	
	H09	328	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	trail slipped
	H09	329	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H09	331	1	bone	button/button back frag	single hole	
	H09	332	14	ceramic	refined earthenware	Staffordshire-type slip	
	H09	333	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H09	334	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	brown hand painted
	H09	335	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
*	H09	336	1	metal	stick pin		
	H09	337	4	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware (dipped?)	brown band
	H09	337	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
*	H09	338	1	glass	bottle	olive green	
	H09	339	1	glass	window	aqua	
*	H09	340	1	glass	window	aqua	
	H09	341	1	glass	window	aqua	
	H09	342	1	ceramic	earthenware	unidentified	
	H09	343	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue transfer print
	H09	344	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	H09	345	1	glass	bottle	clear	
	H09	346	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	brown mottled glaze
	H09	347	3	ceramic	refined	Jackfield-type	

					earthenware		
	H09	347	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	black glazed
	H09	349	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	H09	350	1	glass	flat	clear	
	H09	351	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	Staffordshire-type slip	
	H09	352	1	ceramic	stoneware	grey salt glazed	
	H09	353	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	
	H09	354	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H09	355	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	H09	356	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	H09	357	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted floral and band
	H09	358	1	glass	bottle	aqua	
	H09	359	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed, mottled brown slip ext
	H09	360	3	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
*	H09	361	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted, floral
	H09	362	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	black glazed
	H09	364	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue hand painted
	H09	364	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue hand painted
*	H09	365	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue transfer print
*	H09	366	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue hand painted
	H09	367	5	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H09	368	3	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H09	369	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H09	370	1	ceramic	refined	creamware	

					earthenware		
	H09	371	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H09	372	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H09	373	15	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H09	374	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted brown, orange, green, floral
	H09	374	1	ceramic	pearlware	polychrome hand painted brown, orange, green, floral	
	H09	375	4	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H09	376	4	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H09	377	6	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	
*	H09	378	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	
*	H09	379	1	lithic	quartz	flaked stone	flake
	H09	382	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed, mottled brown slip ext
	H09	383	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed, mottled brown slip ext
	H09	384	3	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H09	385	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	
	H09	391	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed, mottled brown slip ext
*	H09	409	?	ceramic	brick		
	H09	410	4	metal	nail frag	unidentified	
	H09	411	2	metal	flat		
	H09	413	3	metal	nail frag	unidentified	
	H09	429	1	glass	bottle	clear	
	H09	430	1	bone	unidentified	needle	
	H09	431	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue transfer print
	H09	431	1	bone	unidentified	needle	
*	H09	432	1	ceramic	kaolin	pipe	stem frag

	H09	433	1	bone	unidentified	needle	
*	H09	434	1	metal	utensil	fork	
	H09	435	1	metal	pot handle		
	H09	436	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	brown hand painted
*	H09	437	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	brown hand painted
	H09	438	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	Staffordshire-type slip	
	H09	439	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H09	440	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	Jackfield-type	
	H09	441	2	lithic	quartz	flaked stone	secondary flake
	H09	442	1	lithic	quartz	flaked stone	biface frag/point
	H09	443	1	metal	spike frag		
	H09	444	2	metal	flat		
	H09	445	1	metal	flat	w/nail	
	H09	446	36	metal	unidentified		
	H09	447	5	metal	flat		
	H09	448	30	metal	unidentified		
	H09	449	5	metal	unidentified		
	H09	450	2	metal	spike frag		
	H09	452	30	metal	nail frag	unidentified	
	H09	453	1	metal	hardware	hinge?	
	H09	454	6	metal	flat		
	H09	456	1	mineral	coal		
	H09	461	2	glass	window	aqua	
	H09	462	1	glass	bottle	clear	
	H09	463	1	glass	window	aqua	
	H09	467	7	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	H09	468	3	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H09	469	1	metal	spike frag		
	H09	470	4	metal	nail frag	unidentified	
	H09	471	12	metal	unidentified		
	H09	475	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	black mottled glaze ext, rim sherd; holloware
	H09	476	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted floral ext
	H09	477	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	green edge

	H09	478	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue transfer print
	H09	479	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	brown annular
	H09	480	4	ceramic	refined earthenware	Staffordshire-type slip	
	H09	481	8	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	black glaze ext, holloware
	H09	482	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	Jackfield-type	
	H09	483	7	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H09	483	4	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	
	H09	484	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	Astbury-type	
	H09	485	1	ceramic	coarse earthenware	burnished	
	H09	485	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	unidentified	
	H09	486	4	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	brown glaze
	H09	487	16	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	dark brown mottle slip, clear glaze
	H09	488	56	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H09	489	5	ceramic	brick	small	
*	H09	491	1	ceramic	kaolin	pipe	
	H09	507	1	bone	button frag		
*	H09	508	1	lithic	flint	flaked stone	flake
*	H09	509	4	bone	unidentified	needle frags	
	H09	512	1	metal	curved		
	H09	513	3	glass	wine bottle	olive green	
*	H09	514	1	glass	bottle	olive green	
	H09	515	2	glass	curved	aqua	
*	H09	516	2	glass	bottle	green	
*	H09	517	1	glass	bottle	aqua	
*	H09	518	3	glass	window	clear	
	H09	530	3	glass	chimney	aqua	
	H09	533	1	metal	spike frag		
	H09	534	1	metal	nail frag	unidentified	
	H09	535	9	metal	utensil	knife tip	
	H09	102A	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed

	H09	183A	7	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H09	183B	1	ceramic	brick	small	
	H09	183C	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	Jackfield-type	
	H09	216A	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	black glazed
	H09	224A	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H09	22A	6	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	H09	244A	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H09	294A	9	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	H09	298-1	1	bone	unidentified	needle frags	
	H09	298-1	1	bone	unidentified	needle frags	
	H09	298-1	1	bone	unidentified	needle frags	
*	H09	298-4	1	bone	unidentified	needle frags	
	H09	312A	1	metal	nail frag	unidentified	
	H09	328A	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H09	338A	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware (dipped?)	brown band
	H09	351A	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	Staffordshire-type slip	
	H09	363-1	1	ceramic	pearlware	polychrome hand painted	
	H09	367-2	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H09	368A	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	glazed
	H09	369-2	1	ceramic	pearlware	polychrome hand painted	
	H09	425-2	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H09	64A	23	metal	nail frag	unidentified	
	H09	85A	32	metal	unidentified		
*	H10	1.1	1	ceramic	kaolin	pipe	bowl frag
*	H10	1.2	1	ceramic	kaolin	pipe	stem frag
*	H10	1.3	1	ceramic	kaolin	pipe	bowl frag
	H10	1.4	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	painted
*	H10	3.1	2	metal	unidentified		
*	H10	3.2	1	metal	unidentified		
*	H10	5.1	2	ceramic	unidentified		
*	H10	6.1	1	glass	unidentified	patina	

*	H10	6.2	1	glass	bottle		
*	H10	6.3	1	glass	unidentified	clear	
	H10	9	4	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue transfer print
*	H10	11.43	1	metal	button frag	copper	
*	H10	11.44	1	glass	window		
*	H10	11.45	1	glass	window		
*	H10	11.46	1	glass	window		
*	H10	11.47	1	glass	window		
*	H10	11.48	1	glass	window		
	H10	11.49	1	glass	tableware	mug, mended w/H10-X-11.50,11.51, 15.3 (photographed)	
	H10	11.51	1	glass	tableware	mug, mended w/H10-X-11.49,11.50, 15.3 (photographed)	
*	H10	11.52	1	glass	unidentified	blue	
*	H10	12	1	ceramic	kaolin	pipe	
*	H10	14.1	1	ceramic	kaolin	pipe	
*	H10	14.2	1	glass	bead	blue	
*	H10	14.3	1	bone	button		
	H10	14.4	1	metal	tack frag		
	H10	14.5	1	ceramic	stoneware	basalt	impressed
	H10	15.1	1	metal	button		
	H10	15.2	5	glass	window	aqua	
	H10	15.3	3	glass	tableware	mug, mended w/H10-X-11.49, 11.50, 11.51 (photographed)	
*	H10	15.4	1	glass	bottle	blue	
	H10	16	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H10	16	1	metal	utensil	knife handle	
	H10	17	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	Staffordshire-type slip	
	H10	18	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	Jackfield-type	
	H10	18	3	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	trail slipped
	H10	18.1	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted yellow, brown and green, floral
	H10	18.11	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted brown, yellow, green, and orange, floral, annular

*	H10	18.12	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	H10	18.2	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	Staffordshire-type slip	
	H10	18.3	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	Staffordshire-type slip	
*	H10	18.4	1	ceramic	porcelain	hard-paste, gold annular	
	H10	18.5	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	plate/platter foot; refit
	H10	18.6	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	Jackfield-type	
	H10	18.8	5	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	H10	18.9	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted yellow and brown, annular
*	H10	19	1	bone	button back		
	H10	20	1	metal	straight pin		
	H10	21	1	glass	bead	red	opaque
	H10	22	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware (dipped)	marble combed
	H10	23	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted brown and yellow, annular
	H10	24	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted yellow, brown and green, floral
	H10	25	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	brown annular
	H10	26	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted yellow, brown and green, floral
	H10	27.1	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue transfer print
*	H10	27.2	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue transfer print
	H10	27.3	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue transfer print
	H10	28	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted brown and green, annular/dots

	H10	29	1	ceramic	stoneware	buff-bodied	blue painted
*	H10	30	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted brown, yellow and green
*	H10	31	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	Staffordshire-type slip	
	H10	32	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H10	33	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H10	34	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	
	H10	35	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	brown annular
	H10	36	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	bisque, gravel temper
	H10	37	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	H10	38	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	H10	39	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted brown, yellow and green, floral, annular
	H10	40	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	Astbury-type	
	H10	41	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	H10	42	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H10	43	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	
	H10	44	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H10	45	6	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	H10	46	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	hand painted brown lattice
	H10	47	3	ceramic	refined earthenware	Jackfield-type	
	H10	48	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	H10	50	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
*	H10	53	1	ceramic	kaolin	pipe frag	

	H10	54	1	ceramic	stoneware	English brown	
	H10	55	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted brown and orange, floral
*	H10	56	1	ceramic	unidentified		
*	H10	57	1	glass	unidentified	dark green	
	H10	58	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	H10	59	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	buff-bodied	bisque
*	H10	60	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	green edge
	H10	61	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	Staffordshire-type slip	brown splatter
	H10	62	7	ceramic	refined earthenware	Jackfield-type	
	H10	63	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted brown, yellow, green, and orange, floral, annular
	H10	64	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted green and orange
	H10	65	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	
	H10	66	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H10	67	6	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	H10	67	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	brown glazed
*	H10	68	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue transfer print
	H10	69	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	
	H10	70	6	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H10	71	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H10	72	5	ceramic	brick	small	
	H10	72	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	
	H10	73	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue hand painted

	H10	74	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted orange, brown and green, annular
	H10	75	3	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H10	75	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	
*	H10	76	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	hand painted brown and green
	H10	77	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H10	78	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	Staffordshire-type slip	
	H10	79	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted brown and green
	H10	80.1	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue transfer print
	H10	80.2	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	H10	81	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	H10	83	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue hand painted
	H10	84	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted brown and orange, floral
	H10	85	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	Buckley-type (black glazed)
	H10	86	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H10	87	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue hand painted
	H10	88	3	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted green, yellow and brown, floral
	H10	89	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	H10	90	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	Staffordshire-type slip	
	H10	91	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	green edge
	H10	92	1	bone	unidentified	needle	
*	H10	93	1	ceramic	refined	pearlware	hand painted

					earthenware		
	H10	94	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue hand painted
	H10	95	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	green hand painted, leaf
	H10	96	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	black glazed
	H10	97	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	Staffordshire-type slip	brown splatter
	H10	98	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	hand painted brown, orange and green, floral
	H10	99	1	bone	mammal	knife handle	
	H10	100	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H10	101	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	H10	102	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	
	H10	103	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
*	H10	104	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H10	105	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H10	106	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H10	107	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H10	108	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	H10	109	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	Jackfield-type	
*	H10	110	1	ceramic	kaolin	pipe	bowl frag
	H10	111	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	bisque, gravel temper
	H10	112	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	Staffordshire-type slip	
	H10	113	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	
	H10	114	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue decoration
	H10	115	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	
	H10	116	1	ceramic	refined	pearlware	blue hand painted

					earthenware		
	H10	117	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	H10	118	4	ceramic	coarse earthenware	burnished	incised/scatched ext; Native made?
	H10	119	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	H10	120	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	buff-bodied, bisque	
*	H10	121	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	blue edge
	H10	122	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	brown hand painted
	H10	123	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted brown and yellow, annular
	H10	124	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	Astbury-type	
	H10	125	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H10	126	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	Staffordshire-type slip	
	H10	127	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue hand painted, annular
	H10	128	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	yellow hand painted
	H10	129	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H10	130	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	green glazed (Whieldon and Wedgewood)
	H10	131	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue transfer print
	H10	132	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted green, floral
	H10	133	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue transfer print
	H10	134	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
*	H10	135	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	green edge
	H10	136	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue hand painted

	H10	137	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue transfer print
	H10	138	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	H10	150	9	lithic	quartz	flaked stone	block/shatter
	H10	151	1	glass	bottle	blue	
	H10	152	4	glass	bottle	olive green	
	H10	153	5	glass	bottle	aqua	
	H10	154	16	glass	bottle	clear	
	H10	155	1	lithic	quartz	flaked stone	tertiary flake
	H10	156	24	glass	window	aqua	
	H10	157	2	metal	spike frags		
	H10	158	67	metal	nail frags	forged	
	H10	159	4	metal	container frag		
	H10	160	28	metal	container frag		
	H10	161	1	metal	ammunition	measured lead for lead shot	
	H10	162	200	metal	unidentified		
	H10	163	67	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H10	164	3	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H10	165	25	ceramic	refined earthenware	Jackfield-type	
	H10	166	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue hand painted, annular
	H10	167	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	polychrome hand painted green blue, brown
	H10	168	9	ceramic	refined earthenware	unidentified	buff-bodied
	H10	169	34	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H10	170	5	ceramic	brick		
	H10	171	18	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	H10	178	3	glass	window	aqua	
	H10	179	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	Jackfield-type	
	H10	180	3	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	H10	181	4	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H10	182	1	ceramic	brick		

	H10	183	5	metal	nail frags	unidentified	
	H10	184	5	metal	ammunition	gun barrel frags	
	H10	188	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	H10	189	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H10	193	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	H10	194	4	metal	nail frags	unidentified	
	H10	11.50.	1	glass	tableware	mug, mended w/H10-X-11.49,11.51, 15.3 (photographed)	
	H10	17A	1	lithic	quartz	flaked stone	tertiary flake
	H10	18.10.	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	burned
	H10	18.5A	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	Jackfield-type	
	H10	18.9A	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted brown, yellow, green, and orange, floral, annular
	H10	18A	2	ceramic	coarse earthenware	burnished	Native made?
	H10	20A	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	unidentified	buff-bodied
*	H10	63A	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted green and yellow, annular
*	H10/H11	1	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
*	H10/H11	3	1	ceramic	brick		
*	H10/H11	4	1	plastic	plastic		
*	H10/H11	6	1	metal	nail frag	unidentified	
*	H10/H11	7	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
*	H10/H11	8	1	mineral	slate		
*	H10/H11	9	1	metal	nail frag in brass plate		
*	H10/H11	10	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	
*	H11	1	1	lithic	flint	flaked stone	core frag
*	H11	2		bone	button		
*	H11	2	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
*	H11	3	1	ceramic	refined	redware	trail slipped

					earthenware		
*	H11	3	1	lithic	quartz	flaked stone	flake
*	H11	7	1	lithic	flint	flaked stone	core frag
*	H11	8	1	ceramic	kaolin	pipe	stem
*	H11	9	1	lithic	flint	flaked stone	biface frag
*	H11	10	1	metal	button	brass	
*	H11	12	1	lithic	flint	flaked stone	core frag
	H11	13	1	lithic	quartz	flaked stone	secondary flake
*	H11	14	3	metal	straight pin		
	H11	15	1	metal	button	copper alloy	
	H11	16	1	metal	button	copper alloy	
*	H11	17	1	ceramic	kaolin	pipe	bowl frag
*	H11	18.1	1	ceramic	kaolin	pipe	stem
*	H11	18.2	1	ceramic	kaolin	pipe	stem
	H11	19	1	metal	hardware	padlock	
*	H11	20	1	metal	unidentified		
	H11	21	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted green and yellow, annular
*	H11	22.1	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted
*	H11	22.2	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted
	H11	23	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
*	H11	24	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue hand painted
*	H11	25	1	ceramic	unidentified		
*	H11	26	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
*	H11	27	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
*	H11	28	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	black glazed
	H11	29	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
*	H11	30	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
*	H11	31	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted
*	H11	33	1	metal	nail frag	unidentified	
*	H11	34	1	metal	spike frag		
	H11	35	1	glass	window	aqua	
	H11	36	1	glass	window	aqua	

*	H11	37	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
*	H11	38	1	ceramic	kaolin	pipe	bowl frag
*	H11	39	1	lithic	quartz	flaked stone	flake
*	H11	40	1	bone	button	frag	
	H11	42	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	black glazed, int and ext
	H11	44	2	bone	button blank/mold		
	H11	45	1	metal	spike frag	wrought	
*	H11	50	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	brown glazed
*	H11	51	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
*	H11	54		ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	H11	56	1	metal	nail frag	wrought	
	H11	56	1	metal	nail frag	wrought	
	H11	56	6	metal	nail frag	unidentified	
*	H11	60	1	metal	straight pin	LS: 17th C	
	H11	61	1	metal	nail	wrought	
	H11	62	1	lithic	quartz	flaked stone	block/shatter
*	H11	63	1	metal	ammunition	lead shot mold	
	H11	64	1	glass	curved	aqua	
	H11	66	1	metal	nail	wrought	
	H11	67	1	metal	nail	wrought	
	H11	68	1	metal	nail	wrought	
	H11	69	1	metal	nail frag	wrought	
	H11	70	1	metal	nail frag	wrought	
*	H11	71	3	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	
*	H11	73	1	ceramic	stoneware	brown Albany slip	
	H11	75	2	lithic	quartz	flaked stone	secondary flakes used as cutting tools or scrapers?
	H11	75	4	lithic	quartz	flaked stone	flakes
	H11	78	1	metal	nail	wrought	
	H11	78	4	metal	nail frag	wrought	
*	H11	80		metal	buckle		
*	H11	81		unidentified	button		
*	H11	83		ceramic	kaolin	pipe	
	H11	84	1	lithic	rose quartz	flaked stone	block/shatter
	H11	84	2	lithic	quartz	flaked stone	block/shatter
	H11	84	1	lithic	quartz	flaked stone	tertiary flake

*	H11	87	2	ceramic	stoneware	grey salt-glazed	
	H11	90	1	metal	nail frag	wrought	
	H11	90	1	metal	nail frag	wrought	
	H11	90	2	metal	tack	wrought	
	H11	91	6	metal	nail frag	cut?	
	H11	94	2	glass	window	aqua	
	H11	95	1	lithic	granite	flaked stone	tertiary flake
	H11	95	1	lithic	quartz	flaked stone	block/shatter
	H11	95	1	lithic	red jasper?	flaked stone	tertiary flake
	H11	97	1	metal	copper plate	hammered	
*	H11	98	1	ceramic	kaolin	pipe	bowl frag
*	H11	99	1	ceramic	kaolin	pipe	bowl frag
*	H11	101	1	ceramic	kaolin	pipe	bowl frag
	H11	102	1	metal	horseshoe or oxen shoe frag		
*	H11	106		ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	brown glazed
*	H11	107	1	ceramic	stoneware	Rhenish blue and grey	
	H11	108	1	metal	spike frag	wrought	
*	H11	111	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	trail slipped
*	H11	112	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted brown and green
	H11	112	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H11	113	6	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
*	H11	114	1	ceramic	kaolin	pipe	bowl frag
	H11	115	5	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue hand painted, ext
	H11	116	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	Staffordshire-type slip	
*	H11	117	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
*	H11	118	1	ceramic	stoneware	brown Albany slip	
*	H11	120	3	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	black glazed
*	H11	121	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	black glazed
*	H11	122	3	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	trail slipped
	H11	123	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted yellow

							and green
*	H11	124		ceramic	unidentified		
*	H11	125	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	trail slipped
*	H11	126	4	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	trail slipped
*	H11	127	3	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	trail slipped
*	H11	128	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	trail slipped
*	H11	129	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	trail slipped
*	H11	130		ceramic	unidentified		blue dec
*	H11	132	1	lithic	quartz	flaked stone	projectile point frag
*	H11	133	1	ceramic	kaolin	pipe	bowl frag
	H11	134	1	lithic	quartz	flaked stone	tertiary flake
*	H11	135	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted red and green, annular
*	H11	136	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted brown and green
*	H11	137	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	green hand painted
*	H11	138	1	ceramic	stoneware	Rhenish blue and grey	
	H11	141	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	black glazed, int and ext
	H11	145	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	Staffordshire-type slip	
	H11	154	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue hand painted
	H11	155	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H11	161	1	metal	button	copper alloy	
	H11	163	1	metal	button	copper alloy	
	H11	164	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	Jackfield-type	
	H11	165	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	
	H11	166	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue hand painted, int
	H11	174	17	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H11	174	7	ceramic	refined	pearlware	

					earthenware		
	H11	177	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H11	179	1	metal	nail frag	wrought	
	H11	181	1	glass	window	aqua	
	H11	182	1	lithic	quartz	flaked stone	biface frag
	H11	183	1	lithic	quartz	flaked stone	biface frags?
	H11	184	1	glass	window	aqua	
	H11	189	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	Staffordshire-type slip	
	H11	190	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	Staffordshire-type slip	
	H11	192	1	glass	window	aqua	
	H11	193	1	glass	window	aqua	
	H11	194	1	glass	window	aqua	
	H11	196	1	glass	bottle	green	
	H11	200	5	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H11	203	2	glass	window	aqua	
	H11	204	1	glass	bottle	aqua	
	H11	205	4	glass	window	aqua	
	H11	223	1	lithic	quartz	flaked stone	secondary flake
	H11	224	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H11	229	1	ceramic	stoneware	grey salt-glazed, buff body	
	H11	230	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue hand painted, int and ext
	H11	236	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue hand painted, int
	H11	241	1	ceramic	stoneware	grey salt-glazed, buff body	
	H11	243	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	Staffordshire-type slip	
	H11	248	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue hand painted
	H11	249	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue hand painted, int
	H11	255	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	slipped ext, wheel thrown
	H11	261	1	ceramic	stoneware	grey salt-glazed, buff body	
	H11	265	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H11	273	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue hand painted, ext
	H11	279	5	ceramic	refined	creamware	

					earthenware		
	H11	286	4	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H11	286	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	
	H11	288	1	ceramic	coarse earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H11	290	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H11	292	1	glass	curved		
	H11	293	3	glass	bottle	cobalt blue	
	H11	295	1	glass	bottle	clear	
	H11	296	5	glass	window	aqua	
	H11	297	13	glass	window	aqua	
	H11	298	4	metal	nail	wrought	
	H11	298	2	metal	nail frag	wrought	
	H11	298	21	metal	nail frag	wrought or cut	
	H11	299	1	metal	nail frag	wrought	
	H11	300	1	metal	brad/tack	wrought	
	H11	301	20	metal	strap		
	H11	302	14	metal	unidentified		
	H11	303	1	metal	unidentified	lead	
	H11	304	6	metal	unidentified		
	H11	307	1	ceramic	brick		
	H11	308	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H11	318	1	metal	straight pin		
	H11	322	12	metal	nail frag	wrought or cut	
	H11	323	1	glass	unidentified		
	H11	324	2	ceramic	brick		
	H11	324	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	black glazed
	H11	324	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H11	327	1	lithic	gunflint	honey; prismatic	
	H11	328	1	glass	bottle	dark green	
	H11	329	3	glass	window	aqua	
	H11	330	2	glass	curved		
	H11	331	12	ceramic	brick		
	H11	331	1	metal	sheet		
	H11	333	4	charcoal	charcoal		
	H11	335	1	metal	nail frag	wrought or cut	
	H11	336	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue hand painted, ext

	H11	336	1	glass	flat		
	H11	344	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	black glazed
	H11	344	2	glass	curved	clear	
	H11	344	2	glass	curved	aqua	
	H11	345	1	metal	spike	wrought	
	H11	348	1	glass	window	aqua	
	H11	352	1	mineral	coal		
	H11	354	3	metal	nail frag	wrought or cut	
	H11	357	1	metal	nail	wrought	
	H11	357	16	metal	nail frag	wrought or cut	
	H11	362	1	glass	curved		
	H11	363	1	metal	strap or edge	bent	
	H11	367	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted brown, green, and yellow, floral, annular
	H11	368	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H11	368	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	
	H11	368	1	lithic	quartz	flaked stone	block/shatter w/cortex or small primary flakes
	H11	370	30	charcoal	charcoal		
	H11	371	4	ceramic	refined earthenware	Jackfield-type	
	H11	371	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	black glazed
	H11	372	2	glass	window	aqua	
	H11	373	3	glass	curved	clear	
	H11	376	6	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H11	377	1	metal	nail frag	wrought or cut	
	H11	377	13	metal	brad/tack		
	H11	378	1	metal	flat		
	H11	381	1	ceramic	brick		
	H11	383	1	ceramic	brick		
	H11	383	4	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	H11	383	27	bone	small mammal	needle making?	
	H11	386	10	charcoal	charcoal		

	H11	390	2	metal	nail frag	wrought	
	H11	390	13	metal	nail frag	wrought or cut	
	H11	391	2	metal	flat		
	H11	393	4	metal	flat		
	H11	394	2	metal	nail frag	wrought or cut	
	H11	396	1	metal	nail	wrought	
	H11	396	1	metal	nail frag	wrought or cut	
	H11	404	1	ceramic	brick		
	H11	409	1	metal	hardware	unidentified	
	H11	411	1	metal	nail	wrought or cut	
	H11	412	6	metal	unidentified		
*	H11	104A	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H11	104A	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
*	H11	105A		ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
*	H11	109-1	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
*	H11	109-2	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
*	H11	110-1		ceramic	unidentified		
*	H11	110-2	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	
	H11	110-2	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
*	H11	110-3	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	
*	H11	112A	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
*	H11	113A	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	brown glazed
*	H11	114A	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	Jackfield-type	
*	H11	115A	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
*	H11	116A	1	ceramic	stoneware	basalt	
	H11	117A	1	glass	bottle	clear w/embossed letters "...are..."	
*	H11	117A	1	ceramic	unidentified		
*	H11	118A		metal	nail frags		
*	H11	131-1		ceramic	kaolin	pipe	stem
*	H11	131-2		ceramic	kaolin	pipe	stem
*	H11	159A	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	

	H11	159A	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
*	H11	225-1	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
*	H11	225-5	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
*	H11	226-1	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
*	H11	24A	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted
	H11	259-2	1	ceramic	stoneware	grey salt-glazed, buff body	
*	H11	26A	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	
	H11	26A	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	
*	H11	27A	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	
	H11	27A	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	
	H11	280-1	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H11	280-2	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H11	284-2	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H11	284-20	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H11	291-1	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H11	291-2	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H11	291-3	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H11	291-4	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H11	54-1	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	Staffordshire-type slip	
	H11	54-10	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H11	54-11	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H11	54-12	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H11	54-16	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed

	H11	54-2	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	Staffordshire-type slip	
	H11	54-20	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H11	54-22	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H11	54-24	1	glass	bottle	cobalt	
	H11	54-27	1	glass	curved	clear	
	H11	54-27	1	glass	curved	clear	
	H11	54-3	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue hand painted, int and ext
	H11	54-31	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H11	54-8	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
*	H11	62A	1	metal	nail	square cut	
	H11	62A	1	metal	nail	wrought	
	H11	71-1	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H11	71-2	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H11	71-3	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	
*	H11	74-1	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted
*	H11	74-10	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	black glazed
	H11	74-10	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	black glazed
*	H11	74-11	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H11	74-11	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
*	H11	74-1-1	1	glass	bottle	unidentified	
	H11	74-1-1	1	glass	bottle	blue	
*	H11	74-12	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
*	H11	74-12	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H11	74-12	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
*	H11	74-13	1	ceramic	refined	redware	unglazed

					earthenware		
*	H11	74-13	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H11	74-13	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
*	H11	74-14	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	ginger glaze
	H11	74-14	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
*	H11	74-15	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	black glazed
	H11	74-15	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	black glazed
	H11	74-16	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	Jackfield-type	
*	H11	74-16	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	black glazed
*	H11	74-17	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	black glazed
	H11	74-17	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	black glazed
*	H11	74-18	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	unidentified	burned; molded dot/dash
	H11	74-18	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	incised dot band, interior
*	H11	74-19	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	green transfer printed
	H11	74-19	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	whiteware	green transfer-printed
*	H11	74-2	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted
*	H11	74-20	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	orange edge
	H11	74-20	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	orange edge
*	H11	74-21	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	green annular
	H11	74-21	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	brown band
*	H11	74-2-1	1	glass	bottle	green	
*	H11	74-22	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted green and yellow
*	H11	74-23	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted green and

							yellow
	H11	74-23	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	yellow hand painted
*	H11	74-24	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	
	H11	74-24	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
*	H11	74-25	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	
	H11	74-25	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
*	H11	74-26	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	
	H11	74-26	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H11	74-27	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H11	74-28	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H11	74-29	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
*	H11	74-3	1	ceramic	unidentified		
	H11	74-30	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H11	74-31	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H11	74-32	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	orange edge
	H11	74-33	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H11	74-4	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	Staffordshire-type slip	
*	H11	74-4	1	ceramic	stoneware	buff bodied, brown slip	
	H11	74-5	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	Staffordshire-type slip	
*	H11	74-5	1	ceramic	stoneware	buff bodied, brown slip	
	H11	74-6	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	Staffordshire-type slip	
*	H11	74-6	1	ceramic	stoneware	buff bodied, brown slip	
*	H11	74-7	1	glass	bottle	clear	
	H11	74-7	1	glass	bottle	clear	
*	H11	74-8	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	unidentified	rim, burned
	H11	74-8	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	unidentified	

*	H11	74-9	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H11	74-9	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
*	H11	78-1		ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	black glazed
	H11	78A	4	metal	unidentified	flat	
	H11	78B	1	mineral	coal		
	H11	87-13	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue hand painted
	H11	87-18	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H11	87-19	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H11	87-20	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H11	87-21	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H11	87-22	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H11	87-23	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H11	87-24	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H11	87-25	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H11	87-28	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H11	87-29	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H11	87-30	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H11	87-31	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H11	87-32	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H11	87-34	1	glass	window	aqua	
	H11	87-34	1	glass	window	clear	
	H11	87-35	1	ceramic	brick		
	H11	87-5	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	Staffordshire-type slip	
	H11	90A	1	metal	utensil	knife blade	
	H11	90B	1	ceramic	brick		
	H11?	2	1	bone/metal	utensil/tool	bone handle, metal implement	

D.2. Artifact Catalog for Feature AII, Outside House

	Unit	item #	count	material	descrip	descrip 2	descrip 3 (decoration)
*	F10	1	2	ceramic	unidentified	unidentified	
	F10	2	1	lithic	gneiss	ground stone	abrader/whetsone or pounder
	F10	3	25	glass	bottle	aqua	
	F10	4	1	glass	wine bottle	olive green	
	F10	5	3	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	
	F10	5	9	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	F10	6	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted green and yellow, annular
	F10	7	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	F10	8	5	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
*	F10	9	7	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	F10	10	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	scallop edge
	F10	11	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
*	F10	16	2	glass	bottle	clear	
	F10	17	1	metal	hardware	key fragment	
	F10	18	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	F10	19	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	F10	23	1	lithic	quartz	flaked stone	chunky flake or block/shatter
	F10	24	11	glass	bottle	olive green	
	F10	24	1	glass	wine bottle	olive green	
	F10	25	1	glass	window	aqua	
	F10	26	1	glass	chimney	clear	
	F10	27	5	metal	unidentified		
	F10	28	4	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	F10	29	4	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	F10	30	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	trail-slipped
	F10	31	1	ceramic	refined	creamware	green edge

					earthenware		
	F10	32	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	brown hand painted, annular
	F10	33	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted brown and yellow, annular
	F10	36	1	bone	bird	turkey or gull, possible notch taken out	
	F10	37	4	metal	flat		
	F10	38	2	glass	bottle	green	
*	F10	39	1	glass	bottle	aqua	
*	F12	1	1	ceramic	kaolin	pipe	stem
	F12	2	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	F12	3	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	F12	4	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted brown and orange
	F12	5	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
*	F12	6	1	glass	bottle	olive green	
	F12	8	1	metal	nail frag	forged	
	F12	9	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	
	F12	10	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	Jackfield-type	
	F12	11	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	Jackfield-type	
	F12	12	1	ceramic	coarse earthenware	burnished	Native made?
	F12	13	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	F12	18	5	metal	nail frags	forged	
	F12	19	2	glass	bottle	aqua	
*	F12	20	2	glass	bottle	olive green	
	F12	21	1	glass	wine bottle	olive green	
	F12	22	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	ginger glaze
	F12	24	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue hand painted
	F12	24	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	F12	25	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	Astbury-type	
	F12	26	3	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue hand painted
	F12	27	2	ceramic	refined	Jackfield-type	

					earthenware		
	F12	28	8	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	F12	29	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	F12	30	14	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	G10	1	1	metal	strap	wide	
	G10	6	1	metal	nail	forged	
	G10	6	1	glass	curved	clear	
	G10	10	5	glass	curved	aqua	
	G10	13	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	G10	13	1	metal	spike		
	G10	14	16	metal	nail frags	unidentified	
	G10	23	1	metal	spike frag		
	G10	25	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	G10	26	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue transfer print
	G10	27	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	trail-slipped
	G10	28	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polchrome hand painted brown and yellow
	G10	30	3	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	scallop edge
*	G10	31	1	unid	unidentified	"clay disc"?	
*	G10	34	1	mineral	hematite		
*	G10	35	1	ceramic	kaolin	pipe	rim
	G10	36	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	Jackfield-type	
	G10	37	1	metal	flat	thick and heavy band	
*	G10	38	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	black glazed
*	G10	40	1	lithic	gun flint		
	G10	41	1	metal	button	brass	
	G10	42	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	G10	43	4	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	
	G10	44	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	G10	44	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	black glazed
	G10	45	2	glass	chimney	clear	

*	G10	46	1	ceramic	kaolin	pipe	stem frag
	G10	47	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	Jackfield-type	
*	G10	48	4	glass	unidentified	clear	
	G10	49	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted green
*	G10	50	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	brown glaze
*	G10	51	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted brown and yellow
	G10	52	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	G10	53	4	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	G10	54	4	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	G10	55	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	brown glaze
	G10	56	1	glass	bottle	aqua	
	G10	57	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue transfer print
	G10	58	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware (dipped)	marble combed
	G10	59	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	Jackfield-type	
	G10	60	3	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	
	G10	60	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue transfer print
	G10	60	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	
	G10	61	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	G10	62	4	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
*	G10	63	1	ceramic	kaolin	pipe	stem frag
	G10	64	1	metal	button	brass	
	G10	65	1	metal	hardware	brass knob (furniture)	
	G10	66	2	metal	straight pin frags		
	G10	67	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	Jackfield-type	
	G10	67	27	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed

	G10	69	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted brown and green, leaves
	G10	70	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	G10	71	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue transfer print
	G10	72	1	glass	bottle	aqua	
	G10	73	3	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	G10	74	1	glass	bottle	green	
	G10	75	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	Jackfield-type	
	G10	76	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	G10	77	4	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	G10	78	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue hand painted, annular
	G10	79	1	glass	curved	aqua	
	G10	80	2	glass	bottle	green	
	G10	81	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	G10	82	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted yellow and green, annular
	G10	83	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	scallop edge
	G10	84	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	G10	86	4	glass	window	aqua	
	G10	87	1	glass	bottle	aqua	
	G10	88	1	glass	window	aqua, patina	
	G10	89	1	glass	bottle	green	
*	G10	90	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted brown and green, floral, annular
	G10	91	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	G10	92	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	G10	93	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	G10	94	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	Jackfield-type	
	G10	95	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed

	G10	96	1	glass	bottle	olive green	
*	G10	97	1	ceramic	kaolin	pipe	stem frag
	G10	98	1	bone	small mammal?	needle or comb tooth	
	G10	100	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	
	G10	101	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	trail-slipped
*	G10	102	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted brown and blue, floral, annular
	G10	103	2	glass	bottle	aqua	
	G10	104	1	glass	bottle	green	
	G10	105	3	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	G10	106	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	G10	107	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted green and yellow, annular
	G10	108	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	Jackfield-type	
	G10	109	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	G10	110	1	glass	bottle	clear	
	G10	111	3	glass	bottle	olive green	
	G10	112	3	glass	bottle	aqua	
	G10	113	1	glass	bottle	aqua	
*	G10	114	1	metal	buckle		
	G10	115	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	G10	115	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	G10	116	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	scallop edge
	G10	117	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue transfer print
	G10	118	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	G10	119	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	G10	120	2	metal	straight pin frags	silver?	
*	G10	121	1	bone	unidentified	needle	
	G10	124	3	glass	bottle	aqua	
	G10	125	3	glass	window	aqua	

	G10	126	2	metal	nail frags	forged	
	G10	127	1	metal	flat		
	G10	133	3	glass	window	aqua	
*	G10	134	2	glass	bottle	clear	
	G10	135	6	glass	chimney	aqua	
	G10	136	1	lithic	quartz	flaked stone	tertiary flake
	G10	137	3	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue transfer print
	G10	138	4	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	G10	139	12	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	G10	140	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	tin-glazed	
	G10	141	1	metal	strap		
*	G10	142	1	lithic	quartz	flaked stone	flake
	G10	143	1	glass	bead	red	opaque
	G10	147	1	metal	bottle cap	crown-type	
	G10	157	1	metal	nail frags	unidentified	
	G10	158	1	metal	nail frags	unidentified	
	G10	159	2	metal	nail frags	forged	
	G10	160	1	metal	spike frag	forged	
	G10	161	5	metal	unidentified		
	G10	162	1	metal	hardware	chain	
	G10	163	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	Staffordshire-type slip	
	G10	164	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	brown glaze ext
	G10	165	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue transfer print
	G10	166	7	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	G10	167	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	Jackfield-type	
	G10	169	4	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	G10	170	25	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	G10	171	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	tin-glazed	
	G10	172	1	glass	bottle	green	
	G10	173	1	glass	window	aqua	
	G10	174	1	glass	bottle	clear	

	G10	175	6	glass	bottle	aqua	
	G10	176	12	metal	nail frags	unidentified	
	G10	177	3	metal	flat		
	G10	178	20	metal	unidentified		
	G10	184	1	glass	bottle	olive green	
	G10	185	2	lithic	quartz	flaked stone	primary flakes
	G10	186	1	metal	nail frag	unidentified	
	G10	187	1	metal	unidentified		
	G10	191	2	glass	curved	aqua	
	G10	192	1	glass	window	aqua	
	G10	193	1	glass	bottle	aqua	
	G10	194	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	G10	195	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	ginger glaze
	G10	196	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	
	G10	197	1	metal	screw		
	G10	198	1	metal	wire frag		
	G10	199	8	metal	nail frags	forged	
	G10	200	50	metal	unidentified		
	G10	205	1	glass	chimney	aqua	
	G10	206	3	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	G10	207	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue transfer print
	G10	208	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	Jackfield-type	
	G10	209	1	metal	nail frag	forged	
	G10	210	11	metal	container frag		
	G10	211	1	metal	nail frag	unidentified	
*	G10	20-1	1	ceramic	kaolin	pipe	stem frag
*	G10	20-2	1	ceramic	kaolin	pipe	bowl frag
*	G10	36-A	1	lithic	quartzite	flaked stone	blade
	G10	53A	4	glass	bottle	aqua	
	G10	67A	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	G10	67B	2	ceramic	coarse earthenware	Buckley type? (black glazed)	
	G10	79A	1	glass	window	aqua	
*	G11	1	5	ceramic	kaolin	pipe	stem

*	G11	2	1	ceramic	kaolin	pipe	stem
*	G11	3	1	ceramic	kaolin	pipe	bowl
*	G11	4	1	ceramic	kaolin	pipe	stem
*	G11	5	1	ceramic	kaolin	pipe	stem and bowl
*	G11	6	1	glass	bead	red	
*	G11	7	1	glass	bead	blue	
*	G11	8	1	lithic	gun flint		
	G11	9	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue transfer print
	G11	10	8	ceramic	refined earthenware	Staffords hire-type slip	buff bodied, brown dots, holloware
	G11	11	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	black glazed ext
*	G11	12	1	metal	utensil	spoon	
*	G11	13	3	mineral	slate		
	G11	14	1	metal	straight pin		
*	G11	17	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue transfer print
	G11	18	1	metal	nail frag	unidentified	
*	G11	19	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	G11	20	2	ceramic	stoneware	buff-bodied	blue painted
*	G11	22	1	ceramic	kaolin	pipe	stem
*	G11	24	1	lithic	quartz	flaked stone	core
	G11	25.1	1	glass	window	aqua	
	G11	25.2	1	glass	window	aqua	
*	G11	25.3	1	glass	window	aqua	
	G11	25.4	1	glass	window	aqua	
*	G11	26	1	lithic	unidentified	abrader/whetsone	
	G11	38.1	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted floral
*	G11	41	1	ceramic	kaolin	pipe	
	G11	42	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	plate rim (25cm, >5% of vessel)
	G11	43.1	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted floral
	G11	43.2	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted floral
	G11	43.3	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted floral
	G11	43.4	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted floral

	G11	43.5	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted floral
	G11	43.6	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted floral
	G11	44.1	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted annular int
	G11	44.2	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted annular int
	G11	44.3	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted annular int
	G11	45.1	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	black glazed ext
	G11	45.2	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	G11	45.3	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	G11	46	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue transfer print
	G11	47	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted orange and brown, annular ext
	G11	48.1	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted orange and brown
	G11	48.2	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted orange and brown
	G11	49.1	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	green glazed (Whieldon and Wedgewood)
	G11	49.1	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	green shell-edge
	G11	49.2	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	green shell-edge
	G11	50.1	1	glass	bottle	green	
	G11	50.2	1	glass	wine bottle	olive green	
	G11	51	1	ceramic	porcelain	hard paste	
	G11	52.1	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	G11	52.2	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	G11	53	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	G11	54	1	glass	medicine bottle	clear	finish
	G11	55	20	glass	window	aqua	
	G11	56.1	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	ginger glaze

	G11	56.2	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	ginger glaze
	G11	57.1	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	G11	57.2	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	G11	58	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	G11	59	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	Astbury-type	
	G11	60.1	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	G11	60.2	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	G11	60.3	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	G11	60.4	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	G11	60.5	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	G11	61	4	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	
	G11	62	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	blue hand painted
	G11	64	3	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	G11	65	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	Staffords hire-type slip	brown dots
	G11	66	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted annular int
	G11	67	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	G11	68	1	ceramic	coarse earthenware	North Devon	green glaze
*	G11	69	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome, green and brown floral and annular
	G11	70	1	ceramic	stoneware	buff-bodied	blue painted
	G11	71	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue transfer print
	G11	72	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	G11	73	1	ceramic	coarse earthenware	North Devon	green glaze
*	G11	74	1	ceramic	refined	Staffordshire-type slip	

					earthenware		
	G11	75	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	Jackfield-type	
	G11	76	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	G11	77	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	G11	78	4	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	
	G11	79	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	
	G11	80	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	G11	81	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	G11	82	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	G11	83	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	G11	84	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
*	G11	85	1	glass	window		
	G11	86	1	glass	bottle	clear	
	G11	87	1	bone	unidentified	handle frag	
	G11	88	1	ceramic	kaolin	pipe	stem frag
	G11	89	1	ceramic	kaolin	pipe	stem frag, mouthpiece
	G11	91	3	glass	window	aqua	
	G11	92	15	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	G11	93	5	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	G11	94	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	G11	95	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue transfer print
	G11	96	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted floral
*	G11	97	1	ceramic	stoneware	buff-bodied	
*	G11	99	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue transfer print
*	G11	100	3	ceramic	refined earthenware	Staffordshire-type slip	
	G11	101	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	G11	102	2	ceramic	refined	redware	black glazed ext

					earthenware		
	G11	103	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	black glazed ext
	G11	104	1	ceramic	stoneware	English brown?	buff bodied, brown glaze
	G11	105	1	ceramic	stoneware	English brown?	buff bodied, brown glaze
	G11	106	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	G11	107	2	glass	bottle	clear	
	G11	108	1	glass	window	aqua	
	G11	109	4	glass	wine bottle	olive green	
	G11	110	3	glass	window	aqua	
*	G11	111	1	glass	bottle	clear	
	G11	112	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	G11	113	4	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted brown and orange
	G11	114	6	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	G11	115	5	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue transfer print
	G11	116	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
*	G11	117	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	Staffordshire-type slip	
	G11	118	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	G11	119	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted blue and green, annular
	G11	120	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	Staffordshire-type slip	brown dots
	G11	121	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	Jackfield-type	
	G11	121	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	black glazed ext
	G11	122	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	G11	123	5	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
*	G11	125	1	lithic	flint	flaked stone	biface
	G11	126	3	ceramic	refined earthenware	Jackfield-type	

	G11	227	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted floral
	G11	228	3	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	G11	229	1	ceramic	stoneware		buff bodied, grey salt-glazed ext
	G11	230	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	Staffordshire-type slip	
	G11	232	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
*	G11	233	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue transfer print
	G11	234	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted floral
	G11	235	1	glass	window	aqua	
*	G11	236	1	glass	bottle	cobalt	
*	G11	237	1	glass	window	aqua	
*	G11	239	1	ceramic	kaolin	pipe	stem
	G11	240	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted blue and green, annular
	G11	241	7	ceramic	refined earthenware	Astbury-type	
	G11	241	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	Jackfield-type	
*	G11	242	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	black glazed
	G11	243	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	G11	244	1	ceramic	stoneware		buff bodied, grey salt-glazed ext
	G11	245	1	bone	bird	large gull/seagull	tube, carved
	G11	246	4	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	G11	247	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	G11	248	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	Jackfield-type	
	G11	248	4	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	G11	249	4	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	G11	250	3	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue hand painted annular int

*	G11	251	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue transfer print
	G11	252	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue transfer print
*	G11	253	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	unidentified	blue decoration?
	G11	254	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	trail shipped
	G11	255	1	ceramic	stoneware	Rhenish blue and grey	
	G11	256	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	G11	257	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	G11	258	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	G11	259	1	lithic	quartz	flaked stone	chunky tertiary flake
	G11	263	2	metal	nail	forged	rose head
*	G11	264	11	glass	window	aqua	
	G11	266	1	metal	straight pin		
	G11	267	1	metal	spike		
	G11	268	1	metal	strap	square fastening holes	
	G11	271	1	metal	spike		
	G11	283	1	ceramic	stoneware		buff bodied, clear salt glazed
	G11	284	3	ceramic	refined earthenware	Jackfield-type	
	G11	285	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	G11	286	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	G11	287	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	unidentified	burned?
	G11	288	1	glass	wine bottle	olive green	
*	G11	289	1	glass	window	clear	
	G11	290	5	glass	curved	aqua	
	G11	291	1	glass	curved	clear	
	G11	292	1	metal	strap, cut square	copper	
	G11	293	1	metal	spike		
	G11	294	23	metal	nail frags	forged	3 rose head
	G11	295	1	metal	fishing pole loop		
	G11	296	17	metal	wire		
	G11	297	31	metal	unidentified		
	G11	300	2	metal	nail	cut	

	G11	300	2	metal	nail	forged	
	G11	302	5	metal	unidentified		
	G11	303	2	charcoal	charcoal		
	G11	305	1	ceramic	brick		
*	G11	311	1	lithic	quartz	flaked stone	flake
	G11	312	1	metal	nail frag	unidentified	
*	G11	313	1	glass	bottle	green	
	G11	314	1	metal	unidentified	w/teeth	
*	G11	317	1	glass	window	aqua	
*	G11	325	27	glass	window	aqua	
*	G11	326	2	glass	bottle	olive green	
*	G11	327	1	glass	bottle	green	
*	G11	328	1	glass	bottle	clear	
	G11	329	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue hand painted, annular int
	G11	330	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	G11	331	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	G11	332	1	ceramic	stoneware	unidentified	
	G11	333	1	metal	spike		
	G11	334	17	metal	nail frags	unidentified	
	G11	335	1	metal	plate		
	G11	336	35	metal	unidentified		
	G11	110A (111?)	1	glass	bottle	aqua	
	G11	38-2	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	G11	38-3	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
*	G11/H11	1	5	metal	nail frag	unidentified	
	G11/H11	3	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
*	G11/H11	4	1	ceramic	earthenware	unidentified	burned
*	G11/H11	5	1	glass	window	aqua	
*	G11/H11	6	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
*	G12	1	6	ceramic	brick		
*	G12	1	1	metal/bone	utensil	fork, bone handle	

*	G12	2	1	bone	unidentified	piece of handle from SE16 AII G12 1	
*	G12	3	1	ceramic	kaolin	pipe	stem
	G12	4	1	mineral	slate	for writing?	
	G12	6	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	Staffords hire-type slip	brown dots
	G12	7	1	metal	spike frag		
	G12	8	1	metal	nail frag	unidentified	
	G12	9	1	glass	window	clear	
	G12	10	2	glass	bottle	green	
	G12	12	4	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	black glazed
	G12	13	5	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	G12	13	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	
	G12	14	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	Staffordshire-type slip	
	G12	15	3	ceramic	refined earthenware	Astbury-type	
	G12	16	1	glass	bottle	clear	
	G12	17	15	metal	nail frag	unidentified	
	G12	18	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue transfer print, ext
	G12	20	3	charcoal	charcoal		
	G14	4	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	G14	5	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	G14	6	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	yellow painted
*	G14	7	1	ceramic	unidentified		
*	G14	8	1	ceramic	unidentified		
	G14	11	3	metal	nail frag	unidentified	
*	G14	12	13	ceramic	brick		
*	G14	13	3	charcoal	charcoal		
	G14	14	5	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	
	G14	14	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	G14	14	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	unidentified	pearlware or creamware
	G14	15	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	blue hand painted
*	G14	17		ceramic	kaolin	pipe	

	G14	18	1	ceramic	stoneware	buff bodied	blue painted
	G14	19	1	ceramic	stoneware	English brown?	
	G14	20	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	black glazed
	G14	21	1	ceramic	stoneware	English brown?	
	G14	22	1	ceramic	stoneware	English brown?	
	G14	23	1	glass	bottle	clear	
	G14	24	1	glass	curved	clear	
	G14	25	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue hand painted, ext
	G14	26	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	
	G14	27	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	
	G14	28	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	
	G14	29	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	brown hand painted floral, int base
	G14	30	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	
	G14	33	2	metal	nail frag	unidentified	
	G14	34	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	trail slipped
	G14	35	3	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	G14	36	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	G14	37	1	ceramic	brick		
	G14	38	2	ceramic	stoneware		grey salt-glazed
	G14	39	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted, floral
	G14	40	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	G14	40	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	
	G14	41	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
*	G14	42	1	ceramic	kaolin	pipe	
	H12	2	2	metal	utensil	spoon	pewter
	H12	6	1	bone	button blank/mold	single hole, half button	
	H12	7	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	Jackfield-type	
	H12	8	3	ceramic	refined	redware	black glazed

					earthenware		
H12	9	1	lithic	quartz	flaked stone	primary flake, angular and chunky	
H12	10	1	lithic	quartz	flaked stone	biface frag	
H12	12	1	metal	handle frag?	lead		
H12	14	4	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed	
H12	18	2	ceramic	stoneware	gray salt-glazed, buff bodied		
H12	19	3	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed	
H12	20	4	ceramic	refined earthenware	Jackfield-type		
H12	21	1	ceramic	porcelain			
H12	22	3	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	bisque, gravel temper	
H12	23	7	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	bisque, gravel temper	
H12	24	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	green hand painted	
H12	25	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed	
H12	25	3	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	trail slipped	
H12	26	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	trail slipped	
H12	27	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted floral, yellow and brown band, ext	
H12	28	20	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed	
H12	29	3	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	ginger glaze	
H12	30	3	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	ginger glaze	
H12	31	3	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed	
H12	32	5	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware		
H12	33	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	brown annular, int	
H12	34	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed	
H12	35	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	ginger glaze	

H12	39	1	bone	unidentified	utensil handle (knife?)	
H12	40	1	lithic	quartz	flaked stone	biface
H12	41	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	trail slipped
H12	42	4	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
H12	43	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
H12	44	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	Staffordshire-type slip	
H12	45	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	ginger glaze
H12	46	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	bisque
H12	49	3	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
H12	49	3	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	
H12	50	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	jackfield-type	
H12	51	2	ceramic	brick		
H12	51	4	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
H12	52	9	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
H12	53	1	ceramic	stoneware	Rhenish blue and grey	
H12	54	2	metal	nail frag	wrought	
H12	54	9	metal	nail frag	square cut	
H12	54	2	metal	tack		
H12	55	1	metal	hardware	stove bolt	
H12	66	1	lithic	quartz	flaked stone	core frag w/cortex
H12	68	5	glass	window	aqua	
H12	74	2	ceramic	porcelain		
H12	75	6	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
H12	76	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue hand painted
H12	77	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	trail slipped
H12	78	12	ceramic	refined earthenware	jackfield-type	
H12	79	1	ceramic	stoneware	English brown	
H12	80	1	ceramic	refined	Astbury-type	

					earthenware		
	H12	81	15	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	H12	82	30	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H12	83	3	ceramic	brick		
	H12	84	2	ceramic	stoneware	grey salt-glazed, buff body	
	H12	85	56	metal	nail frag	square cut	
	H12	86	1	metal	screw frag	brass	
	H12	87	1	metal	wire		
	H12	88	50	metal	unidentified		
	H12	93	1	glass	bottle	cobalt	
	H12	94	1	glass	wine bottle	green	
	H12	95	3	glass	window	aqua	
	H12	96	6	metal	nail frag	square cut	
	H12	97	3	lithic	quartz	flaked stone	flakes
	H12	104	1	metal	spike	square cut	
	H12	107	1	glass	bottle	clear	
	H12	108	1	glass	bottle	aqua	
	H12	109	1	glass	tableware	mug	polychrome enamel, central European
	H12	110	1	metal	hardware	file frag, triangle	
	H12	111	25	metal	nail frag	square cut	
	H12	113	1	metal	hardware	nut w/bolt; knob head	
	H12	114	1	metal	nail frag	square cut	
	H12	115	1	metal	solid rod		
	H12	117	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	H12	120	8	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H12	120	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	
	H12	121	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue transfer print
	H12	122	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H12	123	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	trail slipped
	H12	124	18	ceramic	refined earthenware	jackfield-type	
	H12	125	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	trail slipped
	H12	126	1	ceramic	refined	redware	agateware, ext

					earthenware		
	H12	127	2	ceramic	brick		
	H12	128	19	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	H12	129	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	Astbury-type	
	H12	130	24	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H12	131	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	flowerpot
*	H13	1	3	charcoal	charcoal		
	H13	2	7	ceramic	brick		
	H13	4	2	metal	nail frags	forged	
	H13	5	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	
*	H13	6	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	
*	H13	7	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	trail slipped
	H13	8	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	agateware, int
*	H13	9	1	glass	unidentified		
	H13	10	1	bone	unidentified	needle point or comb tooth	
	H13	12	7	ceramic	brick		
*	H13	13	2	charcoal	charcoal		
*	H13	14	3	metal	nail frag	unidentified	
*	H13	16	1	unidentified	button		
	H13	17	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	bisque, gravel temper
	H13	18	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	bisque, gravel temper
	H13	19	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	trail slipped
*	H13	20	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H13	21	1	ceramic	brick		
	H13	22	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	trail slipped
	H13	23	1	ceramic	brick		
*	H13	24	1	glass	bottle	olive green	
	H13	26	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	H13	27	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed

	H13	28	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	trail slipped
	H13	29	1	ceramic	porcelain	Chinese export? (orange peel glaze)	
	H13	30	1	ceramic	porcelain	Chinese export? (orange peel glaze)	
	H13	31	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H13	32	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H13	33	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted floral, brown annular
	H13	34	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
*	H13	35	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted blue, brown and green
	H13	36	1	lithic	quartz	flaked stone	small tertiary flake
	H13	37	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H13	38	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H13	39	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H13	40	1	glass	bottle	aqua	
*	H13	41	1	glass	window	aqua	
*	H13	42	1	glass	unidentified	clear	
	H13	43	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
*	H13	44	1	lithic	granite?	ground stone	grooved hammerstone
*	H13	47	1	ceramic	kaolin	pipe	
	H13	50	1	glass	bottle	olive green; wine bottle	
	H13	51	1	glass	window	aqua	
	H13	52	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	green glazed (Whieldon and Wedgewood)
	H13	53	4	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	H13	54	1	ceramic	stoneware	grey salt-glazed, buff body	
	H13	55	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	trail slipped
	H13	56	4	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	H13	57	3	metal	nail frag	forged	
*	I9	1	1	glass	unidentified	green	
	I9	2	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed

*	I9	3	1	bone	button		
	I9	4	1	lithic	quartz	flaked stone	chunky tertiary flake
*	I9	5	1	metal	button		
*	I9	6	1	bone	button		
	I9	7	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	polychrome hand painted green and yellow
	I9	8	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	
	I9	9	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	Staffordshire-type slip	
	I9	10	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	I9	11	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	I9	12	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	I9	13	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	I9	14	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	I9	18	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	
	I9	19	1	glass	bottle		
	I9	20	2	glass	window	aqua	
	I9	21	2	metal	nail frag	unidentified	
	I9	26	1	lithic	quartz	flaked stone	primary flake
	I9	30	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	I9	31	1	glass	bottle	olive green	
	I9	32	4	glass	bottle	clear	
	I9	33	2	glass	window	aqua	
	I9	34	3	glass	window	aqua	
	I9	35	1	charcoal	charcoal		
	I9	36	3	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed
	I9	37	1	ceramic	brick		
	I9	38	3	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	I9	39	4	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	brown speckled glaze
	I9	40	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	Astbury-type	
	I9	44	1	ceramic	refined	burned	

					earthenware		
I9	45	3	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue transfer print	
I9	46	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	unidentified	green hand painted	
I9	47	1	ceramic	stoneware	white salt-glazed		
I9	48	30	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware		
I9	49	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	burned		
I9	50	1	metal	spike	unidentified		
I9	51	1	metal	spike	forged		
I9	52	1	metal	nail frag	forged		
I9	52	1	metal	nail frag	unidentified		
I9	53	3	metal	nail frag	forged		
I9	54	3	metal	nail frag	unidentified		
I9	59	2	metal	nail frag	unidentified		
I9	60	1	glass	window	aqua		
I9	61	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	jackfield-type		
I9	62	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware		
I9	63	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glazed	
I9	64	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed	
I9	65	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	brown speckled glaze	
I9	73	1	glass	chimney	clear		
I9	74	1	glass	bottle	green		
I9	75	1	glass	window	aqua		
I9	76	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware		
I9	76	4	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware		
I9	76	1	ceramic	earthenware			
I9	77	1	ceramic	stoneware	grey salt glazed, Albany slip		
I9	78	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	green edge	
I9	79	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed	
I9	80	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	jackfield-type		
I9	81	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	Staffordshire-type slip		

	I9	82	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	green hand painted
	I9	83	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	green glaze
	I9	83	1	ceramic	earthenware		
	I9	84	1	metal	nail frag	unidentified	
	L7	1	1	metal	unidentified		
	L7	2	2	glass	bottle	olive green	
	L7	3	3	metal	ammunition	1 lead musket ball, 2 lead shot	
	L7	4	1	metal	unidentified		
	L7	5	1	metal	spike	unidentified	
	L7	6	10	metal	unidentified		
	L7	7	1	ceramic	stoneware	grey salt-glazed, Albany slip	
	L7	8	3	ceramic	stoneware	grey salt-glazed, Albany slip	
	L7	9	1	ceramic	stoneware	grey salt-glazed, Albany slip	
	L7	10	1	glass	bottle	olive green	
	L7	11	1	metal	hardware	u-bolt	
	L7	12	1	ceramic	stoneware	grey salt-glazed	
	L7	13	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	whiteware	blue transfer print
	L7	14	8	glass	bottle	olive green	
	L7	15	1	glass	bottle	clear	
	L7	16	2	metal	nail frags	unidentified	
	L7	17	11	metal	unidentified		
	L7	18	1	metal	cap	brass; pencil cap?	

D.3. Faunal and Floral Catalog for Feature AII, Inside House

	Unit	item #	count	material	descrip	descrip 2	descrip 3
*	G11	15	1	organic	plum pit	burned	
	H09	1	8	bone	unidentified		
*	H09	4	1	bone	unidentified		
*	H09	5	1	bone	unidentified		
*	H09	5.4	10	bone	fish		
*	H09	6	1	bone	unidentified		
*	H09	15	27	bone	fish		
*	H09	27	20	bone	fish		
*	H09	34	1	bone	fish	jaw w/teeth	
*	H09	47	59	bone	fish		
	H09	50	1	bone	unidentified		
	H09	51	5	bone	fish	blue fish skull frags?	
	H09	54	1	bone	unidentified		
*	H09	57	1	bone	mammal	rib	
	H09	58	122	bone	reptile	turtle	carapace
	H09	58	22	bone	unidentified		
	H09	58	5	bone	fish		
	H09	59	16	bone	unidentified		
	H09	61		bone	fish		
	H09	63	1	bone	unidentified	tooth	
	H09	65	2	bone	unidentified		
*	H09	79	1	shell	conch		
	H09	80	2	bone	mammal	rodent?	1 claw, 1 incisor
	H09	83	1	bone	unidentified	tooth	
	H09	84	1	bone	fish		
	H09	95	1	bone	unidentified	cut	
	H09	96	30	bone	unidentified		
	H09	97	99	bone	reptile	turtle	
	H09	97	1	bone	unidentified		
*	H09	98	163	bone	fish		
	H09	100	5	bone	bird		
	H09	102	1	bone	unidentified	tooth	
	H09	111	1	bone	unidentified	tooth	
	H09	135	1	bone	unidentified		
	H09	136	1	bone	unidentified		
	H09	142	1	bone	unidentified		
	H09	155	1	bone	unidentified		
	H09	177	1	bone	unidentified		

*	H09	181	1	bone	mammal	pig	tooth
	H09	182	1	bone	mammal	lamb?	tooth
	H09	295	13	bone	unidentified		
*	H09	297	1	bone	unidentified		
	H09	304	35	bone	fish		
	H09	305	1	bone	mammal	rib	
	H09	306	21	bone	unidentified		
	H09	307	1	bone	unidentified		
	H09	310	16	bone	unidentified		
	H09	316	1	bone	unidentified		
*	H09	319	?	bone	unidentified		
*	H09	323	1	shell	hard clam		
	H09	324	1	shell	oyster		
*	H09	325	1	shell	mud snail	small	
*	H09	348	1	bone	reptile	turtle	carapace
	H09	367	1	bone	mammal	tooth	
*	H09	380	?	bone	fish	bone and scale	
*	H09	381	28	bone	fish	bone and scale	
	H09	386	2	bone	mammal	tooth	
	H09	387	1	bone	mammal	tooth	
	H09	388	24	bone	reptile	turtle	carapace
	H09	389	25	bone	unidentified	frags	
	H09	390	9	bone	unidentified		
	H09	392	1	bone	unidentified		
	H09	393	1	bone	unidentified		
	H09	394	1	bone	unidentified		
	H09	395	1	bone	unidentified		
	H09	396	1	bone	unidentified		
	H09	397	1	bone	unidentified		
	H09	398	1	bone	unidentified		
	H09	399	1	bone	unidentified		
	H09	400	1	bone	unidentified		
	H09	401	1	bone	unidentified		
	H09	402	1	bone	unidentified		
	H09	403	1	bone	unidentified		
	H09	404	1	bone	unidentified		
	H09	405	1	bone	unidentified		
	H09	406	1	bone	unidentified		
	H09	407	1	bone	unidentified		
	H09	408	1	bone	unidentified		
	H09	412	4	bone	fish		
	H09	414	3	bone	mammal	part of jaw	
	H09	415	1	bone	mammal		

	H09	416	1	bone	mammal		
	H09	417	1	bone	mammal		
	H09	418	1	bone	mammal		
	H09	419	1	bone	mammal		
	H09	420	1	bone	mammal		
	H09	422	1	bone	mammal		
	H09	423	1	bone	mammal		
	H09	424	1	bone	mammal		
	H09	426	67	bone	reptile	turtle	carapace
	H09	427	36	bone	unidentified		
	H09	428	1	bone	mammal	tooth	
	H09	455	1	bone	unidentified	burned	
	H09	457	145	bone	reptile	turtle	
	H09	458	29	bone	fish		
	H09	459	32	bone	fish		
	H09	460	82	bone	unidentified	2 teeth	
	H09	464	29	bone	unidentified		
	H09	465	16	bone	unidentified		
	H09	466	9	bone	fish		
	H09	472	1	bone	reptile	turtle	
	H09	473	18	bone	unidentified		
	H09	474	14	bone	unidentified		
	H09	490	1	shell	unidentified		
	H09	492	1	shell	unidentified		
	H09	493	1	bone	unidentified		
	H09	494	36	bone	unidentified		
	H09	495	?	bone	unidentified		
*	H09	496	?	bone	unidentified		
*	H09	497	?	bone	unidentified		
*	H09	498	?	bone	unidentified		
*	H09	499	?	bone	unidentified		
	H09	500	6	bone	reptile	turtle	
	H09	501	2	bone	mammal	sheep ribs?	
	H09	502	8	bone	reptile	turtle	
	H09	503	4	bone	fish		
	H09	504	2	bone	mammal	rib	
	H09	505	58	bone	reptile	turtle	
	H09	506	20	bone	mammal	rib	
	H09	510	3	bone	mammal	rib	
	H09	511	40	bone	reptile	turtle	carapace
	H09	519	12	shell	oyster	8 MNI	
	H09	520	8	shell	hard clam	3 MNI	
	H09	521	1	shell	drill?	1 MNI	

	H09	522	1	shell	scallop? (small	1 MNI	
	H09	523	6	shell	blue mussel	1 MNI	
	H09	524	1	shell	whelk pad	1 MNI	
	H09	525	50	bone	fish		
	H09	526	23	bone	unidentified		
	H09	527	54	bone	unidentified		
	H09	528	55	bone	bird, fish, rodent		
	H09	529		bone	fish		
	H09	531	28	bone	reptile	turtle	
	H09	532	13	bone	unidentified		
	H09	310A	9	bone	bird?		
*	H10	2.1	1	bone	fish	vertebra	
*	H10	2.2	1	bone	fish	vertebra	
*	H10	2.3	1	bone	reptile	turtle	
*	H10	2.4	1	bone	fish		
*	H10	2.5	1	bone	fish		
*	H10	2.6	1	bone	fish		
*	H10	2.7	1	bone	unidentified	scapula	
*	H10	2.8	1	bone	fish		
*	H10	2.9	8	bone	unidentified		
*	H10	4.1	1	bone	reptile	turtle	carapace
*	H10	4.2	1	bone	reptile	turtle	
*	H10	5.2	1	bone	reptile	turtle	carapace
*	H10	5.3	1	bone	fish		
*	H10	8	6	bone	small mammal		
*	H10	10.1	1	bone	fish		
*	H10	10.1	1	bone	fish	vertebra	
*	H10	10.11	1	bone	fish	vertebra	
*	H10	10.12	1	bone	fish		
*	H10	10.13	1	bone	fish		
*	H10	10.14	1	bone	fish		
*	H10	10.15	1	bone	fish		
*	H10	10.16	1	bone	fish		
*	H10	10.17	1	bone	fish		
*	H10	10.18	1	bone	fish		
*	H10	10.19	1	bone	fish		
*	H10	10.2	1	bone	fish		
*	H10	10.21	1	bone	fish	scale	
*	H10	10.22	1	bone	reptile	turtle	
*	H10	10.23	1	bone	reptile	turtle	
*	H10	10.24	1	bone	reptile	turtle	
*	H10	10.25	1	bone	reptile	turtle	

*	H10	10.26	1	bone	reptile	turtle	
*	H10	10.27	1	bone	reptile	turtle	carapace
*	H10	10.28	1	bone	reptile	turtle	carapace
*	H10	10.29	1	bone	reptile	turtle	carapace
*	H10	10.3	1	bone	fish		
*	H10	10.31	1	bone	unidentified		
*	H10	10.32	1	bone	unidentified		
*	H10	10.33	1	bone	unidentified		
*	H10	10.34	1	bone	unidentified		
*	H10	10.35	1	bone	unidentified		
*	H10	10.36	1	bone	unidentified		
*	H10	10.37	1	bone	unidentified		
*	H10	10.38	1	bone	unidentified		
*	H10	10.39	1	bone	unidentified		
*	H10	10.4	1	bone	fish		
*	H10	10.41	1	bone	unidentified		
*	H10	10.42	1	bone	unidentified		
*	H10	10.5	1	bone	fish		
*	H10	10.6	1	bone	fish		
*	H10	10.7	1	bone	fish		
*	H10	10.8	1	bone	fish	vertebra	
*	H10	10.9	1	bone	fish	vertebra	
*	H10	13.1	1	bone	fish	vertebra	
*	H10	13.2	1	bone	fish		
*	H10	13.3	1	bone	fish	scale	
*	H10	13.4	1	bone	fish		
*	H10	13.5	1	bone	reptile	turtle	
*	H10	13.6	1	bone	reptile	turtle	
*	H10	13.7	1	bone	reptile	turtle	carapace
*	H10	13.8	3	bone	reptile	turtle	
*	H10	51	1	bone	unidentified		
*	H10	52	5	bone	reptile	turtle	
	H10	82	1	bone	mammal	pig	cuspid
	H10	139	1	shell	drill shell		
	H10	140	2	shell	soft clam		
	H10	141	8	shell	hard clam		
	H10	142	7	shell	hard clam		
*	H10	143	57	shell	oyster		
	H10	144	1	bone	bird	large (turkey?); possible notch taken out	
*	H10	145	1	bone	unidentified		
*	H10	146	1	bone	unidentified		
	H10	147	200	bone	reptile	turtle	carapace

*	H10	148	1	bone	unidentified		
	H10	149	19	bone	reptile	turtle	carapace
*	H10	172	1	bone	mammal		
*	H10	173	1	bone	unidentified		
	H10	174	39	bone	reptile	turtle	35 carapace, 4 bone
	H10	175	30	bone	fish	10 vertebra, 20 scale	
	H10	176	1	bone	reptile	turtle	
*	H10	177	1	bone	unidentified		
	H10	185	4	bone	reptile	turtle	carapace
	H10	186	2	bone	reptile	turtle	carapace
	H10	187	4	bone	fish		
	H10	190	4	bone	fish	vertebra	
*	H10	191	1	bone	unidentified		
*	H10	192	1	bone	unidentified		
*	H10	10.20					
*	H10	.	1	bone	fish		
*	H10	10.30					
*	H10	.	1	bone	unidentified		
*	H10	10.40					
*	H10	.	1	bone	unidentified		
*	H10/H1 1	2	6	bone	unidentified		
*	H10/H1 1	5	2	shell	unidentified		
*	H11	1	6	bone	unidentified		
*	H11	11		bone	mammal	deer	teeth
*	H11	32		bone	reptile	turtle	carapace
*	H11	41	1	bone	mammal	bone and tooth frag	
*	H11	43	1	bone	mammal		
*	H11	46	1	bone	fish	scale	
*	H11	47		bone	fish	vertebra	
*	H11	49	1	organic		LS: astragalus	
*	H11	52	13	bone	reptile	turtle	
*	H11	53	3	bone	mammal		
	H11	55	1	bone	mammal	deer	skull frag
	H11	57	50	bone	fish, small mammal	unidentified	
*	H11	58	20	bone	reptile	turtle	carapace
*	H11	58	3	bone	reptile	turtle	
*	H11	59		bone	fish		
*	H11	65	1	bone	unidentified		
*	H11	72		bone	unidentified		
*	H11	76		bone	unidentified		
*	H11	77	15	bone	reptile	turtle	carapace

	H11	79	75	bone	fish	some vertebrae	
*	H11	82		bone	unidentified		
*	H11	85		bone	unidentified		
	H11	86	211	bone	fish	vertebra, scales	
	H11	88	35	bone	reptile	turtle	carapace
	H11	89	2	bone	unidentified	phalange	
	H11	92	53	bone	fish	vertebrae (6), spine, unid	
*	H11	93		bone	reptile	turtle	carapace
*	H11	96		bone	unidentified		
*	H11	100		bone	mammal	cut?	
*	H11	103	1	bone	mammal	tooth	
	H11	104	2	bone	small mammal	unidentified	
	H11	105	1	bone	unidentified	tooth	
*	H11	119	1	bone	unidentified	tooth	
	H11	222	1	bone	unidentified	tooth	
	H11	317	4	bone	unidentified	small	
	H11	324	159	bone	fish		
	H11	334	30	bone	fish	scales	
	H11	336	100	bone	fish, turtle, rodent		
	H11	338	1	bone	bird		
	H11	340	88	bone	medium and large mammal		
	H11	341	2	shell	drill or periwinkle		
	H11	342	1	shell	slipper		
	H11	343	4	shell	soft clam		
	H11	344	11	bone	reptile	turtle	
	H11	355	2	bone	unidentified	small	
	H11	380	6	bone	fish	vertebrae (4)	
	H11	381	17	bone	reptile	turtle	carapace
	H11	382	14	bone	fish, rodent	small bones, unid	
	H11	387	1	shell	whelk	frag	
	H11	388	4	shell	hard clam	1 MNI	
	H11	389	1	shell	oyster	1 MNI	
	H11	392	1	bone	reptile	turtle	carapace
	H11	392	1	bone	mammal	small rib	
	H11	392	3	bone	fish, turtle, mammal	fish spine; turtle carapace; mammal long bone	
	H11	395	23	bone	fish		
	H11	398	6	bone	fish	vertebra (1)	
	H11	401	5	shell	soft clam	1 MNI	
	H11	402	4	shell	oyster	1 MNI	
	H11	410	3	bone	fish, turtle		
*	H11	119A	6	bone	mammal	tooth and jaw	

	H11	119A	6	bone	unidentified	tooth and jaw	
*	H11	78B	1	mineral	graphite		
	H11	87-35	1	bone	unidentified		
	I9	17	15	bone	fish		

D.4. Faunal and Floral Catalog for Feature AII, Outside House

	Unit	item #	count	material	descrip	descrip 2	descrip 3
	F10	12	13	bone	mammal		
	F10	13	17	bone	reptile	turtle	carapace
	F10	14	2	shell	hard clam		
	F10	15	1	shell	whelk	columella	
	F10	20	16	bone	mammal		
*	F10	21		bone	reptile	turtle	carapace
	F10	22	6	bone	fish		
	F10	34	10	bone	reptile	turtle	carapace
*	F10	35	3	bone	unidentified		
	F12	7	1	bone	reptile	turtle	carapace
	F12	14	23	bone	reptile	turtle	carapace
	F12	15	8	bone	reptile	turtle	
	F12	15	4	bone	mammal	small	
	F12	16	2	bone	fish		
	F12	17	7	bone	fish		
	F12	23	1	bone	fish		
	G10	2	27	bone	mammal		
	G10	4	51	bone	fish	vertebra	
	G10	5	50	bone	fish	vertebra	
	G10	7	11	bone	fish	vertebra	
	G10	8	6	bone	turtle	carapace	
	G10	9	1	bone	unidentified		
	G10	21	1	bone	mammal	possibly deer	cut/worked
*	G10	22	1	bone	mammal	possibly deer	joint, butchered
*	G10	29	1	bone	unidentified		
	G10	32	4	bone	large mammal		butchered
*	G10	68	2	bone	reptile	turtle	
*	G10	85	1	shell	unidentified		
	G10	99	2	bone	mammal	calcined	
	G10	122	5	bone	small mammal?		
*	G10	123	1	bone	unidentified		
	G10	128	9	bone	fish		
	G10	129	15	bone	fish	vertebrae, scales	
*	G10	130	61	bone	unidentified		
*	G10	131	1	bone	unidentified		
	G10	132	1	shell	whelk		
	G10	144	50	bone	fish	vertebra	

	G10	145	1	bone	unidentified	small tooth	
	G10	146	18	bone	unidentified		
	G10	148	1	bone	mammal	pig?	cuspid
*	G10	149	1	bone	unidentified		
	G10	150	4	shell	hard clam		
	G10	151	1	shell	oyster		
	G10	152	1	shell	whelk		
	G10	153	1	shell	drill		
	G10	154	3	bone	mammal		
*	G10	155	1	bone	unidentified		
	G10	156	1	bone	mammal	pig?	cuspid
	G10	168	4	bone	mammal		
	G10	179	10	bone	fish	vertebra	
	G10	180	80	bone	fish	vertebra, scales	
*	G10	181	1	bone	unidentified		
*	G10	182	1	bone	unidentified		
	G10	183	2	bone	unidentified		
	G10	188	1	bone	mammal	humerus?	
	G10	189	11	bone	fish	vertebra	
	G10	190	32	bone	fish	vertebrae, scales	
*	G10	201	1	bone	unidentified		
	G10	202	4	shell	oyster		
	G10	203	1	bone	fish		
	G10	204	1	bone	fish	vertebra	
*	G10	212	1	bone	unidentified		
*	G10	213	1	bone	unidentified		
	G10	214	55	bone	reptile	turtle	carapace
*	G10	215	1	bone	unidentified		
	G10	216	40	bone	reptile	turtle	carapace
	G10	217	11	bone	reptile	turtle	carapace
	G10	24-1-2	1	bone	small mammal	rib	
*	G10	39-1	1	bone	unidentified		
*	G10	39-2	1	bone	unidentified		
*	G10	39-3	1	bone	unidentified		
*	G11	15	1	organic	plum pit	burned	
*	G11	16	1	shell	scallop		
*	G11	21	2	bone	reptile	turtle	carapace
*	G11	23	1	shell	mussel		
*	G11	27	1	shell	hard clam		
	G11	28	1	bone	unidentified		
	G11	29	1	bone	unidentified		
	G11	30	1	bone	unidentified		
	G11	31	1	bone	unidentified		

	G11	32	1	bone	unidentified		
	G11	33	1	bone	unidentified		
*	G11	34	1	bone	unidentified		
*	G11	35	1	bone	unidentified		
*	G11	36	1	bone	unidentified		
*	G11	37	1	bone	unidentified		
*	G11	39	1	bone	reptile	turtle	carapace
	G11	40	1	bone	bird?		
	G11	63	1	bone	unidentified		
*	G11	90	1	shell	conch		
	G11	98	1	bone	unidentified		
*	G11	124	2	bone	mammal	rib	
	G11	231	1	bone	unidentified	burned	
	G11	238	1	shell	hard clam		
	G11	260	2	bone	fish		
	G11	261	1	shell	snail		
	G11	262	5	bone	reptile	turtle	
	G11	265	8	bone	unidentified		
	G11	269	4	bone	unidentified	jaw/teeth	
	G11	270	29	bone	reptile	turtle	
	G11	272	22	bone	reptile	turtle	
	G11	272	138	bone	reptile	turtle	
	G11	273	4	bone	reptile	turtle	
	G11	273	150	bone	fish		
	G11	274	50	bone	fish		
	G11	274	13	bone	fish		
	G11	275	4	bone	fish		
	G11	276	101	bone	fish		
	G11	277	10	bone	bird?		
	G11	278	99	bone	fish		
	G11	279	1	shell	oyster	2 pieces	
	G11	280	3	shell	little snail?	drill? (SR)	
	G11	281	3	shell	boat?	limpet? (SR)	
	G11	282	1	shell	oyster		
	G11	298	110	bone	unidentified		
	G11	299	60	bone	unidentified		
	G11	301	2	bone	unidentified		
	G11	304	1	bone	unidentified	burned	
	G11	306	3	bone	unidentified	1 jaw w/teeth	
	G11	307	100	bone	unidentified		
	G11	308	19	bone	fish		
	G11	309	29	bone	reptile	turtle	
	G11	310	13	bone	unidentified		

	G11	315	5	bone	fish		
	G11	316	1	bone	reptile	turtle	
	G11	318	7	bone	unidentified		
	G11	319	3	bone	unidentified		
	G11	320	1	shell	scallop		
	G11	321	150	bone	fish		
	G11	322	45	bone	unidentified		
	G11	323	50	bone	reptile	turtle	
	G11	324	22	bone	fish?		
	G11	38-1	1	bone	unidentified		
*	G11	38-10	1	bone	unidentified		
	G11	38-4	1	bone	unidentified		
*	G11	38-5	1	bone	unidentified		
	G11	38-6	1	bone	unidentified		
	G11	38-7	1	bone	unidentified		
	G11	38-8	1	bone	unidentified		
	G11	38-9	1	bone	unidentified		
*	G11/H11	2		bone	unidentified		
	G12	5	1	bone	unidentified	cut	
	G12	11	1	shell or bone?	unidentified		
	G12	19	11	shell	unidentified		
*	G12	21	?	bone	unidentified		
	G14	2	1	shell	whelk	pad?	
	G14	3	1	bone	unidentified	calcined	
	G14	9	10	bone	reptile	turtle	carapace
	G14	10	1	bone	fish		
*	G14	16	?	bone	unidentified		
	G14	31	1	bone	mammal	cut/sawed	
	G14	32	1	bone	small mammal	cut/sawed	
	H12	16	1	bone	unidentified		
	H12	48	5	bone	reptile	turtle	
	H12	51	1	bone	unidentified		
	H12	56	27	bone	fish?		
	H12	57	56	bone	fish		
	H12	58	72	bone	reptile	turtle	
	H12	59	3	bone	bird?		
	H12	60	55	bone	unidentified		
	H12	61	2	bone	unidentified		
	H12	62	1	shell	hard clam		
	H12	63	1	shell	oyster		
	H12	65	1	shell	soft clam		
	H12	71	5	bone	reptile	turtle	

	H12	89	4	bone	unidentified		
	H12	90	9	bone	reptile	turtle	
	H12	92	18	bone	fish		
	H12	98	51	bone	fish		
	H12	99	25	bone	fish		
	H12	100	38	bone	reptile	turtle	
	H12	101	4	bone	bird?		
	H12	102	34	bone	reptile	turtle	
	H12	103	1	shell	oyster		
	H12	112	2	bone	unidentified		
	H12	116	4	bone	unidentified		
	H12	118	1	shell	hard clam		
	H12	119	1	bone	unidentified		
	H13	3	6	bone	reptile	turtle	
	H13	15	10	bone	reptile	turtle	
	H13	25	1	bone	mammal		
	H13	45	14	bone	fish	vertebra; 1 calcined vertebra	
	H13	46	8	bone	fish		
	H13	48	1	shell	hard clam		
	H13	49	2	bone	reptile	turtle	carapace
	H13	49	2	bone	mammal		
	I9	15	10	bone	reptile	turtle	
	I9	16	5	bone	unidentified		
	I9	17	15	bone	fish		
	I9	22	16	bone	mammal		
	I9	23	15	bone	reptile	turtle	carapace
	I9	24	16	bone	fish	some scales	
	I9	25	2	bone	unidentified	tooth	
	I9	27	3	shell	hard clam		
	I9	28	3	shell	whelk		
	I9	29	3	shell	unidentified		
	I9	41	1	bone	unidentified		
	I9	42	3	shell	unidentified		
	I9	43	1	bone	unidentified		
	I9	55	15	bone	reptile	turtle	carapace, bone
	I9	56	7	bone	mammal	medium-large	
	I9	57	17	bone	fish		
	I9	58	2	bone	fish		
	I9	66	32	bone	fish	scales, vertebrae	
	I9	67	23	bone	reptile	turtle	carapace
	I9	68	5	bone	unidentified		
	I9	69	3	bone	unidentified		
	I9	70	20	bone	mammal		

	I9	71	3	shell	oyster		
	I9	72	2	shell	unidentified		

Appendix E: Artifact, Faunal, and Floral Catalog for Feature AXXV

E.1. Artifact Catalog for Feature AXXV

	Unit	item #	count	material	description	descrip	descrip
*	DD5	1	1	metal	button	brass	
*	DD5	2	1	metal	button	brass	
*	DD5	3	2	ceramic	porcelain	top	
*	DD5	4	2	vulcanite	comb teeth		
*	DD5	5	1	vulcanite	comb frag		
*	DD5	6	1	vulcanite	comb frag		
*	DD5	7	1	vulcanite	comb frag		
*	DD5	8	1	vulcanite	comb frag		
*	DD5	9	1	vulcanite	comb frag		
*	DD5	10	1	unidentified	pen nib	"A.J.Fisher Col"	
	DD5	11	1	metal	shell cap	"UMC"	
*	DD5	12	1	ceramic	kaolin	pipe	stem frag
	DD5	13	1	metal	button		
	DD5	14	1	metal	utensil handle	copper	
*	DD5	15	1	vulcanite	comb frag		
	DD5	16	1	metal	shell cap	.22 caliber	
	DD5	17	1	ceramic	button	prosser	
	DD5	18	38	ceramic	refined earthenware	ironstone	
	DD5	19	12	ceramic	refined earthenware	ironstone	
	DD5	20	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	ironstone	
*	DD5	21	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	whiteware	blue lines
*	DD5	22	1	lithic	quartz	flaked stone	base of projectile point
*	DD5	23	1	lithic	quartz	flaked stone	projectile point
*	DD5	24	1	lithic	quartz	flaked stone	tip of projectile point
	DD5	25	1	metal	coupling		
	DD5	26	1	metal	shell cap	.22 caliber	
	DD5	27	1	mineral	coal		
*	DD5	28	1	glass	bead	black	large
	DD5	29	1	metal	unidentified	iron and copper	
*	DD5	30	1	ceramic	kaolin	pipe	bowl frag

	DD5	31	1	ceramic	button	prosser	
	DD5	32	1	metal	keyhole	copper	
	DD5	33	1	metal	shell cap	.22 caliber	
	DD5	34	1	rubber	button	black	
*	DD5	35	1	ceramic	button	prosser	
*	DD5	36	1	glass	bead		
	DD5	37	1	metal	shell cap		
*	DD5	38	1	metal	pellet		
*	DD5	39	1	metal	pellet		
*	DD5	40	1	ceramic	porcelain	tea cup	
*	DD5	41	1	ceramic	kaolin	pipe	stem frag
	DD5	42	1	ceramic	button	prosser	
*	DD5	43	1	ceramic	button	prosser	
*	DD5	44	1	metal	button		
*	DD5	45	1	vulcanite	comb tooth		
	DD5	46	2	metal	rivets	in leather	
*	DD5	47	1	glass	medicine bottle	unidentified	
*	DD5	48	1	vulcanite	comb frag		
*	DD5	49	1	rubber	button	black	
	DD5	50	1	metal	utensil handle		
	DD5	51	2	ceramic	porcelain		
	DD5	52	2	glass	bottle	clear	
	DD5	53	2	glass	bottle	aqua	
	DD5	54	5	metal	nail frag	square cut	
	DD5	55	13	metal	nail frag	unidentified	
	DD5	56	2	glass	window	aqua	
	DD5	57	22	metal	nail frag	square cut	
	DD5	58	2	glass	chimney	clear	
	DD5	59	8	glass	bottle	clear	
	DD5	60		glass	bottle	amber	
	DD5	61	1	glass	bottle	green	
	DD5	62	16	glass	bottle	aqua	embossed "D..S"
	DD5	63	1	rubber?	unidentified		
	DD5	64	2	metal	flat	stove pieces?	
	DD5	65	1	metal	nail frag	wire	brass?
	DD5	66	24	metal	unidentified		
	DD5	67	40	metal	unidentified		
	DD5	68	1	unidentified	button	patina or top layer of button (four holes)	
	DD5	69	1	glass	window	clear	
	DD5	70	1	glass	bottle	solarized	

	DD5	71	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	ironstone	
	DD5	72	5	ceramic	porcelain		
	DD5	73	4	metal	nail frag	square cut	
	DD5	74	1	metal	unidentified		
	DD5	75		metal	unidentified		
	EE5	1	1	metal	file		
*	EE5	2	1	metal	nail frag	square cut	
*	EE5	3	1	metal	unidentified	lead	
*	EE5	4	1	metal	nail frag	square cut	
	EE5	5	1	glass	wine bottle	dark green	v-shaped lip, string rim
	EE5	6	1	metal	unidentified	lead strip w/holes	
	EE5	7	1	metal	shot gun shell		
*	EE5	8	1	ceramic	button	prosser	
*	EE5	9	1	ceramic	kaolin	pipe	bowl frag
	EE5	10	1	metal	strip	copper	
	EE5	11	1	glass	medicine bottle	clear	patent lip, late 19th-early 20th C
*	EE5	12	1	ceramic	button	prosser	
*	EE5	13	1	ceramic	button	prosser	
	EE5	14	1	metal	shell casing	.22 caliber	
	EE5	15	8	metal	nail frag	square cut	
	EE5	16	1	metal	nail frag	wire	copper
	EE5	17	5	metal	nail frag	unidentified	
	EE5	18	1	glass	window	aqua	
	EE5	19	1	metal	nail	square cut	
	EE5	19	4	metal	nail frag	unidentified	
	EE5	20	1	metal	nail	square cut	
	EE5	21	14	metal	nail frag	unidentified	
*	EE5	22	1	metal	flat		
*	EE5	23	25	metal	unidentified		
	EE5	24	2	metal	nail frag	unidentified	
	EE5	25	18	metal	unidentified		
	EE5	26	2	metal	unidentified		
	EE5	27	3	glass	window	aqua	
	EE5	28	1	glass	bottle	brown	
	EE5	29	1	glass	bottle	clear	
	EE5	30	3	glass	bottle	clear	1 melted
	EE5	31	13	ceramic	refined earthenware	ironstone	
	EE5	32	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	unidentified	

*	EE5	33	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	whiteware	
	EE5	34	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	whiteware	blue transfer print
	EE5	35	10	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	chamber pot
	EE5	36	11	glass	window	aqua	
	EE5	36	1	glass	bottle	aqua	
	EE5	37	2	glass	bottle	amber	
	EE5	38	16	glass	bottle	clear	melted
	EE5	38	1	lithic	rose quartz	flaked stone	secondary flake
	EE5	39	11	glass	bottle	clear	
	EE5	40	8	glass	bottle	aqua	embossed letters
	EE5	41	75	metal	unidentified		
	EE5	42	11	glass	window	aqua	
	EE5	42	7	glass	window	clear	
	EE5	43	8	glass	bottle	clear	melted
	EE5	44	5	glass	bottle	clear	
*	EE5	45	25	metal	nail frag	square cut	
	EE5	46	5	metal	container frags		
	EE5	47	4	ceramic	refined earthenware	ironstone	
*	EE5	48	2	charcoal	charcoal		
	EE5	49	1	ceramic	kaolin	pipe	bowl frag
	EE5	50	1	metal	nail	wrought	copper or brass?
	EE5	51	1	metal	nail frag	wire	copper
	EE5	52	2	glass	tableware	clear	moulded
	EE5	53	1	lithic	rose quartz	flaked stone	block/shatter
	EE5	54	2	glass	bottle	aqua	melted
	EE5	55	1	metal	aglet	copper	
	EE5	56	36	glass	bottle	aqua	1 base
	EE5	57	22	glass	window	aqua	
*	EE5	58	1	glass	chimney	clear	
	EE5	59	1	glass	bottle	brown	
	EE5	60	1	glass	wine bottle	olive green	
	EE5	61	35	glass	curved	clear	7 melted
	EE5	62	10	glass	bottle	solarized	2 melted
	EE5	63	3	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	chamber pot
	EE5	64	3	ceramic	refined earthenware	ironstone	maker's mark "IMPERIAL IRONSTONE CHINA"

	EE5	65	46	ceramic	refined earthenware	ironstone	12 rim
	EE5	66	75	metal	nail frag	square cut	
	EE5	67	5	metal	unidentified		
	EE5	68	70	metal	unidentified		
	EE5	69	50	metal	nail frag	square cut	
	EE5	70	2	metal	nail frag	wrought	brass?
	EE5	71	90	metal	nail frag	square cut	
	EE5	72	12	metal	unidentified		
	EE5	73	2	metal	unidentified	lead	
	EE5	74	1	metal	strap		
	EE5	75	1	metal	lead shot		
	EE5	76	1	metal	bolt frag	head	
	EE5	77	3	metal	spike		
	EE5	78	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	whiteware	blue transfer print
	EE5	79	2	glass	window	aqua	
	EE5	80	3	glass	bottle	clear	melted
	EE5	81	8	metal	nail frag	square cut	
	EE5	82	4	metal	spike		
	EE5	83	1	metal	washer		
	FEAT URE	1	13	ceramic	stoneware	grey salt glazed, Albany slip int and ext	
	FEAT URE	2	1	ceramic	stoneware	grey salt glazed, Albany slip int and ext	
	FEAT URE	3	1	ceramic	stoneware	grey salt glazed, Albany slip int and ext	
	FEAT URE	4	12	ceramic	stoneware	grey salt glazed, Albany slip int and ext	
	FEAT URE	5	28	ceramic	stoneware	grey salt glazed, Albany slip int and ext	
	FEAT URE	6	109	ceramic	stoneware	grey salt glazed, Albany slip	
	FEAT URE	7	1	ceramic	stoneware	grey salt glazed, Albany slip	
	FEAT URE	8	6	ceramic	stoneware	grey salt glazed, Albany slip	
	FEAT URE	9	33	ceramic	stoneware	grey salt glazed, Albany slip	
	FEAT URE	10	1	ceramic	stoneware	buff-bodied, salt glazed	blue painted
	FEAT URE	11	9	ceramic	stoneware	buff-bodied, salt glazed	blue painted
	FEAT URE	12	5	ceramic	stoneware	buff-bodied, salt glazed	blue painted

FEAT URE	13	57	ceramic	stoneware	grey salt glazed, Albany slip	
FEAT URE	14	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	ironstone	base
FEAT URE	15	9	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	brown glaze
FEAT URE	16	8	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	brown glaze
FEAT URE	17	6	ceramic	stoneware	grey salt glazed, Albany slip	
FEAT URE	18	42	ceramic	stoneware	grey salt glazed, Albany slip	
FEAT URE	19	11	ceramic	stoneware	black glaze	
FEAT URE	20	26	ceramic	stoneware	grey salt glazed, Albany slip	
FEAT URE	21	5	ceramic	stoneware	buff-bodied	blue painted
FEAT URE	22	2	ceramic	stoneware	grey salt glazed, Albany slip	
FEAT URE	23	2	ceramic	stoneware	grey salt glazed, Albany slip	
FEAT URE	24	1	glass	bottle	solarized	
FEAT URE	25	1	glass	bottle	dark green	
FEAT URE	26	1	glass	bottle	brown	melted
FEAT URE	27	7	glass	bottle	aqua	1 melted
FEAT URE	28	1	ceramic	stoneware	grey salt glazed, Albany slip	
FEAT URE	29	1	glass	bottle	solarized	
FEAT URE	30	1	glass	bottle	aqua	"TO"
FEAT URE	31	2	glass	wine bottle	olive green	melted
FEAT URE	32	2	metal	flat	lead	
FEAT URE	33	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	green edge
FEAT URE	34	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	flow blue
FEAT URE	35	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue painted

	FEAT URE	36	7	ceramic	refined earthenware	ironstone	
	FEAT URE	37	3	ceramic	refined earthenware	ironstone	
	FEAT URE	38	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	ironstone	maker's mark "IRONSTONE CHINA...W. BAKER & CO", lion, crown, shield, unicorn
	FEAT URE	39	4	glass	bottle	brown	melted
	FEAT URE	40	14	glass	bottle	clear	11 melted
	FEAT URE	41	1	glass	liquor bottle	clear	embossed "MAGULLION STORE...TREM ONT MASS"
	FEAT URE	42	17	metal	strap	barrel?	
*	FEAT URE	43	1	glass	bottle	aqua	
	FEAT URE	44	2	glass	medicine bottle	aqua	neck and base
	FEAT URE	45	49	glass	bottle	aqua	37 melted
	FEAT URE	46	26	glass	wine bottle	olive green	1 neck and finish; 3 melted
	FEAT URE	47	26	glass	wine bottle	olive green	1 melted
	FEAT URE	49	10	ceramic	refined earthenware	ironstone	
	FEAT URE	50	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue transfer print
	FEAT URE	51	3	ceramic	refined earthenware	ironstone	rims, plate/platter
	FEAT URE	52	1	mineral	coal	big	
	FEAT URE	53	4	ceramic	brick		
	FEAT URE	54	14	metal	nail frag	square cut	
	FEAT URE	55	1	metal	rivet		
	FEAT URE	56	1	metal	coupling		

	FEAT URE	57	1	metal	door bell cover	copper alloy	
	FEAT URE	58	3	metal	flat		
	FEAT URE	59	1	metal	flat	3 holes	
	FEAT URE	60	1	metal	handle		
	FEAT URE	61	1	metal	cap		
	FEAT URE	62	1	metal	unidentified	triangular shape	
	FEAT URE	63	20	lithic	stone rubble		
	FEAT URE	64	2	ceramic	brick		
	FEAT URE	65	10	ceramic	stoneware	grey salt glazed, Albany slip	
	FEAT URE	66	15	ceramic	stoneware	grey salt glazed, Albany slip	bases
	FEAT URE	67	6	ceramic	stoneware	grey salt glazed, Albany slip	
	FEAT URE	68	4	ceramic	stoneware	grey salt glazed	
*	FEAT URE	69	3	ceramic	stoneware	grey salt glazed	blue painted
	FEAT URE	70	15	ceramic	stoneware	grey salt glazed	1 big jug finish, 1 jug finish and handle
	FEAT URE	71	44	ceramic	stoneware	grey salt glazed, Albany slip	
	FEAT URE	72	5	ceramic	stoneware	grey salt glazed, Albany slip	
	FEAT URE	73	6	ceramic	stoneware	grey salt glazed	blue painted
	FEAT URE	76	1	metal	door catch		
	FEAT URE	77	1	metal	knife blade		
	FEAT URE	78		wood			
*	FF5	1	1	metal	cannister shot		
	FF5	2	1	metal	spike	brass	
*	FF5	4	1	ceramic	kaolin	pipe	bowl and stem

*	FF5	5	1	metal	button		
*	FF5	6	1	metal	button		
*	FF5	7	1	ceramic	kaolin	pipe	stem frag
	FF5	8	1	metal	wire	handle	
*	FF5	9	1	ceramic	button	prosser	
	FF5	10	1	metal	drawing compass		
	FF5	11	1	metal	buckle		
*	FF5	12	1	metal	fish hook		
	FF5	13	1	metal	horseshoe		
	FF5	14	1	metal	aglet		
*	FF5	15	2	metal	eyelit and hook	missing	
*	FF5	16	1	ceramic	kaolin	pipe	stem frag
*	FF5	16	1	ceramic	kaolin	pipe	bowl frag
*	FF5	17	1	ceramic	kaolin	pipe	stem frag
	FF5	18	1	glass	wine bottle	olive green	
	FF5	19	1	glass	bottle	aqua	
	FF5	20	4	lithic	rose quartz	flaked stone	block/shatter
	FF5	21	1	glass	curved	clear	
	FF5	22	1	ceramic	whiteware		
	FF5	23	12	stone	fieldstone		
	FF5	24	5	metal	nail frags	square cut	
	FF5	25	12	metal	unidentified		
	FF5	26	1	lithic	rose quartz	flaked stone	primary flake
	FF5	26	1	lithic	rose quartz	flaked stone	secondary flake
	FF5	26	6	lithic	rose quartz	flaked stone	tertiary flake
	FF5	26	1	lithic	rose quartz	flaked stone	block/shatter
	FF5	27	3	glass	unid	melted	
	FF5	28	3	metal	nail frags	square cut	
	FF5	29	1	lithic	unidentified	flaked stone	secondary flake?
	FF5	30	7	charcoal	charcoal		
*	FF5	31	1	metal	unidentified	lead	
	FF5	32	1	metal	stove frag	cast iron	
	FF5	33	110	metal	unidentified		
	FF5	34	20	metal	nail frags	square cut	
	FF5	35	1	metal	rod		
	FF5	36	2	charcoal	charcoal		
	FF5	38	1	vulcanite	comb tooth	lice comb	
	FF5	39	2	paint chips			
	FF5	40	2	metal	caps	copper	
*	FF5	41	2	plastic	unidentified	white	
*	FF5	42	1	ceramic	kaolin	pipe	stem frag

	FF5	43	1	ceramic	kaolin	pipe	bowl frag
	FF5	44	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
	FF5	46	12	metal	pellets	lead?	
*	FF5	47	14	glass	bottle	clear	
	FF5	48	4	glass	bottle	aqua	
	FF5	49	19	glass	bottle	clear	10 melted
	FF5	50	10	metal	nail frags	square cut	
	FF5	51	10	metal	unidentified		
	FF5	52	1	metal	nail frag	square cut	brass
	FF5	53	7	glass	window	clear	
	FF5	54	3	glass	chimney	clear	
	FF5	55	2	glass	bottle	amber	
	FF5	56	1	glass	bottle	aqua	1 base
	FF5	57	1	glass	bottle	green	
	FF5	58	1	metal	nail	wire	brass
	FF5	59	9	metal	nail frag	square cut	
	FF5	60	1	metal	flat		
	FF5	61	18	metal	unidentified		
	FF5	62	1	metal	nail frag	square cut	brass
	FF5	62	1	metal	nail frag	wire	brass
	FF5	63	3	glass	chimney	clear	
	FF5	64	4	glass	bottle	aqua	
	FF5	65	16	glass	window	aqua	
	FF5	66	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	whiteware	blue spatter
	FF5	67	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	ironstone	
	FF5	68	20	metal	nail frags	square cut	
*	FF5	69	1	ceramic	kaolin	pipe	bowl frag
	FF5	70	1	glass	tumbler, tableware	clear	
	FF5	71	1	glass	bottle	aqua	melted
	FF5	72	6	glass	window	aqua	
	FF5	73	1	lithic	quartz	flaked stone	core frag
	FF5	74	1	metal	oval ring		
	FF5	75	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	clear glaze
*	FF5	76	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	FF5	77	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	whiteware	
*	FF5	78	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	ironstone	burned

	FF5	79	1	ceramic	stoneware	buff-bodied	black glaze
*	FF7	1	1	metal	strap		
	FF7	2	1	metal	file	triangular	
	FF7	3	1	glass	curved	melted	
	FF7	4	1	metal	strap	w/bolts	copper
*	FF7	5	1	ceramic	unidentified		
*	FF7	6	5	ceramic	refined earthenware	whiteware	
	FF7	7	1	metal	wire nail	hook	fishing?
	FF7	8	1	glass	bottle	green	
*	FF7	9	1	ceramic	unidentified		
*	FF7	10	1	wood	unidentified	burned	
*	FF7	11	1	metal	key		
*	FF7	12	1	metal	unidentified		
*	FF7	13	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	whiteware	
*	FF7	14	1	metal	strap	copper	
	FF7	15	5	glass	curved	clear	3 melted
	FF7	16	3	glass	bottle	aqua	melted
	FF7	17	5	glass	unidentified	clear	melted
	FF7	18	10	glass	unidentified	clear	melted
*	FF7	19	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	whiteware	
*	FF7	20	11	ceramic	refined earthenware	whiteware	
*	FF7	21	9	ceramic	refined earthenware	whiteware	
*	FF7	22	1	glass	unidentified	blue	
	FF7	23	1	mineral	coal		
	FF7	24	3	metal	strap	name plate?	brass
*	FF7	25	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	whiteware	
*	FF7	26	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	whiteware	
	FF7	27	1	glass	bead	very small; no hole	
	FF7	28	1	glass	bead		
	FF7	29	3	metal	strap	name plate?	brass
	FF7	30	1	metal	square nut and bolt		
*	FF7	31	1	metal	musket ball	.47 caliber	
*	FF7	32	1	glass	bead	blue	
	FF7	33	1	metal	cupling		
	FF7	34	1	metal	pin		
	FF7	35	1	metal	bottle opener		

	FF7	36	4	mineral	coal		
	FF8	1	7	lithic	quartz	flaked stone	block/shatter
*	FF8	2	1	metal	hardware	file	trangular
*	FF8	3	1	ceramic	kaolin	pipe	stem frag
*	FF8	4	1	lithic	unidentified	ground stone	
*	FF8	5	1	ceramic	kaolin	pipe	stem frag
	FF8	6	1	ceramic	button	grey porcelain	
*	FF8	7	1	ceramic	kaolin	pipe	bowl frag
	FF8	8	2	glass	medicine bottle		finish
*	FF8	9	1	metal	button		
	FF8	10	1	metal	shot	shell base	10 gauge
	FF8	11	1	metal	screw	brass	
	FF8	12	1	metal	auger		
	FF8	13	1	metal	spike		
	FF8	14	4	metal	unidentified		
	FF8	15	1	metal	nail frag	square cut	
	FF8	16	1	metal	rivet	copper	
	FF8	17	39	metal	nail frag	square cut	
	FF8	18	5	mortar		burned	
	FF8	19	6	mineral	coal/clinker		
	FF8	20	1	metal	gromet and leather	copper	"PAT FEB 1 1876", zigzag dec
	FF8	21	1	ceramic	porcelain		rim; 9cm, less than 5%
	FF8	22	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	FF8	23	19	ceramic	refined earthenware	ironstone	10 burned?
	FF8	24	4	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	mottled glaze
	FF8	25	2	glass	bottle	brown	melted
	FF8	26	1	glass	chimney	clear	
	FF8	27	2	glass	bottle	aqua	melted
	FF8	28	43	glass	bottle	clear	melted
	FF8	29	1	glass	medicine bottle	finish	
	FF8	30	27	glass	window	aqua	14 melted
	FF8	31	20	metal	unidentified		
	FF8	32	30	metal	nail frag	square cut	
	FF8	33	1	metal	grommet	copper	"PAT FEB 1 1876", zigzag dec
	FF8	34	2	mineral	coal/clinker		
	FF8	35	6	glass	bottle	aqua	melted

	FF8	36	17	glass	bottle	clear	melted
	FF8	37	1	glass	bottle	brown	
	FF8	38	1	glass	chimney	clear	
	FF8	39	10	glass	bottle	clear	
	FF8	40	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	blue edge
	FF8	41	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
	FF8	42	5	ceramic	refined earthenware	ironstone	
	FF8	43	1	ceramic	stoneware	salt-glazed	grey body, Albany slip
	GG5	1	2	glass	window	clear	
	GG5	2	1	glass	bottle	clear	melted
	GG5	3	1	glass	bottle	brown	
*	GG5	4	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	unidentified	
*	GG5	5	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	unidentified	
	GG5	6	1	ceramic	button	prosser	ca1840+ (Sprague 2002:111)
	GG5	7	1	metal	flat	lead	white paint?
	GG5	8	1	metal	flat	lead	
	GG5	9	4	mineral	coal		
*	GG5	10	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	unidentified	
	GG5	11	1	metal	nail frag	square cut	brass
	GG5	12	1	glass	curved	blue	
	GG5	13	1	glass	window	clear	
	GG5	14	3	metal	nail frag	square cut	
	GG5	15	1	metal	nail frag		
	GG5	16	7	metal	nail frag	square cut	
	GG5	17	5	metal	nail frag	square cut	
	GG5	18	6	charcoal	charcoal		
	GG5	19	1	metal	button	4 holes	
	GG5	20	5	metal	nail frag		
	GG5	21	7	metal	nail frag	unidentified	
*	GG5	22	1	glass	marble frag		
*	GG5	23	1	metal	cartridge	brass	
	GG5	24	2	metal	oil lamp fixture	brass?	
*	GG5	25	1	ceramic	kaolin	pipe	stem frag
	GG5	26	1	metal	casing	.22 shell casing	
*	GG5	27	1	vulcanite	comb	lice	

*	GG5	28	1	glass	bead	red	
	GG5	29	1	ceramic	button	prosser	ca1840+ (Sprague 2002:111)
*	GG5	30	1	metal	buckle	silver	
*	GG5	31	1	ceramic	porcelain	doll arm	
	GG5	32	1	glass	medicine bottle	aqua	finish, neck
*	GG5	33	1	glass	bead	green	
	GG5	34	1	bone	button		
*	GG5	35	1	glass	tableware	stopper	
	GG5	36	1	glass	tableware, stemware	clear	stem, cut
	GG5	37	1	ceramic	button	prosser	ca1840+ (Sprague 2002:111)
*	GG5	38	1	ceramic	button	prosser	ca1840+ (Sprague 2002:111)
*	GG5	39	1	ceramic	kaolin	pipe	stem frag
	GG5	40	1	glass	window	clear	
	GG5	40	1	glass	curved	clear	
	GG5	41	1	glass	tableware	clear	cut panel
	GG5	41	1	glass	curved	clear	
	GG5	42	2	glass	bottle	aqua	
	GG5	43	1	ceramic	earthenware		
	GG5	45	1	mineral	coal/clinker		
	GG5	46	3	metal	unidentified		
	GG5	47	1	metal	nail	square cut	
	GG5	48	1	metal	strap	curved	
	GG5	49	1	metal	nail	square cut	brass?
	GG5	50	3	metal	nail frag	square cut	
	GG5	51	7	metal	nail frag		
	GG5	52	2	glass	bottle	aqua	
	GG5	53	1	glass	bottle	aqua	
	GG5	53	1	glass	tableware, tumbler	clear	cut panel
	GG5	53	1	glass	curved	clear	
	GG5	54	1	glass	window	aqua	
	GG5	55	4	ceramic	refined earthenware	staffordshire-type slipware	
	GG5	56	3	glass	bottle	aqua	"...SOLD..."
	GG5	16A	3	metal	unidentified		
	GG5	17A	1	metal	spike frag		
	GG5	17B	1	metal	nail frag	wire	
	GG5	17C	8	metal	flat		
	GG8	1	1	glass	bottle	aqua	rounded finish

	GG8	2	10	glass	bottle	aqua	1 refit w/SE16-GG8-I-5-2
	GG8	3	2	glass	medicine bottle	aqua	patent lip and neck
*	GG8	4	1	glass	unidentified		
	GG8	5	9	glass	medicine bottle	aqua	1 refit w/SE16-GG8-II-2
	GG8	6	1	metal	buckle		
*	GG8	7	1	ceramic	porcelain	grey	
*	GG8	8	1	metal	shot shell		
*	GG8	9	1	ceramic	porcelain	grey	
	GG8	10	12	metal	nail frag	square cut	
	GG8	11	11	metal	unid		
	GG8	12	4	metal	container frags		
	GG8	13	1	metal	pulley		
	GG8	14	3	ceramic	brick	building material	
	GG8	15	1	ceramic	brick		
	GG8	16	3	glass	bottle	clear	melted
*	GG8	17	4	glass	window	clear	melted
	GG8	18	1	glass	bottle	green	
	GG8	19	1	glass	bottle	brown	melted
	GG8	20	5	ceramic	stoneware	glazed	gray body, dark brown glaze
	GG8	21	16	ceramic	refined earthenware	ironstone	
	GG8	22	51	glass	bottle	aqua	2 base, "BRO..."
	GG8	23	13	ceramic	refined earthenware	whiteware	9 burned
	GG8	24	6	ceramic	stoneware	salt-glazed	grey body, Albany slip
	GG8	25	1	glass	bottle	green	
	GG8	26	1	glass	bottle	solarized	
	GG8	27	14	glass	bottle	aqua	5 melted
	GG8	28	6	glass	window	aqua	
	GG8	29	1	glass	flat	clear	
	GG8	30	13	glass	bottle	clear	melted
	GG8	31	1	glass	bottle	brown	
	GG8	32	1	lithic	quartz	flaked stone	tertiary flake
	GG8	33	4	metal	nail frag	square cut	
	GG8	34	15	metal	nail frag	unidentified	
	GG8	35	1	metal	shot shell	brass	
	GG8	36	3	metal	unidentified		
	GG8	37	1	mineral	coal/clinker		

	GG8	38	5	ceramic	refined earthenware	ironstone	4 burned
	GG8	39	1	ceramic	stoneware	salt-glazed	grey body
	GG8	40	1	glass	bottle	green	
	GG8	41	3	glass	bottle	aqua	
	GG8	42	1	glass	bottle	clear	melted?
	GG8	43	1	glass	bottle	aqua	melted
	GG8	44	1	glass	bottle	brown	
	GG8	45	2	metal	bucket handle		
	GG8	46	3	metal	nail frag	square cut	
	GG8	47	7	metal	container frags		
	GG8	48	4	metal	container frags		
	GG8	49	1	ceramic	brick		
*	HH5	1	1	glass	medicine bottle	clear	
*	HH5	2	1	ceramic	button	prosser	
*	HH5	3	1	ceramic	stoneware	grey salt-glazed, Albany slip	
*	HH5	4	1	ceramic	stoneware	grey salt-glazed, Albany slip	
*	HH5	5	1	ceramic	stoneware	grey salt-glazed, Albany slip	
	HH5	6	1	glass	bottle	clear	
	HH5	7	1	glass	window	aqua	
*	HH5	8	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	whiteware	
*	HH5	9	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	whiteware	
*	HH5	10	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	whiteware	
*	HH5	11	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	whiteware	
*	HH5	12	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	whiteware	
*	HH5	13	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	whiteware	
*	HH5	14	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	whiteware	
*	HH5	15	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	whiteware	
*	HH5	16	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	whiteware	red transfer print
*	HH5	17	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	whiteware	red transfer print
	HH5	18	1	ceramic	refined	whiteware	dark pink painted

					earthenware		
	HH5	18	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	tin glazed	
	HH5	19	2	mineral	coal		
	HH5	20	6	metal	nail frag	unidentified	
	HH5	21	1	metal	shell casing		
	HH5	22	1	metal	loop/arch		
	HH5	23	1	metal	rivet	brass/copper alloy?	
	HH5	24	1	metal	drawer pull		
	HH5	26	2	charcoal	charcoal		
*	HH5	27	1	bone	button		
*	HH5	28	1	ceramic	button	prosser	
	HH5	29	1	metal	button	4 hole?	
	HH5	30	1	metal	button		
	HH5	31	1	metal	buckle	brass	
*	HH5	32	1	rubber	button	"goodyear"	
*	HH5	33	1	glass	tableware, tumbler	stopper	
	HH5	34	3	glass	medicine bottle	aqua	patent finish and neck; 1 body matches SE16-HH5-IA-41
*	HH5	35	1	ceramic	kaolin	pipe	stem frag
*	HH5	36	1	ceramic	button	prosser	
	HH5	37	1	metal	shell casing	10 gauge	
*	HH5	38	1	metal	utensil	2-tined fork	
	HH5	39	1	metal	token?	flying eagle and stars	
*	HH5	40	1	ceramic	kaolin	pipe	stem frag
	HH5	41	2	glass	medicine bottle	aqua	1 matches SE16-HH5-IA-34
	HH5	42	1	metal	shell casing	10 gauge shotgun shell base	
*	HH5	43	1	ceramic	button	prosser	
*	HH5	44	1	metal	utensil	knife frag	
*	HH5	45	1	mineral	slate		
	HH5	46	1	metal	band	copper	
	HH5	47	1	metal	button		
	HH5	48	1	metal	unidentified	copper, perforated	
*	HH5	49	1	metal	shot shell	.22 caliber	
	HH5	50	6	charcoal	charcoal	w/copper pieces	
	HH5	51	2	metal	nail frag	square cut	
	HH5	52	4	glass	bottle	aqua	
	HH5	53	1	metal	nail frag	unidentified	
	HH5	54	1	metal	unidentified	thin wire or straight pin?	
	HH5	55	1	ceramic	refined	whiteware	

					earthenware		
	HH5	56	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	yellowware	
	HH5	57	1	metal	nail frag		
	HH5	58	2	charcoal	charcoal		
	HH5	59	1	glass	window	aqua	
	HH5	60	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	yellowware	
	HH5	61	8	glass	tableware, tumbler	clear	1 rim
	HH5	62	3	glass	chimney	clear	
	HH5	63	7	glass	bottle	aqua	2 melted
	HH5	64	15	metal	nail frag	unidentified	
	HH5	65	1	metal	handle	bucket	
	HH5	66	1	metal	shot	lead	
	HH5	67	1	metal	utensil	fork tine (2)	
	HH5	68	39	metal	unidentified		
	HH5	69	1	metal	nail	square cut	brass?
	HH5	69	2	metal	nail	square cut	
	HH5	69	6	metal	nail frag	square cut	
	HH5	69	18	metal	nail frag		
	HH5	70	8	glass	bottle	brown	
	HH5	71	1	ceramic	brick		
	HH5	72	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	ironstone	
	HH5	73	1	glass	bottle	aqua	
	HH5	74	7	metal	sheet	copper	
	HH5	75	1	metal	washer	copper	
	HH5	76	6	glass	window	aqua	
	HH5	78	10	metal	unidentified		
	HH5	79	4	metal	nail frag	square cut	
	HH5	79	15	metal	nail frag	unidentified	
	HH5	80	1	metal	grommet	copper	
	HH5	81	1	metal	strap		
	HH5	82	2	metal	muntin?	lead	
	HH5	83	1	metal	flat	copper, square	
	HH5	84	2	glass	bottle	clear	
*	HH5	86	1	lithic	quartz	flaked stone	unidentified flake
	HH5	87	1	glass	bottle	olive green	
	HH5	88	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue sponge/spatter
	HH5	89	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	whiteware	blue transfer print
	HH5	90	2	ceramic	refined	yellowware	

					earthenware		
	HH5	91	4	ceramic	refined earthenware	whiteware	
	HH5	92	5	glass	window	aqua	
	HH5	93	3	glass	chimney	clear	
*	HH5	94	1	ceramic	kaolin	pipe	stem frag
	HH5	95	7	glass	bottle	aqua, 2 melted	
	HH5	96	4	glass	bottle	brown, 2 melted	
*	HH5	1A	1	glass	button	decorated	
	HH5	20A	2	metal	unidentified		
	HH6	1	1	glass	bottle	brown	
	HH6	2	1	glass	bottle	brown	melted
	HH6	3	1	glass	bottle	brown	melted
	HH6	4	1	glass	bottle	brown	
	HH6	5	1	glass	bottle	brown	melted
	HH6	5	1	glass	bottle	brown	finish, Perry Davis type
	HH6	6	1	glass	bottle	brown	melted
	HH6	7	1	glass	bottle	brown	melted
	HH6	8	1	glass	bottle	brown	
	HH6	9	1	glass	window	aqua	
	HH6	10	1	glass	window	aqua	
	HH6	11	1	glass	window	aqua	
	HH6	12	1	glass	window	aqua	
	HH6	13	1	glass	window	aqua	
	HH6	14	1	glass	window	aqua	
	HH6	15	1	glass	medicine bottle	solarized	
	HH6	16	1	glass	medicine bottle	solarized	
	HH6	17	1	glass	medicine bottle	solarized	
	HH6	18	1	glass	medicine bottle	solarized	
	HH6	19	1	glass	bottle	green	
	HH6	20	1	glass	bottle	olive green	
	HH6	21	1	glass	bottle	olive green	
	HH6	22	1	glass	bottle	olive green	
	HH6	23	1	glass	bottle	olive green	
	HH6	24	1	glass	bottle	olive green	
	HH6	25	1	glass	bottle	clear	melted
	HH6	26	1	glass	bottle	clear	melted
	HH6	27	1	glass	bottle	clear	melted
	HH6	28	1	glass	bottle	clear	melted

	HH6	29	1	glass	bottle	clear	melted
	HH6	30	1	glass	bottle	clear	melted
	HH6	31	1	glass	bottle	clear	melted
	HH6	32	1	glass	bottle	aqua	melted
	HH6	33	1	glass	bottle	aqua	
	HH6	34	1	glass	bottle	aqua	
	HH6	35	1	glass	bottle	aqua	melted
	HH6	36	1	glass	bottle	aqua	melted
	HH6	41	2	glass	window	aqua	
	HH6	41	28	glass	chimney	clear	
	HH6	41	1	glass	curved	clear	
	HH6	42	1	glass	bottle	clear	
	HH6	43	1	glass	bottle	clear	
	HH6	44	1	glass	bottle	clear	
	HH6	45	3	glass	bottle	clear	melted
	HH6	46	1	charcoal	charcoal		
	HH6	47	1	lithic	gneiss	ground stone	hammerstone or pestle; notched on one end
*	HH6	48	15	metal	nail frag	unidentified	
*	HH6	49	5	metal	nail frag	unidentified	
*	HH6	50		metal	nail frag	unidentified	
	HH6	51	1	metal	file	triangle	
	HH6	52	1	metal	buckle frag		
*	HH6	53	1	glass	bottle	amber	neck
	HH6	54	1	metal	harness ring		
*	HH6	55	1	metal	unidentified		
	HH6	56	1	metal	rivet w/leather		
*	HH6	57	20	metal	unidentified		
	HH6	58	5	metal	nail frag	unidentified	
	HH6	59	2	ceramic	porcelain		
	HH6	60	4	glass	case bottle	green	
	HH6	61	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	whiteware	1 rim
	HH6	62	3	glass	bottle	brown	
	HH6	63	4	glass	window	aqua	
*	HH6	64	1	ceramic	kaolin	pipe	bowl frag
	HH6	65	1	metal	wire		
	HH6	66	13	metal	container frags		
	HH6	67	1	metal	hook	fishing?	
	HH6	68	7	metal	container frags		

	HH6	69	2	metal	spike frag	square	
	HH6	70	2	metal	container frags		
	HH6	71	8	metal	nail frag	square cut	
	HH6	72	1	glass	window	aqua	
	HH6	73	13	metal	unidentified		
	HH6	74	1	metal	nail frag	unidentified	
	HH6	74	7	metal	unidentified		
	HH6	75	35	metal	nail frag	square cut	
	HH6	75	1	metal	unidentified		
	HH6	76	11	metal	strap		
	HH6	78	1	ceramic	kaolin	pipe	bowl frag
	HH6	80	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	unidentified	
	HH6	81	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	blue transfer print
	HH6	82	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware (dipped)	marble slip
	HH6	83	3	ceramic	refined earthenware	ironstone	
	HH6	84	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	whiteware	polychrome annular, blue and green
	HH6	85	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	jackfield-type	
	HH6	86	1	ceramic	stoneware	grey, salt-glazed ext, albany slip int	holloware
	HH6	87	1	ceramic	stoneware	buff-bodied, black glaze int	
	HH6	88	6	glass	bottle	green	
	HH6	89	11	glass	case bottle	green	
	HH6	90	12	glass	bottle	clear	2 melted
	HH6	91	10	glass	bottle	aqua	5 melted
	HH6	92	6	glass	chimney	clear	
	HH6	93	13	glass	window	aqua	
	HH6	94	4	glass	bottle	brown	
	HH6	95	4	glass	bottle	brown	melted
*	HH7	1	32	glass	window	unidentified	
*	HH7	2	4	glass	window	unidentified	
	HH7	3	1	glass	window	aqua	
*	HH7	4	1	glass	window	unidentified	
*	HH7	5	1	glass	window	unidentified	
*	HH7	6	1	ceramic	kaolin	pipe	bowl frag
*	HH7	7	2	glass	window	unidentified	

*	HH7	8	2	glass	window	unidentified	
*	HH7	9	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	unidentified	
*	HH7	10	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	unglazed
*	HH7	11	1	ceramic	kaolin	pipe	stem frag
*	HH7	12	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	unidentified	
*	HH7	13	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	whiteware	
*	HH7	14	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	whiteware	
	HH7	15	1	metal	cuff link		
	HH7	16	2	glass	medicine bottle	aqua	
	HH7	17	3	glass	bottle	aqua	
	HH7	18	1	glass	bottle	brown	melted
	HH7	19	6	glass	curved	clear	melted
	HH7	20	1	glass	window	aqua	
	HH7	21	1	glass	curved	aqua	
	HH7	23	7	wood	unid		burned
	HH7	24	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	whiteware	flow blue
	HH7	25	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	whiteware	
	HH7	26	1	glass	window	aqua	
	HH7	27	1	glass	window	aqua	melted
*	HH7	28	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	whiteware	blue transfer print
*	HH7	29	1	ceramic	stoneware	grey salt glazed, Albany slip	
	HH7	30	19	glass	window	aqua	
	HH7	30	5	glass	curved	clear	
	HH7	30	1	glass	curved	aqua	
	HH7	31	5	glass	bottle	aqua	melted
	HH7	32	2	glass	curved	clear	
	HH7	33	1	metal	shot gun shell	12 gauge	"U.M.C."
	HH7	34	1	glass	curved	clear	
	HH7	35	1	glass	bottle	green	
	HH7	36	1	glass	bottle	aqua	
	HH7	37	1	glass	bottle	aqua	melted
	HH7	38	7	glass	window	aqua	
	HH7	38	1	glass	curved	clear	
	HH7	39	10	glass	window	aqua	

	HH7	39	5	glass	curved	clear	
	HH7	40	2	ceramic	brick		
*	HH7	41	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	yellowware	
	HH7	42	1	glass	window	aqua	
	HH7	43	2	glass	bottle	clear	
	HH7	43	2	glass	curved	clear	melted
	HH7	43	1	glass	curved	aqua	melted
	HH7	44	1	glass	window	aqua	
	HH7	44	2	glass	curved	clear	
	HH7	45	2	ceramic	brick		
	HH7	46	2	ceramic	stoneware	grey bodied, brown glaze int and ext	
	HH7	47	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	whiteware	
	HH7	48	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	redware	black glaze
*	HH7	49	1	ceramic	stoneware	grey salt glazed	
*	HH7	50	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	whiteware	
	HH7	51	1	ceramic	stoneware	grey salt-glazed, Albany slip	
*	HH7	52	1	ceramic	stoneware	grey salt-glazed, Albany slip	
	HH7	53	3	ceramic	refined earthenware	whiteware	flow blue
*	HH7	54	1	ceramic	stoneware	grey salt glazed, Albany slip	
*	HH7	55	1	ceramic	stoneware	grey salt glazed, Albany slip	
	HH7	56	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
*	HH7	57	1	ceramic	stoneware	grey salt glazed	
	HH7	58	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	whiteware	
*	HH7	59	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	whiteware	
	HH7	60	4	charcoal	charcoal		
	HH7	61	3	metal	nail frag	square cut	
	HH7	61	8	metal	unidentified		
	HH7	62	8	metal	nail frag	square cut	
	HH7	62	23	metal	unidentified		
	HH7	62	1	metal	unidentified		
	HH7	63	13	metal	nail frag	unidentified	
	HH7	63	2	charcoal	charcoal		
	HH7	63	11	metal	unidentified		
	HH7	64	9	metal	nail frag	square cut	
	HH7	64	4	metal	nail frag	unidentified	
	HH7	65	1	metal	wire		

	HH7	66	1	metal	nail	square cut	
	HH7	67	3	metal	nail frag	square cut	
	HH7	67	25	metal	unidentified		
	HH7	68	1	metal	ring/large washer		
	HH7	69	12	charcoal	charcoal		
	HH7	70	12	metal	unidentified		
	HH7	71	1	metal	clip	brass	
	HH7	72	1	metal	shot gun shell base	10 gauge	
	HH7	73	1	metal	screw frag		
	HH7	74	1	metal	file	triangle	
*	HH7	76	1	metal	lead shot		
	HH7	77	1	metal	coathook	brass?	
	HH7	78	1	metal	shot gun shell base	10 gauge	
	HH7	79	1	metal	file	triangle	
*	HH7	80	1	metal	hoe		
	HH7	81	1	metal	barrel stave?		disintegrated
	HH7	82	1	rubber	threaded pipe or hose head		
	HH7	83	4	metal	nail frag	square cut	
	HH7	84	21	metal	container frags		
	HH7	84	6	metal	unidentified		
	HH7	85	2	glass	bottle	aqua	
	HH7	86	1	glass	window	aqua	
	HH7	87	1	glass	window	aqua	
	HH7	89	4	glass	bottle	green	1 melted
	HH7	90	1	glass	bottle	solarized	
*	HH7	91	1	glass	bottle	aqua	
*	HH7	92	6	glass	bottle	green	2 melted
	HH7	93	8	glass	bottle	aqua	melted
	HH7	94	3	glass	window	aqua	2 melted
	HH7	95	1	glass	chimney	clear	melted
	HH7	96	5	ceramic	refined earthenware	whiteware	burned
	HH7	97	1	ceramic	stoneware	grey salt-glazed, Albany slip	burned?
	HH7	98	1	mineral	coal		
	HH7	99	3	charcoal	charcoal		
	HH7	100	3	ceramic	brick		
	HH7	101	2	ceramic	refined	whiteware	

					earthenware		
	HH7	102	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	whiteware	
	HH7	103	3	metal	nail frag	square cut	
	HH7	103	6	metal	nail frag	unidentified	
	HH7	104	14	metal	nail frag	unidentified	
	HH7	104	21	metal	unidentified		
	HH7	105	5	glass	bottle	brown	melted
	HH7	106	2	glass	bottle	green	
	HH7	107	1	glass	window	clear	
	HH7	108	13	glass	bottle	aqua	
	HH7	109	2	glass	bottle	aqua	
	HH7	110	27	glass	medicine bottle	aqua	1 lip
	HH7	110	1	glass	chimney	clear	
*	HH7	111	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	unidentified	black glaze w/embossed dots
	HH7	112	36	glass	liquor bottle	green	melted
	HH7	113	4	glass	bottle	aqua	
	HH7	114	1	glass	bottle	green	
	HH7	115	6	glass	bottle	green	
	HH7	116	2	glass	bottle	brown	melted
	HH7	117	1	glass	chimney	clear	
	HH7	118	6	glass	bottle	clear	melted
	HH7	119	3	glass	bottle	aqua	
	HH7	120	1	metal	nail	forged, round head	
	HH7	121	8	metal	nail frag	square cut	
	HH7	122	70	metal	container frags		
	HH7	123	32	metal	unidentified		
	HH7	124	6	glass	liquor bottle	green	melted
	HH7	125	1	glass	window	aqua	
	HH7	126	6	ceramic	refined earthenware	ironstone	
	HH7	127	1	glass	bottle	aqua	melted
	HH7	128	1	glass	wine bottle	green	neck
	HH7	129	1	metal	spike		
	HH7	130	2	metal	unidentified		
	HH7	131	1	metal	shot gun shell	"LEY BROS LONDON"	
	HH7	132	1	glass	bottle	brown	melted
	HH7	133	2	glass	bottle	solarized	1 neck and lip, melted
	HH7	134	7	glass	wine bottle	green	turn-molded, 1 lip

HH7	135	4	glass	window	aqua	
HH7	135	10	glass	curved	aqua	melted
HH7	135	6	glass	curved	clear	1 melted
HH7	136	34	glass	bottle	aqua	22 melted
HH7	137	1	glass	bottle	aqua	1 lip w/metal wire closure (5 frags)
HH7	138	10	metal	nail frag	square cut	
HH7	139	1	metal	small link chain frag		
HH7	140	1	metal	bolt	bolt	
HH7	141	1	metal	wire		
HH7	142	18	metal	unidentified		
HH7	143	1	metal	thick wire	bucket handle?	
HH7	144	1	glass	window	aqua	burned
HH7	145	1	glass	window	aqua	melted
HH7	146	2	glass	chimney	clear	
HH7	147	1	glass	window	aqua	
HH7	147	1	glass	window	clear	
HH7	148	4	glass	window	aqua	
HH7	149	1	glass	window	aqua	melted
HH7	150	1	glass	chimney	clear	
HH7	151	1	glass	curved	aqua	melted
HH7	152	1	glass	curved	clear	melted
HH7	153	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	whiteware	blue transfer print
HH7	154	1	glass	bottle	green	
HH7	155	1	ceramic	porcelain	soft paste?	
HH7	156	1	mortar			
HH7	157	6	charcoal	charcoal		
HH7	159	4	ceramic	brick		
HH7	160	5	charcoal	charcoal		
HH7	161	1	glass	window	aqua	melted
HH7	162	5	glass	bottle	aqua	melted
HH7	163	13	glass	bottle	aqua	melted
HH7	164	13	metal	unidentified		
HH7	165	1	metal	nail frag	square cut	
HH7	165	1	metal	rivet	brass	
HH7	166	1	metal	rod	part of fireplace crane?	
HH7	168	3	ceramic	stoneware	grey salt-glazed, Albany slip	burned?
HH7	169	2	ceramic	stoneware	grey salt-glazed, Albany slip (black)	
HH7	170	4	ceramic	refined earthenware	whiteware	

HH7	171	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	whiteware	
HH7	171	1	ceramic	stoneware	white, salt-glazed	rim (teacup or small bowl)
HH7	172	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	whiteware	burned
HH7	173	7	ceramic	refined earthenware	whiteware	flow blue
HH7	174	1	mortar			
HH7	175	12	glass	chimney	clear	
HH7	176	15	glass	curved	clear	melted
HH7	177	13	glass	window	aqua	2 melted
HH7	179	1	ceramic	stoneware	buff-bodied, black slip int and ext	rim, holloware
HH7	180	1	metal	bottle closure		
HH7	181	1	glass	bottle	brown	
HH7	182	14	glass	bottle	brown	1 lip/finish, 12 melted
HH7	183	8	glass	bottle	green	6 melted
HH7	184	85	glass	bottle	aqua	2 finish; 1 "THIS..."; 49 melted
HH7	185	33	glass	bottle	green	11 burned/melted
HH7	186	1	ceramic	stoneware	grey salt-glazed, Albany slip	burned?
HH7	187	1	metal	loop		
HH7	188	1	metal	wire	hook?	
HH7	189	2	metal	nail	square cut	
HH7	189	65	metal	nail frag	square cut	
HH7	190	1	metal	tack	forged, round head	brass
HH7	191	41	metal	nail frag	unidentified	
HH7	191	15	metal	container frags	can frag?	
HH7	191	24	metal	unidentified		
HH7	193	4	ceramic	brick		
HH7	194	4	charcoal	charcoal		
HH7	196	45	metal	nail frag	square cut	
HH7	197	8	metal	flat		
HH7	198	46	metal	unidentified		
HH7	199	1	metal	unidentified	lead	
HH7	200	1	metal	nail frag	unidentified	

HH7	201	1	metal	wire		
HH7	202	1	metal	unidentified		
HH7	203	1	metal	screw		
HH7	204	8	ceramic	refined earthenware	pearlware	flow blue
HH7	205	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
HH7	206	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	whiteware	blue transfer print
HH7	207	8	ceramic	stoneware	buff-bodied, brown slip int and ext	
HH7	208	4	ceramic	stoneware	grey salt-glazed, Albany slip	
HH7	209	2	ceramic	stoneware	grey salt glazed	burned
HH7	210	4	glass	chimney	clear	
HH7	211	2	glass	bottle	brown	
HH7	212	1	glass	bottle	greenish-brown	burned/melted?
HH7	213	11	glass	window	aqua	
HH7	214	7	glass	case bottle	olive green	
HH7	215	1	glass	bottle	aqua	burned/melted
HH7	216	2	glass	bottle	green	
HH7	217	32	glass	bottle	aqua	20 burned/melted
HH7	218	16	metal	unidentified		
HH7	220	7	metal	nail frag	square cut	
HH7	221	1	metal	wire	bucket handle?	
HH7	222	1	metal	wedge	doorstop?	
HH7	223	1	ceramic	porcelain		rim, teacup or bowl
HH7	224	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	whiteware	blue transfer print
HH7	225	2	ceramic	stoneware	grey salt-glazed, Albany slip	
HH7	226	2	ceramic	stoneware	grey salt-glazed, Albany slip	1 base
HH7	227	1	ceramic	stoneware	brown slip, int and ext	
HH7	228	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	whiteware	burned
HH7	229	2	ceramic	refined earthenware	whiteware	2 rim
HH7	229	3	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware	
HH7	230	1	ceramic	refined earthenware	creamware (dipped)	marble slip
HH7	231	4	glass	window	aqua	
HH7	232	5	glass	liquor bottle	green	4 burned/melted, 1

							finish
	HH7	233	1	glass	bottle	brown	
	HH7	234	8	glass	bottle	aqua	4 burned/melted
	HH7	235	6	glass	bottle	clear	burned/melted
	HH7	236	11	glass	bottle	aqua	6 burned/melted
*	HH7	64B	1	metal	tack	furniture	
*	HH7	64B	1	metal	flat		
	HH8	1	2	glass	wine bottle	green	
	HH8	2	2	glass	bottle	green	
	HH8	3	2	glass	medicine bottle	aqua	
	HH8	4	1	glass	curved	clear	
	HH8	5	2	glass	window	aqua	
	HH8	6	1	ceramic	stoneware		burned
	HH8	7	1	metal	nail frag	unidentified	
	HH8	8	16	metal	unidentified		
	HH8	9	1	metal	lead shot	cannister	
	HH8	92	6	glass	bottle	aqua	3 melted

E.2. Faunal and Floral Catalog for Feature AXXV

Unit	item #	count	material	descrip	descrip 2	descrip 3
FEATURE	48	2	organic	nuts		
FEATURE	74	57	bone	bird		
FEATURE	74	4	bone	bird	anseriforms	
FEATURE	74	67	bone	fish	scales and vertebra	salt water?
FEATURE	74	50	bone	mammal		
FEATURE	74	5	bone	mammal?	small	
FEATURE	75	1	shell	jingle		
FF5	37	1	shell	hard clam		
GG5	44	1	organic	pit	peach	
HH5	25	1	bone	mammal	tooth	artiodactyla
HH5	77	1	shell	hard clam		
HH5	85	1	bone	unidentified		
HH6	77	1	bone	mammal	tooth	artiodactyla
HH6	79	1	shell	hard clam		
HH7	75	3	organic	seed		
HH7	88	1	shell	hard clam		
HH7	158	3	organic	nut		burned
HH7	167	1	shell	whelk	columnella	
HH7	178	1	bone	mammal	tooth	artiodactyla
HH7	192	4	shell	hard clam		
HH7	195	1	bone	unidentified		charred
HH7	219	1	bone	mammal		

Appendix F: Archival Data for People of Color in the Town of East Hampton

F.1. Account Books

The following table includes data from account and day books that are on file at the East Hampton Library Long Island Collection. The following table includes the names of Native American, African American, and mixed-heritage who are listed as consumers and/or laborers in each of the account books. The names in bold type are Montaukett individuals whose homes were probably in Montauk.

Year	Account Book	People of color who have accounts	People of color on accounts for whites	Notes
1753-1792	Daniel Hedges	Coffe Coffe Jack Negro	Negro Cof (Dr. Nat Gardiner) Negro Petro (Dr. Nat Gardiner) Negro Levi (Noah Barnes) Negro Cato (Levi Barnes)	Sale and mending of shoes
1756-1786	Thomas Hedges	Sam Dick John Ficto/Freto Gorg Faro Elisha Faro Sam Harry Mil Ned		
1760	Abraham Talmadge	Josef Faro Samson Cuffee		
1762-1822	John Parsons	Isaac Plato Samson Cuffee		Shoes
1799-1801	John Lyon Gardiner	Ben Martin Amos John Cuff Isaac Plato Caleb Cuff Aaron Cuff Dence Sampson Plato Rufus Nance John Joe John James Stephen Pharoah George Pharoah		
1801-1806	John Lyon Gardiner	Amos Cuff Amos Cuff		

		Benjamin Jack Ben Pharaoh Caleb Cuff Cyrus Cato Dence George Pharaoh Isaac Plato Jr Isaac Cuff Isaac Plato Isaac James John Cuff John Joe John Joe Jr Noah Cato Luce Martin Nance Plato Prince Phillip Rufus Robert James Noah Rufus Samson Steven Pharaoh Stephen Jackson Sylv Rufus Silas Joe Warren Cuff		
1799-1850	David Sherrill	Great Cato Gardiner Isaac Wright Little Cato Nancy Wright Lisa Qaa Luce Lela King Dence Ben Cato Conkling Lino Dominy Sally Cuff Martin Plato Sylvanus Wright Julia Nezer Luce Island		carpenter; accounts with many EH whites, including John Lyon Gardiner; accounts of general labor, carpentry and weaving; construction of house in 1808;

		Mulatto Ben's girls Cato Miller John Cesar Cato Barns Bill Gardiner		accounts with people of color listed in back of book
1811-1813	Gardiner and Parsons	Georg Pharaoh Stephen Coles and son	Talkhouse (Abraham Gardiner) Virgil (Jonathan S. Conkling) Sylvester Rufus (Jonathan S. Conkling) Cato (Jonathan S. Conkling) Sue Field (Jonathan S. Conkling) Isaac Rufus (Isaac V. Scoy) Sylv Rufus (Isaac V. Scoy) Cato (Hunting Miller) Girl (Nathaniel Hand) Steve Jack (Nathaniel Hand) Black boy Stephen (Abraham Schellinger)	
1824-1861, 1843-1845	Nathaniel Hand	Capt Platos Nancy Wright John Jo/seph Martin Plato Jonathan Talkhouse Stephen Talkhouse Sara Hannibal William Fowler Elisha Pharaoh Sylvester Pharaoh John and Abigail Cuffee		
1828	Isaac Van Scoy	Cyrus Depth Hellen Jack Ruth Coles Stephen Coles Charles Cuffee daughter Abby Cuffee		

		William Gardiner Paga/Peggy Margaret Dorence/Dence Basha Dina Scipio Schellinger Pomp Hildah Plato Cato Gardiner Cato Cipio Peter Hand Nathaniel Jack Bradford Zipra Gardiner Ruth Depth Hannah Steve Cato Miller Jeptha Depth (wife) Martin Plato Hannah Disby Grate Cato Hannah Silas John Sataukhouse Peter Depth Abraham Jack Molly Gam Dorence Hannibal Miriam Depth Walter Fowler Olive Joe Ephraim Phario (Capt) Isaac Platoe Prince		
1830-1837	Unnamed (probably Gardiner)	Prince Buell John Joe Bill Gardner Cyrus Mulford John Warren Sabina Jason Coles John Cuffee Abraham Jack Zipporah Phillis James Ovid Charles Plato		

		Simcon Jude Baker Dinah Ruth Samuel Butler Dep Mulford Shem Mulford Miriam Rachel Joe Olive Joe		
1831	Isaac Van Scoy	Silas Cole John Joseph Jr Thomas Cuffee Caleb Cuffee Eliphalet Cuffee John Cuffee Richard Arch John Hannable Simeon Jabez Sampson Cuffee		whaling
1832	Isaac Van Scoy accounts	Lewis S. Quaw John Cuffe Martin Plato Isaac Plato Simeon Jabez John Cillis Jason Coles Jason Cuffe Samuel Pharo Marvin Peters Peter Gabriel Richard Arch Silas Coles Thomas Cuffe		
1835	Isaac Van Scoy	Brad Levi Marven Peters Thomas Cuff Richard Arch George Pharo Peter Gabriel Catoe Sippeo Catoe Miller Phil Depp Phidell Depp Bradford Simson		

		Abraham Jack Peter Hand Jude Samuel Pharoah Phidell White Peter Quaw Lucy Dep Mary Cuffe Charles Dep Scipio Schellinger Peter Depth William Gardiner Olive Joe Robert Butler Basha Pharoah Silas Coles Sienna Betsey Platoe Ruth Bowers Charles Plato Abraham Jack Jun Nathaniel Jack		
1840-1845	John D. Gardiner	Frank Joseph Henry Cuffee John Joseph		whaling
1877	Capt James Post ledger	William Fowler		to 1 ½ cords wood \$4,50

F.2. Census Data

F.2.a. Census totals for the Town of East Hampton, 1790-1840.

Year	Free people of color in free households of color	Free people of color in white households	Slaves	Total population of Town of East Hampton
1790		99	99	1497
1800	100	12	66	1456
1810	81	41	26	1484
1820	109	22	21	2599
1830	79	67	0	1674
1840	121	57	0	2076

F.2.b. Free black/mixed-heritage households in the Town of East Hampton, 1800.

HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD	OCCUPANTS
Cuffee Cuffee	5
Philip	2
Ben:Jack	8
Isaac Plato	7
Edward	8
Plato	5
Rufus	6
Prince	2
Sirus	4
Quough	3
Judas	2
Abraham Cuffee	6
Caleb Cuffee	6
Virgil	3
Jane	5
Sampson Cuffee	9
Salle Peters	4
Harvey [?]	2
Amos Cuffee	6
Binah	4
Jane Domine	3
TOTAL	100

F.2.c. Slaveholders in the Census for East Hampton Town, 1800.

WHITE HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD	FREE PEOPLE OF COLOR	SLAVES
Hunting Miller		4
Jeremiah Miller		5
Elisha Mumpford		5
Marcy Mumpford		1
Mary Buell		2
Isaac Wickham		2
William Hunting		1
Josiah Mumpford		1
Nathaniel Gardner	2	2
Mary Isaac		1
Isaac Isaacs		1
John Dayton		1
Rhebecca Miller		5
Stephen Stratton		1
Rachel Mulford		2
Daniel Hedges		2
Archibald Gracie		1
Seth Barnes		6
Jeremiah Osborn		2
William Risum		3
Zephiniah Hedges		2
Elisha Conkline		1
David Conkline		1
John Lyon Gardner	1	4
Samuel Dayton		1
Nathaniel Hand		2
Saml Mulford		2
John Parsons		2
Elnathan Parson		1
David Miller		1
TOTAL	3	66

F.2.d. Free Heads of Household and Associated Household Size on 1810-1840 Federal Census Rolls in the Orders That They Were Recorded

1810	1820	1830	1840
Cuffee Cuffee (4)	Francis Hamilton (4)	Simeon Prince (1)	Phillis (1)
Saml Solomon (3)	Thomas Hamilton (4)	Mary Jordon (2)	Peter Quaw (5)
Joseph Kellis (3)	Tamos Tucker (2)	Lucy Crook (3)	John Cuffee (4)
Silas Cuffe (3)	Saml Solomon (2)	Thomas Tucker (2)	Ruth Dep (2)
Marven Parker (5)	Peg Hedges (3)	Lewis Cuffee (6)	Cato Cipio (2)
Philip (3)	Cuffee Cuffee (6)	Phillip Pease (2)	Jude Peterson (2)
Caleb Cuffee (5)	Amos Cuff (2)	Peter Quaw (9)	Silas Coles (6)
Abm Cuffee (3)	Peter Dep (5)	Rachel Joe (1)	Shem Gardiner (3)
Loritte Marthe (1)	Isaac Cuffee (3)	Mark Miller (2)	Levy Stores (1)
Martin Plato (7)	Isaac Plato (5)	Levi Store (2)	John Hannibal (2)
Isaac Plato (7)	Mster Miller (3)	Wm Gardiner (14)	Peggy Margaret (6)
Mercy Wickham (2)	Stephen Coles (3)	Nancy Wright (2)	Clatura Coles (13)
Benj Jack (7)	Bill Gardiner (7)	Caroline Thompson (4)	Cipio Schellinger (1)
John Joe (7)	Luce Gardiner (4)	Eliza Simenson (2)	Dep Mulford (4)
Rufus Wright (5)	Dence Jack (5)	Scipio Schellinger (3)	Syrus Dep (1)
Amos Cuff (4)	Silvenus Right (2)	Berth Sherly Cesar (2)	Tobias Green (2)
Cyrus Hedges (4)	Caroline Dominy (2)	Peter Hand (3)	Peter Hand (4)
Luce Gardiner (3)	Dep (4)	Dinah Barnes (8)	Fidelle White (2)
Steve Miller (5)	Peter Dep (4)	Cato Scipio (2)	Jason Mapes (1)
	Isaac Right (7)	Martin Plato (4)	John Joe (5)
	Luther Right (3)	Isaac Plato (5)	Prince Levy (2)
	Cato Scipio (2)		William Gardiner (3)
	Scipio (3)		Jason Cuff (2)
	Cyrus Dep (3)		Henry Michael (5)
	Cato Barnes (6)		Henry Davis (3)
	Sally Cuffee (5)		Cato Gardiner (1)
	Peter Gabriel (4)		Rachel Joe (1)
	Cato Gardiner (2)		Charles McHenry (4)
	Fine Dominy (4)		Lewis Cuffee (6)
			Noah Williams (7)
			David Hempstead (4)
			Fina Stores (4)
			Lucy Crook (3)
			Margaret Tooker (3)
			Charles Plato (3)
			Frank Youngs (3)

F.3. Native American, African American, and Mixed-Heritage Marriages

The marriages presented in the following table have been identified in the East Hampton Town Records and in East Hampton newspapers.

Date	Partner	From	Partner	From	Source
1832 (Sept 14)	James Snook		Maria Edwards		Presbyterian Church, EH
1833 (July)	Prince Rub		Fanny Butler		Presbyterian Church, EH
1834 (July 10)	Silvester Faroe	Montauk	Maria Jacobs		Presbyterian Church, EH
1834 (Oct 2)	Samuel Cuffe		Mary Plato		Presbyterian Church, EH
1837 (May 21)	Shem [Gardiner]	Freetown	Hellen		Presbyterian Church, EH
1839	Mr. George Pharaoh	[Montauk?]	Miss Eliza Horton		Presbyterian Church, EH
1839 (Dec 15)	John Hanibal	Freetown	Dinah		Presbyterian Church, EH
1842	Mr. John Brown		Mrs. Julia Cuffy		Presbyterian Church, EH
1842 (Sept)	Mr. Wm Fowler		Miss Eliza Cuffy		Presbyterian Church, EH
1843 (Aug 27)	Mr. John Jupiter		Miss Francis Cuffe		Presbyterian Church, EH
1844 (Jan)	Phidell	[Freetown?]	Lucy Depp	Freetown	Presbyterian Church, EH
1856 (May 28)	Abm Pharaoh	Freetown	Catherine Jack	Freetown	Presbyterian Church, EH
1858	Jonathan Hannibal		Sarah Cuffee		Federal Census
1859 (Nov 30)	Henry Davis	Springs	Frances R. Cuffee	Sag Harbor	Presbyterian Church, EH
1861 (March 18)	Sylvester Pharaoh	Montauk	Jerusha Pharaoh	Montauk	Presbyterian Church, EH at Amagansett
1863	David Pharaoh	[Montauk]	Maria Fowler	[Montauk]	
1867 (Jan 18)	Benjamin Coles	[Freetown]	Hanna Farrow	[Montauk]	<i>Republican Watchman</i>
1867 (Jan 18)	Robert Montgomery	[Freetown]	Mary Quaw	[East Hampton]	<i>Republican Watchman</i> (Annual Record)

1868	Samuel Butler	[Freetown?]	Olive Fowler	[Montauk?]	Federal Census
1868	George Fowler		Sarah Courtland		Federal Census
??1870	John Dickenson		Amelia Butler		Federal Census
1870	Louis Cuffee		Lucy		Federal Census
1875 (Dec 2)	George Pharaoh	Montauk	Lucy White	Freetown	Presbyterian Church, EH
1878	Silas Cuffee	Water Mill	Mrs. Alma Robinson	Richmond	<i>Long Island Traveler</i>
1880 (Jan 2)	Edmund Johnson	Richmond, VA	Hannah E. Joseph	East Hampton	Presbyterian Church, EH
1880 (July 17)	Charles Fowler	Montauk	Sarah Mills	East Hampton	<i>Republican Watchman</i>
1881	Isaac Hannibal	[Freetown]	Mary		Federal Census
1885	John Horton	[Freetown]	Julia Montgomery	[Freetown]	<i>Republican Watchman</i>

F.4. Death Records with East Hampton Town

The following table includes death records for Native American, African American, and mixed-heritage people that were recorded in the *Records of the Town of East-Hampton, Long Island, Suffolk Co., N. Y., - with Other - Ancient Documents of Historic Value, Volume II, IV, & V*, listed as “An account of Deaths in East-Hampton, since my coming thither, which was in September, 1696, kept by Nathl. Huntting.”

DATE	NAME/IDENTIFIER
6 Mar 1770	Col. Gardiners Negro man
Feb 1771	Indian Woman at Elle Brook
12 Mar 1771	Lucia, Negro woman
31 Mar 1771	Capt. Mulfords Negro woman
31 Mar 1771	Capt. Bakers Negro woman
3 July 1771	William Hedges Indian girl
3 July 1771	Aaron Isaacs Servt. child
Aug 1771	Judah, Indian
Aug 1771	Chi[sic] of Judah, Indian
Aug 1771	Mr. Millers, Servt. Man
13 Oct 1771	Martha, Indian
13 Oct 1771	Also Indian child
6 Nov 1771	Col. Gardiners Indian girl
5 Jan 1772	An Indian child
11 Feb 1772	A Servt. child of Colonol Gardiners
1 May 1772	A servt. a child Jeremiah Osborn
2 Nov 1772	Deacon Osborns Indian servt
18 Jan 1773	Peter, My negro man (Natnl Huntting?)
6 April 1773	Abigail, Capt. Mulfords negro woman
5 May 1773	Jene, Negro child
29 May 1773	Desiah, Noah Barneses negro child
7 June 1773	Chi of Pege Quarterses
April 1774	A servt. man Jon Persons
April 1774	A Servt. child of the Widow Bakers
30 Oct 1774	Elisabeth Peter
14 Nov 1774	Col. Gardiners Servt. woman
1 Dec 1774	Sevt. Boy of Widow Bakers
28 Jan 1775	Sevt. of Recom Sheiels Judah
7 Mar 1775	Paul, My Negro child (Nathl Huntting?)
22 Aug 1775	Jeremiah Daytons Negro child
18 Sept 1775	An Indian child of Moll Quarters
18 Sept 1775	One Peg Quarters
23 Sept 1775	A negro man of St. Hedges
5 Oct 1775	John Persons Negro child
12 Oct 1775	J. Persons Negro child

1 April 1776	Dau of Peter Quarters
27 Jan 1776	A Servt. child of Noah Barneses
April 1777	A Servant girl of the Widow Osborn
Oct 1778	Negro child Servt. of Samuel Mulford
20 Nov 1778	A Servt. child of Capt. Mulfords
20 Nov 1778	A Servt. child of Deacon Osborns
3 Feb 1779	Doctr. Hutcheson Servt. boy
5 Feb 1779	Stephen Hedges Servt. child
15 April 1779	Widow Hedges Negro man
Dec 1779	Martha Right
24 Nov 1780	Peter Quarters
16 July 1781	Jer. Daytons Negro child
8 Feb 1782	Col. Gardiners Negro man
June 1782	Matt. Mulfords Servt.
4 Feb 1783	Harre negro man
15 June 1783	A Servt. child Capt. Fithens
Oct 1783	A servt. child of Danl. Hedges
5 Nov 1783	A Servt. child of Abraham Gardiner
May 1784	Mary, Servt. Jerimiah Miller
6 Feb 1786	Jas., A Servt. man of Dd. Millers
7 May 1786	A servant child of Jeremh Osborns
Aug 1786	Servant woman Deacon Osborns
12 Oct 1786	A Servt. child of William Huntings
Aug 1784	A Servant man of Jeremiah Osborns
1 May 1785	A servant child of Widow Bakers
April 1787	Jon. Catoo, Servt. of David Mulfords
June 1787	Henry Daytons Servt. man
15 Aug 1788	Philis, A servt. woman
Sept 1788	Thomas, A Free Negro man
April 1790	Chi of Isaac Platos
17 April 1790	Daniel Hedges Negro child
24 Aug 1790	Major Mulfords Negro man
14 Oct 1791	Salle Peters, An Indian child
8 May 1792	Philis, Noah Barns Servt
May 1792	Cuff, Mrs. Gardiners Servt
Aug 1792	Servt. Girl of Jeremiah Dayton
Aug 1792	Servt. Boy of Ebenezer Hedges
Nov 1792	A Servt child of Father Millers
Feb 1797	Oliver, An Indian
1802	Binah, A black woman
1820	Charles, Servant of Thomas Edwards
1820	Samuel, A coloured boy
1820	Chi of Isaac Rufus
1820	Chi of Isaac Plato's
11 Dec 1821	Ovid, Formerly servant of Huntting Miller

17 Dec 1821	Mary Cuffee
Jan 1824	Marybe, A colored girl
Mar 1824	Jupiter, A colored boy
Mar 1824	Hannah Wright, Age 99 years and 8 months, A Native of Montauk
July 1824	Polly Cato
Aug 1824	Cato, A colored man
Aug 1824	Sylvanus Rufus, A colored man
5 Nov 1824	Fanny, A colored girl
17 Feb 1826	Dinah, Age 94 years, A colored woman
Nov 1826	Violet, A coloured woman
Dec 1826	Hannah, A coloured girl
July 1827	Mary, A colored girl
June 1828	Isaac Cuff
Oct 1828	Abraham, A coloured boy
30 Jan 1829	Pomp, A coloured man
19 July 1829	Ephraim, An Indian on Montauk
July 1830	Abram Faroe, An Indian
23 Aug 1831	Hetty, An Indian
5 July 1832	Colored woman
26 July 1832	Colored child
29 Oct 1832	Colored child
2 Feb 1833	Isaac Plato
8 June 1833	Cato
Aug 1833	Colored woman
7 Oct 1833	Colored child
Dec 1833	Colored child
Dec 1833	Lucy, Colored woman
Jan 1834	Colored child
9 Jan 1834	Martin Plato
14 Feb 1834	Sarah, Coloured girl
16 April 1834	Colored child, Freetown
Oct 1834	Dinah Barns, Freetown
Dec 1834	Coloured child at Mr. Van Scoy's
7 Mar 1835	Colored child, Freetown
May 1835	Jason, A colored man
May 1835	George, Indian
May 1835	Colloured Child at Freetown
Nov 1835	Mark, Coloured man, Springs
Jan 1836	Jubiter, Coloured man
12 May 1836	Nancy, Coloured woman
Aug 1836	Cloured child, F. town
10 April 1837	Sally Titus, Blackwoman
19 April 1837	Peter Depp, Blackman
10 May 1837	Harry, Collored man

29 Oct 1837	John Plato, A man of collar
June 1838	Nathan Plato, Colored man
2 Jan 1839	Sarah, Age 1, Coloured woman
Feb 1839	Age 9, Two colored children, at Freetown
27 Nov 1839	Two Indians at the point, who were burned to death
Feb 1840	Harry, Age 6, A colored youth of 18 years
1 Aug 1840	William Gordinor, Age 17, A colored man
Oct 1839	Levi, Age 29, A colored man; Pegs husband
Feb 1841	Sirus, A colored man
Sept 1842	Chi of Lucy Dept, Colored child
Jan 1842	Rachel Hand, A colored woman
Mar 1842	Chi of Shem and Hellen, Colored people
Sept 1843	Stephen, A colored man
1 Oct 1843	Sukey, Colored woman
1 Oct 1843	Cato Miller, A colored man
Mar 1844	Ruth, An Indian woman
Mar 1844	Rebecca, A colored woman
May 1844	A colored woman on Gardiners Island

DATE	NAME/IDENTIFIER
Dec A.D. 1845	Joseph, Age 24, Indian man
May A.D. 1845	Chi of Levi Stowes, Colored, Age 7
Sept A.D. 1845	Chi of Silus, A blackman, Age 17
June 1846	A colored man
Sept 1846	Peter, Negro man at North West
13 Dec 1846	A colored woman at the Springs
28 June 1847	Harriet Butler, Col'd; childbed
8 July 1847	Scipio, Age 100, Col'd
15 Sept 1847	Catherine Pharaoh, Age 7 years, Col'd; Dysentery
13 Dec 1847	Age 10, A colored boy at John Daytons. Lockjaw
22 Dec 1850	Bathsheba Hand, Unknown Old Age
20 July 1851	Sarah Hannibal, Consumption
28 Aug 1851	Mary Talkhouse, Consumption
27 Oct 1851	Abraham Jack, Intemperance
9 Oct 1852	Jonathan Talkhouse, (Indian); Drowned
1 May 1853 (1853?)	Jason Cuffee, Dropsy
23 Nov 1853 (1853?)	Caroline Joe, (col'd); Consumption
1 July 1854	Julia Quaw, Age 72 yrs, Palsy, sudden
Nov 1854	John Cuffee, Dry mortification in feet
30 Jan 1855	Jason, Col'd; dyspepsia
25 Feb 1855	Mrs. Phebe Plato, Col'd; old age
15 Aug 1855	Mrs. Dinah Buell Jack, Age 52 yrs, Col'd; consumption
20 Nov 1855	Elizabeth Wright, Col'd; consumption
14 Feb 1856	Sallie Mitchell, 46, Col'd; consumption
Aug 1856	Wm. Henry Wright, 8 yrs, Col'd; consumption

18 April 1858	Josephine, Age 17, Indian; consumption
20 July 1858	John Norton, Age 2, Col'd
Nov 1858	Turah, Col'd; consumption
11 July 1859	Emily Davis, 55, Col'd; heart disease
9 May 1860	Ruth, Col'd; intemperance and palsey
30 July 1869	Minerva, Col'd; intemperance
1 Sept 1860	Fanny, Age 16, Col'd; after confinement
20 July 1860	Silus, Age 40 about, Col'd; apoplexy
10 Aug 1861	Arabella Pharaoh, Age 18 (about), Indian; disease of the heart
4 Sept 1861	Abigail Cuffee, Age 76 about, Indian; consumption
9 Dec 1862	Silas Coles, Age 55 years, Col'd
1 April 1864	Olive Cuffee, Col'd; heart disease, suddenly
26 Sept 1864	Frances Wright, Age 22 yrs, Ind.; heart disease
27 Sept 1864	Elizabeth Davis, Age 14 yrs, Col'd; diphtheria
1 Dec 1864	Phebe Davis, Age 4 yrs, Col'd
10 Dec 1864	Vincent Joseph, Col'd; result of overlifting
3 Jan 1865	Caroline Emily Davis, Age 8 yrs, Col'd; result of fall on ice
15 Aug 1865	Harriet, Age about 17 yrs, Col'd; consumption
17 Oct 1866	Nathaniel Jack, Age about 65, Col'd; supposed apoplexy
30 Jan 1868	Philena Dep, Col.
26 Aug 1868	Peter Quaw, Age 80, N.W. Col.; old age
21 Aug 1868	John Davis, Age 16, Spi. Col.; injuries by the fall off a horse
12 Sept 1869	Naomi Pharaoh, Age 16 yrs, Consumption
30 April 1870	Binah Joseph, Age 72, Old age
1 May 1870	Hannah Coles, Age 92, Old age
8 July 1870	Mrs. Phillis Dysbury, Age 88, Old age
8 Aug 1872	Isaac Wright, Age 56, Col'd; consumption
26 Jan 1874	Mr. John Joe, Age 81, Col'd; old age
25 April 1874	Mrs. Hannah A. Coles, Age 28, Col'd; consumption
3 Jan 1875	Mr. Stephen White, Col'd; rupture of bowels
2 Jun 1875	Mr. Leuiston, Age 76, Col'ed; apoplexy
26 Nov 1875	Hannah Pharaoh, Age 3 ½, Meningitis
28 Nov 1875	David Pharaoh, Age 1 ½, Meningitis
23 Dec 1875	Simon Butler, Age 2 ½, Congestion of brain
29 Dec 1876	John Grant, Age 45, Col'd cook; drowned, Circassian
29 Dec 1876	Horatio Webster, Age 45, Col'd; drowned, Circassian
3 May 1877	David L. Pharaoh, Age 11 mos, Consumption
17 Jan 1878	George Pharaoh, Age 63,
19 June 1878	Hannah A. Coles, Age 6, Hip disease
18 July 1878	David Pharaoh, Age 40, Consumption
11 Nov 1878	Isaac W. Joseph, Age 1
17 Feb 1879	Kitty Maria Coles, Age 9, Congestion of lungs
30 Aug 1879	Stephen Pharaoh, Age 58, Consumption
7 oct 1879	Mary J. Coles, Age 11, Consumption
28 Nov 1879	John Horton, Age 61, Found dead, drunken Spree

28 Aug 1880	Wm. P. Fowler, Age 61, (Indian?)
22 Jan 1881	David Sniverly, Age 62, Col'd; heart disease

F.5. Indian Rights Listed in the Fattening Fields Books, 1850-1879

The following table includes the names of Montaukett individuals who collected field shares, and the total number of shares received. The Fattening Fields Books are on file at the East Hampton Library Long Island Collection and the Brooklyn Historical Society.

Year	Indian rights listed	Totals
1879	Indian rights as per Agreement with the Trustees	
	William Fowler	8
	Stephen Pharaoh	8
	Maria Pharaoh	9
1877	Indian rights as per Agreement with the Trustees 1877	
	David L. Phareo	25
	William Fowler	14
	Stephen Phareo	11
1876	Indian rights as per Agreement with the Trustees 1876	
	David L. Phareo	22
	Stephen Phareo	11
	William Fowler	12
	Aurelia Phareo	5
1875	In rights as per agreement with the Trustees 1875	
	David L. Phareo	17
	Stephen Phareo	9
	William Fowler	10
	George Phareo	8
	Aurelia Phareo	5
	Jerusha Phareo	1
1874	Indian rights as per agreement with the Trustees 1874	
	David L. Pharo	17
	Stephen Pharo	9
	William Fowler	10
	George Phareo	8
	Aurelia Phareo	5
	Jerusha Phareo	1
1873	Indian rights as per agreement with the Trustees	
	David L. Pharo	16
	Stephen Phareo	9
	William Fowler	9
	George Phareo	9
	Aurelia Phareo	4
	Jerusha Phareo	3
1872	Indian rights as per agreement with the Trustees	
	David L Phareo	16
	Stephen Phareo	9

	William Fowler	9
	George Phareo	9
	Aurelia Phareo	4
	Jerusha Phareo	3
1871	no list of Indian rights	
1870	Indian rights as per agreement June 1st 1870	
	Sylvester Phareo widow	19
	Elisha Phareo	16
	William Fowler	8
	Stephen Phareo	3
	David S. Phareo	4
1869	Indian rights through the whole land	
	Sylvester Phareo	19
	Elisha Phareo	16
	William Fowler	8
	Stephen Phareo	3
	David Phareo	4
1868	Indian rights through the whole land	
	Sylvester Phareo	19
	Elisha Phareo	16
	William Fowler	8
	Stephen Phareo	4
	David L. Phareo	3
1867	Indian rights through the whole land	
	Sylvester Phareo	19
	Elisha Phareo	16
	William Fowler	7
	Stephen Phareo	5
	David Phareo	3
1866	Indian rights through the whole land	
	Sylvester Phareo	20
	Elisha Phareo	16
	William Fowler	8
	Stephen Phareo	5
	David Phareo	1
1865	Indian rights through the whole land	
	Sylvester Phareo	19
	Elisha Phareo	17
	William Folwer	8
	Stephen Phareo	5
	David Phareo	1
1864	Indian rights through the whole land	
	Sylvester Phareo	20
	Elisha Phareo	17
	William Fowler	8

	Stephen Pharao	5
1863	Indian rights through the whole land	
	Sylvester Pharao	20
	Elisha Pharao	17
	William Fowler	8
	Stephen Pharao	5
1862	Indian rights to the whole land	
	Sylvester Pharao	22
	Elisha Pharao	15
	William Fowler	8
	Stpehen Pharao	5
1861	Indian rights to the whole land	
	Sylvester Pharao	22
	Elisha Pharao	15
	William Fowler	8
	Stephen Pharao	5
1860	Indian rights through th whole land	
	Sylvester Pharao	22
	Elisha Pharao	15
	William Fowler	8
	Stephen Pharao	5
1859	Indian rights through the whole land	
	Sylvester Pharao	23
	Elisha Pharao	15
	William Fowler	8
	Stephen Pharao	4
1858	Indian right through whole land	
	Silvester Phareo	20
	Elisha Phareo	13
	Aurelia Phareo	6
	William Fowler	9
	Stephen Phareo	2
1857	Indian rights	
	Sylvester Pharaoh	18
	Samuel Pharaoh hrs	12
	Elish Pharaoh	11
	William Fowler	8
	Stephen Pharaoh	1
1856	Indian rights	
	Sylvester Pharao	18
	Samuel Pharao	12
	Elisha Pharao	11
	William Fowler	8
	Stephen Pharao	1
1855	Indian rights	

	Sylvester Phareo	18?
	Samuel Phareo	11?
	Elisha Phareo	7?
	Stephen Phareo	1
	(Charity xed out) General	1
1853	Indian and Keepers privileges	
	Patrick Gould keeper	18?
	Sydney H. Stratton	10?
	other Indian rt improvd by Aaron Fithian	41?
1851	no list for Indian rights	
1850	Indian rights are filled as followed	
	P J Gould (not Indian- cattle keeper)	2
	Sam Buck (Indian? cattle keeper?)	8
	Jona Talkhouse	1

F.6. Montaukett Whalers

Date	Name	Ship name	Ship type	Rank	Port	destination	Residence	Source
?	Jeremiah Pharaoh				Nantucket		Montauk	Bits from the book of Jeremiah Pharaoh, <i>Sag Harbor Express</i>
1827	Isaac Wright or Rufus	Thames			Sag Harbor	Patagonia		Crews of the old Sag Harbor Whalers; Starbuck 1878
1828	Silvester Pharaoh	Thames			Sag Harbor	Patagonia		Crews of the old Sag Harbor Whalers; Starbuck 1878
1828	George Pharaoh	Henry	ship		Sag Harbor	Brazil		Dering crew list; Starbuck 1878:268-9
1829	George Pharaoh	Henry	ship		Sag Harbor	Brazil		Dering crew list; Starbuck 1878:274-5
1830	George Pharaoh	Henry	ship		Sag Harbor	Brazil		Dering crew list; Starbuck 1878:280-1
1831	George Pharaoh	Henry	ship		Sag Harbor	South Atlantic		Dering crew list; Starbuck 1878:286-7
1837	Samuel Pharaoh	Camillus	ship		Sag Harbor	South Atlantic		Dering crew list; drowned?; Starbuck 1878:340-1
1842	Joshua Pharaoh	Hamilton	ship		Sag Harbor	South seas		Dering crew list; Starbuck 1878:396-7
1844	George Pharaoh	Sabine/Sabina	ship		Sag Harbor	Northwest coast		Dering crew list; Starbuck 1878:420-421
1846	Abraham Pharaoh	America	brig		New Bedford or Mattapoisett, MA	Atlantic		New Bedford crew list; Starbuck 1878: 436-47

1846	Isaac Farrow	Inga	brig	ordinary	New Bedford or Warcham, MA	Atlantic		New Bedford crew list; Starbuck 1878:440-1
1848	Joseph Pharoah	Noble	bark		Sag Harbor	South Atlantic		Dering crew list; Starbuck 1878:460-1
1856	Eleazeer Pharoah	Sunbeam	bark	First mate and boatsteerer	New Bedford	Ind. and Pacific		New Bedford crew list; Starbuck 1878:538-9
1856	Ebenezer Pharoah	Sunbeam	bark		New Bedford	Ind. and Pacific		New Bedford crew list; Starbuck 1878:538-9
1860	Ebenezer Pharo	Scotland	ship		New Bedford	Pacific Island		New Bedford crew list; Starbuck 1878:576-77
1860	Stephen Talkhouse Pharaoh	Susan	schooner	Boatsteerer	Sag Harbor	Atlantic		Zaykowski; Starbuck 1878:580-1
1861	Ebenezer Pharoah	Washington	bark		New Bedford	Ind. and Pacific		New Bedford crew list; Starbuck 1878:582-3
1883	John Pharo	Franklin	schooner		New Bedford	Atlantic	Brava	New Bedford crew list; Hegarty 1959:
1883	Samuel E. Pharo	Swallow	bark		New Bedford	North Pacific	Montauk	New Bedford crew list; Hegarty 1959: 15
1887	Samuel Pharo	A. R. Tucker	bark		New Bedford	Atlantic	East Hampton	New Bedford crew list; Hegarty 1959: 21
1888	Samuel E. Pharo	Gayhead II	bark		New Bedford	Atlantic	East Hampton	New Bedford crew list; Hegarty 1959: 23
1892	Samuel E. Pharo	Navarch	bark	Third mate	New Bedford	North Pacific; converted to Arctic	New Bedford	New Bedford crew list; Hegarty 1959:

						whaling and sailed out of San Francisco		

F.7. Whaling Ships with Native and African American Crew

Year	Ship	Port	Native American and African American crew	Source
1807	Atlanta	New London	Cyrus Fowler	New London crew list
1807	Antelope	New London	Josiah Fowler	New London crew list
1809	Hope	New London	Josiah Fowler	New London crew list
1813	Wealthy	New London	Josiah Fowler	New London crew list
1816	Dove	New London	Jonathan Cojock	New London crew list
1822	Merchant	New London	Samuel Fisk	New London crew list
1824	Betsey Dole	New London	Robert Criffy	New London crew list
1826	Thames	Sag Harbor	Samuel Walkus (shipkeeper), Amaziah Cuffee (cook), James Arch, William Prime, Abraham Jack, Jerry Butler, Jason Cuffee, Aphy Cuffee, John Brush, Joseph Wright	Whaling Scrapbook, John Jermain library
1827	Thames	Sag Harbor	Jason Cuffee, Wm Prime, Isaac Cuffee, Isaac Wright or Rufus, Samuel Walkus, Simeon Jabez, Tobias Coles	Whaling Scrapbook, John Jermain library
1828	Henry	Sag Harbor	Jeptha Depp, George Pharaoh	Dering crew list
1828	Thames	Sag Harbor	James Arch, Jason Cuffee, Pink, Peter Gabriel, Simeon Jabez, John	Whaling Scrapbook, John Jermain Library

			Warren, James Cuffee, Henry Killis, Silvester Pharoah, Amaziah Cuffee (cook)	
1829	Henry	Sag Harbor	Douglas Cato, Dep Mulford, George Pharaoh	Dering crew list
1829	Manchester Packet	New London	George Miller	New London crew list
1829	Thames	Sag Harbor	Jason Cuffee, James Cuffee, Peter Coles	Whaling Scrapbook, John Jermain library
1829	Wabash	New London	Charles Bennit	New London crew list
1830	Francis	New London	Eliphalet Cuffee	New London crew list
1830	Acasta	New London	Benjamin Tillotson	New London crew list
1830	Henry	Sag Harbor	George Pharaoh	Dering crew list
1830	Nimrod	Sag Harbor	Silas Cole	Dering crew list
1831	Franklin	Sag Harbor	David Bunn, Samuel Wright	Dering crew list
1831	Henry	Sag Harbor	James Cuffee, Jason Cuffee, John Cuffee (cook), George Pharaoh	Dering crew list
1831	Nimrod	Sag Harbor	Silas Coles	Dering crew list
1832	Ann Maria	New London	Jeremiah Cuffee	New London crew list
1832	Boston	New London	Limson Jabez	New London crew list
1832	Henry	Sag Harbor	Lewis Cuffee	Dering crew list
1833	Nimrod	Sag Harbor	Abraham Deck (Jack?)	Dering crew list
1833	Thomas Williams	New London	Jeremiah Coffin, Ismael Cuffee	New London crew list
1834	Henry	Sag Harbor	Charles Dep	Dering crew list
1834	Nimrod	Sag Harbor	Benjn Ceasar (steward), William Simpson	Dering crew list
1835	Henry	Sag Harbor	Charles Dep	Dering crew list
1836	Camillus	Sag Harbor	Thoms Cuffee	Dering crew list
1836	Nimrod	Sag Harbor	Benjn Ceasar	

			Jun, Lewis Cuffee	
1836	Hamilton	Sag Harbor	Isaac Hannibal	Dering crew list
1837	Camillus	Sag Harbor	Samuel Pharoah (drowned)	Dering crew list
1837	Franklin	Sag Harbor	John Joseph (tailor)	Dering crew list
1838	Camillus	Sag Harbor	Abraham Cuffee	Dering crew list
1838	Candace	New London	Lewis Dep	New London crew list
1838	Nimrod	Sag Harbor	Silas Coles, Nathaniel Jack	Dering crew list
1839	Franklin	Sag Harbor	Caleb Cuffee, Jeremiah Cuffee	Dering crew list
1839	Columbus	New London	Joseph John	New London crew list
1840		Sag Harbor	John Joseph	John D. Gardiner Sag Harbor whaling ledger
1840	Camillus	Sag Harbor	James Cuffee (drowned?)	Dering crew list
1840	Nimrod	Sag Harbor	Wickham Cuffee, Wm F. Cuffee, George Fowler (?)	Dering crew list
1840	Stonington	New London	Louis Doss	New London crew list
1840	Superior	New London	William Faro	New London crew list
1841	Camillus	Sag Harbor	Andrew Cuffee (drowned?)	Dering crew list
1841	Nimrod	Sag Harbor	Wickham Cuffee, Caton Joseph	Dering crew list
1841	William C. Nye	New London	Jeremiah M. Hedges	New London crew list
1842	Charles Phelps	New London	William Coles	New London crew list
1842	Hamilton	Sag Harbor	Abraham Cuffees, Joshua Pharaoh	Dering crew list
1842	Jason	New London	William Faro	New London crew list
1843	Helen	Sag Harbor	Henry Disbury	Dering crew list
1843	Nimrod	Sag Harbor	James Arch, Thomas Coles	Dering crew list

1844	Barbara	Sag Harbor	Seth Butler, Benjn Ceasar (cook)	Dering crew list
1844	Iris	New London	Absalom Cuffee	New London crew list
1844	Italy	Sag Harbor	Nathl Bunn, Abm Cuffee, Isaac Hannibal	Dering crew list
1844	Nimrod	Sag Harbor	James Arch (steward), Thomas Coles	Dering crew list
1844	Sabina	Sag Harbor	Abraham Jack, Isaac Wright George Pharaoh	Dering crew list
1845			Jonathan Fowler	Probate for estate of Hannah Dep (Appendix F).
1845	Hamilton	Sag Harbor	Nathl Jack	Dering crew list
1846	America	New Bedford	Abraham Pharaoh	New Bedford crew list
1846	Inga	New Bedford	Isaac Farrow	New Bedford crew list
1846	Nimrod	Sag Harbor	Charles Cuffee	Dering crew list
1846	Noble	Sag Harbor	James Arch (steward)	Dering crew list
1844	Hudson	Sag Harbor	Isaac Plato	Probate of Estate of Isaac Plato
1845	Tuscany	Sag Harbor	Silas B. Plato	Probate of Estate of Isaac Plato
1847	Chares Carroll	New London	William E. Russell	New London crew list
1847	Sabina	Sag Harbor	Silas Cuffee (steward)	Dering crew list
1848	Hamilton	Sag Harbor	Silas Cuffee	Dering crew list
1848	Noble	Sag Harbor	Abraham Jack, Joseph Pharaoh	Dering crew list
1848	Palladium	New London	Lafayette Harper	New London crew list
1849	Clement	New London	Nathaniel Arch	New London crew list
1850	Merrimack	New London	N. J. Bennitt	New London
1850	W. T. Wheaton	New London	George Cuffee	New London crew list
1851	Benjamin Morgan	New London	James L. Cuffe	New London crew list
1851	Dover	New London	William Bernell	New London

				crew list
1852	Pearl	New London	Archibald Arch	New London crew list
1853	Nimrod	Sag Harbor	Nelson Bunn, James L. Cuffee (steward), Paul Cuffee, Caton Joseph, Frank Joseph	Dering crew list
1855	Alexander	New Bedford	Edward Arch	New Bedford crew list
1855	James	New Bedford	Edward Arch	New Bedford crew list
1856	Restless	New London	Benjamin Jack	New London crew list
1856	Sunbeam	New Bedford	Eleazer Pharaoh, Ebenezer Pharaoh	New Bedford crew list
1857	Montezuma	New London	Absalom Cuffer	New London crew list
1859	Mary Gardiner	Sag Harbor	Lusher Cuffee	Dering crew list
1860	Scotland	New Bedford	Ebenezer Pharaoh	New Bedford crew list
1860	Susan		Stephen "Talkhouse" Pharaoh	
1861	Washington	New Bedford	Ebenezer Pharaoh	New Bedford crew list
1862	Eagle	New Bedford	Silas B. Plato	New Bedford crew list
1883	Franklin	New Bedford	John Pharo	New Bedford crew list
1883	Swallow	New Bedford	Samuel E. Pharaoh	New Bedford crew list
1884	Alert	Port Jefferson	William Pharaoh	
1885	Observer	Port Jefferson	William Pharaoh	
1887	A. R. Tucker	New Bedford	Samuel Pharaoh	New Bedford crew list
1888	Gayhead II	New Bedford	Samuel E. Pharaoh	New Bedford crew list
1892	Navarch	New Bedford	Samuel E. Pharaoh	New Bedford crew list

F.8. Toponymy

The following table provides toponymic clues to reading the cultural landscape. Some of the names for these locations correspond with Native and African American people who have been identified elsewhere in this dissertation. This information is reprinted from *Historic and Cultural Features of the Town of East Hampton, New York* by Thomas M. Thorsen, Norton W. Daniels, Carleton Kelsey. May 7, 1976.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Description</i>
Ashawagh	Located between the forks of Hand's Creek. Site of an Indian Camp. An Indian name meaning "a place between", or "on the forks".
Cornfield Point	Located on the east side of Great Pond, northwest of the Captain's Marina
Deep Hollow	A field south of Montauk State Parkway at the Third House. This was an early pasture land. 1760
Elisha's Valley	Located between the First House site and Fresh Pond. Two old Indians, Elisha and Jerusha, had a shack there. 1870
Gin Beach	Located on the north shore of Montauk from Shagwong Point to Culloden Point. Named for the enclosed pasture lands for cattle, as in gin keeping, 1665.
Great Pond	Now known as Lake Montauk. It was a fresh water pond until 1879, after Benson purchased the land. 1687
Great Swamp (Montauk)	Located in North Neck, east of Montauk Manor. Some of it is in the Montauk Golf Course.
Hetty's Hole	A small pond at the southwest corner of Oyster Pond. Named for an Indian squaw who lived here, c. 1870.
Hetty's Run	A drain which flows southeasterly into Hetty's Hole.
Indian Field	All the land between Great Pond and Oyster Pond, and north of Third House.
Jason's Rock	Located between Bull Path and Old North West Road. Named for an Indian who rested and drank water which always seems available in a depression in the rock.
Lily Hill	Located on Accobonack Road near Floyd Street. Named for Luke Lillie, an early settler, who owned land here. Later, the Dominy family owned the land there. 1670
Loper's Field	A fattening field near the Third House. 1737
Meantacut	An Indian name for Montauk meaning "fort country". 1648
Molly's Hill	Located at the junction of Old Fireplace and Fireplace Roads. Named for Stephen Talkhouse's mother. 1853 Town records refer to it as Talkhouse Hill.
Ogden's Brook	Runs into the southeast corner of Oyster Pond. 1725
Old Indian Highway	Ran from Springy Banks to Hand's Creek along the bluffs. The Springy Banks section was destroyed during the development of Hampton Waters Subdivision. 1731
Oyster Pond	A large pond east of Indian Field, named Lake Munchogue by Arthur Benson in 1879. 1716

Peter's Reel	A point of land just north of Hand's Creek Landing. It may have been named for Peter Quaw who lived in North West in the 1860s.
Peter's Run	A drain from the Great Swamp into Great Pond in Montauk
Plato's Island	Located in Accabonack Creek, near the entrance, and east of Edward's Hummock. May have been named for Isaac Plato, a black man, who was declared free in 1814.
Point Field	All land south and east of Oyster Pond in Montauk
Prospect Hill	The highest hill in Indian Field in Montauk
Quince Tree	Located on Napeague Bay in Hither Woods. Isaac Plato once lived here as a keeper of the cattle. Hither Woods cordwood was barged from here.
Reed Pond (Big and Little)	Located in Indian Field in Montauk, east of Great Pond
Rely's Run	A drain northwest of Oyster Pond in Montauk. Beside it, Aurelia Pharoah, an Indian woman, lived there in the 1870s.
Rocky Point	The west boundary of Fort Pond Bay on the north shore of Montauk
Rod's Valley	A low hollow just south of Rocky Point. Named for Rod, a black man, who lived here in the 1870s.
Shagwong	An Indian word meaning "place inside of a hill". Shagwong point is the most northerly point of Indian Field in Montauk
Soak Hide Dreen	Located at the head of Three Mile Harbor where people soaked hides.
Springy Banks	High land in the southwest corner of Three Mile Harbor, west of the Weir and south of Cedar Pond. An Old Indian campsite. 1709
Springs	The name may have originate with a land allotment at Accabonac Meadow drawn by William Barnes in 1670. "One parcel of meadow at Accabonac being near unto the Springs... bounded by William Mulford's meadow west and the Springs and the head of the Creek east".
Squaw Cove (Montauk)	Located between Osborne's Island and Stepping Stones on the west side of Great Pond
Squaw Cove (Three Mile Harbor)	In the general area of the Commercial Dock on the east side of Three Mile Harbor entrance. Once was an Indian campsite
Tryphena's Hollow	A low area just west of Hand's Creek-Alewife Brook to Hand's Creek Road junction. Named for Tryphena, widow of Peter Quaw, who lived there in the 1860s.
Whooping Boy's Hollow	A place located near the 3 mile marker from East Hampton along the Sag Harbor Road, where the Indians carrying the body of dead Sachem, Poggatacut, rested. Legend has it that as they left to continue the journey back to Montauk, they let out a tremendous war whoop. There are other versions of the name's origin.

F.9. Deeds, Probates, and Promissory Notes

Documents from the East Hampton Library Long Island Collection and Suffolk County Surrogate Court for property in East Hampton Town. Properties and people in Freetown are in bold type.

year	source	location	item	Grantor	Grantee	location	description
1802	GBC, EH Library	Long Island Collection	Account book	John Lyon Gardiner	Prince	Freetown	12 pounds for 1/3 Gardiner's land at Freetown
1803	GBC, EH Library	Long Island Collection	Account book	John Lyon Gardiner	Plato	Freetown	12 pounds for 1/3 Gardiner's land at Freetown
1803	Assistant Clerk Deed Liber A:41	County Clerk's Office	Deed	Hubbard and Ruth Latham, merchant and wife	Jude Jack, a free Black woman of Sag Harbor	Bridgehampton	Sold 1/8 acre for \$15. "...a certain piece or parcel of wood land and brush, situate being and lying in Sag Harbor aforesaid on the highway or road leading to a place called Sag in the parish of Bridgehampton, and nearly opposite to the house now owned by Abraham Corey...beginning at a certain post adjoining said Sag road or highway and running southerly as said highway or road runs, three and a half rods on the front of said road or highway; thence running Easterly back from said road or highway as far as shall comprise or contain the said one eighth of an acre, being in rear the sum width, namely three and a half rods as in front and butted

							and bounded on the East, South and North by the lands of the said Hubbard Latham and on the west in front by the said highway or road leading to Sag..."
1804	EH Library	Long Island Collection	Deed	Captain Jeremiah Osborn	Ned, a free blackman	Sandy Hook	1/2 acre parcel in Sandy Hook; the price was blank. "Parcel [likely in Freetown] bounded on the northwest and northeast by highways [unnamed], on the southeast by the land of Nathaniel Dominy, and on the southwest by the land formerly of Nathaniel Baker the 3rd [sic]. Witnessed by Merry Parsons and Nathaniel [illegible; Dominy?]; not executed by a Suffolk County, N.Y. Justice of the Peace." (EH Library catalog).
1807	File 781	Surrogate's Court	Probate	Jason Cuffee	Cuffee Cuffee (Admin)	East Hampton	His estate included 1 cow, 1 pot or tea kettle, 1 stand, 1 coat, 3 chairs, 1 pair shovel & tongs, 2 beds & bedding, balance Capt Prior's acct.
1808	GBC, EH Library	Long Island Collection	Account book	John Lyon Gardiner	Tom Jack		"half the amount owed Mulford for your land 14.60"
1808	Assistant Clerk Mortgage	County Clerk's Office	Mortgage	Thomas J. Lester of Southold	Jack a free blackman of Southold	Southold	

	Liber D:168						
1811	xFH 198	East Hampton Library, Long Island Collection	Promissory note	Jared Hand	Joseph Pharoah		Promissory note for \$25. June 19, 1811.
1820	Deed liber 43:304	County Clerk's Office	Deed	Syrus Dep colored man of the Town of East Hampton and his wife Hannah	Firm Parsons and Tuthill	East Hampton (Freetown)	\$44.50 for 8 acres. Bounded northeastwardly by the lands of the said Syrus Dep or Miller Dayton- Southeastwardly by Plato's heirs and party by Syrus Dep and Miller Dayton- Southwestwardly by a highway- and Northwestwardly by the Middle highway... "
1825	Assistant Clerk Deed Liber R:145	County Clerk's Office	Deed	John and Sabiner Joseph	Prince Gardiner	Accobonack	John Joseph and his wife Sabiner sold 1/4 acre to Prince Gardiner for \$125. The land was "bounded as follows viz Northeasterly by the land of Martin Plato, Westerly and Southwardly by the lands of Jeremiah Conklin and eastwardly by an highway..."
1828	File 2230	Surrogate's Court	Admin./ Probate	David Hannibal a coloured man			
1828	Assistant Clerk	County Clerk's	Deed	Elisha Payne	Prince Levi a color'd man	Accobonack	\$6 for "...one fourth part of one acre Bounded as follows on the

	Deed Liber R:143	Office					North west by land owned by said Prince Northeasterly by an highway Southeasterly and South Westerly by the land of the said Elisha Payne..."
1829	Assistant Clerk Deed Liber?:18 3	County Clerk's Office	Deed	Isaac L. V. Scoy	Prince, a coloured man	Accobonack	Isaac L. V. Scoy sold 7.5 acres of land in Accobonack for \$65 to Prince, a coloured man. The land is "bounded and butted as follows to wit: Northwesterly by the land of Martin Plato, Northeasterly by an high way, Southeasterly by the land of the theirs of Timothy Miller, deceased, and Southwesterly by the lands of Ezra Paine..."
1829	Assistant Clerk Mortgage Liber K:34	County Clerk's Office	Mortgage (cancelled- see Mortgage liber K:35.	Isaac S. V. Scoy	Isaac Plato	Accobonack	\$28.96. "All that certain tract or parcel of land with the messuage [?] or dwelling house and all other buildings thereto belonging situate lying and being... at the Village of Accobonack and butted and bounded as follows (to wit) Southeasterly by the land of Daniel Edwards Southwestwardly by the land of the Heirs of David Talmage deceased. Northwesterly partly by the land of the said Heirs of David Talmage deceased and partly by the land of Hedges Parsons and Northeastwardly by

							an highway containing twenty two acres..."
1829	xWD 22	East Hampton Library, Long Island Collection	Financial document	Isaac Van Scoy	Abraham Pharaoh		Note June 28, 1829 for \$6.40 with interest to Isaac Van Scoy.
1830	Assistant Clerk Mortgage Liber K:224	County Clerk's Office	Mortgage	Isaac S. V. Scoy	Isaac and Huldah (his wife) Plato	Springs	"All of a certain tract of land situated in the Town of East Hampton... being at a place known by the name of the Springs containing 22 and ... poles be the same more or less Bounded as follows Viz. North Easterly by an high way. South Easterly by lands of MArtin Plato. South Westerly by lands of Hedges Parsons..."
1831	Assistant Clerk Deed Liber N:125	County Clerk's Office	Deed	Felix and Phebe Dominy	Levi Stoves	East Hampton (Freetown)	\$20 for 2 acres "...bounded as follows Northerly by lands owned by the Town of East Hampton and Jason Thompson (formerly owned by Amy Chaterlain) Westerly by Three Mile Harbor highway- and Easterly and Southerly by a part of the same lot owned by the above named Felix Dominy all lying in the Town of East Hampton..."
1833	Assistant Clerk	County Clerk's	Deed	Felix and Phebe	Levi Stows	Freetown	For \$8: "all of a certain piece or parcel of land situate and

	Deed Liber U:47	Office		Dominy			lying in the town County and State aforesaid at a place called known by the name of free town and bounded as follows Northeasterly by land of Levi Stows Southeasterly and Southwesterly by the land of Felix Dominy and Northwesterly by three Mile harbor highway containing three quarter of an acre..."
1834	Assistant Clerk Deed Liber Q:185	County Clerk's Office	Deed	John T. and Sarah Osborn	Lewis Cuffee	Russels Neck/North West neck, east side	John and Sarah Osborn sold 20 acres of land at "Russels Neck or North West Neck on the east side of the neck" for \$250 to Lewis Cuffee. The land was "bounded as follows, Viz on the south by land of the said John P. Osborn West by land of Silar Payne North by the land of Charles W. Payne and the meadow fence on the East by the land of the said Lewis Cuffee and the meadow fence..."
1837	Assistant Clerk Deed Liber U:23	County Clerk's Office	Deed	Tamus and Margaret Tooker	Charles and Huldah Plato	Sag Harbor, East Hampton (Eastville)	\$100 for "bounded as follows on the North by the road or highway leading to East Hampton fifty feet on the East by land of Henry B. Havens Esq. one hundre and fifty feet on the South by lands of Tamus Tooker fifty feet and on the West by lands Tamus Tooker one

							hundred and fifty feet..."
1838	Assistant Clerk Deed Liber L:128	County Clerk's Office	Deed	Gad and Esther Prince	Pyrrhus Gad (Concer)	Southampton	\$100 for "...one acre of Land Bounded as follows Viz- on the North by land of Merrit Culver and Merrit Fordham. West by Land of Schuyler B. Halsey and on the South and East by land in the occupancy of the party of the first part. (meaning to take one acre of Land on the north part of Gad's Lot)..."; witnessed by Elias Wooley and Mary Cuffee
1839	Assistant Clerk Deed Liber U:35	County Clerk's Office	Deed	Hezekiah and Rachel Jennings	Lewis Cuffee and Charles Plato (East Hampton) and William Prime (Southampton) , Trustees of the African Church or Society in the Village of Sag Harbor	Sag Harbor, East Hampton	\$50 for a parcel "... beginning at a point on a new street recently laid out and by Hezekiah Jennings running southerly from Hampton Street four hundred seventy six feet six inches from the corner of Hampton Street and said new street on the east side of said new street and running on said street sixty feet thence easterly at right angles with said new street back to the line of H. B. Havens and A. Van Scoy one hunder and twenty feet or thereabouts a thence northerly along the said line sixty feet thence westerly back to the place of beginning one hundred twenty feet for (only and expressively) for the purpose of erecting a Church thereon for the African

							Society of the village of Sag Harbor..."
1839	File 6488	Surrogate's Court	Petition/probate/will	Stephen Coles	Benjamin F. Coles (petitioner); Hannah Coles, wife; Sabiner, wife of John Joseph; Ruth Peterson (who is now deceased); Silas Coles (who is now deceased)	East Hampton (Freetown)	described as "a respectable negro and competent to devise real estate"; illiterate; lived next to Samuel Miller and Horace (?) Isaacs
1840	Assistant Clerk Deed Liber U:443	County Clerk's Office	Deed	Robert and Esther Roberts	Wealthy Cuffee, wife of Henry Cuffee	Sag Harbor, Southampton (Eastville)	\$35 for a lot of land "...Bounded Easterly by the land of Tamus Tooker Southerly by the land of Hezekiah Jennings, northerly by the land of Hezekiah Jennings and westerly by a road or highway laid out or opened by the said Jennings said Lot of land being thirty three feet in front on said road and thirty three feet in rear and in depth one hundred and two feet six inches..."
1843	Assistant Clerk Mortgage Liber	County Clerk's Office	Mortgage (cancelled-see Mortgage	Lyman Pitcher	Charles R. and Huldah his mother) Plato of Sag Harbor	East Hampton (Eastville)	\$62.47. "...Bounded and described as follows Viz: North by the Road fifty feet- South by th land of Arnold Van Scoy fifty

	?:101		liber 31:218).				feet- East by the land of Henry Havens one hundred and fifty feet- West by the land of Arnold Van Scoy one hundred and fifty feet...
1845	File 3492	Surrogate' s Court	Admin./ Probate	Hannah Dep a colored woman	Josiah C. Dayton	East Hampton (Freetown)	Her son and daughter could not be located; others who are local have been deemed "incompetent": "...the only kin of said deceased known to your petitioner are William Fowler & Jonathan Fowler coloured boys & great grand children of dec'd one of them is a minor & the other at sea on a whaling voyage and are by reason of want of education and understanding incompetent to administration..."; "I am unable to ascertain as yet who are the Legitimate heirs of Hannah Dep dec'd. I send you a written renunciation of John Joseph who I think it probable may turn out be the <u>sole</u> heir to said estate. I did not take it because he is more competent to administer than the others but at his request, and that his name might be used by others against me for I consider all of others concerned in the

							<p>distribution of said estate alike incompetent to administer upon any property according to the meaning and intent of the 32nd Sec of the Administration Act. I have also taken the opinion of the substantial men of our town with whom you are acquainted which I presume coincide with nine-tenths of our community as to the incompetence of William and Isaac Fowler whom I presume are your new petitioners to administer upon said estate. I also drew a petition for Naomi Wright on behalf of her son Jonathan who she says is great grandchild to the intestate but on finding that the said Jonathan was doubly illegitimate I did not think it necessary for them to execute said petition. The said Hannah had a son and a daughter who left East Hampton several years ago of whom I have made inquiry by writing to different parts of the country but have not learned whether they be living or dead..." "...We the undersigned have</p>
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							<p>been called upon by Mr. Dayton for an expression of our opinions as to the incompetency of William and Isaac Fowler who claim to be the heirs of the late Hannah Dep to receive letters of administration upon her estate, do not hesitate to state that from our knowledge of and acquaintance with said Indians we believe them to be incompetent to administer upon that or any other estate from their incapability of making contracts by reason of improvidence and want of understanding... Yours very respectfully, Samuel Miller [and] Abel Huntington"; Inventory of estate includes a bond dated September 6, 1844 from Josiah C. Dayton for the payment of \$425 with interest (\$24.79); amount totals \$449.79</p>
1845	Mortgage Liber 31:73	County Clerk's Office	Mortgage (foreclose- see Mortgage liber 47:537)	N. N. Tiffany of the Town of S.Hampton	Charles R. and Huldah Plato of East Hampton	Sag Harbor, East Hampton (Eastville)	"...Bounded and described as follows Viz North by the road leading to East Hampton fifty feet. East by the land of Henry B. Havens one hundred and fifty feet. South by the land of Arnold Van Scoy fifty feet, and West by

							the land of said Van Scoy one hundred and fifty feet be the same more or less with all the buildings thereon with the appurtenances and all the estate title and interest of the said parties of the first part therein. This grant intended as a security for the payment of ninety one Dollars and fifty cents on demand with interest on the same payable annually at the rate of seven per cent per annum untill paid..."
1846	File 3606	Surrogate's Court	Petition/ Probate	Isaac Plato	Huldah Plato, mother	East Hampton	Isaac Plato drowned from on board the ship Hudson while on a whaling voyage. He died intestate; left 2 brothers (Alfred Plato of Hartford, CT and Silas Plato, on board the Tuscany, a whaling ship) and one sister (Harriet). His estate was inventoried, and included note from Samuel A. Sealy, A note from Lewis Cuffee, proceeds of whaling voyage (including whale oil, whale bone, sperm oil, and clothing on board).
1846	File 3608	Surrogate's Court	Petition for appointed guardian	Harriet Plato, a minor	Huldah Plato, mother	East Hampton	Harriet Plato was entitled to a share of her brother Isaac's estate, but she was underage. The petition was to have Benjamin C. Talmadge be her

							appointed legal guardian until the age of 14, at which time another legal guardian was to be appointed.
1856	Deed Liber 89:256-7	County Clerk's Office	Deed	Nathan A. Pratt	Abraham Pharaoh	East Hampton (Freetown)	\$115. "... containing by estimation two acres with the Buildings thereon and bounded as follows- viz: Northwesternly by the Three Mile Harbor Road or highway. Northeasterly by the Lands of Samuel B. Gardiner. Southeasterly by the Lands of Felix Dominy fourth. Westerly by the lands of Levu Stow: Being the same premises formerly owned by John Pena and conveyed by him and Sarah his wife to Nathan A. Pratt by Mortgage dated March 7, 1855 to secure payment of \$96 97/11 dollars with interest. The purchase money for this Conveyance being the sum of money Bid upon the foreclosure of said Mortgage at Public auction...
1861	Mortgage Liber 80:133	County Clerk's Office	Mortgage (cancelled- see Mortgage liber 88:207)	Catharine Pharaoh	Benjamin F. Coles	Freetown	\$90 for "All that certain piece or parcel of land where on is situated my dwelling house and known by the name of my house and lot and situated in the village of

							Freetown...Bounded as follows Viz: Northwesterly by the highway leading to Three Mile Barbor. Northeasterly and Southeasterly by the lands of James Kelly, southwesterly by the lands of or formerly owned by Levi Stois... This Grant is intended as a security for the paymen tof ninety dollas with the annial interest at six per cent per annum at the expiration of three years from the date of this instrument..."
1862	File 5436	Surrogate's Court	Admin./ Probate	Lewis Horton Cuffee	Lewis Cuffee	Sag Harbor	
1863	File 5845	Surrogate's Court	Admin letter and probate	Silas B. Plato	Juliett Plato and daughters; James M. Halsey, Henry P. Hedges, Levi Wright	Bridgehampton	Husband died at sea in the South Atlantic. This probate contains an inventory of items and values, some of which are exempt and saved for use by Juliet and her daughters.
1868	Administ ration Liber I:363	County Clerk's Office	Admin.	Peter Quaw	Triphenia Quaw and David H. Huntting		
1868	File 6497	County Clerk's Office	Will	Peter Quaw	Triphenian Quaw	East Hampton	Estate value \$300; heirs include wife Triphenia Quaw; daughters Gracie Rug (wife of Henry Rug) and Juliet Plato (wife of Silas Plato) living in Southampton; daughter Sarah (wife of Peter

							Tailor) of Brooklyn; Israel Quaw and Meribah Montgomery, children of Silas Quaw deceased and grand children of said Peter Quaw deceased both residing in East Hampton... and all of full age... "; includes an inventory/appraisal
1871	File 6997	Surrogate's Court	Petition/ probate/ will	Hannah Coles	Benjamin F. Coles, Susan Wright, Hannah Davis, Harriet Butler, Eliza Ann Butler	East Hampton (Freetown)	
1873	File 15695	Surrogate's Court	Petition	Lewis Cuffee	Mary J. Walker	East Hampton (Sag Harbor/ Eastville)	"...I give and bequeath to to my beloved daughter Sara Lucinda one bed, bedding, and bedstead, also the chest and table that was her mother's and five dollars in money for her use and disposal, also a home in my house so long as she remains unmarried... I give and bequeath unto my other six daughters each one dollar for their use and disposal...I give and bequeath unto my beloved son Jason... two acres of land on the south part of my premises Bounded as follows Easterly by the meadow fence, Southwardly by George P. Consor, and Westwardly by ...Austin Van

							Scoy... I give unto my beloved son Aaron...my house, barn, and outhouses together with the lands, meadows, and marshes...
1875	Will Liber 12:57	Surrogate's Court	Last will and testament	Abraham Pharaoh	Kate Jack, Jerusha Pharaoh	Freetown	Abraham Pharaoh leaves his house and lot in the village of Freetown to his wife, Kate Jack. After her death, the house and lot were to go to his sister, Jerusha. All of his personal property was left to his wife. Witnesses: Jeremiah Miller and Benjamin F. Coles.
1875	File 7758	Surrogate's Court	Petition/probate/will	Levi Stores or Levi Stoves (colored)	no heirs or next of kin	East Hampton (Freetown)	He died intestate. His personal and real property was inventoried to pay off debts. The probate lists the items and values of personal property. The real estate includes "All that piece or parcel of land situated in the village of Freetown, town of East Hampton, containing by estimation two and a half acres more or less, and bounded as follows viz: Northeasterly by the land of the heirs of Abraham Pharaoh dec, Southeasterly and Southwesterly by the land of William J. Bennett, Northwesterly by the Three Mile Harbor highway. The

							value of the said premises in the judgment of your petition is \$150. They are not occupied..." sold at auction to Jeremiah L. Dayton for \$75; Storrs had unpaid accounts with William Lefever, Henry B. Tuthill, and Jeremiah L. Dayton.
1879	File 8801	Surrogate's Court	Petition/ Admin.	Ellen Gardiner	Shem Gardiner, husband; Binah Rugg, daughter (of Southampton) ; son David Woods who was presumed deceased	East Hampton (Freetown)	
1881	File 9356	Surrogate's Court	Petition/ Admin.	Edward Disbery	Dorcas Disbery, wife; Clara Ruggs (Southampton)	East Hampton (Freetown)	Specific items set off to Widow and Minor Children without being appraised: 1 clock, 25 Bu. Potatoes; also \$150 worth of personal property set off to widow and minor children (itemized);
1886	Will Liber 42:1	Surrogate's Court	Will	Tryphena Quaw of Eastville	Ellen B. Brown	Eastville, Sag Harbor	Left all property and estate to Ellen B. Brown, wife of L. S. Brown, of Eastville; also appointed her executrix
1892	Deed Liber 365:180	County Clerk's Office	Deed	Pyrrhus Concer	John F. Pupke	Southampton	\$10 for land ..." bounded and described as follows Viz: Beginning at the point where the

							west line of the highway that runs along the west side of the Town Pond (Lake Agawam) intersects the north line of land of Salem H. Wales and running thence along said land of Wales in a westerly direction six hundred five (605) feet or to land of Henry A. Fordham, thence along said land of Fordham in a northerly direction one hundred fifty five and one tenth (155.1) feet to a stake, thence along other land of the party of the first part in an easterly direction five hundred fifty three and five tenths (553.5) feet or to the west line of the highway before mentioned and thence along the west line of said highway in a southerly direction one hundred fifty five (155) feet to the point of the beginning, containing two acres by measure..."
1898	File 14074	Surrogate's Court	Probate	Pyrrhus Concer		Southampton	Appraisal of property: Homestead... Bounded north by land of Henry Culver East by Pond Lane South by land of Walter F. Havens and west by land of Henry A. Fordham containing about two acres; one piece of woodland on West

							Neck Road in Lot #51. Containing about two acres (stump land); Household furniture; Sail Boats, coal & wood; Bank Book 315616 Seamans Bank for Savings; Bank Book 18873 Riverhead Savings Bank; Bank Book Sag Harbor Savings Bank; Note and Interest Mrs. M. Bennett; Note and Interest Mrs. M. Bennett; Note and Interest Bennett Bros; Note and Interest Elwyn P. White; Cash in Southampton Bank; Cash on hand..."
1899	Deed Liber 482:185	County Clerk's Office	Deed	Henry H. Hildreth, ex, for Pyrrhus Concer	Elihu Root	Southampton	By last will and testament, released the lands "bounded north by the lands of Lewis Stockey, Henry Culver, and Charles Culver: east by the Pond Lane: South by the land of Walter F. Havens, and west by the land of Henry A. Fordham. Cotaining one and three quarters acres by estimation be the same more or less..."
1900	File 14967	Surrogate's Court	Petition/ Will	Eliza Ann Cooper	Joseph S. Osborn, petition (not a relative); heirs include John L. Horton,	East Hampton (Freetown)	Samuel Quaw witnessed her will, date November 29, 1893

					nephew and Melissa Fowler, niece; no husband		
1903	Probate Liber P:296	County Clerk's Office	Probate	Triphenia Quaw			
1906	File 17143	Surrogate's Court	Petition	Louisa Rebecca Cuffee	Christopher C. Cuffee, executor, Ellen B. Brown	East Hampton (Sag Harbor?)	
1918	Deed Liber 1229:119	County Clerk's Office	Deed	Israel S. Quaw	George L. Butler	East Hampton (Freetown)	Sold for \$1 land "bounded northerly by the land of the party of the first part, 136.1 feet, Easterly by an undefined highway, 52.5 feet, Southerly by the land of the said party of the first part, 150 feet and Westerly by other property of the said party of the first part 50 feet."
1921	File 25192	Surrogate's Court	Probate/ Will	Wyandank Pharaoh	Florence Prime Pharaoh, widow; Maria Banks (mother, East Hampton), Samuel Pharaoh (brother, East Hampton), Pocahontas Pharaoh (sister, East	Sag Harbor, East Hampton	Left all real and personal property to his wife, who was also named executrix.

					Hampton), Margaret Newins (sister, New London), Samuel D. Pharaoh (nephew, East Hampton)		
1927	File 29313	Surrogate's Court	Amin/ Probate/ Tax	Charles Fowler	Pocahontas Pharaoh (neice/executo r/heir of real property)	East Hampton (Freetown)	Left George and Maria \$1. Left Pocahontas real property, described: "Bounded northwesterly by the land of St. Philomena's R.C. Cemetery; Northeasterly by Hands Creek Road; Southeasterly by lands of Alex McGuire, land now or formerly of Lewis Homes Co., and land now or formerly of the Estate of George Baker, and southwesterly by Cedar Street, containing by estimation 27 acres..."
1927	File 29527	County Clerk's Office	Will	Israel S. Quaw	Edward B. Quaw and and Mary Quaw Burt; request to find Cornelia A. Quaw, Lillian Millis, and Howell M. Johnson;	East Hampton (Freetown)	Cash in bank and property: "BEGINNING at the point of intersection of the boundary line between the premises herein described and land now or formerly of Pocahontas Pharaoh with the northerly boundary line of land of George Fowler, and running thence along said land of

					<p>Cecilia Van Desies, Martha Johnson Regeal, Eliza Bounty, Israel S. Quaw</p>	<p>George Fowler S. 83 [degrees] E. two hundred (200) feet to Springs Highway, thence along Springs Highway and Swamp Highway to the Southeast corner of land now or formerly of Abraham H. Miller or Edward Kings, thence along said land last mentioned N. 83 [degrees] W. about two hundred forty (240) feet to land now or formerly of Pocahontast Pharaoh, thence along the land of said Pocahontas Pharaoh S. 7 [degrees] W. about four hundred (400) feet to the point or place of beginning, EXCEPTING therefrom the land conveyed to George L. Butler by deed dated December 11, 1918 and recorded October 8, 1926...in Liber 1229 of Deeds, page 119." Divided estate: 4/13 to son Edward B. Quaw; 1/13 to son Samuel B. Quaw; 1/13 to son Israel S. Quaw; 1/13 to daughter Cornelia A. Quaw; 1/13 to daughter Mary Quaw Burt; 1/13 to grand daughter Cecilia Van Desiee; 1/13 to grand daughter Lillian; 1/13 to</p>
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							grand son Howell M. Johnson; 1/13 to grand daughter Martha Johnson; 1/13 to friend Eliza Bounty; \$100 person property; more than \$500 (\$1500?) real property seized by trust company
1928	File 29944	Surrogate's Court	Petition/ Will/ Probate	Harriet Butler	Benjamin Butler, son, executor	Eastville, Sag Harbor	Second: I give to each of of my grandsons Henry Prince and Owen Prince \$25.00. Third: I give to my daughter Lina Courts my interest in the lot of land on Liberty Street, Sag Harbor. Fourth: All the remainder of my Property, real and personal, I give to all my children, Benjamin Butler, Lia Courts, Kitty Butler, Etta Washington and Emma Prout, share and share alike and I direct that my house and lot on Eastville Ave, Sag Harbor, shall not be sold as long as any of my said children shall live.
1931	File 132P1931	Surrogate's Court	Petition/ Will/ Probate	George Fowler	George Fowler, Norris Fowler, William Fowler, Margaret La Porte, Leonard	(Freetown) East Hampton	In his will, he leaves \$1.00 to son George; he left his house to son Norris, noting that "under no circumstances shall the house be sold during the lifetime of my said son Norris Folwer; the right to live in the house to son William "provided he conducts himself

					Horton		in a proper and respectable manner"; the rest of his estate to Leonard Horton; Margaret and William had died by the time of the petition; real property valued at less than \$10,000 and personal property of zero value;
1935	File 232A1935	Surrogate's Court	Petition	Perry A. White	Ethel White	(Freetown) East Hampton	Real property: "bounded westerly by Three Mile Harbor Highway; Northerly by land formerly of Antonio Loris, now of Peter Fedi; Easterly by land of Julia Rampe; and Westerly by land of Edwin Sherrill...the real estate above described consists of a small lot with a small 1 story and a half dwelling house, situated in what is known as "Freetown," immediately north of the village of East Hampton. That your petitioner is informed and verily believes that the gross estate of this decedent of ever kind and nature is less than \$5000."; ond and mortgage from Antonio Loris and wife
1936	File 291P1936	Surrogate's Court	Petition/ Will/ Probate	Maria Banks	Pocahontas Pharaoh (daughter/exe	(Freetown) East Hampton	"SECOND: I give and bequeath, to my grand-daughter Irene Johnson, the

					<p>cutor), Edward Banks (husband), Junius Banks (son), Samuel Pharaoh (grandson)</p>	<p>iron bed which I now use together with the bed clothes, my bureau the large looking glass, the wash stand and all other articles of clothing and furniture in my bedroom at the time of my decease. THIRD: I give and bequeath to my two grand-daughters Irene Johnson and Edith Banks, all personal property in my kitchen at the time of my decease, including dishes, silver and cooking utensils; also my four dining room chairs, my large rocking chair, and my large oak chair. FOURTH: I give and bequeath to my grand-daughter, Edith Banks, the bed, bed clothing, chiffonier, and the round table, all of which are articles in my middle room. FIFTH: To my husband, Edward Banks, I give the bed, bed clothing, wash stand and trunk, now in the room where he sleeps. SIXTH: To my daughter Pocahontas Pharaoh, to her and her heir forever I give and devise all the real property which I may own at the time of my decease.</p>
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							SEVENTH: All other property which I may own at the time of my decease I give and bequeath to my two grand-daughters, Irene Johnson and Edith Banks....'
1963	File 355P1963	Surrogate's Court	Petition/ Will/ Probate	Pocahontas Pharaoh	Olive Pharaoh, Junius Banks, and Samuel Pharaoh	(Freetown), East Hampton	Olive Pharaoh, grand niece, was main heir and executrix of the estate. It looks like the property was evaluated for sale to pay off debts. The property contained 4 acres and was described as follows: Northerly by a private road, or pass road; easterly by premises now or formerly of C. Cooper; southerly by premises of Junius Banks and others; and westerly by premises of East Hampton Visiting Nurse Association, Perrine, and others;...' Junius Banks P. Pharaoh's half brother) was left \$1.00. Samuel Pharaoh (P. Pharaoh's nephew and Olive's father) did not inherit anything (he was in Central Islip hospital). Mary Pharaoh, Samuel's wife, lived on Hempstead Street in Sag Harbor at the time.
1965	Probate Liber	Surrogate's Court	Petition/ Will/	George Fowler	Leonard Horton,	(Freetown), East Hampton	In his will, he leaves \$1.00 to son George; he left his house to

	100:31 (File 132P1931)		Probate		grandson, petitioner		son Norris, noting that "under no circumstances shall the house be sold during the lifetime of my said son Norris Folwer; the right to live in the house to son William "provided he conducts himself in a proper and respectable manner"; the rest of his estate to Leonard Horton; Margaret and William had died by the time of the petition; real property valued at less than \$10,000 and personal property of zero value;
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F.10. East Hampton Town Records

The following table includes information about Native American people as it was recorded in the Records of the Town of East Hampton.

Vol.	page	date	original book/page	listing
I/II		1653		Indians prohibited from town
I/II	201	March 2 1662	Book 2, page 91	Indians prohibited from town unless carrying corn, and whites prohibited from entering wigwams (for fear of smallpox?)
I/II	408	1677		whaling contract
I/II	77	1679	Book O, page 4	whaling contract
I/II	86	1679-80		whaling contract
I/II	93	1680	Book A, page 60	Thomas Dyament will, bequeathing possessions including "halfe of my Interest in tackling boates or Indians with respect to ye whaleing design"
I/II	94	1680	Book O, page 22	whaling contract
I/II	95-96	1680		whaling contract
I/II	97	1681	Book O, page 36	whaling contract
I/II	99-100	1681	Book 2, page 9	whaling contract
I/II	101	1681	Book O, page 35	whaling contract
I/II	119	1682		whaling contract
II	125	1683	Book 4, page 5	Indian gin keeper
II	132	1683		whaling contract
II	152	1684	Book O, page 37	whaling contract

II	153	1684	Book O, page 37	transfer Indian bond
II	165	1685	Book 4, page 4	Indian and "squaw" gin keepers
II	173	1685		Indian child bond
II	212	1693	Book A, 114	Indian bond
III	134	May 21, 1705	Marks, 21	Harry Indian of Montauk declareth his brand mark to be H. set on the left shoulder of horse or cow said Harry he who was Nathaniel Baker's servant
III	186	April 1708	Marks, 23	Captain Mulford's Stephen Indian of Montauk did on said 16th day of April 1708 declare that his ear mark for swine is a crop on the left ear and a hole in the right ear
III	187	April 1708	Marks, 23	Pharaoh Indian of Montauk did on said 16th day declare that his ear mark for swine is the end of each ear cropped off
III	187	April 1708	Marks, 23	Xed Hoppin Indian of Montauk did on said 16th day of April 1708 declare that his ear mark for swine is a ell L on the over side of the right ear and a ell L on the under side of the left ear
III	187	April 1708	Marks, 23	Gefferies squaw declareth said 16th day of April 1708 that her mark for swine is a hole in the right ear and a half penny on each side of the left ear
III	187	April 1708	Marks, 23	April the 16th 1708 then declared by Tom Schellinger Indian of Montauk that his ear mark for swine is a hole in the left ear and a half penny under the right ear
III	271	April 6, 1711	Book of marks, page 24	Peter Indian declareth his ear mark for what stock he keeps to be a crop on the right ear and two half pennies under the same. Said Peter declareth his brand mark for horses to be PI set on the left shoulder. Both entered April the 6th, 1711
III	317	March 1713	page 10	Little John Indian entereth for his ear mark two half pennies under the left Ear, and a swallow tail on the right Ear, entered March 19th, 1713-14
III	317	March 1713	Book of Marks, page 10	Briches Indian entereth for his Ear mark two half pennies on the under side of each Ear, entered March the 23rd 1713-14
III	318	March 1713	Book of Marks, page 10	Forehand Indian, entereth for his Ear mark two half pennies on the underside of the left Ear, and a half penny on the upper side of the same, and a crop on the same Ear, entered March 23rd 1713-14
III	419	October 1725	Book 4,	Stephin Indian brought one old wild cat

			page 80	
III	423	July 20, 1726	Marks page 3	Will Wabeton Indian ear mark
III	423	July 20, 1726	Marks page 3	Hoping Indians daughter ear mark for swine
IV		September 1738	Marks 26	Cyrus Indian entereth for his ear mark two halfpennies on the under side of the right ear and one slit in the left ear. Entered September the 15th 1735.
IV	123	1743	Book A	Peter, Indian, Secataco grandson, enters for his ear mark a crop on the right ear and an ell on the fore side of the left ear. Entered December Gth, 1743
IV?	9	Feb 25, 1735-6	Book A, page 1	Stephen's sqaw entereth for her ear mark one half-penney on each side of each ear
IV	124	February 26, 1744	Book E? page 29	Peter Gardiner, Indian, entereth for his ear mark a crop on the right ear and two half pennies on the under side of the same ear, and one half penny on the upper side of the left ear
V	550			March 18. 1861. Married at Amagansett. Sylvester Pharoah. King of the Montauk Indians. to Jerusha Pharoah of. Montauk: by Rev. A. A. Haines, Minister.

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