

University of Massachusetts Boston

ScholarWorks at UMass Boston

Graduate Masters Theses

Doctoral Dissertations and Masters Theses

8-2019

Cultures and Comfort: A Study of Personal Adornment at Avery's Rest

Julianne Danna

University of Massachusetts Boston

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarworks.umb.edu/masters_theses



Part of the [Archaeological Anthropology Commons](#), and the [Social and Cultural Anthropology Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Danna, Julianne, "Cultures and Comfort: A Study of Personal Adornment at Avery's Rest" (2019). *Graduate Masters Theses*. 579.

https://scholarworks.umb.edu/masters_theses/579

This Open Access Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Doctoral Dissertations and Masters Theses at ScholarWorks at UMass Boston. It has been accepted for inclusion in Graduate Masters Theses by an authorized administrator of ScholarWorks at UMass Boston. For more information, please contact scholarworks@umb.edu.

CULTURES AND COMFORT:
A STUDY OF PERSONAL ADORNMENT AT AVERY'S REST

A Thesis Presented
by
JULIANNE DANNA

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

MASTER OF ARTS

August 2019

Historical Archaeology Program

© 2019 by Julianne Danna

All rights reserved

CULTURES AND COMFORT:
A STUDY OF PERSONAL ADORNMENT AT AVERY'S REST

A Thesis Presented

by

JULIANNE M. DANNA

Approved as to style and content by:

David B. Landon, Associate Director
Chairperson of Committee

Stephen A. Mrozowski, Professor
Member

Lu Ann De Cunzo, Professor
University of Delaware
Member

David B. Landon, Program Director
Historical Archaeology Program

Stephen W. Silliman, Chairperson
Department of Anthropology

ABSTRACT

CULTURES AND COMFORT: A STUDY OF PERSONAL ADORNMENT AT AVERY'S REST

August 2019

Julianne Danna

B.A., University of Delaware

M.A., University of Massachusetts Boston

Directed by Dr. David B Landon

Avery's Rest was a diverse, thriving plantation in Sussex County, Delaware in the late 1600s and early 1700s. John Avery, a flavorful character from England by way of Massachusetts and Maryland, settled the plantation in the late 1600s and made his final home there with his wife and children. After his death, the same site was then occupied by his daughter, Jemima, and her husband.

Excavated by the Archaeological Society of Delaware, the numerous artifacts from the archaeological site provide a glimpse into the lives of settlers on the colonial frontier as they fought to survive environmental challenges, negotiated continuous political upheaval, established a successful business venture, and navigated the multicultural atmosphere of Sussex County. Through analysis of the artifacts of personal

adornment and objects involved in the making of a personal image, the lives of the occupants of Avery's Rest are illustrated within three topical ideas: Native Americans at Avery's Rest, dressing the Avery household, and household production.

This research is set within the framework of the available documentary record of the Avery family and the county to provide an example of what life was like for the Averys and other residents of Sussex County during this time. Guided by ideas of artifact life and additional personal adornment theories advocated by Diana DiPaolo Loren, Mary Beaudry, and Carolyn White, this study also draws on theories of hybridity from Stephen Silliman and power from Suzanne Spencer-Wood. Ultimately, the artifacts studied support the idea that Avery's Rest was a frontier environment with a population influenced by the variety of cultures in Sussex County, Delaware during the late 17th century. John Avery smartly invested his wealth which allowed him and the plantation to prosper despite the challenges faced by many early settlers in the area.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am incredibly grateful to so many who have helped me complete this seemingly never-ending task. I first have to thank Dan Griffith and the Archaeological Society of Delaware for committing numerous volunteer hours to excavating the incredible site of Avery's Rest, and for trusting me to study the collection. Additional thanks to those in Delaware who helped make this research happen including Craig Lukezic, Alice Guerrant, and Chuck Fithian. Thanks to my committee chair, Dr. David Landon, for patience and understanding throughout the entire process, and to my committee member Dr. Stephen Mrozowski.

I am indebted to a few mentors and educators who guided me, dished out tough love, and knew before I did how far I could go. I am grateful for Mr. Jim Chrismer, for teaching me how to think. I have endless gratitude for my committee member Dr. Lu Ann De Cunzo, for always opening doors, creating opportunities, and discreetly nudging me onto the right path.

Lastly, I must thank my family and friends for unending love and support. Special thanks to Dominic for being my biggest cheerleader and to Meagan for countless cups of tea and mostly intelligent conversation.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|---|------|
| ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS | vi |
| LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES..... | ix |
| CHAPTER | Page |
| 1. INTRODUCTION | 1 |
| 2. THE HISTORY OF COLONIAL DELAWARE | 6 |
| European Settlement | 7 |
| Multicultural Delaware | 16 |
| 3. THE AVERY FAMILY AND AVERY’S REST | 20 |
| Avery’s Rest Archaeological Site | 25 |
| 4. ASSEMBLAGE FROM AVERY’S REST | 31 |
| Clothing Fasteners | 33 |
| Ornamental Artifacts..... | 39 |
| Constructive Objects and Materials | 42 |
| 5. A TOPICAL ANALYSIS OF THE ASSEMBLAGE | 48 |
| Native Americans and Avery’s Rest..... | 49 |
| Dressing the Avery Household | 60 |
| Household Production..... | 69 |
| 6. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS | 77 |
| Potential Influences..... | 78 |
| Features and Architecture | 79 |
| Theoretical Implications | 84 |
| Conclusions on Avery’s Rest..... | 92 |

APPENDIX

| | |
|---|-----|
| A. INVENTORY OF JOHN AVERY'S ESTATE 1683, HELD BY THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA | 100 |
|---|-----|

| | |
|------------------|-----|
| REFERENCES | 103 |
|------------------|-----|

LIST OF FIGURES

| Figure | Page |
|--|------|
| 1. Map of locations of Delaware colonial towns, New Castle and Lewes, and Avery residences, Manokin and Avery's Rest © 2018 Google | 7 |
| 2. Excerpt of Augustine Herman Map, 1670. | 12 |
| 3. The Avery's Rest Site as drawn by Daniel Griffith..... | 27 |
| 4. Profile view of the cellar, feature 63, with interpreted occupation layers. | 29 |
| 5. Pewter button with a rose motif, context 994. | 34 |
| 6. Two views of button 562 including the gold shank..... | 35 |
| 7. Matching buckles from contexts 1080 and 1056..... | 37 |
| 8. Spiky glass bead from context 572B | 40 |
| 9. Stone gorget from context 1017..... | 41 |
| 10. Copper tinkling cones from context 1081..... | 41 |
| 11. Stone button mold from context 1075 | 44 |
| 12. Drawing of an incised button mold from Massachusetts..... | 52 |
| 13. Stone button molds, including a mold and button very similar to the pattern of the mold at Avery's Rest | 52 |

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Personal adornments are the items that help outwardly display personality, religion, cultural affiliations, societal status, and more. These accessories craft a personal image and greatly alter how a person is received by society. Whether the purpose of adornment is to be expressive, or to be perceived as modest, wearing simple buttons and buckles on a well-made garment, people have often used their appearance to convey a specific image to those around them. These accessories accumulate social meanings that can differ greatly over time. While the meanings of objects change, the purpose of dressing to identify with a belief, culture, or class has not.

Life on the 17th-century colonial frontier of the Delmarva Peninsula in Delaware often meant going without many extraneous comforts, including new clothing, specialty tools, and personal adornment. Items that were probably taken for granted in cities such as Boston or New York were completely unavailable or rare in remote areas like the middle of the Delmarva Peninsula. Objects that did not have an entirely functional purpose were not the priority of merchants when creating shipping inventories, or for those trying to scrape together a living in a new colony with limited financial resources. However, as settlements stabilized, decorative items grew in popularity.

In this study, I analyze the personal adornment artifacts from three features at Avery's Rest plantation in Sussex County, Delaware to determine how they represented the individuals present on the site. John Avery was an emigrant from Boston, a prominent if not entirely respected individual in the small community residing in Sussex County, Delaware in the late 1600s. Uprooting his family, he, his daughters, wife, slaves, and servants began a new life on the Rehoboth Bay at Avery's Rest. After his death, the plantation was abandoned for several years before Jemima, John Avery's daughter, returned to live there with her husband.

This thesis demonstrates that the artifacts presented here, along with the background history and documentary research, illustrate that John Avery and his family lived in above average comfort in Sussex County in the late 1600s; a lifestyle that was continued by his daughter Jemima and her husband during their residence on the same site. Residents of the plantation on the frontier of the colony battled environmental conditions, turmoil and political takeovers in the young colony, and isolation to create a successful enterprise on the Rehoboth Bay. John Avery smartly invested his wealth in the land but did not deny his family small luxuries and comforts, even if they were not extravagant. The collection studied speaks not only of the cultural diversity of the residents of the plantation, but is representative of the population and culture of Sussex County as a whole during this time period. Little research has been completed on the early colonial period in this region, leaving the Avery's Rest data to stand alone.

Kathleen Deagan suggests that artifacts of personal adornment often provide "information about gender, beliefs, value systems, social opportunities, and social

identities” (2002:4). These small artifacts are commonly viewed as special fascinating objects but are often not included in overarching data-driven site analyses in the same way as pipe-stem dating or ceramic analysis. But artifacts of personal adornment can speak volumes to the identities of the individuals on site. With this study, I seek to lift these objects to a prominent position that can help deepen a broader understanding of the residents of the plantation. By isolating personal adornment artifacts from three features with distinct, dated stratigraphy, these objects provide a glimpse into the lives of the residents of Avery’s Rest at the end of the 17th-century and beginning of the 18th-century.

Chapter Two explores the tumultuous early history of Delaware, its development, and its people. The period discussed ends around 1700, when Delaware was solidly under the rule of Pennsylvania, which continued until 1776. This area has a unique history as an early cosmopolitan colony, hosting settlers of many different nationalities and religions. Lower Delaware was also under the influence of the nearby English Chesapeake, following ideas, patterns, and styles from the early English stronghold as settlers from Maryland moved into the area, long contested between Lord Baltimore and the ruling parties of the Delaware Valley (Landsman 2010:67).

In addition to the political history, the influence of the variety of cultures in Delaware is discussed in Chapter Two. Settlers arrived from a multitude of nations in addition to the Native Americans resident in this small state, and the population often differed drastically from plantation to plantation. The changes in population were evident in the material culture, ideas, and practices in each location. Residents of the same

plantation often came from varied backgrounds. Avery's Rest included Avery, who had grown up in England and Boston, his wife who was a Bostonian, and his children who were born in Maryland and Delaware. In addition, Avery retained indentured servants, some from Boston, some probably local; he owned slaves, likely from Africa; and hired Native Americans to work on the plantation, creating a mixed environment at home. Chapter Two takes all of this into account and sets the cultural and historical framework for artifact interpretation.

Avery's family history is described in Chapter Three, beginning with his birth in England and ending with his death in Delaware. It is important to consider the many times John Avery moved as a child and young adult, and to add to the conversation all of the cultural areas that could have influenced his personality and beliefs. The Avery's Rest archaeological site is also discussed in Chapter Three. This includes the history of excavations, which began in 1976, and a description of the features included in the assemblage.

Chapter Four is composed of a description of the assemblage analyzed for this thesis including items of personal adornment and additional items that can be used in the creation of personal appearance. Chapter Five breaks analysis down into three areas of commentary: Native Americans at Avery's Rest, Dressing the Avery Household, and Household Production. Within these sections, the artifacts are interpreted and used to illustrate life at the Avery's Rest plantation, for the Avery family, and for the other individuals present.

Chapter Six puts the artifacts into a theoretical contest to draw conclusions about their significance. Using works by Diana DiPaolo Loren (2008, 2010, Loren and Beaudry 2006), Kathleen Deagan (2002), Carolyn White (2005), and Mary Beaudry (2006), artifacts are analyzed using the idea of artifact life, considering all moments of the existence of that object, including how it came into contact with multiple humans. This is especially important considering the diverse individuals residing in the county and more specifically, those at Avery's Rest. I also draw upon theories of hybridity by Stephen Silliman and power by Suzanne Spencer-Wood. The conclusions drawn about the artifacts and the site are also analyzed within the framework of historical information available on the residents of Avery's Rest. I summarize the data concluded from the artifacts and discuss how personal adornment affected the Avery family and those living with them, including their social standing and their personal lives.

CHAPTER TWO

THE HISTORY OF COLONIAL DELAWARE

The history of Delaware in the 1600s is tumultuous and full of change. The three counties that make up the state changed hands numerous times as multiple European powers fought to gain control of the valuable land situated at the mouth of Delaware Bay. This led colonists from numerous countries to call this land home, and throughout the century, settlers of various nationalities shared resources, cultures intertwined, and elements of identity were exchanged between cultural groups. To understand the social atmosphere and environment that the Avery family was absorbed into, it is first necessary to understand the history of this state.

The first occupation of Delaware occurred long before the European intrusion of the 1600s. Native Americans made their home in Delaware as early as 9000 BC, making use of the diverse natural resources the Delmarva Peninsula had to offer. The Lenape were the principal group in the area, bordered by the Susquehannocks to the west. South of the Lenape lived the Nanticoke, Assateague and other related groups who settled in the lower part of the Delmarva Peninsula, along with the small group called the Siconese around Cape Henlopen in Delaware where the Delaware Bay meets the Atlantic Ocean. Estimates for the population of Native Americans on the Delmarva peninsula range

anywhere from 300 to 2,500. Williams estimates this to be .2 and 1.3 people per square mile (Williams 2008:19).

European Settlement

The worlds of the Native Americans in the Delaware River valley changed upon the arrival of the Europeans. In 1609, Henry Hudson, on his ship the *Half Moon*, discovered the Delaware Bay. Just one year later, Samuel Argall arrived in the bay and named the point of land at the entrance to the bay for the first royal governor of Virginia, Sir Thomas West, whose title, Lord De La Warr, was combined into “Delaware” (Carter 1979:5). In 1629, land for the first permanent settlement was traded for by Dutch for the settlement of the current town of Lewes, Delaware (Weslager 1972:114) (Figure 1).

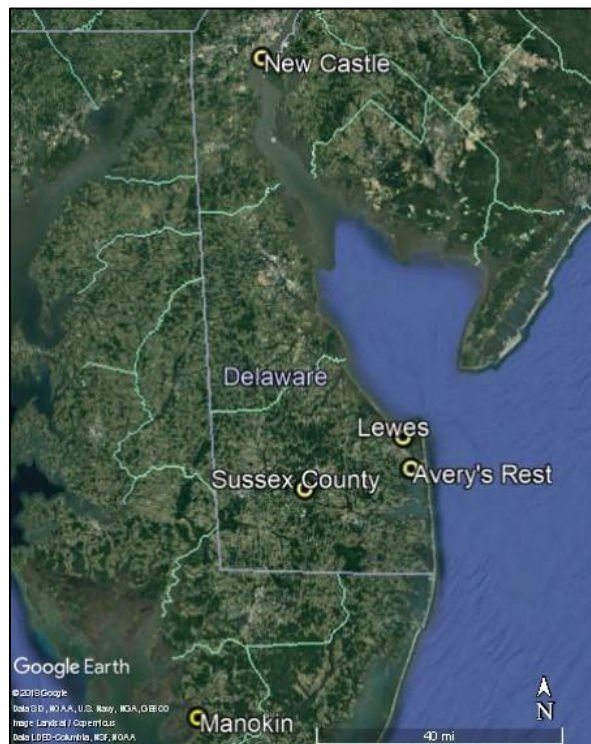


Figure 1. Map of locations of Delaware colonial towns, New Castle and Lewes, and Avery residences, Manokin and Avery's Rest © 2018 Google.

The land lay largely uninhabited by Europeans until two merchants from Amsterdam by the names of Samuel Godyn and Samuel Bloomaert finally established the settlement which they called Swanendael (or Zwaanendael) in 1631. Here, the colonists constructed one brick dwelling with a wooden palisade creating a safe area where they traded, planted grains and tobacco, and attempted to establish a whaling outpost (Munroe 2006: 18-19, Hoffeecker 1977:12). The local tribe known as the Siconese traded the land, understanding that the Dutch wanted to create a trading post, but after seeing plantation growth and assuming the settlers were here to stay and expand, the Siconese attacked and burned the colony, snuffing out the entire population of the Swanendael settlement (Soderlund 2016:14). Through this and several other acts, the Siconese and the Lenape to the north enforced a limit on agricultural growth throughout the Delaware Valley, ensuring the newcomers were here to trade only (Soderlund 2016:14). Captain David DeVries, a founding associate with Godyn and Bloomaert, returned from Holland with supplies and upon arrival, found the entire colony destroyed (Hancock 1976:12). After this loss, DeVries himself attempted to establish a whaling base at the site but a lack of whaling knowledge doomed the venture (Munroe 2006:19). The Dutch West India Company took over Swaanendael in 1635 (Hoffeecker 1977:12).

In 1638, Peter Minuit traded for land with the Lenape in order to establish New Sweden, creating Fort Christina in northern Delaware. The New Sweden Company, established that same year, hoped to monopolize the fur trade by obtaining land on each side of the Delaware River (Landsman 2011:27). Minuit, a veteran of Dutch New Netherland, was familiar with what the Native Americans desired from Europe and

brought trading goods of cloth, metal tools, tobacco pipes, and items of personal adornment (Weslager 1972:114).

The Swedes, during their control, owned almost all of the land in present-day Delaware and land into Pennsylvania and New Jersey. The Swedes approach to working with the Lenape was to establish a functional relationship and nothing more. Johann Printz, who was appointed as governor of New Sweden in 1642, originally instructed settlers to leave natives at peace and instead treat them as potential converts to Christianity, though Printz wrote in a letter to the Swedish chancellor that it would be too much effort to convert them (Soderlund 2016:28). One pastor, Johan Campanius, even learned the Delaware language and, in 1646, translated a religious text into the dialect, many years before John Eliot's translation of the Bible for Massachusett tribes (Hoffecker 1977:73).

The Lenape formed a partnership early on with the Swedes and Finns settling in the lower Delaware Valley and continued this partnership throughout the 17th century. In fact, the Lenape were a powerful force in the area, and continued to hold authority until the arrival of William Penn (Soderlund 2016:12).

The Swedes and Finns intermarried with the Lenape and learned their language, serving as translators in later years for the Dutch and English governments. Including the Dutch settlement, the colony's relationship with the Lenape remained relatively peaceful, save for a several instances where acts of mourning war were undertaken, sometimes as retribution for native deaths from imported diseases (Soderlund 2016:194).

Native Americans brought furs in order to trade the Swedes, English, and Dutch to gain items such as metal cookware, all of which were highly valued by natives for their

unbreakable quality and easy transportation (Weslager 1972:107). Along with cheap cloth, “glass beads, combs, mirrors, Jew’s harps, white clay smoking pipes, metal hoes, axes, and knives” were demanded and valued as new commodities by the natives (Weslager 1972:107). The Lenape selectively adopted some technologies brought by the Europeans such as cloth, firearms, and some tools, but kept other native ways of life such as their style of agriculture, hunting, fishing, and gathering (Soderlund 2016:24).

Evidence of trading was found at a Native American cemetery in Pennsylvania, where Weslager and the Archaeological Society of Delaware excavated the graves. Materials found in the burials included clay pipes, gun flints, brass buttons, and glass beads (Weslager 1972:55). Another cemetery, attributed to the Minquas who were neighbors of the Lenape, also included European grave goods such as “brass kettles, glass beads, forks, spoons, axes, hoes, and other European objects dating from the early 17th century” (Weslager 1972:100). European goods were found most often in mortuary contexts (Stewart 2014:15). Trade items were also exchanged between native groups and European trade goods traveled far (Stewart 2014:19).

The Dutch settled Fort Casimir, now known as New Castle, in 1651 a few miles south of the Swedish stronghold of Fort Christina. In 1654, New Castle was captured by the Swedes and renamed Fort Trinity. Only one year later, the Dutch conquered the Swedes and the New Sweden Colony, adding the land to the growing New Netherland empire (Munroe 2006:24-26).

The English also played a hand in the settling of Delaware. Maryland, an English settlement, made attempts at claiming areas in the three counties. In 1654, a Maryland settler came to Fort Christina proclaiming that the English had already staked this land

(Munroe 2003:26). In 1659, conditions were so poor in the New Netherland colonies that several Dutch settlers crossed the Delmarva Peninsula to settle in the Maryland half followed by six Dutch soldiers (Munroe 2003:45-46). Petitioning for their return, Jacob Alrichs, the director of the Delaware colony addressed the letter to Nathaniel Utie, a planter and trader and part of Maryland's government. Utie went to New Castle, stating that the Dutch were living on Maryland's land. Later, New Netherland burgher Augustine Hermann and another emissary met with the Maryland governor, and illustrated that with the settlement of Swanendael, the Dutch had established control of the land long before the English (Munroe 2003:45-47). Interestingly enough, Augustine Hermann, originally from Bohemia, came through New Netherland but upon creating his 1670 map commissioned by Maryland, he was awarded a large plantation in northern Maryland, close to Delaware, where he settled. The map survives to display the settler's idea of the Mid-Atlantic region (Hermann 1670) (Figure 2). Hermann depicts Virginia, Maryland, and the Chesapeake as the focus of the map, central to the eye, and Delaware is hardly illustrated beyond the coastline. The eastern part of the Delmarva Peninsula is even labeled with the "N" and "D" of Maryland, as Marylanders considered Delaware to be part of the territory of Maryland. Though the purpose of this map is to show Maryland and Virginia, even New Jersey is more illustrated than Delaware, suggesting that the area was frontier still.



Figure 2. Excerpt of Augustine Herman Map, 1670.

Sussex, the most southern of the three counties of Delaware, was continuously harassed by Maryland. Deeds were given by the Delaware government and the Somerset County, Maryland government for the same areas (Munroe 2003:70). Several of these deeds were given to well-known Delawareans or men that moved from Maryland to Delaware during this time period, though many thought they were moving within the same colony. It is likely that Sussex County families owned and maintained land in both colonies, as John Avery did.

In 1664, Charles II of England granted the land, including the Delaware Bay and River, to his brother James, Duke of York. That year, four English warships attacked and took over the town of New Castle and claimed the Dutch lands for England (Munroe 2006:30).

In 1672, a surveyor came from Maryland claiming he had proof that the surrounding land and Delaware belonged to Maryland. The small, scattered population of the distant county made it hard to keep Marylanders out. After turning away the Maryland surveyors, the inhabitants of Sussex were attacked by an armed band led by Thomas Jones whose main purpose was to seize all trade items (Thompson 2013:189). Maryland continued to claim that Sussex was theirs, even after a delegate from Delaware was sent to protest in St. Mary's City, the capitol of Maryland (Munroe 2003:64).

Lewes, Delaware, founded in 1659, developed independently, isolated from the larger, more established town of New Castle to the north. Originally settled as the colony of Swanendael, Lewes was the only town in Sussex County, and nearby towns were at least thirty miles away. Still, they had the essential buildings such as a courthouse and prison raised in the 1680s, and a marketplace, blockhouse, and burial ground in the 1690's (Hancock 1976:20-21). While surrounding rural areas hosted settlers, Lewes' population consisted of only 47 people in 1671, much smaller than New Castle's estimated population of 96 (Soderlund 2016:116). Violent raids from Maryland reduced this number to just five or six families by 1680 (Hancock 1976:20-21). Most residents were farmers, but a few tradesmen are noted in the court records before 1700. Living in Lewes was risky though, for its geographical isolation from other towns, proximity to Maryland, and position on a peninsula left the small town subject to attacks from natives, Marylanders, and pirates.

The Dutch made a small comeback in 1673 when they regained control of New York. Delaware was ruled from New York, and Maryland saw this change of power as an opportunity to strike at Lewes again (Munroe 2003:65). Captain Thomas Howell, as

instructed by Maryland Governor Charles Calvert, led a successful attack on Lewes and Dutch rule ended after only one year (Thompson 2013:189).

After the English reclaimed New York in 1674, a new governor arrived. Edmund Andros had been newly appointed by the Duke of York and inherited all of the problems of the new colony, including the frequent violence between the natives and the English in some areas (Weslager 1972:146). The Lenape maintained much of their land holdings through the late 17th century, while the Native Americans in New York, southern New England, and the Chesapeake were pushed out which resulted in conflict (Soderlund 2016:17).

In 1681, with the charter of Pennsylvania, Delaware formally became a separately named colony whereas before it had simply been part of New Sweden, New Netherland and New York. After a boundary line was established in an arc twelve miles to the north and west of New Castle, it was also formally distinct from Pennsylvania, though it was still under Pennsylvanian control. After this, it was known as the three lower colonies on the Delaware and was frequently referred to as such in political documents (Munroe 2003:77). William Penn was formally granted control of Delaware by the Duke of York with a deed and a lease for New Castle, and the twelve-mile circle around it for ten thousand years. A separate deed and lease covered the land south of New Castle to Cape Henlopen, near the settlement of Swanendael/Lewes for ten thousand years (Munroe 2003:79).

With the arrival of William Penn in 1682, relative peace came to Pennsylvania and the three lower counties (Delaware) who once again had new government. Penn renamed the counties New Castle, Kent and Sussex, as their names remain today

(Hoffecker 1977:21-22). The Quaker influx into Pennsylvania was one of the first colonies not to have been settled for financial prosperity. Penn preached religious freedom and freedom for colonists to create their own legislative bodies (Weslager 1972:156). He insisted that natives give their “consent” to occupation of their lands, in this sense, recognizing them as owners. Penn did establish control over providing rum to the natives, as he blamed earlier settlers for introducing the natives to drink, though this was not always enforced (Weslager 1972:159). When Penn finally arrived at New Castle in 1682, his reputation as a fair leader had spread and he was welcomed by the natives and the English. He was also welcomed by the Swedes and Dutch, who he allowed to stay in the English colony (Weslager 1972:162-163).

After Penn’s arrival, Maryland again sent a delegation to Delaware, claiming land extending above New Castle. After meeting with Lord Baltimore in 1682, nothing was resolved but Lord Baltimore urged his men, especially those to the west of Delaware and those of British or Irish descent, to move into Lewes in exchange for cheap land rates. Penn, attempting to take a peaceful path, sent magistrates to bring the men cooperating with Baltimore to court. The land continued to be disputed by Lord Baltimore and Penn, each reaching up to higher authorities including the king and Duke of York until 1688 when the Duke of York succeeded Charles II and became King James II (Munroe 2003:87).

The Lower Counties began advocating for independence from Pennsylvania. During Penn’s peaceful and passive leadership, Delaware became somewhat of a pirate haven. The port of Lewes was attacked several times without fear of retaliation from the reserved Penn (Munroe 2003:100). Tension between the Lower Counties and Penn grew

over time. The three counties slowly gained more and more governmental power and established their own legislative parties starting in 1701. By the time Delaware became an independent state in 1776, the governor was the only government official with power over the three counties.

The history of Delaware is distinct from many colonies because of the variety of cultures that called the area home during the 1600s. It is reflected in the material culture of many colonial sites and serves as a solid background for understanding the social and political environment to which John Avery introduced his family.

Multicultural Delaware

The presence of many different cultures during the colonial period in Delaware influenced the people that lived there. In the later half of the 17th century, cultures combined, exchanged portions of new lifestyles, and often created an amalgam way of life. Dutch, Finnish, and Swedish settlers brought traditions from home and their way of living to the peninsula. There they encountered the Lenape, and later, Englishmen. Government takeovers in the early years of the settlement occasionally resulted in unrest between parties, but by the time the Avery family moved into the area in the 1670s, the English had all but formally taken over the colony, which created political stability. A close look at the court records for Sussex County reveals men with traditional Swedish, Dutch, and English names (Horle 1991). A scattering of Native American names, and names that reflect additional cultures and religions, such as Hebrew and Quaker, are also present. It is also known that free Africans were living in the county or in surrounding counties and came to conduct business in Lewes. Families of different heritages

intermarried and served together on the court. The intermixing of cultures, especially through marriage, started very early in Delaware, and by the time the Averys arrived, cultures in Sussex County had been coexisting for decades.

The identity of individuals in the colonial Delaware Valley was directly tied to their home nation. This idea of a national affiliation often included religion and language which certain groups maintained during the various takeovers of the area, though verbally committing to follow the rules and regulations of the new colonizing party (Thompson 2013:6). Thompson states that “in the Delaware Valley national affiliations powerfully affected how settlers, officials, and Indians related to one another in the aftermath of handovers and invasions” (2013:6). These groups of nationalities wielded power within their region and often had their own local officials. Though these assemblies often pledged allegiance to whatever political entity had most recently taken over the colony, their identity was still based on their home nationality (Thompson 2013:8).

Thompson also emphasizes that intercultural relationships formed new partnerships and that common interests could overrule nationalist feelings (2013:11). Though Finns and Swedes intermarried with local native groups, indigenous peoples and the European invaders never truly meshed cultures in the way that European groups eventually intermixed (Thompson 2013:12). After Penn’s arrival, the power and identity of these national groups lessened as the entire region fell under English rule. Penn himself preached unity in diversity as he embraced cultural and religious differences in his governance. Whether this was a result of a loss of national identity through subsequent generations born into the New World or a true acceptance of Penn’s policy,

by the end of the 17th century, many European settlers embraced a unified identity while still continuing to practice cultural beliefs (Thompson 2013:9).

Understanding the background behind this colorful demographic and amalgamation of cultures is crucial to understanding sites in this region. Archaeologists and historians should not assume that any site is “native,” “English,” or “Dutch,” simply by location or material culture. Though the early inhabitants themselves might self-identify with one of these cultures, those of different nationalities interacted, intermarried, and formed a varied community. Residents of the county conducted business, socialized and traded with fellow residents whose heritage was greatly different from their own. Sussex County received ships bearing goods from England as well as Sweden and the Netherlands. Food, furs, and other trade items were exchanged between Native Americans and Europeans. In addition, crafts and traditions were borrowed from culture to culture. Dutch tiles, German stoneware, Dutch yellow bricks, and native wampum were all found at Avery’s Rest. In an area where there was probably limited contact with Europe (most ships docked at the main town of New Castle, up the river), settlers had to make do with what was available, working together and sharing knowledge.

For this reason, I do not regard the Avery’s Rest site as strictly Delaware, Chesapeake, or English. The argument can be made to place it into any of these categories, along with several others, including Dutch and Native American. Instead, the analysis given here uses data from a variety of sites, including ones in the Chesapeake, Delaware River Valley, and New England. Avery’s Rest is a gathering of cultures, as are so many sites in the area. It has obvious influences from a variety of cultures that were

almost assuredly continuously developing during the time of Avery's occupation. Avery, himself, was a mixture of religions, beliefs and influences, although it is hard to tell if he strictly followed any regimen. The site's architecture and material culture reflect this mixed pattern of life.

The list of cultures associated with Delaware, from ruling parties like the Swedes to local emancipated slaves and Native Americans, is extensive. The change of rule and sometimes, lack of rule within the state opened the doors for settlers of all backgrounds to call Delaware home. At first glance, the history of Delaware is all about rule switching between the Dutch, English, and Swedes, and when it belonged to various larger colonies like Maryland, New Netherland, Pennsylvania, and New Sweden. But in between paper-based political formalities, a society of mixed cultures, races, and religions flourished and matured as evidenced in the material culture. The Avery family assimilated into this diverse environment and made Delaware their home.

CHAPTER THREE

THE AVERY FAMILY AND AVERY'S REST

John Avery was a drunk, rude, foul-mouthed individual. President of the court at Whorekill, captain of the militia, and a mariner, John Avery was a man of many hats, and from many places. Born in 1632 in Wapping, England as the only child of Matthew and Anna Avery, John immigrated with his family to Boston in 1637, when he was five years old (Morrison and Morrison 2006). Matthew Avery was a mariner by trade, an occupation that John would later follow (Hoff 1991:181). Boston was a Puritan stronghold in the new colonies, and the Averys' move hints at the family's religious beliefs. Several references throughout the historic record suggest that the Averys, while remaining members of the Anglican church in Wapping, self-identified as Puritans. Matthew Avery was addressed as "goodman" in the records of the Wapping chapel, a Puritan term of respect. The family moved back to London in 1640, during the English Civil War, perhaps to support other Puritans during the troubled time (Hoff 1991:181; Morrison and Morrison 2006).

Though they traveled between Boston and England, Matthew Avery purchased land in Charlestown in 1637 totaling about 165 acres (Morrison and Morrison 2006). After Matthew's death in London in 1642, the land fell to Anna, his widow, and John, his son (Wyman 1879:40). John joined the London Guild of Barber-Surgeons in 1656 at the

age of 24, giving him citizenship in London (Morrison and Morrison 2006). In 1656, John and his mother sold his father's 400 acres in Charlestown. John is not mentioned in London records after 1656. This suggests his permanent move to New England occurred during or after this year (Morrison and Morrison 2006). In 1663, he married Sarah Browne of Charlestown, a Puritan whose father's land neighbored the Avery's land. John's mother, Anna, died in 1664 with no property to her name and left material possessions to family in England, suggesting she resided there (Morrison and Morrison 2006).

Shortly after they married, the young Averys left for Maryland in June 1665 with two men, Francis Raines and Edward Perkins. They were granted 200 acres in Manokin Hundred around the Manokin River in Somerset County, south of what is now Salisbury, Maryland on the eastern shore of the Chesapeake Bay. John Avery, though young, may have been originally lured to the developing area by Captain Edward Gibbons, who was an acquaintance of the Avery family in Charlestown, Massachusetts before his death in 1654 (Wyman 1879:40; Morrison and Morrison 2006). Gibbons obtained a letter from the ruling Calvert family of Maryland in 1643 which awarded him license to bring Puritan families from the Massachusetts Bay colony to Maryland in an effort to fulfill Lord Baltimore's quest for religious diversity in largely Catholic Maryland (Neill 1876:109).

Avery's three older daughters, Mary, Elizabeth, and Sarah, were born in Maryland from 1667 to 1672 (Sellers 1922:66). Avery worked his land in Maryland, evidenced by the registering of his cattle mark with the court in 1667, and marks for his daughters in 1673. He also continued working as a mariner and was listed as being master

of the sloop *Prosperous* which transported goods and tobacco to Barbados (Lukezic 2013:15).

The Averys had an active home life in Maryland. John served as the provider for the family, but his wife, Sarah, assisted financially as well. Sarah was educated in Charlestown as a young girl. Educating young ladies was a common occurrence in Boston, but less common in other colonies. Sarah became the first schoolteacher registered in Maryland and taught a dame school, a traditionally Puritan style of education in which the children were taught by a married woman in her home for payment (Morrison and Morrison 2006). It is assumed that Sarah also educated her four daughters, Mary, Elizabeth, Sarah, and Jemima.

Avery did well as both a mariner and plantation owner. He transported at least one servant for his own household from Boston to Maryland and one indentured servant for another Maryland family. Avery continued to add to his land, making his first venture into Delaware in 1671. Due to the Dutch invasion, the family waited to move to Delaware until 1674, establishing themselves four miles south of Lewes on the Rehoboth Bay on an 800-acre plot titled “Avery’s Rest.” The land was formally named, recorded, and granted by Governor Edmund Andross in 1675 (Lukezic 2013:25).

In 1676, Governor Andross commissioned Avery as “Captain of the foot company, of the Militia at the Whore Kill” and in 1678, Avery was appointed with several other men to be a Justice of the Peace at Whorekill and was addressed as Captain throughout the court records after this point (Lukezic 2013:26). However, Avery was not the ideal, upstanding citizen Andross desired to preside over this small county and court. In a series of events beginning in 1676, he was accused of foul behavior several times,

first by Edward Southrin. Southrin reported in a letter to Andross that Avery called him a “roague” and that he was verbally abused by Avery, and that as a result, Avery was not worthy to hold a position of office above him. In this statement, it was also noted that others on the council were wary of Avery, including John Kipshaven, who was abused for not giving Avery a “Bottell of Rom for an Indian hee had hired on the Sabbath Day” (Sellers 1898:17). This was not the last of his misdemeanors. Luke Watson, a fellow member of the court, wrote to Andross in 1679 concerning five “Grose Abuses” committed by Avery. The first concerned his character, claiming that in an instance when the rest of the court did not agree with Avery, he

in A greate Rage and furey went out of Court Cursing and swaring; Calling of the rest of the Court ffooles Knaves and Rogues; wishing that if ever he satt Amongst us again; that the devil might Com and fetch him away; and also threeting and presently after did strik one of the Mgistrats with his Kane; and had he not bene prevented by the spectators might a done much damage that way (Sellers 1898:22).

The second, third, and fourth were in regard to improperly handled court cases, but the fourth claimed that

Capt. Avery is an Incouriger and upholder of dronking-nes Theeft Cursing swearing and ffigthing to the Affrighting Amazing and Terifieinge of his Maties quiet peacable subjects; whoes grose weeckednes and unhuman con . . . if a timely stop be not put to it; may Justly be expexted to bring downe gods Heavy Judgement upon this place (Sellers 1898:23).

In the fifth concern, Watson wrote of an encounter with Avery at a neighbor’s house, drunk on a Sunday. Avery claimed to challenge ruling powers claiming not to be under

anyone's jurisdiction save for God, and called Watson a "beagerly Rogue and theefe" (Sellers 1898:23). Watson pleaded Andross that Avery make good his threats to prove Watson a thief and beggar and noted of Avery's "Abomenable wicked practices Life and Conversasion" (Sellers 1898:23).

The problems did not end here, as Avery again lashed out against his peers in the court in 1681, calling his colleagues

A Company of Rogues and pettefull fellows, and perticolerly he Called the presedent of the Court Barstard and said that the Governor had as good sent his Bald Dog to a Calld him to an Account for the powder as he, And said the he would make his sword walke to Morrow And Farther said that he would pull them downe A Lettel Lower befor to morrow at night (Horle 1991:112-113).

When the court offered to forgive his misdemeanors if he apologized, Avery promptly answered, "that he would see the devil take us all befor he would" and so the court ordered a fine to be paid (Horle 1991:112-113).

Despite these accusations and dramatic behavior, Avery remained a member of the court, and when William Penn arrived in New Castle in 1682, Avery traveled to New Castle to meet him and to be sworn in as a justice in the province of Pennsylvania. In September of 1681, Avery pleaded that a case be moved to the next court due to his illness (Lukezic 2013:26). He seemed to recover, and followed through with several court cases until his death on September 16th, 1682 (Horle 1991:188).

Avery died intestate and the court ordered an inventory of his estate. His wife, Sarah, was named the executrix of the estate. His oldest daughter, Mary, was already promised to marry Hercules Shepard, and they were to receive a plot of land. Shepard

had visited Avery on his deathbed, and Avery confirmed that the two would receive land next to “that which the Widow Avery lives on” (Sellers 1898:29). Avery’s neighbors John Roades, Norton Claypoole, William Footcher, and John Depree appraised his estate and Sarah Avery settled the rest of his estate and debts. Sarah remarried Robert Clifton and Avery’s Rest was divided up between Sarah, and daughters Jemima and Mary. Sarah and Robert lived on a part of the original 800 acres in a northern section of the tract, which was renamed Clifton Hall. The remaining 600 was to be divided between Mary, John’s oldest daughter, and Jemima, his youngest (Lukezic 2013: 26-27).

Hercules and Mary improved the plantation, erecting a two-story house with a glass window. Jemima had married John Morgan, and together in 1698 they sued Mary and her second husband, Richard Hinman, for Jemima’s rightful portion of the estate. After the suit concluded, Jemima settled with the west half, and Mary with the east half. Sarah Avery, John’s daughter, was granted 200 acres of her father’s land upon marrying John Kipshaven in 1690, likely receiving land her father owned elsewhere in the county. Today, the archaeological site of Avery’s Rest sits on the portion of the estate given to Jemima in 1698 after her father’s death (Lukezic 2013:27).

Avery’s Rest Archaeological Site

Avery’s Rest (Site 7S-G-57) is located in Sussex County, Delaware, the southernmost county in the state, which shares its southern and western border with Maryland and lines the Atlantic Ocean for most of its eastern border. Seated on the north shore of Rehoboth Bay, the remains of the plantation buildings are located on privately-owned land. Research began in 1976, when archaeologists from the Delaware Division of

Historical and Cultural Affairs (DHCA), a state office, executed a survey of fields around Rehoboth Bay in order to locate and identify potential archaeological sites in an area where new beach resort development was planned. From this survey, archaeologists discovered artifacts dating to the end of the 17th century continuing through the early years of the 18th century. Archival research determined that the artifacts were connected to Avery's Rest (Lukezic 2013:16).

After its identification, Avery's Rest was listed on the National Register of Historic Places by the United States National Park Service and continued to exist simply as an unexcavated, cultivated field. The site was again threatened in 2006, when the DHCA was notified that a housing development was planned in the field where the site was located. The Sussex County Chapter of the Archaeological Society of Delaware (ASD) was asked to salvage the site. The Society was able to conduct three years of excavation on the site, with help from DHCA, several consulting firms and a large work force of dedicated volunteers. The housing development destroyed a portion of the site after a significant amount of excavation. After the salvage work was completed, work began again in 2010 on the part of the site not destroyed, and with the gracious approval of the landowners, continued until 2015, conducted by a dedicated and passionate volunteer team from Archaeological Society of Delaware, Inc. (Lukezic 2013:30).

Over one hundred archaeological features have been identified on this site, producing thousands of artifacts (Figure 3). These features included daub pits, cellars, wells, and graves. While the majority of these features are attributed to the occupations of John Avery and his daughter, Jemima, an earlier settlement period is evident through the material culture and positioning of features on site. Several Avery-era features cut into

and are on a different orientation than features from the prior settlement. The pre-Avery features, which include a well and two earthfast structures, produced very few artifacts. The features were assigned to a settlement period by principal investigator, Dan Griffith (Griffith 2018). The identity of the earlier residents has not been traceable in the archival record. This earlier settlement occurred when the governance of Delaware changed nationalities multiple times, and records from this time period are scattered and few. Consistent land documentation started to occur in 1664 with the Duke of York, who ordered almost every property resurveyed and formally deeded. It was in this record that some of Avery's land holdings were mentioned, but they did not mention a previous owner, or transfer of deed to Avery, therefore the historical identity of this earlier settlement remains a mystery.

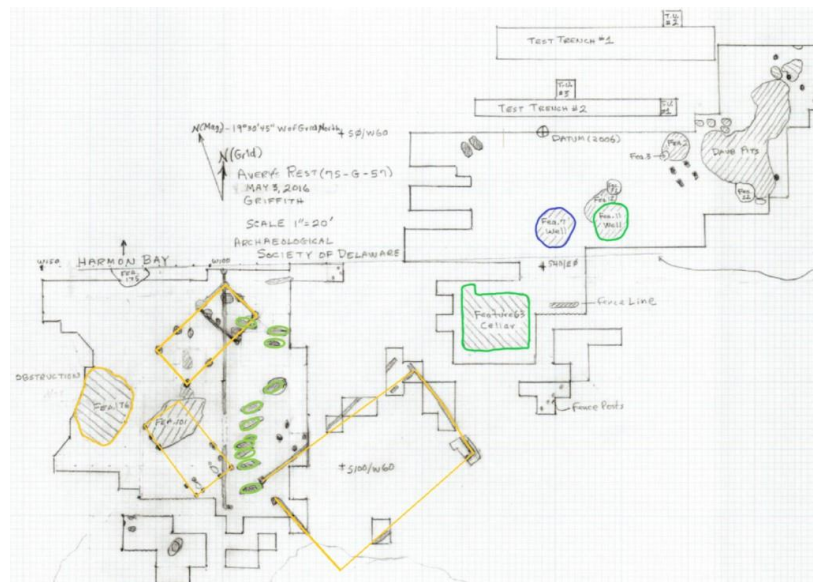


Figure 3. The Avery's Rest Site as drawn by Daniel Griffith. The image is shown in this format to reflect the work of the volunteers recording the site. Outlines added by the author: gold signifies the pre-Avery occupation, green signifies the Avery occupation, and blue signifies the Morgan occupation.

Several of the Avery occupation features were lost to the new construction, including some of the daub pits. The team was not able to find a main residence associated with the two Avery settlements. This structure could have been lost to the new construction that triggered the excavations or to the existing development on site connected to the landowners. The two Avery wells located in the area of new construction and a cellar hole, which was not being threatened by construction, were fully excavated in 2008 and 2009. This thesis concentrates on the cellar (Feature 63) which is thought to be a storehouse, and the two wells (Features 7 and 11) which will be referred to as “well one” and “well two,” respectively. Well one is only associated with the residency of Jemima (Avery) Morgan and her husband, well two contains deposits from both John Avery and his daughter Jemima Morgan, and the cellar contains strata from both the Avery and Morgan occupations. These three features were selected for their clearly defined and artifact-rich strata. Hundreds of artifacts came out of these three features, which were filled both naturally during periods of disuse and through use as a refuse pit by John Avery, and after his death by his daughter Jemima. The wells were located about fifteen feet from each other, center to center, and extended between thirteen and fifteen feet below the modern surface, going into the modern water table, which preserved the original wood casing in well two. The cellar, located southwest of the wells, was twelve by sixteen feet, and about five feet deep, with an outside entrance in the northwest corner. The stratigraphy of these three features is consistent (Figure 4). Two settlement periods and an abandonment period were originally determined during excavation and continuing analysis of the artifacts has supported the correct original identification of these layers. The settlement periods dated from 1674-1682, and 1694-

1715, with a distinct vacancy period in between and were dated through artifacts recovered from the strata by the principal investigator, Daniel Griffith, and correlated with historical records. Griffith also identified vacancy periods in the cellar and well two which were defined as levels where features were abandoned by human occupants. During these times, features underwent a lack of maintenance by human hands which allowed sediment to be deposited by natural alluvial and aeolian processes resulting in erosion and deposition. Occasionally, artifacts were washed into features with the natural movement of sediment and erosion of walls resulting in the occurrence of cultural objects in naturally formed layers. The temporal periods of use and disuse will be referred to as “the Avery occupation,” “vacancy period,” and “the Morgan occupation.”



Figure 4. Profile view of the cellar, feature 63, with interpreted occupation layers. A: post 1715, B: approximately 1715, C: 1694-1715, D: 1682-1694, E: 1674-1682 (Photo by Daniel Griffith).

As of 2017, ASD has completed excavations at Avery’s Rest. The artifacts have now been moved to the state repository and limited research will be conducted on this collection. The personal adornment items analyzed in this thesis will provide an in-depth look at a class of artifacts during distinct periods of occupation. This analysis will

complement the site research completed on the excavated features and burials. My thesis also provides a glimpse into the lives of the Avery's Rest occupants. Only a small amount of archaeological analysis has been completed for this time period in Delaware, especially in the southern portion of the state. Avery's Rest archaeological site is one of the few sites that was extensively excavated and so by contributing to the analysis, my research provides a piece of the puzzle for understanding this well-preserved, diverse, and important site for colonial Delaware history.

CHAPTER FOUR

ASSEMBLAGE FROM AVERY'S REST

The Archaeological Society of Delaware (ASD) loaned 173 artifacts to University of Massachusetts Boston for analysis. These artifacts from the cellar and the two wells already had a paper catalog listing, were washed, bagged, partially labeled, and had some preliminary analysis done. The extent of analysis undertaken for this thesis was a detailed identification of the artifact including its material components. ASD cataloged these items by context and grouped them by feature. Upon their arrival in Boston, they were temporarily regrouped according to type of artifact (button, buckle, straight pin) and a digital catalog was created. The catalog was created in Microsoft Excel so that it will be available for ASD to use.

The artifacts had already been washed, but some were further cleaned upon arrival with the use of fine tools and a microscope. These tools allowed for the removal of dirt from smaller, more delicate artifacts that was not able to be reached with standard, larger cleaning tools such as toothbrushes. The use of a microscope allowed for observation of minute features on artifacts that were previously unnoticed.

The artifacts were originally identified by context, which created a predicament when more than one of a type of item occurred within a context. This problem was solved by assigning each duplicate artifact in a context a letter following the context number.

Using this system, artifacts that were the sole example of their type in a context did not receive a letter.

Identifications done by ASD were double checked and further analysis was completed for several objects when possible. Cataloging was done using Carolyn White's *American Artifacts of Personal Adornment* (2005), Mary Beaudry's *Findings* (2006), and Kathleen Deagan's *Artifacts of the Spanish Colonies... Volume 2* (2002). Additional artifact-specific sources were used for identification of specific groups of objects and are cited within the artifact group.

Dating the artifacts was not a major emphasis during analysis for several reasons. The stratigraphy on the site is very distinct, and archaeologists were able to clearly identify and date occupation layers and vacancy layers during excavation. This site was occupied during a very brief period of time, around 30 years, during which styles and trends changed very little. Many of the artifacts included in this analysis dated to a range that encompassed this thirty-year interrupted occupation, resulting in a shorter site occupation than artifact date range. Artifact groups not included in this analysis, such as ceramics and pipes, provided a more concrete date range within the levels. All of the artifacts found are consistent with Jemima and John Avery's occupations, save for a small surface assemblage from the late 1700s and 1800s, mostly mixed into the plow zone. The feature contexts explored in this thesis had not been disturbed and had chronological integrity.

Artifacts found in the plowzone were excluded from this and dated since they were found in mixed context, so as to allow them to be potentially grouped with a settlement period. Personal adornment items from plowzone test pits above the features

and within the immediate range were analyzed as part of the overall analysis with the artifacts from the three features. It has been proven that artifacts from the plowzone do not travel far from their original deposit location, and so these artifacts were considered with the closest feature (Riordan 1988).

Clothing Fasteners

Clothing fasteners represent a large portion of the assemblage and some of the more interesting items throughout the collection. While cloth usually does not survive archaeologically, the accoutrements that secured clothing often were often made of more robust materials like bone and metal. Fasteners like laces and cloth ties were subject to the same fate as cloth and often are not preserved. Buttons, buckles, and a hook and eye are all types of fasteners represented at Avery's Rest.

Eighteen buttons were in the collection for analysis. Of these, four were surface or plowzone finds (contexts 1, 834, 868, 877). Of these four items, one (877) displays manufacture techniques dated later than the Avery occupation. The other three buttons all have designs and physical characteristics that suggest they were made in the 17th century. Of the remaining 14 buttons, six came from well two, seven from the cellar, and one came from well one; two were in contexts associated with the first occupation, seven from the second occupation, three from undetermined contexts, and two from vacancy periods. The material composition was determined by appearance. Almost all of the buttons were made of copper and many had tin plating.

Two buttons were made out of pewter and were badly disintegrated. Context 994, a vacancy period in the cellar, contained one pewter button with a rose motif on the front

(Figure 5). The edges of the pattern are disintegrated, and the pewter loop that originally formed the shank has broken off, leaving two stubs where the loop connected to the base.



Figure 5. Pewter button with a rose motif, context 994 (Photo by Melody Henkel).

The second pewter button was located in the cellar, in context 1017, associated with the Avery occupation. This button has a simple rounded top with no decoration. The decay of the metal is only at the edge and so the center of the button and the shank are preserved. The shank on this button is a wide loop, in a style not listed in Stanley South's typology.

Two common patterns were identified within the buttons group. The first style was a pattern of button referred to as a "nipple button," which featured a gradually rising edge that came to a point in the center of these round buttons. While not identical, three buttons had this pattern (contexts 562, 571, and 1133.) These three buttons were made of copper alloy with a tin-plating. The button from context 562, an Avery occupation layer, has a gold wire shank (Figure 6). The gold was probably a secondary addition, possibly to replace a broken shank or to keep something of high monetary value close to the body. The speculation of the purpose of this precious metal loop is seemingly endless, though a

definitive answer is elusive. There was an additional button (834) from the plowzone that followed this style.



Figure 6. Two views of button 562 including the gold shank (Photo by Melody Henkel).

The second common pattern appears as concentric circles in an embossed pattern along with circles of dots, also raised, with a raised dot in the center, forming a point, similar to the nipple buttons. Four buttons were found with this pattern and were very similar in size, ranging from 12.6mm in width to 13mm in width. One button was found in a surface collection (context 1) and the remaining three buttons were found in contexts 479, 531, and 1030, wells one, two and the cellar, respectively. All three were copper with tinplating. Context 531 is associated with the Avery occupation, and contexts 479 and 1030 are from the Morgan occupation. This style of button was not found in any source books and could not be dated by pattern.

There are several relatively nondescript buttons in the collection that are made of copper but are either too corroded to be able to determine a design, or were plain. Context 525 contained one small corroded copper domed button with no design, and a very rusted

iron shank. Context 1008 also contained a small button with a dented face, made of copper alloy. A button from context 1019 and one of two buttons from 517 (button 517a) are very similar in that they have a domed copper top with a ring around the outside of the face. Button 1019 still has an iron shank, while the shank was clearly iron on 517 but has been broken off during the course of its life.

The second button from 517 (button 517b) might not actually be a button. It is a hollow copper dome that could have been attached to a back plate with an eye. Context 958, from the cellar, contains a button that could be similar to what 517b might have looked like as a whole. This button is similar in size (517b is 13.2mm in diameter, 958 is 13.7mm) and shape with a domed face placed on top of a back and shank. These buttons are plain with no design etched into them or molded on top.

The one button with a unique, hand-engraved design was found in a test pit near the cellar. This button (868) is copper, decorated with a sunburst pattern, and had an iron shank. This button is the only one with an engraved face, but unfortunately was found in a test unit and therefore does not reveal much about the context of the button.

Buttons were used most commonly on men's clothing in the 17th and 18th centuries (White 2005:57). Other fasteners such as laces, cloth ties, and hook and eyes were more commonly associated with women's garments, though were still used in menswear, as well (White 2005:74). One small iron wire eye loop was excavated from the cellar, context 965, associated with the Morgan occupation. No hook was found.

Buckles were used on many parts of an outfit, from hats to shoes. Nine buckles and buckle fragments were recovered from the three features at Avery's Rest. Of these,

eight were made out of copper alloy and one is iron. Most of the buckles are relatively plain except for a few with molded decoration.

All of the buckles from Avery's Rest are missing the tongue. Some of the buckles have iron corrosion in the center, leading to the assumption that the tongue is still present, but was made out of iron and therefore is now a mass of corrosion. Three buckles have iron corrosion in the center, contexts 460, 1080, and 563. Only one buckle is a simple round wire frame, the rest have flat backs and so were probably molded. Context 1000's buckle is made out of iron wire and is a plain rectangular buckle. This buckle seems to be a very practical, functional buckle due to its shape and material.

Two of the buckles are almost an exact match. Buckles 1080 and 1056 are almost identical in style, shape and size. 1056 is only half of the buckle, broken right after the pin (Figure 7).



Figure 7. Matching buckles from contexts 1080 and 1056 (Photo by Melody Henkel).

The smallest whole buckle is a miniature oval buckle, 31mm by 21mm. This buckle from context 460, a context in the cellar associated with the Morgan occupation,

has large amounts of iron corrosion, suggesting that the entire chape is present still beneath the corrosion.

Buckle 563 is a very plain buckle with no design. Resembling a soda tab, this buckle only has a widened frame where the end of the buckle receives the tongue. Made of copper alloy with some iron corrosion on the frame, this buckle is broken in half and measured 21mm wide, suggesting it was around 40mm when it was whole.

The second smallest buckle out of the collection is from context 998, an undetermined context in the cellar. Small and rectangular with a slightly convex shape lengthwise, this buckle frame is missing the pin and is convex from the center outward.

Similar in shape and style to the matching buckles in contexts 1080 and 1056, buckle 517b has the pin but no tongue or roll. It is concave and has some carved or molded decoration on the front. Also slightly skewed, this buckle seems to have been mangled slightly at some point in its life, giving it the concave shape, whereas most buckles are convex.

Buckle 517a is a large, rectangular buckle with significant decoration. While the decoration is nothing elaborate, most of the face of the buckle is decorated. The two outer edges are decorated with a ridge-like pattern and repetitive lines decorate the face of the buckle on the outside frames. The pin and roll are still present, and the entire buckle is made of copper alloy. The long edges have a convex mold and the short edges have dashes cut into the inner edge and a roughly scalloped outer edge. The buckle is broken at one corner where it appears to have snapped and the frame is bent downward from the break. The buckles from 517 are from well two, associated with the Morgan occupation period.

Ornamental Artifacts

Ornamental artifacts also found their way into the material culture of Avery's Rest. Glass and shell beads, a stone gorget, and copper tinkling cones were all found throughout the three features.

Six glass beads were found in the two wells and the cellar. One bead was found in a surface plow zone context. Of the six, four were from the cellar, and one each from the wells. Three were in contexts associated with the Morgan occupation period, two from contexts associated with the first, and one from an unidentified context within the cellar. All of the beads found are monochromatic.

Beads 965 and 456, were solid black and small (5-6mm wide and 3-4mm long). Both were found in contexts attributed to the Morgan occupation but were found in separate features. The second set of beads, from 812 and 1081, are made of clear glass and faceted, and 7-8mm long by 9-10mm wide. 812 was found in test pit S55/W5, near the cellar, and 1081 was found in the cellar, associated with the first settlement period.

Two additional beads were found in the cellar. Though both were gold/amber colored, bead 1080 is small, 3.5mm by 9.5mm, and disc-shaped, with the hole drilled through the middle of the disc. By contrast, bead 1110 is large and globular, 13.6mm by 17.5mm. Bead 1110 is from an undetermined context in the feature. The sixth bead from Avery's Rest is a small white/clear bead from well two, the Morgan occupation, context 572B. Dramatically different from the rest of the bead collection, this bead has small spikes extending from its body. The spikes are made of the same clear glass and appear to have been made by pulling sections of molten glass away from the body. This bead is

small, 6.8mm by 9.9mm, and shaped similar to a tire, with a flat profile and spines protruding directly outward perpendicular to the bead's center hole. The white color on the bead appears to be patina, and the bead itself is roughly made, as evidenced by small pockets of dirt that fill the tiny cavities in the surface of this bead (Figure 8).



Figure 8. Spiky glass bead from context 572B (Photo by Melody Henkel).

Four shell beads were found in the three features. One shell bead (998) was found in the cellar, but was from an undetermined context. One bead (531) was found in well two, in a context associated with Avery's settlement period. Two beads were found to be associated with Jemima's occupation, including the largest shell bead (context 454), measuring 30mm long – much larger than the others which all measured between 6 and 8mm long. Two beads (contexts 998 and 1013) were very close to the same size (approximately 8mm long and 4mm wide).

One of the more unusual finds is a gorget. Commonly associated with Native Americans, gorgets were strung and used as pendants or other bodily adornment. This small, worked stone artifact was found in the cellar, context 1017, associated with the

Morgan occupation and is broken in half along the diameter of a hole drilled into the center of the pendant (Figure 9).



Figure 9 Stone gorget from context 1017 (Photo by Melody Henkel).

Two copper tinkling cones were found in the cellar at Avery's Rest, in context 1081, associated with John Avery's residence of the site. These two small artifacts are made out of rough copper with openings at both the top of the cone and the bottom (Figure 10).



Figure 10. Copper tinkling cones from context 1081 (Photo by Melody Henkel).

A functional, yet aesthetic element of dress, one spur fragment was found in the cellar at Avery's Rest. This fragment was from an undetermined context within the cellar. Archaeologists at Avery's Rest worked with researchers at the Maryland Archaeology Lab at Jefferson-Patterson Park and Museum to identify this artifact. Featured on the "Diagnostics Artifacts in Maryland" webpage, the artifact from Avery's Rest was identified as one of two terminals of a spur with two copper alloy stationary studs. These studs would have been the attachment point on the side of a shoe for a buckle chape, attaching the spur to the shoe. Spurs were often used as fashion accessories, and did not necessarily have a functional purpose to the user (Rivers Cofield 2002).

Constructive Objects and Materials

There are a number of artifacts that can be associated with the creation of personal appearance, including items to create clothing, hairstyles, or personal adornment. Included in this group are bone combs; raw materials such as mica, metal wire, scraps of copper, lead, and pewter; a button mold; cloth seals; pins, needles, and needlecases; scissors; thimbles; and a patten.

Three bone comb fragments were recovered during excavation at Avery's Rest. Two pieces from context 988 (the cellar) fit together to form a portion of a two-sided comb. There are fine teeth and coarse teeth on opposing sides of this comb. The third piece is a small bone fragment from context 540 (well two). Comb 540 is 6mm wide by 18.5mm long, a flat rectangular piece, with one flat long side, one beveled long side, one beveled short end and one clearly broken edge. While no teeth were found attached, the size, shape, and beveled and flat edges suggest it is the end of a comb. The flat side

would have faced the teeth, while the beveled edges would have been the finished outer perimeter. The larger mended comb from the cellar was in a context associated with the Morgan occupation. The smaller piece is associated with a vacancy period in well two.

Several types of unformed materials were found at Avery's Rest. Iron and copper-alloy wire were found in the cellar at Avery's Rest. Scraps of copper, lead and pewter were found along with two pieces of mica.

While none of it was native copper, some pieces were cut into shapes that would suggest they were meant to be rolled into tinkling cones (context 1013, cellar). One particular piece of copper scrap from the cellar, context 968, Avery occupation, is a flat, triangular piece of copper with a hole in one of the corners. This hole is the same distance from one side of the triangle as a half-circle divot at the opposite edge, which appears to have been more cleanly cut into the copper. The circular hole at the top of the piece appears to have been enlarged at one point and is not a perfect circle. These materials could have been used to patch an aging metal vessel or could have been bodily adornment, worn by a length of string through the holes.

Two substantial pieces of mica were found at Avery's Rest (well two, context 535, the Morgan occupation). One of the sides of the mica was cut in a straight line. Other small fragments of mica were present in the cellar, context 1002, associated with the Avery occupation. The mica could have been used in several ways, and the cut edge suggests that it was purposefully shaped. This object could have been a ceremonial object, like the Hopewell culture mica objects, or have a functional use as a replacement for a glass pane in a window or similar object.

The cellar produced an amazing assemblage of artifacts but one of the most striking is a piece of slate with a button mold engraved on the face. This item was situated at the bottom of the cellar, in context 1075, associated with the Avery occupation. The stone object is trapezoidal but the mold itself is circular, 2cm in diameter, and has thirteen holes drilled into a pattern. One small edge of the mold is missing as the stone was broken after the creation of the mold, taking an edge of the mold with it. The slate itself is dark and has one edge that appears to have been finished to a flat edge. The top and bottom surfaces also appear to have been finished, as they are very flat and smoothed, without any jagged edges (Figure 11).



Figure 11. Stone button mold from context 1075 (Photo by Melody Henkel).

This item was found in a shallow ditch (subfeature 2) on the cellar floor; archaeologists were unable to determine whether it was placed there intentionally or not. Its location in a subfloor pit may signify a relationship to the slaves that were present on the site.

Four lead cloth seals were located at Avery's Rest. Two were found in the same context (994) associated with the vacancy period. Both of these lead cloth seals were cut in half, leaving a very straight edge, potentially to cut the tag off of the cloth it marked. The manufacture and closure style of both of these seals is identical. Both were made with two small metal disks, one with a hole in the center, and one with a plug in the center that were attached by a loop of flat metal, and then pressed together on the fabric. Seal 994a has no writing on it, whereas a "w" and possible "10" are visible on seal 994b.

Another small lead seal was found in a plowzone test pit (context 841). This item, though not in context, was marked with the initials of "AR" which stands for "Anne, Regina" or Queen Anne who ruled 1702 – 1714, while Jemima was settled at Avery's Rest.

The fourth lead cloth seal was so mangled that it was not able to be identified even after cleaning and processing, and was placed in a bag of lead scraps. Upon inspection of these scraps under microscope at University of Massachusetts Boston, traces of markings came to light. Found in the cellar, context 965, and associated with the Morgan occupation, this seal had clearly been tossed away, possibly even after being used as scrap. It had been cut, bent, and twisted, and was so thin that it was not recognized as a lead seal because they were often made from thicker lead. Further cleaning and inspection under a microscope revealed a pattern that included a crown and feathers, or a fleur-de-lis emerging from the top of the crown with a flowing banner underneath. While it appears that there may have been further decoration on the face, it is unable to be determined due to corrosion. Attempts to research and trace the markings on the seal were unsuccessful.

Seventy copper alloy straight pins and fragments were found in the three features, composing the majority of the artifacts studied for this thesis. Almost all of the pins came from the cellar, and only 13 pins came from both wells. Of the pins that did come from the wells, all of them were associated with contexts that were from the Morgan occupation or an undetermined context. None in the wells were associated with the Avery occupation. The large number of pins in the cellar could be related to the use of the structure as a storehouse.

A length of iron was also found that could potentially be an iron needle, but it is too rusted to be able to determine if an eye is present. Found in the cellar, from context 1018, associated with the Morgan occupation, this artifact is 3.36cm long and 1.4mm wide.

Two pieces of a needlecase were found at Avery's Rest in dated contexts. In the cellar, the shaped top rim of a case was found in context 988 from the Morgan occupation, and the flat top of the needlecase was found in context 967, associated with a vacancy period. Both pieces are made of bone and have threading on the interior surfaces to hold the two pieces together, creating a small capsule to hold sewing implements. The rim is about a third of the circumference of the case, but the cap is almost whole. One sliver is broken off the edge of the cap and the part of the bottom is missing, but a few screw threads are still present. The threading and shape on these items match up, suggesting that they were two parts of one needlecase.

One pair of complete iron scissors was found in well two, context 517 associated with the Morgan occupation.

There are three copper alloy thimbles in the collection from Avery's Rest. All are standard size thimbles, made for adult fingers. None have any unique markings such as a maker's mark or a personalized mark from the owner, and none are decorated. The thimble from context 999 was found in two pieces, the crown separated from its cylinder. All thimbles are 18 or 19 mm tall, indicating standard height of a thimble, but only one width measurement was able to be obtained (context 1080: 15.3mm w) as two of the thimbles were torn or bent due to the malleability of the copper. One thimble, from context 1080, has a small hole in the top. This could either be from the manufacturing process of sand-casting, which was used by manufacturers in Holland, England, and Sweden until the early 18th century, or from a drill so to be hung as an ornament, or a tinkling cone (Noel Hume 1969:256-257).

One patten was excavated from the cellar, context 1013, the Morgan occupation. This iron object would have been attached to a wooden sole which tied onto the bottom of the shoe to keep the shoe elevated and out of mud and muck.

Overall, the assemblage consists of fasteners such as buckles and buttons, ornamental objects, and constructive objects which represent around 30 years of self-presentation, bodily dress, and the creation of outward appearance at Avery's Rest. While small finds are often not included in the analysis of sites and features, an in-depth look at the artifacts of personal adornment from these three features at Avery's Rest reveal plenty of details about the residents of the site. These artifacts, often worn close to or on the body, provide a deeper view into the daily lives of the Avery family and their community members.

CHAPTER FIVE

A TOPICAL ANALYSIS OF THE ASSEMBLAGE

The following analysis of the artifacts at Avery's Rest was created from several theoretical ideas that served as the background for interpretation. One article by Diana DiPaolo Loren and Mary C. Beaudry took a prominent position in affecting how I thought about this data; their article "Becoming American: Small Things Remembered" which uses James Deetz's work on small finds and places it in current theory. Their work in this article which describes residents of the eastern colonies creating a new identity viewed through small finds summarizes much of their individual works and is incredibly applicable to Avery's Rest.

Additional ideas applied to this analysis included hybridity, artifact life, power relationships, and identity in colonial and frontier spaces. To create this framework, works by Steven Silliman, Diana Loren, Mary Beaudry, Suzanne Spencer-Wood, and Magdalena Naum were applied among others. Their theories as applied to Avery's Rest will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter to allow the artifacts to hold a more prominent position for understanding the culture and history of the lower Delaware area during this period. These theories complement each other and have shared components, such as the importance of power relationships in analyzing hybridity. These concepts easily lent themselves to the mixed community that was colonial Delaware and the

written history supports the multicultural context in which these artifacts were found and interpreted.

Native Americans and Avery's Rest

Native Americans and European settlers in Delaware maintained a peaceful coexistence throughout the 1600s. Despite a rocky start with the destruction of the Swanendael settlement, Native Americans were a part of the local community. John Avery and additional settlers employed Native Americans on a regular basis. The court records report several times Native Americans sold land to the incoming settlers, and when the need arose, local Native Americans had no qualms about bringing disputed transactions to the county court, showing the status and power they held as a group within colonial Delaware. "Christian, the Indian" is mentioned in the court records as having sold acres of land to Richard Levick in December 1679 (Horle 1991:83) and "Parritt, the Indian Shackamaker" (shackamaker is a derivative of "sachem") brought a lawsuit into the county courts in 1682 requesting payment in matchcoats for the land he had sold to Henry Bowman (Horle 1991:141). The court supported Parritt and required Bowman to pay him rightfully, a nod to the more even social status of Native Americans in Delaware. Christian, Parritt, George Smith, and Captain Tom are all Native Americans mentioned in the court records. Not only did they take European names, but they appear to have embraced the new justice system imported from Europe and employed it successfully to attain what was due to them.

Settlers and Native Americans alike used local materials for trade. Wampum, beads made from clam shells, was used as a trading currency (Horle 1991:158,300,313)

not only between Native Americans and Europeans, but between Europeans, as well.

Wampum was often used as currency between the English, Swedes, and Dutch. The value of wampum was widely recognized and the Dutch even tried to manufacture wampum in the Netherlands but it was rejected by the natives as fake (Soderlund 2016:36).

Originally, wampum served many purposes for Native Americans. The shell beads were commonly used as embellishment for clothing, but had additional uses. The beads were also strung into necklaces with glass and copper beads and woven into belts. Early antiquarians also collected wooden bowls with wampum inlay (Willoughby 1935:271). For Native Americans, the color of the beads and the patterns woven into the beadwork often held significance and conveyed messages.

The Sussex County Court Records mention wampum several times proving that it was used as a trade item in the local market with some frequency. There was a standard rate for wampum/currency conversion based on the color of the beads, if they were strung, and how long the strand was. Wampum was also mentioned in records in New England, as late as 1723 (Willoughby 1935:268). Two shell beads (contexts 998 and 1013) were very close to the same size (both approximately 8mm long and 4mm wide), suggesting that they could have been on the same strand or made by the same craftsman.

In addition to shell beads, glass beads were also found at Avery's Rest. The beads varied in quality, size, and color. Four beads were similar enough to be paired into two sets. Beads were often imported to the colonies for the purpose of serving as trade items. Several were crudely made and exhibited pocked surfaces and visible wear. These could have been made specifically for a cheap market or trade with the Native Americans.

The slate button mold also points toward a Native American presence on the site. Button molds are usually associated with Native American occupation (Loren 2008:99). Buttons were also valued among Europeans settling in the area, for they were an easy way to provide visual interest to everyday clothing and perform a basic function. The native attraction to these objects was strong enough that they began to create their own buttons in addition to obtaining them from European traders. While many European goods were given a new use by the natives, scrap copper, along with lead and pewter, was often melted down into buttons.

Several of these molds have been found in New England, including in Massachusetts, documented by C.C. Willoughby in his volume, *Antiquities of New England Indians* (1935). A number of Willoughby's examples reside in the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology in Cambridge, Massachusetts. One early-17th century-example from the collection, noted in the bulletin for the Massachusetts Archaeological Society, depicts a stone with a button mold made by European woodworking tools on one side, and a figure carved into the other side. The figure is wearing a European-style coat, fashionable in the 17th century, complete with six buttons lining the front (Barber 1984:49) (Figure 12).

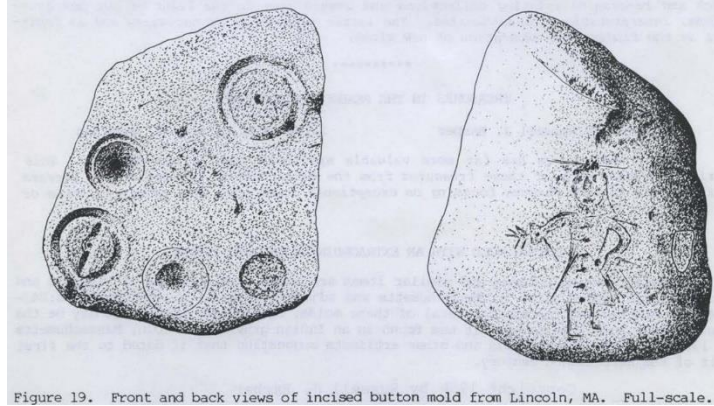


Figure 19. Front and back views of incised button mold from Lincoln, MA. Full-scale.

Figure 12. Drawing of an incised button mold from Massachusetts (Barber 1984:figure 19).

Willoughby provides drawings of several molds and buttons along with mention of the towns in which they were found. He does not provide information about the context for all examples, but he does state that a few were from burial contexts. One of the drawings depicts a mold very similar to the one at Avery's Rest, but it is carved into a stone gorget. In the same drawing is a button that appears to have been made from the mold (Willoughby 1935:243) (Figure 13). No buttons related to the slate mold at Avery's Rest have been found.

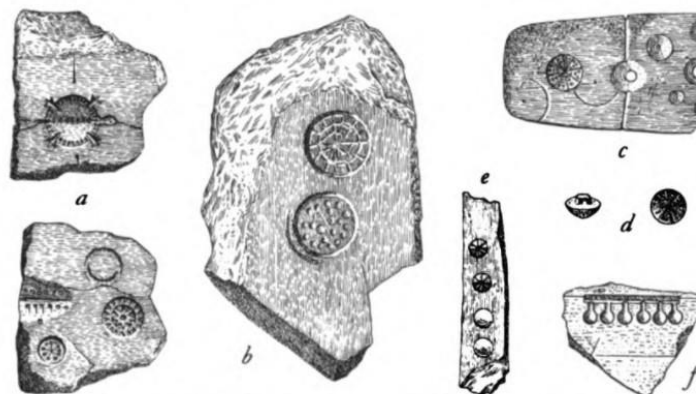


Figure 131. Stone Moulds for casting buttons and other objects of pewter and lead. All from Massachusetts: a, Natick, obverse and reverse sides; b, Yarmouth; c, d, Kingston (the pewter buttons shown in d, were found in the grave with the mould); e, Essex Co.; f, one half of a bullet mould from an island in Manchaug Pond, Sutton. a, b, c, d, Peabody Museum, Cambridge; e, Peabody Museum, Salem; f, C. C. Ferguson coll. (1/3.)

Figure 13. Stone button molds, including a mold and button very similar to the pattern of the mold at Avery's Rest (C and D) (Willoughby 1935:figure 131).

Through XRF analysis performed by Dennis Piechota at University of Massachusetts Boston, it was determined that there were no traces of metal left in the mold. Metal residue would have been caught in the deeply drilled holes of the mold if it had ever been used. The mold would have been hard to clean, given its small size and the numerous tiny crevices. Considering the time it would have taken to hollow out a flat rock and drill thirteen tiny holes, it is surprising that the mold was not used. It is possible that the mold broke before it was used. The broken edge would have allowed softened metal to flow over the edge of the mold.

While the origin of the mold is unknown, it is important to recognize the implications. This piece in particular must have traveled a considerable distance in the colonies before arriving in this cellar, due to the fact that the site is located on a coastal plain with few sources of non-sedimentary rock. Native Americans in New England and Delaware were using local materials to transform European goods. Natives, through dress and appearance, adopted some European styles of dressing including items of clothing that required buttons. In Delaware, it was common to see an amalgamation of cultures. The button mold highlights the mixing of cultures that occurred beginning very early in the 17th century. It is known that Avery as well as several plantations owners nearby hired local natives as day laborers and that some were Christianized. A Native American living or employed at Avery's Rest could have dropped the mold or discarded it while working or doing business with John Avery. Another explanation is someone on the plantation curating it and saving it simply as a curiosity. Its location in the cellar in a subfloor pit could mean that it was stashed there to be hidden or simply dropped in along with other trash.

The material to fill the button mold could have come from several sources. While evidence of melting metal to reuse was not found on site, it was certainly a feasible option. Evidence of reuse has been found on other colonial sites, and with the abundance of scraps found on site, it is likely that metal was reused. If John Avery was continuing his mercantile practices after his move to Delaware, scrap metal could have been obtained to trade with the Native Americans. Trade also suggests that bolts of cloth traversed the site, most likely with lead cloth seals attached which would have had no meaning or function once the cloth was sold to a colonist. These tags, often thrown away, would have been a good source of lead that could potentially have been melted down into utensils, buttons, lead shot, or other functional objects.

Copper was imported from Europe but was also found in North America naturally in the Great Lakes region and in limited amounts on the East Coast. Naturally occurring copper was used by Native Americans, often for ornamentation. During the early colonial period and slightly prior, copper ornaments were being created by Native Americans in the Midwest. These objects occasionally ended up on the East Coast through trade. Copper was annealed and hammered into a variety of objects, including knives, axe blades, and pins, often found in graves in the Northeast (Willoughby 1935:115). Native Americans on the East Coast found the copper brought by Europeans very desirable and it was a popular trade item. The scraps of copper found at Avery's Rest could have been intended for trade with Native Americans, or repurposed in some other way. Dennis Piechota also performed X-ray fluorescence analysis on the copper from Avery's Rest and determined that its mineral signature did not include elements that were often found in North American copper.

Several pieces of copper scrap had straight, cut edges. These pieces might have been part of a repair patch on a copper kettle or another metal item, suggesting that either for sake of frugality or lack of replacements, vessels were being repaired instead of replaced. The sheets also might have been used as an item of adornment by Native Americans. One of the most well-known images of this is the John White watercolor of “A cheife Herowan” which depicts a Native American man with a copper gorget around his neck (White 1585-1593). Some copper pieces were cut into shapes that would suggest they were meant to be rolled into tinkling cones (context 1013, feature 63). Tinkling cones were found on the site which further encourages the idea that John Avery was in contact and potentially trading with native people in the area.

Additional artifacts found at Avery’s Rest that are potentially representative of Native Americans on site are mica fragments. Mica can be found in deposits along the East Coast as well as westward towards the Great Lakes, and was sometimes used for personal adornment by Native Americans. The mica art made by mound-building cultures in the Mid-West and Great Lakes area has been studied extensively and examples of this style of art have been found on the East Coast. However, mica is not found naturally on the Delmarva Peninsula and had to be traded into the area for it to be found on sites (Stewart 1989:59).

One more recent example of mica being used for adornment was found at the Narragansett cemetery of RI-1000. One burial had a “mica pendant with an icon of Jesus from a missal encased within it” (Hoffman, MacLeod, and Smith 1999:3). Use by Europeans, however, was not common until it was used in the 19th century as a substitute for glass in objects such as lanterns and stoves (Woodhead, Sullivan, and Gusset

1984:65). One example of this mineral from Avery's Rest exhibits one straight cut edge and is a large flat sheet (context 535). While the use of this piece cannot be determined, its appearance is reminiscent of the stunning mica carvings of the Midwest, and what one of those pieces might have looked like in an early stage of creation.

The presence of Native Americans is also represented by the stone gorget found on site (context 1017). Similar to examples found in Willoughby's volume (1935:101), this gorget was broken but likely had two holes and was an oblong shape. While the suspected uses for this object are varied, it has been found in graves, where most of Willoughby's examples were found. Possible uses range from hair fasteners to decorative pendants or parts of jewelry. The Massachusetts Archaeological Society claims that gorgets were used in the Middle Woodland, dating this artifact before colonial occupation (Moffett 1957:5). Willoughby also claimed that they fell out of use by the beginning of the 1500s, however, the button mold noted in Figure 13 was carved into one found in Kingston, Massachusetts, demonstrating continued use or curation through the colonial era as buttons were introduced by Europeans and demand rose (Willoughby 1935:101). Several were found in South Kingstown, Rhode Island, excavated by the Narragansett Archaeological Society of Rhode Island, at a coastal site with little or no colonial contact, in several stratigraphic, temporally distinct layers (Fowler and Luther 1950).

Though gorgets seem to generally be a pre-contact artifact, the example from Kingston, Massachusetts speaks to their use through the contact period. However, for this artifact to have been present at Avery's Rest, this artifact had to either have been curated by a Native American or by a member of the Avery family, or excavated from a local grave or older native context. Some potentially native contexts were found on the site but

were small and shallow. This artifact hints at a potential early native occupation or use of the site. Dan Griffith, principal investigator, believes there may have been a native occupation of the site that was dug through when the cellar and wells were created, causing the excavated material to be redeposited and mixed in with colonial period refuse. Slate is also not native to the Delmarva Peninsula and therefore the raw material or finished object must have been imported, traveling across the Delaware River, the Chesapeake Bay, or down the peninsula. Wherever its origin, it was rediscovered in a context in the cellar associated with the Morgan occupation. While it is known that her father hired Native Americans, no connection between Jemima and local Native Americans has been established so far. It is one of few native artifacts found in contexts associated with the Morgan occupation.

Additional artifacts that often reflect the connection of indigenous and European cultures are copper tinkling cones. These small ornamental trinkets are mostly associated with Native Americans and were used either individually as a form of decoration or strung in a group to create noise. The two tinkling cones found at Avery's Rest could have been present as a result of trade with local Native Americans, brought directly by natives in the area, or kept as a curiosity by an Avery family member from some other travels. Diana Loren offers an untraditional explanation of why there might be so many native artifacts on a European site. In *The Archaeology of Clothing and Bodily Adornment in Colonial America*, she cites Richard Veit and Charles Bello's study of artifacts from Burlington Island, New Jersey (Loren 2010:78). Veit and Bello, in a study of a collection originally excavated by Charles Abbott, questioned the meaning and location of European and Lenape artifacts found on the same site. The island was

simultaneously settled by a group of Lenape and Dutch traders. Veit and Bello dated the site to the mid-17th century and question if Dutch traders were curating native artifacts from the Lenape on the other side of the island (Loren 2010:78). Peter Lindstrom, a founding member of New Sweden, was also fascinated with the new cultures he encountered, as evidenced by his drawings, and it was suggested that he also collected items associated with new cultures (Richardson 1980:62). This early fascination with native objects may explain why there are a significant number of native artifacts located at Avery's Rest. While this is not a common theory or even the most likely explanation for the presence of these artifacts on site, it is a possibility as Avery was a well-traveled individual and there were a variety of cultures interacting at Avery's Rest.

Thimbles often represent trade with Native Americans. Mary Beaudry, in her book *Findings: the Material Culture of Needlework and Sewing* (2006), discussed the potential use of thimbles as a symbol of feminine refinement and Christianity. The anecdote she used discussed thimbles in the praying Indian town of Magunco, established 1674, in Massachusetts. Here, John Eliot distributed thimbles along with other sewing equipment to native women in a quest to "Christianize" them and encourage womanly activities taken up by Christian women, including sewing "modest, European-style dress" (Beaudry 2006:113). These small household objects were intended to instill Christian values in supposedly "improper" women. Beaudry hypothesizes that these thimbles were smaller than standard adult size, perhaps intended to be given to young women, in hopes of converting them to Christianity (Beaudry 2006:113).

While some Native Americans in Delaware did adopt Christianity, missionization was not the main purpose of most of the settlers in Delaware. In fact, Plockhoy's

Mennonites simply wanted to be left alone and kept to themselves except to trade. The court records later show that Native Americans had converted to Christianity and were active in the community during Avery's residence in Delaware. Their presence on site makes it possible that the thimbles found at Avery's Rest were owned either by Native Americans present on the site, by an Avery, or used by household servants or slaves. Beaudry's example broadens the spectrum of ownership and meaning related to these everyday objects.

Many artifacts found at Avery's Rest hint at the presence of Native Americans living on the site or nearby. While court records note that Avery hired Native American laborers to work somewhere on his property (Turner 1909:20), their material record is slightly obscured. The hypothesis that natives were residents at Avery's Rest or nearby, either before or concurrent with the Avery family, is strengthened by other material in the assemblage from Avery's Rest that was not analyzed in this thesis. Points made out of knapped green bottle glass, triangular lithic points, and terra cotta pipe fragments were found on the site along with Townsend ceramics which range from 1000AD through the 17th century. Prehistoric ceramics and projectile points located on the site, along with probable prehistoric features cut by European features, suggest a potential pre-colonial settlement on the site. Certain clues have also led archaeologists to the suspicion that John Avery or a previous tenant might have dug through a native burial ground when digging one of the features on site.

While Avery's interactions with Native Americans could have been a result of his trading practices, the presence of Native Americans on the site cannot be disputed. Supported by court records, the personal adornment materials of copper, tinkling cones,

gorgets, thimbles, on the site reflect the incorporation of Native Americans into Delaware culture and their influence on the daily workings of Avery's Rest.

Dressing the Avery Household

Matthew and Sarah Avery uprooted their lives to move hundreds of miles away and settle in a new colony. Established in a known Puritan community in Boston, with relatives and familiar neighbors, they left everything behind to create new lives in Sussex County. Their move was not only a complete change in environment, but a change in lifestyle as well. Behind them were the busy streets of Boston, with shops, sumptuary laws, bustling taverns, and city life. After beginning a family in Maryland, the Avery family was now living on the frontier of Delaware in a modest, mixed community of freed slaves, Native Americans, indentured servants, and families, all with different religions, occupations, and ideas. Though they brought with them some creature comforts and extraneous items, daily life must have been dramatically different for each member of the family. A change in routine would have called for a change in how the family dressed as well. Though in Boston as Puritans, they were called to dress modestly without decoration, tending to a farm in the frontier of the colonies would have required much different daily clothing.

The Averys had many potential influences in their styles of dress. Sarah Browne Avery was raised in the Puritan stronghold of Boston. Matthew Avery, John's father, was addressed as "Goodman," and while the elder Averys stayed in the church, their moving patterns back and forth to Boston indicate Puritan influences or sympathies. Their children had strong biblical names, especially Jemima, whose name was rarely seen

outside Puritan families (Morrison and Morrison 2006). Sarah ran a dame school which was often seen in Puritan communities (Morrison and Morrison 2006). Puritan values called for modesty and simplicity but at the same time, authorities in Boston had trouble ensuring families dressed according to their status, a trend that might have followed the young Avery family to Maryland (Trautman 1983).

The move to Maryland was a dramatic change for the Avery family. The Eastern Shore was still rural in the late 1600s, and though goods were flowing through the colonies, much of it was likely trade goods and basic necessities. Several authors suggest that in the backcountries of the colonies, European dress was not always available and often a hodgepodge of clothing was necessary due to lack of cloth. As a result, social standards were tossed to the wayside, which allowed for increased social movement (Loren 2010:29-30).

Delaware, and more specifically, the small town of Lewes, was often attacked by privateers and pirates, especially after William Penn took over in 1682. Even if there were valuable goods such as silver buckles, thimbles, or buttons for sale in stores in downtown Lewes, these items were desirable to pirates and were often taken before they reached the consumers (Munroe 2003:100). At least one silver buckle is documented in the county, when it is mentioned in the court records as being stolen. A court case ensues, attempting to recover this specific buckle (Horle 1991:996). While court cases were often over trivial matters, the fact that a case was brought over a single stolen silver buckle implies the significance and importance of having such an item. Though rare, luxuries did exist in Sussex County and elsewhere on the frontier, and were highly valued, curated, and coveted.

The Avery plantation in Delaware was approximately four miles south of the town of Lewes. Being some distance from town, the family was presumably not in town every day, which suggests that at least half of their clothing was utilitarian, intended for farm work rather than presentation to society. Sarah Avery and her children likely performed small tasks and daily chores around the house. The Averys did have several indentured servants at various times, so much of the heavy labor would have been passed onto the servants (Lukezic 2013:23). Lace, precious metals and high fashion were assumedly not part of daily life. As Puritans, the Averys should have dressed in a relatively plain fashion anyway, and the artifacts found on this site hint at the lifestyle they committed to.

Clothing fasteners found on the site included buttons, fragments of hook and eyes, and buckles. Buttons were almost entirely worn by men during the late 17th century. Ladies had not yet mixed this closure into their styles, and most women's clothes were either laced or closed with a hook and eye. Carolyn White notes the importance of buttons in men's fashion and that they had only come into fashion in the 16th century (White 2005:50). Buttons were used on many styles of men's clothing at the time, including waistcoats, long-skirted coats, and breeches (White 2005:57). All of these items employed a number of buttons. Coats used very distinct buttons, distinguished in journals and ledgers from buttons intended for use on other items of clothing (White 2005:59). These small items, often lost with the break of a shank or thread used to fasten it to clothing, were an important and functional way to display status, wealth, and fashion.

Buttons are often dated by shank, a technique developed by Stanley South. Due to the fragility of most of these shanks, which were often simply pieces of wire secondarily

soldered onto the back of the button after the body was completed, many broke off before or after they were discarded. This common fault befell most of the buttons at Avery's Rest, preventing a common and accurate method of dating. Several other buttons presumably had shanks present, but because the shanks were made out of iron, the metal created a mass of rust which prohibited any analysis of the shank.

All of the buttons on site were composed of pewter, copper, and iron. Three very common metals, pewter and copper were considered to be a step above iron. While all were relatively inexpensive, pewter dipped so low in value after the 17th century that it was associated with the lower class (White 2005:64). The button bodies were made of copper and pewter, while the shanks were composed of copper and iron. In order to elevate a look, buttons were often tin-plated which gave basic metals a shiny, silvery, more expensive-looking finish.

One exceptional button had a shank made of gold wire. Whether this was intended to keep wealth on the body and therefore more secure, or used out of necessity to replace a broken shank is unclear. Such a soft metal would not have been very sturdy or worn very well over time, but it was still intact when found. Either way, though the Avery family was able to afford gold wire, it was not outwardly displayed, and instead soldered it to the back of a common button.

While buttons are often the most common form of clothing fastener found on archaeological sites, they were primarily used on men's clothing. Women often used aglet-ended cords and clasps such as the hook and eye to fasten clothing during the 17th century, but the hook and eye cannot be associated with one gender (White 2005:74). Curiously, Avery's Rest does not have any aglets, and only one hook and eye was

recovered from the three features being studied. This small iron wire fastener might have been used to close a bodice or other items associated with women, or coats and waistcoats worn by men.

Since most fasteners were made from copper, which preserves well in the soil, if fasteners were being used, they should have been found archaeologically. The lack of fasteners associated with women at Avery's Rest could be explained through several reasons. Women could easily have worn men's clothing in the fields or around the house or could have knotted ends of laces rather than use aglets. Avery had four daughters in the household along with his wife, Sarah. These women probably performed daily housekeeping tasks, and may have performed more strenuous or dirty tasks, usually assigned to hired help. These untraditional women's tasks may have called for untraditional clothing, creating more of a demand for men's style clothing than women's. Clothes also could have been functional without any sort of metal fastener. By sewing two strips of scrap cloth onto the edge of a skirt, blouse, or apron, the item could have been fastened around the body without any formal fastener. This style was most likely worn every day, and the items with adornment worn on rest days or special occasions.

Buckles were relatively expensive items, even undecorated ones. They were often repaired instead of replaced and were used for extended periods of time, especially in a locale like Avery's Rest, where replacements were most likely hard to come by (White 2005:46-48).

Shoe buckles became common around the mid-17th century and are the most common buckle found in archaeological contexts (White 2005:32). There is slight variation between the types of buckles and their uses. Knee and stock buckles were

vertically oriented, with the pin terminal on the short end of the buckle. Boot, garter and girdle buckles did not come into fashion until well into the 18th century (White 2005:43-46). Spur buckles and 17th-century belt buckles are double-looped trapezoidal, according to White (2005:47). Through process of elimination, many buckles at Avery's Rest were identified as shoe buckles due to their size and shape. These early buckles are relatively modest, with very little design. From 1690 on, shoe buckles became more ornate, and began to be set with gems and rococo patterns. Buckles, like buttons, were multifunctional, adding interest to an outfit as well as functioning as fasteners (White 2005:40).

Several identifiable buckles provide a glimpse of what their uses might have been. One very plain buckle (context 1000) is made of iron wire and is a plain rectangular buckle. This buckle seems to be a very practical, functional buckle due to its shape and material. This might not have been used as a personal item, but possibly instead as horse hardware or other work uses. Two buckles were able to be dated, in contexts 460 and 998. Buckle 460 is the smallest whole buckle is a miniature oval buckle, 31mm by 21mm. Whitehead dates this style of buckle to 1650-1720 (Whitehead 1996:48). It is small enough that it could have been used for a more delicate workload, though it does not fit the shape of the smaller buckles listed in White. 998 is small and rectangular with a slightly convex shape lengthwise, and this buckle frame is missing the pin. While its use is hard to determine, Whitehead dates this style to the late 16th and 17th century (Whitehead 1996:75).

Though life on the frontier was not easy, some creature comforts were available. The bone comb fragments in this collection are double-sided one-piece combs which

were used from 1680-1820 were for grooming rather than decoration. No fragments were decorated or adorned in any way. This was the most common form of comb, used by both men and women to comb vermin out of hair with the fine-toothed side and to untangle and style hair with the coarse-toothed side (White 2005:104). Before the 18th century, these items were imported from England where they were made by specialized craftsmen and shipped overseas in large quantities. Combs were also made in fancier materials such as horn, ivory, and lead (White 2005:108). The combs found at Avery's Rest were clearly not luxury items, but instead basic grooming and styling tools. This implies that while the Avery family cared about their cleanliness and appearance, decorative combs were not a part of their lifestyle. Whether the Averys could afford luxury combs or not, there was probably very little reason to use stylized combs on a frontier farm even if they were sold in Lewes.

Several pieces of iron and copper-alloy wire were found in the cellar hole at Avery's Rest. While they are not an obvious form of personal adornment, this unformed material has a variety of potential uses. While the feasible uses for these objects are never-ending; two functions that stand out are the use of wire in hairpieces and the use of wire in creating clothing fasteners.

Wire was often incorporated into trendy hair styles. Between 1690 and 1710, a hairstyle called the "fontange," a tall headdress, was fashionable for women. This elaborate hair decoration was held up by a wire frame called a "commode." Wire was also used to create a "pallisade," a wire support that went under a "fontange coiffure" (White 2005:111). While this intricate and lavish style probably was not in use at Avery's Rest, wires were often used to support much simpler hairstyles. Archaeologically, two

examples of wires used as headwear have been found in the Virginia Tidewater at Martin's Hundred, and Historic Jamestowne. These two examples are burials where wire was found formed around the skull. At Martin's Hundred, the grave of "Granny," an older woman located just under the ground surface in a refuse pit, contained what was originally thought to be an iron hairwire, but was later identified as a metal spring used to hold a cap on a woman's head, used by both servants and the homeowners (Noel Hume 1991:339-340). Hume notes, though, that hair wires were fading from fashion by the mid 1600s, but a flat hair band used to keep a cap on continued to be used (Noel Hume and Noel Hume 2001:179). At Jamestown, two rings of twisted copper wire were discovered in burial JR5084B and are displayed in the Nathalie P. and Alan M. Voorhees Archaearium. These wires were twisted over the ears into the woman's hair, hidden from view, and were left when the individual was buried. Both of these examples are contemporary with the settlement at Avery's Rest. These wires could have been part of distinct Old World fashion that surfaced at Avery's Rest.

Another item indicating an upscale appearance is the patten. Consisting of an iron ring attached to a wooden sole, this object would have served the purpose of keeping the owner's shoe out of mud and muck, by providing an elevated platform above the muddy ground. Forms of pattens have been used since the Romans, and the Worshipful Company of Pattenmakers' history page states that guilds of patternmakers existed as early as the 14th century but died out in the 19th century with the advent of paved streets (The Worshipful Company of Pattenmakers [2018]). Similar examples of pattens from the Victoria and Albert Museum are dated to the late 18th century. The patten from Avery's Rest has a slightly more interesting geometric design than the examples at the

Victoria and Albert Museum which are a simple oval and date from 1780-1820 (Victoria and Albert Museum 2017). The patten at Avery's Rest probably had a two-fold purpose: to keep shoes clean of mud, but also to help keep them well-maintained and in good shape for long-term use.

Whether or not they were working with horses, many men wore spurs throughout the 1600s. Spurs were considered fashion accessories and were sometimes plated with or made from silver and decorated with engravings or inlaid design (White 2005:128). Noel Hume states that a variety of spurs were found on early 17th century sites, though many were made out of iron (Noel Hume 1969:243).

A fragment of a spur was discovered at Avery's Rest. The artifact was featured on the Diagnostic Artifacts of Maryland webpage and described as a typical English spur dating from 1650-1775 (Rivers Cofield 2002). It is also identified as a spur that was used for riding and traveling only, and not intended for daily wear. This style was usually seen made of iron, but this example is copper alloy (Rivers Cofield 2002). Because copper is a weaker material than iron, and would have bent with use, this spur was probably for decorative purposes. There are features on the spur that suggest it was handmade or at least the edges were trimmed by hand after it was cast.

The Avery family maintained their creature comforts after moving to the frontier. Though daily life on a farm was not cause for extravagant dress, the artifacts recovered suggest they were living and dressing comfortably with items of small luxury such as clothing fasteners, pattens, combs, and spurs. Many of these items are attributed to men during this time and may have been obtained through John Avery's mercantile ventures rather than relying on supplies in remote Lewes. With the purchase of items that were

made of better materials, the items would have lasted longer and theoretically been better cared for during their lifespan. While no glamorous or superfluous items were found, this is not to say that the Averys didn't own any. Ideally, thrifty family members would have curated and passed more expensive and showy pieces through their family, preventing them from entering the archaeological record. Though they may have pushed aside their Puritan faith upon leaving New England, as evidenced by John's appearances in court, values of modesty may have sustained as Sarah Avery raised and educated her children. The artifacts here suggest a modest appearance but with conveniences such as buckles, pattens, and buttons, though homely in appearance. These items were no doubt supplemented by home-made clothing and objects made or adapted in the home.

Household Production

On the frontier, colonists were forced to be resourceful and to adapt to their surroundings. As Lewes was not a main trading port, the limited amount of imported goods was often not enough to satisfy the needs of European immigrants, requiring them to make do with what was available and reuse objects in innovative ways. In a land of new and unfamiliar raw materials, new colonists took cues from Native Americans as well as colonists who were already established. By the time the Averys arrived in an area where imports were not as common, Marylanders and Delawareans had tamed some of the land and used intercontinental trade to obtain supplies they needed. In addition, they learned to be frugal and reuse scraps of raw material and created or repaired items at home. In Avery's inventory, there are several mentions of cloth objects that could have

been made or mended by women in this household, including curtains, tablecloths, napkins, a suit, and rugs (Appendix A).

Imported clothing and personal adornment items that were brought in from other colonies were likely supplemented with items created at home. The copper alloy wires found at Avery's Rest, among endless additional uses, could have been utilized for the creation of small hook and eye or similar clothing fasteners. One copper alloy eye from a hook and eye fastener was found at Avery's Rest, but this style of fastener was common and used by both men and women of the time, and is manufactured in similar form today. Because these items were made to be an invisible fastener, unlike buttons or buckles, they were often not decorated or made aesthetically pleasing (White 2005:74). It would not have taken much to twist copper to form a hook and eye though creation was most often attributed to jewelers, clockmakers, and pinmakers and sold by merchants (White 2005:75). The eye found at Avery's Rest was found in the cellar hole, context 985, associated with the Morgan occupation, implying that since Jemima was born after the family's move to the Chesapeake, hooks and eyes might have been obtainable at this time in Lewes, or another Eastern Shore town if it was not made at home.

The cloth seals found on site can also speak to the fact that the inhabitants of Avery's Rest, whether slaves, servants, or members of the Avery family, might have been creating their own clothing. As a merchant, John Avery would have had access to bolts of material. Duffel is mentioned several times in the Sussex County court records, but was identified as "trading cloth" (Horle 1991:133). Court records also mention kersey, matchcoats, Osnaburg, and serge, some of which are mentioned as the fabric of an item of clothing. Though none of the seals identify the fabric it was attached to, it is clear that

some fabric was available to residents of Sussex County. Additional lead seals may have been present on the site, but they were often used as scrap metal and melted back down into a different form by Native Americans, to create buttons (Loren 2010:50). This reuse of lead could have been happening on site, as evidenced by the slate button mold found in the cellar.

Straight pins and straight pin fragments compose a large portion of the assemblage studied. Straight pins were used for sewing purposes, clothing fasteners, and making lace. Using Beaudry's classification data, almost all of the pins found at Avery's Rest were determined to be common sewing pins, averaging 24-30 cm in length (1 in.) and 1mm in diameter (Beaudry 2006:24). These pins for everyday use were termed "short whites" and "middlings." One pin from the cellar hole, context 982, was slightly larger and determined to be a "long white" but is still classified as a sewing pin (Beaudry 2006:24). Several pins have almost exactly the same measurements, suggesting that they were made from the same length of copper alloy and packaged together when sold. Pins were made by hand by stretching copper alloy cord and cutting it into segments. A small twist of copper alloy was added to the top to create the head.

Beaudry cautions against assigning gender to pins as sewing pins were often used for unconventional purposes, such as temporarily fastening clothing on the body, marking lace, and even for witchcraft (Beaudry 2006:8). Pins were versatile objects that served many functions, and were especially valuable in a borderland environment where their uses undoubtedly blossomed. While their tiny size, easy-to-drop shape, and nature of being used repeatedly for a short period of time most likely accounted for how many were found archaeologically, it does not speak to their importance.

Another small artifact with strong use and importance is the needle. Beaudry and Deagan both speak eloquently about the importance of needles (Beaudry 2006, Deagan 2002). Needles were also used more commonly for their intended purpose of joining pieces of fabric, as opposed to the versatile straight pin. At Avery's Rest, a length of iron was also found, that could potentially be an iron needle, but it is too rusted to be able to determine if there is an eye. Found in the cellar hole, from context 1018, associated with the Morgan occupation, this artifact is 3.36cm long and 1.4mm wide. These measurements almost exactly match up with scale 2/0 on Beaudry's "Manufacturer's size scale for needles" listed in *Findings* (2006:53). This is described as a middle- to heavy-weight needle, used for heavier sewing, leatherworking, or other needleworking. While it is minimally rusted, the exact size of this potential needle is unknown, though its size range suggests a heavier needle.

A needle would have been crucial to creating new clothing and mending older clothing on the plantation. Creating new items at home and mending ripped or torn pieces both speak to frugality as well as necessity if new items to replace unwearable clothing were not easily obtained. Beaudry states that the needle is the "most diagnostic and irrefutable evidence of sewing" so if truly a needle, this length of iron strongly correlates to a common household activity (Beaudry 2006:44). While needles are rarely found due to their ferrous composition, the preservation at Avery's Rest has proven to be exceptional for a variety of objects including metal objects and bone. As a result, it is believable that this length of iron could be a needle and point to the sewing being completed in the Avery household.

Needles were more expensive than straight pins and were considered valuable personal items (Beaudry 2006:45). Needles and additional sewing accoutrements were often kept in a needlecase, a small tube, occasionally made out of bone, with a plugged end. Needlecases were functional items meant to keep track of small items, yet often were decorated or personalized; high quality versions often attached to a chatelaine and were kept close as part of a sewing kit (White 2005:129). Two small carved bone artifacts found in the cellar at Avery's Rest appear to be pieces of a needlecase. One of the objects is flat and round and looks like it could serve as a threaded screw top, and the second artifact is a finished rim broken in several places that could be the top rim of the needlecase and is a similar size to the screw top. Especially when receiving replacements could take a significant amount of time, careful curation of these crucial everyday items was important. The needlecase helped keep track of these small but important artifacts.

Scissors were an expensive but necessary item for creating clothing. One ferrous pair was found at Avery's Rest. This pair is entirely intact, a rare occurrence as fragments of the blade or the loop are most commonly found (Beaudry 2006:133). The pair found at Avery's Rest are almost identical with those identified in Ivor Noel Hume's *Artifacts of Colonial America* as a style common in the mid-17th century (Noel Hume 1969:268, figure 87-2). Because they were associated with a context that is generally classified to have been deposited towards the last part of the 17th century, these scissors were most likely dated and heavily worn. These scissors are an example of the extended use of household objects, especially in areas that did not have much access to urban areas of trading. For whatever reason, financial hardship, thrifty spending, lack of new goods, or

the delay of trends in imported goods, these scissors were utilized or in use for an extended period of time.

The size, plain blades, absence of special function-specific features or ornamentation, and common, utilitarian material lead to the assumption that they were all-purpose. There is no maker's mark or any other form of marking on the scissors. This pair could have been used for cutting fabric, or in many other daily tasks. Mary Beaudry remarks how hard it is to associate certain types of use with pairs of scissors. She also comments that it is often difficult to tie this specific artifact to one gender. Scissors were used in men's trades as well as in the home for embroidery and sewing (Beaudry 2006:136).

As for this pair of scissors, archaeologists can assume that they were for a variety of purposes by several members of the Avery household, including the daughters, though the scissors were probably manufactured after Jemima was born. The materials these scissors could have cut are extensive. Cloth was mentioned in John Avery's inventory as well as several fabric items such as pillows, tablecloths, and suits of cloth that this pair could have helped create or alter. The presence of lead cloth seals on the site imply that bolts of cloth had been brought through the plantation at one point or another, either for sale or for use by the women of the household. Scissors also could have been used for kitchen purposes, or other household tasks such as trimming wicks. Whatever their purpose, these scissors would have been a valuable tool in the Avery household.

Thimbles are a commonly found item at many early historical sites. Often traded with Native Americans, these small, easily transported items were often made out of copper, though other materials included silver and leather (Holmes 1985). Early thimbles

were made in Holland or Germany and imported to England before England developed an industry in the 16th century. Mechanization reduced the cost, and soon even the lower classes had a thimble made of brass or even silver. After mechanization, thimbles were made in two pieces: a crown, and the bottom cylinder. Thimbles often came in a few sizes for growing fingers, as young girls were expected to learn to sew at a very young age (Holmes 1985:38-39). Men's thimbles were often thicker and visually different from women's thimbles and made of heavier metal due to different intended uses. Thimbles were mentioned in America as early as 1649, when many were probably still made in Holland (Holmes 1985:54-55). Most that made their way to the New World were made of brass, cheap enough material for daily domestic use (Beaudry 2006:96).

Mary Beaudry corners the discussion of this small everyday artifact and its meaning. In *Findings: The Material Culture of Needlework and Sewing* (2006) she weaves the tale of Grace Stout and her silver thimble. Grace, a housemaid, was accused of stealing from her employer and pinned to the crime through the discovery of a thimble at the location of the theft. Though a thimble didn't prove that Grace committed the crime, she already had brought a wary eye upon herself through other small crimes and owning objects that she could not have possibly afforded with her salary. Grace owned a silver thimble, an object considered to be above her station. Even if she had come into the money that was necessary to purchase such an item, her status as a housemaid and her outward show of wealth through the thimble and additional objects made her an unpopular figure in her community. Beaudry highlights the unease the community felt when a small object such as a thimble was seen as a threat to social structure, and how improper it was for a common housemaid to own such an object, despite the fact that it

was most likely a functional object used daily in her profession (Beaudry 2006:86-87). So small an object brought such scorn upon a housemaid in Massachusetts, implying that any object, including those of personal adornment can infer immense meaning upon the owner.

Three thimbles were found at Avery's Rest. All three were made of copper alloy and found in the cellar. Two thimbles were in one piece, and one was separated into two pieces at the seam between the crown and bottom cylinder. They were all standard size and had no special markings. One thimble, 1080, from the cellar, has a small hole in the crown though it is unclear whether this is intentional, perhaps to fashion a tinkling cone out of it, or unintentional. The presence of thimbles indicates basic mending or sewing was completed in the household. It does not reveal who was doing the work, but the lack of children's thimbles indicates that it was mature adults who employed these objects.

The items associated with the creation of fabric goods found at Avery's Rest suggest a fair amount of making was done on the site, as is expected. The need to be able to create or mend household linens or clothes would have been strong on a plantation in the backwoods of Sussex County. Sarah Avery most likely taught her four daughters the lady-like pastime of sewing, which could account for many of the materials. All of these items are also potentially trade goods, since the need to repair and create clothing on the frontier was not limited to just the Avery household. Though rural life often posed challenges, the Avery and Morgan households seem to have overcome obstacles by using their skills and abilities to create and repair their own fabric items.

CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

In the interpretation of this site, several perspectives were considered and applied. The primary idea that I applied to this dataset is the close attention to personal adornment artifacts and effort to consider all of their possible meanings and functions, including non-traditional uses. This approach is strongly advocated by the three archaeologists whose research forms the backbone of the theory applied in this thesis: Diana Loren, Mary Beaudry, and Kathleen Deagan. While this heavy attention to personal adornment strongly promotes individual artifacts, it needs to be contextualized to aid interpretation of the larger site. To provide a comprehensive view of the site and this select assemblage as a whole, I have interpreted Avery's Rest as a site influenced by many cultures, religions, classes, and societal norms. This combination of cultures occurred as a result of the site's strategic location, inviting the mixing of characteristics of both the English Chesapeake and the various cultural settlements in Delaware. The larger picture painted by this contextualization included applying ideas concerning hybridity and power relationships from a number of authors. Adding in this theoretical analysis allows for Avery's Rest and lower Delaware to be considered in relation to the settlement to the west in the Chesapeake and to the north in the Delaware River valley.

Potential Influences

As discussed previously, Delaware was home to a multitude of nationalities during the 17th century. The identity of the settler living on the site prior to John Avery and the earlier residency of Native Americans on the same site are unclear. The potential influences of multinational settlers were considered including individuals of Swedish, Dutch, Finnish, and English descent.

While Delaware is not considered a Chesapeake settlement, many archaeological sites and historical information concerning Delaware reflect traits that are characteristic of classic Chesapeake tobacco plantations. The stereotypical Chesapeake sites that have been studied are almost entirely located on the western shore of the Chesapeake Bay, but some have been identified on the Eastern Shore.

There are significant differences between the two locations. Early Marylanders were focused on growing a sole crop of tobacco; many Delawareans were focused on a variety of crops and different business ventures. Many nationalities composed the Delaware population while Maryland was almost entirely English. While Delaware does not border the Chesapeake Bay, some of the Chesapeake's tributaries reach Delaware soil. Through the tributaries' water access to the Chesapeake, settlements in Delaware were able to connect to the bustling bay, providing a crucial form of transit during the early colonial settlements. Maryland residents, including John Avery, were encouraged and proceeded to occupy land in Delaware in order to secure Lord Baltimore's claim to the land, and as a result, the influence of the Chesapeake cannot be denied.

The southern half of Delaware was not only located geographically furthest from Pennsylvania and the governing parties in Philadelphia and New Castle, but directly

bordered Maryland. Lewes developed independently, separate from the larger, more important town of New Castle to the north. This small town was the only one located in Sussex County, with nearby towns being at least thirty miles away. While there were settlers outside of the town, the population of Lewes was only 47 people in 1671. Raids from Maryland reduced this number to four or five families by 1680 (Hancock 1976:20-21). Most residents were farmers, but a few tradesmen are listed in the court records before 1700 (Horle 1991). The court records also show that many individuals frequently traveled between the states for trading and other excursions and that Maryland counties deeded land in the southern Delaware county on occasion, in an attempt to occupy more land in the name of the state of Maryland (Horle 1991).

I believe that Avery's Rest shows enough trademark characteristics of a Chesapeake site that using data from Chesapeake archaeology is valid. Archaeological and historical research support the idea that Avery's Rest is clearly not a strict Chesapeake site, but instead a combination that contains elements characteristic of both Delaware settlements and Chesapeake settlements, along with influences from other areas.

Features and Architecture

Features used in this thesis were determined during excavation to have been used by Avery, if not also by his predecessors, and then filled by John or Jemima Avery. In addition to the cellar and two wells analyzed in this thesis, 11 graves, another well, two more structures, and a fenced garden/enclosure were discovered on the site. While the

graves are probably a part of the Avery occupation period, the additional well, two structures, and fenced area are attributed to an earlier occupation.

The graves were studied by the Smithsonian Institution and research shows that three graves are of African descent and are located separately from the other eight who are of European descent. There is one infant grave, one child grave, one individual aged 26-30, two aged 31-35, three aged 36-40, and three aged 41-54. Of the 11 total, nine are male and two are female. The three individuals of African descent appear to have come from central Africa based on genetic evidence, and two slaves are noted in Avery's inventory. Three of the individuals seem to be related based on genetic analysis and could be members of the Avery family (Fleskes et al. 2017).

Information about the earlier settlement is slim, however a few clues have surfaced. In a refuse pit cut by one of the Avery-period graves, archaeologists found a Dutch tobacco pipe with a maker's mark attributed to the Dutch pipe maker Edward Bird who made pipes in Amsterdam from 1630-1660 (Fleskes 2016:6). Researcher Raquel Fleskes has noted that these pipes have been found at other Dutch archaeological sites in the New World and suggests that the pipe signifies an earlier Dutch presence on the site (Fleskes 2016:6).

As far as architectural influences, the cellar is uncommon for the area in depth and structure. While cellars were common in the Chesapeake, they were often much shallower and served more as under-floor storage rather than a full extra room beneath the floor boards (Moser et al. 2003:200). Earthfast buildings and other impermanent architecture are often attributed to the amount of labor needed to grow tobacco and the short life expectancy of farmers in the early Chesapeake (Carson et al. 1981:169; Moser

et al. 2003:200). The known short life expectancy played out in the thoughts of settlers as they invested minimally in immovable resources, knowing of the possibility that they would not live to see their investments pay off. The power of the land over the settlers was evident and strong. Though the colonists were here to tame the land and coax it to provide a living for them, the new diseases and hazards of this climate and environment that they were not familiar with took an often mortal toll.

A cellar would have required a significant amount of time and labor to excavate and since tobacco drained the soil of nutrients, many structures were often not constructed for long term use. Farmers often moved when the soil was no longer profitable. Tobacco was not as widespread in Delaware, though Avery did grow significant amounts of the plant. This cellar is deep and more permanent than many found in the Chesapeake, though occasionally cellars under storehouses, like the Avery example, are more robust (Carson et al 1981:184). This also supports the notion that John Avery continued his mercantile practices, as he probably would have stored extra goods for transport or sale.

James Deetz mentioned another uncommon cellar located at Flowerdew Hundred, in Virginia. This cellar was sixteen by twenty feet, four feet into subsoil, and the posts were set at four-foot centers around the outside edge of the cellar. With steps leading down into it from the outside, it strongly resembles the cellar at Avery's Rest, which measured twelve by sixteen feet, and five feet deep with an outside entrance stairwell. Deetz suggests that while this cellar is strange to see in the Chesapeake, almost identical ones can be found in New England, including one in Ipswich, Massachusetts (Deetz 1993:62-64).

A second feature in the cellar floor hints at another architectural influence. There were four subfeatures in the cellar floor, in the form of shallow pits. Subfeature 1 contained a whole goose egg and iron bar. Subfeature 2 contained the slate button mold, and subfeatures 3 and 4 only contained bits of charcoal and tiny bone and shell fragments and are interpreted to be rodent dens as opposed to purposefully dug pits. While the purpose of subfeature 2 is questionable, the placement of the iron and egg in subfeature 1 was intentional. Subfloor pits are most commonly associated with African slaves living in the Chesapeake. Defined as small, often rectangular pits dug under the floorboards of houses, subfloor pits were often used to squirrel away personal belongings. While there is evidence that similar features were used by non-African households, the majority of pits studied have been under African residences. Subfloor pits date ranges begin in the 17th century, but occur with regularity at the end of the 17th and into the 18th century (Samford 2007:5-6).

Subfeature 1, containing the goose egg and bar of iron, is a possible cache of spiritual artifacts. Iron is often associated with the Yoruba deity Ogun and symbolized strength and protection, and eggs are symbols of fertility among the Igbo (Samford 2007:157). While it is evident that these objects were buried purposefully and with meaning, it is not clear who buried them. Subfloor pits were often associated with residential dwellings, and this cellar is currently being interpreted as a storehouse due to the lack of hearth or chimney, and the depth of the cellar and its outside entrance. Though its main purpose may have been a storehouse, residents could have lived on the upper floors. However, with the lack of a hearth the building would have been incredibly cold in the winter. It is possible that the two African slaves noted in John Avery's probate

inventory could have resided on the upper floors of the structure, at least in the summer, and placed the objects to protect their home. While nothing in the assemblage studied for this thesis outwardly suggests the presence of Africans, Avery would have been tasked with providing daily attire for the two slaves present in his inventory. Some of the material within the assemblage would have been used by the slaves for their own personal use and they may have handled many of the items in the assemblage while completing household tasks.

The existence of subfeature 1 is a show of power from a subaltern group. Noted by Suzanne Spencer-Wood in her 2010 article, this is an example of “powers under” or a subordinate group exhibiting power through this form of resistance, even though it was not an outward show towards those above them (Spencer-Wood 2010:503). By placing items of spiritual significance in the pit, this group would have attempted to influence the world beyond their control. They did so in a secretive way, hiding these items in the floor, assumedly below a floor or other item stored on the floor of the cellar, showing that they recognized the power of those over them. Also, by doing this in a cellar, they would have been further hidden from the eyes of those wielding power over them and others who might not have understood their ritual.

The other item found in a subfloor pit was the slate button mold. This item was in a shallow pit and might not have been placed there intentionally. The button mold, however, reflects several cultural influences. Buttons are originally European but were extensively traded with Native Americans. Eventually, Native Americans created molds to make their own renditions of this coveted trade good. Native American molds often incorporated indigenous patterns and were often carved into stone. Transported to

Delaware either through native trade or by Avery, the item ended up in a structure with potential African links and in a feature that is often assumed to be African. Though its purpose in the household is unclear, the button mold is still remarkable for its connection to the variety of cultures present at Avery's Rest.

Theoretical Implications

In addition to understanding the physical components of the site, it is also necessary to acknowledge the individuals who called Avery's Rest "home" and how home was related to the other colonies of the middle Atlantic. The space considered ties into Magdalena Naum's article on frontier spaces which emphasizes the idea of hybridity (2010). She argues that frontier environments are like the "third space" as described by Homi Bhaba and that hybridity thrives in these areas. Naum states that "frontiers are landscapes in between, where negotiations take place, identities are reshaped and personhoods invented. They are landscapes created by discourses and dialogues of multiple voices..." (Naum 2010:107). In the backwoods of Delaware, far from the government centers in New Castle, Philadelphia, or New York, society and identity likely took a more fluid structure. The location and the known vibrancy of the cultures of people living in Sussex County create the perfect setup for redefining identity and creating new cultures entirely. These shared spaces and identities give way to the hybridity that weaves through the analysis of these artifacts.

Silliman addresses the complex nature of shared spaces in his 2010 article, "Indigenous traces in colonial spaces: Archaeologies of ambiguity, origin, and practice." In this text, he calls attention to the interpretation of colonial areas where marginal

populations labored. Through the ideas of hybridity and identity, Silliman urges researchers to go beyond the “colonizer/colonized” and the “subaltern” to understand all facets of the potential function of a space and those individuals that might be using that space (Silliman 2010:31). In colonial times, this applies to Native Americans as well as Africans and African-Americans. Silliman suggests that the reader consider how items and spaces might be used in multiple ways, especially if those groups did not leave a substantial material record (Silliman 2010:38).

Another prominent point that Silliman makes in this article is the idea that the subaltern was just as likely to have “left the ‘small things forgotten’” as the individual who had the power to purchase the items (Silliman 2010:38). The subaltern individuals on the plantation could have used or handled material items very regularly if they needed mending, were used in daily chores, or even when they were discarded. Archaeology provides a glimpse into the lives of these individuals that the historical record generally cannot. None of the artifacts analyzed in this thesis were recorded on Avery’s inventory, so they are already missing from the historic record, along with many of the individuals who regularly handled these items.

At Avery’s Rest, the presence of both African slaves as well as Native American laborers begs for this idea to be applied to the site. During a time when separate, defined living quarters for plantation help might not have existed, and well-known slave housing standards might not have yet been created, these communities interpreted as “subaltern” probably used the same material items as their superiors, living and working in the same space. There are many power struggles that occurred in this space, including the Delaware colony as a whole. Very few detailed historic sources are available for the

Dutch and Swedish settlement periods and even English records for Delaware are often grouped with Pennsylvania records. This open idea of the interpretation of spaces is particularly applicable to the frontier environment where Avery's Rest was located, and many social formalities and norms were unobserved.

Silliman's suggestions to archaeologists link hand-in-hand with considerations posed by Diana Loren, who asks researchers to consider how items arrived in the archaeological record, cautioning that certain items are much more likely to find their way into the ground than others. For instance, small items such as buttons, beads, and aglets often fall off clothing, but are easily replaced. Other items such as locket, crucifixes, or rings are more carefully curated due to the meaning and importance these objects might have to family members. One must consider how the artifact was deposited, in what context it was found, and whether it was deposited purposefully or accidentally (Loren 2010:32). This is especially true for items of personal adornment, which are often made of precious metal and were sometimes delicate. This could explain the small number of artifacts in the record.

Loren's suggestions were taken into close consideration when attempting to explain how items came to be in the features at Avery's Rest. Some artifacts can easily explain themselves through physical features. For example, button shanks often are a fragile point and easily break off, leading to large amounts of buttons found in the archaeological record. Copper pins are tiny and could easily be dropped or fall out of clothing and be lost in the dirt. Items made of precious metal or treasured jewelry were often passed down from one generation to the next and curated more carefully than mundane objects such as buttons. Some objects were probably thrown away purposefully

due to unfixable problems, while others may have been unintentionally lost. Loren brings this seemingly obvious viewpoint to attention. This idea is especially applicable when discussing small items like personal adornment objects.

Diana Loren's idea of artifact life is incredibly applicable to artifacts of the colonies, and especially lower Delaware. The concept of artifact life questions the many instances when an artifact was transferred from person to person, its multiple uses, and meanings over time from its creation to present (Loren 2010:10). In a colonial setting, where objects were reused multiple times, either for want of new replacements or financial reasons, artifacts found passed through many hands and were used repeatedly, each instance with different function or meaning. Items in rural areas had a longer lifespan than in areas where replacements were more easily obtained. This must be considered when studying items that were discarded purposefully, like most of the artifacts in the wells and cellar. These items for some reason had been either replaced or their function was no longer applicable to the owner.

The study of artifact life is especially applicable to a certain few artifacts, such as the thimble from context 1080 with a hole in the crown, the button mold, and the button from context 562 with the gold wire shank. These items in particular physically display several stages of their life, more than other artifacts from the collection. While assumptions can be made as to why these artifacts were altered or how they changed hands, it is almost impossible to determine with a degree of certainty.

The thimble might have had a hole drilled in by a Native American to use as a tinkling cone or bell of sorts. The button mold was either used by a Native American on the site or kept by John Avery or a member of his family as a curio. It was probably never

used as a button mold as there are no traces of metal left in the drilled crevices. Similarly puzzling is the button with the gold wire shank. There was only one other piece of precious metal found on the site, a Spanish silver coin. No precious metal was mentioned in Avery's inventory. To have gold on hand or accessible, and to use it for such a utilitarian purpose makes a statement about the Averys. The button was found in a deposit associated with John Avery, which posits that he had enough money to buy gold, whether it was as the shank of a button or in a more raw state as gold wire. The joint where the body of the button meets the shank can be weak, which can partially account for why so many buttons are found archaeologically. Why would such a precious, soft, metal be used to mend a broken button, or used in manufacture to attach such a basic button to a shirt? If this was a way of keeping wealth safe in a rural, insecure area by keeping it always on the body and hidden, it clearly failed when the button was lost, though the gold shank was not broken. It was also most likely unintentionally lost due to the value of the piece. Another theory is that the button was curated by an individual who didn't recognize the value of the precious metal attached and lost it.

While these three artifacts portray more dramatic examples of how the idea of artifact life can be applied, this theory can be applied to even the most basic artifacts. More than likely, the manufacturer of each object was different from the buyer, which already means two different people with very different perspectives are in some way interacting with the object. In the colonies, objects were probably passed from person to person and used multiple times by multiple generations. The artifacts in this study were designed, created, bought, sold, used, thrown away, excavated, processed, and studied. Because this site was occupied twice in close succession by members of the same family,

artifacts could have been passed down from John and Sarah Avery to Jemima, especially at the time of her marriage or the time of John's death. An artifact's life continues unless it is destroyed. Loren believes this method helps to highlight "how objects constrain and influence the lives of the people with whom they come in contact" (Loren 2010:10). This is easily applied to personal adornment because the objects being studied are personal. These items were worn on the body, or used to create items worn on the body, creating the closest contact artifacts can have with individuals. Owners often took pride in these objects and used them to create their personal image. It is crucial to understand how objects as personal as these affected the lives of several individuals, from creation to destruction.

Another approach to reviewing this data involves analyzing in regards to power relationships. There are many key players at Avery's Rest, and the flexibility of the social class structure in the newly formed colonies and especially on the frontier allows for new balances in power relationships that might not have been permitted elsewhere. Working from Suzanne Spencer-Wood's 2010 article about powered cultural landscapes, there are several relationships that might have an unusual power balance. These include Sarah and John Avery's relationship, the relationship between the individuals living at Avery's Rest and the natural environment, and the unusually strong powers of the traditionally subaltern groups exhibited in the court records and potentially reflected in the archaeological record.

Sarah and John Avery came to the area as a young Puritan couple and began to grow their family. Somewhere along the way, Sarah was educated and began teaching, at least in Maryland, bringing in some income. John lost some of his Puritan values as he

started drinking and slandering his fellow men, as exhibited in the court records. The rights and opportunities allowed to women on the frontier were probably more flexible than say in Boston, where a formal society structure was still enforced. Based on the evidence in the court records, Avery was drunk or incapacitated several times on record. Assuming these only represent a portion of the times he was in this state, Sarah Avery might have run the household on her own and conducted her husband's affairs more often than we might assume. If this is true, Sarah might have had more purchasing power than many other women during this time and could have been running not just the household, but the plantation and trading opportunities as well, giving her more influence over what ended up in the archaeological record. Maybe she was the one who kept the button with the gold shank and used it as a way to hide some money from John Avery who could have been making poor financial decisions. As a teacher, she most likely had influence at least over the purchase of the 20 books that were a part of John Avery's inventory. Sarah was an intelligent, educated woman who quickly remarried after her husband's death. Everything listed in John's inventory would have gone to Sarah after his death, and she inherited quite a large amount of items. Unfortunately she disappears from the court records after she marries and settles John's estate so it is currently unclear if she continued to have a prominent role in her relationships.

Sarah would also have led the household with John in their fight against the environment. Suzanne Spencer-Wood's term "powers with" is applied here, bringing together all of the individuals at Avery's Rest together to tame the land around them and create a successful business venture which would have benefitted all of them, either directly or indirectly (2010:504). Delaware, and especially the area of Sussex County

where Avery's Rest is located, is only just barely above sea level and is very close to waterways. Disease would have spread easily especially during the hot, humid summers and the damp, cold winters. The constant fight against disease, crop failure, and even disasters like hurricanes would have been a constant battle for the Avery's Rest household. It is possible that several individuals lost this fight, as there are 11 graves on the site. Some individuals were quite young when they passed away including an infant and a child, and one individual under 30 years of age. A high mortality rate was common in the colonies, and likely affected the individuals at Avery's Rest.

One of the archaeological finds associated with the battle against the environment is the patten. Though it might not have done much good in directly preventing sickness, at least keeping an individual's shoes out of the water and mud might have provided a small measure of cleanliness, avoiding wet feet and extra mud potentially carrying disease. In the inventory, the diversity of animals and the presence of farming tools and barrels of tobacco and corn represent a fight to survive by avoiding reliance on one cash crop alone. It is evident from the inventory and from the archaeological record that the family at least was living comfortably but that most of the funds available were invested into the farming operations. By balancing financial interests this way, Avery and the residents were progressing in taming the land and expressing powers over the environment.

The third power relationship to mention is the power of the subaltern in the social structure of the time. In the backwoods of Delaware, social structure was clearly flexible as evident in the court records. Freed slaves, Native Americans and other normally suppressed groups were able to successfully act as citizens of the county in legal affairs.

This flexibility might also have played into the subaltern groups residing and visiting at Avery's Rest. They may have been able to exhibit more power at Avery's Rest in creating a community and may have influenced the archaeological record more than normally anticipated if they had some purchasing power. These characters such as the Native American day laborers, slaves, and indentured servants could even have bargained with Sarah and John Avery if they had more flexible social standings. Seeing other individuals like them with more freedom could also have motivated them to seek higher status by finding ways to achieve their own independence, possibly supplemented by the fluidity of social standards as related to self-appearance. Imitating the dress of the free might have helped in convincing other residents that they were not bound to anyone. In this case, any of the items analyzed in this thesis could have been the possession of a member of one of the subaltern groups.

These theoretical approaches to the data provided by the artifacts at Avery's Rest and the historical record leave a lot of questions unanswered. There are a number of ideas posited here that researchers may never know the answer to, but by posing these questions, the interpretation of these artifacts attempts to include all residents of Avery's Rest and read between the lines to gain a more full understanding of this site.

Conclusions on Avery's Rest

This thesis originally set out to find out what the artifacts of personal adornment could say about the residents of Avery's Rest; however, I believe this research poses answers and ideas addressing several much bigger questions. The information gathered from these artifacts and historic resources paint a bigger picture of what life was like in

Sussex County at the end of the 17th century. The artifacts likely reflect everyone living on the plantation; the slaves, servants, day laborers, visitors, and the family all are potentially represented by what was left behind and most likely intentionally discarded. The members of this group represent a dynamic and constantly changing household both on paper and in the material culture.

While many objects were recovered archaeologically, they in no way portray a complete picture of the lifestyle of these individuals. The artifacts studied are a small representation of the objects that would have been used and kept at Avery's Rest. This is evident by the degree of difference in the artifacts found versus those listed on Avery's inventory. Avery's probate inventory was filled with notes of livestock and furniture. Some of the more interesting items he owned included two slaves, a number of weapons, and 20 books. He also owned a significant amount of land compared to other Sussex County landowners; many of the other properties listed in the Duke of York record, a collection of early land deeds from the Dutch and English settlement of Delaware, averaged 400-600 acres while Avery's Rest is 800 acres and not the only property Avery owned (Cornell University Library:2012). Overall, the personal items analyzed in this thesis trended practical, functional, and plain, save for an object or two. Personal items were numerous but simple, perhaps reflecting the need for practicality on the frontier or the lack of availability of more decorative items. Avery seems to have invested in land, livestock, and furniture, growing his empire in southern Delaware. He did own several comfort items such as feather beds, so his family does not seem to have been deprived of all luxury on the frontier. Is this a reflection of the family's minimalistic Puritan upbringing, eschewing fancy dress and keeping a simpler lifestyle? Potentially, though it

is clear that Avery did not subscribe to many traditional Puritan ideas later in life, imbibing alcohol to the point of drunkenness and cursing his fellow townsmen. Though Avery seemingly did not, Sarah, his wife, and children could have kept Puritan beliefs. Though there is no crossover between the items listed in the probate inventory and the items from the collection studied in this thesis, both assemblages show that the Avery family lived well, if simply, and that money was most likely invested in household goods, livestock, and property rather than personal items.

While plenty of objects other than personal adornment were recovered, we must keep in mind that additional objects or materials that were not recovered such as cloth, leather, and other organic artifacts could have been just as telling. While some cloth items are listed on the inventory, no fabric was found archaeologically. These are items that could have been a huge part of the finances of the Avery family, composing clothing for daily use and special occasions, leather animal tack, and a variety of other household goods.

Items of higher value could also have been passed down through family members. While it is believed that John's only son died young, Sarah would have inherited his estate at John's death. Sarah remarried and moved away from the plantation, probably taking the majority of items that were hers.

Colonial Delaware was a foreign place for many settlers arriving on its shores. Southern Delaware was rural and removed from any bustling metropolis, while northern Delaware supported the small town of New Castle. The Avery family might have been shocked when they stepped off the boat onto the Eastern Shore in Maryland; it was a very different environment than that of their previous home in Boston.

John Avery kept the image of the typical wealthy male in the Chesapeake during this time. He spent his money on practical items that were investments. While the residents of Avery's Rest indulged in some small luxuries such as buttons, combs, and pattens, the majority of his wealth was in livestock, property, and household items. This practical attitude was reflected in the artifacts from his occupation of the site as well. The Avery occupation had significantly less personal adornment artifacts and the majority were undecorated and plain, serving to function rather than to provide fashion. His taste in accessories could have been a result of his Puritan upbringing, however, it is clear from his behavior noted in the court records that he was not a strict follower of the religion he was raised in. He drank and verbally and physically abused his community members. Did this also happen on the Avery plantation against his family members, servants, slaves, and laborers? Avery's personality changed with his age and his moves between colonies and his dress and outward appearance most likely did too.

Avery also likely passed on a lot of his belongings to his wife and daughters. Many of the items he owned could have been bought in Boston and transported during the family's move to the Chesapeake. If Avery purchased items new in Boston, they were most likely still functional when he died. He also would have had more chances to purchase items if he was still trading and engaged in mercantile activities. While the number of artifacts attributed to Avery did not amount to many, his inventory proves his wealth. Avery's capital included his land, buildings, and slaves as well as personal and household objects.

Jemima had a lot more belongings to call her own by the time she reached adulthood and married. The number of artifacts in the strata attributed to her is almost

double the amount associated with the life of John Avery. Not only does the concept of artifact life apply here, it intersects with the idea of family life in that items stayed in the family and that Jemima took advantage of the use of family hand-me-downs prior to her father's death to potentially gain a step in being more financially sound. Jemima may have gained significant wealth when she married, especially having been gifted land to live on. Goods may also have been more readily available with more ships arriving and more contact within the colony. She may also have put aside her humble upbringings in favor of a more flamboyant lifestyle. Jemima and her husband probably also inherited some goods from her father's estate, giving them some items that were necessary for frontier living, which would have allowed them to spend more on objects that served a less practical purpose. At the same time, almost all of the items recovered were relatively utilitarian. Whether this is a result of the special attention and care the Averys paid to particularly valuable or important objects, the consequence of a small or nonexistent display of fancy goods in Lewes, or the unimportance of obtaining flamboyant accessories, is unknown.

Though assigning objects to certain individuals is not always clear cut, we must keep focus on the bigger picture these small artifacts illustrate. At Avery's Rest, it was lucky that the clear stratigraphy of the features was kept intact and undisturbed. Using the strata, we were able to assign layers to periods of settlement and abandonment, attributing certain layers to certain occupations. However, we must remember that as much as we know about who lived on this site and what they were doing, there is just as much information we don't know. We don't know much about Jemima's husband, or the rest of Avery's daughters from the records. How do we determine how much influence

they had on the material culture left in these features? How much do we attribute to the other individuals on the site including the slaves, indentured servants, and Native American laborers?

What this site does tell us is that a diverse population called Avery's Rest home. From the multitude of artifacts, and clearly evident in the personal adornment, we can stereotypically assign artifacts to ethnic groups. It would be easy to say that the button mold was clearly Native American; the patten was obviously English; the thimbles, Dutch, etc. But taking into account the individuals and identities that were present on the site, it would be wrong to assume that only the white English male came in contact with the lead seals, or that only the Native Americans used the shell beads. These artifacts prove that there was a diverse population residing at the site, interacting with each other. It is evident from the deposits, where artifacts traditionally assigned to specific cultures are intermixed, that there was significant interaction between cultural identities. On a larger scale, this is evident in court actions between Native Americans and Europeans in Sussex County, and on a smaller scale, between the two slaves owned by Avery, the indentured servants under his care, the Native American laborers on site, and any visitors. The assemblage reflects clothing items intended for both men and women, decorated and plain artifacts, items signifying trade such as the cloth seals, and items or features traditionally associated with various cultural groups like Native Americans, and African Americans.

Finally, do the inhabitants of Avery's Rest reflect what is suggested of them in the body of historical data that researchers know of? On paper, the Avery family was Puritan, British, upper middle class or wealthy, modest, and educated. Little is known of the

Native American day laborers, slaves, and indentured servants through historical data. Do the artifacts reflect these assigned roles? The personal adornment artifacts certainly reflect a homestead that was secure and stable, even comfortable. There were a significant number of artifacts uncovered in these features, including precious metals, combs, scissors, plenty of straight pins, a patten, and beads. Several of these items, while nice to have, were not of high importance of function on a tobacco plantation in rural colonial Delaware. However, these small luxuries probably did not extend past the Avery family to the additional individuals on the plantation. Curios such as the gorget and slate button mold might have been kept by any member of the plantation community, and certainly, any of these items could have been intended for trade by John Avery or used as payment in an economy where formal currency was scarce.

With very little other analysis completed on this site, there is not a larger body of archaeological data with which to test these conclusions. A more thorough survey of all of the artifacts coming out of the site would provide a more well-rounded analysis but due to time, funding and the sheer number of artifacts, this was not possible. Hopefully, analysis of this remarkable site will continue to move forward and fill in the gaps in the story of Avery's Rest.

There is an enormous need for further research to be done in southern Delaware, and the middle of the Delmarva Peninsula, especially since many areas are still being threatened by commercial and residential development. Having additional sites to compare Avery's Rest to would greatly expand the general knowledge of this area and the early residents.

In conclusion, the Avery family and their household were dressing well but without excess. Using the data drawn from artifact analysis, the family had what they needed, but nothing was extravagant or flamboyant. With documentary support, it is evident that the Avery family lived comfortably and without needs. Life on the frontier was difficult, but made easier through the items studied that were small comforts. Avery invested into the land, allowing the plantation to become a prosperous enterprise where individuals from many cultures comingled as shown by the artifacts described in this study. However, further analysis is needed to research additional material culture found on the site to provide a more well-rounded approach to studying the lives of this frontier family.

APPENDIX A.

INVENTORY OF JOHN AVERY'S ESTATE
1683, HELD BY THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA

Inventory of Captain John Avery Apprized the 16th day of 6 mo: [torn] 1683?

Norton Claypool, John Roades, William Futch, John Bellamey

15 cows at 550 lbs of tobacco pp

10 heifers at three years old at 500 pp

4 heifers at two years old at 350 pp

3 steers at 300

1 Bull two years old at 250

7 steers three years old at 500

3 steers one year old at 150 pp

4 heifers one year old at 200

1 Bull four years old at 400

1 Black Browne horse at 1000

1 Mare ---1400

1 stone horse five years old ---1500

1 Ditto two years old

1 yearling colt ----800

1 Roand horse four years old ----1400

1 old stone horse --- 1000

1 gelding about five years old --- 1200

13 yous and Ram at 120 pp

13 Barrows and five old sows at 100 lb pp

10 young sows at 100 lb

A parcell of outlying hogs about 2 Barrows and 4 or 5 sows at 800

30 hogs that [unintelligible] -- at 100 lb

A parcell of old pewter in the kitchen -- 300

1 tin fish plate 1 tin candlestick & 1 funnell at 15

3 iron pots at 400

2 old brass kettles at 100
 2 frying pans at 50
 1 pair of iron andirons at 150
 1 pair of fire tongs at 20
 2 pairs of Bellows and 1 pair of pott hangers -- 0070
 1 Duzzin old [unintelligible] & five old trays at 0020
 5 old pails & *pigons* at 0050
 1 fine creem tub and 4 trays at 0040
 1 parcell of old casks and five reep hooks at 0150
 1 grind stone at 0030
 1 pair of pewter candlesticks and [6 *salts?*] at 0040
 1 old warming pan at 30
 [] pistols at 250 & 4 rapers and cutlises 500 lb
 -ing[unintelligible]Its 50 & Tribble vaiell 60 and 1 looking glass 10 at 0120
 [unintelligible] er case 60: 4 glass bottles at 20
 [unintelligible] 40 & 1 [chamber/chaffing] ...ble at 10

Next Page

[unintelligible] 0; boxes at 60 one roundtable 30----0190
 1[bedstead] d 200 & 1 feather bed & bolster 450 --- 0650
 1 bed *curtains* 100 & and old trunk 50 --- 0150
 1 doz [unintelligible]1 *table* cloath and 7 napkins ---- 0200
 [3 *old hats*] coarse cloth 3 napkins --- 0150
 [2 *old pillow*] 40 one broad cloth suit & 1 pr drawers 0540
 1 bedstead 200 & 1 feather bed & bolster 450 --- 0650
 1 *couch* 150 one table 30 one chest 40 one glass *case* 20 ---0240
 3 guns at 600 one old chest 30 --- 630
 A parcell of old tools - 400 & one old [unintelligible] - 410
 1 [unintelligible] 275 & 2 pilloes at 50 --- 325

2 feather beds 400 & 2 rugs 100 -- 0500
 1 stele trap 150 one whip saw 1 cross cutt saw 1 tenant -- 0450
 4 *Blankets* of duffell ----0200
 2 plowshares & colters 150 & 2 spits 50 -- 0200
 1 plow chain 100 2 smoothing irons -- 0150
 One cart & wheles 200 one hand mill 400 --- 0600
 About 20 books at 500 & cubard cloth 20 -----0520
 Two negro slaves ---- 6000
 4 old *bridles* and 2 old *sadls* at 0150
 1 pair of old great stillyard and cann hooks at --0250
 20 barrels of corn at -- 2000
 10 Hogsheads of tobacco [unintelligible] --- 4307
 1 *Beer* barrel 30 -- 0030

List of creditors...

REFERENCES

Barber, Russell J

1984 Treasures in the Peabody's Basement: a Button Mold with an Extraordinary Incised Figure. *Bulletin of the Massachusetts Archaeological Society* 45(2):49-51. <<http://library.bridgew.edu/exhibits/BMAS/pdf/MAS-v45n02.pdf>> Accessed 5 Mar. 2015.

Beaudry, Mary Carolyn

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

Blackburn, Roderic H., and Nancy A. Kelley

1987 *New World Dutch Studies: Dutch Arts and Culture in Colonial America, 1609-1776: Proceedings of the Symposium*. The Institute, Albany, NY.

Bridenbaugh, Carl

1976 The Old and New Societies of the Delaware Valley in the Seventeenth Century. *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 100(2):143-172.

Carson, Cary, Norman F. Barka, William M. Kelso, Garry Wheeler Stone, and Dell Upton

1981 Impermanent Architecture in the Southern American Colonies. *Winterthur Portfolio* 16(2/3):135-196.

Carter, Dick

1979 *The History of Sussex County*. A special publication of the Delmarva News and the Delaware Coast Press, Millsboro, Delaware.

Cornell University Library

2012 *Original Land Titles In Delaware Commonly Known As The Duke Of York Record, Being An Authorized Transcript From The Official Archives Of The State Of Delaware, And Comprising The Letters Patent, Permits, Commissions, Surveys, Plats And Confirmations By The Duke Of York And Other High Officials, From 1646 To 1679*. Cornell University Library, Lexington, KY.

Deagan, Kathleen

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

Deetz, James.

1993 *Flowerdew Hundred: The Archaeology of a Virginia Plantation, 1619-1864*. University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville.

Fleskes, Raquel

2016 A Place through Time: The Perspective of Avery's Rest on the Development of the Delaware Frontier. Department of Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania.

Fleskes, R., F. West, G. Cabana, T. Schurr

2017 Ancient DNA Analysis of a Late 17th Century Plantation in Delaware Yields Considerable Maternal Diversity and Relatedness in Early Colonists. Paper Presented at the 86th American Association of Physical Anthropologists Annual Meeting, New Orleans, Louisiana.

Fowler, William S. and Herbert A. Luther

1950 Cultural Sequence at the Potter Pond Site. *Bulletin of the Massachusetts Archaeological Society* 11(4):91-102.

<<http://library.bridgew.edu/exhibits/BMAS/pdf/MAS-v11n04.pdf>> Accessed 1 Mar. 2015.

Griffith, Daniel.

2018 Feature 176, A 17th Century Well at the Avery's Rest Site, Sussex County, Delaware. Paper Presented at the 48th Middle Atlantic Archaeological Conference, Virginia Beach, Virginia.

Hancock, Harold Bell

1976 *The History of Sussex County, Delaware*. Harold Bell Hancock, Rehoboth Beach, DE.

Herrman, Augustine

1670 *Virginia and Maryland*. Library of Congress, MSA SC 5339-1-172.

<http://msa.maryland.gov/msa/educ/exhibits/images/fig18.jpg> Accessed 6 Apr. 2018.

Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

1683 Inventory of the Estate of John Avery in William Clark's Commonplace Book. Wills, Administrations and Marriages Kent and Sussex County Delaware 1683-1695. Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

Hoff, Henry B.

1991 *English Origins of American Colonists: From the New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*. Genealogical Publishing Co., Baltimore, Maryland.

Hoffecker, Carol E.

1977 *Delaware: A Bicentennial History*. Norton, NY.

- Hoffman, Curtiss, Maryanne MacLeod, and Alan Smith
 1999 Symbols in Stone: Chastolites in New England Archaeology. *Bulletin of the Massachusetts Archaeological Society* 60(1):2-17.
 <<http://library.bridgew.edu/exhibits/BMAS/pdf/MAS-v60n01.pdf>> Accessed 5 Mar. 2015.
- Holmes, Edwin F.
 1985 *A History of Thimbles*. Cornwall Books, New York.
- Horle, Craig W.
 1991 *Records of the Courts of Sussex County, Delaware, 1677-1710*. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.
- Landsman, Ned C.
 2011 *Crossroads of Empire: The Middle Colonies in British North America*. Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, MD.
- Loren, Diana DiPaolo
 2008 *In Contact: Bodies and Spaces in the Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-century Eastern Woodlands*. AltaMira Press, Lanham, MD.
- Loren, Diana DiPaolo
 2010 *Archaeology of Clothing and Bodily Adornment in Colonial America*. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.
- Loren, Diana DiPaolo and Mary C. Beaudry
 2006 Becoming American: Small Things Remembered. In *Historical Archaeology*, Martin Hall, Stephen W. Silliman, editors, pp. 251-271. Blackwell Publishing, Malden, MA.
- Lukezic, Craig (editor) with contributions by Gwen Davis, Daniel Griffith, Charles Fithian and Alice Guerrant
 2013 *Life on the Frontier: Captain John and Sarah Avery, a 17th-Century Family on Delaware's Frontier*.
 The Archaeological Society of Delaware. Published by the Delaware Heritage Commission, Dover, DE.
- Main, Gloria L.
 1982 *Tobacco Colony: Life in Early Maryland, 1650-1720*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, N.J.

Moffett, Ross.

1957 A Review of Cape Cod Archaeology. *Bulletin of the Massachusetts Archaeological Society* 19(1):1-19.

<<http://library.bridgew.edu/exhibits/BMAS/pdf/MAS-v19n01.pdf>> Accessed 5 Mar. 2015.

Morrison, Bruce, and Barbara Morrison.

2006 *Captain John Avery of Colonial Delaware and his Wife Sarah Browne*.

Lexington, Kentucky. Accessed 14 Apr. 2013; site now discontinued.

Moser, Jason D., Al Luckenbach, Sherri M. Marsh and Donna Ware

2003 Impermanent Architecture in a Less Permanent Town: The Mid-Seventeenth-Century Architecture of Providence, Maryland. *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* 9:197-214.

Munroe, John A.

2003 *Colonial Delaware: A History*. Delaware Heritage Press, Delaware Heritage Commission, [Wilmington, DE].

Munroe, John A.

2006 *History of Delaware*. University of Delaware Press, Newark, DE. Reprinted from 1979 edition.

Naum, Magdalena

2010 Re-emerging Frontiers: Postcolonial Theory and Historical Archaeology of the Borderlands. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 17(2):101-131.

Neill, Edward D.

1876 *The Founders of Maryland as Portrayed in Manuscripts, Provincial Records and Early Documents*. Joel Munsell, Albany, New York

<<http://archive.org/details/foundersofmaryla00nedwa>>. Accessed 12 Mar. 2018.

Noel Hume, Ivor

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

Noel Hume, Ivor

1991 *Martin's Hundred*. University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville.

Noel Hume, Ivor, and Audrey Noel Hume

2001 *The Archaeology of Martin's Hundred*. University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia, PA.

Read, Brian, and Patrick Read

2010 *Metal Buttons: C.900 BC-c.AD 1700*. Portcullis Publishing, Langport, U.K.

Richardson, E.P.

1980 Peter Martensson Lindström, Swedish Artist-Explorer, and the Delaware Indians. *American Art Journal* 12(1):60-63.

Riordan, Timothy B.

1988 The Interpretation of 17th Century Sites through Plow Zone Surface Collections: Examples from St. Mary's City, Maryland. *Historical Archaeology* 22(2):2-16.

Rivers Cofield, Sara

2002 Small Finds: Spurs. *Diagnostic Artifacts in Maryland*. Maryland Archaeological Conservation Laboratory, St. Leonard, Maryland.
<<http://jefpat.org/diagnostic/SmallFinds/Spurs/index-spurs.html>> Accessed 1 Mar. 2015.

Samford, Patricia

2007 *Subfloor Pits and the Archaeology of Slavery in Colonial Virginia*. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.

Schutt, Amy C.

2007 *Peoples of the River Valleys: The Odyssey of the Delaware Indians*. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.

Sellers, Edwin Jaquett

1898 *Captain John Avery: President Judge at the Whorekill in Delaware Bay and his Descendants*. J.B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia
<<https://archive.org/details/captainjohnavery00sell>>. Accessed 1 Mar. 2015.

Sellers, Edwin Jacquett.

1922 *Supplement to Genealogies*. Allen, Lane & Scott, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
<https://books.google.com/books?id=tVdVAAAAMAAJ&pg=PA65&lpg=PA65&dq=avery%27s+policy+1666&source=bl&ots=UL3ier_ZyC&sig=ENjqb7h6js_8-pJftRA9CMJ8cF4&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiAkoHu9MHZAhVix1kKHaf-AEoQ6AEIMTAC#v=onepage&q&f=false>. Accessed 11 Mar. 2018.

Silliman, Stephen

2010 Indigenous traces in colonial spaces: Archaeologies of ambiguity, origin, and practice. *Journal of Social Archaeology* 10:28-58.

Soderlund, Jean R.

2016 *Lenape Country: Delaware Valley Society Before William Penn*. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.

Spencer-Wood, Suzanne M.

2010 A Feminist Framework for Analyzing Powered Cultural Landscapes in Historical Archaeology. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 14(4): 498-526.

- Stewart, R. Michael
1989 Trade and Exchange in Middle Atlantic Region Prehistory. *Archaeology of Eastern North America* 17:47-78.
- Stewart, R. Michael
2014 American Indian Archaeology of the Historic Period in the Delaware Valley. In *Historical Archaeology of the Delaware Valley*, Richard Veit and David Orr, editors, pp. 1-48. University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.
- Thompson, Mark L.
2013 *The Contest for the Delaware Valley: Allegiance, Identity, and Empire in the Seventeenth Century*. Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge.
- Trautman, Patricia
1983 When Gentlemen Wore Lace: Sumptuary Legislation and Dress in 17th-Century New England. *Journal of Regional Cultures* 3(2):9-21.
- Turner, C.H.B.
1909 *Some Records of Sussex County, Delaware*. Allen, Lane, and Scott, Philadelphia, PA.
- Victoria and Albert Museum
2017 *Pattens*. The Victoria and Albert Museum Collections. London.
<http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O38921/pattens-unknown/> Accessed 3 Apr. 2018.
- Weslager, C. A.
1972 *The Delaware Indians; a History*. Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, N.J.
- White, Carolyn L.
2005 *American Artifacts of Personal Adornment, 1680-1820: A Guide to Identification and Interpretation*. AltaMira Press, Lanham, MD.
- White, John
1585-1593 A Cheife Herowan. The British Museum. London.
https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=753492&partId=1&searchText=%22john+white%22&page=3 Accessed 10 Nov. 2018
- Whitehead, Ross.
1996 *Buckles, 1250-1800*. Greenlight, Chelmsford, UK.
- Williams, William Henry.
2008 *Man and Nature in Delaware: An Environmental History of the First State, 1631-2000*. Delaware Heritage Press, Dover, DE.

Willoughby, Charles Clark.

1935 *Antiquities of the New England Indians, with notes on the ancient cultures of the adjacent territory*. The Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.

Woodhead, Eileen, Catherine Sullivan, and Gérard Gusset.

1984 *Lighting Devices in the National Reference Collection, Parks Canada*. National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, Parks Canada, Environment Canada, Ottawa, Canada.

Worshipful Company of Pattenmakers.

[2018] *History*. The Worshipful Company of Pattenmakers. London, UK.

<http://www.bucklemyshoe.com/history.asp> Accessed 3 Apr. 2018.

Wyman, Thomas Bellows.

1879 *The Genealogies and Estates of Charlestown: In the County of Middlesex and Commonwealth of Massachusetts, 1629-1818*. David Clapp and Son, Boston, Massachusetts <<https://archive.org/details/genealogiesestat01wyma>>. Accessed 11 Mar. 2018.