



Glass Bottles from Cocumscussoc: Witnesses to Hidden Histories

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Inside

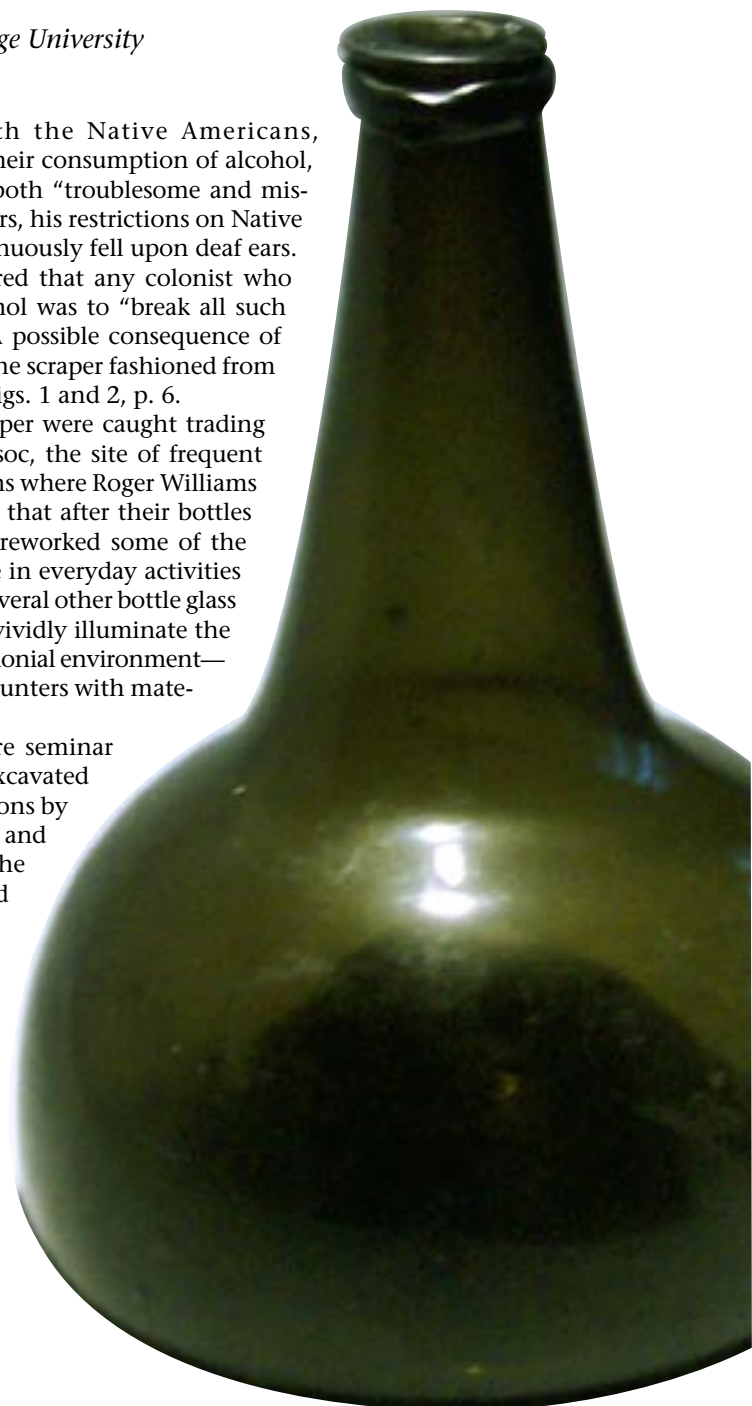
2
President's Note
3
\$60,000 RIDOT Grant
Christmas at the Castle
4
Harvest Festival
Insert
Kids' Page
15
Small Finds
23
Book Review: Mayflower
24
Winter Calendar

Despite his friendly relations with the Native Americans, Roger Williams staunchly opposed their consumption of alcohol, as he believed it made the Natives both “troublesome and mischievous” (Baker 1980: 58). For more than 20 years, his restrictions on Native American alcohol trading and consumption continuously fell upon deaf ears. By 1677, the frustrated Governor Williams ordered that any colonist who encountered a Native American consuming alcohol was to “break all such bottles or vessels into pieces” (Baker 1980: 58). A possible consequence of these restrictions could involve the life history of the scraper fashioned from a typical late 17th century wine bottle shown in Figs. 1 and 2, p. 6.

Perhaps the Native American users of this scraper were caught trading or drinking the forbidden alcohol at Cocumscussoc, the site of frequent encounters between colonists and Native Americans where Roger Williams established his trading post in 1637. It is possible that after their bottles were “smashed to pieces” the Native Americans reworked some of the sherds into expedient, but functional tools for use in everyday activities such as cleaning fish or preparing hides. This and several other bottle glass sherds from the late 17th and early 18th century vividly illuminate the tensions between the Natives and colonists in the colonial environment—tensions played out in and around their close encounters with material culture.

This paper is the product of a material culture seminar at Brown University. The artifacts studied were excavated from Cocumscussoc over the course of several seasons by the University of Rhode Island in 1972 and 1973, and by Brown University archaeology students under the direction of Dr. Patricia Rubertone between 1989 and 1994. This treatment of material culture employs an interpretive approach to unveiling Cocumscussoc's history by exposing the nature of artifacts as storytellers with vibrant life histories. As illustrated by the opening example, the interpretations of Cocumscussoc's artifact assemblages are interpretive experiments anchored by contextual relationships, both historical and archaeological. The interpretive results allow explorations

—continued on page 6



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Note from the President

It's the time of year for many organizations, including Smith's Castle, to appeal to the community for financial support. Before you receive your appeal letter, I want you to know a few things about the Castle's budget and operations.

Many people believe the Castle receives government funding or private grants to support its operations. This is not true. For things like staffing, winter fuel oil, electric utilities, insurance, telephone, internet access, photocopying, lawn-mowing, snow-plowing—all the basics to keep the organization running and open to the public—Smith's Castle relies on receipts from membership dues, donations, and revenue from major events.

It is true that Smith's Castle has been fortunate to receive grants for specific projects. One example is the RIDOT-funded project to transform the Post Road entrance and the recently announced new funding for associated archaeology (page 3). While this project is fully funded, many grants cover only part of a project's cost. For example, we recently applied for a State Preservation Grant to tackle the Castle's problem with infiltrating moisture that threatens both the historic structure and our furnishings. If we are awarded this grant, it would cover only two-thirds of the project cost, the Castle would have to provide the final \$11,000. Contributions to our previous annual fund drive will provide a critical part of this shortfall but will not fill the entire gap.

■ The board is seeking creative solutions to raise money and to cut costs without impairing our mission. It is considering ways to replace the Resident Director position (with its full-time pay and benefits) with part-time positions and consulting professionals. Also, the board is performing a cost/benefit analysis to determine if the Annex apartment should be used as a salary offset for resident staff or as an income-producing unit rented out at a market rate.

■ Castle volunteers have stepped forward to staff the office, clean the Castle and Annex, and otherwise manage the site. A part-time person was hired to staff the office during tour times in our open season (now ended). This has yielded substantial savings, but we cannot overburden our volunteers with these responsibilities permanently. We are relying more than ever on our volunteers, who are putting in more hours. Our members have rallied together and have generously offered their time to keep the Castle going. The recent successful Harvest Festival was one example of what our Castle volunteers can do when they come together.

■ We are looking to area businesses to help with in-kind assistance. For example, Buckley Heating & Cooling has agreed to provide fuel oil to the Castle at a substantially discounted price. This gesture is expected to save the

Castle \$1,487 this fuel season. The Color House of North Kingstown has agreed to provide us with 22 gallons of Benjamin Moore paint and primer that will save the Castle about \$1,120. We are grateful to these local businesses for this support.

■ This year Smith's Castle has been much more aggressive in seeking out grants for project support.

■ We are planning to talk with other area sites to see if we can pool resources and generate synergies.

■ We are reviewing all of our expenditures to find prudent opportunities for cutting costs.

The bottom line is that the Castle needs your financial support more than ever, and any support you do provide is being spent wisely and consistent with our mission of historic preservation and education. If you have any suggestions, I want to hear them.


—Neil Dunay, President

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—as of 11/15/06

RIDOT Grant Expands Smith's Castle Archaeology Investigations

The Long Range Site Committee was informed in October that the Rhode Island Department of Transportation has awarded Smith's Castle up to \$60,000 to expand archaeology investigations in conjunction with the cultural landscape study currently being conducted by Lucinda Brockway of Past Designs, Kennebunk, Maine.

Specifically, the grant will fund ground penetrating radar scans of the site. Dan Lynch of Soil Sight, Inc., Providence, R.I., will conduct the resistivity scans. If his studies reveal underground features that require closer examination the archaeologists of Gray and Pape, Wakefield, R.I., will conduct "ground truthing" examinations, i.e. excavations to reveal the unexplained features. Both firms are working on a subcontract basis to Past Designs.

Brown University Archaeologist, Patricia Rubertone, an acknowledged expert on the archaeology of Cocumscussoc, will serve as a consultant on the project.

The original transportation enhancement grant, awarded in 2002, included monies to conduct scanning only where construction was expected to take place. The additional money ensures that the entire site (excluding some wetland areas and Rabbit Island) will be examined.

The Cocumscussoc Association and the Long Range Site Committee appreciate the many hours of hard work the Department of Transportation has expended on our behalf. We are grateful that RIDOT is committed to identifying and preserving the archaeological resources of Smith's Castle. ■

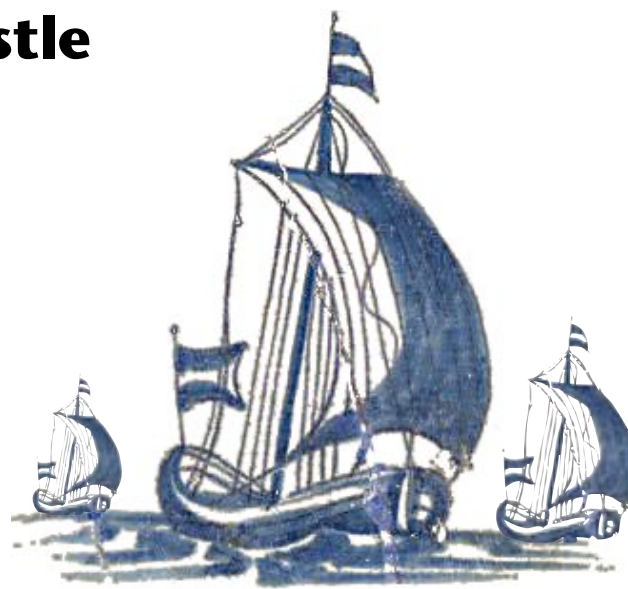
Upcoming Event

Christmas at the Castle

I saw three ships come sailing in on Christmas Day in the morning. The words of this traditional English carol evoke both holiday tradition and the history of Smith's Castle itself, whose residents relied on the sea trade for their livelihood and creature comforts. This year Christmas at Smith's Castle will combine a maritime theme with our traditional, hand-crafted decorations that always infuse the downstairs rooms with a special holiday spirit. The house seems more like a home and less like a museum when it is decorated for this annual event.

The celebration this year takes place on Saturday and Sunday, December 2 and 3, from noon to 4 p.m. Visitors will be greeted by docents in period dress as well as by Mr. and Mrs. Updike in their holiday finery. And for these two days only, Daniel Updike's waistcoat (c. 1740) will be on display in the dining room. There will be live, seasonal entertainment, complementary hot mulled cider, a free craft activity for children, and a cooking demonstration in the colonial kitchen. Father Christmas will be on hand both days to greet the children and pose for photos outdoors in front of our maritime theme tree.

The well-stocked gift shop offers many unique items for the holidays and our bake sale is the perfect place to buy treats for yourself and for the friends you wish to remember at this time of year. ■

**Admission:**

\$3.00 (members and children under ten, free).

Entertainment:

Saturday 2-4: eSkape, a choral group from South Kingstown High School

Saturday 2-4: Ocean Winds, an instrumental wind quartet (tentative)

Sunday 1:30-3:30: The St. Luke's Bell Choir

Recent Events

Harvest Festival

Photos by Clayton Donovan





Earthenwares (from page 1)

Figure 1. Scraper, underside.

Figure 2. Scraper, topside.

Figure 3. 18th century alcohol bottle base with post depositional patina.



1



2

of material culture's hidden histories in particular episodes, and illuminate the mental realms, ethnic identities, daily routines, and dark pasts of the site's occupants.

As a class of material culture, glass bottles are unique (Fig. 3). Unlike porcelain plates or lead shot, which are usually designated specific roles, glass bottles are multi-purpose, multi-use objects, designed to be portable and to function throughout the course of their lifetime. Despite the challenges involved in interpreting glass bottles, they remain significant in their ability to reflect human behavior and interaction. As an integral component of social and leisure activities glass bottles have their own dynamic life histories that evolve with every experience or episode. By their very nature, glass bottles are vibrant storytellers with exciting life histories.

Prior to exploring the life histories of the glass bottles from Cocumscussoc, I constructed a thorough catalogue of all of the diagnostic bottle remains from the site. Although there were no complete or intact bottles excavated at Cocumscussoc, hundreds of glass bottle sherds were recovered. In analyzing the assemblage, the diagnostic sherds were selected and studied to reveal information about the bottles' dates of manufacture, function, and contents. Diagnostic sherds are those which represent a part of the bottle's body that can yield specific information about date and function; particularly the finish, base, pontil, and body fragments with embossing or mold seams (Jones and Sullivan 1970: 77). There are 66 diagnostic bottle glass sherds from Cocumscussoc. Of the 66



3

bottle sherds in the assemblage, it was possible to provide a date or date range for 50. While the time periods span from decades to centuries, a loosely based grouping of the 50 dates into centuries demonstrates the distribution of bottles over time. Because many of these bottles could have spanned across centuries, these estimates are presented as a possible distribution. There were approximately 5 bottle sherds dating to the late 17th century, 19 dating to the 18th century, 12 dating to the 19th century (particularly the second half), and 14 dating to the 20th century. A detailed chart of the count, as well as the range of product variety is provided in Table 1, page X.



Figure 4. Alcohol bottle finishes and lips. l-r: 18th century English onion bottle, 18th century French flower pot bottle, 17th century wine bottles.

4

The process of identifying the original glass bottles involved considerations of technique of manufacture, style of diagnostic body parts, and color (Ryzewski 2001). Throughout its history, Cocumscussoc endured numerous phases of construction, demolition, alteration, and environmental impacts. These events have severely disturbed the order of the site's stratigraphy. As an alternative to focusing on the stratigraphic contextual relationship of the glass sherds, the diagnostic bottle glass sherds were analyzed contextually in relation to the site's chronological framework and related documentary evidence.

A few examples of bottle glass were selected for further interpretation. The selected bottles represent both common and unique forms. The following interpretations are a few attempts to unmask Cocumscussoc's history by investigating the plurality of meanings that these glass sherds have grown to embody through the episodes in which they may have participated.

Alcohol Consumption

The first exploration focuses on the bottle remains that are most common on domestic sites: alcohol bottles, with contents of wine or rum. As everyday objects, it is known that alcohol bottles were present in any number of daily interactions. But it is not always known who in the past may have used these bottles and what role or meaning they had in their users' daily lives. This is an archaeological attempt to reconstruct this contextual information (Fig. 4).

Cocumscussoc and its environs were actively involved in King Philip's War. Between 1675 and 1676 colonial soldiers were garrisoned at Smith's Castle, the house at Cocumscussoc. As the tale goes, one particular night a group of soldiers left the garrison and captured a number of Native Americans. The soldiers returned to the garrison with their prisoners. The plans for the evening involved heavy drinking and entertainment. To avoid the hassle of monitoring their prisoners, the soldiers tied the Native Americans to chairs. Then, "[h]aving just disposed of the prisoners they got drunk, and during the night one of them...came up behind one of the prisoners and drew his sword and struck off his head at one blow. The head rolled across the floor and under the clock, which at this moment struck one." (*Narragansett Historical Register* 1888: 172 v. 3).

This dramatic event undoubtedly involved several witnesses; soldiers, Native Americans, and alcohol bottles. From what were the soldiers drinking? It is possible that some of the sherds in the Cocumscussoc assemblage belonged to the bottles present that evening? If so, they would have to date to the 1670s.

There are, in fact, two sherds that fit into this scene (Fig. 4). The bottle lip pictured second from the right belonged to a wine bottle of a very early date, between 1650 and 1661. This date was calculated by examining the distance between the bottle lip and the string rim. The measurements and style match exactly with the earliest type of wine and spirits bottles made in England, beginning in the mid-17th century (Noël Hume 1969b). The complete bottle would have had a small

—continued on page 8

Glass Bottles (from page 7)

Figure 5. An 18th century English onion bottle. Lip and string rim similar to Figure 4, first finish on left. www.romanglass-makers.co.uk



Figure 6. French blue-green bottle glass sherd.



5

6

globular body and a long neck, and a flange-like ring laid on one-half inch below the flat surfaced, blown-over lip. Another witness to events during the early years of Cocumscussoc is illustrated by the sherd on the far right, which dates between 1661 and 1690. It is also interesting to note the discovery of a very similar light olive-green bottle of this type in a Native American grave in Rhode Island (McKearin 1941: 423, Type 1). In addition to the possibility that these bottles, or very similar bottles, were witnesses to this horrific scene, it is intriguing to imagine the types of emotion that would have plagued the user of the bottle. Perhaps the soldier, or even the murderer, drank from the bottle in the aftermath of the beheading, overcome by feelings of guilt, fear, disgust, remorse, or sympathy.

The remaining two lips pictured in Fig. 4 represent 18th century wine bottles. The lip sherd second from the left has a poorly applied and uneven string rim. The rim is flat but has rounded edges. It also has a pinch, which makes it appear irregular. This sherd most likely belongs to an 18th century French wine bottle, commonly referred to as a “flower pot” bottle. Most French bottles during the 18th century had poorly applied string rims that were pinched against the neck in some place. (compare with Jones 1971: 64 and Noël Hume 1969: 69).

In contrast, English string rims were more carefully tooled. An example of an English-manufactured finish appears in Fig. 4, the first sherd on the left. This lip and finish belongs to an onion bottle, a style that was produced exclusively in the first third of the 18th century, until about 1730 (Fig. 5, Munsey 1970: 61–62, McKearin 1941: 424).

Considering all of these sherds, it is possible to infer that Cocumscussoc was receiving both French and British imported wine in the early 18th century. This is not necessarily suprising, as the first successful colonial glasshouse was not established until 1739, when Caspar Wistar began the Wistarburn Works in New Jersey (www.archtech/about.com).

With a secure date range situating these alcohol bottles as witnesses to the historical lifeways at Cocumscussoc, what can they reveal about the people who used them? Firstly, the crude construction of these bottles may suggest who may have purchased or traded them. Perhaps the tenant farmers found these products affordable, and were not especially concerned with the product’s origin or aesthetic appearance. Instead, the bottles’ contents may have provided a measure of comfort and fulfillment to the tenant farmers who were plagued with uncertainty and faced with the pressures of establishing a large scale plantation at Cocumscussoc.

Glass Bottles as Status Symbols

The following two examples consider types of bottle glass that coincide with the peak of Cocumscussoc’s material wealth under the mid-18th century ownership of Daniel Updike.

One diagnostic sherd of blue-green bottle glass was recovered from the excavations at Cocumscussoc (Fig. 6). The sherd is heavy, thick, and curved, and there is a large air bubble inside of the glass. The color and thickness of the glass is typical of the type known as French blue-green bottle glass. When viewed normally, it appears to have a cobalt blue color, but when held



Figure 7. Enamelled sherds from decorated flask or case bottle.

7

up to the light, its transparent color appears to be olive green. This type of glass has a specific association with particular types of wares such as alcohol bottles and decanters. Blue-green glass was produced in France in the 17th and 18th centuries (Jones and Sullivan 1970: 73).

Also recovered from the excavations were several sherds of at least one, if not two, enameled bottles (Fig. 7). Comparative research revealed that the striations on these sherds were probably part of a late 18th century decorated flask or case bottle. These types of decorated bottles were influenced by continental European styles and were typically enameled by hand with irregular curving and wavy designs. This decorative technique would account for the variation in the thickness and shape of the enameled lines on these sherds (McKearin 1941: Plate 239, Van Rensselaer 1926: 277, Munsey 1970: 27).

These two bottle types speak to close encounters with the privileged lifestyles experienced at mid-18th century Cocumscussoc. Not only do these bottles reflect wealth, but their value would have been recognized through the tastes and ideals that went into the process of their selection, whether chosen by the Updikes or by a guest who wished to present the family with an impressive gift. The *Inventory of the Estate of Lodowick Updike*, compiled in 1737, mentions "1 case of bottles" (Smith's Castle Papers 1989). Although the sherds in Fig. 7 are not diagnostic enough to date, it is quite possible that they belonged to a case bottle that would have been stored along with other similar bottles in a wooden case. If this association

were true, this bottle(s) would have had significant socio-economic value for the Updikes, who could use it as another means of expressing their high status. Lodged in the colonial world, these bottles represent an ideal, reflecting a taste for "continental" style. The Updikes frequently entertained important visitors and influential colonial figures, such as Benjamin Franklin and General Lafayette, to name a few. These bottles, as indoor objects, would have borne witness to such events. Unlike the crudely made alcohol bottles, the French blue-green bottle would have been admired as its contents were dispensed during a dinner-time discussion about the day's lessons in French Philosophy or the Classics (Woodward 1981). Likewise, the enameled bottle as it sat an arm's-length away on a nearby table would have made an aesthetically pleasing addition to a relaxed evening card game. In their physical and contextual form, these are impressive examples of mid 18th century material culture. This contextually based illustration of their possible spheres of interaction strengthens the value of these sherds as symbols of the Updike's social status and worldly taste, as well as Cocumscussoc's international connections.

Medicine and Health Concerns

Medicine bottles provide especially interesting insights into the Cocumscussoc occupants' behavior and bodily concerns (Fig. 8). The popularity of self-dosage medicines did not escalate until the later half of the 18th century. Medicinal or pharmaceutical bottles were constructed by hand with limited mold usage well

—continued on page 10

Glass Bottles (from page 9)



8

Figure 8. A clear base from an 18th century medicinal phial (bottom). Two sherds from a mass-produced 19th century patent medicine bottle, embossed with "D.G..." (top).

Figure 9. Expedient tool fashioned from bottle glass (top view). Wear from finger visible in center, and serrated edge visible at top.



9

into the 19th century, when more advanced molds allowed mass production (Jones and Sullivan 1977). A close examination of the Cocumscussoc bottles' manufacturing techniques provides a limited date range that situates these bottles within the time period of the plantation's height and subsequent decline.

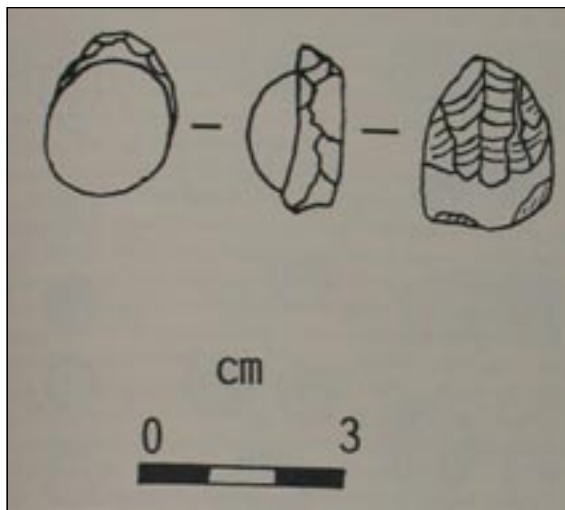
Medicine bottles offer especially interesting opportunities to understand how objects of material culture move in and out of various frameworks of meaning and action. Of particular interest is how these bottles would end up in the record, considering the demand for recycling and reuse. Who was using them? Were they witnesses to concerns of the privileged or a means of relief for those in bondage? Was a choice made to conceal their consumption? Questioning aside, perhaps they were simply accidentally broken and discarded. But even this scenario is far from simplistic, as it would not limit the life history of the bottle as it moved in and out of different frameworks of meaning and action upon each use.

While it would be interesting to examine the usage of medicine over time at Cocumscussoc, one sherd in particular opens up multiple insights into the well-being of individuals at the site. Sherd #41 (not pictured) is the embossed base of a medicine bottle. The embossing reads, "W.C.CO." There is also an embossed "R" in a triangle, presumably related to a trademark or patent. Documentary and comparative research revealed that W.C.CO. was the abbreviation for Woodward, Clarke, Co., a medicine company

operating out of Portland, Oregon from the late 19th to early 20th century. This medicine bottle could have participated in a wide range of social activities. Firstly, it is an artifact that represents the early explosion of mass consumption and increased marketing that accompanied the widespread popularity of patent medicine during the late 19th century. In either circumstance, a realistic possibility is that the sherd was associated with a medicine bottle in use during the period when self-dosage medications were widely popular. Beginning in the late 18th century, cure-all "medications" were advertised to treat ailments ranging from rheumatism to jaundice in one dose. Women were especially involved in medicine consumption since it was often advertised to treat "female complaints." In the late 19th century, it is estimated that one out of every ten women was a hidden opiate and alcohol addict (Bond 1989: 138). Ironically, this era coincided with the Women's Christian Temperance movement, which preached the evils of alcohol. It is not far-fetched to link some of these artifacts to concerns experienced by Cocumscussoc's female population. Another possibility may be that this bottle and similar examples (Fig. 8, aqua sherds) were discarded instead of recycled because the user was embarrassed by its contents. Perhaps one of the occupants was self-conscious about his ailment and was secretly dosing himself with a cure-all remedy. A medicine bottle linked to these sherds would have been shrouded in secrecy, desperation, shame, but also liberation and relaxation.



10



11

Figure 10. Reworked bottle glass (Berkland 2003).

Figure 11. Reworked bottle glass (Wilkie 2000).

The popularity of self-dosage medicines can be attributed in part to widespread advertisement and product promotion, but it is more likely that their popularity was sustained by consumers' psychological and even physical addiction. Many of these medicines, whether homemade by local chemists or mass-produced, included an intoxicating percentage of alcohol and a range of potent drugs, such as cocaine, opium, and morphine. For example, a bottle of Ayer's bitters contained 44 percent alcohol (Ryzewski 2001). From this context of medicine composition, it is possible to consider the everyday role of these medicines in the lives of the Cocumscusoc inhabitants. One can almost feel the disappointment and frustration that the occupants and owners felt as they began to recognize the impending decline of their distinct rural colonial community. Whether physically ill or emotionally exhausted, these medicines would have provided a means of quick stress relief or even an opportunity to drown their sorrows in the face of the postwar effects of economic disruption, fluctuating currency, and the abolitionist movement (Woodward 1971: 157).

These interpretations offer graphic insights into the stigma, secrecy, and shame that could have been attached to these glass bottles. Though the interpretations will always remain suggestive, they are valuable because they unlock dimensions for understanding the pressures facing Cocumscusoc's occupants during the late 18th century, pressures that must have been familiar to other New England farming communities also facing an end to their exclusively agrarian lifestyles.

Re-use: Bottles as Tools

The complex life history of glass bottles is best illustrated by the refashioning of bottle sherds into new items. The best illustration of such a transformation is seen in the reworked sherd of clear bottle glass that was knapped to form an expedient tool (Fig. 9).

The top side of the tool is smooth and rounded with three flake scars that indicate intentional flaking by the maker. Clear evidence for use as an expedient tool is visible on the rounded top portion, where it is possible to see wear from holding and striations from use and impact. The underside of the scraper is flat and smooth but also shows wear and scratches where a thumb would have touched during the tool's use. The flake scars combine to form a sharp edge. Of particular note is the tool's small size. This may have been caused by wear over time, or perhaps because it was used by a younger person.

Originally, this sherd was interpreted to be a type of scraper, but its small size remained puzzling, so additional archaeological studies were examined for information about similar reworked objects. This comparative research resulted in an especially intriguing interpretive possibility.

Excavations at the African Meeting House on Nantucket unearthed what Ellen Berkland described as "a clear circular molded bottle fragment revealing a peri-wig clad face, set against a factory vignette background" (Berkland 2003: 12) (Fig. 10). Recalling a discussion in Laurie Wilkie's book *Creating Freedom*, a connection was apparent between the reworked sherd

—continued on page 12

Glass Bottles *(from page 11)*

from the African Meeting House and one excavated from the Oakley Plantation in Louisiana (Fig. 11). Wilkie interprets the reworked sherd from the Oakley Plantation as a tool for sewing and for delicate food preparation in the kitchen. In addition, Wilkie suggests that these tools were used by enslaved women and the skills to construct them would be passed on from mother to daughter (Wilkie 2000: 154). All of Wilkie's interpretations were supported with information from oral histories. At the Oakley plantation and the African Meeting house, the possibility of the transmission of folk knowledge and oral histories occurring and reinforcing bonds between women in the household, or even between generations of mothers and daughters is fascinating. Surely, these tools would have experienced environments filled with stories, traditional songs, laughter, and heartache.

Based on documentary evidence, it is known that Cocumscussoc, at its mid-18th century peak, was a plantation worked and inhabited by 18 enslaved African Americans. Archaeological investigations have not recovered information documenting the living quarters of the enslaved, though it is believed that they may have lived in the outside stone kitchen. Records indicate that enslaved girls were a constant presence in the Great House (Woodward 1971: 102). Additionally, one of the major concerns facing the Updikes throughout the 18th century was providing clothes and shoes for their slaves (Woodward 1971: 112). With limited access to clothing and constant wear and tear from laboring on the plantation, it is a realistic possibility that enslaved women repaired their community's clothing using whatever means possible, including this expedient glass sewing and cutting tool (Fig. 9).

If the diagnosis is accurate, this sherd would most likely be an earlier example of the preceding tools from Nantucket and Louisiana, as the impact of anti-slavery laws and the subdivision of the plantation into smaller parcels brought a complete end to slave labor at Cocumscussoc by 1804. With an interpretation of this tool supported by the previous comparisons, the enslaved occupants of 18th century Cocumscussoc would have renegotiated the role and meaning of

this glass sherd, transforming it into a symbol that reinforced their African-American identity. In doing so, the transformative process of this sherd's use and meaning has given a voice to a hidden portion of Cocumscussoc's history.

Conclusion

As these interpretations have illustrated, glass bottles as material objects are unspoken voices—omitted from probate inventories and taken for granted by their owners—but nevertheless omnipresent in the course of peoples' everyday activities. These bottles are material indicators of a dynamic cultural world. Whether a link can be made with the elite landowners, tenant farmers, enslaved population, Native Americans, or the Updike women, these bottles have diverse life histories and act as powerful vehicles for opening up dimensions for understanding Cocumscussoc and measuring its inhabitants' behavior.

These interpretations remain mere possibilities for the understanding of everyday lives of Cocumscussoc's inhabitants. By attempting to recover meaning at a more personal level, this interpretive experiment recognizes material cultures' communicative function and allows recognition of individuals in a variety of brief, mundane, or scandalous episodes. The plurality of meanings surrounding these bottles is unlimited, but in this case, the contextual analyses permitted by archaeological and historical evidence have allowed a measure of substantiated output, where a subtle transition may have occurred from understanding artifacts' life histories as purely imaginative scenarios to recognizing life histories as contextually linked illustrated possibilities. ■

Krysta Ryzewski is a Ph.D. candidate at Brown University in the Department of Anthropology. She is co-directing an archaeology project on a colonial property in Warwick, part of which is the focus of her dissertation. She has an M.Phil. from Cambridge University in Heritage Management and Museum Studies and a B.A from Boston University in Archaeology.

Table 1. Minimum Number of Vessels and Bottle Types

Bottle/Container Type	Minimum # of Bases, Bottom Halves, etc.	Minimum # of Finishes, Top Halves, etc.
Wine or Spirits	7	9
Gin	2	
Whiskey Flask	2	3
Beer	1	
Soda		1
Alcohol Decanter	1	1
Case Bottle	1	1
Stiegel Case Bottle	1	1
Medicine or Toiletry	6	1
Pharmaceutical Phial	1	2
Milk		3
Jug		1
Reworked Scraper	1	1
Embossed – Unidentifiable	4	1
Unidentifiable	3	4
Total Minimum Number of Vessels (MNV) by category	30	29
Total difference (Finishes-Base, Base-Finishes)	9	10

Total MNV Overall Base+Finishes+Unique = 39

Figure 1. Minimum number of vessels (MNV) and bottle types. Bold numbers used to determine total MNV.

Smith's Castle Archaeology Subject of Ongoing Study at Brown

Glass Bottles from Cocumscussoc: Witnesses to Hidden Histories by Krysta Rezewski and *Small Finds: Cocumscussoc's Buried Inventory* by Christine Reiser (p. 17) are the final installments in the Chronicle's year-long series on archaeology at Smith's Castle. The previous articles were *Buttons from Cocumscusoc*, by Jillian Odland (Spring); *Tea and Trade, Porcelain from Cocumscussoc*, by Caroline Frank (Summer); and *Transfer Print Earthenwares from Cocumscussoc*, by Elizabeth Hoover (Fall). These papers, along with several others that explored metal hardware and household items, smoking pipes, and glassware, were originally written for a material culture course taught by Dr. Patricia E. Rubertone of Brown University's Anthropology Department in the fall of 2002.

The course encourages students to think about material objects as sources of history by providing them with the skills for identifying and interpreting artifacts from historical archaeological sites. In 2002 and again in spring 2005, students learned by working first-hand with the artifact assemblage excavated from Cocumscussoc by Brown University (1989–1994) and the University of Rhode Island (1972–1973). Student projects from the material culture class represent the latest phase in Dr. Rubertone's long-term involvement in the excavation, conservation, and interpretation of Cocumscussoc's material record. Since the late 1980s, she and her students have attempted to make sense of that record, and to illuminate in new and important ways the lives and experiences of Cocumscussoc's European colonists (and later European Americans), African slaves, and Native Americans in the 17th through 20th centuries.

The editors of the Chronicle intend to publish the remaining papers from the fall 2002 class, along with the papers from the spring 2005 class, on Smith's Castle's web site (www.smithscastle.org). The members of the Cocumscussoc Association are indeed grateful to Dr. Rubertone and her students for their research efforts on behalf of Smith's Castle and for sharing their insights, expertise, and enthusiasm to shed light on Cocumscussoc's unique past.

—continued on page 14

Glass Bottles (from page 13)

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Small Finds: Cocumscussoc's Buried Inventory

Christine Reiser

At different points in its life history, Cocumscussoc was a place of trade, a central meeting location for official political business, a welcome door for weary travelers, a site of warfare and unrest, a prominent slave plantation, and a wealthy socialite's chic country estate. It was, however, first and foremost, a home. As a place of residence, as a place of community, it provided the physical frame in which generations of families shaped and experienced their relatedness to one another and to the world around them. James Deetz has suggested that the family or household "functions as the context wherein individuals are brought to an awareness of their culture's rules, and conversely, where those rules are frequently expressed in physical form" (Deetz 1982, 718). It is through the historical expression of this physical form, found both in material culture and primary documents, that Cocumscussoc's plural histories are brought to life.

The following explores one archaeological lens into Cocumscussoc's domestic lives: a sampling of "small finds" metal artifacts recovered in excavations conducted in 1972–1973 and 1989–1994. Small finds, sometimes referred to as special finds, include diagnostic (datable) artifacts, artifacts found in very limited quantity, and otherwise rare or unique objects found

at a site. The collection of small finds discussed here is a limited and constructed sample, varied in object function, makeup, and antiquity, but linked by the artifacts' primacy in domestic contexts. If we understand social life to be mutually shaped by bodies, technology, material culture, and minds, then the boundaries between bodies and other materials become blurred—and extended (Derevenski 2000). By and through their proximity to bodies within the home, the artifacts chosen for this study help extend the limits our understanding of Cocumscussoc's past lives.

A Point of Departure: Marking Objects for Analysis

The domestic assemblage considered includes metal artifacts relating to domestic activities such as food preparation and consumption, evidenced by spoon bowls and handles; sewing, indicated by the presence of thimbles and straight pins; entertainment and leisure, borne out by the presence of two jaw harps (Fig. 1); and, trade economies, suggested by the recovery of a tinkling cone, alloy point, possible counterweight/measure, and blue glass beads. Artifacts speaking to furnishings that decorated the Great House include brass furniture tacks, hinge parts, and lead window comes (Fig. 2).



Figure 1. Entertainment- and leisure-related objects.
Top: jaw harps.

Trade and economy-related objects.

Bottom: counterweight/measure? (l) and key.



Figure 2. Architectural and Furnishing Objects.

Top: escutcheon and brass tacks.

Bottom: escutcheon and hook.

The scale bar on all photos is in one centimeter increments.



Figure 3. Personal Adornment Objects. Top (l-r): pressed brass buttons (2), and whitemetal button. Bottom (l-r): lead bale seal and decorative scroll chain.

Lastly, on a more individual scale, a number of objects found pertain to personal adornment, such as buckles, buttons, and chains (Fig. 3).

In the first part of this article, a selection of these artifacts is introduced by their historical, formal, and structural attributes. In a subsequent section they are interpreted in light of Cocumscussoc's known and inferred history, and interrogated for new insights into the relationship between Cocumscussoc's domestic environments and the larger social fabric.

Spoon Bowls and Handles

The formal properties of European spoons changed very little in appearance from the 14th through the mid-17th century. While spoons handles were subject to fashion trends and moderately altered stylistically, spoons bowls were remarkably consistent in shape, shifting only very gradually from being rounded and fig-shaped to elliptical and ultimately oval. As a result, handles, also known as stele or stalks, are the principal means by which spoons are identified and dated today (Beaudry 1980).

Within the archaeological assemblage recovered at Cocumscussoc there are three spoon fragments—a fig-shaped bowl (SF194), a slipped-end or slipped-in-the-stalk type handle (SF126), and a trifold-type handle (SF125) (Fig. 4). The single bowl, SF194, displays a maker's mark, unidentifiable at present, which incorporates flanking crescent shapes and a central stem. Of the two handles found, SF126 exemplifies one of the more simple decorative handles of the period—the slipped-end or slipped-in-the-stalk type, made from c.1500–1690. The second handle, the trifold stalk (SF125), most popular from 1660–1675, is of greater decorative complexity than the simple slipped-end style. The trifold recovered at Cocumscussoc displays a variation on the common theme, possibly indicating



Figure 4. Spoon Fragments. (l-r): fig-shaped bowl (SF194), slipped-in-the-stalk handle (SF126), and trifold handle (SF125).

it to be an early representative form. It is characterized by two small square knobs which flank a larger center curve. It is further distinguished by being fashioned from pewter, a metal which did not become pervasive in North America until well into the 18th century; thus it might represent a symbol of wealth and attendant social status. However, caution should be exercised in making this assumption: research by Gloria Main provides evidence that the symbolic association of wealth with pewter objects did not keep virtually all members of society from obtaining a pewter piece and over 90 percent of those in the top two-thirds of wealth owned pewter objects (Martin 1982).

Thimbles and Straight Pins

The word thimble derives from the medieval English word *thymel* or *thuma*, meaning thumb or thick finger (Kelso 2000). While the nature of thimble use has been consistent over time, its form of manufacture has changed as new technology has developed, making it possible to identify broad ranges of variation in production and stylistic categories. Accordingly, SF97 is a two-part, honeycomb patterned, brass thimble dating to the late-17th to 18th century (Fig. 5).

Unfortunately, brass straight pins, more commonly found on archaeological sites than are needles due to metal durability in the ground, are not closely datable because the techniques of their manufacture remained consistent from the 16th to 19th centuries (Kelso 2000). Pin shafts were created from cut and filed lengths of drawn brass wire around which wire was wound in complete turns to form a globular head. Pins were used extensively in the 17th century for both mending and constructing garments, and as fasteners or accessories to hold garments together. According to Ivor Noël Hume, 17th and 18th century pins thus exhibit great variation in size, with lengths



Figure 5. Sewing-Related Objects. (l-r): straightpins (SF4, SF82, and SF89) and thimble (SF97).



Figure 6. Buckles: small, rounded corner frame, left (SF70) and large decorated frame, likely a shoe buckle, right (SF3).

ranging from greater than five inches (e.g. hairpins) to as small as three quarters of an inch (Noël Hume 1969). Three copper alloy straight pins (SF4, SF82, SF89) were recovered from excavations at Cocumscussoc, two of which (SF4, SF82)—based on their globular heads—are identified as being of an early form of manufacture (Fig. 5). SF4 is the only entirely intact pin recovered and is distinguished for being shorter than the average pin length typically recovered for the period.

Bale Seals

Produced by casting, lead bale clips or seals are small, circular lead or copper alloy objects used to seal and identify the contents of packaged goods. Most commonly used on textile packages, bale seal clips were pressed with makers' marks that attributed not only the manufacturer but also the quality and quantity of the enclosed goods (Cotter 1959). Many cloth bale seals exhibit cord or fabric-like impressions on their interior surfaces, evidencing attachment to cloth or woolen goods (Camp 1975). Sufficient comparative evidence is lacking for specific dating, particularly in cases where makers' marks cannot be identified, but most date predominantly to the 18th century.

Bale seal SF2 consists of two white metal disks, now fused together; it lacks a maker's mark, but has an ingrained waffle weave pattern indicating it is a cloth bale seal (Fig. 3). Lead seals of various shapes and sizes are fairly common on sites associated with trade (Noël Hume 1969) and it is therefore not surprising to recover one at Cocumscussoc, a trading place for many decades.

Buckles

Buckles became a common item of personal ornamentation at the end of the 17th century and enjoyed popularity in fashion until c. 1815. Used for both

functional and decorative purposes on shoes, belts, hats, knees, horse harnesses, and a host of other objects, they were made of a variety of metals, in a variety of forms, and catered to all social groups. Buckles aimed at wealthy consumers were fashioned from gold and silver, those catering to the middle to upper classes were crafted in brass or copper, and those destined for the lower classes were made from pewter. Generally, shoe and belt buckles are of largest size, while neck-stock, knee, and hat buckles constitute a smaller class, typically half their size (Camp 1975).

Representatives of both large and small classes of buckles were found at Cocumscussoc (Fig. 6). The first buckle (SF70) is a small, rectangular, rounded-corner frame that appears to date c. 1715–1790; it was most likely used as a stock, knee, spur, or hat buckle. The simplicity of this object is in keeping with the fact that such pieces were rarely elaborately molded. The second buckle (SF3) is a fragment of a large decorated frame, likely dating c. 1740–1780. The relatively elaborate decorative pattern, which consists of connecting horizontal and vertical lines intercut by small circles and a diamond shape in each corner, suggests that it was probably a shoe, rather than belt, buckle.

Chains

Chain fragments fashioned from brass wire and probably dating to the 17th century are found on sites throughout the Eastern United States (Groce 1980). The purview of pinmakers (Noël Hume 1969), they were used primarily as a means of suspending jewelry bobs and pendants or to fasten cloaks. SF180 is an inward scroll chain with figure-eight shaped links (Fig. 3); its exact usage is unknown but its delicate construction suggests it may have been used in attendance with jewelry.

—continued on page 18



Figure 7. Objects of likely Native American manufacture. (l-r): brass metal point (SF179) and brass tinkling cone (SF127).

Tinkling Cones

Among the metal small finds recovered was a brass tinkling cone, a cone-shaped object of personal adornment that attaches to clothing. A metal tradition common among many northeastern Native American groups, tinkling cones are conical shapes resulting from fusing the ends of a trapezoidal-shaped sheet-brass blank. They were attached to clothing by many methods, frequently involving a thin connecting strip of leather. Initially a Native American object, tinkling cones became popular with colonial settlers.

SF127 is decoratively cut with a diagonal bias and, perhaps most notably, perforated on either side by a small hole, presumably as an alternative means by which to attach the object to clothing (Fig. 7). Such technique is not typical and is not cited in any of the primary reference material yet consulted.

Metal Points

One small copper alloy point, SF179, presumably of Native American manufacture, was recovered (Fig. 9). Wear and sharpening patterns indicate an active utility. While a number of lithic points have been found at the site, this is the sole example of a worked metal point. Like tinkling cones, such points were typically fashioned from reworked copper kettles acquired through trade, popular until the mid-18th century.

Assessing Significance: Recognizing Limitations and Proposing Alternatives

From the 17th to the 18th centuries, Cocumscussoc was renowned as a prominent site within the region, a central social place at which the upper elite gathered. Held principally by two families, the Smiths and the Updikes, Cocumscussoc by all accounts was a center

of wealth and influence. Considering material goods as markers by which a person makes symbolic claims regarding his or her position in society, one might reasonably expect this upper societal status to be reflected in the material remains of the archaeological record. Sampling the preceding selection of Cocumscussoc's domestic wares as a grouping, however, may suggest a picture of consumer conservatism seemingly at odds with the known history of the site.

Of the artifacts examined, the majority were objects of common usage with little wealth value. Given the nature of archaeological deposits, such a result is to be expected. However, those classes of objects such as the spoons and buckles that might otherwise suggest greater holdings of wealth and investment in material objects still represent items of moderate value, both monetarily and symbolically. A trading post for more than half a century, Cocumscussoc stood at the center of the ever-increasing interchange of both trans-Atlantic and cross-continental goods. Archaeological evidence of such connections, however, is scarce. For example, whereas at the Clarke and Lake site in Arrowsic, Maine, "numerous bale seals signifying the quantity and quality of cloth exported from England emphasize the importance of [connections to trading centers]" (Leamon 1977: 21), at Cocumscussoc excavations revealed only one such object. Given substantial documentary evidence that the Smith and Updike families were well-regarded and influential in social and economic, as well as political affairs, how might one understand this discrepancy? Is it explained solely by the human inclination to pass down through time valuable pieces of material wealth, discarding only insignificant pieces?

Taken in combination these small domestic finds, which overlap in likely dates of origin and use cycles, help elucidate a number of Cocumscussoc's lived histories. Several possible interpretations from different periods in its history, implied by historical evidence but nonetheless infused heavily with inference, illuminate the way in which this grouping calls forth a more vivid picture of these domestic lives.

Diplomatic Endeavors in an Unstable Time

By 1692, Cocumscussoc was a renowned and profitable trading post situated on a large area of land in an enviable location. This is not to suggest, however, that the property was unproblematic. Richard Smith, Jr.'s position as landholder was anything but secure from both local Native American communities and other colonists, who challenged his claim to title and encroached upon his holdings. Repeatedly, the stability of Cocumscussoc as a place of trade, of diplomacy, of lines of communication, and of residence was breached in violent skirmishes and land squabbles.

Cocumscussoc's presence as a great diplomatic center in the area is perhaps nowhere more evident than in its early role as a center for trade, a role reflected materially in the presence of the copper alloy tinkling cone (SF127) and metal point (SF179). Richard Smith, Jr. was not alone in either his role as diplomat or economic provider: He was joined by his wife, Esther. Renowned for her cheeses, Esther exported her product through the channels of trade that flowed through and around the Great House. She asserted herself as well in the role of diplomat, using domestic items such as thimbles (SF97) and pins (SF4, SF82, SF89): In 1670 Esther wrote she was sending [Governor Winthrop] a "pair of socks, stripe hose and stokings and shooes. They are butt mene, I could wish they were beter. Be pleased to except of them from shree that is never abell to recompenc your great love and favor to me" (Woodward 1985). Integrating the archaeological and documentary evidence, we shed some light on the nature of gender and social roles in this period, for as has been previously noted, "the lives of early American housewives were distinguished less by the tasks they performed than by forms of social organization which linked economic responsibilities to family responsibilities and which tied each woman's household to the larger world of her village or town" (Wilson 1999: 34).

The "larger world" was indeed in many ways brought directly into the Smiths' backyard, with harmful consequences. During King Philip's War, the Great House became an important base for the gathering of military information on the Narragansett Indians, an extension of its role as an important meeting place for town meetings, treaty negotiations, and religious services (Rubertone and Fitts 1990). A garrison for soldiers during the war, Cocumscussoc and the Smiths were devastated materially by the wake of its effects; Woodward quotes Smith, "in the time of the late troubles and ware with the Indians here at Nanhigansett, [I] did suffer much in [my] estate by entertaining the many companys of soulders...Myself and six of my servants being in service...had no allowance for our service...all the coper, bras, wooden vessells for army's use spoyled, stole and lost, to the value of 100 sterling...and lastly my housing burnt, being of great value...all of which is too much for one perticular man to bear" (Woodward 1985: 45). Maybe the fig-shaped spoon bowl (SF194) recovered in excavation is just one example of the "spoyled, coper, bras, wooden bowls" to which Smith refers.

Perhaps then, objects such as the tinkling cone, metal point, and sewing-related items can be used to illuminate understandings of the volatility of this early period of American history. While tinkling cones point to the sharing of traditions, of successful interaction between disparate groups, metal points might indicate the discord and violence that pervasively threatened

this umbrella of amity. Efforts to maintain this peace are seen in diplomatic examples like Esther Smith's sewn items sent to Governor Winthrop. Interpreting this selection of artifacts as indicative of conservative displays of wealth might well reflect the reluctance of settlers like Smith to invest great wealth in objects given the precariousness of the period. The material pieces present in the archaeological record can thereby shed light on the struggle of multiple groups to assert themselves within a system of changing relations in the landscape of New England colonial settlement.

Making Ends Meet: Tenancy at Cocumscussoc

Perhaps partly as a result of the risks assumed with such a volatile position, Smith Jr.'s heir, Lodowick Updike, moved his family to the town of Wickford sometime between 1708 and 1730. Though much remains unclear about this period of Cocumscussoc's history, it is known that during this period the property was transitioned from a trading post to an agricultural plantation. Further, Lodowick turned the management of the property over to his son, Daniel, an attorney in Newport, who in turn rented it to at least two tenant farmers. Of these, we know little more than their names. Perhaps the conservatism of wealth displayed in the domestic wares recovered is a window into this little understood phase in Cocumscussoc's life history. Seen in this light, the pewter spoon recovered (SF125) might well represent the obligatory single piece of pewter, a tin-plated button just another slightly elevated but fundamentally functional item of personal adornment, and the pins and thimble the necessary garment mending tools brought on by the demanding realities of tenant farming.

The House That Daniel Built: Asserting Signifiers of Wealth and Status

By the time Daniel Updike fully inherited Cocumscussoc in 1737 the property had developed into a full-blown slave plantation in the North. In this regard, it was nearly uniquely situated. Unlike other New England farmers, the great farmers of the Narragansett country "comprised a landed aristocracy of superior intellectual and social status that lived after the manner of English squires" (Woodward 1985: 59). Wealthy farmers displayed their wealth in material possessions relating to personal adornment and home decoration, a fact reflected in Daniel's 1757 probate inventory. Increasingly throughout the 18th century, however, such goods came within the market range of consumers of lower status: "The rise of fashionableness, Benjamin Franklin complained in 1722, allowed persons with no real claim to social distinction to draw 'Crowds of Imitators who hate each other while they endeavor a similitude of Manners'" (Zakim 2001:5). In this way,

—continued on page 20

“the natural hierarchy was obfuscated by people dressing beyond their rank” (Zakim 2001:5).

Concerned with the increasing social mobility of ‘posers’, many wealthy New Englanders appropriated architectural and material culture trends (e.g. Georgianization) to reinforce status differentials. A house is as much a consumer good and communicator of status as gold and porcelain, and by nature of its visibility and comparative cost stands alone as a “singular status indicator” (Blanton 1994). Daniel Updike arguably actualized this idea, extensively altering and remodeling the Great House in 1740 to include fine new wood paneling in the two front rooms, an elegant entry staircase, and encased corner posts and ceiling beams. Additionally, he expanded the lean-to kitchen - enlarging the main block, removing the facade gables and projecting front porch, and installing a new roof, giving the exterior a “Georgian facelift”. This investment in architectural improvements, as opposed to small items of material culture, fits a pattern observed in other colonial regions. Evidence from sites in New Jersey and the Chesapeake “suggest that durable household goods...may not be the most important ways that farmers displayed their status. Having achieved a certain threshold...farmers seem to have chosen to invest in land and livestock and perhaps the dwelling” (Friedlander 1991:27).

This is not to suggest that other consumer goods did not play a role in the Updikes’ status displays – indeed, the porcelain recovered from this period may point to affluence and consumer showmanship (Frank 2006) - but rather that such goods “are likely to gain validation in wealth communication” only when consumed and displayed in the appropriate and equivalent context (Blanton 1994:16). Perhaps this can partly help to explain the relative conservatism of archaeological deposits. Perhaps Daniel, aware of the visible manner in which social and class lines were being “falsely” cross-cut by “posers”, chose instead to demonstrate his wealth in a good of monumental size, of long-lasting duration. Comparison to other components of Cocumscussoc’s archaeological assemblage, such as the suggested conservatism of combed slipware ceramics and rum bottles, might lend corroboration to this understanding.

This interpretation opens the door to a number of considerations that involve attention to the site as an integrated unit, a “life” in itself. If Daniel’s renovations are seen as attempts to privilege his status, what implications might this activity have had for the members of the Updike domestic unit? Was the Georgian renovation a response to the perceived need to create social distance within the domestic unit, between Cocumscussoc’s slaves and the Updike family, or was it directed at the larger regional community? If such large-scale goods were now considered the marker of status, how might this have affected other members

of the household’s ability to contribute to the family’s social position and their individual roles within the group? While the answers to these questions cannot be here resolved by the available evidence, the artifacts can serve as points of departure for more formidably understanding the connections between individuals, groups, and their domestic environments.

Continually Unfolding Legacies

The considerations proposed herein are admittedly only that - considerations. The questions asked cannot be answered definitively through the singular analysis of the individual artifacts selected. However, by adopting such broad and holistic viewpoints we can attempt to better conceptualize the role of small, singular items of material culture, such as a buckle, within the larger framework of the domestic environment and household. Such an approach encourages us to extend our scales of analysis outward and engage in the much-needed multi-site comparative studies which will enable us to identify the broader networks of relationships and exchange of cultural ideas that characterized the region in the early colonial period.

Though individual and unique components, the domestic wares here analyzed together form an assemblage that brings to light some of the fundamental characteristics that have pervaded Cocumscussoc’s many life histories. Whether it is Esther Smith sewing socks and stripes for the Governor or it is Daniel Updike acting in his office as Attorney General from a seat in the Great House, Cocumscussoc is a physical frame, a setting, through which relationships both familial and non are acted and given shape. Given the nature of the site as a fundamentally domestic environment, it is important to conceive of the archaeological collections that stem from its land as a history of relations, of families, of individuals. Challenging ourselves to explore new ways individual artifacts, limited in themselves in the extent to which they can plausibly elucidate such histories, can be meaningfully bound together to reveal relationships hitherto obscured is one way we can work to further elucidate the complexity of Cocumscussoc’s past.

Editors’ Note

¹Lodowick Updike laid out lots in Wickford village at this time and gave some to family members, but there is no known evidence that he ever lived there. Woodward and other authors have inferred that Lodowick and son Daniel did not live at Cocumscussoc because of tenancy agreements with overseers. More likely, none of these agreements are for the main house at Homestead Farm, but were rather for the satellite farms (e.g., John Wilcox at Saugo Farm, to the east of Cocumscussoc, and John Pinder and Israel Phillips for the Mansion House Farm, also called South Farm, south of Wickford).

Catalog of Small Finds (SF) Sampled for Discussion

SF194	Description: Spoon Bowl - Fig Shaped Location: NE525, E550; Level 4 Material: Copper Alloy Dimension: Length - 66 mm, Width - 49 mm, Thickness - 1.5 mm
SF126	Description: Spoon Handle - Slipped-in-the-Stalk Location: NE540, E580; Level 7-8 Material: Copper Alloy Dimension: Length - 60 mm, Width (top) - 8 mm, Width (bottom) - 6 mm, Thickness (top) - 3.5 mm, Thickness (bottom) - 3 mm
SF125	Description: Spoon Handle - Trifid Terminus Location: N524, E550; Level 4 Material: Pewter Dimension: Length A - 52 mm, Length B - 58 mm, Width (top) - 22.5 mm, Width (middle) - 11 mm, Width (bottom) - 8 mm, Thickness (top) - 2 mm, Thickness (bottom) - 3 mm
SF97	Description: Thimble Location: NE549, E584; Level 4 Material: Brass Dimension: Height - 17 mm, Height of lip - 1 mm, Width (base) - 15 mm, Thickness - 1 mm, Diameter - 12 mm
SF4	Description: Straight Pin - Wound Wire Globular Head; Tip Intact Location: N540, E575; Level 5 Material: Copper Alloy Dimension: Length - 26 mm, Length of head - 1.5 mm, Diameter (head) - 2 mm, Thickness (shaft) - 1 mm
SF82	Description: Straight Pin - Wound Wire Globular Head; Tip Missing Location: N561, E587; Level 6 Material: Copper Alloy Dimension: Length - 22 mm, Length of head - 2 mm, Diameter (head) - 1.5 mm, Thickness (shaft) - 1 mm
SF89	Description: Straight Pin - Missing Head; Tip Intact Location: N540, E590; Level 6 Material: Copper Alloy Dimension: Length - 18 mm, Thickness (shaft) - 1 mm
SF2	Description: Cloth Bale Seal - Note Indentations from Cloth Location: N546, E588; Level 4 Material: White Metal Dimension: Diameter - 21 mm, Thickness - 1.5 mm
SF3	Description: Large Buckle - Possible Use on Shoe or Belt Location: N553, E602; Level 3 Dimension: Length (long side) - 35 mm, Length (short side) - 20 mm, Width - 6 mm, Thickness - 0.2 - 0.3 mm Diameter of decorative circles - 2 mm, Distance between circles - 5 mm Width (decorative lines) - 0.20 mm, Length (decorative diamonds) - 0.5 mm
SF70	Description: Small Buckle - Possible Use on Hats, Spurs, Knees Location: NE529, E595; Level 3 Dimension: Length - 32 mm, Width - 22 mm, Thickness (rim) - 2 mm, Thickness (jointure) - 5 mm
SF180	Description: Chain - Perhaps Used as Cloak/Jewelry Fastener Location: N525, E540; Level 2 Material: Copper Alloy Dimension: Length - 65 mm, Length of Clasp - 27 mm, Width of clasp (widest point) - 6 mm, Thickness of Metal - 1 mm
SF127	Description: Tinkling Cone - Particularly Distinguished by Punctured Holes Location: NE518, E600; Level ? Material: Copper Alloy Dimension: Length - 22 mm, Diameter of Side Perforation - 2 mm, Exterior Diameter (Top) - 7 mm, Interior Diameter (Top) - 6 mm, Exterior Diameter (Base) - 3.6 mm, Interior Diameter (Base) - 3 mm
SF179	Description: Point - Native American manufacture Location: N530, E545; Level 3 Material: Copper Alloy Dimension: Height - 29 mm, Width - 6-8 mm, Thickness - 1 mm

—continued on page 22

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Recommended Reading

Mayflower: A Story of Courage, Community, and War

By Nathaniel Philbrick
Viking Adult. 2006
Hardcover, 480 pages

From the author's introduction—

I thought I knew about the voyage of the Mayflower. But when I started to explore what happened when an old leaky ship arrived off the coast of New England in the fall of 1620, I soon realized that I, along with most Americans, knew nothing at all about the real people with whom the story of our country begins.

The oft-told tale of how the Pilgrims and the Indians celebrated the First Thanksgiving does not do justice to the history of the Plymouth Colony. Instead of an inspiring tableau of tranquil cooperation, the Pilgrims' first half-century in America was more of a passion play in which vibrant, tragic, self-serving and heroic figures struggled to preserve a precarious peace—until that peace erupted into one of the deadliest wars ever fought on American soil. The English fatalities were catastrophic, but the rebelling Indians were virtually obliterated as a people. The promise of the First Thanksgiving had given way to the horror of total war.

A hundred years before the signing of the Declaration of Independence, this culminating event—King Philip's War—brought into disturbing focus the issues of race, violence, religious identity, and economic opportunity that came to define America's inexorable push west. But as the Pilgrims came to understand, war was not inevitable. It would be left to their children and grandchildren to discover the terrifying enormity of what is lost when two peoples give up on the difficult work of living together.

More than 375 years later, in a world that is growing more complicated and dangerous by the day, the story of the Mayflower still has much to teach us.

Smith's Garrison in *Mayflower*

During this tour season, several visitors mentioned to docents that they had read about "Smith's garrison" in Philbrick's *Mayflower*. What does the book actually say about Smith's Castle?

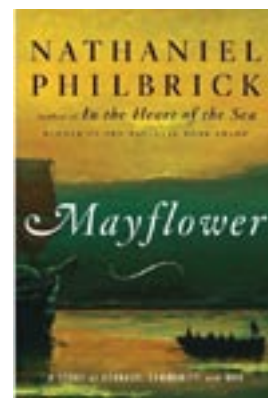
Richard Smith (Sr.) first appears in the book because of a controversial land sale. In 1654, Wamsutta of Pokanoket (also known as Alexander and the brother of Metacom or "King" Philip) sold Richard Smith Hog Island—despite the fact that Plymouth and Massasoit

had agreed to ban sales of Native lands. Richard Smith claimed "he knew not any ban," and the authorities allowed him to keep Hog Island (pp. 196–197, 201). This incident foreshadowed Smith's participation in the controversial sale of Narragansett lands.

Smith's Castle takes more center stage in the discussion of the Great Swamp Fight. In December 1675, the United Colonies of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Plymouth assembled 1,000 soldiers (close to five percent of the regional male English population) to invade Rhode Island to attack the Narragansett. Josiah Winslow of Plymouth led the force and Benjamin Church was his aide. On December 8, Church sailed to Richard Smith Jr.'s Wickford house to prepare for the garrison, while Winslow led the troops over land. Church with some "brisk blades" from Rhode Island swept the area and captured 18 Natives, and Capt. Moseley of Massachusetts had captured another 18. These were intended to be slaves. One of the captured, named Peter, agreed to show the troops the way to the Narragansett's fortified camp at the Great Swamp.

Following the attack and horrific burning of the fort and the Narragansett men, women, and children therein, the troops returned to the garrison at Smith's, a cold and slow 16-mile journey in the dark of night. The first of the returning troops reached the garrison at 2 a.m. Others did not arrive for another five hours later. About 20 percent of the English soldiers had either been killed or wounded. Philbrick does not mention the burial of 40 of them at the Castle. He discusses the execution of the traitor Joshua Tefft, but does not mention that it took place at Smith's.

The United Colonies had hoped to annihilate the Narragansett. Although hundreds were massacred at the Great Swamp, the offensive also pushed 1,000 or more Narragansetts into joining the Nipmuck as reinforcements in the offensive against the English. ■



Nathaniel Philbrick's *Mayflower* is available through Amazon.com, which can be easily accessed through the Smith's Castle Web site (www.smithscastle.org). When you purchase books and other merchandise from Amazon, Smith's Castle receives a percentage of the purchase price. Please remember Smith's Castle when you do your Holiday shopping.

The Cocumscussoc Association

This Winter at Smith's Castle

November

Day	Time	Event
Thursday, 2	9:00 a.m.	Docent meeting
Thursday, 30	9:00 a.m.	Docent meeting

December

Day	Time	Event
Saturday, 2	Noon–4:00 p.m.	Christmas at the Castle
Sunday, 3	Noon–4:00 p.m.	Christmas at the Castle
Sunday, 10	3:00–6:00 p.m.	Holiday Open House

Smith's Castle Holiday Open House

Smith's Castle's Holiday Open House will be Sunday, December 10, from 3 p.m. to 6 p.m.

This annual event for members and guests is always a crowd-pleaser, with elegant foods and holiday merriment. The price is \$30 per person. Show your support for the Castle's historic preservation and educational mission and have a lot of fun at the same time!

Please RSVP with attendees' names by December 5 to 294-3521 and send your check to the Castle office, 55 Richard Smith Drive, Wickford RI 02852. Hurry! This popular event quickly fills up!

The Cocumscussoc Association
55 Richard Smith Drive
Wickford, RI 02852-4414

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