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“The Dutch Found Us And Relieved Us...” Identifying Seventeenth Century Illicit Dutch Trade Relations On Virginia’s Eastern Shore And In The Chesapeake

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“The Dutch found us and relieved us...”
Identifying Seventeenth Century Illicit Dutch Trade Relations on Virginia’s Eastern
Shore and in the Chesapeake

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Halifax, Pennsylvania

Bachelor of Arts, George Mason University, 2017

A thesis presented to the Graduate Faculty of The College of William & Mary in
Candidacy for the Degree of
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This Thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts



Haley Marie Hoffman

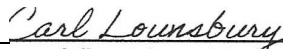
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ABSTRACT

This study explores how illicit transatlantic trade relations with the Dutch in seventeenth-century Virginia can be identified through the material record. The research was motivated by recent excavations at a seventeenth-century plantation on Virginia's Eastern Shore. Eyreville, as it is now known, was a hub of transatlantic trade during the formative years of the Virginia colony. The recognizable presence of Dutch trade goods, coupled with the site's pro-Dutch merchant residents, prompted the investigation into material signatures of illicit trade on the Eastern Shore and the Chesapeake. The identification of these material signatures is based on extensive research into geopolitical histories, trade networks, the production and distribution of trade goods, and archaeological evidence. This is achieved through the lens of network analysis and structuration theory. Combined with a rich documentary record, archaeological and artifactual analysis illuminates the effects of European globalization, specifically conflicts such as the War of Three Kingdoms from 1642-1649, and regulations such as those imposed through the British Navigation Acts and by the Dutch West India Company. Considering the complexity of this historical context and the modes of analysis involved, a multiscalar approach/perspective is key to discerning how these trade relations occurred.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

As one of the defining factors of nascent globalization, knowledge of trade has both informed and eluded us. Trade is the exchange of goods, services, ideas, and people for an equivalent compensation. Yet, the existence of trade cannot always be easily established in the historical and archaeological record. When trade was carried out illegally, such as it was by the Dutch in the Chesapeake for example, the interpretation of archaeological sites can become more challenging. Since archaeologists pride themselves on their ability to identify artifacts and their origins, the presence of illicitly transported artifacts without documentation can lead to erroneous interpretations of a site's commercial and cultural relations. Additionally, although the premise of illegality carries certain stigmas, the reasons for participating in illicit activities are much more complicated. Illicit trade in the seventeenth-century Chesapeake occurred for many reasons including need, defiance, prosperity, relationships, power, convenience, and apathy. Since early colonists of the Chesapeake relied on trade for the growth and survival of their settlements, it is not surprising that they engaged in all forms of it.

Since illicit trade was not actively recorded in the documentary record, other than grievances associated with its existence, we must turn to other methods of identification to study its existence. The use of archaeological methods offers us that opportunity. In the case of the English Chesapeake, where trade with the Dutch was both legal and illegal at various points in the seventeenth century, archaeological tracking and identification of illicit trading through material goods becomes difficult. Determining the situational legality of an object is therefore contingent on a number of material and

cultural factors. Material factors are information relating to the chronology of an object's production and distribution. For example, when was the object first produced and for how long? Does it have any decorative attributes that distinguish its production timeframe? When and where was it distributed? Cultural factors involve the contextual interactions, attitudes, and actions of agents participating in and around such trade networks.

In an effort to shed light on this enigmatic topic, this study addresses and identifies material signatures of illicit trade between English settlements in the Chesapeake and Dutch merchants during the seventeenth-century. This is accomplished through an analysis and enumeration of artifacts that help identify illicit trade. This analysis is based on the aforementioned material and cultural factors that are associated with an artifact and its context. Although a few different artifact types are included in this study, the majority of the analysis is focused on ceramic wares. This is due to the prevalence of ceramics on archaeological sites as well as their diagnostic features. In the case of identifying elusive and exclusive occurrences such as illicit trade interactions, being able to determine date ranges, production locales, and stylistic preferences from artifact types becomes extremely crucial.

Chapter 2: The Eastern Shore

One of the locations most studied by American historical archaeologists is seventeenth-century Virginia. Settlements like Jamestown, Middle Plantation, St. Mary's City and others, tell us the story of nascent globalization and the individuals who lived it. They carry the story of contact and colonization, turmoil and triumph, and commerce and corruption. However, the sites that so often occupy our minds are not the only ones capable of yielding information regarding this formative time in America's history.

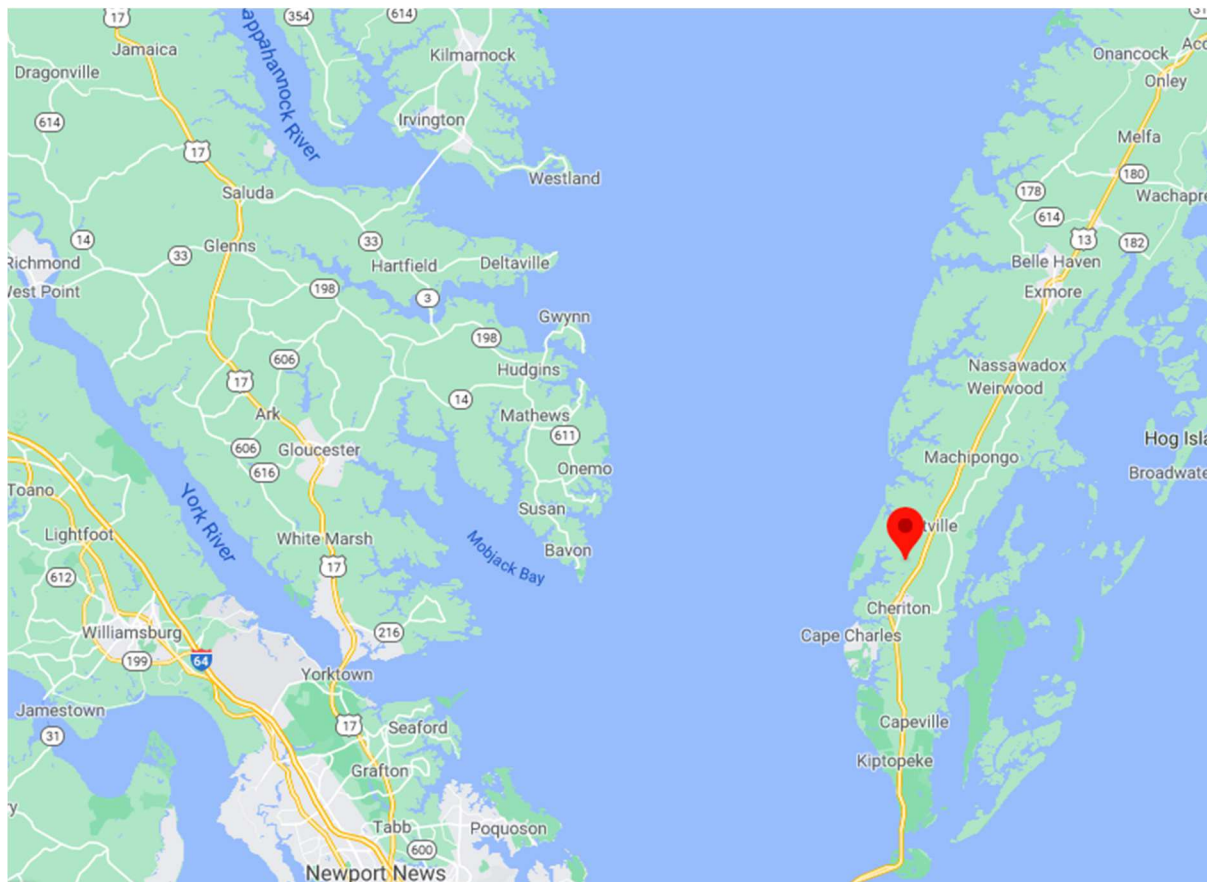


Figure 1. Map of southern portion of Eastern Shore with marked location of Eyreville (Photo Courtesy of Google Maps)

Lying approximately 30 miles off Virginia's mainland is the peninsula known as the Eastern Shore. The Eastern Shore has largely remained an untapped source of

seventeenth-century archaeological information, despite its Native American and early 1600s European habitation. Although some archaeological projects have been conducted, such as those at the Custis Plantation (Lucchetti et al 1999) and the Early Woodland Savage Neck site (Rick et al 2015), research on the area has mainly been documentary in nature (Perry 1990; Upshur and Whitelaw 1942; Rountree and Davidson 1997; Whitelaw 1968; Wittkofski 1988; Wise 1911; Wolf 2002) The fortuitous execution of documentary research on the area is thanks to the condition and continuity of the Northampton County court records, the oldest preserved court records in the United States. Despite the immense archaeological potential for seventeenth-century information regarding early trade, infrastructure, material culture, and agricultural development, Virginia's Eastern Shore has been greatly underexplored and ignored. The reasoning for its lack of interest is not wholly apparent, however it is likely that it concerns its distance from urban centers. For instance, the shore is not easy, or cheap, to get to, nor is it conducive to twenty-first century comforts. Some have even joked that while Williamsburg pretends to be colonial the Eastern Shore actually still is. This "joke" is in regards to its lack of economic development, race relations, and population size, Northampton County has a population density of 58 people per square mile while James City County boasts 470 people per square mile. Whether the Shore is being ignored by archaeologists due to its lack of Wawa gas stations or not, the Shore's historical resources have been underutilized for too long.

Geographically and culturally distinct, the Eastern Shore of Virginia is the southernmost portion of the Delmarva Peninsula, measuring about 70 miles in length

and varying from four to 16 miles in width including its eastern bay and coastal islands. Punctuated by numerous inlets and tributaries, the shore is relatively flat and wooded.

The first human settlement of the Eastern Shore is estimated to have occurred about 10,000 years ago (Rountree and Davidson 1997:20). Unfortunately, information about the Native inhabitants of the Eastern Shore prior to European colonization is sparse due to a lack of controlled archaeological investigations. Consequently, most of our information about specific Native American groups on the Shore comes from the information gathered by Europeans in the late sixteenth-and early seventeenth-centuries. From the few archaeological investigations that have been conducted on the Shore, material evidence has shown that the Eastern Shore Native Americans underwent similar material changes as communities on the west side and to the north in the Delaware region (Rountree and Davidson 1997:20-21). For instance, the introduction of maize agriculture and Townsend pottery, which so often marks the beginning of the late Woodland period, is archaeologically comparable to other sites in the Chesapeake.

When the English first arrived in the early 1600s, the shore was inhabited by the Accomac and the Occohannock tribes. Although it is difficult to say with certainty that the tribes living on the shore in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were the descendants of the late Woodland inhabitants, there is strong circumstantial evidence to suggest that they were (Rountree and Davidson 1997:26). Like the late Woodland residents, the Accomacs and Occohannocks were horticulturalists who supplemented their diets with hunting and fishing. In addition to fishing, the Eastern Shore's brackish and shallow waters afforded inhabitants with oysters and edible roots. The Accomacs

and the Occohannocks were complex hierarchical polities similar to other chiefdoms during the time. Other than internal tribal payment the tribes themselves remained autonomous until the 1590s, when they were confronted by Powhatan's growing forces on the mainland (Rountree and Davidson 1997:26). Faced with the choice of paying tribute to Powhatan or fighting his forces, the tribes chose to pay tribute.

Native and European cultural relations on the Eastern Shore were notably different than those across the Bay in the seventeenth century. When asked to participate in an attack on the English by providing a poisonous plant found primarily on the Eastern Shore, the Accomac leader, Debedeavon, also known as Esmey Shichans and the "Laughing King," refused and subsequently alerted the English to the plan (Rountree and Davidson 1997:51). Heightened English awareness delayed the attack until the following year. When the Powhatan Uprising did occur in 1622, the Eastern Shore Native and European residents were not involved.

With European settlement becoming more prevalent and native land becoming increasingly sparse, around 1666 the Occohannocks were compelled to move north to join fellow tribes in Maryland. The Accomacs, renamed the Gingaskins after their removal to a reservation located north east of Eyreville above Taylor Creek in 1641, decided to stay and live on their ever shrinking reservation land (Rountree and Davidson 1997:54-56). By the end of the seventeenth-century, the Eastern Shore tribes had lost control of their land and all but ceased to be mentioned in documentary records (Perry 1990:66). In contrast to most tribes of the time the Accomacs and Occohannocks were some of the only tribes to lose their land without any physical conflicts or battles.

The first documented account of European presence on the Eastern Shore occurred in 1603, when an English ship captained by Bartholomew Gilbert was driven inland by a storm. Gilbert led his crew ashore where they were supposedly met by “hostile” natives (Rountree and Davidson 1997:49). The second account by Europeans recounted the expedition of John Smith and his crew in 1608. During his exploration, Smith encountered two “grimme and stout Salvages” (Smith 1612:141) who, upon explanation of Smith’s business, directed him to “Acawmacke.” There, Debedeavon willingly described the Shore’s geography to Smith who later remarked that the “King was the comeliest proper civil savage we encountered” (Smith 1612:142). Smith also noted the Shore’s high potential for fishing and salt production (Perry 1990:12). Around 1612, English colonists from Jamestown began fishing on the southern tip of the peninsula, and by 1614, Sir Thomas Dale had set up a small settlement for the workers called “Dale’s Gift.” According to a report from John Rolfe, “Dale’s Gift,” was one of six settlements in Virginia at the time.

Figure 2. John Smith 1624 "Virginia" Map with enlarged section of Eastern Shore, WE orientation (Photo courtesy of Library of Congress)



In 1616, the Virginia Company established a saltworks on Smith Island, a coastal island to the southeast of the peninsula's tip, to aid in fish preservation (Upshur and Whitelaw 1942:193-194). By 1619, the saltworks was no longer in operation, but trade continued between the English and the Accomacs (Rountree and Davidson 1997:50). In 1624, the Virginia Company of London's charter was withdrawn, and the Eastern Shore was incorporated into England's first Royal Colony of Virginia. By the time Virginia became a royal colony, the social dynamic of the Shore was then dominated by wealthy landowners like the individuals who would come to own Eyreville throughout the seventeenth-century.



Figure 3. Aerial shot of present day Eyreville and Cherrystone Inlet
(Photo Courtesy of Virginia Department of Historic Resources)

Chapter 3: Eyreville

The site now known as Eyreville was a seventeenth- through nineteenth-century plantation, located on the Chesapeake Bay side of Virginia's Eastern Shore. From at least 1657 through the nineteenth century, the property was referred to as the "Newport house" in accordance with its location on Newport Creek. Although there are no modern references to a "Newport Creek," it has been recorded as being a tributary of Cherrystone Inlet, specifically the creek north of the Eyreville property. The "Newport" name origin for the creek and subsequent house is unfortunately unknown, although there have been speculations. Jenean Hall (2017) speculates that the Newport name came from the Eastern Shore residents Edward and Richard Newport. The brothers, who had simultaneously died of a strain of the bubonic plague in 1642, were newly immigrated from England and were presumably looking for property to purchase. Hall suggests that the brothers were interested in the Eyreville property and that their interest led to the property and creek's naming upon their death (Hall 2017:2). Although this speculation is possible, I would argue that the "Newport" name likely has more to do with the property's association with mercantile activity, and a "new" "port".

Evidence of Eyreville's seventeenth-century occupation was discovered in 2017, when a large tree on the property was uprooted in a storm. From beneath the web of freshly unearthed roots, a multitude of colonial era artifacts were unveiled (Clem 2019). Although Eyreville is privately owned, the landowner permitted archaeologists from the Virginia Department of Historic Resources (VDHR) and the U.S. Forestry Service to investigate the uncovered artifacts and the site's overall potential. After identifying local and European pipes, seventeenth-century ceramics, and yellow Dutch bricks, as well as

investigating the documentary records of the property, it was determined that the site could yield information on the earliest European occupation on the Eastern Shore. Excavations around the fallen tree revealed what is thought to be the earliest European structure on the property, a post-in-ground “Virginia House” (Horn 1994:304). Subsequent excavations yielded evidence of two additional structures to the north, which probably date from the early to late eighteenth century, respectively. These three structures preceded the nineteenth-century mansion that currently occupies the property.



Figure 4. Aerial view of brick structure excavation at Eyreville

(Photo courtesy of Michael Clem)

The first European to live at the site was an Englishman by the name of John Howe. Although Howe did not purchase the Eyreville property until 1637, he arrived in

Virginia in 1621 aboard the *Margaret and John* and lived on the Eastern Shore, possibly on the Eyreville tract, as early at 1623 (Shifflett 2000). During his time in Virginia, Howe served as a burgess and commander of Accomack to the General Assembly, and was given the title of captain in 1637 (Ames 1954:81). In 1638, Howe died intestate, only a year after purchasing the property (Nugent 2004). The only documentary evidence regarding his life at Eyreville is a reference to a pinnace, a small self-propelled ship, being built on the property. The ship, named the *Beardless John*, was completed around the time of Howe's death and made its first voyage about ten months later. No other information has been found regarding the purpose or destinations of the ship, other than the fact that it was jointly owned with two other Eastern Shore residents (Ames 1954:122,129).

In 1640, the 1000-acre tract was sold to a London-based merchant named Edward Robins (Ames 1954:131). Edward and his brother Obedience both owned tracts of land on the Shore but Obedience was the only long-term resident. Unfortunately, Edward died two years after purchasing the property, at which point Obedience was named the administrator of the estate (Ames 1954). Edward's widow remarried in England shortly afterwards, but later appears in the court records as a resident of the Eastern Shore (Mackey et al. 2000a:202-203). From 1642 to 1656, it is unclear who was living at the property or how it was being used. Although the property was technically owned by Edward's daughters, it is likely that Obedience, as administrator, leased the land for tenant farming. In 1657, 600 acres of the property, including the portion of the property currently under excavation, was sold to William Kendall (Northampton Co. Wills, Deeds, Etc., Vol. 7,1655-1657, pp.67-68).

William Kendall lived at the property from 1657 till his death in 1686. He was a successful merchant, planter, and politician who originally came to Virginia as an indentured servant (Hall 2017:1, Wolf 2002: 5-24). Skilled in accounting, Kendall was highly regarded by his mariner and merchant master, Edward Drew, and gained his freedom within three years of his arrival. Kendall soon became a prosperous merchant, thanks to the training he received while serving under Drew. Kendall's notable commercial connections with the Dutch, specifically via Amsterdam and New Amsterdam, are attested to in both documentary records and the archaeological evidence. These connections are discussed in greater detail below, as they relate to my analysis of ceramics corresponding with Kendall's tenure at the site. In addition to his mercantile business, Kendall was appointed to the court of Northampton in 1656 and rose to the rank of colonel in 1671 (Mackey et al. 2000b). Kendall died in 1686 but due to the extensive nature of his business ventures and numerous heirs, his estate took twelve years to be settled (Walczyk 2000:138-139). Although there is no extant probate inventory available for William Kendall, there was one prepared for his son, Captain William Kendall, who inherited the majority of his father's property. Since Captain Kendall lived at the same estate as his father, we can cautiously view his inventory as a representative sample of he and his father's accumulated wealth. Over the next century the Eyreville property was passed down through the Kendall family and was eventually sold to the Eyres in 1797 (Wolf 2002:84). Although Eyreville's owners were different men with different prerogatives, they all similarly relied on transatlantic trade to advance their economic and societal prospects.

Chapter 4: Dutch Trade

In the late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-centuries, England's naval strength and commercial connections were not sufficient to keep up with the trade needs of its newly formed colonies (Koot 2014:74; McMillan 2017:42). Although England proved itself to be a powerful colonizing force, its seventeenth-century Chesapeake colonies remained reliant on foreign merchants for provisions. The most prominent foreign merchants in Virginia during this time were the Dutch (McMillan 2015:38). The Dutch found great opportunity with the English colonies in America and the Caribbean, most notably in the trade of sugar and tobacco. Virginia was especially attractive to the Dutch because of its production of Orinoco tobacco, a varietal deemed too bitter by the English but favored by the Dutch. The willingness and capacity of Dutch merchants to purchase Virginian Orinoco tobacco in mass and at a fair price was crucial to the colony's growth and success (Koot 2014:76; Kupp 1973:653). The vigor with which the colonists needed to survive and thrive was matched by the Dutch merchants' desire for financial and political prospects.

During the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the United Provinces of Holland were the largest seafaring nation in the world and Europe's leading commercial center (Wilcoxon 1987:13). The Netherlands' mercantile success was due to multiple factors, most notably its geography. The Netherlands' lack of land for agricultural development and its fortuitous position on deep, navigable rivers such as the Rhine and Maas, positioned the Dutch economy to rely on mercantile trade and investment (Cooke 1993:94-95). Geography came into play again when Europe's primary entrepot was shifted to the Low Countries after the Thirty Years War, thanks to the Provinces'

location amidst the Baltic and southern European trade routes (Koot 2011:19). Another crucial factor was Dutch proficiency in shipbuilding, most notably the development of a highly efficient transoceanic cargo vessel known as the “fluyt.” Unlike other European vessels, the fluyt was not outfitted as a warship, which allowed for more cargo room and a smaller crew. Additionally, what it lacked in defense, it made up for in speed (McMillan 2015:115). The increase in trade good capacity and decrease in payroll allowed the Dutch to lower their shipping costs and consequently their trade good costs, making them a highly attractive trade partner (Schaefer 1994:4). Financial developments were occurring as well. Advancements in capital markets and credit “enabled merchants to pool resources and to acquire loans at low interest rates of 3.5 to 4 percent (compared with 6 to 10 percent in England)” (Koot 2011:19). Combined with the low shipping costs, international connections, and merchant expertise, the Dutch could sell their goods at prices 30-40% cheaper than their rivals (2011:20). Finally, Dutch commercial hegemony was due to their trade philosophies. Unlike the English, the Dutch were firm believers in *mare liberum*, or “freedom of the seas” (McMillan 2017:35), a belief founded in what we would consider early capitalist ideals of free market economy. Their lack of mercantile regulations and emphasis on free independent trade, at least until the formation of the Dutch West India Company in 1602 and its expansion in 1621, fostered Dutch growth in Europe and eventually the American colonies.

Attracted by the prospects of financial, political, and religious gain, the Dutch started trading on the Atlantic coast of North America around 1598 and founded a settlement, known as New Amsterdam, present day New York, in 1609 (Cook 1993:141). The Dutch started trading in the Chesapeake around 1619, and had

increased their activities significantly by 1629 (Enthoven, and Klooster 2011:96). Up until 1621, Dutch trade with Virginia was conducted by independent merchants and national joint stock companies, similar to England's Virginia Company. With the establishment of the Dutch West India Company however, in 1621 a monopoly was placed on all Dutch trade in the hemisphere, leaving independent merchants to find other non-sanctioned ways of conducting their business (Koot 2011:22; Koot 2014:76; Wilcoxon 1987:20). The Dutch traded with Virginia by way of New Amsterdam, (present day New York) and via direct overseas travel from the Netherlands (Hatfield 2004).

Throughout the seventeenth century, Dutch merchants were able to outbid the English on almost every front (Koot 2011:23). As mentioned previously, the Dutch had the ability to offer European goods to colonists at lower prices and with a greater variety. Additionally, in exchange for tobacco, the Dutch provided a variety of European goods to the colonies including ceramics, textiles, tools, architectural materials, foodstuffs and alcohol. Moreover, their connection in the East Indies allowed for the occasional distribution of "exotic" goods such as silks and spices (Koot 2014:75).

English Struggles

The War of the Three Kingdoms was a series of religious and civil conflicts in England, Ireland, and Scotland from 1642 to 1649 (Koot 2014:80). It is commonly referred to as the English Civil War because of the resulting abolition of the monarchy in 1649, but this label obscures the wider international context of this conflict. The war was detrimental to England's presence and authority in the colonies, most notably in its effects on trade. Already semi-reliant on trade with the Dutch, England's preoccupation with the war further pushed the English colonists into their rival's arms. Trade with the

Dutch became so necessary that the Grand Assembly of Virginia passed the “Encouragement of Dutch Merchants” Act in 1643 (McMillan 2017:38). After Charles I was beheaded in 1649 and England gave way to parliamentary rule, England quickly turned its attention to the growing trade problem in the colonies. Convinced of the discrepancy between the colonies’ belief in the “English common good” and their mercantile and financial interests, commonwealth officials believed the Chesapeake had a “disease” that needed be remedied (Musselwhite 2018: 86). England’s response to this “affliction” began in 1650, when the first of four Navigation Acts were passed. The Navigation Acts were a series of acts aimed at diminishing and eventually wiping out foreign trade presence in the English colonies by making trade with other countries illegal. The new regulations were meant to function by prohibiting the import and export of goods with English colonies except by way of British ships and merchants (Wallerstein1980:78). Foreign goods such as German stoneware and Dutch pipes were still allowed to reach the colonies, but only by way of English transactions and shipping. The colonist’s response to the acts was extreme. One of the most notable responses to the acts was voiced by none other than Virginia’s Governor William Berkeley. Berkeley lamented “we can onely feare the Londoners, who would bring us to the same poverty, wherein the Dutch found and relieved us” (McIlwaine and Kennedy 1915:76). The relief that Governor Berkeley and others speak of was not simply economic in nature; since the Dutch had realized that local agents were necessary for successful trades, many Dutch merchants had taken up residency in Virginia and formed relationships with the Chesapeake colonists. Now friends, colleagues, neighbors, and in some cases, kin, the

Dutch were influential in the growth of the fledging communities of the Chesapeake. (Koot 2014:74,80; Enthoven and Klooster 2011:98-99,103).

Trade on the Eastern Shore

Little documentary evidence explicitly links Eyreville's first two residents to mercantile pursuits other than John Howe's shipbuilding project and Edward Robins's title as "merchant." However, it is evident that Edward's brother Obedience was at least partially entrenched in Dutch mercantile activity as he acted as the attorney of a Dutch trader named Aries Topp from 1643 to at least 1655, quite possibly facilitating illicit relations from 1651-1655 (Enthoven and Klooster 2011:104). Fortunately, there are numerous references to Colonel Kendall's mercantile activities, specifically his Dutch relations. One of the first recorded instances is detailed in a court case from 1659. The case states that in 1657, Kendall agreed to ship 34 hogsheads of tobacco to Jacob Lawris Van Slodt in Manhattan. Kendall apparently failed to send the correct amount or quality of tobacco and was ordered to pay Van Slodt 70 guilders (Northampton Co. Wills, Deeds, Etc. IX, No. 7, 1657-1666 pp. 33). In 1660, Kendall purchased a share in the ship the *Shepperd* from a merchant by the name of John Michael (Northampton Co. Wills, Deeds, Etc. IX, No. 7, 1657-1666 pp. 81-82). Michael was a prominent Dutch mariner who eventually settled on the Eastern Shore (Perry 1990:150-151). Although Kendall benefitted greatly from his business with the Dutch, even when it went against British policies, it is evident that he still had strong familial and financial ties to England. In his will, Kendall mentions a brother, a nephew, and a step daughter residing "about Brinton in Norfolk" (Walczyk 2001:24). Although there is no direct evidence that

Kendall emigrated from Norfolk, it is likely that he did, and that he maintained strong familial ties with the area up until his death.

Intercolonial trade was active if not thriving during the seventeenth century, and Virginia was a central player. Historian April Hatfield (2004:5) even argues that intercolonial trade “mattered most” to the Eastern Shore, establishing that its participation in and reliance on trade was greater than in other parts of Virginia. This assertion is based primarily on the fact that many Eastern Shore residents, excluding indentured servants, had familial ties to other parts of the colony, usually in areas south of the James River. Trade routes subsequently followed these familial lines and in turn, kin relations were extended by these routes (Hatfield 2004:88-89). The fact that early networking and trade was dependent on such relations, suggests that intercolonial trade was likely equally important to the development of society on the Eastern Shore as was transatlantic trade. In order to understand the complexity of these trade relations and their material impressions on the Eastern Shore and the Chesapeake, a multiscalar approach to network analysis can be implemented.

Chapter 5: Building with Networks, Working with Structure: A Multiscalar Approach

In the process of researching and analyzing early seventeenth-century life on the Eastern Shore, and the Chesapeake more generally, there is a constant mediation between the individual and the vast Atlantic world, between the micro- and the macro-scales. Multiscalar analysis is a necessary, yet complicated approach to topics involving colonization and globalization more broadly. One solution to the complications of multiscalar analysis involves studying the one thing that cuts across the scales; the things themselves. Audrey Horning and Eric Schweickart (2016) argue that the “processes of globalization and capitalism are fundamentally material in expression (34),” and point out that an understanding of large scale processes cannot be grasped without small scale analysis of specific artifacts and their contexts (Horning and Schweickart 2016:35). In reference to this research, the needs and wants of the colonists and the prospects and opportunities for the Dutch merchants, all culminate with the material goods that have been found at archaeological sites throughout the Chesapeake. As Jonas Nordin (2020:1) explains in reference to transcontinental relations “it was a material culture – objects and trade goods – that rendered these contacts tangible and lasting.” Although this study specifically focuses on the physical and circumstantial evidence of illicit trade in the Chesapeake, it is critical to examine and understand the region’s position within the larger scope of Dutch globalization.

Even before addressing the artifactual remains at the heart of this study, multiscalar connections can be made with the most basic architectural remains from the Eyreville site. Yellow Dutch bricks, produced in Gouda and carried over in the holds of

ships as ballast, were used in the construction of Colonel Kendall's home at Eyreville (Harris and Borrelli 2016:12). Most likely used as a decorative feature to contrast with the locally-made red bricks, and substantiated by their recovery from doorways, the presence of these distinctive bricks suggest that Kendall utilized the underbelly of the transatlantic trade system to his personal and possibly aesthetic advantage. Therefore, the direct correlation between the transatlantic world and individuals like William Kendall should not be overstated or oversimplified, nor should the seemingly insignificant yellow bricks be discounted as a physical representation of such a connection.



Figure 5. Dutch Brick excavated at Eyreville, unknown provenance
(Photo by Author 2019)

Through documentary and archaeological evidence, we have an indirect view of how individuals on the Eastern Shore functioned within the transatlantic world and how they utilized that world to build a world of their own. Therefore, to concentrate solely on either the scale of the individual or of the larger transatlantic and intercolonial world they were a part of seems inefficient, if not erroneous. In order to understand the micro and the macro, the individual and the institution, Colonel William Kendall and the Dutch trade hegemony, we must follow the materials that connect them all.

As we know, trade goods travel along relational routes based on needs and wants. These routes are webs of economic, political, cultural, religious and material connections that we ultimately call networks. Networks are an essential aspect of human social and economic relations, and the distribution of materials can certainly not be discussed without them. Networks have variously been defined as “a collection of points joined together in pairs by lines” (Newman et al. 2006:1), a “pattern of interactions between the parts of a system (Newman et al. 2006:7) and even a “transformation” or “translation” (Latour 1999:15). Due to the breadth of networks and their inevitable presence in society, network analysis can be used to understand different cultural phenomena. For instance, James Perry (1990) uses network analysis to explain societal formation through kin ties on the Eastern Shore after the dissolution of the Virginia Company. Similarly, April Hatfield (2004) uses network analysis to argue the presence and importance of inter- and intra-colonial trade over transatlantic trade in seventeenth-century Virginia. This study’s interest in networks, however, concerns the systematic connection of materials through transportation, and the cultural implications of their transportation.

Structuration theory provides a framework that can account for an individual's actions within different scales of structure. Developed by Anthony Giddens, this model offers "a simple equation that makes actors dependent upon the rules and resources of structure, but allows them knowledgeable and conscious choice in manipulating these" (Gardner 2004:2). The "structure" is the cultural, political, societal, economic and environmental system in which actors/agents exist. It includes institutions, governments, organizations, societal conventions and norms, behavioral standards, and networks (Gardner 2009:95). Giddens refers to a structure as a 'structuring property,'" "something that provides the "'binding' of time and space in social systems" (1979:64). Agency, on the other hand, is the ability of an actor to express or enact their free will in the world, aka the structure (Lucas 2008:16). This agent/structure relationship is dualistic in that the agent and the structure are conjoined entities that can both shape and influence each other. Structuration theory offers a useful framework for interrogating people's actions in regards to their structure, and the structure's reshaping in response to the actions of the people within it. This is particularly relevant to the study of Eyreville and the Chesapeake region in the seventeenth-century because of the recent arrival of Europeans to the area and the subsequent interactions with the societal structure already in place. This makes their choices and actions in regards to local and global decisions, legal or otherwise, all the more recognizable.

Chapter 6: Documentary Evidence

Having discussed the importance of looking at material objects, networks and relations in the pursuit of understanding and identifying illicit trade relations, it is essential to also illustrate the importance of the documentary record and how one record in particular has abetted this research. Naturally, documents that would normally be used to trace trade routes and goods, such as shipping records, cannot be utilized in the case of illegal transactions. We must therefore rely on documents that directly or indirectly acknowledge their occurrence. Documents that address illicit trade in this case are either in response to the defying of regulations, such as accounts of Dutch ship seizures (Enthoven and Klooster 2011:106) and English Privy Council minutes, or in response to the need or support of the illicit actions taking place, such as Governor Berkeley's lament of England's restrictions (McIlwaine and Kennedy 1915:76). As useful as these documents are in describing the political and cultural context surrounding illicit trade, they are not particularly useful in illustrating the material aspects. Since this research is focused on identifying illicit transactions through the presence of certain material goods, there is another type of document that is more beneficial.

Probate inventories, enumerated lists of ones' possessions taken after death, often inform us of the types of goods and materials that may not be present in the archaeological record. Perishable goods, as well as expensive goods that may have been passed down rather than being discarded, are often left out of site interpretations simply because there is no other evidence of their existence. However, when documentary evidence such as probate inventories does exist, archaeologists are able to interpret a site more effectively. Unfortunately, documentary evidence, such as

probate inventories, is extremely rare in seventeenth-century contexts. Due to the burning of Richmond during the American Civil War, where most counties' records were located at the time, and general wear and tear, documentary records are not usually at the disposal of archaeologists and historians. Fortunately for this research, all of the Northampton County court records are safely preserved in the Eastville courthouse.

Dating back to 1632, the county court records include deeds, wills, court cases, transactions, and probate inventories. The most beneficial resource in understanding the family's material life from 1657 to 1698, is the 1698 probate inventory of Captain William Kendall, Colonel William Kendall's son. The probate inventory is most likely a representative sample of Colonel Kendall's wealth, considering the amassed wealth described in his will and largely left to his son. Additionally, Captain Kendall died only ten years after his father at the age of 33, further fueling the assumption that the wealth was mainly accrued by Colonel Kendall.

The inventory (See Appendix) is an in-depth catalog of the Kendall's possessions, their quality, and where they were located within the house or property. The inventory is separated into fifteen rooms/areas across four buildings: two houses, one large house that is presumably the main house based on its furnishings, and one smaller house labeled "the new house", an "old store," and a "kitchen." Although some of the areas are difficult to determine, such as "underside hall chamber," the main house is most likely composed of a hall, parlour, three chambers (bedrooms), three closets, a room under the stairs that functions as a bedroom, a cellar, a balcony, and a porch (Walczyk 2000:499-505). Although it is not distinctly mentioned that the main house has two floors, it can be assumed from the presence of a staircase and the balcony. Based

on this list of rooms, the house would not have been a “Virginia house,” but rather a fairly large residence probably made of brick.

Upon initial examination of the 1698 inventory list, it is clear that Colonel and Captain Kendall had access to markets beyond English capacity. In addition to a large array of furniture such as bedsteads, tables, chairs, cupboards, and trunks, and everyday necessities such as cooking wares and tools, the Kendalls also owned an impressive array of high status items. Of note is their collection of silver objects, including dining wares, tobacco accessories, and canes, enlightening items such as books and a world map, and weapons such as muskets and gilded swords.

In addition to their impressive array of everyday and high-status objects, the Kendall’s possessed a substantial amount of perishable and unrecovered goods that directly indicate their connection to the global market. Although most of the items do not have their country of origin listed, some have geographical descriptors such as “Russian leather chairs,” “Holland sheets, suite curtains, vallens, and pillowbeers,” and “ozebrigg napkins,” a coarse fabric produced in Westphalia (Walczyk 2000:499-505; Herrero Sanchez and Kaps 2016:173). Probably resembling more of a *Kunstkammer* than a seventeenth-century Chesapeake home, Kendall also had “exotic” objects such as an elephant’s tooth and a violin (Walczyk 2000:499-505). Intriguingly, the inventory also lists foodstuffs such as a “spice box” and chocolate. Although it is possible that Chesapeake colonists could have received spices through English exports, Dutch mercantile connections with the West Indies would have made their prices much cheaper and their supply more abundant (Koot 2011:23). The presence of chocolate however, is more indicative of a non-English supplier. The earliest reference to

chocolate in North America is a 1641 account of a Spanish ship carrying cocoa which ran aground in St Augustine. The ship, originally destined for Spain had been run ashore by a hurricane, and was forced to discard its precious cargo in Florida in order to salvage it. (Cabezon and Grivetti 2009:675). The earliest record of chocolate being brought to the colonies on British ships was in 1682 (Gay 2009:281). According to Gay (2009), the Dutch were so successful in the Spanish chocolate trade that “Caracas cocoa was cheaper in Amsterdam than in Madrid” (Gay 2009:284). The fact that Kendall’s obtained chocolate and cacao beans, items of wealth and status, is no doubt associated with his widespread mercantile connections with merchants in the Netherlands and other American colonies on the mainland and the Caribbean.

As enlightening as this probate inventory is, it lacks crucial information regarding the consumption of ceramic wares, information that is paramount in identifying the specifics of illicit interactions. The extent of descriptors used for ceramics are limited to “earthen” or “stone,” any information regarding the type or origin of ceramic wares are absent. While documentary records can be extremely useful, they still can fall short in providing essential artifact information. Additionally, it is rare for a site to have a documentary footprint as rich and extensive as Eyreville, making an analysis of the material record all the more crucial.

Chapter 7: Material Goods as Material Evidence

Using material evidence to determine or prove the occurrence of certain events in history is not an unusual practice for archaeologists and historians, in fact it is quite common. However, this premise of proof becomes a bit more difficult when we do not know what types of material evidence are required to demonstrate an occurrence. As stated previously, this study works to overcome this difficulty by analyzing the material and cultural factors associated with objects that innately suggest said occurrence. For instance, an object that is produced in the Netherlands is inherently more likely to suggest illicit Dutch trade than an object produced in England. However, upon further analysis of the Dutch produced object, it may be found that it was produced and distributed before the Navigation Acts were in place. Or that the object was imported by the English as well as the Dutch, and the cultural circumstances of its recovered context was historically unsympathetic to Dutch trade. Material and cultural factors such as these help to determine the situational legality of objects and therefore the probability of such occurrences. This study's methodology is not unlike another recent study by Lauren McMillan (2017) on illicit relations in the Chesapeake region. Although this study focuses on broad typologies in lieu of specific hard data, it ultimately complements and expands on McMillan's work.

In 2017, Lauren McMillan completed her Ph.D. dissertation research on the presence and consumption of English and Dutch tobacco pipes in the Chesapeake in the seventeenth century (McMillan 2017). In doing so, she hoped to determine the relationship between illegal Dutch trade and the importation of Dutch pipes. In her study she analyzed 1,526 marked tobacco pipes from 16 archaeological sites around the

Chesapeake. Similar to ceramics, European tobacco pipes were often stamped with maker's marks and designs that can help identify their place of origin and date of production. By analyzing pipes that had identifiable marks, McMillan was able to trace where and when the pipes were produced in reference to their frequency on the sites. The pipes were divided into three phases based on their mean date of manufacture. In doing this, she found that Dutch made pipes were twice as prevalent from 1630-1664 as they were through the remainder of the century. Although they were less prevalent from 1664 onward, they continued to be imported despite the passage of the Navigation Acts. "The continued participation in illegal trade by the Chesapeake colonists through the consumption of imported Dutch pipes was one of the ways that people on the periphery negotiated their new place within the early modern world" (McMillan 2017:36). Not only is this statement consistent with this study's argument, it can be extended to all forms of illegal material consumption.

McMillan's concept of identifying illicit relations through the presence of a specific artifact type can be expanded to ceramics and other types of artifacts. Since the Eyreville collection lacks a complete data set, and because it would be near impossible to survey all the seventeenth-century sites in the Chesapeake region, this study takes a more generalized approach, relying less on



Figure 6. Edward Bird "EB" stamped pipe produced in Amsterdam in the mid 17th-century, found at Eyreville (Photo by Mike Clem)

specific hard data sets and more on general artifact types and histories.

In addition to the methodological guidance of McMillan's study, her research also aided in the identification of possible illicit Dutch pipes at Eyreville. Dr. McMillan's findings were not at all surprising after observing the pipe assemblage recovered at Eyreville. In addition to 800 locally made "Chesapeake" pipe fragments, over one thousand English and Dutch pipe fragments have been recovered at Eyreville, many with identifiable makers marks and motifs.

One of the most promising pipes recovered from Eyreville in regards to possible illegal transactions is a plain white ball clay pipe with the letters "EB" stamped on its heel. Following the practice of pipe makers marking their pipes with their initials it can be assumed that the producer of this pipe had done the same. Although it is possible that the initials belong to a small scale pipemaker in Bristol, the pipe was most likely made by the Amsterdam based pipemaker Edward Bird (Burd). English born, Bird fled to Amsterdam in 1624 as part of a pipemakers' movement. He was identified as a pipemaker from 1630 till his death in 1665 (Dallal 2004:210). Considering the company's production timespan, it is quite possible that the pipe was imported to Virginia after the 1651 passage of the Navigation Acts.

Ceramics

In the process of addressing material correlates for illicit trade interactions, it is difficult not to consider ceramics. Setting aside my personal affinity for them, ceramics are one of, if not the most, informative types of artifacts found on European and Native American sites. Aside from their ability to inform us of basic chronological, geographic, and stylistic knowledge, they also tell us about the people who produced, consumed,

and eventually discarded them. In the words of Ivor Noël Hume, “if these pots could talk,” they would have a lot to say (Noël Hume 2001). Therefore, in addition to the obvious benefits of ceramic’s prevalence and abundance on archaeological sites and their diagnostic traits, ceramics have the capability of reflecting the social, stylistic, economic and political opinions of the time.

Similar to McMillan’s argument for pipes, the presence of any listed object, combination of objects, or cultural relation does not guarantee the occurrence of illicit trade. However, this model does illustrate a broad discussion of artifacts and cultural relations in the Chesapeake region that are indicative of illicit trade and interactions with the Dutch. The discussion is loosely organized into English, Dutch, and German ware types and their corresponding role in illicit Dutch relations. I use the term “loosely” because of the fluidity of ware types between regions and the variance in producers versus distributors. Each section includes background information of the artifact, the physical and cultural factors that warrant its position in the model, and instances of its recovery at Eyreville and other seventeenth-century sites in the Chesapeake

Tin-Glazed Earthenwares

As mentioned previously, tin glazed earthenwares present a complicated yet crucial challenge for this research. A ceramic type with a close association with Dutch production and trade, tin-glazed earthenwares have a long and complex history. Designations vary based on where the wares were produced geographically, Hispano-Moresque ware, Maiolica/Majolica, Delft, English delftware, and Faience. However, the lack of distinguishable attributes between wares and the incorrect application of geographically sensitive terms has led to the use of the general term “tin-glazed

earthenwares.” The term “tin-glazed earthenwares” is used because of the addition of tin oxide to the lead glaze, giving the glaze an opaque, milky appearance. The glaze is thick and clearly distinguishable from the ware’s buff paste, almost reminiscent of a candy coating. The glaze does not adhere well to the paste, making it a semi fragile and friable ware. Wares are typically painted, with colors and designs dependent on the country of origin’s design preference or supply. For most potters, notably the Dutch, the production of tin glazed wares was fueled by the desire to reproduce the pure white appearance of Chinese porcelain; an aspiration that was carried into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries with refined earthenwares such as creamware and pearlware (Casimiro 2020:7).

The production of tin glazed earthenwares can be traced to the Middle East as early as the ninth-century AD. The practice moved to Spain by way of the Moors in the thirteenth-century, and eventually to Italy (Draper 2008:25). Italian tin-glazed wares were called *Maiolica* but the name was later changed to *Majolica* by the Dutch. The Italians were especially known for their use of polychrome decorations and the application of a metallic paint on their wares, a technique they learned from the Spanish (Wilcoxon 1987:57). By the sixteenth century, the French and the Dutch were also producing their own tin-glazed wares. In France, tin glazed vessels are referred to as *faïences*, the French word for the ceramic type. The practice was introduced to the Dutch by way of Italian potters living in Antwerp, although there is archaeological evidence of *Majolica* being imported to the Netherlands prior to its production there (Dawson 2010:9). Although the Dutch initially continued the Italian practice of polychrome decorated wares, the introduction of Chinese porcelain at the beginning of

the seventeenth century shifted their production focus to the blue on white Chinoiserie designs (Wilcoxon 1987:58). Tin-glazed wares were introduced to the English in the mid sixteenth century by Dutch potters (Dawson 2010:9). Both English and Dutch wares are called Delftware, after the town of Delft, a Dutch production city in the sixteenth century. The Portuguese started producing their own tin glazed wares after they began trading with China in the mid sixteenth century. Like the Dutch, the Portuguese were attracted to the beauty of the blue on white decorative techniques seen on the porcelain that was arriving in Lisbon (Ferreira et al 2013:438).

Distinguishing between types of tin-glazed earthenwares is unfortunately extremely difficult, especially those found in archaeological contexts. There is little reliable visual variation in paste and glaze between English, Dutch, French and Italian wares, and the variation that does exist is inconsistent (Draper 2008:27). For example, faïences occasionally have a salmon colored paste, but it is not unlikely for other wares to exhibit that coloring as well (Diagnostic Artifacts in Maryland 2002). Additionally, Dutch tin glazed wares are sometimes known to have softer, more friable pastes, but the only tin-glazed sherd in the Eyreville collection that can be positively identified as English tin glazed earthenware, has a hard, almost vitrified, paste. Since the color and quality of the paste is determined by the type of clay being used and the firing temperature of the kiln, there is a high probability of discrepancies from one product to the next. Designs and patterns are much more indicative of ware type but are problematic for two reasons. One, almost everyone followed or copied decorative trends, such as Chinoiserie, geometric, floral, and blue dash (Draper 2008:27). Second,

sizable sherds with diagnostic decorative attributes such as dates, initials, royal crests, or depictions of people are rare and therefore not a realistic or reliable method of study.

Tin-glazed earthenwares were imported to the Chesapeake by both the Dutch and English throughout the seventeenth century. The issue then becomes, how to identify Dutch imported tin glazed earthenwares and how can we discern the circumstances of their arrival? Due to the difficulty of discerning the origins of tin glazed earthenwares found archaeologically, it is more advantageous to narrow down the stylistic attributes that align with Dutch production during and around the illicit time period. Dutch produced tin glazed earthenwares can be divided into two types, confusingly labeled Dutch Majolica and Dutch Faience. Dutch Majolica was influenced by Italian Maiolica and shared many of its stylistic attributes such as crude thick-walled bodies, vivid colors, and Italian inspired motifs, and production techniques such as lead glazed backs and proenen marks (Wilcoxon 1987:57). Dutch Majolica was produced from the mid-sixteenth century to about the mid seventeenth century when it was surpassed by the finer Dutch Faience. Dutch Faience, which stylistically emulated Chinese porcelain in terms of color and design, was thinner bodied and was fired without a proenen. Towards the end of the seventeenth century, Dutch Faience introduced red and gold to its color repertoire, however it is unlikely that these expensive wares were imported to the colonies (Wilcoxon 1987:68). Tin glazed earthenwares with stylistic attributes of Dutch Faience wares are more suggestive of illicit trade with the Dutch because they were produced from around 1640 through the end of the seventeenth century, therefore corresponding with trade bans. Another way to determine if tin glazed earthenware is suggestive of illicit Dutch trade is to identify

stylistic attributes that are consistent with English produced tin glazed earthenware to exclude them from analysis. For example, the production of plain, undecorated tin glazed earthenwares was a practice exclusive to the English (Draper 2008:27; Archer and Morgan 1981:11). Therefore, plain wares can be excluded from the model.

It is important to keep in mind that contextual factors are also important in determining the likelihood of ware presence. For instance, in 1672, the British issued an import ban of “any kind or sort of Painted Earthenwares whatsoever,” into England (Noël Hume 1969:12). Not only does this statement prove that the Dutch were importing their tin glazed earthenwares during this time, it further suggests the likelihood of the tin glazed earthenware in the Chesapeake being of Dutch origin.

This is contrasted by the evidence that tin glazed earthenware found in and around Jamestown are more likely to be of English than Dutch origin because Governor John Harvey was in business with the London based Delftware producer, Christian Wilhelm (Noël Hume 1977:26). Being the capital, it is likely that Jamestown had a closer relationship with England. However, the nature of that relationship is questionable based on the contrasting economic interests of its inhabitants, most notably Governor Berkeley (McMillan 2017:39).

Delft Tiles

Similar to the origins of tin glazed earthenware tablewares, the Dutch origins for what are known as “Delft” tiles came by way of Spanish and Italian immigrants in the sixteenth century. Initially, Dutch potters were only producing floor tiles, a thick red bodied tile stylistically similar to Italian Majolica (Wilcoxon 1987:70). In the mid to late sixteenth century, the production of floor tiles was replaced with wall and stove tiles for

decorative and cleanliness reasons (Dawson 2010:296; Noël Hume 1977:18).

Considering that tin glazed tiles would have probably been made in the same potteries as tin glazed tablewares, it makes sense that the tiles followed the same stylistic transition from Majolica to Faience. The production of the wall tiles in the “Dutch Faience” tradition yielded a thinner, buff bodied tile with a milky white canvas for blue polychrome designs.

Although Dutch tiles are still difficult to distinguish from their English counterparts, there are material and cultural factors that distinguish them for the purposes of identifying possible illicit trade (Dawson 2010:296; Noël Hume 1997:20). Dutch tiles in the seventeenth century are distinguished by their large areas of white space surrounding a simple blue pattern or figure in the center. The simple figures are known as “Soldier tiles” and depict various professions and activities, including soldiers. Soldier tiles were especially popular from 1650-1700 (Hume 2006:292-293; Wilcoxon 1987:7).

Although no tin glazed earthenware tiles, Dutch or English, have been positively identified at Eyreville, Delft tiles have been found at other seventeenth century Chesapeake sites. Jamestown, for instance, has yielded hundreds of Delft tile fragments from a mid-seventeenth century context. One tile in particular, a “wretched tile” or “wrakke tegel” as the Dutch call it, exemplifies the characteristic mid-late seventeenth century design of a simple figure surrounded by white space (Straube 2006). Another mid to late seventeenth-century Dutch tin glazed wall tile with similar decorative features was found at Burle’s Town Land in Providence, Maryland. Burle’s Town Land was established in 1649 and comparable to Eyreville, yielded artifacts such

as Dutch bricks, Rhenish and Westerwald stoneware, Dutch tin glazed earthenware, North Devon sgraffito, and Borderware.

Figure 7. Mid-seventeenth century Dutch tin glazed earthenware tile known as a “Wretched Tile” or “Wrakke Tegel,” found at Jamestown (2006 *Ceramics in America*, Photo courtesy of Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities)



Figure 8. Mid-seventeenth century Dutch tin glazed earthenware tile sherds, found at Burle’s Town Land (18AN826) in Providence, Maryland (2004 tDAR, Photo Courtesy of Catherine Alston)

Stonewares

Characteristically impenetrable and true to their name, stonewares are made from high silicate clays that produce a near vitrified product when fired at a high temperature. Once fired, usually at a temperature around 2,200 degrees Fahrenheit, stonewares could retain liquids without a glaze, unlike earthenwares (Skerry and Hood

2009:1). Although a glaze was not necessary for stonewares, a salt-based glaze was invented around 1500 for aesthetic purposes. Unlike the lead and tin glazes of earthenwares, the salt glaze was applied to the vessels inside the kiln. During the final stages of firing, salt was shoveled into the kiln and all air vents were closed off, causing the salt to break down and split into sodium and chlorine. The sodium then reacted with the silicates in the clay, resulting in a glossy, yet dimpled, glaze (Schaefer 1994:67-68).

Stoneware production in Europe was contingent on the accessibility of materials and fuel. Due to the geographically limited occurrence of stoneware clay, as well as the excessive amount of timber that was needed to heat the kilns to the required temperature, stoneware production was limited to two European locations; the Rhineland and Staffordshire. Stoneware production initially began in the Rhineland during the sixteenth century, and continues to this day (Gaimster 1992:94-95). The two most common types of German produced stonewares are Westerwald and Rhenish Brown.

Rhenish Brown stonewares, also known as Frechen or Cologne wares after their towns of origin, are a grey to brown bodied stoneware with an applied brown slip. A specific type of Rhenish stoneware, the Bartmann jug, also known as a Bellarmine bottle, is a brown slipped bottle with the molded relief of a bearded man on the neck of the vessel. Prior to 1700, it was not uncommon for a coat of arms or medallions to also be present.

Figure 9. Bartmann jug sherd (bottom left corner of bearded face), found at Eyreville
(Photo by author)



Westerwald stonewares were produced in the Westerwald region of Germany beginning in the late sixteenth century (Skerry and Hood 2009:31). Known for their pale grey color and cobalt blue designs, early Westerwald wares were intricately molded with a variety of motifs and thematic designs. Westerwald wares have been found, albeit in small numbers, on early seventeenth-century sites such as Jamestown, Martin's Hundred, St. Mary's City and various New England sites. Although they were significantly less common on seventeenth-century North American archaeological sites than their Rhenish Brown counterparts, their presence is all the more revealing. Due to the fact that Westerwald stoneware was uncommon in England until the second half of the seventeenth-century, the presence of the wares on early North American sites strongly indicates that Dutch trading led to the early ownership of these wares. It has further been suggested that the diversity of the recovered wares was due to the

separate trade interactions of the West India Company and Dutch independent merchants (Skerry and Hood 2009:31).



Figure 10. Westerwald Stoneware Sherd with Manganese, found at Eyreville
(Photo by Author)

German stonewares can be particularly telling in regards to the timeline of Dutch trade along the Chesapeake, especially in regards to trade before and after the 1651 Navigation Act. Similar to tin glazed earthenwares, stonewares were imported to the colonies by both English and Dutch in the seventeenth century. However, the frequency and vigor with which they were imported was much greater with the Dutch, especially considering the dearth of Westerwald wares in England during the first half of the century. though the identification of specific stylistic attributes helps to determine dates of production and import. For instance, the addition of manganese to Westerwald

wares did not occur until after 1650 (Schaefer 1994:68). Therefore, if manganese decorated Westerwald wares are found on Chesapeake sites, such as they are at Eyreville (Figure 10), it means they had to have been imported after the Navigation Acts were in place (Wilcoxon 1987:85).

Rhenish stoneware also has some notable stylistic attributes that can help distinguish it from earlier imports. Although attempts to date Bartmann jugs based on stylistic evolutions of the bearded man and the iron oxide speckling have been disproven, Bartmann jugs that include medallions and coat of arms can often be traced (Skerry and Hood 2009:9). For example, Bartmann jugs bearing the arms of Amsterdam have been identified in the Dutch East India Company shipwrecks, *Witte Leeuw*, *Batavia*, and *Vergulde Draeck*, before and after the 1651 Navigation Acts, attesting to the continued popularity and distribution of the design. Coupled with the fact that Bartmann jugs with the Amsterdam arms have been found on seventeenth century Chesapeake and New Netherland sites, it is very likely that these vessels were continuously imported to the colonies even after trade ban attempts by the English (Gaimster 1992:100; Skerry and Hood 2009:18, 28). Other Bartmann jug markers, such as dated Dutch seals, have less conspicuous implications of illicit trade. For instance, a Bartmann seal marked with 1664 and the name of a Dutch merchant was found at the seventeenth century Chesopean Site in present day Virginia Beach (Skerry and Hood 2009:20). Although the merchant often conducted business through English ports, suggesting legality, the residents of the site were known for their Dutch sympathies and material connections, suggesting illegality (Skerry and Hood 2009:21) Once again, it is impossible to determine the exact circumstances of import for these objects, but an

analysis of the physical attributes and cultural circumstances of the object can certainly help indicate the more likely scenario.

Other English and Dutch Wares

In addition to the goods specifically associated with Dutch production and distribution, it is important to also note the other types of ceramics that Chesapeake markets relied on. Although the Chesapeake did rely heavily on Dutch imports, they obviously depended on English manufactured goods and ceramics as well. Being able to distinguish between English and Dutch ceramics has been a crucial aspect of this research considering the similarities between wares that were concurrently produced in multiple locations, such as Dutch and English tin glazed earthenwares for example. Two English wares that are worth noting are North Devon and Border wares because of their stylistic similarities to Dutch manufactured utility wares.

As the name suggests, North Devon wares were produced in North Devon, England specifically out of the river port towns of Bideford and Barnstable (Grant 1983:114). Known for their distinctive pinkish red body and grey core, North Devon wares were produced in both gravel-tempered and gravel-free, or plain, forms. Tempering the paste with gravel allowed the wares to be used in extreme temperatures, such as in ovens or hearths, without the risk of breakage (Grant 1983:54). Wares were glazed with a clear lead glaze that appeared yellowish or greenish on top of the reddish pink paste. Wares were glazed on the exterior or interior based on their function. North Devon wares were typically undecorated, however a slip decorated version of the ware was also produced. The most-studied assemblage of North Devon slipwares in the Chesapeake was found at Jamestown, although they have also been found at other

Virginia sites (Figure 11) (Outlaw 2002). The wares are sgraffito decorated, meaning designs were scratched through a white slip that revealed the paste below, and then lead glazed. The wares still have the characteristic North Devon paste colors but tend to have a finer, more “leather” looking texture (Outlaw 2002).



Figure 11. Sgraffito decorated coarseware, likely North Devon, found at Eyreville (Photo by Author)



Figure 12. Large dripping pan sherd, found at Eyreville (Photo by Author)

The Eyreville assemblage has four identifiable rim sherds of North Devon Slipware. They do not mend but are most likely from the same vessel. Due to the angular curvatures of the rim, the vessel seems to emulate a rectangular shaped form, possibly a dripping pan or similar form. The assemblage also contains large mendable sherds of undecorated gravel tempered North Devon that can be identified by form. The two most identifiable forms in the assemblage are most likely a large dripping pan, also called a baking or roasting pan

(Figure 12), and a chafing dish. Although both the slipware vessel and large tempered vessel have been tentatively identified as North Devon wares, it is important to distinguish them from similar Dutch wares that were also present in the colonies. For example, numerous sherds of a Dutch slipware, called “North Holland” slipware, have been found at Fort Orange in New York and the North Holland slipwares were inspired by another region’s slipware, German Werra wares (Wilcoxon 1987:55). Although the North Holland and Werra slipwares exhibit different stylistic attributes than the North Devon sgraffito slipware, it is important to be aware of other types to ensure accurate identification. Although North Devon wares are present on early Chesapeake sites, including in areas that are known to have participated in illicit trade with the Dutch, their presence on a site in no way suggests illegal trade interactions with the Dutch.

Similar to the slipware situation, there is a type of Dutch coarse earthenware that is commonly confused with the English produced ceramic known as Border ware (Wilcoxon 1997: 55-56). Border wares were produced near the border of Surrey and Hampshire in England during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Similar to North Devon wares, they exhibit body colors ranging from light pink, to grey, to buff and have a lead glaze that often appears yellow or green (Pearce 1992:1,5). Notably, a ceramic ware with a similar outward appearance to the English Border ware, although considered to be white bodied rather than pink or grey, was produced in Holland from the twelfth century through the late sixteenth century.

The similarity of these wares is only of note in this situation because of the presence of a questionable sherd found in a heavily Dutch context at St. Mary’s City in Maryland (Wilcoxon 1987:56). Although at least one of these wares are likely to be too

early to have had a role in illicit Dutch trade in the second half of the century, it is once again noteworthy to be aware of the possibility of similar non-English ware types on early Chesapeake sites.

The ceramic wares that have been discussed in this section overall represent some of the most notable European wares on early Chesapeake sites. Tin glazed earthenwares, stonewares, and coarsewares clearly represent English, Dutch, and German influence and interaction with English colonists in the seventeenth-century Chesapeake region but it takes specific material and cultural analysis to determine what those influences and interactions were.

Chapter 8: Conclusions

Archaeology is the discovery of the unknown, the undocumented, and the clandestine. Its purpose is to uncover and interpret information that has been forgotten, forged, or forgone. The purpose of this study has therefore been to fulfill these defining objectives by elucidating a series of occurrences that were not intended to be well known or understood. By identifying material correlates of illicit Anglo-Dutch trade relations in the Chesapeake beyond purely documentary and circumstantial evidence, this study has aided in the understanding of seventeenth-century Anglo-Dutch trade relations in the Chesapeake and specifically the Eastern Shore.

This study's investigation into the material signatures of illicit trade was dependent on multiple lines of historical and material evidence. In addition to looking at the geopolitical and sociocultural climate of European countries during the seventeenth-century, specifically Anglo-Dutch relations, this study also analyzed the histories of ceramic production and distribution. By no small feat, this study's exploration into illicit Anglo-Dutch trade relations has reached far beyond that of the Eastern Shore and the Chesapeake region. It has shown how seemingly small scale illicit transactions were deeply entrenched in the large scale processes of nascent globalization, and therefore connected to economic and sociocultural networks across the Atlantic world. Furthermore, by connecting the different relational networks of actors that function within society at both macro and microscale levels, we can get a better understanding of how said actors used material objects to connect to the world around them. For instance, William Kendall was a man with many connections to the transatlantic world. His impressive mercantile and agricultural ventures connected him to markets in

Amsterdam, England, and New Amsterdam as well as numerous independent merchants. Through these small scale material interactions, Kendall was able to navigate within the networks that ultimately shaped and were shaped by his actions in this world. Fortunately, the material and social connections that Kendall made by way of exchange can be seen in both the documentary and archaeological record.

In the process of researching the material signatures that Kendall and others generated, it was found that ceramics were the most valuable artifact type for pinpointing illicit trade relations. Due to their prominence and frequency in trade cargos, diagnostic characteristics, and of course their durability in the archaeological record, ceramics offered a pragmatic and palpable approach to tracking illicit transactions. As this study has illustrated however, material evidence alone is not sufficient to determine the occurrence of illicit Anglo-Dutch trade in the Chesapeake.

Due to the variability of a ceramic ware's production, transport, and sale during the seventeenth century, it is extremely difficult to guarantee a specific ceramic ware's legal orientation without the analysis of these other factors. Upon analysis of these material and cultural factors as well as the ceramics themselves, ceramics with probable illicit Dutch origins were determined. It was found that all Dutch tin glazed earthenwares, German stonewares, and Dutch and German coarsewares transported after the passage of the Navigation Acts in 1650 had the potential to demonstrate illicit Anglo-Dutch trade in the Chesapeake. "Potential" is emphasized here because almost all of these wares had the possibility of being transported legally through British shipping means. To determine the probability of Dutch versus British import, the sociocultural circumstances of the object's arrival and terminus were analyzed. For

instance, if a post-1650 century Bartmann jug bearing the Arms of Amsterdam is recovered at a site that had historically participated in Dutch trade or simply had documented Dutch connections, it is likely that the jug was imported illegally. As one can probably deduce, deductive reasoning was key to this research. While identifying ceramic wares was a crucial part of the process, analyzing the material and cultural factors of an object was the key to this study.

Since this study began with Eyreville, it seems only fitting to conclude, or rather, continue with it as well. Eyreville is just one example of the trove of archaeological knowledge that can be gained from sites on the Eastern Shore. There is still so much to learn about the people who lived and prospered there at such a formative time in America's history. Although the European occupation of the Shore is still vastly understudied, archaeological information about the Accomac and Occohannock tribes is even more woefully inadequate. In addition to site potential and knowledge inadequacies, the archaeological sites are also at risk. Sea water rise and coastal erosion has laid claim to many sites such as shell middens, industrial production areas, and even parts of Eyreville (Rick et al. 2015).

Considering the amount of information and material evidence that Eyreville has produced over the past three years, it is safe to assume that other sites in the area can yield similar results. For example, across the creek from Eyreville lies the beautiful property known as Eyre Hall. Once part of the original land tract that William Kendall owned, the property has sporadically yielded artifacts of similar quality and caliber to Eyreville. Although it is not directly related to this research, it is also important to note the potential for and importance of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century sites, most

notably the archaeological potential for slave quarters. Regardless of the time period or focus of study, the Eastern Shore has remained an underexplored and underestimated region of the Chesapeake for far too long. Given the quality and quantity of its documentary records, largely undeveloped landscape, and vulnerability to environmental changes, there is no reason for the Eastern Shore to remain an unexplored part of history.

APPENDIX

Probate Inventory of Captain William Kendall (1698)
Northampton County, Virginia
Orders & Wills 1689-1698

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July 28, 1698

This day the inventory of the estate of Captain William Kendall deceased was exhibited to the court by Mr. Peter Collier and Ann his wife Executrix of the said decedent (with this exception that if any thing there in be found to belong to Susanna Kendall daughter of the said Capt. Kendall deceased as part of the legacy given her by her grandfather Col. Wm Kendall deceased (to whom his said son was Executor to be deducted thereout) & ordered to be recorded.

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An inventory of the personal estate of Capt. William Kendall deceased exhibited to the court July 28th: 98::

In the Hall as follows:

- one long table with carpet on it
- one round table with carpet on it
- one dozen new Russia leather chairs
- eight Russia leather chairs, pretty old

- one Russia leather couch
- two looking glasses
- two long forms to the long table
- one scratore with cloth, basket and cushion upon it together with a standish

- one pewter candlestick
- one pewter cesterne
- bason with standard
- one small old still

- one pair of andirons
- one pair of tongs & fire shovel
- one great chest with cloth upon it
- one small box
- one small chest
- one little cupboard with cloth upon it

one lignum vitae punch bowl
one dozen silver spoons
one large silver cup
one silver salt seller with a glass bottle under cupboard

three guns
seven old musquets
one old map of the world
six old pictures

about one dozen glasses in the glass case
one dozen of flower pots in the windows
one little round table
two old cushions
a Surveyors instrument

In the hall chamber as followeth:

one High standing bedstead with two beds upon it, two bolsters, two pillows,
one flowered woolstead pair of curtains and vallens, one flowered callico
coverlet

one chest standing at closet door, containing:

- one flowered suite of searge curtains & counterpaine and carpet
belonging to them & vallens
- one suite of red Tamy curtains & vallens
- one new suite of flowered callicoe curtains & counterpain & vallens
- one new suite of Darnex curtains & vallens & table cloth
- two blankets, one new, th'other old
- two dozen new pewter spoons
- two earthen cups and earthen salt seller
- two new sugar boxes

another chest standing at closet door containing:

- one new woolsted rug
- five blankets

two small trunks standing upon these chests, one small ditto

one press containing:

- three small boxes
- one violin and case
- one new earthen chamber pot
- one old portmantue
- two dozen and half bottles
- one old case of knives

- one pillion cloth
- small parcel Indian money
- books, great & small, that are anything in bind, about thirty-one, besides one law book at Major Custis

on top of press:

- two small cushions
- Surveyors instruments, and one cloth

two looking glasses

one painted cistern

one oval table with flowered callicoe cloth upon it

one round table

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one pair of brass andirons

one brass fire shovel

one brass pair tongs

two warming pans

two cases and bottles

two pair of bellows

one dozen earthen dishes standing upon the mantle tree

item upon mantle tree: one brush, two pewter cups

one great chest under window containing:

- Mr. Kendalls wearing clothes
- two dozen salt sellers of marble

upon that chest:

- five coarse red rugs
- one large red woolstead rugg
- four blankets, two yarn ones, and two cotton ones

by the window hanging up:

- one plush saddle
- one pair pistols and holsters
- two small guns
- three baganets
- two silver headed canes

one silver hilted sword and belt

two iron hilted swords & belts

one saddle cloth and leathern cover for the saddle

six Turkey work chairs

three old leathern chairs
one flagg chair

two trunks
one small box with shoe makers thread in it half full
one pair tables
one pewter chamber pot

one chest of drawers with flowered callicoe cloth upon it and one cushion, and:

- fifteen old silver spoons
- three silver salt sellers
- one silver tobacco box
- two silver dram cups
- two silver punch cups
- one silver candle cup
- three silver plates
- one small silver sugar dish
- one large silver dish
- one pair silver snuffers
- one silver porringer
- one silver tankard
- one old watch

one large chest behind the Hall chamber door:

- with some of Mr. Kendalls clothes in it, as also
- two pieces of plaines
- two pieces fustian, one white, the other brown
- ten yards blue linen
- one piece dyed linen
- one piece white linen
- seven yards crocus
- two pair cards
- one piece broad tape
- one piece black fustian
- four pounds thread
- six yards canvas

another chest standing at bellcony door containing:

- one Bell
- meale mortar
- one pair spurrs
- one ink case
- six pair of sissers
- two pieces tape, one blue, th'other striped
- two pieces white broad tape
- a bunch small edging

- two pounds of thread
- two cards white buttons
- one remnant blue plains
- one remnant

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speckled linen

- two remnants of blue linen
- one new ticking bolster
- one remnant black plains
- one remnant white cotton
- one card of lace
- one remnant handkerchief stuff
- a remnant of serge
- a whole piece of Scotch cloth
- a paper Galloon
- a white flowered cotton coverlet
- four pieces tape
- one gross of wastcoate buttons
- one bunch points
- a bunch laces
- a remnant silk
- three ounces sewing silk
- two silk stomachers
- two yards cotton

Underside Hall Chamber:

three joint stools
 three great earthen pots
 two small earthen pots
 two pitchers
 one iron mortar and pestle
 one brass smoothing iron
 two hammers

In closet adjoining to Hall Chamber:

one old trundle bedstead
 one new bedstead under it
 one new mat
 one old chest
 one new chest
 three old joint stools
 one small trunk containing Mr. Kendalls small linen
 one small box full of his wearing linen
 one small physick case

one lignum vitae mortar and pestle

one old trunk containing:

- four pieces of tape, two broad and two narrow
- one new large tooth comb
- one gross coat buttons
- one pair new woolstead stockings
- six pair new Holland sheets
- four pair canvas sheets, two new ones and two old ones
- two large diaper table cloths
- one small diaper table cloth
- two Dowlas table cloths
- a dozen and A half diaper napkins
- two small diaper table cloths more
- two diaper towels
- one dozen new Dowlas napkins
- two Dowlas towels
- eight pair fine pillowbeers
- four fine towels
- one course towel
- two dozen lockrum napkins
- two course towels
- three pair course pillowbeers
- four new beds and four new bolsters
- sixteen feather pillows, eight new and eight old
- two old cushions
- four coverlets, two old, two new
- one new sifter
- two new baskets

Upon the stair head:

two empty chests
three old saddles
six earthen dishes
one bason
five porringers
one salt seller
two earthen plates
a dozen earthen cups

In the cockloft over Hall chamber:

two great earthen pots
two earthen dripping pans

two old chests

In the parlour as followeth:

one standing bedstead, upon it:

- two featherbeds
- one mat
- two pillows
- one Holland suite curtains and vallens
- one blanket
- one bolster

one old Trundle bedstead & upon it an old bed & bolster & blankets

one cupboard

one looking glass

one long table

one round table

five old chairs

one old couch

one chest under parlour window

one brass warming pan

one brass dish

two old candlesticks

one sifter

one old picture

one pair bellows

one smoothing iron and heaters

two new horse locks

one pair andirons

one pair tongs

one wooden-handle toster

one earthen chamber pot

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one spinning wheel

one stone chocolate grater

In little hole over celler door:

a parcel of Carpenters tools

Under stairs in entry:

one bedstead
one feather bed and bolster
one pair canvas sheets
one mat
iron grapling
two joint stools
some old lumber

In closet adjoining to parlour:

six earthen pots
dozen hooks and sickles
one iron pestle and mortar
one old brass trimming dish and pot
two gallon runlets
one iron ladle
one brass ladle
two wire mouse traps
one tin cullender
one little churn
one half bushell
one sifting tub
one close stool
six milk trays

Under foot in the closet:

eight dozen bottles

Overhead [in the closet]:

a parcel of iron lumber
one pewter funnel

In celler under Parlour:

seven old cyder caskes
two half tubbs

In porch:

one table

In the Parlour Chamber:

one great chest, behind door, containing:

- one calicoe quilt
- one piece of green broad cloth
- two new white blankets
- four new blankets more
- one new hamock
- one new suite searge curtains and vallens
- one new Tamarine suite and vallens
- four new coverlets for chairs
- one piece Virginia cloth
- one remnant Virginia cloth
- one old curtain
- one bag chocolate nuts

one small old trunk at bottom of the chest, containing:

- a little looking glass
- one card pewter buttons
- three small horn combs
- four bunches Manchester tape
- four bunches more blue tape
- two pieces more white tape
- two pieces more green tape
- one bunch more black tape
- one bunch red tape
- one pound brown thread
- half a pound blue thread
- one piece of silk Galloone
- small parcel of laces
- one hatband
- six pair of new Holland sheets unmade

three old rugs

two blankets

one large chest at feet of bed containing:

- two new pair brown holland sheets
- one fine Holland suite curtains and vallens
- two new pair canvas sheets

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- two pair brown Holland sheets
- one pair new canvas sheets
- five pair white Holland sheets

- one pair brown Holland sheets
- two pair Dowlas sheets

- one pair canvas sheets

- one pair brown Holland sheets
- one pair canvas sheets
- one long diaper table cloth
- two lockrum table clothes
- one dozen diaper napkins
- four pair holland pillowbeers
- three lockrum towels
- one canvas towel

- one dozen old diaper napkins
- one cupboard cloth
- one dozen old lockrum napkins
- two pair course pillowbeers
- one dozen ozenbrigg napkins
- two small lockrum table clothes
- one canvas table cloth
- six course towels

- two course pillowbeers
- half dozen small napkins

In the tiller of the chest:

- four new towels
- two pair lockrum pillowbeers
- two pair callicoe pillowbeers
- one new pepper box
- one new large tooth comb

one small chest with lumber in it

one small chest more

one old chest drawers

half a dozen new flag chairs

one bedstead and upon it:

- one feather bed and bolster
- one pair Holland sheets
- one mat

Underneath bed:

- two boxes full papers
- one earthen chamber pot

Besides the bed:

- two butter tubs
- one little trunk
- one new linen spinning wheel

one callicoe suite curtains and vallens
 one spice box without shutters
 one looking glass
 one cabinet
 one elephants tooth
 one great basket

In closet adjoining to Parlour Chamber:

two new sifters
 nine earthen pots great and small
 four New England buckets
 three earthen pitchers
 one small case with two or three bottles in it
 another case with some bottles in it
 two pair of scales
 two tin funnels
 two graters
 two iron smoothing irons
 one lock
 one tin toaster
 two bells without clappers
 one tin pepper box
 five new sauce pans
 two candle sticks
 four white pot pans
 two great glass bottles
 fifty smaller sized glass bottles
 one close stool

In the New house as followeth:

one great old chest with small parcel of shoemaker lasts in it
 another old chest with some old pewter in it
 three old empty chests more

 one large table

one round table
two old small spinning wheels
nine earthen butter pots
nine earthen milk pans
one earthen dripping pans
a dozen glass bottles
one barrel nails
one great brass kettle
three small brass kettles
ten iron pots
two iron pans
two iron spits with an iron chain belonging thereto
six pot hooks

three iron hangers for pots
two iron ladles
one brass ladle
three brass skilletts, one new, two old
three brass skimmers
two brass chafing dishes
one brass pot
one brass pudding pan

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three brass settles
eight brass candlesticks
one brass skimer
one brass ladle
one iron toaster
three pewter candlesticks
dozen and half pewter basons
two dozen and half pewter dishes

dozen and half pewter dishes more
four dozen and half pewter plates
thirty one pewter porringers
eight pewter cups
two pint pewter pots
two half pint pewter pots
two pewter tankards
one mustard pot
four pewter chamber pots
two pewter flagons, one without cover or lid

one pewter pottle pot
one pewter quart pot

one pewter funnel
one pewter bed pan
one close stool pan
eight pewter saucers
four pewter salt sellers
two pewter milk skimmers

ten hides uncurried
one iron hackle for flax
one old bottom of still
one stone jug

In the inner New house chamber as followeth:

one new bedstead and upon it a feather bed and bolster, and old coverlet, and
new callicoe curtains and vallens

two rugs
one cupboard and cloth upon it
four new candlesticks
four dozen pewter spoons
three earthen cups
one glass bottle
one pewter chamber pot

one small table with carpet upon it
one standing twiggen chair
dozen flagg chairs
one large case and bottles
one small looking glass
two earthen pots
two tin quart pots
five jugs
one tin basket
two tin chocolate pots
two earthen cups

In the outer New house chamber as followeth:

one standing bedstead & upon it feather bed and bolster & an old hammock
together with old callicoe curtains and vallens

one small bedstead and upon it small old bed and bolster & old blanket

one small old bed more and bolster

six old Turkey work stools
one large case & bottles, some of the bottles broken

one old chest containing, four pair sheep shears, four iron hinges, three sheep bells

In the outer chamber:

one old fire shovell
one pair tongs
one old cupboard
one small new chest
one dozen milk bowls
one earthen dripping pan

In the Celler Under New house as followeth:

one old chest with parcel of shoemakers lasts in it

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one great jar for oil
twelve small jars
two grindstones
one iron crow
one new sifting tray
one great basket
three riddles
three old charns
one old hair cloth
one peck
one half peck
one barrel salt

In the old store as followeth:

one pair of millstones
three pair stillyards
one pair old sails for a boat
two pair iron fetters
one new scythe
one old jack
several leaden weights
one old brass kettle
two iron bayles for buckets

one pick axe
six New England buckets
two jars
eighteen shoemakers lasts
two pair old scales
two old worms for stills
one great earthen pot
five blocks great and small for ships, and boats
six iron curtain rods
one steel mill
four iron hoops
parcel of old reaping hooks
four new grubbing hoes
one new iron Howell
four iron hoops for cart wheels
two pair iron hinges
iron belonging to a plow
three iron carpenters plains
four iron setters for saws
a large iron timber chain
eight Gimletts
three augers

five augers more
three hammers
two shoemakers hammers
one new horse lock
parcel of other locks without keys
parcel of shoemakers tacks and awls
one file
two gouges
six Gimlets more
one Froe
one chisel
one carpenters square
one coopers axe
one small hand saw
two iron wedges

In the kitchen as followeth:

one large copper
two great iron pots
three middle sized pots
one spit
two iron racks

one hand mill
two saws
coopers adze
one drawing knife
four pothooks
one old Andiron
six dishes
dozen old plates

Without doors as followeth:

one cyder mill
one cart
fourteen cows
ten steers
three bulls
five calves

four horses
one mare and foal
one Scratt

thirty ewes
six withers
two rams

Stock of cattle and horses on Gingoteague Island unknown

Stock of cattle on seaside plantation unknown

And if any thinge in the former Inventory bee found to belonge to Susanna the Daughter of Capt: Wm Kendall deced as part of the legacy given her by her Grandfather Coll: Wm Kendall deced to whome his said son was Executor the same to be deducted thereout.

Peter Collier
Ann Collier

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