Int J Histor Archaeol (2019) 23:34–56
https://doi.org/10.1007/s10761-018-0456-3

Under the Tavern Table: Excavations at the Tavern on Smuttynose Island, Maine and Implications for Commensal Politics and Informal Economy

Megan Victor[1]

Published online: 6 March 2018
© Springer Science+Business Media, LLC, part of Springer Nature 2018

Abstract Recent archaeological studies have highlighted the sociability of drinking spaces as a means to better understand quotidian activities of non-elites. Through research conducted at Smuttynose Island, in the Isles of Shoals, Maine, I illustrate an often-overlooked narrative of the Atlantic World, and especially colonial North America – the daily life of individuals working within frontier resource extraction communities. Further, I argue that such communities and their assemblages fall within a continuum which places cosmopolitan city-centers on one end and rural settlements on the other.

Keywords Taverns · Commensal politics · Informal economy · Ceramics

Introduction

Recent archaeological studies have highlighted the sociability of drinking spaces as a means to better understand quotidian activities of non-elites. Through research conducted at Smuttynose Island, in the Isles of Shoals, Maine, this article illustrates a narrative of colonial North America, which is often overlooked – that of individuals within resource extractions communities, especially on the frontier. Building on the work of Michael Dietler, as well as historical and anthropological perspectives on the role of taverns in society, this article examines drinking spaces through the lens of feasting and the negotiation of social capital. The fishing station that once sat on Smuttynose Island acts as a case study in this examination. The rather intriguingly named Smuttynose Island is located in the Isles of Shoals, which are a group of islands

✉ Megan Victor
mrvictor@email.wm.edu

1 Department of Anthropology, The College of William & Mary, P.O. Box 8795, Williamsburg, VA 23187-8795, USA

in the Atlantic Ocean, roughly nine miles off the coast of present-day Maine and New Hampshire; in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the waters around the Isles teemed with mackerel, herring, and most importantly, cod.

Drawing from archaeological data, this article places this fishing station, and specifically its tavern, at the center of a continuum, which has rural sites on one end and cosmopolitan city-centers on the other. To determine this, the author undertook a comparative examination of the ceramic assemblages from three sites: Smuttynose Island, a fishing settlement in the Isles of Shoals off of the coast of Maine, Pemaquid, Maine, a rural fishing plantation, and Port Royal, Jamaica, an urban port city. Having compared the three sites' assemblages to one another, as well as examining each one within the context of the site from which it came, this article argues that the fishermen at the Isles of Shoals, referred to as Shoalers, focused their wealth within the tavern rather than within domestic spaces. Further, an assessment of the ceramics' ware types, vessel forms and relative "value" in terms of standard economic understandings of vessel price, as well as the relative cost of the contents of those vessels, reveals what the Shoalers spent and consumed at the tavern. This examination contextualizes these materials within local practices, specifically those associated with the negotiation of social capital, to illuminate the activities that took place within the tavern on Smuttynose Island and to demonstrate how they differ from contemporary rural and urban sites. The author attributes the differences to the fact that the settlement was a frontier resource-extraction community. Neither rural nor cosmopolitan, the fishermen were as wealthy in resources as in coin, but remained politically marginal.

Recently, researchers have broadened their studies from projects that focused solely on instrumental economic forces within the Atlantic World, where peripheries were seen solely to service and supply cores, to those that include research on outer nodes (e.g., frontiers, outposts, secondary settlements) themselves, with the goal of understanding the local political economies that were cores in their own right (Berkhofer Jr, 1981; Cayton and Teute 1998; Champion 1996; Jordan-Bychkov 1993; Lamar and Thompson 1981; Lane 1998; Parker and Rodseth 2005; Sluyter 2012; Victor 2012). These places, which were previously referred to as peripheries and accordingly given peripheral attention, are now central to a more nuanced understanding of the trade networks that spanned the Atlantic and the ways that economic and social capital were negotiated within local exchange networks and local regimes of value (Orser 1996). Against this backdrop of trade networks, exchanges, and relationships, this paper addresses the microeconomics of the Isles of Shoals and argues that the fishermen there leveraged their position at a key node in the international cod-fishing trade for their own political and economic gain within the broader Atlantic World. It further argues that Shoalers deployed economic gains to negotiate social capital within the tavern that sat on Smuttynose Island. During the middle Atlantic period, fishermen bundled and barreled their stores in colonial frontier ports and shipped them to metropolitan centers of Europe, such as Barcelona, Lisbon, and Marseilles (Pope 2004: 95). Within such fishing communities, taverns served as settings for social economic transaction and fundamental locales to local political economies.

The Sociability of Drinking and Drinking Spaces

Taverns were institutions "specifically designed for the group consumption of alcoholic beverages"; as such, they reinforced the “social and sociable nature of drinking events,” including feelings of camaraderie, commiserating, and loyalty, as well as loosened inhibitions (Smith 2008: 64). Thus, they were spaces wherein patrons experienced a lack of accountability; after all, "in drink men might abandon the constraints that governed interaction in most public situations" (Conroy 1995: 2). Herein, patrons could act and speak in ways they could not outside of the tavern, which made these places inherently liminal because they stood outside of the standards established for social norms (Smith 2008; Turner 1967, 1969). Liminal places are ambiguous because those that move within them “elude or slip through the network of classifications,” which work to define the norms of “cultural space” (Turner 1969: 95). Saloons and taverns, as liminal spaces, are “betwixt and between” the classifications “assigned and arrayed by law, custom, [and] convention” (Turner 1969: 95). Taverns and saloons were unique, liminal features on the settlement’s landscape because they bore witness to conduct and ideas that could not exist within the quotidian norms of the community found outside of their walls. They acted as a "fertile breeding ground for new possibilities in social and political relationships" (Conroy 1995; 2).

As argued by David Conroy (1995: 11), "public houses provide a window into much more than the drinking habits of colonists." The exploration of taverns and saloons can shed light onto the quotidian activities of non-elites in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. These institutions were “specialized places for socializing” and represented “centralized social anchors for members of dispersed...communities" (Rockman and Rothschild 1984; Smith 2008: 67–68) where alcohol drinking was “usually part of a larger social performance” (Smith 2008: 63). In the seventeenth and early eighteenth century, a colonial town’s tavern often contained a “cross-section of residents” (Powers 2006: 147). By the middle of the eighteenth century, there emerged “a hierarchy among public houses,” especially in larger towns (Conroy 1995: 7). In towns with greater specialization in profession, taverns acted as meeting places for specific professions. For example, eighteenth - century shipbuilders, sailors, and merchants would often meet at a particular tavern to carry out the details of a shipping contract, as was done at Tontine in New York (Rockman and Rothschild 1984: 113). At the Wellfleet Tavern in Cape Cod, Massachusetts and John Earthy’s Tavern in Pemaquid, Maine, fishermen or whalers would gather at the end of a workday (Bragdon 1993; Camp 1975; Rockman and Rothschild 1984). This trend continued into the nineteenth century, where it became more prominent as "the former practice of classes sharing space within taverns...soon gave way to that of seeking separate venues" (Powers 2006: 147). Taverns began to focus on specific patrons, seeking to attract certain social classes, who "further sorted themselves by occupation and ethnicity" (Powers 2006: 147). As a result, taverns became “places where people found refuge” from the "array of groups [that] came in contact with each other" because these institutions "represented physical places where people of similar backgrounds could socialize and relax" (Dixon 2006: 581).

Regrettably, "the more strictly oral culture of taverns does not invite investigation" through the use of historical documentary means; David Conroy asserts that "the conversations and activities inside taverns are largely lost to us" (Conroy 1995: 2).

This is where an archaeological examination of these institutions can truly aid in filling in the historical lacunae about the activities of tavern patrons. As with any investigation, it is important to note that while taverns functioned in many similar ways, the cultures in which they operated certainly varied from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries.

The Tavern: The Drinking Institution of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, taverns were the “most numerous public institution in colonial [America],” which gave them prominence on the social landscape due to their ubiquity alone (Conroy 1995: 2). Taverns stood as integral locations in the daily lives for the inhabitants of England and her colonies and were places where often “the rich drank alongside the poor” (Salinger 2002: 5). In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, alcohol was a part of "every public and private ceremony, every commercial bargain, every craft ritual, [and] every private occasion of mourning and rejoicing;" further, beer was a “basic ingredient in everyone’s diet,” including children (Thomas 1971: 17). According to duty records, each man, woman, and child drank approximately a pint a day, which amounted to roughly forty gallons of alcohol per person annually. This figure does not include privately-brewed beer, spirits, which grew more popular through the seventeenth century and into the eighteenth, or imported alcohol (Thomas 1971). At their most basic, taverns were "places where rumors began and ended," where townsfolk gathered and both made and deepened acquaintances; most importantly, taverns acted as the places where “communities found an identity” (Cheever 2015; 33–34).

Centers for Maintaining and Disrupting Cultural Norms

In the British colonies, taverns served as sites of myriad and complex activities and interactions, aside from the typical, and expected, processes of eating, drinking, and smoking (Cheever 2015; Conroy 1995; Salinger 2002). Given the mixture of economic conditions of life, political inclinations, and occupations, taverns functioned as integral places of meeting (Cheever 2015; Conroy 1995; Salinger 2002; Smith 2008). Much of this comes from the fact that in the seventeenth century, “most colonial towns and villages boasted only two types of public buildings – churches and taverns," an arrangement which differed from towns in Europe (Salinger 2002: 4). In fact, the tavern was “usually the first public structure” which “became the center of town” (Cheever 2015: 31). Taverns would at one moment act as a meeting hall for officials, and at another function as a “hall where workers and employers looked for one another” (Conroy 1995; Thorpe 1996: 662). This is partially because these buildings were often “the only large buildings, which could serve as places for groups of people to meet both formally and informally for secular purposes” (Rockman and Rothschild 1984: 113). Seventeenth century colonial government officials saw taverns as central to the “establishment and maintenance of social, [political] and cultural norms” and often even went so far as to mandate that at least one tavern, if not multiple ones, be established in a new community, which gives some explanation of the large number

of taverns (Conroy 1995; Rockman and Rothschild 1984; Thorpe 1996: 662). Seventeenth century taverns also secured their position as a favored meeting place for governmental business because of the "convenience of heat and light provided by tavernkeepers during the winter," which spared the officials the cost of heating and lighting public meeting houses (Conroy 1995: 16). This was especially important, given the fact that meeting sessions could sometimes continue for as long as several days.

However, colonial taverns were also integral to the challenging of these same norms, because "every tavern was an island of freedom" (Cheever 2015: 31). Rather than acting as “unchanging, uncontroversial” institutions, taverns were liminal spaces where one could act in ways they could not outside of the building’s walls, largely because of the space’s association with alcohol (Cheever 2015: 31). The seventeenth and eighteenth-century tavern was "a public stage upon which colonists resisted, initiated, and addressed changes in their society" (Conroy 1995: 11). As Susan Cheever observes, "Virginia's Committee of Correspondence met and plotted against the king in the only safe place they could find in Williamsburg - Raleigh Tavern" (Cheever 2015: 32). Additionally, the Sons of Liberty met in Massachusetts taverns (The Black Horse Inn and the Green Dragon) and Thomas Jefferson started the Declaration of Independence in a tavern (The Indian Queen). Philadelphia’s City Tavern was the site of a great deal of the planning of the American Revolution and Ethan Allen even based his headquarters in a tavern, the Catamount (Cheever 2015; Conroy 1995).

The controversial conversations and actions within taverns caused governmental officials to start attempting to regulate them at the end of the seventeenth century and through the eighteenth century. Taverns became "public spaces over which the ruling elite and the populace at large contested for control" (Conroy 1995: 9). This became especially apparent as governmental regulations on taverns increased along with revolutionary sentiment in the second and third quarter of the eighteenth century. David Conroy observes that at this time, "the reform of drinking habits and related behavior seem[ed] so essential as the crisis of authority...deepened" (Conroy 1995: 10). By the mid-eighteenth century, colonial magistrates, politicians, gentry, and yeoman alike "had become world famous for their drinking." In part, much of this came from the fact that "taverns and drinking fed the colonists' desire for independence" (Cheever 2015: 34).

Eighteenth-century colonists drank more than their seventeenth-century counterparts, with the average man spending roughly a fourth of his income on alcohol of some sort. Not only did these colonists drink more than their predecessors, but "the use of alcohol throughout the population" was “unusual” (Cheever 2015: 34). Babies and children drank, in addition to their parents and grandparents. Workdays and schooldays alike began with small beers or ciders; following this, "at eleven a.m., four p.m., at dinner, and after dinner, colonists drank." All of this fed into the “wildness of the drinking citizenry” (Cheever 2015: 34–35). By the third quarter of the eighteenth century, the average man in British colonial North America drank "almost twice as much as the average person drinks today" and in general, it seemed that society was "ready to tolerate a blood alcohol level two or three times higher" than the modern legal standard of .08 (Cheever 2015: 36, 38). Researchers such as Susan Cheever and W. J. Rorabaugh argue that the period around the American Revolution was when "American drinking habits hit their

first peak," swinging toward this height like a “pendulum” that would eventually careen back in the other direction toward Prohibition, with smaller spikes in drinking and temperance along the way (Cheever 2015; Rorabaugh 1979).

On Tap at an Eighteenth-Century Tavern

As the amount of alcohol consumed in the colonies increased, so did the variety of drinks. Beer, both strong ales and porters with a higher alcohol content, and small beers with a lower alcohol percentage, was ever present. Historian Greg Smith (1998: 2) argues that "all of the thoughts, feelings, and beliefs the colonists brought with them to North America were the result of society's millennia-old marriage with beer."

Scholarship on Feasting and its Classifications

Taverns were central to communities as places to converse, celebrate, mourn, and rebel, but also as places to negotiate power and forge alliances. Societies are inherently both fragile and volatile, especially those on the frontiers; micro-politics are vehicles through which stability is maintained, coalitions are forged, and fractions formed to embrittle polities. These negotiations for power are what allow a society to escape its otherwise ephemeral and transient state, because it must always reinforce a degree of consent within its population. However, taverns, as institutions, are not formalized branches of the government, but rather represent locations that are red-hot in their capacity to subvert the influence of state power, especially because alcohol is prevalent within them, which numbs inhibitions and reduces accountability, as described above. Within taverns, inhabitants of the local community carried out their quotidian activities and negotiated power through them; Fleisher and Wynne Jones argue that “locating power in everyday activity and interaction” is key to understanding manifestations of authority in the archaeological record (Fleisher and Wynne-Jones 2010: 178).

Power itself has been classically defined as the “probability,” regardless of its basis, that “one actor within a social relationship will be in the position to carry out his own will” despite any actions of resistance (Weber 1964: 152 in Fleisher and Wynne-Jones 2010: 180). The concept of authority itself comes from the joint forces of obtained power and the legitimacy required to keep it. This process is an “ongoing negotiation” which is present within every social interaction, action, and relationship, including those taking place within taverns (Fleisher and Wynne-Jones 2010: 179–180). Drawing from Foucault, the state is built upon relationships with its subjects, which are crucial to a society’s stability because each one of these interactions stems from and reinforces the existing structures of power (Fleisher and Wynne-Jones 2010; Foucault 2000).

Power, as a concept, does not necessarily act directly upon members of a society, but rather affects their actions because it shapes their worldview and the expectations that they have for the ways in which their relationships with others and their society will turn out. This makes a society or state’s exercising of power something that is both pervasive and unseen by its subjects, who still actively participate in legitimizing that power. As a result of these interactions, power can manifest itself in a dialogue of many forms including cooperation, collaboration, negotiation, and empowerment (Spencer-Wood 1999: 179 in Fleisher and Wynne-Jones 2010: 182). The form of power

negotiated, reinforced, and challenged within taverns is referred to as "instrumental power" because it centers on the "possibilities of coercion and control" (Fleisher and Wynne-Jones 2010: 183).

One key way of addressing these issues of the negotiation of power is through an examination of feasting and commensal politics. Michael Dietler (2003: 272) has defined commensal politics, the structured sharing of food and drink, as "the ways in which the shared consumption of food and drink is marshaled in the negotiation of power"; an examination of these politics does not focus on a 'top down' hierarchy, but rather shows how negotiations permeate society and social life at all levels and the ways in which consumption acts as a political practice. Within the frontier communities of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, the "giving and receiving of drink" was frequently "invested with emotional and symbolic significance" (Conroy 1995: 22). David Conroy observes that "the particular sequence, manner, and frequency with which food and drink are given and received can serve to define loyalties, obligations, contractual bonds, and status" (Conroy 1995: 22). As such, the "social and political functions of feasting are closely intertwined" because "hospitality is used to establish and maintain social relations and to forge alliances" (Steel 2004: 283). With regards to alcohol, "the gift of a drink, or the ability to provide drink, can become a token of esteem and trust;" whether this gift was given informally or through the use of "elaborate ceremonies," it is still an important means of publicizing or affirming agreements" (Conroy 1995: 22). Feasts can create a shared feeling of identity and belonging and allow the "host to accrue prestige and standing (symbolic capital) within a community" (Steel 2004: 283). The "enhancement of the host's status within the community will buy influence over decisions made by the community" (Steel 2004: 283). Authority figures or groups, defined as those whom members of a society accept and legitimize as holders of power, are not the only ones who can host feasts (Fleisher and Wynne-Jones 2010). Social groups, households, and even individuals can host such events and negotiations of power, and it is this latter type of host that was usually present within the tavern-context. Alcohol in particular plays a large role in the negotiation of social capital. As a relative form of food, Dietler argues, alcohol can also be said to be "embodied material culture" (Dietler 2006: 232). He goes on to explain that this makes it a special form of material culture that is made to be destroyed through ingestion. He argues that because of this relationship to the body, it has a close relationship to concepts of personhood and sense of self. Additionally, because the resources used to make alcohol are conspicuous and also must be replenished in order to make it again, it directly links domestic and political economies. Such embodied material culture "constitutes a prime arena for the negation, projection, and contestation of power," (Dietler 2006: 232). Dietler views alcohol as a "versatile and highly charged symbolic medium and social tool" that is used in the "playing out" of politics and rituals, as well as the negotiations of social and economic relations (Dietler 2006: 232). As embodied material culture, Dietler argues that alcohol can be seen as a "total social fact," following Marcel Mauss (1923), who defined the term as a phenomenon that concerns both individuals and collective entities, and is simultaneously religious, legal, political and domestic, as well as economic because it involves accumulation, and consumption (also see Dietler 2006: 232). Louise Steel (2004: 283) further supports this varied and all-inclusive meaning in stating that "alcohol serves to construct an ideal world" because it is "particularly appropriate" for both "ceremonial consumption and

the forging of alliances.” In societies "where the manufacture of alcoholic beverages is indigenous to the culture and economy," the purchase and consumption of alcohol act as more than “a source of recreation” but also as “vital” pieces in the "establishing and maintaining [of] communal bonds" (Conroy 1995; 22).

In “Feasts and Commensal Politics in the Political Economy: Food, Power and Status in Prehistoric Europe,” Dietler (1996: 92-99) establishes three types of feasts, namely: entrepreneurial, patron-role, and diacritical; participants carry out each type with a different set of symbolic logic. As such, in order to examine the feasting and commensal politics taking place within taverns, the type of feast, and its intended goals, must first be ascertained. At heart, feasts are performances that involve food and drink. They differ from daily life because they provide a stage for the “highly condensed symbolic representation of social relations.” Feasts “express idealized concepts” including “the way people believe relations exist or should exist” (Dietler 1996: 89). Dietler identifies three main types of feasts: entrepreneurial, patron-role, and diacritical feasts. What follows is a summary of these three models of feasting, with an example to illustrate each type. Entrepreneurial feasts took place most often within taverns.

Entrepreneurial Feasts

A fitting example of an entrepreneurial feast comes from the folklorist and historian Roger D. Abrahams’ (1992) *Singing the Master*. He focuses on the corn-shucking ceremony on nineteenth-century Southern plantations of the United States. Specifically, he examines how the power relationships of slavery were “dramatized” through “scenes” wherein slaves sang as they worked, participated in work and play activities with a competitive edge, and received a feast and a “good time” as a reward (Abrahams 1992: 80–81). In this way, he is examining the very commensal politics discussed above, and the fact that the ceremony carried meaning for all members of the plantation society that were involved, even if it was viewed in different ways by different groups.

Following Dietler (1996: 92), entrepreneurial feasts involve the use of commensal politics and hospitality to gain social capital through “informal political power and economic advantage.”. In this arrangement, the holder of the feast is looking to gain prestige, which is “the ability to influence group decisions or actions” that derives from relationships that are created and reinforced through “personal interaction” (Dietler 1996: 92). It is this form of the feast that the corn-shucking ceremony embodies, especially because the hosts of entrepreneurial feast often used the “institution of the work-party feast” to gain political and economic power as well as increased social status (Dietler 1996: 93). Dietler defines the work-party as a “labor mobilization device” wherein “a group of people are called together to work on a specific project for a day and then are treated to a meal and / or drink, after which the host owns the proceeds of the day’s labor” (Dietler 1996: 93). He further characterizes work parties as either “exchange” or “festive” types; in the former, the reward at the end is small as is the group working, but there is a strong obligation to reciprocate the work-party at another location with one of the workers acting as host. The latter, or “festive” type of work-party, involves larger groups of people at work and the “obligation to provide reciprocal labor services is minimal or non-existent,” while the “quantities of food and drink required are much greater” (Dietler 1996: 94).

Work-party feasts function as an "opportunity to make public statements about [the] prestige" of the host and as a "mechanism" to further social inequalities" (Dietler 1996: 94). Abrahams' description of the corn-shucking ceremony was a work-party feast, and thus it negotiated power relations and portrayed an ideal model of such interactions; the planter would assemble neighboring planters and their slaves to join him on his plantation to shuck his corn. Afterwards, Abrahams (1992) points out, they were rewarded with large amounts of food and alcohol. It is important to note, however, that the shucked corn belonged to the planter, not the slaves – despite the work that they put in to harvest and husk it. Further, the planters used the corn-shucking ceremony to display their patriarchal benevolence to the slaves present as well as fellow planters who attended. The reciprocal nature of an entrepreneurial feast comes in at the level of the planters, namely in that one wealthy plantation owner would invite other members of the planter class with the expectation that he would be subsequently invited over to his neighbor's corn-shucking ceremony.

Patron-Role Feasts

The category of the patron-role feast also involves the negotiation of social capital. In this model, "the formalized use of commensal hospitality" works to "symbolically reiterate and legitimize institutionalized relations of unequal social power" (Dietler 1996: 97). The driving principle behind a patron-role feast is "the relationship of reciprocal obligation engendered through hospitality" (Dietler 1996: 97). However, there is no expectation of equal reciprocation from the feast's guests. Instead, there is an acceptance of "a continually unequal pattern of hospitality" which is symbolically expressed through the motions of the feast; this acceptance "naturalizes the formalization through repetition of an event that induces sentiments of social debt" (Dietler 1996: 97).

Enrique Rodríguez-Alegría (2005: 565), in "Eating Like an Indian: Negotiating Social Relations in the Spanish Colonies," presents a patron-role feasting relationship. He argues that feasting practices act as "cultural means for negotiating power" and specifically looks at eating and feasting practices in sixteenth and seventeenth-century Mexico and the Andes and the way that the Spanish colonizers negotiated social capitol through food and alcohol. In his opinion, feasts were an "ideal way to make relationships of power and domination appear amicable and mutually beneficial" in a colonial setting (Rodríguez-Alegría 2005: 556). In such situations, power is "in flux" and thus, personal political power is best achieved through "charisma, informal leadership, and the right kinds of social relations" (Rodríguez-Alegría 2005: 557). Rodríguez-Alegría (2005: 551) states that food and material objects related to food are "used in behaviors in which social relationships are negotiated and power is transformed." He continues that "food production, preparation, and consumption" are all "imbued with symbolism and social meanings," and are crucial aspects of culture and society (Rodríguez-Alegría 2005: 552). Further, he argues that food is an important form of material culture because it gets ingested and the "biological need for sustenance and nutrition" is then connected to "culturally mediated social relations that make production, exchange, and consumption of food possible" (Rodríguez-Alegría 2005: 552). Rodríguez-Alegría's arguments fit into the patron-role feast category most when he argues that instead of viewing ceramics and other food-related artifacts and material culture as ethnic markers

or evidence of wealth, archaeologists should view them as objects that worked to "naturalize relationships of domination" (Jamieson 2000: 161–162, in Rodríguez-Alegría 2005).

Diacritical Feasts

The third form of feast is the diacritical feast, which Dietler defines as a feast that "involves the use of differentiated cuisines and styles of consumption" which function symbolically to "naturalize and reify concepts of ranked differences in social status" (Dietler 1996: 98; Van der Veen 2003). Louise Steel (2004: 284) describes diacritical feasts in her article, "A Goodly Feast...A Cup of Mellow Wine" as "symbols of exclusive membership" which are usually "characterized by distinctive cuisine...and elaborate dining sets;" additionally, these feasts often "make reference to specialized knowledge of external, exotic social practices as means of demonstrating their exclusivity." Further, the "symbolic force" of this type of feast comes from the "manipulation of an exclusive style that is closely guarded by the elite, through their privileged access to limited supplies of exotica" (Steel 2004: 284). Steel emphasizes that there is a "degree of fluidity in the choice of symbolic, ideological referents used by the elite" though, and that diacritical feasts are not strictly of one variety (Steel 2004: 284). Diacritical feasts, she argues, create a "distinctive package of practices that are readily identifiable in the archaeological record;" this 'package' usually includes "the debris of food and drink together with specialized apparatus for their service and consumption, patterns of differential disposal of faunal remains, and possibly the identification of specialized locations for the activities" (Steel 2004: 284).

The Isles of Shoals

Consisting of nine islands across the oceanward border between present-day Maine and New Hampshire, the Isles of Shoals, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, lay within an ecosystem that supported a population of codfish, which were generally larger and more plentiful than those caught at other contemporary fishing centers (Fig. 1). The largest of these historic codfish, the *Gadus morhua* or Atlantic Cod, weighed around 200 lbs. (90.7 kg); at present, commercially harvested cod average between 6 and 10 lbs, (2.7–4.5 kg), having been fished to near-extinction (Drake 1875; Fisheries and Oceans Canada 2006; Hamilton et al. 2009; Innis 1940; Jenness 1875; Kurlansky 1997) (Fig. 2).

The climate of the Isles of Shoals was ideally suited to thoroughly drying and curing fish, which increased their stability when shipped across the Atlantic. Specifically, the Shoalers invented a new process of drying fish called *dunning*, which made the fish thinner to allow more to fit into a standard hogshead barrel, yet it used less salt than earlier methods. The fish were thus well-preserved and durable even in the warm climates to which they were shipped, such as the Mediterranean (Hamilton et al. 2009; Jenness 1875). Additionally, when soaked in water, which was necessary to restore salted cod to edibility, Shoals cod tasted more like fresh fish, called green fish, because of the small amount of salt used. Period commercial records and historical accounts show that during this period, when cod was already considered a highly valuable commodity, the "world's price" was gauged against the fish caught and cured at the Isles of Shoals. Merchants in Europe and

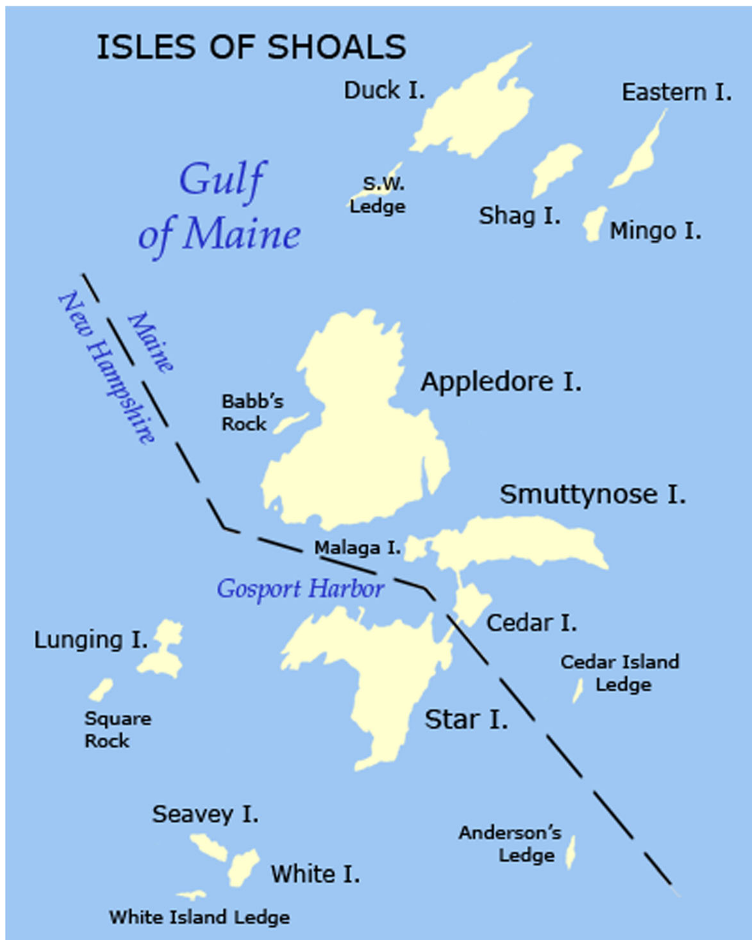

Fig. 1 Map of Isles of Shoals, Maine / N.H., USA. Drawn by Rick Holt using PhotoShop CS2

the Caribbean used Isles of Shoals cod as a "gold standard" (Hamilton et al. 2009; Hamilton 2010; Rutledge 1997). In addition to procuring codfish, the location of the Shoals also served as a trading post. Alongside other types of fish, goods like pipes, tobacco, wine, rum and sugar were imported to the Shoals from Europe and its New World

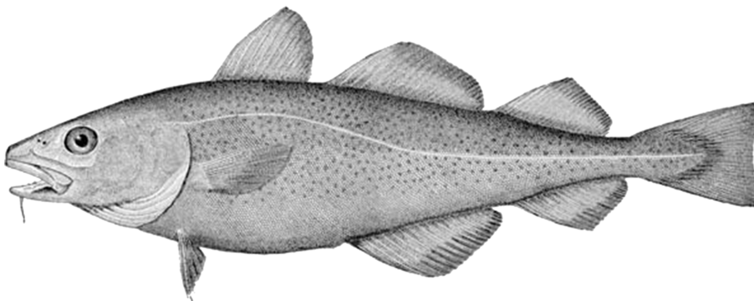

Fig. 2 The codfish (Reproduced from Goode, 1884, Plate 58A. Drawing by H. L. Todd)

colonies, and then subsequently distributed to mainland New England, the Maritime Provinces of British Canada, and the Caribbean (Hamilton et al. 2009; Jenness 1875).

Established in 1623, the fishery on the Isles of Shoals was one of the oldest in New England, and it immediately outshone its competitio (Drake 1875; Harrington Harrington 1992; Jenness 1875; Levett 1628). When Captain Christopher Levett visited during the station's first year, he noted that there was enough fish to support six fishing ships with at least fifty men onboard a piece (Levett 1628). The historian John Scribner Jenness in his *The Isles of Shoals* concludes that "even before the first settlement of the mainland," the Isles were "already the scene of a busier activity than any other spot" in New England, north of Plymouth, Massachusetts" (Jenness 1875: 51). The climate and the dunning process invented by the Shoalers themselves were crucial to the Isles' success, as was the fact that they enjoyed "almost unrestrained civil and religious liberty" (Jenness 1875: 107).

The community on the Isles of Shoals, comprised mostly of men from England, especially North Devon, was a loosely managed operation of "fishing masters" who worked together to build individual capital, resulting in fishermen who could become quite wealthy if they were talented (Jenness 1875). The influence of North Devon can be seen still today at the Shoals in the name of Appledore Island, which was named for the small town of Appledore in North Devon. Of this, Jenness writes that the Shoalers "conferred on their new American home the beloved name of their native hamlet" (Jenness 1875: 115). At first, the Shoalers lived in privately-held, solitary, and rather transient structures along the Isles as bachelors. Once they had established themselves financially, the fishermen began to build more substantial structures and were accompanied by wives and families (Hamilton et al. 2009; Harrington 1992; Jenness 1875). By the mid 1630s, there were roughly 600 people living at the Shoals (Jenness 1875).

The emphasis on individual fishing masters on the Isle of Shoals contrasted with the way that typical fishing stations, or plantations, usually operated during this period. Laborers at these plantations worked under an authority figure. This was generally an agent who regulated almost every aspect of daily life as a proxy for an absentee landlord, referred to as a planter, who owned the fishing plantation and the boats, though at times, the fishermen labored directly under the planter himself. In both cases, this authority was a wealthy European who was "counted as an economic personality" because of his socio-economic class (Pope 2004: 1). Plantation fishermen were at constant risk of losing their jobs, because legally the planter could shut down his plantation at any time for any reason, be it financial difficulties or boredom (Hamilton et al. 2009; Harrington 1992). The fishermen on a plantation lived under a different form of social organization and settlement pattern than those at the Isles of Shoals. Instead of living independently, the fishermen lived in a single communal settlement structure referred to as a "Great House," which acted as the center of domestic activity. It also served as a building in which the fishermen could perform tasks in an area protected from the elements.

As a community of independent fishermen, the Shoalers were structurally distanced from the mainland plantation system just as they were geographically distanced them. Although the Shoalers were not "planted" colonists funded by a European merchant, they produced enough fish (and that of a fine enough quality) to be able to compete with the fishing plantations and to export to the Mediterranean - at times they far outshone their mainland competitors. The Isles were populated with European

fishermen from 1623 until roughly 1780, with the station's highest population peak occurring between 1710 to 1750 (Hamilton et al. 2009; Harrington 1992). This population trend also set the Shoalers apart from mainland fishing plantations, because they were not plagued by the scuffles, uprisings, and land conflicts that caused the plantations' populations to decline and resurge again and again. The distance from these raids and conflicts undoubtedly contributed to the Shoals' economic success as well.

The Shoalers had a very different relationship with authorities from the colonial mainland than did their counterparts on plantations. Commenting on the Isles of Shoals, contemporary historians recount that most complaints against the Shoalers were for resisting and disrespecting officers of the law; they were frequently accused of going so far as to physically assault them (Drake 1875; Jenness 1875: 119). Overall, the Shoalers were referred to as a "motley, shifting community of fishermen…sailors, smugglers, and picaroons who made the Isles of Shoals their rendezvous and their home" (Jenness 1875:123). In sum, they were as "unconcerned with ideology or national borders as the fish they caught" (Smith 2006: 27). Much of the personality of the Shoalers comes from their frontier location; the Shoalers were "too remote from the mainland to be within effective reach of the feeble governments established there" (Jenness 1875: 123). Their "remoteness" led to a substantial inability to maintain order there (Jenness 1875: 119). The Shoalers "would naturally despise all courts" and were more content to turn to their "own sturdy right arms alone for the redress of grievances" (Jenness 1875: 123). To this end, there is even a report of one fisherman who was tried for assault and battery against an officer of the court and in the course of the trial the Shoaler freely admitted that he had beaten up the officer.

The fishermen at the Isles of Shoals were associated with other lawless conduct, most notably illicit trade and piracy (Beal 2007; Dow 1923; Jenness 1875). Jenness writes that the Shoals were "the resort of the Letter of Marque [the privateer] and the pirate" (Jenness 1875: 170) and that the Shoalers "were generally indulgent, and sometimes friendly and serviceable in their intercourse with the numerous pirate ships which visited their harbor" (Jenness 1875: 122). Historian Clifford Beal (2007: 134) writes specifically about the pirate ship the *Larrimore Galley*'s arrival at the Isles of Shoals to gain men and provisions. He adds that "this was not a surprising destination" because "since the early seventeenth century the Isles had been a favorite waypoint for people looking to disappear." That the Shoalers earned a reputation for being ill-behaved is notable, given the fact that most fishermen of the period were viewed as a "looser sort of people and ill-governed men" (Pope 2004: 3); the men at the Isles of Shoals, then, were regarded as lawless among a crowd already known for its inherent coarseness and rowdiness.

The Shoalers' reputation eventually came to hurt them in the 1770s; the newly forming American government was "unsure of the political allegiance of the Shoalers" and later found that the fishermen "afforded sustenance and recruits" to the British, resulting in a forced evacuation of the Isles (Harrington 1992: 258; Jenness, 1875: 107). The Isles of Shoals never fully recovered financially or in population after the American Revolution; in 1775, a mere 44 inhabitants still lived on the islands, having refused to evacuate. A final attempt at resuscitating the Shoals was made during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century by a businessman Samuel Haley (Drake 1875:183; Hamilton et al. 2009; Jenness 1875). However, the revival died with Haley's

death. By the end of the nineteenth century, the population at last completely disappeared (Jenness 1875; Harrington 1992).

The Tavern Project at the Isles of Shoals

The tavern project drew on field school excavation data from Smuttynose Island from 2009 to 2011, conducted under the direction of Dr. Nathan Hamilton. The excavations took place in three stages: systematic survey through five transects of 50 cm × 50 cm STPs spaces five meters apart (18 in total); initial data recovery and further testing through 1 × 1 m units along the five transects near where the STPS proved to be most artifact rich (21 in total); and data recovery with slot trenches (4 × 1 m trenches excavated as 12 separate test units) in the activity area thought to be associated with the tavern. All excavated areas were taken down to the island's culturally sterile bedrock, which lies somewhere between 60 and 80 cm below the surface on average. This research presented below builds off of a 2009–10 study, in which the author analyzed the ceramic assemblages from Smuttynose Island and those from a mainland fishing plantation, Pemaquid, to determine place of manufacture and the relative value ascribed to the different ware types.

The ceramics at Pemaquid formed a bimodal distribution, with the most ceramics clustering at the very expensive and the very inexpensive ends of the spectrum. At Smuttynose Island, however, most of the ceramic assemblage analyzed in the 2010 report were of a middling-class and utilitarian nature (Victor 2010). In these data, the author observed a possible tavern pattern, as discussed previously, emerging in the units closest to the shoreline, which was the westernmost of the original transect lines. John Scribner Jenness writes about the presence of a tavern on Smuttynose Island, which he argues was in operation by the 1630s and stayed in operation for the life of the settlement (Jenness1875).

In 2011, the third phase of the excavations began. Three slot trenches were placed along Smuttynose Island's original western shoreline in a 7 × 4 m stretch to investigate the presence or absence of a tavern; this former shoreline is much further inland than the current edge of the island, as the area was changed in the nineteenth century with the addition of a breakwater. The three transects proved to be very productive, and the crew was successful in finding the tavern, yielding an assemblage which included glass and ceramics pertaining to the large-scale preparation, storage, and serving of food and alcohol, as well as a large number of smoking pipes. Excavations also recovered a large proportion of faunal remains in the area associated with the tavern, which indicate that patrons at the tavern likely dined on cattle, pig, sheep/goat, fish, and even seabirds. The majority of the artifacts were recovered from seven different test units along the western portion of the site: TUs 8,9,11, 13, 14, 15, and 16. Work at the tavern area also recovered an ivory die and a lead token stamped with "XXX." The token, which is very similar to those written about by Noël Hume (1970), was likely made from a flattened lead bullet and used as a form of currency, redeemable only at the tavern on Smuttynose (see Victor 2012) (Fig. 3).

The excavation team located evidence of the tavern's architecture as well and revealed an area of worn, non-local stone, which was placed directly onto the bedrock. The layer above this consisted of brick rubble and debris that appear to have once

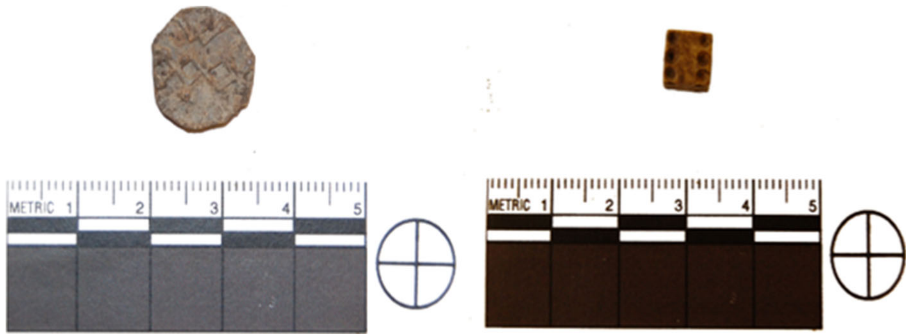

Fig. 3 Lead tavern token and ivory die recovered from Smuttynose Island (Photos courtesy of Arthur Clausnitzer, Jr.)

comprised the tavern's walls; the stone area, then, seems to be a portion of the tavern's original floor. Excavations also recovered two large metal locks, which lay parallel and back-to-back to one another, with about 5 cm of dirt between them. Below the locks lay large iron pintels, suggesting the presence of a door, although it is unclear whether this was the only entrance into the tavern; further, there were no indications as to whether this door located was from a front or a back door of the tavern. Other architectural features found include lead flashing, window glass, and large metal nails. The architectural elements on the rest of the island, which would be the domestic or town portion of the site, differ greatly. The buildings seem to have been much more ephemeral, leaving no structural traces in the archaeological record. According to period documents, the Shoalers' houses were small, insubstantial wooden structures without substantial underpinnings and thus, only the activity areas surrounding where the houses may have stood were visible in the archaeological record (Levett 1628). The tavern on Smuttynose Island was likely much larger than the area excavated; however, a dense covering of poison ivy and thorn bushes lies across the area where the tavern's southern end once stood, and the combination of the inhospitable obstacle and a tight timeframe meant that excavation did not take place in this area.

The Ceramics: Smuttynose Island, Pemaquid, and Port Royal

The site's ceramic assemblage was examined with the goal of placing Smuttynose Island's tavern, the Isles of Shoals, and the activities of the Shoalers themselves more accurately along a continuum. In total, the author analyzed 11,004 ceramic sherds from Smuttynose Island and compared this with 1618 sherds from Port Royal, Jamaica – a cosmopolitan city center on one end of the continuum – and with 15,215 sherds from the fishing plantation at Pemaquid, Maine – a site representing the opposite end on the continuum. The ceramics were grouped into 36 different ware types and organized by relative value (DAACS 2004; FLMNH 1995–2010; Stelle 2001; St. Mary's University Archaeology Lab 2010). A mean ceramic date was generated for each test unit on the Smuttynose Island site as well as for each ten-centimeter level in the units. The comparative data from both Pemaquid and Port Royal comes from published excavation reports that detail the ceramics found at the sites. Earthenwares were the most

common type of ceramic found in the 4761 sherds that made up the tavern assemblage. Within this group, most of the sherds were coarse, lead-glazed utilitarian vessels used for storage, tableware, and drinking. At least 13 North Devon tall pots were found, which often held provisions such as salted meat and were then kept as storage vessels for beers and ales because of the fairly watertight glazing on the tall pot's interior (Clausnitzer Jr 2011). The assemblage also contained several rim sherds off of drinking mugs. Both vessels made locally in New England and those imported from England were represented (Fig. 4).

After coarse earthenwares, tin-glazed enamelwares - specifically tablewares - comprised the next largest portion of the assemblage. The place of manufacture for these wares varied widely, containing ceramics from Portugal, Spain, the Netherlands, and England. Other earthenwares included English Border Ware tableware and storage vessels, Iberian storage vessels and small olive jars, New England slip-trailed redwares, and a very small amount of North Italian sgraffito and marbled slipware. Several fine comb-dragged English Staffordshire slipwares also appeared in the assemblage. The refined earthenwares included creamware, pearlware, and whitewares and appeared mostly as part of teaware and tableware vessels, rather than as chamber pots, speaking once more to the eating and drinking that was likely going on, rather than to any domestic activities.

Stonewares made up roughly 4 % of the assemblage, and include Rhenish wares, such as Bartman and Westerwald vessels, as well as English Staffordshire white salt-glazed stonewares, including scratch blue, and Nottingham stonewares. The vast proportion of these stonewares was comprised of drinking mugs, jugs, and other storage vessels, likely used for holding alcohol. The assemblage also contained a small number of porcelain sherds which appear to be both Chinese and English in manufacture; all of these were pieces of teaware vessels. The tavern assemblage differs from that found in the domestic spaces on Smuttynose Island. Utilitarian earthenwares still

Ceramic remains: Scraffito

(c) 2009 University of Southern Maine, Dr. Nathan Hamilton on SeacoastNH.com

Fig. 4 Scraffito sherds recovered from Smuttynose Island (Photo courtesy of Dr. Nathan Hamilton)

comprised the largest number of ceramic sherds, but none of the more expensive wares such as tin-glazed enamelwares, fine stonewares, or porcelain were represented in the same proportions. The second most-numerous group of ceramics were refined earthenwares, including creamware, pearlware, and whiteware. This indicates that the domestic ceramic assemblage increased in size later in the settlement's history once these wares, which were mass-produced, were available at a more middling class price (Fig. 5).

Overall, the assemblages found speak to the different activity areas represented on the island. The portion of the site described elsewhere (Victor 2010) encompasses the domestic and fish processing spheres, whereas this current research focuses on the newly-located tavern (Fig. 6). The differentiation between these areas and their assemblages can be seen in the comparative monetary values of the ceramics, the variety of ware types present, and the functions of the vessels. In analyzing the data from domestic and fish processing areas, I argue that the wealth was not concentrated in ceramics (Victor 2010). The tavern assemblage, in contrast, contains many more valuable ceramics and also a wider array of imported vessels. The most valuable ceramics, English and Chinese porcelains, are rare across the site but are found most in the tavern. Tin-glazed enamelwares were the next most-valuable ceramic type represented and they appear in a much higher abundance in the tavern as well. The same trend holds for other fine ceramics such as white salt-glazed stoneware, Staffordshire slipwares, and North Italian Marbled slipwares. Lead-glazed redwares are ubiquitous and make up the largest proportion of the assemblages from all of the activity areas. As such, its status as an inexpensive material comes to the fore when it is contrasted with the presence or absence of more valuable ceramics.

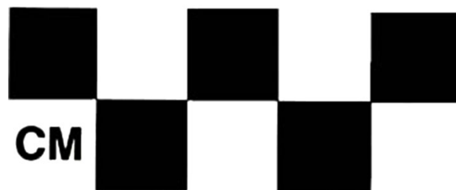

Fig. 5 Scratch blue sherd recovered from Smuttynose Island (Photo courtesy of Dr. Nathan Hamilton)

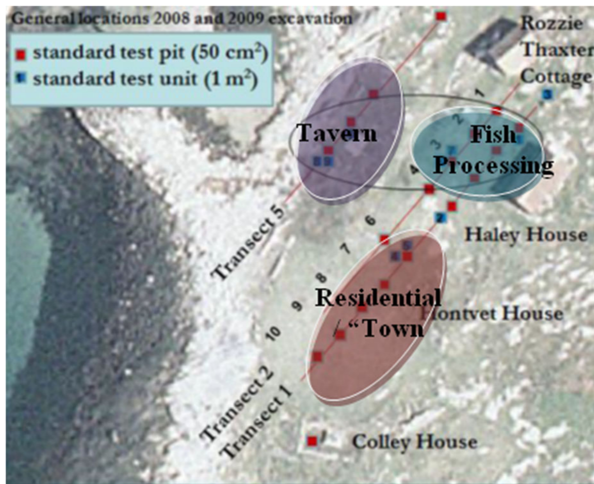

Fig. 6 Smuttynose Island activity areas (Reproduced from Victor, 2010)

The assemblage from the tavern is also notably one of sociability. The majority of the vessels recovered pertain to the serving of patrons. Tablewares and teawares in the form of cups, mugs, jugs, plates, platters, dishes, saucers, and bowls indicate the serving and consumption of food and drink. Tablewares and teawares are vessels that require interaction between individuals, be it the tavern keeper and his patrons or between the patrons themselves. There are also more vessels related to alcohol at the tavern than are found in the assemblage from the rest of the site. The assemblage contains Bartman jugs, Westerwald mugs, North Devon tall pots, which were used for beer storage (Clausnitzer Jr 2011), Iberian storage jars, which often held wine, Border Wares, which were used in jugs and pitchers, and Merida-type wares, which primarily came in the form of bottles and costrels (pear-shaped drinking vessels) (Fig. 7). The assemblage from the western portion of the island, as a whole, suggests the storage, serving, and consumption of alcohol on a scale not seen at the other activity areas at the site; Smuttynose's tavern, as a result, once stood on the western shore of the island.

In comparing the Shoals' ceramic assemblage with that from a larger fishing plantation in Maine named Pemaquid, the author notes that the assemblage consisted of 15,215 pieces in total, with 4967 sherds coming from the plantation's tavern. As with Smuttynose, coarse earthenwares were the most prevalent ceramics found. The tavern on Smuttynose Island had Border Ware and more North Devon wares while the tavern from Pemaquid had more Iberian storage vessels, which may suggest that the plantation was more tightly tied into the typical trade patterns with the Mediterranean seen with large fishing operations (Pope 2004). Like Smuttynose Island, Pemaquid's second most-numerous ceramic type was tin-glazed enamelware, although Smuttynose Island's assemblage did have a slightly higher percentage. The enamelwares came from England, the Netherlands, and Spain, but unlike at Smuttynose, there were no Portuguese sherds found at Pemaquid. The mainland tavern also lacked the variety of earthenwares that Smuttynose Island's tavern had: New England redwares,

Fig. 7 Westerwald sherds recovered from Smuttynose Island (Photo courtesty of Dr. Nathan Hamilton)

Merida, Jackfield (and Jackfield type), Totnes, Whieldon Ware, Rockingham, creamware, and pearlware are all missing. Stonewares made up roughly a third of the Pemaquid tavern assemblage, which is a much larger proportion than that seen on Smuttynose Island.

However, there was less diversity in the stoneware types as well. Rhenish Bartman, Westerwald, and Staffordshire white salt-glazed stoneware were present, but the assemblage contained no English Brown, Bristol Glazed or early American Gray. The tavern assemblage also contained 35 pieces of porcelain, which is rather more than the three pieces from the Isles of Shoals. While the taverns' assemblages differed mostly in variety, there is a marked difference between the domestic assemblages from Pemaquid and the Isles of Shoals. Most of the fine ceramics, along with the widest variety of them, are found in Smuttynose Island's tavern; at Pemaquid, however, a large proportion of fine wares are found in domestic spaces as well. A total of 4693 ceramic sherds came from the dwelling spaces at Pemaquid, while 6243 sherds were recovered from Smuttynose's domestic areas. Redwares were still the largest ceramic type represented at Pemaquid and they nearly doubled the amount recovered from the Shoals.

The variances were seen most in the remaining portion of the assemblage. Pemaquid's domestic spaces contained a greater quantity of higher valued ceramics than did the Isles of Shoals, including tin-glazed enamelware, fine stonewares and slipwares, and porcelain. The only refined white earthenwares at Pemaquid came from the domestic spaces, but not in the same quantity as that from Smuttynose Island. In short, the taverns at the two sites were furnished somewhat similarly, although Smuttynose Island had a much wider variety of ceramics, but the domestic spaces at Pemaquid contain more fine ceramics than those at Smuttynose Island. However, these fine ceramics are not evenly distributed across all of

the dwelling spaces, but are clustered in two or three buildings that seem to have belonged to the planter and / or the plantation agent; the rest of the dwellings structures contain mostly coarse earthenwares. Pemaquid's assemblage revealed a hierarchy of settlements across the site, with the wealthy planter and his agent living in well-furnished structures and the employed fishermen living in more modest locations. This hierarchy is not present at the Shoals.

Ceramics from Port Royal, Jamaica, suggest that this third site, a port city, lies on the opposite end of the continuum from Pemaquid. There were far more ceramics excavated at Smuttynose Island than were reported in Port Royal's ceramic analysis ($n = 1618$), which was the only readily accessible data at the time of writing (Donachie 2001). The ceramics were recovered from three layers of excavation, and most of the analyses focus on three buildings: a tavern; the house of the wealthy Drummond family; and the Tun Inn. Tin-glazed enamelwares, rather than coarse earthenwares, were the largest proportion of ceramics at Port Royal, comprising roughly 40% of the assemblage, as compared with the 14% at the Shoals.

There was considerably less variety of enamelwares and coarse earthenwares at Port Royal. The lack of refined earthenwares can be explained by the fact that the city sank into the ocean in 1692. As a result, the assemblage could not feasibly contain the refined white-bodied earthenwares, Jackfield or Jackfield type, Whieldon Ware, or Rockingham. Port Royal's assemblage did contain a higher proportion of refined English and Continental slipwares than Smuttynose Island. Stonewares were not strongly represented at Port Royal and those present lacked variety. Some wares, like American Gray, Bristol Glazed, and scratch blue white salt-glazed stoneware were manufactured after 1692; however, there are no English Brown or Nottingham stonewares present in the assemblage either, and these were available at the time. There were also nine sherds of white salt-glazed stoneware found, which is puzzling, given that the earthquake took place before the ware was produced (DAACS 2004; FLMNH 1995–2010; Stelle 2001; St. Mary's University Archaeology Lab 2010).

The porcelains found comprise roughly 2 % of the assemblage, which is a greater proportion of the total numbers of ceramics found than is seen for this ware type in either the Pemaquid or the Smuttynose Island assemblage. Overall, the results from Port Royal were unexpected; the ceramic assemblage indicated that although Port Royal was indeed a large city and a bustling port, it did not possess the variety of ceramics that Smuttynose Island did, even after accounting for the ware types that were produced after the city's demise. The wealth of the city is indicated by the large proportion of tin-glazed enamelware, as well as the large percentages of the assemblage which were comprised of refined slipwares and porcelain. The smaller proportion of low-value utilitarian wares is a trend unique to Port Royal in this study and may also speak to the wealth of the site.

Conclusions: A Theoretical Discussion of Ceramics, Taverns, and Local Political Networks

This article examines the institution of the Smuttynose Island tavern, along with a discussion of the negotiations of social capital, power, and authority that took place within it, viewed through the lens of commensal politics nested within the dynamics of a core node of the Atlantic World. Doing so brings the historical archaeology of Smuttynose Island into

conversation with anthropological discussions of feasting and sociability and also places commensal politics into a broader context as a strategy common to the human condition (Dietler 1996, 2003; Smith 2008; Steel 2004; Victor 2012).

This research places Smuttynose Island and the Isles of Shoals within the larger Atlantic World geographically, historically, and economically. As shown earlier, the fishing station established there falls on a continuum between the large port city of Port Royal and the fishing plantation of Pemaquid; Smuttynose Island had neither a collection of urban buildings, large houses, and taverns, nor a fishing plantation owned by a wealthy planter. The artifacts recovered from the site indicate the presence of a tavern on the western shore of Smuttynose Island, which hitherto had only been mentioned in historical records. The tavern's ceramic assemblage revealed a pattern that was similar to the larger but less wealthy Pemaquid, while the domestic spheres of the two fishing communities differed greatly – indicating a disparity in the wealth of the domestic spaces at Pemaquid. The Smuttynose tavern also demonstrated a wider variety of ceramic types than that recovered from either Pemaquid or Port Royal (even after taking into account those wares which were manufactured after the 1692 earthquake). The wide variety of ceramics speak to the many different trading routes and contracts associated with the independent fishing masters at the Shoals and also may highlight the Shoals' distance from the typical "triangle trade" model for the fishing (Pope 2004).

Smuttynose Island at first glance appears distanced from the mercantile system because of its frontier location, but it occupied a critical place on the landscape of Atlantic World trade, due to its role as a wealthy resource-extraction community, and therefore offered amenities that were beyond that of a standard fishing plantation and even on par with some port-city taverns. Smuttynose Island's tavern clearly had the potential to compete with both larger fishing stations and port-city taverns for the time and money of fishermen, sailors, merchants, and perhaps even pirates. The fishing station's apparent wealth, revealed by the tavern assemblage, indicates that the Shoalers had enough economic power to be sufficient participants in Atlantic trade; however, the fishermen had enough influence over their own business affairs to be able to maintain their fiercely independent and rather hostile attitude toward established colonial authorities on both sides of the Atlantic.

Acknowledgements The author would like to thank Anne Benear, as well as Dr. Danielle Moretti-Langholtz and Dr. Neil Norman from the College of William & Mary for their assistance in editing this paper. I would also like to thank Dr. Nathan Hamilton, of the University of Southern Maine, for his generous support of my research in the form of loaning me several field school students to aid in excavating what turned out to be the location of the Smuttynose Island tavern – a feat which proved essential to my larger research into drinking spaces on the frontier, which was funded initially by the University of Michigan and later by the College of William & Mary.

References

Abrahams, R. D. (1992). *Singing the Master*, Penguin, New York.

Beal, C. (2007). *Quelch's Gold: Piracy, Greed, and Betrayal in Colonial New England*, Praeger, London.

Berkhofer, R. F., Jr. (1981). The North American frontier as process and context. In Lamar, H. and Thompson, L., eds., *The Frontier in History: North America and Southern Africa Compared*, Yale University Press, New Haven, pp. 43–75.

Bragdon, K. J. (1993). Occupational differences reflected in material culture. In Beaudry, M. C., ed., *Documentary Archaeology in the New World*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp. 83–91.

Camp, H. (1975). *Archaeological Excavations at Pemaqui, Maine 1965–1975*, Maine State Museum, Augusta Maine.

Cayton, A. R. L. and Teute, F. J. (1998). *Contact Points: American Frontiers from the Mohawk Valley to the Mississippi, 1750–1830*, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.

Champion, T. C. (1996). Introduction. In Champion, T., ed., *Centre and Periphery*: *Comparative Studies in Archaeology,* Routledge, London, pp. 1–20.

Cheever, S. (2015). *Drinking in America: Our Secret History*, Twelve (Hatchette Book Group), New York.

Clausnitzer, A. R. Jr. (2011). "*As Well as any Beere: The Seventeenth-Century Brewhouse and Bakery at Ferryland, Newfoundland*." Masters Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's.

Conroy, D. W. (1995). *In Public Houses*, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill

Dietler, M. (2006). Alcohol: anthropological/archaeological perspectives. *Annual Review of Anthropology* **35**: 229–249.

Dietler, M. (2003). Clearing the table: some concluding reflections on commensal politics and imperial states. In Bray, T. L., ed., *The Archaeology and Politics of Food and Feasting in Early States and Empires, Kluwer Academic/Plenum*, New York, pp. 271–282.

Dietler, M. (1996). Feasts and commensal politics in the political economy food, power and status in prehistoric Europe. In Wiessner, P. W. and Schiefenhövel, W., eds., *Food and the Status Quest: An Interdisciplinary Perspective,* Berghahn Books, Providence, pp. 87–125.

Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery (DAACS). (2004). The Digital Archaeological Archive of Chesapeake Slavery. <http://www.daacs.org>, accessed September 2017

Dixon, K. J. (2006). Sidling up to the archaeology of western saloons: historical archaeology takes on the wild of the west. *World Archaeology* **38**(4): 576–585.

Donachie, M. J. (2001). *Household Ceramics at Port Royal, Jamaica, 1655–1692: The Building 4/5 Assemblage*. Doctoral dissertation, Texas A & M University, College Station.

Dow, G. F. (1923). *The Pirates of the New England Coast: 1630–1730*, Marine Research Society, Salem, MA.

Drake, S. A. (1875). *Nooks and Corners of the New England Coast*, Harper and Brothers, New York.

Fisheries and Oceans Canada. (2006)."Atlantic Cod" Ottawa, Ontario. <http://www.dfo-mpo.gc.ca/aquaculture/finfish-poissons/atl-cod-morue-eng.htm>, accessed September 2017

Fleisher, J. and Wynne-Jones (2010). Authorisation and the process of power: the view from African archaeology. *The Journal of World Prehistory* **23**(4): 177–193.

Florida Museum of Natural History (FLMNH). (1995–2010). *Historical Archaeology: Digital Type Collection.* University of Florida, Gainesville <http://www.flmnh.ufl.edu/histarch/gallery_types/type_list.asp>, accessed September 2017.

Foucault, M. (2000). The subject and power. In Faubian, J., ed., *Power. Essential works of Foucault, 1954–1984*, vol. 3, The New Press, New York, pp. 326–348.

Goode, G. B. (1884). *The Fisheries and Fishery Industry of the United States*, Government Printing Office, Washington, DC.

Hamilton, N. (2010). Isles of Shoals Archaeology Artifacts Revealed. Seacoast New Hampshire website. <http://www.seacoastnh.com/Places-and-Events/Smuttynose-Murders/isles-of-shoals-archeology-artifacts-revealed>, accessed September 2017.

Hamilton, N., Brack, I. and Seeley, R. H. (2009). Environmental Archaeology on Smuttynose Island, Isles of Shoals. New Hampshire Archaeological Society, Mount Kearsarge Indian Museum, Warner, NH.

Harrington, F. (1992). Deepwater fishing from the Isles of Shoals. In Yentsch, A. E. and Beaudry, M. C., eds., *The Art and Mystery of Historical Archaeology: Essays in Honor of James Deetz, CRC Press*, Boca Raton, pp. 249–263.

Hume, I. N. (1970). *A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America*, Knopf, New York.

Innis, H. (1940). *The Cod Fisheries: The History of an International Economy*, Yale University Press, New Haven.

Jamieson, R. (2000). *Domestic Architecture and Power: The Historical Achaeology of Colonial Ecuador*, Kluwer Academic/Plenum, New York.

Jenness, J. S. (1875). *The Isles of Shoals: An Historical Sketch*, Riverside Press, Cambridge.

Jordan-Bychkov, T. G. (1993). *North American Cattle-Ranching Frontiers: Origins, Diffusion, and Differentiation*, University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.

Kurlansky, M. (1997). *Cod: A Biography of the Fish that Changed the World*, Walker, New York.

Lamar, H. and Thompson, L. (1981). *The Frontier in History: North America and Southern Africa Compared*, Yale University Press, New Haven.

Lane, K. E. (1998). *Pillaging the Empire: Piracy in the Americas, 1500–1750*, M.E. Sharpe, London.

Levett, C. (1628). *A Voyage into New England*, William Jones, London.

Mauss, M. (1923). Essai su le don: forme et raison de l'échange dans les sociétés primitives. In Durkheim, É., ed., *L'Année Sociologique, seconde serié* t.1 1923–24, Librairie Félix Alcan, Paris.

Orser Jr., C. E. (1996). *A Historical Archaeology of the Modern World*, Plenum Press, New York.

Parker, B. J., and Rodseth, L. (eds.) (2005). *Untaming the Frontier in Anthropology, Archaeology, and History*, University of Arizona Press, Tucson.

Pope, P. E. (2004). *Fish into Wine: The Newfoundland Plantation in the Seventeenth Century*, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.

Powers, M. (2006). The lore of the brotherhood: continuity and change in urban American saloon culture, 1870–1920. In Holt, M. P., ed., *Alcohol: A Social and Cultural History*, London, pp. 145–160.

Rockman, D. D. and Rothschild, N. A. (1984). City tavern, country tavern: an analysis of four colonial sites. *Historical Archaeology* **18**(2): 112–121.

Rodríguez-Alegría, E. (2005). Eating like an Indian: negotiating social relations in the Spanish colonies. *Current Anthropology* **46**(4): 551–573.

Rorabaugh, W. J. (1979). *The Alcoholic Republic*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Rutledge, L. V. (1997). *Ten Miles Out: A Guidebook to the Isles of Shoals*, Peter E. Randall, Portsmouth, NH.

Salinger, S. V. (2002). *Taverns and Drinking in Early America*, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, MD.

Sluyter, A. (2012). *Black Ranching Frontiers: African Cattle Herders of the Atlantic World, 1500–1900*, Yale University Press, New Haven.

Smith, F. H. (2008). *The Archaeology of Alcohol and Drinking*, University Press of Florida, Gainesville, Florida.

Smith, G. (1998). *The Early Years – 1587-1849: Beer's Role in the Settling of America and the Birth of a Nation*, Siris Books/Brewers, Boulder.

Smith, J. M. (2006). *Borderland Smuggling: Patriots, Loyalists, and Illicit Trade in the Northeast, 1783–1820*, University Press of Florida, Gainesville, Florida.

Spencer-Wood, S. M. (1999). Gendering power. In Sweely, T. L. (ed.), *Manifesting Power: Gender and the Interpretation of Power in Archaeology, Routledge*, London, pp. 175–183.

Steel, L. (2004). A goodly feast…a cup of mellow wine: feasting in bronze age Cyprus. *Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* **73**(2): 281–300.

Stelle, L. J. (2001). An Archaeological Guide to Historic Artifacts of the Upper Sangamon Basin. Center for Social Research, Parkland College. <http://virtual.parkland.edu/lstelle1/len/archguide/documents/arcguide.htm>, accessed September 2017.

St. Mary's University Archaeology Lab. (2010). Ceramics Database. <http://www.smu.ca/academic/arts/anthropology/ceramics/welcome.html>, accessed September 2017.

Thomas, K. (1971). *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, Penguin, New York.

Thorpe, D. B. (1996). Taverns and tavern culture on the southern colonial frontier: Rowan County, North Carolina, 1753–1776. *Journal of Southern History* **62**(4): 661–688.

Turner, V. (1967). *The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, NY.

Turner, V. (1969). *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*, Aldine, Chicago.

Van der Veen, M. (2003). When is food a luxury? *World Archaeology* **34**(3): 405–427.

Victor, M. R. (2012). *Rogue Fisherman: Codfish, Atlantic Items, and the Isles of Shoals*. Masters Thesis, The College of William & Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia.

Victor, M. R. (2010). *Fishing for a Link: A Comparative Ceramic Analysis of Smuttynose Island, Isles of Shoals, and Pemaquid, Maine.* Senior Honors Thesis, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

Weber, M. (1964). *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, Free Press, New York.