

An Enigmatic Monarch: The biography of a headless, mold-made, white pipe clay king recovered in 17th century Maryland

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“There is no future in artifacts,” a renowned archaeologist recently explained to me. I couldn’t disagree more. Things are the lifeblood of archaeology; they are not just data. Humans are attached to the world through things, and archaeologically recovered objects are potent evidence of this bond. Because archaeological objects have such extended life histories, biographies of finds can provide views of long term social and artifact change, expose changes in use, and shed light on how people form attachments to things. As Daniel Miller indicates “humanity [is] inseparable from its materiality (Miller 2006:347). Through its biography, an artifact can contribute to an interpretation of the identity of a specific occupant of a site, but the journey of an archaeological find is significant in its own right, too, because, as Gosden and Marshall point out, through its social interactions we learn what it materializes of our past and how it comes to be invested with meanings that change through its life time (Gosden and Marshall 1999: 170). Pursuing an artifact through its life history leads us down many paths and opens up new avenues for connecting and comparing seemingly unrelated artifacts. A museum exhibit of an assemblage of finds with complete biographies could illustrate surprising social and artistic connections, and through their very personal nature, make profound connections with visitors even in mainstream museums.¹

This article follows a diminutive, headless, seventeenth century pipe clay figurine of a king from its conception in post-medieval Europe through its use, interment, and rebirth three centuries later in southern Maryland, USA. It is not so much the monarch it represents or the historical figure who owned it, but the meanings embodied by the artifact and our role in that process that this biography develops. This battered 300 year old figurine beckons us with its props and its demeanor. Through archaeology, its humble roots are extended to worlds inconceivable to its maker. This mini king now occupies multiple proveniences in several dimensions and embodies intangibles from each context it passes through. Despite its rigid posture, there is nothing static about this figurine. Moments of interaction in the historical past as well as interactions with archaeologists and museologists and cyberspace in the present set the stage for this biography. Comparison with six other contemporary pipe clay kingly figurines and other ceramic forms bearing images of England’s Stuart monarchy reveal the forces that molded the figurine and inhabit it today.² This little king’s story begins before it is made and continues to this day.

¹ For an example of surprising connections through biographies compare Nicholas J. Saunders’ 1999 “Biographies of Brilliance: Pearls, Transformations of Matter and Being, c. AD 1492,” *World Archaeology* Vol. 31(2):243-257, and Laurier Turgeon’s 1997 “The Tale of the Kettle: Odyssey of an Intercultural Object,” *Ethnohistory* 44:I(1-29)

² The biography of this headless figurine continues to develop. Discussion of two additional white pipe clay headless “knights” (62mm and 100mm tall) located in the Roach Smith collection of the British Museum in 2007 is not incorporated in this paper.



Fig. I: Figurine from Charles Gift Site (18ST704), St. Mary's County, Maryland
 (Courtesy Naval District Washington, Southern Region) (See also Exhibit 1 for a detailed description.)

I Introducing the Charles Gift Site figurine:

Cross-mended at the waist, this 14.8 cm/5.82 inch tall by 8.0 cm/3 inch wide, solid white pipe clay torso weighs a surprising .57 kilograms³. It would stand 10 inches tall if complete. The headless figurine stands rigidly erect, clad in ca. 1630-1650 armor and cloaked in a mantle with scapula (shoulder cape). Both arms are bent with the elbows hidden beneath the drape of the mantle; the hands come together at the center of the waist. Close to the body, the left hand holds the imperial orb surmounted by a cross; the right hand grasps the broken remains of a sword which terminates at the figurine's shoulder. This figurine is from a detailed mold; the fingers of the hand are evident; the blade of the sword has a vertical ridge of clay. The components of the armor and the curls of the beard and hair are precise. The rivets of the armor are present in dot-like projections; the *gorget* at the neck is apparent along with the smooth upper-body armor. The hair from the head is differentiated from that of the beard and the fur of the scapula. The mantle falls cloth-like in ten vertical folds down the length of the back of the figurine. The king stands erect and motionless. The headless, legless figurine is battered and off-white with age. It is mottled with tan spots like the archaeologically recovered white clay tobacco pipes from the seventeenth century.

³ In the summer of 2005, the figurine was x-rayed at the Maryland Archaeological Conservation Laboratory and no anomalies were found inside the clay. It is just solid white clay.

This 300-year-old, mended, six-inch torso presently lies in state against a golden-yellow background in a display case at Historic St. Mary's City's archaeological museum in southern Maryland. Its label reads: "White clay statue fragment from Charles Gift, located aboard the Naval Air Station, Patuxent River, Maryland." Against a violet background on a poster for Maryland Archaeology Month 2005, this same headless figurine stands erect above the statement, "It's not just what we find; it's what we find out." (See Fig. II) In the cyber space of an EBay auction, a similar smaller monarch figurine sold for \$214. What is so compelling about a miniature headless royal 300 years after its original use?

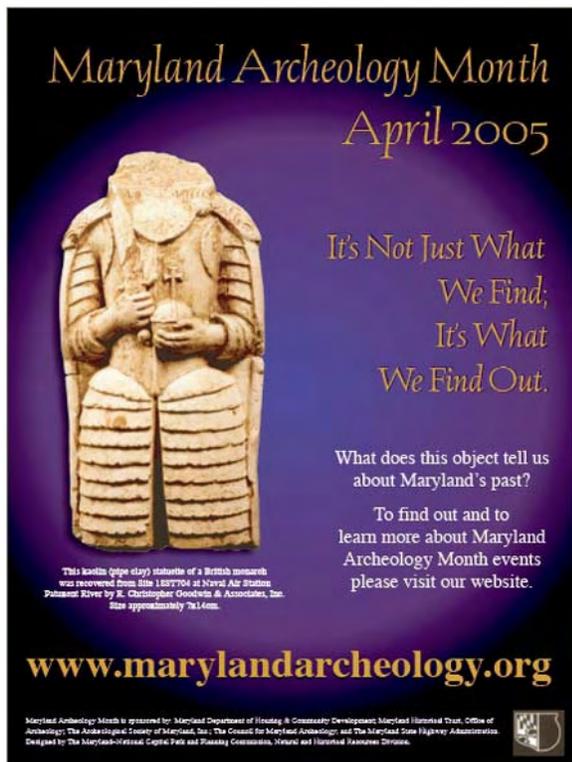


Fig. II: Maryland Archeology Month Poster (www.marylandarcheology.org)

This plain white clay statuette pales next to the reality of its human seventeenth century counterpart. Contemporary English kings often posed for portraits in their regalia. They wore dark, burnished armor draped in the full-length, scarlet mantle of royalty with an ermine scapula, balancing the .91kg (2 lb.) golden, jeweled crown with scarlet cap edged in ermine atop their heads - "He beareth Saturn, a Royal Crown, Sol, Cap, Mars, Lined, Ermine." A naked sword held in the right hand was "carried before him, as a token of Vengeance and the Punishment of Rebellion". In the left hand, a monarch would hold the hollow 1.32 kg. (2.5 lbs) golden orb bedecked with precious stones around its hemispheres, topped by a jeweled cross. "A Mound, this is a third Ensign of Authority; it is a Globe with a Cross; ... the Cross denotes his Faith, and the Globe his Empire or Rule both by Sea and Land". (Holme 1688: 39-40; www.royal.gov.uk). All of this colorful drama and history would have been present in the eyes of seventeenth-century beholders as the plain white statuette met their gaze in

its historical setting. In the tumultuous politics of early colonial Maryland, this 10" icon may have inflamed or consoled from its perch atop a mantle or a doorway.⁴ As you will see, it stood perhaps as an emblem of loyalty to the crown yet defied any particular religious affiliation.

II. Historical Context

The Stuart line of kings and the turbulence surrounding the English civil wars between parliamentarians and monarchists, and between Catholics and Protestants affected both sides of the Atlantic. Such is the setting for the drama of the kingly figurine from the Charles Gift Site. Cecelius Calvert was granted the proprietary colony of Maryland by King Charles I of England. Established in 1634, the Calvert family intended Maryland to be a colony where Catholics might practice their faith unmolested. Catholic King Charles I reigned from 1625 until he was beheaded in 1649. He was succeeded by parliamentarian (Protestant) Lord Protector of the Commonwealth, Oliver Cromwell (1653-1658). In 1660 Charles II, a secret Catholic, regained the crown and restored the monarchy. He was followed by his Catholic brother, James II (1685-1688), and then William III, a Protestant Dutchman who married into the Stuart royal family. William III & Mary II ruled jointly from 1688 until her death in 1694. William's reign ended with his death in 1702. As England experienced the rise and fall of the monarchy and Catholic and Protestant rule, so too did colonial Maryland.

The 10-inch pipe clay figurine pales in comparison to other kingly mementos available to the elite late seventeenth-century owners of the Charles Gift site. As step son of Charles Calvert, the third Lord Baltimore and Governor and Proprietor of colonial Maryland, and son of Henry Sewall (Secretary and Councilor of the Province of Maryland), Nicholas Sewall may have had good reason to display the king in his home. Yet, with all the colonial treachery he was exposed to, he may have had motivation to destroy it as well. Nicholas could have had a costly locket finger ring, an engraving, or a large ceramic display plate depicting the monarch, but what was recovered from the debris of his tenure at Charles Gift is a plain pipe clay figurine of his king.

The Charles Gift Site (18ST704) is located in southern Maryland on the western shore of the Chesapeake Bay aboard the Patuxent River Naval Air Station on a point of land long witness to the politics of religion. By 1637, the King of the Patuxent Indians had granted the Jesuits this land at the mouth of the Patuxent, undermining the second Lord Baltimore's right to grant land. The property was seized by the Calvert Proprietary in 1641. In 1648 Baltimore granted a patent to William Eltonhead; Eltonhead was subsequently executed in 1655 after the Battle of the Severn. Charles Calvert, the second Lord Baltimore's eldest son and governor of the Maryland colony, acquired the

⁴ Look through the open interior door of Pieter de Hooch's 1658 painting, "*La Buveuse*" for figurine atop a cabinet. (www.insecula.com/oeuvre/00017617.html 10/1/06). For display atop library bookshelves see p. 179 (Afb. 143) *Het Nederlandse Interieur in Beeld 1600-1900*, C. Willemijn Fock, Waanders Uitgevers, Zwolle, 2001. For use in contemporary *vanitas* portraits see David Bailly's, 1651 "Self-Portrait with Vanitas Symbols" (www.wga.hu/html/b/bailly/selfport.html 3/9/2005). All of these show much more graceful statuettes in context, but suggest uses for 10 inch pipe clay monarchs.

property at some point after Eltonhead's estate was divided. In 1668 Charles Calvert, newly wed to Henry Sewall's widow, Jane, gave Eltonhead Manor to his new wife as "Charles Gift". The property was located close to their plantation at Mattapany. Sixteen years later, Jane gave this land to her son, Nicholas Sewall, who was already running the plantation there and beginning his family of 11 children.

During the Protestant rebellion of 1689, Nicholas Sewall was one of the members of Calvert's Council taken hostage by the Protestant Associators. Sewall and four others escaped and fled to Virginia. Sewall occasionally returned to Charles Gift from 1689-1692. During a 1690 visit home he was charged as one of the "conspiring papists" involved in the murder of the local Protestant revenue collector. Sewall petitioned for clemency several times, and eventually returned to Charles Gift about 1693, probably found the dwelling in disrepair, and may have demolished his earthfast home for construction of a new home close by. Sewall died in 1737. (Polglase 2001; Hornum 2005; Ed Chaney personal communication).

In 1998, archaeologists unearthed two 2.5-inch torso fragments of a solid, two-part mold-made, white pipe clay English king from the same stratigraphic level in two neighboring test units in a 25' x 35' by 5' deep feature near a complex of brick foundations on the Charles Gift site (Polglase 2001; Personal communication Sara Rivers Cofield Jun2006). Archaeological excavations were directed by Michael Hornum of R. Christopher Goodwin and Associates of Frederick, Maryland, prior to renovations to the Officers' Club. Horizontal and vertical mends of artifacts within the pit suggest this feature was filled rapidly. Dated window leads from the feature and the absence of certain ceramics indicate this feature was open from 1682-1700 (Polglase 2001:179). This deposit falls within the purview of Nicholas Sewall's household's occupation of this property during the years of the Protestant uprisings in Maryland and the Glorious Revolution in England which culminated in William and Mary's rise to the throne, and the shift of the Maryland capital from St. Mary's City to Annapolis.

Only two kingly pipe clay figurines are known to have been recovered archaeologically in North America. Five have been reported from Europe. In the 1980s, fifty miles north of Charles Gift, at Mareen Duvall's seventeenth century Middle Plantation on the South River in Anne Arundel County, Maryland (18AN46), the legs portion of what was probably a ten-inch kingly figurine was recovered. Mareen Duvall was a Huguenot from Brittany, France, who arrived in Maryland as an indentured servant about 1650. A free man by 1659, he applied for his right to 50 acres of land. Before his death in 1694, Duvall had married three times and fathered 12 children. Quite unlike Sewall who was born to privilege, Duvall rose from servant, to carpenter, to gentleman, to planter-merchant and amassed nearly 3,000 acres of land, with an estate in excess of 1400 pounds (Doepkens 1991:1).⁵ Duvall was complicit with the Jacobites

⁵ There is a connection between the Duvall family and the Sewall family. Colonel William Burgess, who transported Mareen Duval as an indentured servant in 1650, was the father of Susanna Sewall of Charles Gift. Just what this connection implies in terms of access to and use of figurines on these two sites is open to speculation at this point.

and in 1692 was implicated as hosting “a great cabal” of leaders of the Jacobite party at his home (Doepkens 1991:16).⁶

The legs fragment was recovered during excavations just to the south of the Duvall dwelling in an eroding, gently sloping area leading to a stream. This is a wet, shallow depression 248’ long and 30-40’ wide fed by seepage and springs. Building materials were discarded into this stream bed from the south side at about the time the site was abandoned. Rubbish was discarded down the northern slope of the streambed, and settled in the muddy lower 6-8” of the deposits (Doepkens 1991:127). A large quantity of 1680-1710 pipe bowls, delft ceramic fragments, North Devon milk pan fragments, among other mid - seventeenth to first quarter - eighteenth century artifacts, and a complete Madonna and Child pipe clay figurine were recovered here. Evidence of a total of ten white pipe clay figurines was recovered from Duvall’s Middle Plantation (Doepkens 1991:150).

The fact that ten figurines were recovered from the Duvall site, two of which were Madonna and Child figurines, suggests that these statuettes and the activities surrounding them may have been of particular significance to this family, and that someone on the site may have been Catholic. Of the nine North American sites reporting any type of seventeenth or eighteenth century white pipe clay figurine fragments, only two sites reported evidence of two figurines; the others reported one figurine apiece. Only the Duvall site has such a plethora of figurines. The Duvall-Sewall connection to kingly figurines illustrates just how complicated and dangerous it is to endeavor to expose political or religious loyalties through artifacts. Naturally, not all activities on a site are securely attributable to the male head of household; there were many people living on these sites including children, wives, servants, and slaves. Because Duvall was a Huguenot and Sewall was a Catholic, the presence of the similar figurines may indicate that fealty to the principle of monarchy during this turbulent time in English and local politics overrode religious affiliation. Ironically, both Maren Duvall and Nicholas Sewall were singled out for their politico-religious activities on opposing sides of the religious split among those loyal to the monarchy.

III. Figurine Making

How did these two kings come to the Maryland colony? In the absence of a seventeenth century pottery’s figurine waste pit on either side of the Atlantic, and without a pottery’s inventory, a sunken ship, or ship’s log one draws on the artifact’s historical contexts recorded in archaeological and historical literature.

White pipe clay figurines are products of serial molding. In Western Europe, well crafted, multi-part, mold-made, white clay figurines of a wide variety made in central

⁶ In 1692 Nicholas Greenberry informs Governor Lionel Copley that Maren Duvall was to hold a meeting at his home with the leaders of the Jacobite Party (Doepkens 1991:16 cites Maryland Archives, Vol. III; p. 343). This puts the Huguenot Duvall in a camp often thought of as Catholic, but which is not necessarily so. Jacobitism was a political movement which began with close ties to Roman Catholicism, but in Britain by 1698, Catholics were a tiny minority of the Jacobites (<http://en.wikipedia.org/>). The Jacobites were dedicated to the restoration of the Stuart monarchy. They were opposed to the deposition of King James II (a Catholic).

France appear in the archaeological record in Roman Britain (England) in the first century A.D. In medieval and early modern Europe, white clay figurines are interpreted as icons of devotion to particular saints, emblems of pilgrimage and secular affiliation, and trinkets at fairs. On seventeenth century Maryland sites these figurines are rare. Though scarce, fragments of a variety of white pipe clay figurines are present well into the eighteenth century on American sites. Perhaps the two seventeenth century kingly statuettes were brought back to Maryland as souvenirs of coronations or commemoration from Europe or from fairs in seventeenth century England. The Stuarts vigorously supported and encouraged fairs when fairs were controversial for fear they promoted pagan rituals instead of Christian tradition (Abrahams 1998:120-121). The monarchy recognized the power of fairs to unify and promote their policies through popular means. Fairs were a gathering place for people from all walks of life where popular ideas and artifacts permeated the boundaries of wealth and class. Both the Sewalls and Duvalls would have had the means to journey to and from England or had contacts who did so and could have brought these fairings to Maryland as tokens of remembrance.

A. Figurine Manufacture

The production of two-part, mold-made, white pipe clay figurines was a fairly simple process, but the influences on the figurine maker were anything but simple. How the mini-kings were made suggests they were made to meet a large demand. The use of molds implies easy replication for serial production. Two part molds produced products quickly and allowed standardization. All sorts of consumers could bring home a variety of small figurines for a variety of uses.

The potteries at Alliers in what is now France produced fine white ceramic wares and small, multi-part, mold-made, well crafted secular and godly figurines for export to Roman Britain in the first century A.D. (Personal correspondence Cooper 2006).⁷ More relevant archaeological evidence of serial figurine production appears about 1400 (Neu-Kock 1988:180). The two-part molding process created small white clay Jesus figurines, saints, monks, animals, and peasants. Molds, reliefs, and fragments of

⁷ Matt Beamish's 2005 report on a mold-made, white pipe clay, patchily glazed, lion figurine recovered during the Rearsby Bypass (England) archaeological investigations caught my attention (See the University of Leicester's EBulletin, "Archaeology of the Rearsby Bypass" at <http://ww2.le.ac.uk/ebulletin/news/2000-2009/2005/02/nparticle-fmj-9q3-46c> 7/10/2006.) The lion was recovered in a first century A.D. Roman-Britain context. There are three known seventeenth - century pipe clay lion figurines – two from London and one from Utrecht, Netherlands. The Roman-Britain era lions are hollow, 3-inch flagons, not solid pipe clay. The lions and the thousands of other figurines produced in the Alliers region are interesting because they pinpoint a French source for white pipe clay figurine production in a full scale pottery, and because these popular sorts of figurines occur well before block printing popularized and standardized devotional imagery in Europe. (For examples of Alliers figurines see Micheline Rouvier-Jeanlin 1972 *Les Figurines Gallo-Romaines en Terre Cuite* au Musee Des Antiquites Nationales in the *Journal Gallia* supplement 24; I.M. Stead and Valery Rigby 1986: Baldock, the Excavation of a Roman and pre-Roman Settlement, 1968-72, *Britannia Monograph Series No. 7*, London: Society for Roman Studies; and see Thomas May 1930 *Catalogue of the Pottery in the Colchester and Essex Museum*, Cambridge for examples of lions from a child's grave in Colchester (Personal communication Matt Beamish and Nick Cooper July 2006). For the pantheon of figurine offerings see Frank Maurice's site at <http://figurines-gallo-romaines.planet-allier.com>).

figurines were recovered at a late medieval pottery waste pit at Breislauer Platz in Cologne (Neu-Kock 1988:180). No mention was found of a trove of molds or a pottery's waste site for seventeenth century pipe clay figurines in England, the Rhine lands, or the Netherlands. One mold for a petite pipe clay soldier figurine was unearthed on the western shore of the Atlantic by National Park Service archaeologists at an early seventeenth century site in Jamestown, Virginia. (Personal communication Bly Straube to Silas Hurry; Washburn 2003:269). The collection of the Toy Museum at Old Salem, Inc., in North Carolina contains a mold of a small drumming soldier purchased from the Netherlands (Personal communication Bower 2005).

The scant literature on figurine manufacture in the seventeenth century focuses on tobacco pipe makers, not full-scale potteries. No figurine molds have been reported from tobacco pipe making sites of the seventeenth century, though both England and the Netherlands were clay tobacco pipe-making centers during this time, and early on the English were often the pipe makers in the Netherlands. Clay pipes and figurines used similar production processes. They required the same types of clays, used two-part molds, were finished by hand, and were fired in kilns at low temperatures. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, white pipe clay was imported into the Netherlands and Germany from southern England, Belgium's French Maas region, and the Westerwald region.

White pipe clays were sturdy, fatty, white clays with fine structures that were easy to mold, and turned white after firing. The clay arrived in dry pieces, was beaten to dust, and soaked in a cask of water; then this paste was cleaned and left to dry. It was kneaded and mixed, then stored in a cellar for weeks until it attained the right plasticity (Duco 1987; Gaimster and Weinstein 1989). Different steps of pipe making were performed by different people; their actions can be used analogously for figurine production. A young boy or an elderly man formed the initial clay roll in pipe making. The clay was then put into one half of a greased mold; the mold was then closed and clenched in the vise. The molder pressed the inside of the pipe bowl with a stopper device. The pipe was then removed from the mold (Duco 1987; Gaimster and Weinstein 1989). Women often finished the pipes. They trimmed away the excess clay, smoothed the seams, applied the maker's marks, and polished the best ones with an agate stone. Figurines were touched up using needles, spatulas or fingers. Workers made simple changes or additions, adding details that would change the figurine's identity from one saint to another (Neu-Kock 1988:181).

Descriptions of the figurines recovered in North America make no mention of paint or glaze. Evidence of the use of glaze decoration on figurines is sparse, but some figurines reported in Europe were painted in certain areas to emphasize parts of the body or the base (Gaimster and Weinstein 1989:11). Neu-Kock speculates that specks of glaze from other objects in the kiln might have gotten on the late medieval figurines (Neu-Kock 1988). Descriptions of a seventeenth century cupid figurine from the Aldgate area of London, and lions from London and Utrecht record evidence of swatches of color (Gaimster and Weinstein 1989:12-14). In a conversation at the Pijpenkabinet in Amsterdam, Don Duco explained that about one third of the figurines he'd come across

were painted in some manner (June 2007). There is no evidence of color on the Charles Gift figurine, and no traces of color have been reported on any of the six other kingly figurines discussed herein. (There is no evidence of paint on the two recently identified figurines found at the British Museum.) As we examine the symbols incorporated in the kingly figurines, it becomes evident that color, if not on the royal figurine itself, must have been apparent in the eye of the beholder. These small icons bear the colors of coronation and the Restoration.

B. The Charles Gift King Amid Contemporary Figurines

There are now nine known seventeenth century pipe clay kings: two in Maryland, USA, five from England (only three of these English figurines are fully discussed herein), and two from the Netherlands. Only one of these figurines retains its head. Whether or not the heads were symbolically or iconoclastically broken off or just broke off as extremities of archaeological artifacts tend to do is part of their enigma. Four of these figurines would be 3 inches tall if complete, two would be 5 inches tall if complete, and three would be 10 inches tall if complete. There is also one comparable likeness of a monarch in the same pose in relief on a contemporary Dutch clay tobacco pipe bowl. Comparison of the details of these figurines reveals the subtle changes that were incorporated in their production to meet the changing expectations of various consumers. Close comparison of these figurines provides a glimpse of the fleeting fashions and enduring symbolism they materialized, and the variety of interpretations that exist for these seemingly simple figurines.

Comparison of seven seventeenth-century molded, white pipe clay, kingly figurines and one similar figure in relief on a white clay tobacco pipe bowl *

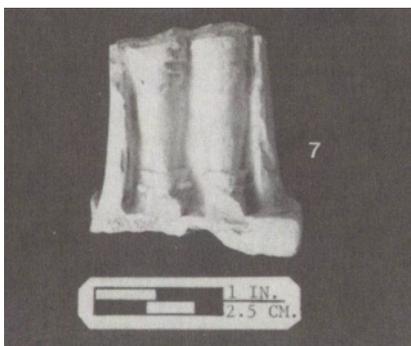
*(Discussion of two additional kingly figurines from the Roach Smith Collection of the British Museum is not incorporated herein. Research in progress 2008)

Regal figurines	Geographic location	Conjectural Figurine size
1. Charles Gift (& plaster cast)	Maryland	10 inches
2. Duvall Middle Plantation	Maryland	10 inches
3. Norwich	England	10 inches
4. Southampton	England	5 inches
5. British Museum	England	3 inches (complete)
6. 's-Hertogenbosch	Netherlands	3 inches
7. Old Salem Inc. Toy Museum	Netherlands	3 inches
8. Dutch tobacco pipe	Netherlands	



1. Charles Gift Site figurine, St. Mary's County, Maryland, USA (18ST704)
 (Primary citation: Polglase 2001) (Image courtesy of the Naval District Washington, Southern Region)

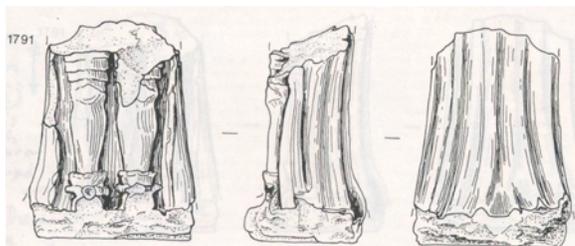
The Charles Gift figurine weighs .57 kilograms. The two mended torso fragments stand 5.82 inches (14.8 cm) tall, and measure 3 inches (7.6 cm) wide. The figurine would be about 10 inches tall if the head and lower legs were present. This figurine is discussed in depth herein and in Exhibit 1. In 1998, a plaster cast was made of the mended torso of this figurine. The copy is presently exhibited at the Navy Officer's Club at the Patuxent River Naval Air Station. The original figurine is exhibited at Historic St. Mary's City. The Charles Gift figurine is curated by the Maryland Archaeological Conservation Laboratory at Jefferson Patterson Park and Museum under agreement with the Navy.



2. Duvall Middle Plantation Site figurine, Anne Arundel County, Maryland, USA (18AN46)
 (Primary citation: Doepkens 1991: Fig. 117)

The Duvall Middle Plantation figurine measures approximately 1.75 inches tall and 1.75 inches wide. This is a fragment of a white pipe clay kingly figurine from just below the knees to the base. The figurine would be about 10 inches tall if complete. There are fragments from ten other white pipe clay figurines at the Duvall Middle Plantation site;

one is a complete figurine of a Madonna and Child. All date to ca. 1670-1690. The context for this site is discussed in the opening pages of this article.



3. Norwich England, Portergate Site (Margeson 1993: Fig. 168)

The Norwich figurine is 2.09 inches (5.3 cm) tall and approximately 1.75 inches wide (www.marylandarcheology.org). It would be about 10 inches tall if complete. Only the legs of this figurine survive from just above the knees down to the square supporting base. It was recovered from garden soils in a 1690-1730/60 context. Margeson dates this fragment to the seventeenth century by referencing its similarity to the Southampton figurine (see below). There seems to be less detail on this figurine, and fewer folds in the cape than the Charles Gift figurine. This indicates that different figurine molds existed for figurines of the same size.



4. Southampton, England, Canute's Palace Site

(Platt and Coleman-Smith 1974:Fig. 126; p. 276)

The Southampton figurine measures 3.86 inches (9.8 cm) tall; the figurine would have stood about 5 inches tall if complete. The upper chest area of this armor- and cape-clad, mold-made, white pipe clay figurine is sheared away, and the neck and head are missing. The break removed the details of the front of the upper torso and the head. The arms are bent at the elbows, hidden by the folds of a long cape; the hands meet in the center of the torso. The left hand holds the remains of perhaps a scepter; the right

hand has evidence of something round that was lost in the break. A full length cape falls from the shoulders to the base the fragment stands upon.

This figurine was recovered in a pit north of “Canute’s Palace”, a merchant’s home in Southampton, England, in 1959. The figurine was recovered from a rectangular 6-foot deep pit containing predominantly early eighteenth century items but with 16th and seventeenth century wares appearing in all levels of the pit. Platt and Coleman-Smith (1974:276) describe the figurine as “holding an object which may have been a helmet”. There is no photograph of the back of this figurine, but a drawing shows the full length folds of a mantle with scapula over the shoulders.



5. British Museum’s London figurine (Image © The Trustees of the British Museum Image Ref. 33253 P&E) (MME 1856, 7-1, 1657)]

Primary citation: Bibliography from British Museum Merlin Collections Database, MME Standard Report (dtd 20Jul2005 via email from Sheila O’Connell at the British Museum): R.L. Hobson, Catalogue of the Collection of English Pottery in the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities and Ethnography of the British Museum, 1903:S10.

The British Museum’s figurine from London measures 3.0 inches (7.70 cm) tall. This is the only complete figurine in this study. This figurine is compared to the other figurines throughout the text of this article. R. L. Hobson and the British Museum’s Merlin Collections Database identify it as Charles I, a figurine from inner London. (July 20, 2005 personal communication Joann Proper, Rockefeller Library re: Hobson text)

Archaeologist David Gaimster infers that the British Museum figurine is Charles II or William III and may have been derived from the same mold as the Southampton and

Norwich molds (Gaimster, David 2003:137)⁸. Upon closer examination, however, it is evident that this is not the case. The sizes of the three figurines vary, the positions of the hands vary, the hair on the shoulders is not the same, the headdress on the British Museum figurine, and the cut of the armor clad legs differs.



6. 's-Hertogenbosch, North Brabant Province, The Netherlands (Primary citation: Image courtesy of anonymous E-Bay seller -- <http://cgi.ebay.ca/ws/eBayISAPI.dll?ViewItem&category=73464&item=7315822646&rd=1>; and email correspondence with anonymous seller)

The 's-Hertogenbosch figurine is 2.5 inches (6.5 cm) tall; 1.15 inches (2.9cm) wide at the base; .80 inch (2.1cm) around the middle, and .55 inch (1.5cm) thick. Proportion suggests it would stand 3 inches tall if complete. This monarch is missing its head and its orb. This figurine appeared on the EBay web auction site on April 15, 2005, with a description by the seller that the “knight or British Monarch (perhaps Charles I?)” was dressed in early to mid-seventeenth century armor, and that the tile industry used pipe clay. The seller feels that these ‘reliquaries would have been owned by poor people as they were very cheap to produce’. The seller believes these sorts of figurines were made by the local Dutch *heyiligenbackers* (holybakers), but were also imported from Keulen in Germany, and that Utrecht in the Netherlands was a major producer. This 3” tall version of the mini-king, broken and battered, *sans* head and orb, was sold for 90 GBP or approximately \$213.44. This figurine was recovered by the seller from the medieval town of 's-Hertogenbosch, a walled city which flourished from 1200-1600 and retained its military importance late into the nineteenth century. In 2000, 's-

⁸ Gaimster 2003:137 indicates the source for the original engraving from which the figurine was modeled was “Robert Walton’s Commemorative Set of Kings (1660s-80s)”. This citation is problematic. Close personal inspection of this figurine in 2007 also reveals that the headdress resembles a turban more than a crown. (Information and discussion in progress 2008.)

Hertogenbosch was undergoing construction to revitalize the historic, vibrant old town section (Hans Meester at www.planum.net/4bie/main/m-4bie-hertogenbosch.htm)

In the cyber space of EBay, the kingly figurine from 's-Hertogenbosch is liberated from the controls of museums and laboratories and the interpretations of experts. No expert credentials, no citations, no fees, or permissions are required. In this popular medium an anonymous seller calls the shots from a nebulous perch. The EBay seller and I corresponded across continents and languages late at night. He found this little sixteenth – seventeenth century figurine of Charles I himself and says he has plenty of other figurines. He emails me some images and asks if I think the kingly figurine was 'beheaded to break the spell'. Within a few days the figurine vanishes from EBay as does my connection with the seller. For better or for worse, a museum piece was exchanged. Did this figurine end up catalogued, labeled, and protected in the controlled environment of a museum collection, or did EBay, ironically, deliver the figurine to an individual's home as was the intent of figurine makers 300 years ago?



7. Old Salem Inc., (Netherlands) Collection of the Toy Museum, NC (Primary citation: Acc. No.: 5157.3, Photo S-3047, Old Salem Inc., Collection of the Toy Museum, Winston Salem, NC; Personal communication Jennifer Bean Bower and Rick Pardue)

The Old Salem Toy Museum figurine is 2.75 inches (7.0 cm) tall, 1.25 inches (3.2 cm) wide, and 1.0 inches (2.5 cm) thick. It was purchased by the museum, not recovered archaeologically. This figurine is described as one of

“...a group of Dutch miniature pottery toys all with some damage and restoration c. 1650-1750. White clay toy king figure, without a head. He is thin, dressed in pantaloons and a full-length robe, which has ruffles near the top. The king's hands rest on his mid-section, his left holding a cross and his right holding part of a long, narrow object (sword is probable). The clothing is multi-layered. The king stands on a flat clay base. His ankles appear to be attached to his robe by tiny pieces of clay.”



8. Dutch tobacco pipe with kingly image in relief (Primary Citation: Duco 1987: Fig. 28; p.101; and Amsterdam, Collection Pijpenkabinet)

A king with orb (or possibly a covered cup) and sword, dressed in armor and robes with a crown upon his curly head stands in relief on a pipe bowl of a type popular from 1690-1740. In this representation of a king, the sword is held in the left hand, not the right like the other figurines. The orb is held away from the body, extended in the right hand as if in offering. Interestingly, there are two other kingly images which depict a monarch with orb in its outstretched right hand: one is on a Delftware charger -- the Victoria and Albert Museum identify the king as William III (Hallinan 1995:14). The second is an image in Randle Holme's *Academy of Armory* and is identified as a "non-English king" ... sustaining or holding a covered Cup in his right hand, and a Sword in his left, Argent: They are born sometime in Armour under their Mantle; and sometimes the Robes are of contrary colours to what our English Kings have them..." (Holme 1688:Vol. III; Ch. III, (I) (39-40).

The kingly relief on the pipe bowl was likely inspired by an image of a Spanish king who once ruled the Netherlands, but it may have been used on this particular pipe bowl to represent the 'King of Delft' -- a tobacco brand of the time (Duco e-mail March 2005). Did reversing the hand in which the king holds the sword and extending the orb in offering make a statement readily understandable to contemporary audiences in the context of advertising a tobacco brand that is lost to us today? (Will the Marlboro brand cigarette cowboy mean anything in 300 years?) This pipe may have been a trade gimmick -- a special pipe included with a box of plain pipes. Reliefs on other pipes of this period depicted Dutch politicians and were commemorative, even propagandist, in nature. (Personal communication Duco 2005 email)

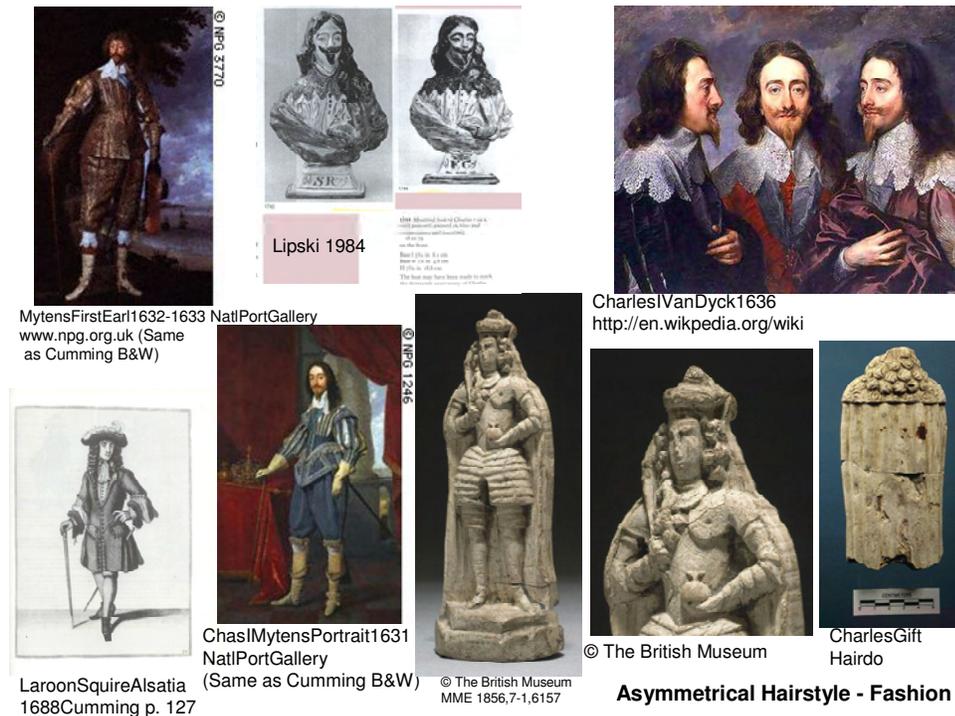
This pipe bowl figure bridges three forms of kingly commemoration - pipe, charger, and figurine. It also provides a better possibility for the heads of the other figurines than the lone surviving head on the British Museum figurine. The arrangement of the hair,

mantle, and scapula on the pipe bowl figure match the Charles Gift and Netherlandish mini-kings, though the lack of a beard matches the British Museum figurine. The crown on the pipe bowl king also seems more in keeping with the other figurines than the British Museum figurine's headdress.

C. Comparison of the British Museum Figurine with the Charles Gift Figurine:

Because the figurine at the British Museum is the sole surviving figurine with a head, a detailed comparison of its characteristics with the Charles Gift figurine as well as the other figurines in the study is warranted. Comparison of hairstyle and regalia reveals that seventeenth-century pipe clay figurine makers incorporated popular fads as well as subtle changes to established regal props in the molding of these mini-kings. There is not enough evidence to stipulate whether the variation occurred over time, or by geographic location, or if it occurred simultaneously for specific groups of consumers. The one surviving head on the British Museum figurine cannot serve as a model for all of the other kings' heads. It lacks the beard apparent on the Charles Gift figurine and the headdress is different.

Fig. IV – A-symmetrical Hairstyle Images



1. Hairstyle

Interestingly, a particular hairstyle separates this British Museum king from the others. A close look at the British Museum figurine reveals an asymmetrical hairstyle that is identified with Charles I. This uneven haircut, where the hair on one side of the head is significantly shorter than the other side, appears in a 1631 portrait of King Charles I by D. Mytens, and in the 1632-1633 portrait of Henry Rich the 1st Earl of Holland from the studio of D. Mytens (Cumming 1984:51 and 53). In 1636, Anthony van Dyck illustrated this fashionable haircut from three angles in his "Triple Portrait of King Charles I", formally known as "Charles I, King of England, from Three Angles" (image from <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/image:Charlesx3.jpg>). In 1688, M. Laroon II's engraving, "The Squire of Alsatia" printed in the Cries of London, indicates this hair fashion was popular again but this time as a wig in both England and France (Cumming 1984:126-127). By 1694 wigs could be twisted and knotted to shorten their impractical length (Cumming 1984:134). The British Museum figurine exhibits both an asymmetrical hairdo and twisted knots as opposed to the evenly distributed curls evident on the shoulders of the other figurines.

This uneven hairstyle is also used to represent Charles I in other media. Two small folkish ceramic busts of Charles I connect with a formal portrait and marble bust. Sculptor Gian Lorenzo Bernini carved a life-sized marble bust of Charles I based upon van Dyck's Triple Portrait. Was this marble bust or van Dyck's portrait the inspiration for two 7.5 inch molded ceramic busts of Charles I, painted in blue and copper-green? (See plates No. 1744 and 1745, Lipski: 1984.) These little molded busts show the bearded, mustachioed Charles I with the uneven hairstyle and are dated 1679. According to Lipski busts may actually commemorate the 30th anniversary of the execution of Charles I.⁹

2. Regalia

Four symbols – the orb, the sword, the mantle, the crown -- appear in a variety of combinations on all sorts of popular media from the late middle ages to the seventeenth century and still function as the regalia of English monarchy today. They have been deployed across many media from prints to plates to pipes and figurines through time.

Crown: Although the Charles Gift figurine lacks a head, we readily assume it wears a crown with its orb, sword, and armor based upon contemporary imagery and centuries of western cultural conditioning. If the hair on the British Museum figurine was considered important enough to be molded in a particular fashion, it follows that the other details had significance for their intended audience. The crown on the British Museum figurine differs from the crowns on other contemporary ceramic forms, the Dutch pipe bowl, the seventeenth century crowns illustrated by Holme, and the crowns included in depictions of the regalia of British monarchy assembled during Charles II's coronation. The British Museum figure's crown/headress appears almost turban-like. (Research along these lines ongoing 2008).

⁹ In my research, this asymmetrical hairdo only appears on likenesses of Charles I and no other Stuart kings.

Scepter: The British Museum figurine seems to bear a scepter rather than the naked sword of the other figurines. Through Holme we know the scepter changes everything. “It betokens Peace and Justice mixed with Mercy and compassion” as opposed to the naked sword of “Vengeance and Punishment of Rebellion”. (Holme 1688: Vol III, 39-40)

These differences between the statuettes are not just incidental; these details were intentionally altered through time to signify something to the audience for which the figurine was created, much like the earlier medieval figurines of saints bearing their identifying symbols. The smaller British Museum statuette is distinctly different from the Charles Gift figurine. It seems almost a kingly David-against-Goliath depiction or at the very least a kinder gentler king despite the armor. Perhaps it represents a transition from the medieval figurine to the more secular, political representation of knights and kings in the seventeenth century. Interpretation is difficult amid the conundrum of fashion and props 300 years after the fact and with a limited data set and scant literature on the subject.¹⁰

IV. Revelations from the Media of Commemoration

The practice of borrowing and refashioning images across media was rampant in the business of commemoration. To project a particular likeness and to draw in a certain consumer, details in dress and props were changed, but the body was retained. Revealing these purposeful switches allows a glimpse into the mind of the creators and, through them, the purchasers. The person who chose a pipe clay figurine from among the many commemorative items available had particular reasons. The figurines embody the social attitudes involved in its making and its acquisition.

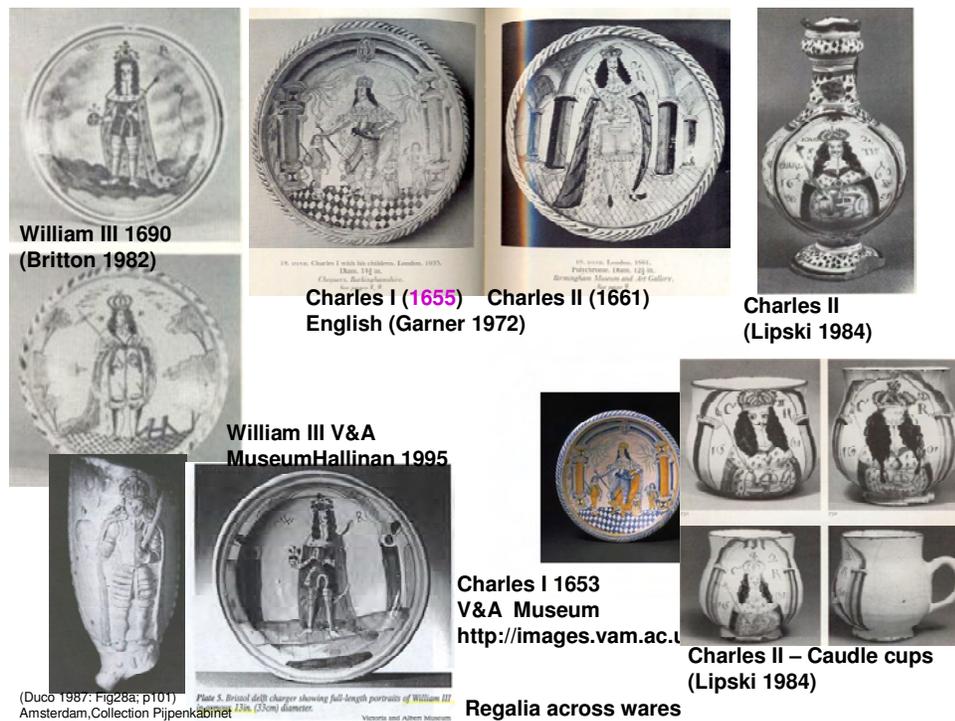
One king was as good as another in the industry of kingly commemoration. Formal images of seventeenth century English kings were re-used and manipulated across many media for decades. Nothing was sacred; even mortal enemies wound up with the same bodies. It is often assumed that the inspiration for popular seventeenth century prints derived from statuary or paintings in cathedrals or palaces, and that standardized two-dimensional popularized prints were the inspiration for other popular items of commemoration. Judging from the longevity of the mold-made figurine industry, however, it seems more likely the original inspiration for pipe clay figurines skipped the two dimensional print representation and began directly in clay. However the initial transference occurred, by the reign of the seventeenth century Stuarts, kingly image borrowing was occurring across media with flagrant disregard for the etiquette of politics and royalty, and no nod to the idea of intellectual property rights we are accustomed to today.

When transferred to ceramic wares for the home, the formal portraits of Stuart monarchs took on a folkish flair. The colors on chargers (ceramic plates primarily for display) and mugs are bright, and the poses, though imitating formal stances, are caricaturish and set in standardized scenes with a modicum of detail. The king appears

¹⁰ Further investigation and consideration of this particular figurine is underway 2008.

with regalia on the chargers and mugs, and many have dates incorporated into their designs. The images on the ceramic wares did not reflect the proportion or grace of neoclassicism or Renaissance painting or statuary, or the meticulous nature of Dutch still lifes. These domestic wares commemorated monarchs informally in people's homes, albeit at a more expensive price than the pipe clay figurines. They are examples of alternative products the Sewalls and the Duvalls might have purchased, but which did not show up in the archaeological record at these sites.¹¹

Fig. V: Regalia across Ceramic Wares



A. Tin Glazed (a.k.a. Delftware) Chargers

“The striking full-length portrait of Charles I ... was closely copied from a print of about 1641-1642. This in turn was copied from an engraving of Charles I without his children published by Joseph Bruyning of Amsterdam in 1639. The crowned warrior king in armour and robes of state was indeed a potent image, one which was later adapted and re-used many times on commemorative delftware, where the same pose was extended to his successor, Charles II (reigned 1660-1685).”

Victoria and Albert Museum (<http://images.vam.ac.uk>)

¹¹ Amanda E. Lange states that Dutch settlers of New York displayed ceramic wares on the walls, mantelpieces, and “bowfats” (corner cupboards) in their homes, and references the 1691 probate inventory of Francis Rambouts. See Delftware at Historic Deerfield 1600-1800, Historic Deerfield, Inc., Deerfield, MA 2001.

'Chargers' were ceramic plates that were used primarily as decorative objects hung on walls in domestic spaces. The seventeenth century chargers discussed herein were made in England and the Netherlands. They are tin glazed, often blue, green, and yellow dishes. Some scholars believe the celebration of the Restoration of Charles II to the throne was the starting point for royal commemorative pottery, and that any Charles I chargers were actually made after the king's execution in 1645 (Lipski 1984:13).

Frank Britton makes the point in English Delftware in the Bristol Collection that one print source was used to depict different royals on delftware chargers with slight alterations over several decades. A Cornelius van Dalen print of 1684 depicting Charles I entering Edinburgh in 1641 was used for "monarch chargers" in general -- Charles II in 1680, James I in 1685, and yet again with the image reversed and a modification to the cloak for a King William III charger ca. 1700. The same print source for Queen Mary served just as well for Queen Anne. An engraving depicting William III was used on chargers for both William III and George I. Sometimes the image from a print was reversed left to right, and the orb and scepter switched hands, or the clothes were varied to represent a different monarch. Mustaches appear and disappear on the royals and aren't reliable indicators of which Stuart was being commemorated on a charger. William III and James II are clean shaven; but Charles II appears with and without mustache in Britton's collection (Britton 1982:48-50).

B. Printmaking

The British Museum provides an excellent example of swapping images in prints. A copper plate in the British Museum was engraved and then reworked five more times for a total of six successive portraits of heads of state. In 1655, Pierre Lombart, a French engraver working in London, copied Anthony van Dyck's 1633 portrait painting, 'Charles I on Horseback with M. de St. Antoine in Attendance'. Lombart altered the background, the face, and the inscription and used it to print portraits of Oliver Cromwell. Three years later, Lombart burnished out Cromwell's head and substituted that of King Louis XIV of France. This same copper plate was altered thrice more -- back to Cromwell, and then back to Charles I. Cromwell's visage remains in the final state of the plate (www.thebritishmuseum.ac.uk/compass). Considering the politics raging outside the artist's walls in seventeenth-century England, the transference of the faces of Cromwell and Charles I might have approached treason.

This example is very similar to the processes at work in other media. It parallels the manipulation evidenced by the British Museum's figurine's head. The six monarch figurines have basically the same body, but they had different heads and different accoutrements. In block printing before the end of the fifteenth century, printers used "changeable heads and attributes from little blocks dropped into slots left for the purpose in the bigger blocks. In this manner, saints could have identical bodies, clothes, background and accessories, all printed from one identical block" (Mukerij 1983:53). This practice of manipulating attributes and retaining the major form was also evident in the 15th-seventeenth century metal Apostle Spoons from Finland where what an apostle carried identified him (Immonen 2005).

This image swapping and manipulation is more than just a matter of expediency. It shows the infiltration of popular culture across media and the importance of attracting new customers. The image wouldn't have been captivating to different audiences over time or in different locations without the revisions. Altering the cloak and costumes, switching the orb and scepter was purposeful. It is these subtle alterations which would have made the likeness instantly recognizable and appealing during its historical time period – a sleight of hand so subtle we may miss recognizing its meanings in this newest millennium.

Conclusion -- The Archaeological Gaze

This paper opens under the museum gaze and closes under the eyes of archaeology. In the bitter cold winter of 1998, the Charles Gift figurine entered the twenty-first century when an archaeologist unearthed the two torso fragments of the monarch. When the fragments arrived at the Goodwin archaeology lab, Andrew Madsen catalogued the two mendable pieces, joined them with a reversible medium, and made a plaster cast; John Clarke made a line drawing. This king was not consigned to the customary Ziploc bag pricked with holes or laid to rest in an acid free box confined to the darkness of a laboratory shelf. The original artifact went to Colonial Williamsburg for interpretation and display. The plaster cast and drawing accompanied Madsen to the International Ceramics Fair and Seminar in England. The plaster figurine was denied entrance to the floor of the fair, but the drawing made the rounds. No one there was familiar with a comparable example. (Personal communications Andrew Madsen March 2005)

The original king didn't actually go on public display for five years, but Madsen's plaster cast did. The cast became part of Goodwin's small outreach exhibit installed in the Officer's Club lobby of the Patuxent River Naval Air Station in June 2000. Thus, the reproduction stands in an elite setting very close to the elite site from which the original was unearthed. In the summer of 2005, after languishing out of public view for five years, the authentic headless king went on exhibit five miles south of its historic home at Historic St. Mary's City's archaeological museum. By the time I encountered the Charles Gift king in the spring of 2005, it had traveled hundreds of miles and occupied multiple proveniences in the historical past and the present. From borrow pit discard to twenty-first century icon, this little king straddled two continents, spanned three centuries, and blurred the boundaries of English-American and Protestant-Catholic cultural divides. Any interpretation would have to include all of this king's domains. It would be an injustice to nail it to certain coordinates at the Charles Gift site like some insect in a collection.

Archaeological processes transform an artifact as they recapture its past. The excavator, the soil, the artifact's relationship to other artifacts below ground, the selection of test pits and excavation squares, as well as conservation and curatorial practices – each of these is a cog in the gear box of archaeological method that propels interpretation forward. Using specific methods, archaeologists can link an artifact to the hands of past users. Through these archaeological processes the artifact itself

becomes a moment of interconnecting practices rather than a static fragment. As the material of culture past interacting with the present and the future, the artifact is susceptible to physical and social change in its new environment.

In effect, archaeologists reinvented the Charles Gift figurine by unearthing and interpreting it. The mini-king as artifact has been singularized and “socially endowed with a fetishlike ‘power’ that is unrelated to its true worth” (Kopytoff 1986:83). There is a marked difference in the authenticity and ‘value’ of the Charles Gift king and the unprovenanced s’Hertogenbosch pipe clay king recovered by a non-professional and auctioned in cyber space. Resting securely in the context of academia and museology, the Charles Gift figurine is now endowed with attributes and influence undreamed of by its creator. “The drama [of personal and object biographies] lies in the uncertainty of identity” in shifting contexts through time (Kopytoff 1986:89). The archaeological re-scripting of the biography of the Charles Gift figurine introduces the possibility for the artifact to re-frame the past for the future by posing questions about sites where such kings were recovered, a far cry from the original maker’s meaning for the figurines. Did anti-monarch or anti-catholic forces ransack Sewall’s home during his absence and intentionally break the head off this representation of the monarch in the process? Did Sewall break it himself, disillusioned by the politics he was privy to? Do similar activities explain the headlessness of the other contemporary figurines? What can be learned about trade and exchange patterns on the individual level through examination of the relationship between the seven kings on two continents? What household events was the Charles Gift king privy to as participant observer from its perch in the Sewall home?¹²

Archaeologists have created a digital image of the Charles Gift king with modern text emblazoned on a violet poster and on a Web page, and have constructed and exhibited a plaster replica. The authentic figurine is elegantly displayed within the confines of its seventeenth-century historical meaning. My own research connects the figurine with its roots in the past and the archaeology of the present. I have focused on events throughout this artifact’s biography to suggest the interactions and connections that developed the human-artifact bond through time, and broader contexts in which to consider using the king in order to share the power of artifact-driven histories.

The unearthed Charles Gift figurine embodies its new contexts as it continues its journey. It materializes the ideas that molded it and casts us back on our selves through time. The post-medieval and seventeenth-century European *bilderbakers* (clay image bakers) produced figurines to satisfy the human desire to engage in personal devotion, to express paganism, to summon power through charms, and to commemorate. Certain details of transient personal fashion and subtle shifts in symbols become visible

¹² Mary Beaudry discusses Susanna Sewall’s bodkin recovered from the pit at Charles Gift in terms of personal identity in her forthcoming work, “Bodkin Biographies,” in *Materializing Personal Identity*, ed. Carolyn L. White, Springer NY; and p.69-70 of *Findings: The Material Culture of Needlework and Sewing*, Yale University Press, New Haven, CT, 2006. Edward Chaney and Julia King discuss events occurring locally during the Sewall’s tenure at Charles Gift on p.73-77 in “A Fair House of Brick and Timber”: Archaeological Excavations at Mattapan-Sewall (18ST390) July 1999. (See also p. 83, footnote 82, for discussion of Susanna Sewall’s ‘luminous emanations’ and ‘sparking skirts’ during the winter of 1683.)

to us centuries later through comparison of the seven figurines. In the political turmoil of the seventeenth-century Sewall and Duvall households, a 10-inch king objectified such complex longings as religion, hope, fealty, politics, and commemoration. By following the Charles Gift figurine through its entire lifetime, we see commemoration as a livelihood that meets and fuels human desire then as now. We see an icon of the tangled religious-political struggles the Maryland Colony was designed to avoid but destined to endure.

In the hands of modern day archaeologists, the thrill of discovery, the yearning for authenticity, a respect for the past, and the awareness of transience and mortality attach to the king along with the need to impart thoughtful and insightful interpretation. This trinket from the past materializes myriad intangibles; its interpretive uses are numerous. This ceramic evidence of human materiality continues to engage us 300 years later. It matters little exactly which monarch it represents; the mini-king is parts of each of them and all of us. We are all *bilderbakers*.

Exhibit 1

Description of the Charles Gift mini king artifact. (See Charles Gift figurine Fig. 1)

What follows is a detailed description of the figurine as I encountered it on February 17, 2005 at the Maryland Archaeological Conservation Laboratory at Jefferson Patterson Park & Museum in St. Leonard, Maryland, just before it went on display at Historic St. Mary's City's Museum.

Torso of mold made, solid, white pipe clay figurine. Head and legs missing. Torso is cross-mended at the waist.

Weight: 0.57 kilograms
Height: 5.82 inches (14.8 cm)
Width: 3 inches

Front View:

Two cross-mended fragments of the torso of a royal figure clad in what archaeologist Eric Goldstein at Colonial Williamsburg determined to be ca. 1630-1650 armor and cloaked in a mantle with scapula. The torso was broken fairly cleanly at the waist, below the elbows. The head and lower legs are missing. The figurine stands rigidly erect, holding an orb surmounted by a cross in its left hand, and the remains of a sword in its right. The arms are bent at the elbows and the regalia are held close to the chest.

Thighs:

Ten horizontal layers of molded clay, each layer with nine tiny circular dot-like projections on its lower edge represent the lames of the armor. The dot-like projections are the rivets which would have fastened the lames to interior leather straps. The thighs are separated by a V-shaped indentation that extends nearly half way into the center of the clay body at its deepest point, becoming shallower as the "V" extends up to the waist line. The edges of the mantle extend down the length of both sides of the thighs.

Upper torso:

There is a narrow ridge of clay extending up the center of the torso terminating at the lower edge of the *gorget* at the neck. The breastplate armor is smooth until its juncture at the armpit where there is a semicircular ridge with nine protruding dots (the rivets of the armor) along its circumference. There is one protruding dot closer to the armpit. The arms each have eight horizontal lames ending just above the wrist; no rivets are present along the arms. Both arms are bent, the elbows hidden beneath the drape of the cape. The hands come together at the center of the torso.

Right hand:

The figurine's right hand holds the remains of a sword close to the body terminating at the shoulder. Four fingers of the figure's right hand are delineated with the thumb obscured behind the handle of the sword it grasps. The circular counterweight of the sword protrudes below the pinky finger. The broken remains of the

hilt extend above the hand. Remains of the sword extend at a slight angle, up the torso, closer to the neck than the shoulder, where it abruptly ends. The blade of the sword has a vertical ridge of clay extending down its length.

Left hand:

The figurine's left hand holds an orb (a.k.a. mound during this time period) close to the body. The orb has a horizontal equator line in a ridge of clay which disappears under the thumb. A vertical ridge of clay divides the top hemisphere in half and connects directly to the cross which surmounts the top of the orb

A rounded *gorget* around the neck is present. This *gorget* has the remains of several dot-like projections along its edge, and a cluster of dots towards its center. The shoulders are covered by a scapula molded as a fur-like decoration of wavy squiggles on a thicker layer of clay which stops just below the shoulders, where the cape itself continues for the length of this figure. There is the suggestion of hair on the figurine's left side along the neck area. The "squiggles" are vertical as opposed to the swirls belonging to the scapula. Perhaps this represents a beard.

Back View:

The figure is broken horizontally in an uneven line just above what would likely have been the knees. No evidence of legs or a stand to support the figurine in an upright position remains. The shoulders are covered in a scapula which is partially hidden under circular curls of long hair. The mantle falls in ten vertical folds the length of the torso. The folds are not identical, so it looks quite like fabric. There is a chunk of clay missing from the center portion of the figurine's back, just below the horizontal break line (as if an impact had occurred).

Sensations:

The white pipe clay feels cool to the touch in this laboratory setting. It has the same sort of mottled, brownish-tan discoloration as archaeologically recovered clay pipes. It is surprisingly heavy. I wonder if the weight served some function like a book end. The figurine was x-rayed at the MAC Lab in the summer of 2005 and no anomalies were revealed. The figure is composed of solid white pipe clay which is evident at the break below the thighs. There is no evidence of any hole running down its center where a tool might have been inserted during the manufacturing process to facilitate easy removal from the mold as indicated in the literature for other pipe-clay figurines. This figurine is made with a fair amount of detail, to wit: the rivets of the armor, the folds of the cape, the details of the imperial orb, and differentiation between beard and head hair curls, and details of the folds of the mantle. The figurine is motionless; there is no movement suggested by the folds of the cape or the stance of the body.

Dedication

What of an elderly woman who cooks for farm hands long dead, writes a check with no concept of banks or balances, knows exactly what drawer and cabinet each of her things is in but insists she's not home any more and has packed a paper bag of small things in the event she gets to go home? Her pots, her currency, her clothing and trinkets tie her to this world. Intangibles have fallen away; loves have died. Her materiality remains. Things are what children cut their teeth on in order to operate in the world.¹³ My paper is for mothers and daughters who struggle with these things.

Acknowledgments

Many people provided information, shared images and opinions, and provided inspiration during the course of this project and do not appear in the text or the bibliography. In particular, I thank Barbara Carson at the College of William & Mary for introducing me to the mini-king and to her way of investigating artifacts from the ground up. Mary Corbin Sies and Nancy Struna at the University of Maryland, College Park, stretched my theoretical horizons. I thank Ed Chaney at the Maryland Archaeological Conservation Laboratory for access to the site reports and for sharing his expertise and perspective throughout this project, and Sara Rivers-Cofield for fine tuning. Silas Hurry at Historic St. Mary's City and the members of the HISTARCH Listserv connected me cross-country and cross-continent. Roswitha Neu-Kock shared her research with me. Leontine Fillet translated the Dutch and German on this side of the ocean and later from her home in Leiden. I thank the librarians at the Swem Library at the College of William & Mary, the Rockefeller Library at Colonial Williamsburg, and the McKeldin and Art Libraries at the University of Maryland. St. Mary's College of Maryland and the University of Maryland at College Park made this research possible.

¹³ Christopher Tilley 2006:61 in Handbook of Material Culture, Tilley et al eds., includes an anecdote about his toddler twins experiencing the world through things inspired this phrase.

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