Mary C. Beaudry
James Symonds   *Editors*

Interpreting the Early Modern World

Transatlantic Perspectives

Springer

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CONTRIBUTIONS TO GLOBAL HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY

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Preface

This book had its origins in a symposium that the editors organized and chaired at the annual meetings of the Society for Historical Archaeology, in York, England, in January 2005. Our own experiences as colleagues and as collaborators on a field project in the Outer Hebrides made us aware of differing approaches to historical archaeology in the United Kingdom and the United States, even among practitioners who share theoretical perspectives. We thought it would be enlightening to invite archaeologists from both sides of the pond, as it were, to present papers dealing with issues and themes of widespread interest to historical archaeologists. We selected the following themes: landscape studies; urban archaeology; memory and memorialization; gender studies; lives of industrial workers; and archaeological biographies. We sought out a historical archaeologist from the UK and one from the US to address each issue, asking them to engage one another in "transatlantic dialogues" about how they approached interpretation of these issues in their own work. To our delight, we were able to attract to our session some of the best-known and most highly regarded historical archaeologists from either side of the Atlantic.

In this volume, we have retained the organization of the session, with paired sets of papers presented thematically. Each section contains a chapter by a US-trained historical archaeologist juxtaposed with another on the same theme by a UK-trained historical archaeologist. In most cases the authors have done their best to engage in a dialogue with their counterparts. Our transatlantic dialogues are not couched in terms of Atlantic world or Atlantic history but, as discussed in the introduction that follows, engage with various forms of interpretive theory in archaeology.

The session included more papers than appear here, either because session presenters elected not to participate in the publication project or were unable to do so. We would like to thank Julie H. Ernstein, Dan Hicks, Nigel Jeffries, and Jessica Neuwirth for their excellent contributions to the conference session, and Julia King and Ed Chaney for agreeing to prepare a paper for publication even though they did not take part in our session. Julian Thomas served as discussant for the session and we thank him for his insightful comments and skill at leading what proved to be a lively discussion. We also thank Rebecca Yamin for preparing a commentary on the volume, along with all contributors to the book and to Teresa Krauss and Katie Chabalko at Springer for their unflagging good will and profound patience.

Our goal in this book is to foster greater awareness of the strengths of interpretive historical archaeology in the UK and the United States as well as to compare and contrast differing approaches. It is our hope that the book will extend vigorous debates and productive collaborations of the sort we ourselves have found so stimulating.

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Introduction: Transatlantic Dialogues and Convergences

In the early 1630s, a pamphlet entitled *Le Courrier Veritable* circulated on the streets of Paris. The pamphlet told how a Captain Vosterloch had discovered a miraculous sponge on a voyage to the South Pacific. South Sea islanders, it was claimed, used this sponge to communicate over long distances: the sponge soaked up words that were spoken into it and replayed these words when squeezed by the recipient of a message (Sutton, 2004:130). Amusing as this fanciful account of early voice-mail may seem, many archaeologists must surely have wished that their finds could speak to them in just such a way. Unfortunately, material things, even of the absorbent organic kind, seldom make for good conversation.

The art of archaeological storytelling relies on a form of artifactual ventriloquism. As cultural animators archaeologists deploy their interpretive skills to give voice to mundane everyday objects, and in so doing hope to engage public interest and support; like Rumpelstiltskin, we are given straw and must weave this into gold.

Historical archaeology has come of age in recent years, and there are numerous books and textbooks that offer advice on theoretical perspectives, field methods, and laboratory techniques for the analysis of artifacts and ecofacts (e.g., Barber, 1994; Hicks and Beaudry, 2006; Little, 2007; Majewski and Gaimster, 2009; Orser, 2004). Despite this, there is no *right* way to do historical archaeology (although there are arguably many wrong ways), and interpretative methods vary among individuals according to their age, academic training, employment sector, and political beliefs.

We believe that this diversity of approaches and interests is a positive strength, and is an indication of a vibrant and growing field of study. Nevertheless, understanding other people's motivations for undertaking historical archaeology and how they have arrived at their conclusions can sometimes be difficult, especially when they have failed to be explicit about their theoretical position and interpretive methods. This problem has become more acute as modern world historical archaeology has expanded from its North American homeland to become a global enterprise. A quote attributed to George Bernard Shaw is close to the mark: "England and America are two countries separated by a common language" (Esar and Bentley, 1951), but even more profound epistemological differences exist between our two communities of scholarship.

When we first had the idea to organize a symposium for the 2005 Society for Historical Archaeology meetings that would examine differences and similarities in

British and American historical archaeology, we labeled the session "Interpreting the Early Modern World" as a way of signaling that the session would emphasize postprocessual developments in archaeological theory and practice as opposed to what we considered more entrenched functionalist and processual traditions, the former approach being prevalent in the UK and the latter in the United States (see, e.g., Courtney, 1999; West, 1999). Initially, we did not intend to engage any of the polemics that have arisen over the "interpretive turn" in archaeology, but because we now realize that merely invoking the term *interpretive* sets off alarms for some, we decided to explain, briefly, what we and our contributors have in mind in using the phrase "interpretive historical archaeology" throughout this volume.

Ian Hodder is credited with initiating interpretive archaeology and with ushering in what he referred to as a "postprocessual era" (1991:37), through which he celebrated the emergence "of a variety of perspectives that are either critical of processual archaeology, or build on its foundations in ways which were not originally imagined" (Thomas, 2000a:2). Julian Thomas, in his introduction to a collection of previously published essays that he assembled under the title *Interpretive Archaeology: A Reader* (2000b), similarly treats interpretive archaeology as encompassing a wide range of ideas and approaches, and he notes that, in contrast to processual archaeology, postprocessual archaeology has never been a unitary project (Thomas, 2000a:1; see Thomas, 1996 for a full exposition of his approach to interpretive archaeology). Its practitioners do not toe a party line; they embrace interdisciplinarity in its widest sense, moving beyond the processualists' inspiration from the natural sciences to find intellectual stimulation throughout the humanities and social sciences. Thomas' reader, therefore, includes not just works that one might consider as arising from the "linguistic turn" in scholarship—interpretive in the sense of a hermeneutical investigation of past meanings by applying the textual metaphor to material culture (see, e.g., Hodder, 1986; Hodder et al., 1995)—but also essays by scholars who espouse critical theory and other variants of Marxian theory, postcolonial theory, and new hybrid theoretical approaches to gender and sexuality, agency, identity and personhood, modernity, and materiality.

While Michael Shanks has offered some intriguing assays into interpretive approaches in Classical archaeology in *Art and the Early Greek State: An Interpretive Archaeology* (2004), the preponderance of works that address interpretive (or interpretative) archaeology deal with European prehistory (e.g., Tilley, 1993). Shanks, with Christopher Tilley, offered an explicit agenda for incorporating interpretive approaches to archaeology in their co-edited *Re-Constructing Archaeology: Theory and Practice* (1993).

Christopher Tilley's *A Phenomenology of Landscape: Places, Paths, and Monuments* (1994), the first of a trilogy of books dealing with British prehistory, landscape, phenomenology, and experience, was arguably one of the most important archaeological books of the 1990s, and marked a watershed in archaeological interpretation. Tilley's second volume, *Metaphor and Material Culture* (1999) was received with far less enthusiasm, but was still influential in making interpretive approaches part of mainstream archaeological thought and practice. We can see this influence in publications such as Ashmore and Knapp's *Archaeologies*

of Landscape: Contemporary Perspectives (1999), an edited volume that brings together essays by archaeologists working in many parts of the globe, with a single essay by a British prehistorian (Barrett, 1999). The common theme of the book is that landscapes are "constructed, conceptualized, ideational" (Knapp and Ashmore, 1999), acknowledging the importance of addressing ways in which landscapes are not just created but the multiple ways in which they are experienced and perceived (cf. Rodman, 1992).

Tilley's third volume, *The Materiality of Stone: Explorations in Landscape Phenomenology* (2004) attempted to "go beyond the evidence" by constructing hyper-interpretive texts, and has recently been singled out for scorn by conventionally minded empiricists. Tilley's works on landscape phenomenology, along with books by the Neolithic specialist Mark Edmonds (1999, 2004), are derided by Andrew Fleming on the grounds that "the great strengths of 'traditional' landscape archaeology have been its immense heuristic potential and its preference for sustained argument rather than rhetoric and the uncritical acceptance of the output of sometimes fevered imaginations" (Fleming, 2006:279). An even more recent project, *Stone Worlds,* by Bender et al. (2007), has gone to such extremes of phenomenological experimentation—in one instance wrapping the Neolithic and Bronze Age standing stones at Leskernik on Bodmin Moor in Cornwall, England in clingfilm, painting them in primary colors and cavorting around them—as to prompt even the most tolerant of thinkers to tar all interpretive archaeology with the brush of "experiential" archaeology gone amok, to declare interpretive archaeology to have been sapped of any vigor it once had, and to reject "interpretivism" in any and all its guises:

> the free-floating, counter-modern aesthetic of British interpretive archaeology, caught up in metaphor and narrative, attracted to landscapes as far away as possible from modern life, and skeptical about the generation of new archaeological knowledge of the past, is similarly tired. … *Stone Worlds* is a brave and ambitious book, but its effect is to call further into question the credibility and contemporary relevance of "interpretive archaeology." (Hicks, 2009:591)

Though we appear to have avoided the self-indulgent excesses inspired, it seems, by prehistorians' encounters with decidedly unsponge-like mute stones, the theoretical innovations in landscape studies and material culture pioneered by postprocessual British prehistorians have nevertheless made a huge impact upon interpretive historical archaeology, especially within the last 10 years (Wilkie, 2009:334). Laurie Wilkie sees the current diversity within interpretive historical archaeology as an outgrowth of debate and discourse in the discipline, noting that there has never been any deliberate movement to establish a "school" of interpretive historical archaeology: "instead, there were, and are, a number of practitioners from a range of theoretical perspectives who share a commitment to constructing archaeological interpretations that are empirically rigorous, historically situated, and socially relevant" (Wilkie, 2009:335). Wilkie sees this area of practice as historically situated in two ways: it attends closely to the contexts, historical and social,

in which the people and objects we study existed; and it also attends to the contemporary socio-political situatedness of the archaeologist. It is not a subdiscipline but a congeries of strongly interdisciplinary, data-driven and theoretically grounded approaches to doing and writing historical archaeology.

Interpretive *historical* archaeologies, according to Wilkie, differ from interpretive archaeology as defined by Hodder (1991), chiefly because it is *not* prehistory. Historical archaeologists are inevitably engaged in working with textual as well as material evidence, and they are more likely to be able to make useful contributions to historical and anthropological knowledge by focusing on "the microscalar levels of society—households and small communities—to understand the diversity of social experiences" (Wilkie, 2009:337) than by aiming for the grand narrative and for universal explanations. This of course does not mean that such studies do not succeed in addressing broader concerns, as the chapters in this volume clearly demonstrate. Interpretive historical archaeologies are "intrinsically multiscalar"—but they always "seek to illuminate the textures and nuances in society rather than. . . to create blanket characterizations of the past" (Wilkie, 2009:338).

Wilkie (2009:338) identifies and discusses at some length four elements she sees as defining interpretive historical archaeologies:

1. They are contextual, culturally and historically situated;
2. They employ multiple intersecting lines of evidence (documents, objects, oral histories, etc.) and are rich in data;
3. They are situated in the present and acknowledge the subject position of the researcher and engage when possible in discourse with descendant groups and other stakeholders in the past;
4. Their practitioners strive to make their work accessible to multiple publics through both traditional and nontraditional media.

It is noteworthy that Wilkie does not see as a primary characteristic of interpretive historical archaeology a search for "meaning," or the use of an extended literary metaphor in which objects are read as texts. For many, including contributors to this volume, interpretive historical archaeology is not a pursuit aimed at finding the true meaning of anything in the past; rather, it offers a way to construct accounts of the past "that deal meaningfully with all the richness of the material at hand, rather than explanations which reduce that richness to a few main points that might have broader explanatory power" (Joyce, 2006:49).

Michael Shanks and Randall McGuire have argued that postprocessual debates have "firmly situated archaeology in the present as a cultural and political practice" (Shanks and McGuire, 1996:75). Several contributors to this volume support this assertion, and have actively engaged with contemporary politics and communities in the course of their work (see, for instance, chapters by Williamson, Symonds, King and Chaney, Jones).

Another idea that finds resonance in this volume is the belief that it is no longer possible to identify a sharp break between the present and the past (Thomas, 1996:61). Drawing upon a nonlinear approach to chronology, as proposed by Gavin

Lucas, it is possible to see other moments impinge upon the present and mediate and shape the experience of the contemporary world (Lucas, 2004:59). On this reading the "archaeological record" no longer exists as a static residue from a past life-world to which it must be reconnected. Instead, it must be acknowledged that fragments from the past are bound into our contemporary world, and await our interpretative interventions (see, e.g., chapters by De Cunzo and Moqtaderi, Williamson, Symonds, King, Jones, Beaudry). As Gavin Lucas has put it: "Prehistoric artefacts are contemporary objects, as much as the latest Nokia cell phone, or BMW" (2004:117). Taking this point a little further, it is possible to agree with Cornelius Holtorf and Angela Piccini that "although archaeologists can do work *about* other periods, they cannot work *in* other periods" (Holtorf and Piccini, 2009:14).

Interpretive historical archaeologists are interested in communicating the results of their work in novel and experimental ways, often throwing off the constraints of academic jargon and the armature of "scientific" writing. They are interested in producing alternative narratives: narratives that challenge historical and cultural givens and narratives that make use of a wide array of literary genres to present archaeological information in creative and often compelling new forms. Sometimes this takes the form of carefully constructed fictionalized accounts using archaeological and other evidence to recount embellished, but nevertheless true, stories about the past (e.g., Praetzellis and Praetzellis, 1998; Yamin, 2000, 2001, 2006, 2008). "Old stories are easy to tell. It is the new ones that are difficult" (Yamin, 2001:154); as Rebecca Yamin so aptly notes, the interpretive craft of archaeology requires imagination in addition to rigorous research and analysis (see also Joyce, 2006, 2002:121–126), for if we are to go beyond persistent assumptions and stereotypes about past lives, we must construct narratives "strong enough to communicate agency in a way that does not seem trivial, or incidental" (Yamin, 2001:154). Some historical archaeologists are clearly horrified by this development, at times reacting, knee-jerk fashion, merely to the use of the term *story* to refer to a product of archaeological writing, at other times warning against the "hidden dangers" of empathetic presentations, fearing that "exacting archaeological research" will be undermined (Orser, 2001:9). Such critics dismiss all interpretive historical archaeology by characterizing it only as storytelling, as opposed to an array of approaches, mustering a defense that harkens back to more traditional archaeological epistemology and method and failing to acknowledge that the experimental stance of interpretive historical archaeology is aimed at overcoming "the split between the subjective and objective elements of archaeology, the empirical and the expressive, in that the labor of craft is a constant dialogue between archaeologist and material, archaeologist and community—an expressive and interpretive experience within which the past is created" (Shanks and McGuire, 1996:86).

The truth is that "we construct the past; it isn't there to be discovered. We take the fragments—from the ground and from the documents—and weave them into stories of what might have been. It isn't a fiction, but it isn't quite science either" (Yamin, 2008:3). "Archaeological narratives do not write themselves, even from very good data"; our "stories are based on all we know: about the past we are attempting to understand and the present we cannot escape" (Yamin, 2001:155, 167). Contributors

to the present volume have not invoked archaeological storytelling in any fictional sense, but they have all, in their own ways, tried to understand more about people in the past, to explode cherished myths about their lives, and to learn more about ourselves through the craft of archaeology.

The present volume takes to heart another key tenet of interpretive archaeology, that is, to promote dialogic encounters among archaeologists as well as between archaeologists and their subject matter. Here interpretive archaeologists from both sides of the Atlantic explore, through five paired sets of essays, a series of themes of enduring interest to contemporary archaeologists. The chapters in each section do not stand in isolation; rather, the authors exchange ideas about what each other has written. They construct dialogues about theories and practices that inform interpretive archaeology on either side of the Atlantic, examining points of convergence and divergence. The organization of the book highlights themes of landscapes both polite and industrial; urban life; material culture, embodiment, and female identity; conflict and memorialization.

The opening chapters of Part I showcase contemporary landscape archaeology as practiced in the UK and the United States. Lu Ann De Cunzo and Nedda Moqtaderi characterize the work that they do as historical ethnography; they are concerned with the manifold possibilities of interpretive landscape archaeology and "view landscapes as resource, stages, and surfaces manipulated for aesthetic and other expressive ends," noting that landscapes are at one and the same time biographies, places, experiences, family tableaus, taskscapes, memories, images, and cultured nature. They employ this perspective in studying estates and farms in northern Delaware. Working from the present backwards, De Cunzo and Moqtaderi were confronted not just with multiple accounts of landscapes but with their own presuppositions about and accounts of that past that had to be jettisoned in order to truly learn what significance these landscapes had for those who shaped and dwelt in them. Tom Williamson, in investigating estate landscapes in England, notes that the very phrase *landed estate* is problematic because over time and in the present it has meant many different things to different people. Working from the past forward, he offers, in what he refers to as "a bald summary of the work of a number of scholars," a chronology of the development of landed estates, drawing upon many examples to illustrate changing notions of landscape design and aesthetics. Williamson then sets out through examination of a series of cases to demonstrate the importance of context in understanding the "complex language" of estate landscapes, which goes far beyond aesthetics and ideology. Both chapters return to the present to consider contemporary social and political implications of "traditional" uses of, and attitudes about, rural "elite" landscapes.

The chapters by Adrian and Mary Praetzellis and by James Symonds in Part II grapple with practice and method in urban archaeology; both chapters recount the personal histories of the authors as key participants in the development of urban archaeologies that attend to the lives of working people, and both highlight the divergent trajectories and attitudes toward urban archaeology in the United States and the UK. It took US archaeologists quite some time to realize that major US cities had substantial buried evidence of earlier occupations, and once they did,

most approached urban sites with the goals and analytical strategies developed by prehistorians for dealing with North America's pre-Columbian past, and found themselves awash in an overabundance of data. In an early collection of essays on large urban archaeology projects (Dickens, 1982), contributors sought out "patterns and processes" to generalize about, and attempted to apply techniques of sampling and seriation to historical materials, including documents because they were deemed both to be too numerous and somehow suspect in their content. Some tried to reinvent the wheel by developing new typologies for historical ceramics without reference to the vast knowledge of these items accumulated by ceramic historians. The overwhelming quantities of materials from urban sites led archaeologists in the United States to despair of making sense of mixed deposits; they began as a matter of course to target sealed shaft features (privies, wells, cisterns) and to attempt to link their contents to documented occupants of the sites. As a result, few urban archaeologists in the United States have dealt with yard deposits even if they excavated them systematically (see, e.g., Deagan, 1983), though most did attend to stratigraphy *within* the features they dug, though most often excavating fills in arbitrary increments (Praetzellis, 1993).

Adrian and Mary Praetzellis developed an approach to urban archaeology that differed from the prevailing processualist program; it revolved around detailed examinations of people who once lived on the sites they dug and the reconstruction of aspects of their life histories and cultural worlds using documents and artifacts in combination. The ethnographic approach as practiced by the Praetzellis and others has been influential on a global scale (see, e.g., Mayne and Lawrence, 1999). The technical reports that they produce on their work in California, in Sacramento, San Francisco, Oakland, and elsewhere, are anything but dry and dull but full of wit and insight and sensitive portrayals of early Californians of all walks of life (e.g., Praetzellis and Praetzellis, 2004, 2009). Their chapter in this book, however, departs radically from all of their previous work to outline a new approach they are taking after 30-some years of data collection: they have decided to "go back" to statistical analysis of quantified data in order to come up with broad-based, "objective" generalizations about households, groups, and neighborhoods. Their new approach represents such a departure that it has shocked and alarmed many of the Praetzellises' admiring colleagues, James Symonds among them. His rejoinder to their chapter is a point-by-point appraisal of the shortcomings of a decontextualized statistical approach to urban sites. Symonds' critique is set forth through case studies of projects in the UK that are comparable in scope and scale to some of the Praetzellises' California projects; he leads us to an understanding of why UK and US historical archaeologists go about their work differently and have different emphases. He also pleads a case for continuing to refine a humanistic approach to urban archaeology, one that continues to focus on people, not on object counts and percentages.

Part III offers two very different chapters about the ways people—ordinary citizens as well as archaeologists and historians—memorialize certain aspects of the past through revisionist remembering and careful selection of memories and "facts." Julia King and Ed Chaney explore how historians and archaeologists have dealt with

the issue of race in seventeenth-century Maryland. Here the life of one exceptional individual, Mathias de Sousa, has been memorialized in such a way as to constitute him as a proxy for all blacks in the colony, despite the fact that his life *was* exceptional and that his "blackness" was assigned to him by historians and archaeologists working in an uncritical manner with not even a handful of archival entries hinting that he may not have been "white" as defined in the seventeenth-century Chesapeake. Nor is he described anywhere as black or African: descriptors applied to him are all variants of the word *mulatto*. Given he had a Portuguese name, he may well have been dark-skinned in the sense of swarthy, with Mediterranean parentage, and not black at all. While it has been recently acknowledged by historians at the Maryland State Archives that de Sousa was an "Atlantic creole" (see Heywood and Thornton, 2007), the implications, complexity, and ambiguity of this new designation have remained unexplored. He is still Maryland's premiere seventeenth-century black surrogate. King and Chaney's plangent account of their attempts to move beyond the contested case of de Sousa to explore the experiences of (other) persons of African descent reveals just how elusive the goal of locating identity in the past can be.

Siân Jones' research on the Hilton of Cadboll stone in northern Scotland illustrates the tension between past and present, and the ways in which physical traces of a distant past play powerful roles in contemporary struggles over national and local identity. Her narrative tacks between past and present, situating the ancient in the modern and vice versa. She makes extensive use of oral histories and interviews as a means of interpreting how it is that a cross-slab stone erected in the nineteenth century has become a memorial to Highland resistance, and a call to arms for current residents of Hilton, while a nearby nineteenth-century monument honoring the Duke of Sutherland, a key figure in the Highland Clearances, symbolizes for the locals oppression and misappropriation of *their* history. The archaeologists, in excavating missing portions of the stone, are unwittingly complicit in the process of "sorting" the stone; their interest in its complex biography is expected: developing a chronology, explaining alterations and formation processes—that is what archaeologists are meant to be good at. But Jones comes to realize through her interpretive analysis of contemporary discourse the power of memory and memory-making, and the importance the people of Hilton place upon sorting out the stones for themselves, as a way of reclaiming not just the cross-slab but their own history as residents of a place whose continuity with a distant past is symbolized by the stone.

In Part IV, Mary Beaudry and Roberta Gilchrist enter into a dialogue about their differing approaches to looking at gender through archaeological materials (for a recent review of pertinent literature, see Wilkie and Hayes, 2006). The differences arise both out of personal style and differing intellectual traditions in the United States and the UK. Beaudry is interested in microscopic examinations of ways in which women related to and made use of the intrinsic and culturally constructed properties of small objects they used in daily life. She employs critical analysis of documentary sources to develop frameworks for interpreting small finds as implements used not just for practical purposes but for constructing and reinforcing

gender identity. Gilchrist confesses to a reluctance to work at the level of the individual in this way, but her analysis of items included in women's graves brings her very close to just such an approach. Combining analysis of skeletal evidence with object analysis allows Gilchrist to take a broader and longer-term view than Beaudry can accomplish with the limited datasets available to her; Gilchrist's data allow her to link object biographies with interpretations of the life course of individuals (cf. Gilchrist, 2000, 2004; Gosden and Marshall, 1999). What is more, Gilchrist is able to talk about gender identity in terms of the practices involved in caring for the dead by preparing them for burial and, at times, sending loved ones to their rest with personal objects as tokens of love and esteem.

The theme of Part V is the home lives of working peoples, and, again, we have a clear demonstration of US as opposed to UK approaches to interpretive archaeology. Whitehead and Casella take a microscalar approach, examining one woman's construction of a highly expressive material world through her eccentric selection of mantel ornaments and bric-a-brac. Mrs. Perrin's choices go far beyond the usual "desired look of decorative abundance that characterized nineteenth-century parlors" (Praetzellis and Praetzellis, 2009:217) and serve as an "object lesson" in the complex dynamics of class affiliation, kinship, and social influence. Stephen Hughes explores a similar dynamic in his geographically wide-ranging overview of company towns, worker housing, and institutional buildings such as churches and schools in the coal and copper country of southern Wales. Hughes' work is in the tradition of British historical geography and regional survey, but his emphasis on worker attitudes to religion, education, and status makes it an interpretive chapter. He goes beyond conventional functionalist interpretations to demonstrate how ideology, politics, and religion influenced placement and design of public buildings as well as houses, and how through building such buildings, people made intentional statements on the landscape.

The volume closes with a chapter by Rebecca Yamin, a major figure in the development of interpretive archaeology in North America. Yamin is an anthropologically trained historical archaeologist whose work focuses on urban sites in the eastern US who is keenly interested in modernity and its influence on archaeological practice; her commentary places the chapters in this book within a broader intellectual framework and situates them within debates about the practice and place of archaeology in the contemporary world.

In a recent review of the accomplishments of historical archaeology, historian Alan Mayne calls attention to "the potential of historical archaeologists' study of materiality to emphasize and recalibrate ambiguity as a powerful tool with which to extend cross-disciplinary interpretation of modern history" (2008:94). We are well aware that most of the chapters in this book, rather than arrive at closure and certainty, scuff up the dust of ambiguity and open avenues for further investigation and questioning. Mayne goes on to say that:

> relishing and puzzling through the ambiguities of diverse but intersecting data sets and scales of reference has the effect of decentering historical understanding and thereby stimulating analytical innovation. The study of people, objects, places, activities, and events that

had seemed to be on the edges of historical significance is helping to reformulate historical understanding by adding agency, complexity, and hence relativist sensitivity to our grasp of the influences and horizons that constituted the social worlds of the past. (Mayne, 2008:94)

In editing this volume we have gained deeper appreciation of the ambiguities of interpretive historical archaeology as a practice, craft, and variable form of cultural production (see Lucas, 2004:119). Returning to our opening metaphor of the sponge-as-messenger, we hope that while acknowledging the impossibility of communicating with or through objects from the past, the chapters gathered here, in the present, will provoke further dialogues among historical archaeologists about ways of comprehending and interpreting the early modern world.

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Part I
Country Estates/Landscapes

Historical archaeologists are drawn to the study of landed estates for many reasons; they are interested in changing ideas about landscape design, agriculture, and notions of place and place-making. The two chapters in Part I address all of these issues, but do so from the differing perspectives of anthropologically influenced US historical archaeology and a more historically grounded British tradition. De Cunzo and Moqtaderi's "landscape conversation" is at once richly materialist *and* phenomenological; their exploration of the meticulously transformed agricultural estates of northern Delaware leads to an awareness of how those of us in the present too readily conflate "rural" and "pastoral" and "agricultural" with an idealized, egalitarian past when, in fact, these qualities are often products of an elite aesthetic. Tom Williamson elucidates changes in overall layout and design, and composition of the elements of, English country estates based upon shifting tastes and notions about social distancing, nature, and artifice in landscape manipulation. His approach is rooted in the Marxist materialist tradition but the interpretive influence is present in his stress on contingency and context; Williamson demonstrates that the complex languages of estate landscapes have been and are highly variable according to context and to diverse individual and social experiences. Despite employing different modes of investigation and exposition, both chapters stress the importance of considerations of context and the evocation of aesthetics and of memory in attempts to comprehend the complex landscapes of country estates.

Chapter 1
An American Landscape Conversation

Lu Ann De Cunzo and Nedda Moqtaderi

Introduction

As interpretive landscape archaeologists, we practice a form of historical ethnography. We strive for holism and seek to decenter master narratives through attention to the multilocality of places and the multivocality histories must embrace. Interpretation implies revelation and insight, and so we view landscapes as resource, stages, and surfaces manipulated for aesthetic and other expressive ends. In this essay, we apply these landscape concepts to understand the estates, farms, gardens, and buildings of northern Delaware. In particular, we explored the present and pasts of two duPont estates, Mt. Cuba and Coverdale Farm.

The Delaware Piedmont agricultural landscape historically featured mixed grain and livestock farming, most notably dairying (Fig. 1.1). Beginning in the early nineteenth century, an emerging industrial elite appropriated segments of this landscape and introduced a pastiche of country estates and rural industries. Descendents of these landscape forms include institutional campuses and fashionable suburbs. A special feature of this landscape is the country estate tradition of the du Pont dynasty and their social peers. The du Ponts, a French immigrant family of industrialists, transformed a gunpowder mill community along the Brandywine River near Wilmington into one of the largest chemical corporate networks in the world.

In particular, we explored the present and pasts of two du Pont estates, Mt. Cuba and Coverdale Farm (Fig. 1.2). Enabled by the Depression, the Copeland and Greenwalt families extended the du Pont dynastic landscape into the Red Clay Creek Valley. Both the Copelands and Greenwalts "inherited" agricultural landscapes shaped by generations of the Armstrong family. Our efforts to see "through" the du Pont landscapes to the Armstrong men and women presented challenges that we examine in this chapter.

Two issues raised by our interpretive approach have larger relevance to landscape archaeology studies. The first relates to a custom GIS program designed to aid analysis of the social and material relationships and identities across time and

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Fig. 1.1 The Copelands' home at Mt. Cuba (Photo courtesy of Mt. Cuba Center, Inc.) with insert of Delaware and its northern Piedmont along the United States' Atlantic coast

Fig. 1.2 The Greenwalts' restored farmhouse at Coverdale Farm

space. Second, reflections on a new garden tour we proposed at Mt. Cuba revealed that we had unwittingly portrayed the predecessor Armstrong family to mirror our dynastic image of the du Ponts. The du Pont myth and the carefully contrived land-scapes it has spawned exert a powerful force on the northern Delaware imagination, perhaps all the more so because of the inherent contradictions and ambiguities. The

du Ponts represent, at one extreme, the romantic ideal of the landed, leisure class, and at the other extreme, the decadence, corruption, and environmental degradation that the corporations bearing their name have wrought. This "American landscape conversation" about corporate capitalism, globalization, conspicuous consumption, and imperialism has distorted the voices and the places of the "others" who came before the du Ponts, those "others" who have shared and contested the region's landscape for more than two centuries.

An Interpretive Pathway to Delaware's "Chateau Country"

This chapter is a conversation about our struggle to "reanimate past lives and life-worlds" on a bit of expensive real estate in northwestern Delaware. For the past 10 years, we "conversed" with people, buildings, wildflowers, and objects. The legacy of the du Pont family and their homes in northern Delaware's "Chateau Country" represent an omnipresent, yet elusive, aspect of life and landscape. Delaware is a place where almost every form of the public sphere—hospital, highway, park, university, museum, garden—bears the name of a du Pont family member.

Mrs. Lammot du Pont Copeland initiated these conversations. Her husband, a fifth-generation du Pont descendent, had been president of the DuPont Company before his death. Among her many accomplishments, Mrs. Copeland had served on the Board of the National Trust for Historic Preservation, and founded a botanical research center. She understood archaeology as a study of the distant "past" that ended with her family's arrival on this land in the 1930s. Mrs. Copeland set herself and her family outside of history. It was not her past we would help her explore, but that of earlier others.

Several concepts and perspectives central to interpretive landscape archaeology in the United States informed our approach (for overviews of interpretive landscape archaeology, see especially De Cunzo and Ernstein, 2006; Hall, 2000; Pauls, 2006; Rotman and Savulis, 2003; Yamin and Metheny, 1996). *Context* is fundamental, leading us to search out the *relationships* that bound together things, people, and places. We query the interplay between *structure* and *agency*, and welcome the challenges of exploring the *lived experience* of actors long dead.

Our goal is to capture and re-present the *multilocality* (Rodman, 1992) inherent in the landscape, acknowledging multiple ways of knowing a place in the past and the present (Joyce, 2002:114). *Ambiguity, contradiction, fragmentation*, and *incompleteness* pervade our studies. Julian Thomas (2000:85) stated it eloquently in his essay on interpretation in archaeology: "We cannot produce a knowledge of the past which is identical with that which past people themselves would have written, but we can enter into a *conversation* with a past cultural horizon in which we gain some kind of enlightenment" (2000:85; emphasis added). Like Rebecca Yamin and other interpretivists, we sought to construct "alternative narratives" of this northern Delaware agricultural landscape. In preparing the conference paper that led to this chapter, however, we learned the hard truth of Yamin's (2001:154) admonition that "Old stories are easy to tell. It is the new ones that are difficult."

The first interpretive difficulty involves what we include, exclude, ignore, or exaggerate by imposing our conceptions of landscape, and to what ends (for critical reviews of this issue in American landscape studies, see Shackel, 2001; Stine et al., 1997). One classification distinguishes three approaches to landscape: those that privilege resources, "placeness," and expressive surface. Like any construct, this landscape trilogy has inherent limitations. Most notable is the inseparability of these conceptions; each interpenetrates and implicates the others. Yet as a heuristic device, this classification helps specify the perspectives that inform American landscape archaeology.

A resources perspective explores the endowment of economic value to physical features of the land, and the technological processes that extract raw materials and transform them into useful commodities for exchange. Researchers analyze the human *contest* over the land's natural and cultural resources. Recent work has challenged the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century poetic of landscape work as *improvement* with images of landscape *violence* and *exploitation* and undisciplined, irresponsible *consumption* of nonrenewable resources. Contemporary environmental concerns about *sustainability*, *conservation*, and heritage *preservation* drive these investigations.

A second genre of landscape studies conceives of the land as *place* and *stage* on and through which life is *experienced*, and the self and others constructed. These studies of "dwelling" highlight an integrated, *embodied* "Being in the world." "Active voice" (Beaudry et al., 1991; Casey, 1996; Douglas, 1982) explorations highlight the *action* of living, working, and moving through the landscape. They also consider how landscape engages in *memory* work. "Memory is the search for the truth of what has gone before" (Teski and Climo, 1995:2). The familiar saying, "walk down memory lane," captures the experiential nature of memory. Gazing at or moving through a landscape, we remember, forget, reshape, and share vicarious memories (Teski and Climo, 1995:2–4). Enacting *rituals*, we model an ideal existence and social order on the land. Recent work has sought to pierce these landscapes of "othering" (Garman, 2005; Soja, 1989) and reconstituted the *transgressions* that contested them (Casella, 2001, 2002). Martin Hall (2000:44) and others have challenged this approach, claiming that it "depends centrally on the romantic projection of present, personalized experiences into the past..., [and] assumes that the past and the present are connected by a common humanity.... This is a dangerous assumption."

A third interpretive tradition considers the land a surface for *aesthetic* performance and expressive representation. Whether painting or place, landscapes tell *stories* or moralizing *parables*. They captivate the imagination with their *lyrical* power. They provoke the emotions. They enlist their makers and users in *ideological* dialogues, making people "believe that the world exists for them rather than vice versa" (Thomas, 1990:63). Through *metaphor* and *symbolism*, they reference other times, people, places, and values, transporting them into the present (De Cunzo and Ernstein, 2006; Rotman and Savulis, 2003; Schama, 1995).

Elements of each interpretive tradition inform the landscape work of all but the most strident theoretical "purists" in American historical archaeology. They entered

our intellectual and emotional encounter with a northern Delaware landscape both familiar and foreign.

Encounters in the Contemporary Delaware Landscape

The tensions between past, present, and future in the landscape of Piedmont Delaware are palpable. The pervasive legacy of the du Pont dynasty defines the region. The natural and built landscape created, and sustains, the regional reality and mythology. With a landscape so strongly linked to the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century history of one large, prominent family, how can we get beyond the recent past to understand the lives and landscapes of the people before? What is the impact of the contemporary northern Delaware landscape on mediating our understanding of the past? How can we write beyond the "master narrative?"

One easily comprehends this landscape as a capitalist vehicle for a vision embracing the therapeutic and moral value of working the land in the countryside. The capitalist dynasty the du Ponts built on the land colonized other pasts and people. British archaeologists have interpreted English landed estates in similar ways (see Williamson, this volume). Michael Shanks (1992:122) wrote of Wallington: it is a "story of cultured class perfectly at home in their world... [an] allegory of public and private, classical cultivation of nature, the agency and place of the individual.... a differentiated community, sensual experiences of art, craft, ancestry and history." In this volume, Williamson reviews and critiques this Marxist history of the landed estate, urging us to probe deeper into the changing elements and shifting meanings of these landscapes across the centuries.

In northern Delaware, the past is a separate place, like the southern end of Maryland that Julia King (1994) has described, but then again it is not. The past is everywhere and yet it is contained and set apart. The "present past" encompasses the wildlife preserves, museum landscapes, and philanthropic institutions established by past generations. In these ritual landscapes, the past lives as an "exotic fantasy onto which we project our own desires and fears" (Hodder, 1999:154, quoted in Thomas, 2000:7). This "present-ed" *past* is an elite *utopia*, built on a dynasty that manufactured death in the form of gunpowder. Now we *experience* it "perfected and sanitized," a pastoral aesthetic, clean and green, clipped, tidy, even, at Winterthur's fairy woods for children, enchanted (Fig. 1.3). Conservation easements have frozen thousands of acres of this *improved* land forever, theoretically an *image* of a past that never existed.

Penetrating into and expanding out from the "present past" is the "past gone but not forgotten." Restored and unrestored ruins of past agricultural and rural industrial productivity manipulate our *memory* of this past we never knew (Fig. 1.4). Their presence connotes *progress*, buildings abandoned due to improvements that rendered their productive technologies obsolete. The "repro past" also celebrates past ideals, reinventing and re-presenting them in restored country estates, farms, and residences. Architectural and landscaping styles also *historicize* the landscape in new developments devouring the land.

Fig. 1.3 A serene Brandywine River meanders through the former du Pont gunpowder works at Hagley Museum, inset over an image of the aftermath of a devastating gunpowder explosion in the upper yard of the powder works, 1890 (Photo courtesy of Hagley Museum and Library)

Fig. 1.4 Ruins of rural life in the past. Inset: The restored past—the 1787 Bishop family house on the Mt. Cuba estate

"Progress" led also to "pasts forgotten and denied." These pasts, of the Delaware Indians, the nonlanded, and the colonized, for example, have become increasingly *invisible*. An American incarnation of "aristocratic arrogance" resulted in the appropriation, manipulation, and erasure of tenant and other pre-country estate settlements as it did in the English countryside (Everson and Williamson, 1998:157). Relegated to the archaeological record, these groups' pasts can be easily "mitigated" before the bulldozers arrive to create commercial palaces on *exploited* land *conquered* by the power of accumulated resources. We have all moved through landscapes like this in rituals of *consumption* that celebrate gathering the world's commodities unto oneself. Finally, in this imagined landscape of northern Delaware, there is the "past to the future." The country estate model of corporate research and institutional "campuses" like those of du Pont, AstraZeneca, and Bank of America use contemporary and historical styles to unite the past and the present, as their employees labor to improve the future.

These ideas have formed in "landscape conversations" that began when Mrs. Copeland invited us to probe the ruins of a tenant farm she and her husband had not quite eradicated decades before when they acquired the land they named Mt. Cuba. Our initial archaeological survey and recommendations helped Mrs. Copeland broaden and deepen her vision to embed a historical perspective in research, conservation, and education programming relating to Mt. Cuba's landscape and gardens. In all our work together, we sought to understand personal stories of people who had established ties to the land, and to examine how and why the landscape and environment of Mt. Cuba and the larger Piedmont region had become what it was by 1930. Past values, ethics, and actions on the land had led to widespread replacement of native plant communities with introduced species, and had eroded and exhausted soils. They had also produced a long heritage of efforts to reclaim the environment for productive and pleasurable uses. Mrs. Copeland sought to instill a conservation ethic and appreciation of natural lands, plant communities, and cultural heritage in future generations, and to provide them with the tools and skills to act on their beliefs. This mandate structured the work of the University of Delaware Mt. Cuba Historical Archaeology Project.

Databases and Interpretive Landscape Archaeology

Since 1997, we have conducted research in the archives, explored people's memories, probed into the archaeological remains, and recorded some of the surviving cultural features of the Mt. Cuba landscape. In order for the data to be most useful, we needed an efficient system for its collection and analysis in a number of ways to *interpret* the past. BG-Map links plant records with an AutoCAD map, creating a powerful Geographic Information System (GIS). Designed for use in gardens such as Mt. Cuba's, our team designed a new cultural resources module that integrates with the existing plants and facilities modules, allowing information to be shared among researchers in many disciplines.

The challenge of archaeologist-to-computer-programmer translation forced us to think about the complexity of the landscape stories we wanted to elicit from the data. Interpretation demands tracking multilayered relationships among people, places, and things. Our goal was to capture the many faces and facets of social identity and materiality as discrete data that could be endlessly compared and contrasted and interrelated—to link everything to everything else. BG-Map Cultural Resources now consists of 390 data fields that record biographical data, content from documents such as deeds, court cases, and probate records, historic properties, above-ground cultural and historical features, and that manage all archaeological data and detailed information about excavated artifacts.

With BG-Map, researchers can address questions like these:

- How and when did the lands get divided and passed on to other family members and sold to other community members or outsiders?
- What were the most important products at different times?
- How did farming practices change with each generation?
- How did topography, soil type, and agricultural potential influence people's decisions about how to use the land, where to place buildings and fields and livestock pens? How did this change as these decisions "accumulated" on the landscape over time?
- What would the landscape and community have looked like if you traveled just after the United States was established and the du Ponts immigrated to northern Delaware? Just before the Civil War? At the turn of the twentieth century? In the years just before the Copelands moved here?
- What physical features exist today to tell the story of Mt. Cuba's history? Where are they? What is their condition?

Together, the responses to these queries aid our effort to explore these broader questions:

- How did household production and consumption, and the relationships between them vary, and not, across the Piedmont landscape? How did they change over time, and what continuities are evident?
- How do production and consumption choices correlate with

  o Individuals' life history?
  o Household composition, including presence of children and/or unrelated laborers, and the ages, sex, education, wealth, occupation and employment, religious affiliation, and ethnic background of household members?
  o Property ownership v. tenancy?
  o Property composition, including its size and lineage of ownership, quantities of tillable acreage, woodlot, steep grades, and water access?
  o Periods of economic crisis, stagnation, and growth?
  o Periods of war?
  o Environmental and weather crisis?
  o Personal crisis?

An interpretive approach demands that we also pose more qualitative questions, such as

- What features structured individuals' *experiences* of the landscape?
- What were the meaningful elements of previous residents' *taskscapes*?
- What kinds of *memories* did these landscapes evoke?

The information snippets in the database are the tesserae out of which we build *context.* Before we had an opportunity to try to evoke experience and memory from context, Mrs. Copeland passed away. As she had so carefully planned, her death triggered the transition from private estate to public facility, the Mt. Cuba Center, Inc. (MCC). The MCC Board and staff began to consider their public presentation of Mt. Cuba. Mrs. Copeland had always emphasized that the story was not about her, but about the plants and the land that were rapidly disappearing. But the MCC had to include the Copelands' story, since the Center was their vision and legacy. So we redirected our focus to the Copeland landscape, seeking insights into the experience of meaning-making in a more recent, well-documented past. Ultimately, the Mt. Cuba Historical Archaeology Project prepared an institutional history that identified the key players and sequenced the events that produced the Mt. Cuba estate landscape (Cross, 2002; Cross and Moqtaderi, 2004).

From Landscape of Poverty and Depression to Dynastic Myth of Past, Present, and Future

The early story of the Copeland family at Mt. Cuba parallels those of other wealthy families that established themselves on expansive, carefully manicured properties in northern Delaware during the first three decades of the twentieth century (Marshall, 2002). Modeled on gracious English country homes, these residences emerged from a regional legacy of landed estates, farms, and industries, as Williamson argues in this volume. They were also a product of a specific historical moment—the Great Depression. As families encumbered by debt sought avenues for relief, they sold the properties they had farmed for generations. In a unique way, this generation of du Ponts and their elite peers coming of age in the early decades of the twentieth century profited from economic and agriculture failure. Plummeting land values enabled them to acquire large tracts of farmland, and through erasure, manipulation, and selective preservation to re-present their own image in the inherited landscape.

When the Copelands set out to locate a site to build their home, familial expectations and a deeply rooted sense of place held strong for Lammot Copeland. He stipulated that they find land near Eleutherian Mills, the ancestral home and first seat of industrial operations of the du Pont family, which was situated along the Brandywine River. To be sure, Lammot "didn't want to live anyplace except on the Brandywine" (Copeland, 1994:9–10). A century before, a relative living at the Winterthur estate shared this sentiment when he remarked that he would "not feel at home except near the Brandywine" (Eversmann and Lidz, 2005:9). It was the

swiftly flowing Brandywine River that powered the black powder factory upon which the du Pont family built their fortune. For successive generations of du Ponts, the winding Brandywine allegorized success and virtue, and framed their definition of home. This attachment persisted for Lammot Copeland and shaped his search for a home. However, after a century of du Pont estate building in the region, land in the Brandywine Valley was limited, so the couple redirected their search elsewhere in northern Delaware and in 1935, selected a location in the nearby Red Clay Valley.

Situated atop one of Delaware's highest elevations, the property where they would build their home became known as Mt. Cuba, after a nearby nineteenth-century industrial village. Pamela selected the location, and Lammot deemed the site acceptable due to its proximity to an older cousin's estate, which for him validated their decision to locate outside the preferred area. The Copelands valued the seclusion of the area. Although Mt. Cuba was physically quite close to DuPont's corporate headquarters in downtown Wilmington, with its wide views, rolling hills, and quiet woods, it was mentally far removed from the realities of business, manufacturing, and urban life. For Pamela, the elevation and commanding views of gently rolling fields and wooded areas attracted her and in fact, were a requirement for the former New Englander, who "felt [she] must have a hill" (Copeland, 1984:74).

The Copelands purchased a rural landscape exhausted by generations of agriculture and intensive land use. The 126-acre property was a working farm, but the Copelands perceived it as empty and ready to be made anew. Extensive demolition and earth-moving activities erased and "improved" the agricultural landscape Lammot and Pamela inherited as they refined their vision and carefully oversaw the "barren" landscape's transformation into a gracious and carefully planned estate for their family. The Copelands focused their efforts on creating a home that offered them the space, comfort, luxury, and elegance they desired for raising their children, welcoming extended family, and entertaining friends, colleagues, and dignitaries. Later, their love of the land and native plants led to a concern about the state of the Piedmont environment, and beginning in the 1960s, Lammot and Pamela Copeland redirected their energies to land conservation by preserving native plant species.

Of Dynasties

Centuries of lumbering and agricultural practice had scarred the Piedmont landscape and enabled invasive plant species to thrive. In the process of reclaiming the land and viewscapes, the Copelands also redefined previous generations' relationship to, and experience of, the land. The MCC's expanded program of public visitation presented an opportunity to introduce another perspective on this past. The existing garden tour at Mt. Cuba interpreted the landscape as a surface molded into an aesthetic form. It moved people through the landscape to appreciate its sensory surprises, and study its botanical contents. But it was a tour devoid of a past; Mt. Cuba as landscape began with the Copelands in a way that denied Mrs. Copeland's interest in the past people and their farms. We wanted to help visitors "see" another family, the Armstrongs. Generations of Armstrongs had significantly shaped this

same landscape for almost a century and a half before the Copelands. The Cultural Resources database helped establish a larger community context for the Armstrong family history and to draw parallels between the Armstrongs and the Copelands in their relationship to the land. The following passages from the tour document relate the points and perspectives we emphasized (Moqtaderi and De Cunzo, 2003).

Four themes that link the Armstrongs and the Copelands, and that already infuse the Mt. Cuba garden tour, focus this presentation: Family; Women's roles. . .; Impact of economic cycles. . .; Land use and the landscape as places that produce meaning and values, as well as crops, livestock, and native plants. These themes are woven into the narratives of three points in the Armstrong family's history on the Mt. Cuba landscape: 1920s–1940s; 1850–1860s; 1800–1820s.

Stop 1: The Copelands Arrive at Mt. Cuba
In 1935, the Copelands' neighbors were Archie and Ellen Armstrong, who were the fourth generation of Armstrongs to work the land. [The family]. . . lived in the stone farm house. . . . As they had in the generation before, the Armstrong family centered their 1930s agricultural production on dairy operations, fodder crops, truck farming, and fruit production.

Though the Armstrongs had experienced success through the 19th century and into the early 20th century, the economic depression and shifts in agricultural production of the 1930s resulted in . . . problems for the family. In 1936, Archie Armstrong mortgaged the property and buildings to pay off debts. . . . In 1955, the Armstrongs. . . sold their remaining 87-acre farm to Henry du Pont, thus ending their 141-year tenure on the Piedmont landscape.

Stop 2: The Armstrong Family at the Height of their Success
By 1842, [John Armstrong] had built his success to a point where he was able to double his landholdings by purchasing a 106-acre farm north of his property. . . . Armstrong's ability to expand his landholdings was unusual, as most Mill Creek farmers who did own farms continued to divide them among their children. . . . We may consider the Armstrongs among New Castle County's small group of elite farmers, who consolidated their ownership of land during the crisis years preceding 1850.

Proximity to Wilmington and Philadelphia led local farmers to specialize in dairy products, hay, fruits, vegetables, and eggs. . . . As elsewhere across New Castle County, family roots in Mill Creek's land provided farmers with a distinct advantage in maintaining ownership of the hundred's most highly valued farms.

The success of the farm rested not just in the hands and hard work of John Armstrong, and his two oldest sons, but also in the rest of his family. By 1850, John's wife had died, but his four daughters would have been actively involved in the farming. Along with Archibald's wife, [they] would have been responsible for the dairying operations of both farms,. . . [providing] the force behind the production of 1,464 pounds of butter from 12 dairy cows!. . . Their earnings were often enough to buy most of the household goods the family needed.

The Armstrong farms in the middle of the 19th century speak to the traditions of establishing family legacies on the agricultural landscape. . . . By 1850, the oldest son, Archibald, and his wife Sarah had established themselves on the farm. Later, John Jr. moved to the property with his wife and two young children. When the elder John Armstrong died in 1869, he left the two farms to his sons so that they could continue the family's legacy in the Piedmont agricultural community.

Stop 3: The Armstrongs arrive at Mt. Cuba and establish the family farm
Delaware's population, and especially northwestern Delaware's population, grew rapidly in the era of the new republic. Existing farms could not support the new generation of aspiring farm owners, and many new farmers had to clear and work lands of poor quality. As it had been for decades before the Revolution, wheat was the most important cash crop grown by area farmers.

But 18th-century wheat farming practices were hard on the environment. Clear-cutting woodlands for plowing caused erosion, and wheat drained nutrients from the soil and exhausted the land. Wheat prices were dropping, the War of 1812 disrupted the economy, a volcanic eruption half a world away produced ash that blotted out the sun and kept temperatures low for more than a year. Together with the arrival of a devastating disease..., the farm economy around Mt. Cuba—and up and down the eastern United States—faced a crisis. Many farming folk migrated to better lands in the west beginning in the late 1810s.

Two centuries later, Mrs. Copeland still had reason for concern about the state of the Piedmont environment. The Copeland estate at Mt. Cuba and the Mt. Cuba Center represent Mr. and Mrs. Copeland's decisions to act on their concerns.

The environmental and landscape concerns of another du Pont family, the Greenwalts, complemented those of the Copelands. They donated their nearby farm, Coverdale, to the Delaware Nature Society (DNS). In 1732, Archibald Armstrong and his family had established the farm and the Armstrong dynasty in northwestern Delaware. Archibald's great grandson later purchased the farms at Mt. Cuba. DNS uses Coverdale to help visitors appreciate the historical work of farming. A historical trail loops through the farm in another landscape conversation paralleling ours at Mt. Cuba. At ten stops, visitors learn about the historical buildings, livestock, crops, and orchard produce, timber and water resources, roads, and windbreaks. The trail's organizing principles are the interconnectivity inherent in its loop format, a chronological procession through time, and emphasis on human interaction

Fig. 1.5 The 1868 Beers Atlas map of the Armstrong family farms, with topography added to emphasize the hilly landscape. Top inset: Public road became a private lane for the Greenwalts at Coverdale Farm. Bottom inset: The wildflower garden and pond designed by the Copelands at Mt. Cuba (Photo courtesy of Mt. Cuba Center, Inc.)

with the agroecological landscape. The authors explained, "Visitors will learn how humans manipulated the natural ecosystem in order to better suit their way of life" (Siders et al., 1999:21).

Comparing the interpretive presentations at Coverdale and Mt. Cuba (Fig. 1.5), we came to realize that they both shatter the landscape into fragments and disconnect the people. Both also valorize the Armstrongs, proving that they earned their place in this capitalist dynastic history. And we both "deliver" the past uncritically, denying visitors the challenge and satisfaction of discovery. Set in the agricultural landscape, the Coverdale walking trail evokes a sense of place, while our tour, constrained by the Copeland-centered landscape, moves from an aestheticized Copeland present back to a naturalized Armstrong past physically divorced from farming practice. The Coverdale narrative critiques agricultural practices, while ours denied the Armstrongs' and the du Ponts' collaboration in the conquest of native flora as their work commodified the land and its resources. We had written practically the same "clean and green" history that we began our landscape travels trying to dislocate. Our search for another path led back again to the Copelands.

Beyond Master Narrative

Initially, our goal for documenting the Copeland-era history of Mt. Cuba was to meet the MCC's institutional needs for describing the development of the designed landscape. At their behest, we sought to identify key players, sequence events, and document the phases of Mt. Cuba's evolution. We acknowledged the role of the landscape in the Copelands' presentation of self, but as historical archaeologists seeking an understanding of an earlier past, we did not expect to use our study of Mt. Cuba's recent history as more than a means for learning about the changes the Copelands had wrought on the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century landscape we had initially been invited there to study. Ultimately, however, our interactions with Mrs. Copeland and her staff, careful study of their writings and recollections, and observations of the landscape they created offered us a new way to look at landscape and helped us to realize that our studies of the Delaware Piedmont landscape could not follow the master narrative we initially thought we understood. Unlike historical archaeologists studying more distant pasts, we had the benefit of thorough documentation that allowed us not only to create a well-informed description of the Mt. Cuba landscape but also to elicit a more nuanced understanding of the emotions and experiences of those who inhabited it.

The expansive house, carefully designed landscape, and manicured gardens created by one of Delaware's wealthiest and most influential couples are plainly a case study for landscape as dynastic power and capitalistic control. While we understand Mt. Cuba as a landscape of extreme privilege, inherited power, and careful manipulation, it is also one of inspiration, personal dedication, delight, and transformation. It was the discovery and growing awareness of these apparent contradictions that contributes another voice to the landscape conversation in which we have engaged.

Creating Mt. Cuba comprised an ongoing, multi-decade process of designing, building, and redesigning the landscape. What began as a young couple playing out their role in the du Pont dynasty eventually became the Copelands' opportunity to inscribe their own legacy indelibly into the landscape. It was Lammot Copeland's vision to create a "botanical park," an institution that would rival, but not duplicate, the efforts of his cousins, Henry F. du Pont at Winterthur Museum and P.S. du Pont at Longwood Gardens. Though the impetus came from Lammot, it was Pamela Copeland, working closely with landscape architects and horticulturists, who expanded and cultivated the concept, transforming her childhood interest in wildflowers into a nationally recognized center for the study and propagation of native plants.

Though the goal was to create a naturalistic garden, the Mt. Cuba's wildflower gardens were anything *but* natural. It took tremendous manipulation, continual revision, and intense maintenance to develop a verdant, lush native plant garden, seemingly untouched by human hands, in a sloping field defined only by corn stubble when they purchased the property. For nearly 40 years, landscape crews and horticulturists devoted thousands of hours to reshaping the existing landscape into a tranquil, light-dappled refuge. Throughout the process, Pamela Copeland assumed oversight and worked hand-in-hand, and often side-by-side, with the crews to position a stand of trees, to manipulate the streams of light, and to delineate the curves of each mulched path. For her, the gardens were fused into resource, experience, and performance as she shaped the land to match memories of her childhood wildflower collecting trips and to look ahead toward the MCC's role in educating the public.

Though carefully contrived to match Pamela Copeland's image of a natural landscape, the gardens held significant individual meaning for its creators, both the founders and the staff that labored to bring it to fruition. Pamela Copeland's diaries and writings offer insight into the emotional qualities of landscape and her reasons for creating Mt. Cuba as she did. Oral histories with long-term employees who physically transformed the land provide the voices of those who sculpted the earth, laid the paths, and selected the plants and for whom Mt. Cuba's soil, plants, and hillsides held equally personal meanings.

In her diary, Pamela Copeland noted the pedestrian details of the Mt. Cuba landscape—weather conditions, plant bloom cycles, vegetable seasonality, utility installation, and changes of outdoor furnishings. Her frequent walks on the estate, often with her family, friends, or staff, engaged her (and them) with the texture, three-dimensionality, smells, sounds, and feelings surrounding her. Often, she recorded these thoughts and feelings in her diaries or her letters. The emotional weight of the landscape comes through in her writings and offers us insight into the undeniable power of place. The gardens and woods she created were a source of beauty and inspiration that also provided solace, healing, and retreat during challenging periods in her life. Life at Mt. Cuba was privileged, but not without family difficulties that caused disappointment and even despair. During these times of distress and frustration, Pamela Copeland relied on the land and plants around her for solace, therapy, and inspiration (Fig. 1.6).

Fig. 1.6 Pamela Copeland stands amid newly planted trees at the family's estate in the 1930s (Photo courtesy of Mt. Cuba Center, Inc.)

Revisiting the details of Mt. Cuba's development initially told us what happened when and which landscape architects executed which portions of estate's gardens, but a closer look at our data revealed new insight into the relationships people forge with the landscape. Within the prescribed dynastic landscape, Pamela Copeland created a place for herself and expressed her interests and ideas through the gardens. She placed herself physically into the landscape, engaged it with all her senses, and designed it so she could best appreciate its elements. She, in turn, hoped that others—her family, guests, employees, and eventually MCC visitors—would experience a similar relationship. Of course, it is impossible for one person to recreate feelings or emotions for others, but Pamela Copeland strived to offer her own delight in the landscape to others. Recalling her childhood spent outdoors discovering the natural world and learning about plants, she guided the development of narrow, meandering paths, subtle gradations of color, and filtered light striving to transform those who entered the garden. This landscape was to be appreciated through the action of moving down its paths, across its meadows, and through its dappled light. Together, Pamela Copeland intended for these experiences, which held almost a ritualistic comfort for her, to be transformative so that that its participants would come away with a new found recognition of the power of nature that would, in turn, help them learn to respect and preserve it.

Whether or not the Mt. Cuba landscape does indeed satisfy Pamela Copeland's goal of transformation, we are learning from our work at Mt. Cuba to consider the complexities of the *personal landscape* as we engage in archaeology of the rural Piedmont and seek to understand people 200 years removed from us. We know that projecting our understandings of others' feelings and emotions cannot constitute

the only way of interpreting it. Landscape is confusing, multifaceted, and charged with emotion. It is inherently contradictory and cannot be summarized neatly into a defined and comprehensible package. But, in this American landscape conversation, we understand that it is these things that compel us to study landscape as a way to understand both the past and the present.

Conclusions: In Search of "Landscapes within Landscapes"

Successful interpretation inspires revelation. Perhaps the most important revelation of this project was the discovery of how long and stubbornly we had clung to a vision of the past that vehemently and blindly denied the defining principles of an interpretive approach: history is fraught with ambiguity, contradiction, inconsistency, complexity; it is not the progressive, unitary narrative that we had invented. We had asserted the Armstrongs as the natural ancestors of the du Ponts and the du Ponts as the Armstrongs' natural heirs in a celebratory myth of family, farm work, and the pleasures and purity of the rural landscape. Alternately, following Mrs. Copeland's lead, we had imagined these farming families of the past as the agents responsible for creating a landscape of corn stubble growing in impoverished soils due to their lack of concern for, if not respect, for natural resources, and lack of appreciation for the beauty of a blooming Piedmont landscape.

Yet we know that many other Piedmont "landscapes-within-landscapes" await us. On opposite sides of the Atlantic, we and Tom Williamson approached the landed estates from opposite ends. He traveled through the topic from the past to the present, and from the phenomenon of the landed estate to the particular estate. We departed from our presentist views on the past and the landscapes particular families shaped in one American region dense with nineteenth- and twentieth-century estates. Both paths led to similar places, and we share the conclusion that these oft-studied landscapes still offer boundless interpretive possibilities. Many pasts have been denied or erased from the landscape surface, and their people's stories will be complicated to tell. We will continue to "converse toward" an archaeology of landscape that reveals without conquest, and illuminates the pain, meaning, and values in all people's histories. It is a conversation that must negotiate the emotion-laden terrains of landscape with openness to their multilocality in the past and present. In concluding, we return once more to the Armstrongs, du Ponts, and their landscapes.

On Marriage and Death

Archibald Armstrong wrote his will at what we know as Coverdale Farm in 1829 "commemorating the uncertainty of time in this World." "I Give and Bequeath to my Beloved Wife Sarah Armstrong . . . one Horse and one Cow, which are to be well kept for her Winter & Summer by my Executors: she is to have the Horse always when she wants to use him. . . . I likewise Give to. . . my . . . Wife my riding Chair and Harness, . . . Two good Beds (her choice) with a sufficiency of Bed Clothes; all

the Furniture now in the Stone end of the House below Stairs (except my Desk) with a case of Drawers up Stairs. . . the Parlour in the Stone end of the House, with the small room up Stairs, and a sufficiency of Cellar-room to hold what she may want to put in it, with free liberty to go to and from it, & the Oven likewise as occasion may require. Also she is to have yearly fifteen Bushels of good Wheat and fifteen Bushels of good Indian Corn, also one hundred and fifty pounds of Pork, and one hundred pounds of Beef, yearly. . ... And she is to be well supplied with a sufficiency of good Firewood, cut short enough for her fireplace and brought to her Door."

On Cows and Butter and Pots and Pans

In the local agricultural community, households churned 30% more butter in 1860 than in 1850, a total of 46,500 pounds, an average increase of more than 100 pounds per family! Larger dairy herds enabled these production increases, as farmers increased herd size by more than 400 in 10 years. Good dairy cows produced two gallons of milk each day, with enough cream for about a pound of butter (Siders et al., 1999:6). At Coverdale Farm, Rachel Armstrong spent an hour each day milking, and uncounted others in the springhouse cooling, creaming, churning, working, and finally shaping the butter into blocks for delivery to Wilmington for sale.

In recent excavations around the Coverdale springhouse, we found fragments of redware milk pans, butter pots, and other traditional dairy wares in quantities five times greater than all other ceramic types combined. The array of forms and styles embody stories of generations of local production and exchange of another traditional agricultural product of the Red Clay Creek valley. The few utilitarian stonewares and whitewares also evidence decisions to delay acceptance of industrial goods into the local dairying culture. At least until civil war stole the community's sons and plunged the area into crisis, the community pursued an agricultural program of intensification and consolidation, and property values climbed.

On Family and Home

Two decades after the union was reaffirmed, Archibald's grandson and namesake and his family stood for a portrait outside their farmhouse. "See" the *family tableau* first, posed in their daily working attire, the women's skirts protected by aprons and the men's heads by broad-brimmed hats (Fig. 1.7). Left to right: Archibald: 65, former grocer, now farmer, and household head, father of Stephen and Ada, inherited the 104-acre farm from his father 15 years earlier. He and his family were parishioners at Red Clay Presbyterian Church; today the family lies memorialized in the churchyard. Emma L.: 11, daughter of Stephen and his first wife. Her mother died, and her father remarried and had Archie the next year. Emma never married. Sarah: 68, Archibald's wife, and mother of Stephen and Ada. Her slump-shouldered posture likely resulted from years of milking the cows in a damp barn. Martha: 38, second wife of Stephen and mother of Archie. Stephen: 34,
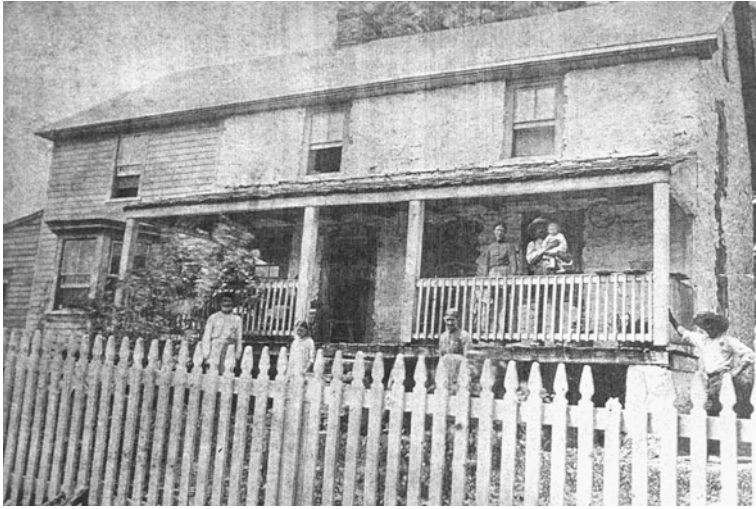
Fig. 1.7 The Archibald and Sarah Armstrong family pose in front of their farmhouse across the road from Mt. Cuba, late 1880s (Photo courtesy of Red Clay Reservation, Inc.)

cabinetmaker-farmer, remarried widower, holding his 2-year old son, Archie. It would be another two decades before Stephen inherited the farm from his father, and a quarter-century after that when Archie inherited from Stephen. An unidentified household member, likely a paid agricultural worker who may have received room and board for his labor, stands off to the side of the family grouping, leaning on the porch.

The stone house had withstood eight decades of Piedmont weather and Armstrong children by the time of the portrait. Armstrongs had added the frame wing and shed more recently. Open doors, old fancy chairs set out on the porch, and household articles balanced on the porch rail suggest to the viewer a family taking a momentary respite from the day's work to capture this visual memory of their existence. Perched on a hill near the road, the house and its residents stood not far from the center of the property behind a neat but worn picket fence that marked the boundaries of the houseyard. Rising and falling in hills around them, the household maintained 72 acres of tilled land, a 32-acre woodlot, and a 2-acre orchard planted with 80 apple trees. A few years before standing for their portrait, Archibald and Sarah, Stephen, and the hired laborer had planted 36 acres in grasses, 12 in Indian corn, 9 each in wheat and oats, and just over an acre in potatoes. Aided by a small investment in farm machinery, the household harvested 20 tons of hay, 500 bushels of Indian corn, 200 of Irish potatoes, 160 of oats, 156 of wheat, and 50 of apples, and cut 10 cords of wood. They also cared for four horses, six milch cows and five calves, four swine, 32 sheep and 18 lambs, and 50 chickens. The livestock offered transport, power, meat, 13 fleeces, 312 dozen eggs, uncounted gallons of milk and cream consumed or exchanged fresh, and at least 1,800 gallons of milk processed into 900 pounds of butter.

On Acquisition and Transformation

In her diary on 21 April 1943, Pamela Copeland noted "Saw Armstrong re woods." Bracketed by entries remarking, "Sprayed vegetable garden" and "Terrace furniture put out," (Copeland, 1939–1949) the visit with the Armstrongs seems unremarkable and as natural as the other property maintenance activities occurring that spring. How did this meeting come to pass? Who attended it? Where did it take place? No further detail on the meeting appears, but it is obviously the one where the Copelands expressed interest in buying the land, because by July, a surveyor had been hired. Lammot commented that the surveyor had "a nice line from the corner of the bridge, the edge of the stream where it is near the road and straight on [his cousin's] line. Will be just over 20 acres which should suit both parties" (Copeland, 1943). In August, the transaction became official and the Copelands owned Armstrong Woods (Cross and Moqtaderi, 2004:33). It was not until April 1945 that the woods were mentioned again, when Pamela and two of her children enjoyed a "picnic supper in Armstrong Woods" (Copeland, 1939–1949). There is no further mention of the Armstrongs in the Copeland diaries and letters.

On the Future

In 1999, a tenant farmer at Coverdale Farm was interviewed for an oral history program. His interviewer asked, "I'd like to know if you had any thoughts on the

Fig. 1.8 At the Greenwalts' behest, Delaware Nature Society employs environment-friendly farming practices at Coverdale Farm today. Inset: Archaeologists explore the historic Coverdale springhouse prior to restoration and interpretation of water's essential role in sustaining life

property becoming a site for educational purposes?" (Fig. 1.8) He answered, "I'm just happy to see that it stayed open. That they are not raising houses instead of corn there. . . . It would tickle me to death to see that be an active farm again" (Siders et al., 1999:83).

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Chapter 2
Estate Landscapes in England: Interpretive Archaeologies

Tom Williamson

Introduction

Landed estates in post-medieval England have been studied for many years by archaeologists, geographers and economic and social historians (Clemenson, 1982; Daniels and Seymour, 1990; Rawding, 1992). Much of this work has concentrated on the mansion and its immediate surroundings (Aston, 1978; Brown, 1991; Currie and Locock, 1991; Dix et al., 1995; Everson and Williamson, 1998; Johnson, 1999; Pattison, 1998; Taylor, 1983; West, 1999; Williamson, 1998). But attention has also been paid to the wider countryside in (for example) Jon Finch's examination of the impact of fox hunting on the development of the landscape or Wade Martin's work on "model" farm buildings (Finch, 2004; Wade Martins, 2002).

"Landed estate" is in some respects a dangerous term, for it embraces a very wide range of social and economic forms. Even in England estates varied in character, from region to region and across time: even greater variations are apparent when we adopt a wider, trans-Atlantic focus. In England an estate might be defined as an extensive and continuous, or near-continuous, unit of landed property, owned by an individual although not necessarily (following the elaboration of the institution of the strict settlement in the later seventeenth century) his or hers to alienate at will. It typically possessed a central core of mansion and garden, often accompanied by a park and "home farm", which was surrounded by an outer penumbra of farms and farmland. The latter was mainly leased, for defined periods of time, to tenants, although scattered areas were kept in hand by the owner, especially plantations and game preserves. This definition, broad as it is, would simply not apply in most trans-Atlantic contexts. On the east coast of America in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as in the West Indies, few mansions had parks and gardens as extensive (relative to the productive part of the estate) as those in England; while a far greater proportion of estate land was usually kept in hand, managed directly, and exploited by populations of slaves or bonded labourers. Such differences, as well as wider contrasts in the character of rural society, mean that the term "estate" needs to be treated with some care by archaeologists. Context is all.

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The Character of Landed Estates in England

Throughout its history the English landed estate has vaunted its rural and traditional character. A great house was always a "country house" even when its owners lacked another, specifically urban residence. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and even more in the nineteenth, large landowners emphasised the stability and longevity of their property, and of their title to it, by manipulating symbols of the past, ostentatiously displaying heraldry and, in certain circumstances, consciously adopting archaic forms of architecture or landscape design. Modern critics of landed wealth often describe the estate as a "relic of feudalism": but in reality it is a specifically modern form, something which only developed in the post-medieval world. Its distinguishing feature was individual control over the exploitation and physical appearance of an extensive tract of countryside. In the middle ages, large properties had seldom been held as unitary blocks and, more importantly, rights over land were usually multiple, complex and diffuse. The landed estate could only emerge in a world in which absolute rights of property in land were recognised, something which only happened as feudal concepts of tenure decayed, and the power of the Crown was limited, in the course of the seventeenth century.

By the eighteenth century estates were fully involved in capitalist production. They played an important (although perhaps not crucial) role in the so-called "agricultural revolution" (Clay, 1985; Habbakuk, 1953; Mingay, 1989). Enclosure, engrossment and the replacement of customary tenures by leases led to an expansion in the cultivated acreage and the emergence of larger and (it is alleged) more efficient and productive farms (Mingay, 1989). On these, "best practice"—especially the use of new forms of crops and rotations—could be enforced by leases. The estate system allowed, moreover, a pooling of resources between owners and producers: the landowner supplied and maintained the fixed capital, of farms and fields, while the tenant farmer provided the working capital, of stock and equipment. But estates were also active in fostering industrial expansion, developing their urban properties and systematically exploiting the mineral rights on their estates and other industrial opportunities. Many were also involved in the development of the Atlantic economy, through investments in shipping or colonial plantations. Landed estates did not stand aloof from modernity: they embraced it.

Landed estates never came to dominate in all parts of England. In some areas—especially old-enclosed, pasture-farming districts like the Weald of Kent and Sussex or the East Anglian claylands, or areas of particularly fertile land—their impact was limited. While large parts of such districts did eventually fall into the hands of substantial proprietors this was normally in the form of fragmented blocks. It was in areas of relatively poor land that estates reached their greatest extent: moorland districts and, in particular, in areas of light, sheep-and-arable land where small freehold farmers found it difficult to make a living in the increasingly market-orientated economy of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It was in these districts that we find most of the really large properties—those belonging to the group that Clemenson defined as the "great landowners"—which extended over 10,000 acres or more; although scattered examples of such units could, of course, be found

throughout the country (Clemenson, 1982:7–9). Moreover, such relatively marginal environments were often blank canvasses, with extensive tracts of unenclosed common and open field land which could be enclosed, "improved" and generally made to bear the mark of individual ownership. New roads, new hedges and new buildings (often, from the late eighteenth century, in some recognisable estate style) proclaimed the owner's control, involvement in modern agriculture and—by the nineteenth century—his or her paternalist care for the local poor.

On less marginal land the estates of the local gentry, embracing a parish or two and ranging from around 1,000 to 10,000 acres, tended to be more prominent (Clemenson, 1982:7–9). In these long-settled and, in many cases, long-enclosed landscapes the impact of landed properties was often rather less than in more marginal districts because they were already cluttered with features—they were not so ripe for change and "improvement". But everywhere in post-medieval England the impact of private ownership on the landscape grew over time, as both the will to mould the environment and the opportunity to do so increased.

Phases of Development

The changing character of estate landscapes has been charted in detail by a number of researchers, but only a very brief account can be presented here. We may define an initial phase, running from the early sixteenth to the early eighteenth century. In terms of mansions and gardens, this has received particular attention from English archaeologists, especially excavators, with important studies of the conversion of monastic houses into country houses in the aftermath of the Dissolution of the Monasteries (Howard, 2003); ideological interpretations of Renaissance architecture (Johnson, 1993) and the excavation and earthwork surveys of a large number of designed landscapes (Pattison, 1998; Taylor, 1983). Mansions which were, at least ostensibly, defended by moats, towers and battlements declined in popularity. They were replaced by a succession of forms loosely based on Renaissance models, derived directly or indirectly from Italian designs. Symmetry—increasingly of internal plan as well as external elevations—became of paramount importance. New kinds of room, such as the long gallery, were adopted as old medieval forms—hall, "lodgings" for retainers and other members of the household—declined. These changes have been interpreted in a variety of ways, but most agree on their social and political implications (Girouard, 1978). As a centralised state developed under the Tudor dynasty, power was based less on patterns of local allegiance and the potential of armed force, than on attendance at court and a knowledge of the appropriate social skills for advancement—a familiarity with Renaissance civilisation.

The gardens associated with sixteenth- and seventeenth-century mansions similarly went through a series of formal, geometric styles, featuring various combinations of topiary, knots and parterres, terraces and complex water features. Many residences, and certainly all the larger ones, also possessed a deer park, more ornamental in appearance than the hunting grounds of the middle ages but essentially simple landscapes of woods, grass and scattered trees. The scale of
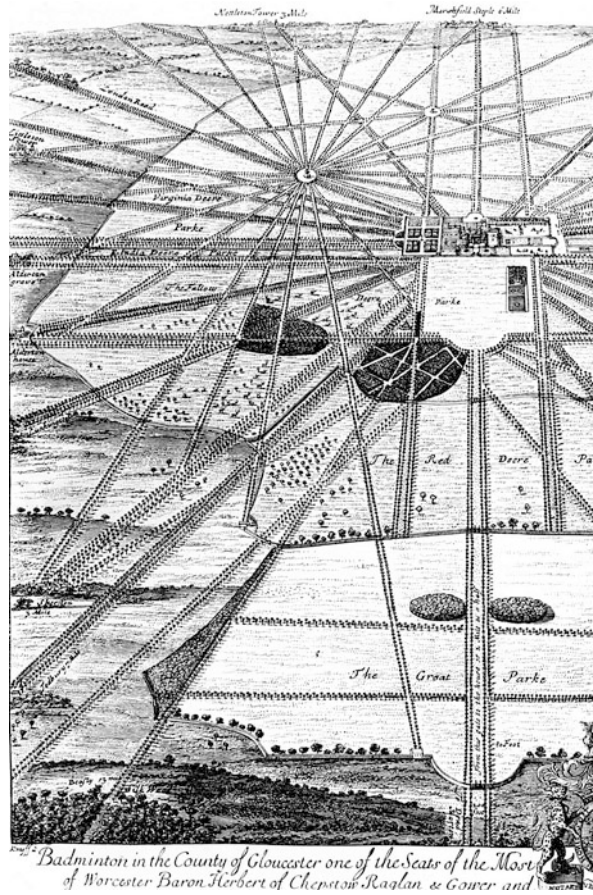
designed grounds increased during this period but even the greatest residences usually retained such productive facilities as barns and farmyards in close proximity, and many apparently "aesthetic" features also had a practical significance. In a society which was still in essence vertically integrated, rather than horizontally stratified, landscapes of ostentatious production served to impress and overawe local communities, just as the wit and sophistication of monuments and statues in the ornamental parts of the grounds might impress social equals (Williamson, 1995:31–35). These were landscapes which did not operate primarily or at least solely through intellectual exclusion: many of their key features were to be found in the grounds of yeoman farmers, but on a diminutive scale, a point to which I shall return.

There were important changes, especially in the scale of landscape design, in the period after the Restoration of the Monarchy in 1660. With the security of landed property now protected against the arbitrary power of the Crown by a parliament of the propertied, with the adoption of new inheritance practices (entails and strict settlements), and with significant developments in the structure of farming, landed estates grew steadily in size (Beckett, 1984, 1986). Enclosure, and the replacement of customary tenancies with leaseholds, ensured that their control over the landscape also grew. Parks increased in number and size; avenues, focussed on the mansion, spread across the landscape; and, encouraged by writers like John Evelyn and Moses Cook, there was a general upsurge in the planting of woods and plantations (Fig. 2.1) (Daniels, 1988; Williamson and Bellamy, 1987:192–199). Such extensive landscaping beyond the core of mansion, garden and park arguably represents the archaeological signal of the emergence of the true landed estate and of real private property in land. Sixteenth-century lawyers and topographers had described an estate, in essence, as a collection of rights and incomes; by the mid-eighteenth century it was a block of privately owned and controlled land.

A second phase in the development of estate landscapes spans, roughly, the middle and later decades of the eighteenth century. Broadly Palladian, and subsequently Neoclassical, forms of architecture were universal for mansions, and to some extent the design of their grounds mirrored this. Gardens became simpler and less geometric in character, and under designers like William Kent often evoked the idealised landscapes of Italy, as well as incorporating complex iconographic schemes. The formal structure of geometric gardens was now removed from the walls of the mansion, together with the various productive features in which the gentry had once delighted. In the classic landscapes of Capability Brown and his contemporaries the house stood "free of walls": shrubberies and informal gardens or pleasure grounds were retained to one side of the main façade but the principal setting for the mansion was now the landscape park, more manicured in appearance than the deer parks of previous centuries (Fig. 2.2).

These changes have also been interpreted in social terms (Daniels and Seymour, 1990; Girouard, 1978; Porter, 1990:45; Way, 1997:40; Williamson, 1995). In particular, as a fully developed capitalist economy emerged, society was divided along class lines—horizontally stratified, rather than vertically integrated through ties of obligation, deference and local or regional identity. This, as I shall explain below, had important implications for the gardens and courts in the immediate vicinity of

Badminton in the County of Gloucester one of the Seats of the Most
of Worcester Baron Herbert of Chepston Raglan & Gower and

the house. But most archaeologists and historians have emphasised the importance
of the park as an extensive insulating space, wrapped around the walls of the mansion. The mansion was isolated within the park, as perimeter belts proliferated and
roads and footpaths were routinely closed or diverted, especially following important legal changes in 1773. All this manifested the growing gulf that was emerging
between the aristocracy and gentry on the one hand, and the wider community on
the other: as well as the increasing consolidation of the upper ranks of society into a
single social group, "the polite", comprising (in Girouard's words) "the people who
owned and ran the country" (Girouard, 1990:76–77). Landed estates now dominated
extensive tracts of the English countryside: plantations spread across the countryside, flamboyant schemes of land improvement were instituted and farm buildings
were rebuilt on modern lines. Land management was increasingly geared towards
extensive leisure pursuits like fox hunting and game shooting.

A third main phase of estate development spans the early and middle decades
of the nineteenth century. The landed estate now existed within an increasingly

Fig. 2.2 Honing Hall, Norfolk: a typical late eighteenth-century mansion in its setting. No gardens interrupt the view across the open parkland, and stables, kitchen garden and other practical and productive facilities are hidden from view

industrial and urban world, one in which the economic and political influence of manufacturers, industrialists and the middle class as a whole were all increasing. These changes in the balance of economic and cultural power are first clearly manifested in the work of the leading landscape gardener of the 1790s and early 1800s, Humphry Repton. His style was more subtle and considered than that of Brown, and thus better suited to smaller properties, the diminutive parks of those on the fringes of landed society (Daniels, 1999). It was not by "adding field to field, or by taking away hedges, or by removing roads to a distance" that the surroundings of the smaller villa or manor house were to be improved: instead, this could only be achieved by exploiting "every circumstance of interest and beauty within our reach, and by hiding such objects as cannot be viewed with pleasure" (Repton, 1816:68). Indeed, in his later work Repton considered the grounds of even more lowly properties, outside the category of the landed estate altogether, writing in 1816 (p. 69) how:

  it seldom falls to the lot of the improver to be called upon for his opinion on places of great extent. . . while in the neighbourhood of every city or manufacturing town, new places as villas are daily springing up, and these, with a few acres, require all the conveniences, comforts and appendages, of larger and more sumptuous, if not more expensive places. And. . . these have of late had the greatest claim to my attention.

Repton's later designs thus show an increasing emphasis on gardens and pleasure grounds and on placing these once more in prominent positions in the country house landscape. At the same time, he consciously manipulated the landscape in order

to emphasise not only the extent of ownership but also the paternalistic involvement of landowners in local affairs, advocating, for example, the creation of gaps in perimeter belts, in order to dissolve social tensions (Daniels, 1982, 1999).

The return of formal, structured gardens to prominence—gardens that grew ever more extensive and elaborate under mid-century designers like William Andrews Nesfield (Elliott, 1986)—signalled a cultural *rapprochement* with the bourgeoisie, who had continued (of necessity, given the relatively small areas of land at their disposal) to value gardens, as opposed to parks, as the setting for their homes (Fig. 2.3). This development was also fuelled, no doubt, by the increasing rate of social mobility, as larger numbers of individuals grown wealthy in the expanding commercial and industrial sectors bought, or married, into the landed class. The exploits of the "gardener heroes" employed by the great estates—John Caie at Woburn, Donald Beaton at Shrubland Park, Joseph Paxton at Chatsworth—were eagerly consumed by middle-class readers of the burgeoning gardening press. Yet it was now, somewhat paradoxically, that the image of the estate as a self-consciously feudal and rural entity was also elaborated. The majority of mansions erected in Britain after c.1820 were thus built in some self-consciously archaic style, full-blown medieval gothic or "Jacobethan" (one reason for the return of parterres and topiary in gardens was that they provided a suitable accompaniment for such architecture) (Girouard, 1979). "Model" villages like Edensor near Chatsworth or Houghton in Norfolk, clustering deferentially at the park gates, helped counter the claims from middle-class radicals, that the country was ruled by an essentially selfish clique, but they also harked back to a supposed period of pre-industrial rural harmony—"the rich man at his castle, the poor man at his gate", in the words of the contemporary hymn (Darley,

Fig. 2.3 Holkham Hall, Norfolk. When completed in the middle of the eighteenth century, the hall was set within an open, "naturalistic" landscape. In the mid-nineteenth century, in keeping with the prevailing fashion, it was provided with a more formal and architectural setting—geometric gardens and substantial terraces—designed by William Andrews Nesfield

1975; Barnatt and Williamson, 2005:164–169). The picturesque styles adopted for such places were mirrored, in more subdued form, by the workers' cottages which were now (for the first time) widely constructed on estates, as well as by farms and farm buildings (Fuller, 1976). And landowners fought hard to keep the appearances of modern, industrial society at bay, often vehemently opposing industrial expansion on their doorsteps and ensuring that railway lines ran far from their park walls.

Nevertheless, while certain features of the modern world were shunned by nineteenth-century landowners, and while their chosen styles of architecture were determinedly archaic, their estates also proudly displayed an easy familiarity with the latest technology. Although few could boast structures to rival Paxton's Great Conservatory at Chatsworth, flamboyant glasshouses and complex heating systems could be found in the kitchen gardens of most country houses. In the mansion itself, gas lighting was standard by the middle years of the nineteenth century (many country houses had their own gas works and retorts) and by the end of the century electric lighting was beginning to appear (Girouard, 1978:250–251, 268). The attitudes of the landed class to science and modernity were thus complex and ambivalent, reflecting their own ambiguous and uncertain position in the modern world.

The Language of Landscape

The above account, a bald summary of the work of a number of scholars, is essentially Marxist in character, in the sense that buildings and landscapes are largely viewed as devices for the negotiation and legitimation of power, while particular styles and forms are seen as responses to changes in social stratification and the distribution of wealth. Yet some of the most important building-blocks of this argument, glossed over in a necessarily brief account, are more *interpretive* in character, in that they rely, in particular, on a dissolution of traditional distinctions between the "vernacular" landscape, primarily structured by economic and agrarian concerns; and the "designed", embodying mainly social, aesthetic and ideological values. To put it another way, the full complexities of the relationship between social forms on the one hand, and landscapes and material culture on the other, are not brought out by the separations and distinctions inherent in many Marxist approaches, even those which consciously eschew a simplistic base/superstructure model. For this reason, I want to explore in more detail one particular phase of estate archaeology in order to illustrate how, in a particular social context, meaning came to be written into landscape.

As already noted, the key development in eighteenth-century landscape design was the disappearance of enclosed geometric gardens and their replacement by the sweeping irregularity of the landscape park. This has usually, in social terms, been seen as evidence for the increasing spatial separation of different groups, and there is abundant contemporary written evidence to support this interpretation (Daniels and Seymour, 1990). Humphry Repton, in the early stages of his career, thus described how the owner of one Hertfordshire estate:

Might think a public road no less appropriate then cheerful immediately in front of the house; or a foot path. . . cutting up the lawn in another direction, passing close to the windows, leaving the house on a kind of peninsula surrounded by carts, wagons, gypsies &c. &c. who feel they have a right of intrusion. Yet when the place with all its defects shall pass under the correcting hand of good taste, the view from the house will be changed with the views of its possessor. (Williamson, 1995:105)

We know less of the reactions of the local poor to the increasing isolation of the local rich, but there are some indications. An autobiography of a blacksmith from Bedale in Yorkshire, written in verse form in the late eighteenth century, describes how the local country house, the Rand, was rebuilt, a park laid out around it, and ancient rights of way closed or diverted:

And now them roads are done away,
And one made in their room,
Quite to the east, of wide display,
Where you may go and come,
Quite unobserved from the Rand,
The trees do them seclude.
If modern times, do call such grand
Its from a gloomy mood. (Lewis, 1975)

In addition to this rather straightforward argument for social distancing and privacy, the rise to popularity of the landscape park has also been characterised by some scholars as a move towards a more "natural" setting for the mansion, the reasons for which have been interpreted in rather more complex social and ideological terms. The art historian Anne Bermingham has thus interpreted it both as a reaction to the increasingly enclosed character of the English landscape and as a form of legitimation, serving to make the increasingly stratified character of rural society appear both natural and inevitable.

As the real landscape began to look increasingly artificial, like a garden, the garden began to look increasingly natural, like the pre-enclosed landscape. Thus a natural landscape became the prerogative of the estate. . . so that nature was a sign of property and property the sign of nature. . . By conflating nature with the fashionable taste of a new social order, it redefined the natural in terms of this order, and vice versa. (Bermingham, 1987, 13–14)

But a truly interpretive archaeology should always return, repeatedly, to the details of a cultural transformation: to a dissection of its individual characteristics and their particular significance for contemporary social actors. In this particular case, two questions about, and aspects of, landscape change have usually been ignored or oversimplified. The first is the extent to which, or indeed the ways in which, the manicured simplicity of the eighteenth-century landscape park—with its panoramas of grass and scattered trees, blocks of woodland and serpentine lakes—can meaningfully be described as either new or "natural". In reality parks were highly contrived environments which bore little resemblance to most of the (semi-)natural habitats which then remained in England, after five millennia or more of intensive land use. Instead they represented a development of one particular, and specifically elite, form of semi-natural land use—the private wood-pasture. In the early middle ages deer parks had been enclosed, wooded and usually isolated

Fig. 2.4 Somerleyton Hall, Suffolk, and its landscape as depicted on an estate map of 1653. The park already has many of the features we usually associate with the "landscape parks" of the eighteenth century. Note the peripheral belts of woodland, and the lines of trees left where hedges have been removed

hunting grounds and venison farms, but in later medieval times they became indispensable adjuncts to the mansion and its gardens, more open in character, and more carefully designed (Fig. 2.4). The eighteenth century simply saw this development taken a stage further, with the park affirmed as the principal setting for the house by the removal of most of the gardens and enclosures from around it. The park was important to contemporaries because it was a *park*, not just as some idealised representation of the undefined "natural": it was understood by contemporaries, if not always by modern art historians, as a landscape with an immense historical pedigree, loaded with inherited social meaning.

The removal of formal gardens also requires more careful consideration, and more *contextual* consideration, than it is usually afforded by garden historians. Gardens in reality, as already intimated, formed only one part of the complex of enclosures and facilities which clustered around the residences of the seventeenth and early eighteenth-century gentry: farmyards, barns and kitchen gardens, together with a range of special resources for producing socially restricted foodstuffs, most
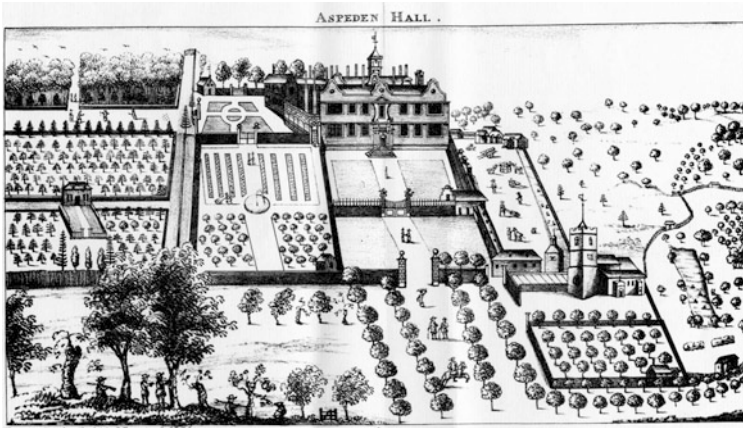
Fig. 2.5 Aspenden Hall, Hertfordshire, as illustrated in Henry Chauncy's *Historical Antiquities of Hertfordshire* of 1700. Like most elite residences of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the hall is surrounded by productive as well as by ornamental features, including orchards, nut grounds, a farm yard and a dovecote

notably fishponds and dovecotes. In addition, many of the "ornamental" features in the mansion's grounds had a clear productive aspect—and *vice versa* (Fig. 2.5). Canals and basins were stocked with fish; orchards were places for meditation as much as food production; the larger fish ponds were regularly used for recreational boating. Like the park, many of these productive facilities had strong social and ideological meanings which were long in the making, but which we can now often only recover with an effort. Dovecotes, for example, had for centuries been an important part of elite residential complexes, restricted by law to the manorial elite because their denizens fed indiscriminately on the crops growing in the surrounding fields, regardless of ownership: they were, as Hamon le Strange put it in 1649, "the right onely and badge of a lordship or signorye" (Norfolk Record Office Le Strange ND 22.34). Only at the end of the century was the manorial monopoly on keeping pigeons rescinded, but even after this the careful construction and architectural sophistication of dovecotes, together with their prominent location within domestic complexes, show that they remained important symbols of elite status.

Fishponds, too, were productive features loaded with significance by virtue of their necessary associations with landed wealth, while even orchards, while by no means restricted to the gentry and aristocracy, could serve nevertheless as demonstrations of status. Large landowners went out of their way to collect and display innumerable rare and exotic varieties, often meticulously listed in their commonplace and memoranda books: no less than 93 different kinds in the grounds of East Turnbull manor in Berkshire in 1693, for example (Berkshire Record Office D/ED F 14). The removal of this complex collection of features from the walls of the mansion was at least as significant as the destruction of garden terraces and parterres which accompanied it. One collection of ancient symbols was thus removed from the vicinity of the mansion in order to allow for the dominance of another.

As already noted, the eighteenth century was a period in which a growing social gulf emerged between "the polite" and wider society. But it was also a time of considerable economic expansion, leading to increasing rates of social mobility (Langford, 1989:68, 417–419; MacKendrick et al., 1982). Questions of social definition were acute, as early eighteenth-century novels make clear: where, precisely, should the line between the "polite" and the rest be drawn, and how should the former be recognised in a world in which increasing levels of material production were serving to erode the traditional markers of status? The landscape park served to clarify the boundaries of this group, in a number of ways. The growing middle classes made elaborate gardens—the business of gardening, like other forms of consumption, expanded considerably in the course of the eighteenth century. As a result, gardens in themselves were no longer significant markers of social status and thus played a subsidiary role in the country house landscape. They were redolent of the middle classes. But direct association with production, even of a superior kind, was also no longer acceptable in a world geared to fashionable *consumption* and signs of agriculture—barns and farmyards lying close to the mansion—smacked of the tenant farmer. The park, in contrast, was not only a landscape with an impeccable aristocratic pedigree. It also provided opportunities for the enjoyment of the key elite recreations of the period—shooting and riding—and, above all, it signalled membership of the traditional elite at a time of uncertainty because its creation demanded the one resource that aspiring members of the middle classes lacked: land in abundance. The park was the ideal symbol of "polite society", and an indispensable sign that an individual belonged to this group. The development of designed landscapes in the eighteenth century is a good example of the way in which new meanings, appropriate to new circumstances, are constructed in part from a grammar of long-established and familiar elements, combined, included or excluded in novel ways.

The recognition that the development of the "core" of the landed estate needs to be understood, in part, in terms of a language of landscape rooted in concepts of production shows the value of dissolving the traditional distinction between the vernacular, agrarian and economic on the one hand, and the aesthetic and ornamental on the other. But, and again in an eighteenth-century context, such a dissolution can also throw light on the outer estate landscape, the farms and fields of the wider tenanted land. Some historical geographers have emphasised the extent to which the organisation of estate landscapes exhibits clear signs of "distance decay" (Clemenson, 1982:74–91; Fuller, 1976; Rawding, 1992). Ornamental estate villages thus lay close to the park gates; settlements at a distance, in contrast, might be neglected. While this is a useful model, it is important to emphasise the extent to which the aesthetic, and the functional, interpenetrated each other. Little in the landscape of the estate was either purely functional or purely ornamental, wherever it lay. The landscape park itself was intensively used for grazing and timber production and its form modified accordingly: in the words of John Lawrence in 1801, it should serve as a "theatre. . . for the display of all the notable varieties of experimental husbandry" (Lawrence, 1801:100). Conversely, woods planted at a considerable distance from the mansion were often highly decorative as well as functional and

economic in character. Moreover, although eighteenth- and nineteenth-century parks were generally sealed off from the surrounding landscape by perimeter planting, "rides" or "ridings"—ornamented drives—often extended out into the wider countryside. As Thomas Whateley neatly put it in 1770, gardening "Is no longer confined to the spots from which it borrows its name, but regulates also the disposition and embellishments of a park, a farm, or a riding" (Whateley, 1770(1):164–165). Of all these embellishments of the wider landscape, tree-planting was the most symbolically loaded (Daniels, 1988). Woods and plantations were signs of gentility because only the wealthy could afford to tie up substantial areas of land in such a long-term investment. Planting, moreover, was only possible where land was enclosed, rather than exploited in common: trees on commons were vulnerable to grazing livestock, as well as to the attentions of the poor, in search of firewood. Contemporaries well understood this particular aspect of the language of landscape. Planting symbolised ownership of large areas of land in the form of absolute private property.

But even the direct exploitation of the land, by farming, might be informed by notions other than the purely agrarian and economic. Land and the uses to which it was put were important in the game of politics, both in a direct way—economic dominance of a district ensured local obligation and dependence, and thus political support for a family's chosen candidate—but also indirectly, in terms of demonstrating acceptable values, and thus legitimating the claims of the established elite to be the natural rulers of the country. Land and its exploitation were bound up in complex agendas, and in the kind of agriculturally marginal areas in which large estates flourished extensive improvement schemes were usually only partly motivated by a desire to make money. Indeed, most estates probably had little idea of how much money they *were* making (Gregory, 2005), and even when aware that some reclamation and improvement projects were financially ruinous they often regarded this with equanimity. When in 1774 Thomas de Grey bemoaned the costs of enclosing the heaths at Tottington in Norfolk he observed that the "great expense... would but ill answer, unless there was a real satisfaction in employing the labourers and bringing forth a ragged dirty parish to a neatness of cultivation" (quoted in Wade Martins and Williamson, 1999:192). Paternalism and a desire to appear the owner of an "improving" estate, rather than backwoods lord of a rural slum, were powerful motivations. Enclosure of open fields and the widespread "tidying up" of the fieldscape in long-enclosed areas of England (Turner, 2004; Wade Martins and Williamson, 1999:67–69) both represented, in part, an attempt to transform the countryside along fashionable, rational, "improving" lines which was more aesthetic than agrarian. Economic and agricultural historians would do well to note this: for many of the methods and techniques advocated by elite agriculturalists in this period, such as the artificial irrigation of water meadows, were quite unsuitable for the areas in which they were applied and they served more to demonstrate a fashionable involvement in "improvement" than to actually increase agricultural production. The boundaries of modern academic disciplines, the division between "garden historians" and "agricultural historians", can obscure continuities in human actions which language sometimes highlights. Contemporaries used the

term "improvement" indiscriminately for the reclamation of "waste", for schemes of afforestation, and for the laying out of parks and pleasure grounds.

Holkham and Monticello: Style and Meaning in England and America

The landscape of English estates in the eighteenth century thus incorporated a complex language, derived as much from everyday experience, and inherited vernacular meaning, as from broad overarching philosophical and aesthetic concerns and concepts. It follows that while *in general* terms the landscapes of estates everywhere shared important similarities, local environmental circumstances, past trajectories of landscape development and particular social conditions could generate important variations on a central theme. Even in England the design of parks and gardens in the eighteenth century, and later, displays a considerable degree of regional variation (Williamson, 2004). When we come to consider estate landscapes across a broader canvas, more important differences emerge: differences which at one level of analysis might be considered as "noise", but at another convey important information about life and experience in particular societies.

Some archaeologists have thus come close to attributing a universal significance to eighteenth-century Palladian architecture, and associated styles of material culture: Deetz's "Georgian Order" (Deetz, 1977; Johnson, 1996). To some extent the widespread adoption of this style may have reflected the adoption of shared values: but whether it had *precisely* the same significance in the case of a Tidewater planter's home, a great Palladian mansion in provincial England or, indeed, of a diminutive "villa" on the outskirts of London seems unlikely. Indeed, more illuminating than the similarities are the differences between estate landscapes on the two sides of the Atlantic, and especially in the ways in which their main elements were ordered and integrated. A useful comparison can be made here—in spite of considerable differences in scale—between Thomas Jefferson's Monticello and a house like Holkham in north Norfolk, the home of Thomas William Coke, the Earl of Essex.

Coke was the descendant of the great seventeenth-century lawyer Edward Coke, whose commentaries on the Magna Carta were an important influence on Jefferson's own political ideas: and he was himself a staunch Whig politician who offered firm support to the American revolutionaries and corresponded with George Washington. These men lived in the same political and philosophical world and shared many interests outside politics. Both had a great enthusiasm not only for architecture and garden design, but also for new agricultural methods—Coke is known to generations of English schoolchildren as "Coke of Norfolk", the acknowledged leader of the "agricultural revolution" of the later eighteenth and early nineteenth century (Stirling, 1912).

Both Monticello and Holkham Hall were Palladian structures, even if the latter was built on a much larger scale than the former (it was begun in 1734 and only completed in the late 1750s). But like other contemporary country houses in England, Holkham steadfastly abjured any overt signs of involvement in agricultural

production. There were no farmyards, barns or other agricultural facilities within sight of the house. Even the kitchen garden, where food for the consumption of the household was produced, lay discretely to one side; and in the 1780s, shortly before Jefferson began the transformation of Monticello, it was moved still further from the mansion to a site quite isolated in the park nearly a kilometre to the west. Coke's active involvement in agriculture was proclaimed in the estate landscape, but not in the area close to the house. Although the park at Holkham—partly as a result of the expansion carried out by Coke himself—covered a vast amount of ground, not all of the area lying within the perimeter belts was actually under pasture. In fact, only the northern section, in view of the house, was true parkland, comprising grass and scattered trees. The southern portion was under arable cultivation. This area, moreover, contained only a single "garden building"—the Great Barn, a vast structure designed by the architect Samuel Wyatt in a stripped-down classical style and completed in 1792. It was flanked by ornamental planting and served as the setting for the "sheep shearings", agricultural shows which were originally intended to demonstrate new techniques to Coke's tenants and neighbours, but which soon attracted visitors from all over England, and eventually from various parts of Europe. Indeed, the whole of the southern section of the park was a showcase for improved agriculture: particularly for the new crops, and the new forms of crop rotation, pioneered by Coke. The landscape was thus designed to combine "beauty and utility", and one visitor commented: "what can be more beautiful than the diversified scenery which there presents itself? . . . The effects of order and industry, combined with abundance, must be gratifying to every spectator" (Curwen, 1809:238; Williamson, 2003:79–81). But this area was quite out of sight of the house, hidden by rising ground and judiciously placed plantations.

At Monticello, the relationship between mansion house and productive facilities could hardly have been more different. Jefferson's interest in agriculture and horticulture was proudly displayed in immediate proximity: terraces for vegetables and fruit trees descend the hill from the oval lawn, and even the slave quarters were positioned at no great distance from the house. In this, of course, Monticello was not unusual. Eighteenth-century Palladian mansions in America were generally associated with productive facilities in way that would have made most English contemporaries feel uncomfortable. Such differences carry information about the societies in question which is at least as important as anything conveyed by the broader similarity of these "estate landscapes".

Conclusion: Interpretation and Experience

In spite of its emphasis on the complexities of the eighteenth-century language of estate landscaping, and on the need to understand the contexts of contemporary signs and symbols, this chapter is perhaps more firmly rooted in a Marxist approach to the past than in any other theoretical perspective. Such an intellectual emphasis derives, of course, in large part from personal experience and contemporary political circumstance; and in spite of what I perceive as its strengths, it is unquestionably partial

and contingent. Indeed, the changing experience of the writer continues to raise new possibilities of interpretation. I was brought up in a suburban world in which the landscape of the country estate seemed alien, elitist and exploitative: where I lived, almost everybody shared an abhorrence of the landed rich, both for what they supposedly did in the past and for what they represented in the present. Organised fox hunting with hounds, for example, was and still is almost universally viewed as a pointless barbarity by the urban and suburban majority in England. The traditional rural rich were beyond the pale, in a way that—rather curiously, given their more active role, power and political relevance—the urban and industrial rich were not. They were quintessentially *other*.

Yet, having now lived on a smallholding in rural Norfolk for several years, perceptions quietly, worryingly shift. The fox does not seem quite such an innocent victim after the hen house has been raided for the fourth or fifth time. Estates, where they still survive intact, are almost invariably superior, in environmental terms, to the lands of the agribusiness farmers—often the sons or grandsons of former estate tenants—around them. For the second half of the twentieth century saw English farmers indulge in an orgy of environmental destruction—the bulldozing of hedges, the filling of ponds, the felling of trees—which reduced large areas of the countryside, in the east of the country especially, to something resembling the prairies of the American Midwest. Traditional estates, for the most part, resisted this temptation, imbued as they were with a long tradition of regarding the use of the land (as already described) in complex ways, seeing it as something other than an economic resource, to be ruthlessly milked for what it can produce. Many owners of landed estates still see possession of land as an end in itself, and an estate as something to be cared for, embellished and enjoyed. In a similar way, tied estate cottages seem less a nefarious way of controlling a rural labour force than a positive good in the rural community: for the alternative is to have these houses sold to bourgeois incomers. Working people cannot afford to buy homes in most villages which lie within commuting distance of a large town or city, and most of the social housing in rural, as in urban, areas was sold off by Margaret Thatcher's appalling government in the 1980s. Indeed, the real dividing line in many country districts is now between all those involved in the life of the estate, from owner to farm labourer; and middle-class urban incomers.

Were similar social complexities, and environmental benefits, also present in the past? Certainly, given that the past resides as much in the diverse individual and social experiences of the present, as in those of the past, new agendas for exploring the archaeology of the landed estate will continue to emerge.

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Part II
Archaeology of Nineteenth-Century Cities and the Lives of Working People

Onlookers frequently ask archaeologists why they have chosen to dig in a particular place. Historic towns have plenty of old streets and open spaces where a dig could take place, so why is one location more promising than any other? The simple answer is that the site is probably about to be re-developed, and the archaeological team will be testing for the presence of archaeological deposits, or recording and removing known archaeological deposits before the start of construction work. We are fortunate to live in an age that values archaeological resources and has the wealth to invest in their management and study, and urban archaeology is undoubtedly one of the more visible aspects of commercial archaeological work.

Just over half the population of the world, around 3.3 billion people, live in urban areas. In the northern hemisphere urban population levels rocketed in the two centuries following industrialization as towns and cities grew, drawing in workers from the surrounding countryside. Towns and cities continue to grow in the twenty-first century, but the focus of urban growth has shifted to the developing world, where estimates suggest that the urban population of Africa and Asia will double in the next 20 years. It is therefore not difficult to make the case that urban archaeology is central to the study of humanity, and has important things to say about the future, as well as the past.

The two chapters in this section of the book explore nineteenth-century cities and the lives of working people. Although the urban archaeology of the recent past is well established in the United States, greater emphasis has been placed on the study of earlier periods in Europe, focusing on the wealth of classical, early medieval, and medieval deposits that exist in the Old World. Several common themes run through these chapters: the depth and complexity of urban archaeological deposits, the problems of dealing with huge and often mixed assemblages of finds, the challenges that arise when attempts are made to integrate different forms of evidence. The chapters differ in approach, and to some extent conclusions, but are united in their desire to create stories that operate at a human scale, focusing upon real individuals and households, and have relevance and meaning for contemporary urban citizens.

Chapter 3
Beyond Stories: A Quantitative Approach to the Archaeology of Households, Neighborhoods, and Cities

Adrian Praetzellis and Mary Praetzellis

Although our topic—the development of research design in urban historical archaeology—would seem to be somewhat academic, it turns out to be a rather personal story. Reading up on the history of ideas in archaeology (e.g., Trigger, 1989), one might get the impression that the process of change has been largely an intellectual matter of dueling articles and influential symposia. And no doubt these things have played their role. This chapter, however, begins with the rest: the idiosyncratic, often random forces, as well as the personal preferences, that came together to create an approach to urban historical archaeology in California.

Prologue

For much of the early 1970s, the writers learned their craft on the English archaeological circuit. Moving from site to site, we followed the work and the cash per diem. June of 1974 found us on a site in Sacramento, California, and three things were different from the English situation: it was 110 degrees in the shade; the site dated to the 1850s; and, in spite of 6 feet (1.83 m) of stratified deposits, it was being excavated by arbitrary 10-cm levels in 1 m^2 units. We were in a state of shock (Fig. 3.1). Why would anyone DO such a thing? The answer turned out to be artifacts.

Coming from an archaeological tradition founded by prehistorians who believed that their sites were essentially devoid of physical stratification, California archaeologists were—and, to some degree, still are—immersed in the study of artifacts (Praetzellis, 1993). Through the 1960s, very few California archaeologists bothered with historic-period deposits and, with few exceptions, those who did followed the prehistoric model of excavation, analysis, and reporting. Except where the goal was to reconstruct historic buildings, archaeological site structure took a distant back seat to the goodies contained within.

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Fig. 3.1 Archaeology in the mid-1970s (Sacramento, California). While standardization ruled in the layout and excavation of arbitrary units, wardrobe choices were open (Photo courtesy Adrian Praetzellis. Model: Mary Praetzellis)

The passage of the federal National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA, 1969) and the California Environmental Quality Act (CEQA, 1970) coincided with government-funded urban renewal projects that sought to revitalize "blighted" neighborhoods by leveling entire city blocks. Together, these initiatives led to a rapid growth in urban historical archaeology in California.

Working in a cultural resource management context, we quickly concluded that the open-area excavation method pioneered in the 1960s in Winchester, England, could not be applied in Sacramento—there were neither the funds nor the skilled excavation workforce. This left us with the problem of devising a cost-effective way of tackling these sites that would produce the kind of demonstrably important results to convince skeptical government regulators that historical archaeology was worth requiring of property developers. That urban archaeologists should be doing the archaeology *of* the city rather than just *in* the city (Salwen, 1973, 1978) was a grand insight, and Sacramento's excellent stratigraphic record held great potential. Immediate, tangible outcomes were needed, however.

Although the town's history is relatively short, the structure of Sacramento's archaeological sites is substantial. A combination of floods, fires, and street-raising has created, in places, several feet of stratified deposits from the second half of the nineteenth century. The 1979 excavation of a quarter of a city block in downtown Sacramento—known as the Golden Eagle site—revealed a complex stratigraphic sequence including many layers of fill, as well as several features containing the refuse of some 1860s businesses (Praetzellis et al., 1980). While the former were useful in reconstructing the history of this place, it was the contents of the discrete features that emerged as the site's most interesting contributions. Since these collections had clear historical associations and tight deposition dates, we could use them to make fairly unequivocal statements about ways of life in this period

that appealed both to the profession and the public at large (e.g., Praetzellis and Praetzellis, 1980). This happy combination of practical concerns and the insights of co-investigator Marley Brown III into emerging scholarship in American historical archaeology stressed "the archaeological sampling of households representing different ethnic, minority, and economic groups within urban residential neighborhoods" (Praetzellis et al., 1980:111). With some modifications, we have followed the basic research strategy that emerged from the Golden Eagle site ever since.

Looking around for California collections to compare with those from the Golden Eagle, we found almost nothing. There were collections out there to be sure, but the methods of excavation, cataloging, and reporting were so different from ours that—other than presence/absence—comparisons seemed all but meaningless. Consequently, we spent the 1980s happily refining and standardizing the way we dug, cataloged, and reported on these nineteenth-century sites, and our basic approach to interpretation remained fundamentally qualitative. At the time, Stanley South's pattern analysis was the principal quantitative model in North American historical archaeology (South, 1977, 1978). Not caring for the way this approach de-contextualized the remains, we just shrugged and carried on telling stories on the small scale, finding archaeological hooks to important historical themes, and putting long-forgotten individuals and families back into history (e.g., Praetzellis and Praetzellis, 1984).

All this began to change in the early 1990s, and we are only now beginning to appreciate the results. First, there was technology. Computers and software were becoming cheap and user-friendly. It was clear that certain platforms were going to dominate, reducing our fear that all the data would be unreadable in a couple of years. Then, there was the opportunity created by one awful event: California's Loma Prieta earthquake of 1989.

A New Approach

The freeway rebuilding and retrofit projects in San Francisco and Oakland that came after the quake gave us the opportunity to change how we did urban archaeology (Fig. 3.2). It was clear from the onset that these were not just another series of archaeological projects. They were big. Really big—much of 48 city blocks in Oakland and 24 in San Francisco.

The number of blocks subject to excavation was lowered through sensitivity studies that identified where research and survival potential coincided with direct project impacts. For the Cypress Project in West Oakland, we recommended excavation on 22 city blocks and found a total of 121 archaeological features on 17 blocks that were determined eligible for the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP). Ten blocks were researched for the SF–80 Bayshore Project in San Francisco. We recommended construction monitoring for historical archaeology at 51 locations on 8 blocks, eventually discovering 7 NRHP-eligible features on 3 of them. For the San Francisco West Approach Project, 8 of 14 blocks were eliminated from archaeological testing because of modern disturbance and/or the lack of project impacts.

Fig. 3.2 Archaeology in the early twenty-first century (San Francisco, California). Archaeologists target their excavations with surgical precision; use heavy equipment, air monitors, elaborate health and safety plans; cope with looters, unreliable security firms, and the displaced homeless; they must have HAZMAT training, wear hardhats, safety vests, and protective clothing (Photo courtesy Anthropological Studies Center, Sonoma State University)

Six blocks were targeted for excavation and 45 important features were discovered. As the West Approach analysis was in progress at the time of this writing, only 11 features on 3 blocks are included in this study. The final report, anticipated in 2009, will augment and may change the findings that we present here.

The scale of these projects required a whole new model of how to do the research and to analyze and present the findings. For more than a decade we had been working the bugs out of our field and laboratory methods, and we were now in a position to develop the truly comparable datasets envisioned in our original research design developed with Marley Brown.

As it had been for more than a decade, our plan was to develop controlled, comparable datasets. Most of the excavations were in residential neighborhoods, and since we were uncovering many discrete artifact-filled features, our basic unit of study was the household. This was the era just before the introduction of municipal refuse collection and sanitary sewers, so there was no lack of archaeological remains in privy pits and disused wells. In fact, the number was so overwhelming— over 2,200 artifact-filled features in Oakland alone—that we were forced to devise a triage system to decide which to keep and which to discard. In the event, less than 10% of the artifact-filled features uncovered in Oakland were fully excavated and analyzed. But the survivors were treated properly. Each was excavated using standardized stratigraphic methods, and cataloged using a pull-down menu system to avoid inconsistency. Finally, historical research linked each collection with a specific, historically documented household. When complete, the result will be nearly 200 truly comparable collections in a fully searchable database.

Beyond the way in which data are collected and managed, the model of presentation that emerged from this series of excavations has three characteristics—it integrates data from all sources, it is eclectic in interpretation, and it employs qualitative and quantitative analysis.

First, the model integrates history, artifacts, and site structure but does not allow interpretations to drown in data. In the past, most archaeological reports consisted of several discrete sections: historical context, fieldwork, artifact analysis, and, interpretation. The system worked like this. The archaeologists did their excavation, separated the artifacts by material, and packed them off to various experts who prepared erudite papers describing the food bone, ceramics, glass, and so on. The resulting products were very heavy on description and not too interesting to read.

Our model throws that approach out of the window. Artifacts are, of course, cataloged and the data duly tabulated. In fact, all the data—from the field, historical research, and artifacts—are assembled into a Technical Report (or series of Block Technical Reports [BTRs] organized by neighborhood) in a way that professionals can find what they need (e.g., Praetzellis, 2001, 2004). But this is not the final product, for this information is integrated back into a thematically organized Interpretative Report. The approach is not universally beloved by those for whom the artifacts are *The Thing* and we occasionally get requests for the "ceramics report" or the "glass bottles report"—which, of course, do not exist.

Second, the Interpretive Report is eclectic and multi-vocal. Historically, the theoretical orientation of the project director has determined the flavor of archaeological reports. The upside of this approach is that the interpretation is consistent. One story is being told and the reader comes away with the idea that they know what *really* happened at this place and time. This level of cut-and-dried coherence, however, gives the deceptive impression of a consensus. In our model, each contributor gets their own by-line and can use their own voice. And since there is no party line, contributors may disagree with each other or use the same data to suggest entirely different interpretations. A coherent storyline is desired, and we do maintain an overall theme—but not one that drives the boat.

The third part of the model is that interpretation involves both qualitative and quantitative analysis. It employs approaches ranging from the symbolic to the statistical, from highly contextualized interpretations of apparently idiosyncratic artifacts to the kind of analysis of patterned behavior to which even New Archeology survivors might not object. We began the application of statistics by comparing households based on the usual demographic categories and came up with interesting results. But with more than 150 data sets at hand it quickly began clear that we could begin to work on a scale that, up the this point, we had not dared to approach.

Scale in Urban Historical Archaeology

Driven by the concerns of cultural resources management, our initial orientation has been to assess the research potential of archaeological remains in the short term in order to make the case that a site was worth digging: what could this deposit tell

us here and now? James Deetz, however, took the long view. He wondered how archaeological material might be useful in some undefined way in the future. In keeping with the legal context in which we do research, our preference has been for discrete deposits with tight historical associations whose potential was clear. But Deetz's archaeological imagination had no such limitations, and he repeatedly made the case for what he called "noisy" collections—ones that could not be attributed to historically documented households or similarly delineated social units. According to Deetz (1986:np), research potential is "a matter of scale."

> In the final analysis, if we adopt such an international comparative perspective on assemblages that lack the provenience control necessary for answering questions of local significance, we see that such collections are not without value. It is just that their value is of another order, not lacking but different … many extant collections from complex, noisy and mixed contexts (particularly urban ones) can be seen to have a value after all, once we have adjusted our scale to fit.

Characteristically, Deetz saw the potential for research at this scale but did not suggest a *method* of carrying it out. Structuralism had been his principal entry into the understanding of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century material culture, but it was unclear exactly how that approach would be applied to mid-nineteenth-century collections and research issues relating to this era. As Adrian Praetzellis' doctoral advisor at the University of California, Berkeley, Deetz suggested that a class in statistics would be "a good idea." Although he used nothing more sophisticated than percentages in his own work, Deetz had a feeling that this might be a useful tool to understand the vast numbers of artifacts generated on nineteenth-century sites. In the event, he appears to have been right about both scale and the potential of numbers.

The pages that follow present some outcomes of adjusting our scale and methods. Specifically, they show how some simple statistical tests allow us to examine the archaeology of neighborhoods and cities. This does not mean that we privilege quantitative over qualitative data or believe that the latter are "better" or more reliable than the former. The meaning of some of these findings is elusive and could very well benefit from a symbolic reading or even a structuralist approach—once the methods to carry out such an analysis have been defined.

The data are derived from statistical analyses of the West Oakland/Cypress and San Francisco SF–80 Bayshore and West Approach collections conducted by archaeologist Dr. Bruce Owen (2004a, b, c, d). Owen is a specialist in quantitative methods who has worked in the coastal valleys of Peru for over 20 years. His lack of connection with American historical archaeology benefited this analysis. Owen has none of the preconceived notions or taken-for-granted positions that would be expected of a historical archaeologist and, consequently, no investment in any of the outcomes. Conversely, we are historical archaeologists and bring to this discussion both our experience and our biases. We have drawn extensively from Owen's work—he identified the patterns to which we refer and constructed some of the tables, and should receive the credit. He may not, however, agree with some of our interpretations.

It is also important to note that we wrote this chapter before the statistical analysis of collections from our more recent excavations in San Francisco's South of Market area had been completed. This work will add approximately 200,000 artifacts and food bones to a comparative database that approaches 1,000,000 items, and may cause us to change the interpretations presented here.

Quantitative Analyses of Households, Neighborhoods, and Cities

For the Cypress Project, Owen performed statistical analyses on faunal remains and bottles to look at consumption and recycling behavior (Fig. 3.3). He ran the Wilcoxon rank-sum test on pairs and the Kruskal-Wallis test on groups of more than two. Historical variables included ethnicity/origin, occupation, tenure, neighborhood, and dwelling type. For occupation we chose categories commonly used by American social historians since Thernstrom (1973) and subsequently employed by Ethington in his 1994 work on San Francisco. What we call Wealthy Professional on Table 3.1 is Ethington's High While-Collar; our Professional is his Low White-Collar; Skilled, Semiskilled, and Unskilled are the same in both classifications, although no semiskilled workers were identified in our studies. Tenure relates to whether the occupants owned or rented their property; or whether the data are
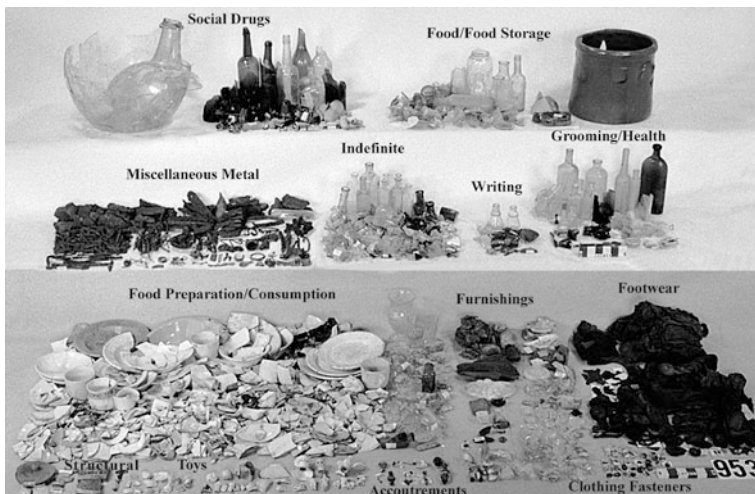
Fig. 3.3 Feature snapshot of Well 953 in Oakland's East of Market neighborhood. This collection is associated with an African-American household that included at least one Pullman porter. Categories used by social historians may not account for the differential occupation status attributed within different racial and ethnic groups. Porters and barbers made relatively good wages and held high status roles within their community, which is reflected in their material culture as pictured here (Photo courtesy Anthropological Studies Center, Sonoma State University)

Table 3.1 Household wealth/occupation in San Francisco and Oakland samples

Occupation	San Francisco households	Oakland households	Total households	SF (%)
Wealthy professional	3	3	6	50
Professional	3	10	13	23
Skilled	9	22	31	29
Unskilled	2	6	8	25

unavailable. Neighborhoods are those defined historically by Oaklanders: West of Market, East of Market, and Oakland Point. Dwelling type was based on those defined by Paul Groth and Marta Gutman (1997) in their West Oakland studies: Informal Workers' Cottage, Almost Polite House, and Polite House.

For the faunal analysis, 58 findings were significant at the 10% level, 28 of which were significant at the 5% level. The bottle study, which looked at container contents, resulted in 152 correlations at 10% and 44 at 5%. Owen's findings are presented in detail elsewhere (Owen, 2004b).

This analysis allowed us to come to several important conclusions. First, the relative cost of meat did not correlate with purchasers' ethnicity or neighborhood, but was strongly associated with their type of dwelling. The correlations between meat and occupation were surprising—the highest and lowest status occupations consumed the higher cost cuts. Meat type (beef, mutton, pork) correlated only slightly with ethnicity and neighborhood, with Irish households and residents of Oakland's West of Market neighborhood consuming slightly more mutton than others. The bottle analysis shows that poorer households disposed of fewer whole bottles than wealthier ones, suggesting recycling. It also found a correlation between home-ownership and the presence of alcoholic beverage bottles—wine in particular. Wine/champagne, in fact, correlated strongly with the wealthy professional category, while beer/ale correlated with the skilled workers. Hard liquor containers were entirely absent from collections associated with Polite two-story Victorian homes. Strongly associated with higher paying occupations, home-ownership, and the more stylish house types, the presence of wine/champagne containers appears to be an excellent indicator of higher social status. For the SF–80 Bayshore Project, the 57 pre-1890 West Oakland feature complexes were reanalyzed along with those from 18 San Francisco feature complexes. This analysis took a broader approach, using the full range of artifact types. Our Bayshore/West Approach study area contained portions of two San Francisco neighborhoods—the edge of Rincon Hill and the shore of Mission Bay. Unlike some of their eastern counterparts, nineteenth-century western city neighborhoods were not homogeneous in the economic or demographic characteristics of their residents. Wealthy families' fashionable homes were frequently close to the cottages of the working class, although the latter tended to occupy the alleys while the professional class favored homes that fronted the street. Although the San Francisco sample is smaller than that from West Oakland, it consists of proportionally more wealthy households (Table 3.1). San Francisco

Fig. 3.4 Feature snapshot of Privy 507 in San Francisco's Edge of Rincon Hill neighborhood. This collection is associated with the household of Jonathon Peel, nephew of Sir Robert Peel, Queen Victoria's Prime Minister from 1841 to 1846. Jonathon Peel was a wealthy real-estate agent and merchant who lived the life of a Victorian gentleman, surrounding himself with material culture that reflected his status—including a collection of stuffed exotic birds that found its way into the family's privy pit. The collection fits quite well within expectations generated by standard measures of social and economic class (Photo courtesy Anthropological Studies Center, Sonoma State University)

was more socially stratified than West Oakland, where most families were associated in some way with the huge Central Pacific railyard. The wealthy San Francisco households are from the edge of the Rincon Hill neighborhood, a generally more upscale area than either Mission Bay or West Oakland.

Fortunately, the San Francisco sample size is just large enough for statistical methods to rectify this imbalance for the purpose of analysis (Fig. 3.4). Distinguishing between factors related to wealth/occupation and ethnicity/nativity is more problematic for San Francisco. The relatively small sample size is further compounded by the fact that ethnicity and wealth tend to be associated: most Irish households are on the lower end, while English and German families fall into the professional and wealthy professional categories.

In our earlier studies of West Oakland, food bone was found to be highly patterned in relation to wealth/occupation, ethnicity/nativity, and dwelling type. Owen's statistical analysis of food bone from San Francisco is most notable because of the lack of patterning it reveals in relation to these characteristics. In contrast to West Oakland, neighborhood is the only statistically significant factor that relates to the measured qualities of food bone in San Francisco.

In Table 3.2, Owen shows meat cuts by the mean cost (% high/medium/low) of all cuts representing two neighborhoods in San Francisco and three in West Oakland. Rincon Hill and Mission Bay fall at the opposite ends of this ordering, with Rincon Hill at the highest end. Six of eight comparisons among these five neighborhoods

Table 3.2 Cost of meat by neighborhood

Neighborhood	Features (n)[a]	High (%)	Med (%)	Low (%)
Rincon Hill, SF	9	41	35	25
East of Market, Oak.	17	36	39	26
West of Market, Oak.	15	33	40	27
Oakland Point, Oak.	21	29	40	31
Mission Bay, SF	5	19	33	48

[a]Not all features had sufficient faunal remains for analysis.

Table 3.3 Occurrence of ceramic wares by neighborhood

Neighborhood	Asian porcelain	Non-Asian porcelain	OP/WIE[a]	Earthenware	"Basic" wares
Rincon Hill, SF	High	High	Low	Low	Low
East of Market, Oak.	Low	High	Low	High	High
West of Market, Oak.	Low	High	Low	High	High
Oakland Point, Oak.	Low	Lowest	High	High	High
Mission Bay, SF	Low	Low	Highest	High	High

[a]Opaque porcelain/white improved earthenware.

were found to be statistically significant at the 5% level, which gives the ranking a high level of confidence.

Ethnicity and nativity do not appear to have affected meat-purchasing patterns in the San Francisco sample, although the nature of the sample households—in which Irish families tend to be Skilled and Unskilled—may have affected this interpretation. The possible weak relationship between Irish households and sheep bone, which would have supported the reported preference of this group for lamb and mutton, is made even weaker by addition of the San Francisco data.

Neighborhood also is an important factor in relation to the distribution of ceramic wares. Table 3.3, above, shows the trend by neighborhood of five types of ceramics. While these are organized by ware fabric, they include the complete range of functional types and vessel forms: food preparation, serving ware, tableware, and bric-a-brac; ceramic ale bottles are excluded for obvious reasons.

The preceding tables show a clear correspondence between Owen's meat cost and ceramic data. Both data sets rank the neighborhoods in the same order with the affluent Rincon Hill at the high end and the predominantly working-class Mission Bay at the bottom, while the three West Oakland neighborhoods fall in between. This adds to our already high level of confidence that the patterns that he identified are behaviorally significant and not mere statistical artifacts. If converted into graphic form, the data that form the basis of Table 3.3 would create a series of parabolic figures with overlapping ends, of the type known to archaeologists as "battleship-shaped" curves.

The overall percentages of ware types are very similar between San Francisco and West Oakland. Owen notes that this distribution is far more consistent than

Table 3.4 Occurrence of ceramic wares by occupation/wealth

Occupation	Asian porcelain	Non-Asian porcelain	OP/WIE[a]	Earthenware	"Basic" wares
Wealthy professional	High	High	Low	Low	Low
Professional	Low	Low	Medium	Low	Low
Skilled	Low	Low	Medium	High	High
Unskilled	Low	Low	High	High	High

[a]Opaque porcelain/white improved earthenware.

meat and the alcohol and food containers. This suggests that supply channels to the consumer of ceramics were relatively uniform in comparison to those of meat. The overwhelming majority of ceramics found in San Francisco study area features, as well as those in the comparative collections from West Oakland, are of porcelain and various types of earthenware. Most of this material consists of tableware and serving vessels, although bric-a-brac of Parian (a type of statuary porcelain), Chinese porcelain, and pearlware is also present in collections from both cities. Table 3.4 shows trends in the percentage occurrence of the ceramic ware types by the occupation/wealth of the household with which they are associated. The proportional occurrence of ceramic types is clearly related to wealth/occupation within the sample population.

Although fewer than two dozen pieces of Asian porcelain bric-a-brac were found in the present San Francisco and West Oakland collections combined, this type is exclusively associated with the wealthiest households. The clearest explanation for this pattern lies in the aesthetics of the era. Asian ceramics were recommended by the era's tastemakers to add exotic interest to the parlor. The Anti-Chinese movement had many supporters in San Francisco of the 1870s and 1880s, yet displaying Asian bric-a-brac does not appear to have been viewed as aligning the household with this despised group. Rather, it displayed one's sophistication and refinement. As long as these artifacts could not be found in the parlors of the lower socio-economic strata—which still displayed conventional bric-a-brac—they could still function as symbols of refinement and exclusivity.

The occurrence of non-Asian porcelain—mostly plain French-made tablewares—is also correlated with wealth/occupation: Better-off households disposed of proportionally more of this material in relation to earthenwares. The reverse of this pattern can be seen at the lower end of the socio-economic scale. Residents of Rincon Hill, the neighborhood ranked highest in food bone and ceramic wares, also has the least number and lowest proportion of "basic" ware types (i.e., red-bodied earthenware, CC ware, stoneware, and yellowware). This pattern has a high confidence value. Unskilled households have more of these types as a proportion of table and serving wares than wealthy professional households.

Lest we create the impression that wealth/occupation is the sole determinant of ceramic purchasing habits, other patterns—and the lack of expected patterns—are worth noting. The Victorians' social relations and the associated mores that formed

around their domestic artifacts were complex and cannot be reduced to simple formulae. Owen (2004b) found, for example, no difference in the proportions of serving and tableware vessels that correlated with wealth/occupation. Since dining practices varied by social class, other factors are clearly involved. Residences' neighborhood was a factor in both San Francisco and West Oakland, and orientation to the street was also a factor in San Francisco. Dwellings that faced into interior streets and alleys in Rincon Hill as well as neighborhoods both east and west of Market in Oakland had more serving vessels relative to food containers than homes in the Oakland Point neighborhood and Mission Bay residences that face the street. Both historical and the preceding archaeological analysis position the latter neighborhoods at the lower end of the socio-economic scale.

Thus, the wealth/occupation characteristic accounts for some, but not all, of the statistically significant patterns in the ceramic data. Households' ceramic purchases were affected by cultural factors that are unclear at this time.

The distribution of glass and ceramic containers in the San Francisco sample generally crosscut ethnicity/nativity, wealth/occupation, and neighborhood. Street frontage, however, is factor in the consumption of alcohol, with households on the interior streets favoring beer over wine and liquor in relation to the residents of houses that face main streets at the 5% level of confidence. In West Oakland, this consumption pattern correlates with the wealth/occupation categories. In San Francisco, the artifact deposits of interior-facing households showed that this group consumed far more glass- and ceramic-packaged food products than their neighbors on the main streets.

West Oakland residents appear to have preferred beer and ale, whereas San Franciscans consumed more alcohol in wine and liquor. At the city level, 40% more glass alcoholic beverage containers were found per household in San Francisco than in West Oakland. Furthermore, San Francisco glass and ceramic containers combined averaged 20% more than were found in West Oakland households.

The Potential of Neighborhood Archaeology

We have emphasized only a few of the patterns identified through statistical analysis. Many more exist, although their implications have yet to be determined. These data are contained in a technical appendix to the SF–80 Bayshore report (Owen, 2004b).

Two results stand out:

- Neighborhood rankings arrived at independently through ceramic wares and mean meat cost, respectively, are identical;
- Purchasing patterns of unskilled households resemble those of the wealthy professional group.

Historical archaeologists have been reconstructing the cost of commercial meat-cuts since Peter Schulz and Sheri Gust published their now classic article "Faunal Remains and Social Status in Nineteenth-Century Sacramento" (1983). Similarly,

many have used George Miller's ceramic scaling index to calculate the value of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century English earthenwares (Miller, 1980, 1991). The San Francisco and West Oakland data have allowed us, in a sense, to test these methods. In addition, we have been able to expand our critique of the intuitive notion (implicit in both techniques) that, all else being equal, purchasing patterns are directly related to wealth. In other words, that affluent people buy expensive things because they can afford them, while the less prosperous do not because they cannot.

While the Oakland data at the household level hinted that the everyday decisions were far more complicated, the results from San Francisco challenge us to change the scale of our understanding to the neighborhood and beyond. While the San Francisco artifacts show a ranking at the neighborhood level, there is a great deal of variation among individual households. And while the occurrence of certain artifacts (such as Asian bric-a-brac and the relative proportions of ware types) may be indications of given social classes, other households do not fit the mold. The increased sample size offered by lumping the West Oakland and San Francisco data has, in many cases, improved the clarity of our results. In other cases, however, our understanding remains murky, as we find ourselves at present unable to untangle the social and historical web though which these collections of artifacts were assembled.

Data representing the smallest social scale—the household—are intuitively the most accessible. Yet the similarity in purchasing patterns of the wealthiest and poorest residents—a pattern identified in West Oakland and strengthened by addition of the San Francisco data—banishes this naïve hope. To retrodict the wealth characteristics of the social unit that created an archaeological deposit on the basis of the remains must be done with great care. Our data have shown that there is no clear association between a household's use of expensive consumer goods and its wealth. Yet household-level archaeology is, as Deetz would have insisted, only one possible scale. As we have seen, some patterns that have unequivocal behavioral reality are visible only on the neighborhood level. We do not yet understand the meaning of many of these patterns and, consequently, cannot construct the "research questions" and "data requirements" demanded by normative science to address them.

Eligibility to the National Register of Historic Places is the test of an "important" site in the United States. It requires that a site retain "integrity of association," a characteristic sometimes understood as meaning that we must be able to identify from historical sources the social unit that was responsible for the remains (Little et al., 2000:36). Household-level archaeology is reassuring in that we interpret things in relation to well-documented historical contexts. Neighborhood-level archaeology requires us to step out of this comfort zone. It takes from us both the security blanket and the tyranny of the historical document. The "written and archaeological remains of the past," writes John Moreland, "were not created with questions of future archaeologists and historians in mind" but functioned in the reproduction of social life in the past itself. Since text is and was an agent of social transformation, historical archaeologies are more than simply experiments in "text-controlled laboratories" (Moreland, 2001:26).

Rethinking "Redundancy" and Facing the Unknown

Faced with the necessity of quickly and defensibly evaluating the research potential of literally thousands of archaeological deposits for the Cypress Freeway Project in West Oakland, we devised a series of principles—dubbed by Jack Mc Ilroy by their mnemonic AIMS-R—that served as a practical aid for these important decisions. To address the concern that the project's limited resources should be directed toward getting the "most bang for the buck" the principles included the following, which also were applied to SF–80 Bayshore and West Approach projects (Mc Ilroy and Praetzellis, 1997:277).

> Relative rarity: All else being equal, remains from a group that is poorly represented in the sample universe will be important, because of their rarity, than remains that relate to a well-represented entity.

This tenet would, it was hoped, allow decision-makers to sample a number of contexts that had similar historical associations, rather than having to recover them all. "How many Irish deposits do you *need*?" was the question asked by agency officials, who saw no end to the archaeology. The rationale for this principle seemed reasonable and eminently practical.

Since Foster's (1965) notion of "limited good" holds for archaeology in the sense that there is limited funding for this activity, it will always be necessary for archaeologists to distinguish between more and less important remains. The AIMS-R tenet has utility and it has been suggested that it might even be applied to the contents of individual archaeological collections (Praetzellis and Costello, 2002). With the analysis of both the Cypress/West Oakland and the San Francisco Bayshore/West Approach collections nearly behind us, however, it is appropriate to reflect on how the concept should be applied in the future.

Should household collections that have certain categories of association—Irish, for example—be considered redundant because, as Wilson (1990:25) ironically said of historic farmsteads, "we've got thousands of those"? This decision implies that an archaeologist can define the research potential of a site if they know its supposedly defining characteristic—in this case, the national/ethnic origin of its creators. Our analysis shows that this is incorrect or, at least, only partly true. If our goal were to study the Irish per se, then the case could be made that a sample would be sufficient. However, this is not true. Our statistical study of wealth, nativity, ethnicity, etc. has revealed patterns that cannot be explained by reference to conventional analytical categories. Some patterns do indeed relate to the familiar characteristics of family economics and nativity/ethnicity; that they do so consistently within and between data sets is strong evidence that the statistically revealed patterns are behaviorally meaningful. But other patterns are not so easily understood. They do not appear to be mere statistical artifacts, yet they have no immediately discernable, intuitively satisfactory meaning. The scale of urban archaeology that has given us the opportunity to dramatically increase our sample size has also presented us with a conundrum that will only be resolved by taking a more sophisticated approach to the definition of nineteenth-century urban social units.

Indeed, the most mind-stretching results are those we do not yet understand. What does it mean that many of our comparisons are significant at the 5% level? In many cases, probably nothing. The application of statistics may create its own artifacts and we must be careful not to confound them with real behavioral patterns. But other patterns are surely behaviorally meaningful, which means that we are simply too unsophisticated and unimaginative to understand what aspects of nineteenth-century life these data are capturing. Differences in artifact patterns within populations suggest that the categories we are using to define these cultural units are missing some elusive factor(s) that is not discernable from the demographic or sociological characteristics of the households of which they are formed. Similarly, differences between the San Francisco and West Oakland data bring to light distinctions between and within these cities that are yet to be understood.

It is worth emphasizing yet again that these results are only possible because of the controlled nature and size of the sample. The data were extracted in the field and the lab using rigorously consistent methods to ensure comparability. Without an adequate sample size, our interpretation would have been limited to the materials' qualitative characteristics; the present San Francisco samples were barely large enough. We suggest that the archaeology of neighborhoods will be served by the kind of statistical studies begun here. Using these methods, the research potential of an archaeological collection is not restricted by its known or assumed ethnic affiliation or the wealth of its contributors. Indeed, integrity of association may be achieved by the ability to date the deposit and knowledge of its neighborhood context.

The most important predictor of research potential appears to be the size and variety of the collection itself. Although they may be useful for some qualitative household-level interpretations, collections of faunal remains of less than 100 items do not have a place in our quantitative scheme. Much the same can be said of other artifact categories. We suggest increasing the emphasis on the size and contents of archaeological collections when it comes to evaluating the neighborhood or city-level research potential of discrete artifact caches.

Elsewhere we have suggested that conventional, imposed socio-economic categories were inadequate to describe the social reality of West Oakland (Praetzellis and Praetzellis, 2004). Born in the era of the New Social History and the US Bicentennial, American historical archaeology has long emphasized social (often ethnic) groups that are visible in the documentary record, the archaeological record, and preferably, as with the Overseas Chinese, both. We suggest that the scale of analysis made possible through the application of statistical methods to the urban archaeological record may help break up these monoliths and identify emic, self-defined groups that existed within the larger population. In this way archaeology can help achieve a more nuanced understanding of life as it was lived in the nineteenth-century city.

chapter, we have a great intellectual debt to Marley Brown III who, with us, devised the original research strategy for Sacramento so long ago. Without Bruce Owen, who did the statistical analysis referred to throughout this essay, there would be little to say. So, thank you Bruce for your patience and insights.

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Chapter 4
Stooping to Pick Up Stones: A Reflection on Urban Archaeology

James Symonds

Down at the Dig

The Construction Manager was in an uncompromising mood. "I suppose your lot enjoy all that scratching about in the dirt," he quipped. "But as far as I'm concerned, if I want to find out about the Victorians I can just look in a history book." With a piling rig booked to arrive in 10 days time, and a tight schedule to keep to, I could understand his frustration. In an effort to hold my ground, I point out that my team is doing valuable work that will clear the way for his development. In the 1970s opportunistic "rescue digs" with a workforce of students and local volunteers often stopped construction projects in their tracks, but these days archaeology is a material consideration in the planning process. So as long as appropriate care is taken to explore the archaeological potential of a site at an early stage, there should be no surprises or unexpected hold-ups.

The composition of the archaeological workforce has also changed since the 1970s. Looking down from the viewing platform, I am forced to admit that contrary to the normal scene on a construction site a high percentage of my team have long straggly beards, piercings, and purple hair. Nevertheless, aside from these visible leanings toward alternative sub-cultures, my team is not that different from any of the other construction industry professionals on site. They have all spent 3 or 4 years immersed in their discipline at university, before accumulating commercial experience on sites around the UK. Their day-to-day work is regulated by agreed standards and codes of conduct issued by a national professional body, the Institute for Archaeologists (IfA). In addition, they are all card-carrying members of the Construction Skills Certification Scheme, and are fully kitted-out in personal protective clothing. And far from scraping away to satisfy their personal curiosity, they are all working hard to implement a competitively priced and timetabled Written Scheme of Investigation (WSI).

This does not stop the Construction Manager from goading me further. "Look, I know we have to do all this stuff to satisfy the town planners," he rejoins, and I sense

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a softening in his attitude. My optimism is misplaced, however, and he finishes with a carefully chosen barb, which he knows will offend. "I wouldn't mind so much, but on my last site the archaeologists were all babes in bikini tops and rigger boots." He grins, turns on his heels, and stomps off. Sometimes you just can not win.

Mulling over this conversation, I am troubled that the Construction Manager should think that archaeology is a waste of time and money. Despite all of the efforts that have been made to professionalize archaeology, and the tremendous popularity that the subject has achieved on TV, it is clear that some senior managers still fail to grasp what archaeologists do, and perhaps more importantly, why, and for whom? In this case the Construction Manager's cynicism probably stemmed from the fact that we were excavating a row of workers' cottages that had been built in the 1820s and demolished by Sheffield Corporation as part of a slum clearance scheme in the 1930s.

As it happens, the excavation of the cottages attracted a tremendous amount of media interest, sparking debates on poverty, and the shortcomings of early modern sanitary conditions. "So with better sanitation the cholera epidemic of 1832 could have been avoided?" a young female reporter from the local radio station observed. This comment allowed her to make a link to the recently restored Cholera Monument, a fine stone obelisk with a three-cornered cross-section holding statues of Faith, Hope, and Charity, which overlooks the site from a nearby hill slope. The monument records that 402 Sheffield residents had perished from the Asiatic cholera outbreak in 1832, including John Blake, the esteemed Master Cutler at the Company of Cutlers of Hallamshire. The fact that the disease could claim a member of the social elite, as well as poorer slum dwellers, rattled the civic pride of the emerging industrial town, and caste a shadow over the growing success of the Company of Cutlers, which was extending its trade networks at that time to supply hunting knives to the American West and tablewares to Australia.

Passers-by who chanced upon our site, which served as impromptu metropolitan time-portal, often used the opportunity to reflect upon the passage of time, and to marvel at how much material *progress* had been made over the course of the twentieth century. Local school children, happy to have escaped the confines of their classrooms, giggled and fidgeted on the viewing platform, and pondered how daily life had changed over the course of just four or five generations: no cars, no planes, no computers, no cell phones, no Britney. . .

Many locals wanted to know what we had found in our excavation, but others were more impressed that we were even *trying* to find out about the lives of ordinary men, women, and children in such a down-at-heel district of town. As one elderly resident pointed out, the inhabitants of these cottages had, for no fault of their own, simply been dealt a poor hand in life, and for that reason did not figure in the history books. Our practical intervention had reopened the inquest and rekindled an interest in their forgotten lives. This, of course, is a commonly expressed reason for doing historical archaeology, but it is an important point, and one which emphasizes that archaeology is as much about the present as the past.

In a Back Street

After leaving the dig I have an appointment with an architect to discuss a program of archaeological work at an old building which has been earmarked for demolition. As I enter the back street where we have arranged to meet, I hear the rhythmical sound of hammers striking metal. I see four men working inside a shabby workshop. They all look to be in their late 50s or 60s. On either side of the workshop the neighboring premises have been vacated and are boarded up. Used condoms and hypodermic needles, evidence of the night time trade in sex and drugs which has colonized this once industrious street, have accumulated in the gutter on the street frontage.

I find the architect a few doors down, checking emails on his cell phone, and we walk to the site. The building has an undistinguished brick-built façade that gives little away, but I see from the rows of small closely spaced upper storey windows that it is a former cutlery workshop (Fig. 4.1). There are dozens of these buildings spread through the back streets of Sheffield, built by property speculators between the 1820s and 1880s. The spaces within were leased to individual cutlers, often self-employed "Little Mesters," who turned their backs on corporate culture, varying their work hours according to demand, and operating an early form of hot-desking. The door is stiff and refuses to budge, so the architect shoulders it open. A shaft of daylight illuminates the interior, and a multitude of tiny dust particles mingle and dance in the light as it touches the dark recesses of the workshop. We see rows of

Fig. 4.1   A Sheffield cutlery workshop (courtesy James Symonds)

Fig. 4.2 Inside an abandoned Sheffield cutlery workshop (courtesy James Symonds)

work benches, oil-stained machinery, piles of paper, and battered old tools scattered everywhere (Fig. 4.2).

The Sheffield cutlery and tableware trades used a bewildering array of hand tools. At its height, in the late nineteenth century, several thousand craftsmen and women worked to complete orders, often using an elaborate system of sub-contracting between workshops. This form of workshop production, based upon individual skill and connoisseurship, distinguished Sheffield from many other northern industrial towns, where the needs of textile manufacturing required large mill structures and employed a less-skilled workforce to attend to large mechanized looms (Symonds, 2002).

The architect commissions my team to make a record of the building prior to demolition. This will entail using standard methods of architectural investigation techniques to photograph rooms and their contents and to create measured floor plans and elevations. Information will be collated to form a narrative report which will incorporate evidence from archival research and map regression work to outline the historical development and use of the site. If possible oral testimonies will also be gathered from those who worked within the workshop, describing the manufacturing processes and memories of their working lives.

Looking at old tools in this and other buildings of the Sheffield metals trades is a humbling experience. Sometimes groups of tools have clearly been discarded by individuals at the time of their redundancy, or retirement, others may have simply been left in a corner following a company closure. These assemblages can give an insight into the repertoire of tasks that were undertaken by an individual.

More often than not, however, an assemblage of tools has accumulated over many decades within a workshop and has been touched by many hands (see Symonds and Casella, 2006:159–166). So whereas this place speaks of individual connoisseurship, it is also resonant of collective experience. If the individual stalls which housed the heavy work benches were part of a Neolithic chambered tomb, rather than a Victorian workshop, it might be easier to convince skeptics that the idea of industrial Sheffield was created and reproduced in such places through the reiteration of people and things. In this case the abandoned artifacts provide a sensual echo from the industrial past, while the people who used them have moved on, and the world outside has changed (cf. Jones, 2007:57)

Before the building is pulled down, the tools, papers, and other portable objects will be removed as the first stage of demolition work—the "soft strip." Most of the tools will be discarded, but some will be sold, and others, if we are fortunate, will be donated to the Ken Hawley Collection Trust, an internationally important collection of edge-tools, cutlery, and measuring tools, mainly from Sheffield, but with complementary material from Britain and the rest of the world. Our technical report and photographic archive will stand as a record of the building, but the coverage that it will give to the tools and other portable items within the building will be cursory, at best, as the primary objective of the exercise will have been to create a record of the standing structure, and not to create an historical ethnography of the workplace.

The Trouble with Material Culture

The trouble with material culture is just that—it is a material form of something that is otherwise *immaterial*—or to put it another way, it is the tangible *product* of a culture (Glassie, 1999:41). This has important implications for the discipline of archaeology, which seeks to interpret human cultures through their material residues. Material culture takes up space in the world. Portable objects flow between individuals in myriad networks, pulsating and switching in Brownian motion. At times material things flow together, to form hard edges to our cultural worlds, creating obstacles and boundaries. At other times objects combine and work together, channeling human energy, knowledge, and aspiration to create something new. The omnipresence of material culture can make it dull and unremarkable. Thomas Aquinas, discussing memory, understood that "we wonder more at unfamiliar things, and the soul is more strongly and vehemently held by them" (cited in Lowenthal, 1985:29).

The rise of postprocessual archaeologies in the 1980s encouraged us to see material culture as an active system of communication with symbols and meanings that could be read like a text (Hodder, 1986). Although this "linguistic turn" was valuable, in as much as it allowed us to see beyond purely functional interpretations of things, it also served to relegate the practical uses of material culture to a position of secondary importance. Archaeologists, particularly prehistorians, began to regard the study of material culture as a means to an end, a way to get to the

more interesting but absent cognitive aspects of human life, the beliefs, values, and symbolic ideas of a culture.

Some 25 or more years on, archaeologists routinely refer to artifacts as being "imbricated in social relationships and cultural traditions" (Thomas, 2009:43) but few archaeologists seem willing to study material culture in its own right, as something that is solid and real in the world and has a practical function (Herva and Nurmi, 2009; Löfgren, 1997:103; Miller, 1987:95–98; Olsen, 2003:91–93). The tools on these workbenches were honed to cut up bone and ivory for knife handles, and yet these everyday transformational engagements, and the skill which this entailed, can be overlooked if the tools are simply regarded as media for the storage of encoded symbolic information.

The way in which we divide up the material residues of the past in order to create manageable chunks for the purposes of conservation management is enshrined in legislation and planning policy guidance notes. Hence, buildings are one thing, and finds and buried archaeology another. The flow of people, and work, and dwelling places, and things, are segmented, and are dealt with in different ways, and viewed through different interpretive lenses. This troubles me, as any unity of process or purpose that may have existed in the past lifeworld(s) which we are trying to interpret is dissolved by the self-contained nature of our interventions. I will explore this point further in relation to Mary and Adrian's work in Sacramento, below.

Adrian and Mary, and Winchester, Too

Adrian and Mary were fortunate to spend time working in Winchester in the early 1970s, with Martin and Birthe Kjølbye-Biddle's Winchester Research Unit. This was the first major urban archaeology unit to be established in the UK, and trained a generation of international urban archaeologists. Martin Biddle had resigned a lectureship in Archaeology at the University of Exeter in 1961 to establish the unit, but this did not ensure any close correspondence between the views of academic archaeology and those of field archaeology when it came to urban excavation strategies. The gulf between academic archaeology and field archaeology still exists, and has probably widened in recent years, as the commercial archaeology sector has grown. Old wounds run deep and are slow to heal.

At the height of the rescue years, F. H. Thompson, Assistant Secretary to the Society of Antiquaries of London, created a minor storm by suggesting that a great deal of urban rescue archaeology was more akin to rubbish collection than research (Thompson, 1975:44). Mr. Thompson's ire was raised by a seemingly innocuous statement, penned by Martin Biddle, which appeared in the joint Council for British Archaeology (CBA) and Rescue pamphlet, *Archaeology and Government*: "All active archaeology is research. What has come to be known as rescue archaeology forms part of this general research effort. Every rescue excavation provides further valuable information" (Biddle, 1974:2).

Thompson believed that urban archaeology should retreat from the "smash and grab" mentality of the rescue movement, which he claimed only served to promote

the indiscriminate accumulation of low-grade site records and finds. In place of this catch-all approach, he argued that far better judgment needed to be applied to the selection of sites for excavation, and that the evidence retrieved by interventions should be carefully marshaled in order to address major topics of broad historical interest. Few now would doubt that Thompson was right to suggest that archaeological evidence is best gathered in response to an explicit research strategy, but his suggestion that guidance on research priorities should be gained from historians rankles, and a generation or more on his ultra-conservative tone summons up a rather fusty image. Take his advice to academics who might be enticed by rescue archaeology: "Here our university colleagues have a strong duty to resist the seductive wiles of state-financed rescue archaeology; they should cease to rationalize the local rescue dig into a project of academic worth and instead address themselves to their primary role of pursuing research in the proper sense of the word" (Thompson, 1975:44).

The rescue archaeology boom lasted for about a decade, and came to an end with the passing of the *Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act* in 1979 (OPSI, 1979). This legislation established a new framework for the protection of nationally important sites, and led to the creation of a number of permanent archaeological field units, reducing the need for peripatetic "circuit diggers" like Adrian and Mary. The rescue ethos had been developed in response to a period of unprecedented urban and rural development, and the problem at the heart of Thompson's critique was how best to match scarce resources to multiple demands.

This was not a new problem. In the 1930s R. G. Collingwood, Waynflete Professor of Metaphysical Philosophy at the University of Oxford, and keen archaeologist, had frowned upon the scale of excavations being conducted by the Office of Public Works, and the increasing number of unpublished excavation reports. Collingwood, brought up on the Roman military archaeology of Hadrian's Wall, wondered why archaeologists were excavating entire sites using open-area techniques established by General Pitt Rivers in the late nineteenth century, when they could just as easily answer pressing problems, such as the date of construction of a building or a defensive structure, by digging far smaller slit trenches? The only way to avoid museum stores being choked with worthless finds, he contended, was to follow Lord Acton's dictum, and to "study problems, not periods" (Collingwood, 1939:83–84; see also Jones, 1984:13).

When Adrian and Mary began working in cultural resource management in California in the 1970s, they faced a similar shortage of funding, but their situation was made worse by a lack of skilled archaeological excavators and, moreover, by the absence of a tradition of urban excavation: "This left us with the problem of devising a cost-effective way of tackling these sites that would produce the kind of demonstrably important results to convince skeptical government regulators that historical archaeology was worth requiring of property developers" (Praetzellis and Praetzellis, Chapter 3, this volume).

The Praetzellises' approach was devised within the American contract archaeology market place and had a clear imperative to maximize data per dime. Over the last 20 years commercial archaeology in the UK has grown to resemble US-style

contract archaeology, so value for money is now a big issue here, too. In the rescue years, however, this idea would have been scoffed at; one just grabbed what one could, for as long as possible, and certainly did not feel the need to justify this to legislators, or for that matter, developers. Rescue archaeology was a heroic act of public service. It was locally driven, and anti-modernist in the sense that the bulldozer and the concrete shopping precinct were seen to be actively eroding public history (Heighway, 1972). Rescue archaeologists were the guardians of the local, and eagerly watched over the historical patina of a place. In shire towns throughout the land rescue archaeology committees and trusts liberated the archaeology of the people for the people, unearthing a material inheritance, or "the buried archives of a town" as the historian David Palliser termed archaeological deposits, adding detail to periods of town life where documentary sources were thin or nonexistent (Palliser, 1976:4). Amid all this frenzied activity there was a very British belief that if one toughed it out and muddled through, that things would somehow sort themselves out.

Well, of course, that did not happen. By the late 1980s the crates of pottery, bones, and other finds which had been accumulated by urban rescue units in Winchester, Norwich, London, Lincoln, York, and many other English towns and cities had become teetering edifices. The turning point came in 1990, with the publication of Planning Policy Guidance Note 16, *Archaeology and Planning* (DCLG, 1990). PPG16, as it soon became widely known, established two important principles. First, nationally important archaeology would be preserved in-situ wherever possible, and second, developers would be expected to fund archaeological work.

At first this new-found source of funding only seemed to make things worse as more material was coming out of the ground with no formal provision for publication. Barry Cunliffe, an Oxford academic used to having dirt under his finger nails, predicted that unless a solution could be found quickly the archaeological profession would be "drowned in a pollution of unprocessed data" within a decade (Cunliffe, 1990:668). In a measured response from the Ancient Monuments Directorate, it was conceded that concerns had quite rightly been raised that: "we might end up in Britain with a situation similar to that which exists in the United States. There, many 'contract archaeology' reports are never published at all, and there is often no mechanism for disseminating even summary information" (Thomas, 1991:823).

Three significant strands emerged from this quandary. First, greater emphasis was placed upon the management of archaeological projects. Archaeologists in England were encouraged to assess the research potential of their sites and finds as projects unfolded, and to allocate their resources accordingly (English Heritage, 1991a). Second, far greater emphasis was placed upon regional and national research strategies as a way to allocate state funding to projects (English Heritage, 1991b). Third, and perhaps most significantly in terms of the present discussion, urban archaeology came of age, and gained its own voice.

Martin Carver was ahead of the game, as usual, when he asserted in the early 1980s that urban archaeology "has for [too] long walked along, holding the paternal hand of the historian, stooping to pick up stones and chattering about them with the endearing imitation it thinks a parent likes to hear. In older children such a habit can

become exasperating, and it is perhaps time to seek independent routes from which other travelers can profit" (Carver, 1983:372). Carver, a former professional soldier, armed archaeologists with a range of new strategies to mount their urban research campaigns. Henceforth, rather than laying down an open-area excavation on the hearsay evidence of a medieval scribe, the defenses and other sectors of historic towns would first be probed using a battery of field evaluation techniques. This allowed sites to be more closely targeted for excavation on the basis of their real, rather than their imagined archaeological potential, and gave rise to better strata-prediction and systematic urban deposit modeling (Carver, 1989, 1990).

The widespread adoption of site evaluation and deposit modeling was used by government and local authority curatorial archaeologists to support the key principles of PPG16. Where potentially well-preserved archaeological deposits could be predicted, these hot spots could be avoided, preserving nationally important archaeological layers in-situ for the future, and saving the client the expense of excavation at the same time. This approach was not to everyone's liking. For one thing the emphasis on preserving individual sites, or "monuments," seemed anachronistic, arguably harking back to Pitt River's first Schedule of Ancient Monuments, compiled in the 1880s. In addition, the idea enshrined within PPG16, that the very best sites should be preserved, with lesser grade sites being "put to the trowel," led Martin Carver to suggest that we would be better off doing just the opposite, and concentrating our resources upon excavating a few of the very best sites, while conserving the majority of lesser grade sites, thereby unlocking new information through focused and well-funded research excavations (Carver, 1996:54).

This brings me back, in a roundabout way, to Sacramento. One thing that worries me about the system of urban site sampling which Mary and Adrian describe in their chapter is the apparently low level of interest shown in site stratigraphy. It is clear that there are at least two major differences between the structure of Sacramento's archaeological deposits and those of most (but not all) English towns. First, the deposits in Sacramento accumulated in a very short period of time, i.e., over decades, not centuries. Second, the layout and comparatively recent date of the town allow the food waste and artifacts contained within discrete features such as privy pits and wells to be linked by archival research to specific historically documented households.

I may be doing the Praetzellises a very great disservice here, as I know that they are highly skilled excavators and have carefully dug and published a large number of complex stratified sites, such as the Golden Eagle site (Praetzellis et al., 1980). Nevertheless, on the evidence presented in their contribution to this book the primary goal of excavation in West Oakland seems to have been to locate discrete cut features and scoop out their fills so that the team could then link artifacts and food waste to a known head of household.

Now, if you ask me, this is a bit like shooting fish in a barrel. Urban archaeology is never that easy in England, where generations of townsfolk lived cheek by jowl in crowded plots, carelessly mixing their waste with that of their neighbors, and casually cutting through their predecessors' rubbish pits, with no regard for the needs of future scholarship. Perhaps I am just jealous, but my point is that whereas

in England the stratigraphy of a site is used, in combination with the finds and environmental evidence, to construct a long-term narrative, with periods and phases of activity defined by the observed relationships between layers and cut features, in Sacramento it seems that far more emphasis is placed on collecting artifacts to develop *controlled comparable datasets* (Praetzellis and Praetzellis, Chapter 3, this volume). This is far more reminiscent of the garbage project (Rathje, 1974) than the kind of urban archaeology that was being pioneered in Winchester. Adrian and Mary's strategy, with its emphasis on the household as the primary unit of analysis, reflects their North American anthropological training. Their emphasis on people, and households, is exciting, but becomes problematic if it is taken to suggest that artifact assemblages can be used to explore the status, ethnicity, and other aspects of the families who owned them, almost independently of the features from which the artifacts were retrieved, and the townscape which the individuals inhabited and modified.

I must also question the Praetzellises' belief that it is possible to create big stories from a sample of a sample, by using statistics. This will set me at odds with many social scientists who routinely crunch numbers and use scientific approaches to generate social statistics. Nevertheless, I do not believe that archaeological data lend themselves, even in the tens of thousands of potsherds, to positivist methodologies, and would argue that a far more nuanced form of hermeneutic interpretation is needed to create narratives about the past. Personally, I prefer to see archaeology written as a multitude of contextualized small stories, rather than under the cloak of a spurious scientific methodology which claims to generate an *aggregated view*, but which only smoothes out data to create a synthetic, and frankly, meaningless, *average household*.

I have a few more specific problems with the categories and assumptions that have been used to line up the data for interrogation. First, the decision to use categories of occupation devised by American social historians introduces a level of subjective retrospective categorization from another discipline. I doubt whether terms such as Professional, Low White-Collar, or Semi-skilled, would have had any social meaning to the inhabitants of 1860s Sacramento, and these modern classifications are unlikely to calibrate in any straightforward way with the material world inhabited by real people in the past. A similar problem arises with the use of off-the-peg ethnic categories. Ethnicity is not bounded and is constantly reworked by conditioning and contingent factors: e.g., were those whom Adrian and Mary describe as *Irish* Roman Catholics or Protestants? Religious beliefs influence many aspects of day-to-day life, shaping attitudes to work and money, family size and structure, and in some cases prohibiting the intake of alcohol, or certain foods.

In the case of Irish immigrants to the United States, Stephen Brighton has made the important point that impoverished Irish immigrants to Five Points, New York, and Patterson, New Jersey, did not possess a distinctive Irish material culture in terms of teawares or other ceramics. By the late nineteenth century, however, transgenerational changes and increasing prosperity had led to creation of a new Irish-American identity, and the adoption of a culture of consumption (Brighton, 2009). In a parallel study, Hasia Diner has concluded that food was not an ethnic

marker for nineteenth-century Irish immigrants to America, principally because of their pre-migration culture, which was afflicted by famine, and therefore did not focus on food. It was only later, in the twentieth century, that the idea of "traditional" Irish food was created, and this centered on new dishes, such as corned beef and cabbage (Diner, 2001:115).

Overall, then the rigidity of the Praetzellises' analytical framework, which is assembled using borrowed categorizations from other disciplines, succeeds in pigeon-holing data, but I would argue that this is far too tidy, and tends to smooth away the inconsistencies and jagged edges of real life. To offer a hypothetical example, consider the contents of the privy of an English man who married a German woman. The Englishman started off as an employee, but progressed to own his own small business. After this death his wife inherited and ran the business, with a female Scottish spinster as a lodger and companion in her home. Should we expect to see porridge bowls appearing in the privy, and less roast beef off-cuts being discarded after the death of the Englishman?

One of the big problems with Mary and Adrian's statistics is that they resemble the structuralist method which they cite as an early influence, i.e., in the rush to define recurrent patterning they become ahistorical and do not allow change to be seen, or explained in quirky human terms. This leaves us with some rather banal statements such as: "the presence of wine/champagne containers appears to be an excellent indicator of higher social status" (Praetzellis and Praetzellis, Chapter 3, this volume). Some years ago Kent Flannery came up with the term *Mickey Mouse Law* to describe underwhelming insights derived from the nomothetic efforts of New Archaeologists (Flannery, 1973). The linking of champagne containers with higher social status would seem to qualify as just such a law, although if I were to adopt a reflexive stance I would be forced to admit that this taken-for-granted probably only works in the modern Western world, where sparkling wine from northeastern France is equated with class and financial success.

Adrian and Mary go on to comment: "Differences in artifact patterns within populations suggest that the categories we are using to define these cultural units are missing some elusive factor(s) that is not discernable from the demographic or sociological characteristics of the households of which they are formed" (Praetzellis and Praetzellis, Chapter 3, this volume). Unfortunately, Adrian and Mary seem to have failed to recognize that by acknowledging that something is missing, and that there must be nuances that escape the statistical method, they are, in fact, acknowledging what everyone knows about how to lie with statistics: first you eliminate the detail. The missing factors are human individuality and agency, which along with the passage of time combine to create variability in material life and discard patterns.

Returning to my earlier point, about how and why urban archaeologists do things, a couple of observations can be made. First, the huge scale of redevelopment work in California led the Praetzellises down the road of statistical sampling. There was simply too much stuff and insufficient resources to look at everything. My second point is more fundamental. The approach taken by Adrian and Mary is very client-oriented, and allows the federal authorities, and the California Department

of Transportation (CALTRANS), to see a lot of data per dime, and some statistical patterns which look a bit like social science. It may be that CALTRANS managers or California state officials like this kind of thing, but personally, I preferred it when the Praetzellises just shrugged and told informative and gloriously funny stories on the small scale. Their interpretive report on the I–880 Cypress Freeway Replacement, *Putting the "There" There: Historical Archaeologies of West Oakland* (Praetzellis and Praetzellis, 2004), is a *tour de force*, and it is regrettable that some of the magnificent stories and vignettes from that seminal publication could not have found their way into this volume.

On the Road: West Oakland and Sheffield

Road schemes have both positive and negative aspects when it comes to archaeology. On the one hand, they offer a wonderful opportunity to sample a wide range of archaeological contexts over an extensive area, and are usually fairly well-funded by the public purse. On the other hand, they can be a headache, as roads tend to obliterate any archaeology in their path. Devising a strategy to conserve an important site on a proposed route in situ can be tricky and expensive, as it may mean moving the line of the road, or modifying the construction method to lessen the impact. In this scenario the engineering costs are likely to resemble a long-distance telephone number. An additional problem with dealing with any archaeology encountered— be it above or below ground—is that the line of a new road cuts a swathe through the landscape/townscape, creating a random sample. The sinuous line of a new road separates sites and finds from their landscape/townscape context, and often, infuriatingly, just clips the edges of sites that you would really like to dig, if you were given a choice.

The I–880 Cypress Freeway Replacement involved the reconstruction of a 3.1-mile section of road through Oakland and Emeryville, California, from 1992 to 1998. Archaeologists studied 48 urban blocks, uncovering 2,580 archaeological features, and retrieving 500,000 artifacts for analysis. The total cost of the road scheme was an estimated $1 billion (Praetzellis and Praetzellis, 2004).

The Sheffield Inner Relief Road (Northern Section) Phase II involved the construction of 1.5 miles of dual carriageway, through the historic core of Sheffield in 2003–2005. Desk-based archaeological research ahead of the Sheffield Inner Relief Road identified 108 sites of archaeological and historical significance within the area of the proposed route. This first stage scoping was followed by a scheme of archaeological field evaluations and watching briefs. On the basis of these second stage interventions 20 open-area excavations were completed, with an additional 12 sites being monitored by a less-intensive archaeological watching brief during construction works. The total area stripped and examined archaeologically was 18,504 m^2 (199,175 ft^2), and 28,405 finds were retrieved for analysis. In addition to this, the above-ground archaeology of 18 standing structures was appraised; nine of these structures were subsequently recorded by detailed archaeological survey prior to their demolition (ARCUS, 2004).

What can we make of this simple comparison? One might conclude that there is a lot more stuff to be found per square foot in West Oakland than in Sheffield. Maybe the New World offered an opportunity for emigrants to raise their standard of living, and the resulting artifactual clutter is material evidence of their super-abundant West Coast lifestyles? Finds need to be carefully contextualized, however, before any worthwhile conclusions can be drawn. Fundamental differences exist between the depositional contexts that were sampled in West Oakland and Sheffield, and if these differences in stratigraphy, which reflect real human actions, are not taken into account, then all kinds of spurious explanations, such as the example of super-abundant Californian lifestyles outlined above, may seem plausible.

Framing the Questions

Research students sometimes ask "How can I come up with a worthwhile research question?" and "How will I know that I have answered that question?" There are no simple answers to either of these questions. Stating in a smug post-modern way that the past is dead and gone, and that no one can recover what happened in the past because the bulk of past actions and events have passed without leaving a trace does not inspire confidence. Questions *are* needed, even if they only create problematic discourses, which throw up intersubjective and ideologically positioned interpretations that ultimately fail to generate "certaintist knowledge" (Jenkins, 1991:56).

The previous generations of urban archaeologists in England were preoccupied with questions of origins, continuity, and change. Urban excavations were dug deep, in the hope that the earliest phase of a town's history might be uncovered. The dark earth layers which shrouded the remains of Roman public buildings were prodded and scraped for evidence of post-Roman continuity, in the form of wooden shanty towns, and the rubbish pits of Saxon emporia were forked-out and sieved for evidence of the rebirth of long-distance trade and town life in the West (Grew and Hobley, 1985; Hodges and Hobley, 1988; MacPhail, 1981).

At the heart of the conceptual couplet of "continuity and change" was a thinly disguised desire to locate a moment in time; what many archaeologists really wanted to do was to pinpoint the origins of the English, and to find tangible evidence for the growth of English institutions, and of the distinctive forms of English urban life which supported them. This quest for the roots of the English is unsurprising, given that much of the opportunity and impetus for large-scale urban excavation arose as a consequence of the devastation of London and other cities by Luftwaffe air raids in World War II. By posing such questions, urban archaeologists were bound to fail, however, since neither urbanism nor Englishness were clearly defined, and the seemingly essential truths which were apparent in many historical narratives of "our island story" were absent, or evanescent.

Initial desk-based archaeological assessment ahead of the Sheffield Inner Relief Road in 2001 suggested that the new road would pass through a potentially rich archaeological landscape, with a long and varied cultural history. Previous finds in

the Don Valley indicated that the area had been used by Palaeolithic hunter-gatherers more than 10,000 years ago, and the discovery of a hollowed-out log boat a few miles down stream from the point where the new road would cross the river showed that Bronze Age communities had navigated the waters of the Don. The Romans had built a fort on the Don at Templebrough, less than 4 miles away, in AD 54. The auxiliary solders from Gaul (IV *Cohors Gallorum*) who manned this fort defended the frontier of the Roman world for two generations before a military offensive pushed the frontier further north in AD 122 to establish the more well-known defensive line of Hadrian's Wall.

Around AD 1100 the Norman lord De Lovetot built an earth and timber castle overlooking the confluence of the rivers Don and Sheaf, less than a mile downstream from the site of the new road. This "motte and bailey" fortification was replaced by a stone castle in the twelfth century and a market charter was granted, establishing the town of Sheffield. From the later Middle Ages houses and workshops began to line the hillsides and meadows beyond the castle and Sheffield's long association with the metals trades began to develop.

In 1637 the town armorer, Kellam Homer, had a water-powered workshop on the river, and in 1829 John Crowley built a foundry at Kelham Island to manufacture iron goods. By the mid-nineteenth century the area was densely populated with factories, workers' housing, pubs, and a variety of shops. This crowded urban landscape was disrupted on the evening of March 11, 1864, when the walls of the Dale Dyke Dam, a reservoir being constructed above the Loxley Valley to serve the growing industrial town of Sheffield, collapsed. More than 250 people died in the tumultuous flood that followed, and many buildings and bridges were swept away. The factories were rebuilt, and played their part in producing armaments and armor plating for two world wars, along with "Blanco" polish, which helped to buff-up the brass on soldier's uniforms in more than 60 countries around the world from the 1860s until the 1960s.

This thumbnail sketch meshes the material evidence of occasional archaeological discoveries with known historical events to constitute a narrative which attempts to place the route of the Sheffield Inner Relief Road in regional and historical context. The narrative is piecemeal, and selective, and any unity which is gained in the telling is achieved through reference to traces of successive human communities. Looking at all the background historical for the information Sheffield Inner Relief Road project, it is clear that the weight of all of this *history* does tell us something: that the new road passes through an area which has been intensively used by successive human populations over a very long time scale. But where does all of this lead us? To answer this question, we need to return to the actual material evidence recovered by fieldwork.

Bacon and Eggs

On a winter's morning in January 2008 ARCUS organized a research seminar in the University of Sheffield's Humanities Research Institute. The seminar had been

arranged to discuss the post-excavation framework for the Inner Relief Road project and included presentations by local historian David Hey, who outlined the historical development of the area from cartographic and documentary sources, and John Barrett, who offered thoughts on a theoretical framework for the post-excavation analysis (cf. Barrett, 2001). One of the key aims of the day was to assemble the various archaeological specialists who would be reporting on material in one room so that different types of finds and site records would not be considered in isolation. The specialists had been given time to make a preliminary assessment of their particular assemblage, and were each asked to offer a brief overview of their findings, and to indicate how their material could be used to address the themes of industrialization and technology, working, dwelling, and identity, urban geography, and pre-industrial environments which had been identified in the original project research design. Presentations followed on ceramics, clay pipes, glass, mollusca, vertebrate remains, worked bone, leather, metals, slags, and industrial residues.

After only a short time it was clear that there were a number of recurring comments in the presentations: individual assemblages could often not be linked to secure stratified contexts, such as cut features; the material was very mixed and seemed to lack interesting finished products; the material was comparatively recent in date and was rarely older than the early nineteenth century. These comments gave a rather negative overall impression of potential, and when summing up I could not resist quipping "Well, if we had some bacon we could have bacon and eggs, if we had some eggs."

What had gone wrong? I suspect that the specialists had been seduced by the promise of the historical framework, and were disappointed that for the most part all they ended up with was nineteenth- and twentieth-century material. Post-medieval urban deposits are no longer routinely machined off sites as they were in the rescue years in order to get to earlier deposits, but it is probably fair to say that the majority of UK archaeologists still hanker after older stuff (see Lawrence, 2006; Symonds, 2006a).

Unfortunately, this can mean that when large assemblages of nineteenth-century material are recovered, British archaeologists automatically look to North American studies for inspiration and guidance. And when they chance upon accounts of near complete dinner sets, and the remains of newly born babies, and organ-grinder's monkeys found in wells and privies (see Yamin, 1998, 2000), their expectations of finding something similar in the UK are raised. Sadly, this seldom happens, and aside from evidence for the systematic backfilling of cesspits in north Lambeth, London, between the late 1850s and 1880s (Jeffries, 2006), it would seem that cultural and depositional contexts in mid- to late nineteenth-century Britain, a country already heavily developed by that time, and North America, were very different.

David Clarke understood the differences between the pre-depositional, post-depositional, and retrieval contexts well, and pointed out that archaeology can only ever hope to sample a sample of the traces which were deposited at any time in the past (Clarke, 1973:16). In the case of the Sheffield Inner Relief Road, there was clearly great historical potential, as outlined above, but when it came to fieldwork

natural and anthropogenic processes had intervened to erase almost all archaeological traces of pre-modern human activity. As Sheffield industrialized, new political and socio-economic structures were formed and made their mark in the landscape. The most decisive factor here was the large-scale earthmoving activities which these new structures were able to conceive and implement. Publicly funded works such as Corporation Street cut a swathe through the area ca.1850, demolishing many earlier structures, while private capital from individual entrepreneurs and joint stock companies paid for the construction of factories, workshops, and houses to populate this new commercial district.

Such prodigious earth moving, which in places raised the land surface by as much as 10 m (ca. 32′ 9″) broke the link between households and their waste. There is evidence that the thick layers of soil and rubble, which were used to raise the ground level, were imported from elsewhere in the city, incorporating ceramics and other durable household waste. Put simply, the sheer scale and power of modernity has silenced voices from earlier periods, and with only a few exceptions, such as material from nineteenth-century domestic properties beneath the Spring Street Warehouse (Site 38) and the Central Ambulance Station (Site 39), the citizens of the industrial city have been rendered anonymous, left floating like ship-wrecked sailors in a sea of their own undifferentiated detritus.

Concluding Thoughts

My cautionary tale concerning the importance of archaeological context, and the dangers of high expectations and inappropriate comparisons, should not be taken to suggest that public money was squandered on excavating low-grade archaeology ahead of the construction of the Sheffield Inner Relief Road. Sites were selected for study according to a triage system of site evaluation involving desk-based assessment (Aitchison, 2001), followed by targeted trial trenching, and follow-on work, as necessary, in the form of further trenching, open-area excavation, or watching brief. The project did find things out, quite a lot of things in fact, as outlined in the initial post-excavation assessment document (ARCUS, 2009).

The most interesting discoveries related to industrial processes and shifts in technology, such the change from water-power, to steam power, to electricity to power workshops. Important insights were also gained into Sheffield's world-renowned steel making industry. At Millsands (Site 04), the site of the earliest integrated steelworks in Sheffield, and possibly the world, where a furnace had been built to convert bar iron into steel furnace (by the *cementation* process) and a crucible furnace had been built by 1769 to refine this steel by reheating for casting, the IRR project added new information by excavating a row of four later cementation furnaces which had been added to the works between 1832 and 1850, and a fifth added 1896 (Fig. 4.3). Comparative information on steel furnaces was gained from other locations, the Thomas Turton works at Bower Springs (Site 02), built in 1825–1828 during the local economic boom and bust cycle which followed the Napoleonic Wars, and the Love and Mansons works (Site 43) built in 1765.

Fig. 4.3 Late nineteenth-century steel cementation furnaces, Millsands, Sheffield (courtesy Anna Badcock)

As a consequence of the seminar, the post-excavation research design was modi-fied, and greater emphasis was placed on the questions that could be answered using the archaeological material that was in hand (Table 4.1). Technological questions were therefore given greater emphasis, and the process of dumping and level-ing which had transformed the urban geography of Sheffield and has resulted in bulk mixed deposits was highlighted as something that needed to be studied in

Table 4.1 Revised research aims and objectives: Sheffield Inner Relief Road Project

(i) *Industrialization and technology*

  (A) What can we learn about the origin and growth of Sheffield industries, with particular reference to the steel-making, edge-tool, cutlery and tableware industries, and the technologies of their power sources?

  (B) Does the resource contain evidence of undocumented or poorly documented industrial processes and materials that could add to our knowledge of the range of Sheffield industries?

  (C) Will the resource enable us to examine the relationship between technological innovation and the spread of ideas, and the conservation and retention of traditional practices?

  (D) Can the resource shed further light on the relationship between small- and large-scale businesses?

  (E) What can we learn about the character of pottery/glass production and supply?

    (e1) How was production organized?

    (e2) What were the changes in social and economic structure which saw a transition from small-scale family run potteries to industrial potteries?

    (e3) Is the transition to machine-made glass discernable in the archaeological record, and can it be dated?

(ii) *Working, dwelling, and identity*

  (F) What was the relationship between domestic and industrial spaces?

Table 4.1 (continued)

(G) Is the cultural material of sufficient quality and provenance to enable us to identify
distinct households, cultural, or ethnic groups, and/or patterns of consumption and
discard?
   (g1) Is there evidence that specific artifacts or types, e.g., clay pipes, are being used to
      signal identity?
   (g2) Can we see differences in functional distributions of different artifact types in
      different environments?
   (g3) Is there evidence in the material culture for particular religious or social groups,
      such as the Temperance Movement?
   (g4) Is there any evidence for the display or use of items showing aspirations to
      "respectability" or "gentility"?
   (g5) Is there any evidence for the activities of particular members of social groups, i.e.,
      children?
(H) What food and drink was consumed, and where?
(I) What can the material tell us about the character of animal husbandry in this period?
   (i1) What do animal bone assemblages look like in sites of industrial activity?
   (i2) What were the size and shape of eighteenth- to nineteenth-century breeds?
   (i3) Are there patterns in age of animals at death between sites?
   (i4) How does the animal bone assemblage represent industrial or domestic refuse?
   (i5) Is there any evidence to suggest that any animals, particularly pigs, were being kept
      on domestic premises?
(J) What contribution did livestock make to the diet?
(K) What were the changes in patterns of consumption of materials such as pot, glass, and
clay pipe over time?
   (k1) Can we see status differences in the ceramics and/or glass?
   (k2) Can we see status differences between household assemblages in different
      environments?

(iii) *Urban geography*
(L) What was the impact of town planning on the character and function of the built
environment?
   (L1) What role did concerns about health and sanitation play in the development of the
      town and town-planning decisions?
(M) To what extent can we identify large-scale earthmoving and dumping activities as part of
eithteenth- to twentieth-century[h] century city development?
   (m1) Is it possible to characterize different types of dumps?
   (m2) Where did the material come from?
   (m3) How far did it travel?
   (m4) What can these dumps tell us about the local economy?
(N) What was the impact of municipal waste disposal on the conditions of life at the time,
and on the formation of the archaeological resource?

(iv) *Pre-industrial environments*
(O) Does the resource help us to understand the characteristics of the pre-industrial landscape
and environment?
(P) How did expansion of the city impact upon the pre-industrial landscape of the River Don
floodplain?

detail, rather than simply being dismissed as being unhelpful to archaeological interpretation, and that work is now in progress.

Returning to Adrian and Mary's paper, I have to agree that James Deetz was a truly inspirational thinker, and it is one of my deepest regrets that I never met him. He was surely right that "noisy" collections of material are of value, if broad scale comparisons can be made (Deetz, 1986). At the moment, it is difficult to do this as so few large-scale urban excavations have been undertaken on sites dating from the last couple of centuries. Realistically, it may be another decade before a sufficient sample of sites and artifacts has been amassed in the UK to enable useful comparisons to be made between towns, cities, and regions, but the promise is there, and the potential for international comparisons is already being explored by the brightest stars in the international historical archaeology research community (Murray et al., 2003).

As a concluding thought, it is worth stressing the contribution that historical archaeology can make to the regeneration of Sheffield. After decades of industrial decline Sheffield, like other British cities which were once the powerhouses of the industrial age, is now in sorry state. Housing stocks and infrastructures are run-down, and any regeneration that had been taking place in the last decade has been stopped in its tracks by the global credit crunch. As unemployment levels rise, sapping business confidence and tearing communities apart, people are reminded of the devastating recession in the 1980s, and begin to believe that they are living in a failed place. Historical archaeology can help to modify this negative perception by demonstrating the skill and tenacity of generations of former inhabitants, who themselves struggled to overcome adversity, and to keep the city alive, and laid the foundations for the twenty-first-century city (Symonds, 2006b).

Victor Buchli and Gavin Lucas have suggested that the act of archaeology constitutes objects for the formation of discourses about absent or denied subjects. In short, it is a "creative materializing intervention, which has redemptive and therapeutic powers which help individuals and communities cope with painful contradictions that otherwise would remain unarticulated" (Buchli and Lucas, 2001:17). In this sense urban interpretative historical archaeology is far more than a contractual obligation to be undertaken ahead of development, and has a vital role to play in community renewal, and looks as much to the future as the past.

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Part III
Contesting Race, Constructing Memory

The two chapters that follow explore the phenomenon of "revisionist remembering" through selective filtration of memory and of "facts" about the past. Julia King and Edward Chaney explore the issue of race in seventeenth-century Maryland as addressed by historians and archaeologists and consider how this impinges upon contemporary thinking about race in America. They explore the unfortunate results of the demographic equivalent of the "one drop" rule: the tendency to dismiss the significance of the black experience in early Maryland on the basis of low population density—resulting in the claim that blacks were not present in sufficient numbers to worry too much about studying their lives in depth. King and Chaney confront this notion, seeking as archaeologists who encounter the remains of persons of possible African descent to comprehend what life was like for all early Marylanders and to challenge attitudes that, to date, have framed research on free and enslaved persons of African descent in seventeenth-century Maryland.

Siân Jones explores the tension between past and present in contemporary political struggles over the ownership and significance of the Hilton of Cadboll stone in northern Scotland. Through her analysis of oral histories and interviews, she illuminates how a ninth-century cross-slab stone, in the minds of contemporary residents of Hilton, has become a memorial to victims of the nineteenth-century Highland Clearances. She explores the role of all participants in the evocation and construction of narratives and memories about the stone—the local residents, the archaeologists, historians, the press, public figures—in rendering this ancient monument into a vivid icon of contemporary heritage and identity.

Chapter 5
Passing for Black in Seventeenth-Century Maryland

Julia A. King and Edward E. Chaney

In the Chesapeake region of the United States, archaeologists (including ourselves) typically organize the men and women who made up colonial society into one of three categories: European, African, or Native American. Although these three categories at one time were conflated with skin color, today, they are conceived primarily (although not always) in terms of ancestry or origin. Archaeologists have used these categories to document and interpret social life in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and to understand the nature and origins of attitudes toward difference, especially racial and ethnic difference. The best of this work has revealed a range of responses to post-Contact life in the region. Enslaved Africans, for example, were able to use material culture to exert some control over their material and spiritual lives. Many Chesapeake Bay Indians maintained traditional practices long after the arrival of English men and women, while others did not. Meanwhile, English men and women were doing their damndest to transplant English ways of life to the region, usually, but not always, with considerable success.

Indeed, the use of the terms *European*, *African*, and *Indian* to frame Chesapeake history has often served as a counterbalance to the work of the region's very productive social history school, which focused the majority of its scholarly attention on the experiences of the English colonists who made their way to Maryland and Virginia in the seventeenth century. This work, which has contributed enormously to Chesapeake historiography, has, with some important exceptions, had the unintentional effect of displacing and even erasing the indigenous and African people who were also a part of this history. Putting Native Americans and Africans back into the landscape was a necessary corrective to what was then shaping up to be a wholly European story. The cure, however, while not worse than the disease, raises its own issues concerning the study of racial and ethnic difference. European, African, and Indian have become fixed, unchanging, a priori categories of identity, givens rather than problems for study. Not only do the categories mask considerable variability, they ignore how these identities themselves came to be constructed, and how these

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identities, then and now, subtly reinforce colonial hierarchies through the use of imposed identities (see Epperson, 1999 for an early critique).

That such assumptions about race and ethnicity continue to influence the direction of Chesapeake studies is illustrated by the Smithsonian Institution's recently opened (2009) exhibit, *Written in Bone: Forensic Files from the 17th Century*. The exhibit's curators use morphological and metrical measurements collected from Chesapeake skeletons to conclude that "only three groups … were here in the 1600s and early 1700s—individuals of Native American, European, and African origins" (Smithsonian Institution, 2009). The exhibit goes on to list the biological attributes of these "origins" and then quite seamlessly link these attributes to culturally specified groups. As historian Ken Cohen has pointed out in his review of the Smithsonian's exhibit for the *Journal of American History* (2009), such determinations and linkages conflate origin and identity, imposing twentieth- and twenty-first-century racial categories on past groups and, in so doing, "[erasing] multi-racial individuals and cultural adaptations such as 'passing.'" Cohen concludes that, for the exhibit's visitors, "the oversimplified treatment of race [will prevent them] from understanding the dynamic experience of the seventeenth-century moment when modern definitions of race were forming but not yet crystallized."

Cohen's point is especially well-taken for the seventeenth-century period, when racial categories of identity were not nearly as fixed as they would become in the eighteenth century. And, even in the eighteenth century, while these imposed categories became increasingly "real" in a social sense, we still have trouble showing how people in this period constructed their own identity. Studies of race and ethnicity in other places have revealed the role of material culture in identity formation. Yet, surprisingly few archaeological studies of the construction of racial categories have been undertaken for the Chesapeake region's first century of colonization. In Maryland, this is largely because, or at least the argument goes, Africans constituted a small minority of the population through the end of the century. Given the profound influence of the social history school on Chesapeake historiography and its emphasis on a quantitative approach, this argument is not unexpected. The argument is unpersuasive, however, given that the indigenous population, especially in the first century of sustained contact, hardly constituted a minority, and few studies have focused on the emergence of the category *Indian* in the seventeenth century (but see Potter, 1993).

An important exception is Alison Bell's (2005) study of white ethnogenesis in the colonial Chesapeake. Using patterns in Chesapeake domestic architecture first identified by Cary Carson (Carson et al., 1981), James Deetz (1993, 1996), Henry Glassie (1975), and Dell Upton (1982, 1986), Bell concluded that changes in the construction and layout of Chesapeake dwellings through time revealed one strategy by which Anglo-Americans (her term) were able to reconfigure themselves as a new social category they called "white." As Chesapeake planters began building houses distancing themselves from the men and women who labored on their farms, they continued to use technologies and building designs that required planters to rely on other planters (and "whites") in a kind of traditional network to help maintain those houses. Racism, Bell (2005:457) concluded, "slowed the development of capitalism

in the colonial Chesapeake," as planters sought to maintain a group cohesion and exclusivity.

Although Bell's stated focus was the Chesapeake, her main emphasis was on Virginia, not Maryland, and her use of the documentary record was, not unlike her predecessors, limited. As a result, Bell's inferences about the uses to which architectural space was put and her assertion that planters purposely built earthfast houses in order to foster the creation of a group identity are based almost completely on architectural patterns. Still, Bell's analysis and interpretation are compelling and reveal the importance of exploring how "white" as a social category came to be and the material culture of that transformation.

In this chapter, we describe several cases—some known only through the documentary record and others only through the archaeological record—to suggest that, for the study of emerging attitudes about racial difference, the seventeenth century offers an as-yet untapped reservoir of evidence. Our focus is primarily Maryland, the more northern Chesapeake colony. Although Maryland and Virginia are often discussed together as a kind of seamless whole, there were important differences between the two colonies. Maryland was settled under the direction of a Catholic lord several decades later than Virginia. Further, significantly fewer people of African origin were imported into Maryland than into Virginia throughout the colonial period. Finally, Lord Baltimore's policy of accommodation with indigenous groups also differed from that of Virginia's, in part because Baltimore hoped to avoid conflicts that would lead to costly wars.

Because Maryland's experiences of intercultural contact were different than Virginia's, with different outcomes, there emerged, beginning in the early nineteenth century, a Maryland founding narrative that portrayed the colony as a utopian place of exceptional racial harmony. At first, this narrative referred to relationships between Europeans and Indians, with the latter welcoming the former by teaching them how to grow corn and tobacco and willingly "selling" their land to the English. At the end of the twentieth century, the Maryland founding narrative has been reworked to include Africans, specifically, one Mathias de Sousa. In 1642, de Sousa became the "first man of African descent to vote in an American legislature," suggesting that Maryland's founders were racially tolerant if not color-blind. This narrative conveniently ignores the presence of Africans with significantly different experiences in seventeenth-century Maryland. In this manner, Maryland's founding story forecloses the opportunity to pose substantively meaningful questions about the history of racial difference in the colony.

The First African to Vote in an American Legislature

The story of Mathias de Sousa is fairly well known in Maryland, where de Sousa lived during the second quarter of the seventeenth century. De Sousa had arrived in Maryland in 1634 as a servant indentured to Father Andrew White, a Jesuit missionary. Five years later, in 1639, de Sousa was described in a document as a "molato"; a few years after that, in a 1642 document, he was reported to have been present and

Fig. 5.1 An imagined
Mathias de Sousa as depicted
on a monument to his
memory at Historic St.
Mary's City (Photo by Julia
A. King)

to have voted at a meeting of the colonial assembly. De Sousa and his vote are mentioned in just about every published popular history, historical timeline, or exhibit on Africans or slavery in Maryland (Bogen, 2001; Hurry, 2001; Maryland Department of Education, 2009; Maryland State Archives [hereafter MSA], 2007:3), suggesting a lack of racial prejudice in early Maryland. A bas-relief of de Sousa, created in 1984 and on display at Historic St. Mary's City, the museum at the site of Maryland's first colonial capital, "imagines" what de Sousa may have looked like. This representation of de Sousa depicts features stereotypically associated with blacks in the twentieth century, including a broad nose and larger lips (Fig. 5.1). De Sousa, a "molato" in 1639, has been transformed into a "black" man in the late twentieth century.

A closer examination of the records, however, reveals that the circumstances of de Sousa's life are far more ambiguous than the commemorative material might suggest, and that not everyone in the seventeenth century described de Sousa as a mulatto. For starters, de Sousa is mentioned only eight times in the documents and, in just two of these documents is he described as "molato" (King et al., 2001). The two documents are both attributed to Father Ferdinand Poulton, a Jesuit priest claiming land for the people the Jesuits had earlier transported into the colony. The first document, recorded in 1639, is a demand for land for servants brought over by Father White in 1634. The second document, of unknown date but possibly 1641, is simply a restatement of Father Poulton's earlier demand.

The other six mentions of de Sousa in the documents include no ethnic or racial identifier. One of these six records was made by a second Jesuit priest, Father Thomas Copley, who served along with Poulton in early Maryland. The remaining five references were recorded by an English court recorder and include de Sousa's vote, an incident in which he served as a witness, a suit against him for a debt, and his indenture to another Englishman to satisfy the debt. Apparently, neither Father

Copley nor the court recorder(s) found it necessary to identify de Sousa beyond his name, although both Copley and the recorder(s) did apply racial identifiers in other cases.

The term *mulatto*, as used by Ferdinand Poulton, is commonly believed to derive from the Spanish and Portuguese words for *mule*, although Forbes (1993:147) argues that it is ultimately derived from the Arabic word *muwallad*, meaning the child of an Arab and non-Arab. *Mulato* was first applied by the Spanish and Portuguese in the sixteenth century to identify the offspring of Europeans and Moors. The term evolved to describe the child of any African and European, but it could also be applied to someone with skin colored brown (Stephens, 1999:354, 623). Indeed, the documents are replete with examples of individuals described as "mulatto" on the basis of skin color, with parentage or ancestry unknown. Further, the term could be used to refer to the offspring of a European with an Indian. A 1705 Virginia law defined a *mulatto* as the offspring of a white and an Indian or someone with at least one black great-grandparent (Cissna, 1986:204; Forbes, 1993:193; Jordan, 1968:163).

Ferdinand Poulton, who described de Sousa as a "molato," appears to have been born and raised in England, attending the Jesuit St. Omers College in Flanders before joining the Jesuits in 1621. Although some historians have suggested that Poulton was Spanish, perhaps because he sometimes appears in English records as "Ferdinando," the evidence that he was born to English parents in England is strong (Beitzell, 1976:5–6; Hall, 1967:116; Holt, 1979:212; Hughes, 1907(1):343, 423; Hughes, 1908:201). As noted, Poulton served the Jesuits along with Father Thomas Copley, who attached no identifier to De Sousa's name. Poulton had been sent to Maryland to serve as Superior of the Jesuits' Maryland mission, replacing Copley in that position when Copley's administrative skills were questioned by Jesuit leaders.

Copley, the son of an exiled Englishman and possibly a Spanish mother, spent his early childhood in Spain. His parents returned to England when their son was 9 or 10, and Thomas later attended school in Flanders and the Spanish Netherlands (Belgium) (Beitzell, 1952:214–221; Beitzell, 1976:5, 15; Hughes, 1907(2):11, 15). Poulton's and Copley's experiences may very well explain why Poulton saw de Sousa as a mulatto and Copley did not. Significantly, Copley did describe a second servant, Francisco Peres, who had come to Maryland in 1634 along with De Sousa, as a "Molcto," suggesting that Copley used identifiers when he thought they were appropriate (MSA, Patent Records, Liber 1, f. 39).

Although most historians have read Copley's use of *molcto* as a variant of *mulatto*, the possibility exists that Copley was describing Francisco Peres as a *moleque* (Portuguese), *muleque* (Spanish), *molecao* (Portuguese), or even *mamaluco* (Portuguese).[1] The first two terms referred to young black or mulatto slaves, while the third term was applied specifically to black male slaves between

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[1] One of us (Chaney, 2001) has examined the original records, comparing the word *molcto* to others in the same hand in the same land patent book, finding that the "ct" in "molcto" and "ct" in "erected" appear to be orthographically the same.

the ages of 6 and 18 (Stephens, 1999:362, 612–613). *Mamaluco* signified "mixed blood" (Forbes, 1993:174). If any of these terms was actually intended by Copley, it would indicate his awareness of subtle Iberian racial categories, perhaps learned while he lived in Spain. That Copley did not use any racial term when describing de Sousa could indicate that Copley did not perceive de Sousa as anything other than "white." Poulton's use of the term *mulatto* to describe de Sousa, then, may very well be referencing skin color. Indeed, Samuel Purchase (1613:545), in his *Purchas His Pilgrimage*, notes that the Portuguese are "white, or Mulatos at most," and the context is clear that Purchas was talking about skin color.

In subsequent centuries, events including a Civil War fought over slavery based on the color of one's skin, the rise (and fall) of Jim Crow, and the emergence of the Civil Rights movement have helped to shape contemporary popular understandings of the term *mulatto*. *Mulatto* came to be used most often to identify someone with African ancestry, even as the term continued to apply to individuals of Native American ancestry. Following the "one-drop rule," which, throughout the United States in the early twentieth century was used to prescribe one's racial classification, an individual defined as *mulatto* was legally considered "black" (Davis, 2001:4–6). "Black" came to be conflated with African, and, in Maryland, the "re-discovery" in the records of a man described by one Englishman as a mulatto and who also voted in the early colonial assembly was read, appropriately enough, to indicate that the racial prejudices of the twentieth century were not rigidly in place in the early 17th. But rather than as a sign of the fluid and complex nature of identity in the seventeenth century, de Sousa's story has been used by the state to extend Maryland's "legacy" of racial harmony to Africans.

As well intentioned as this effort may be, it serves to re-affirm that the racial history of the Chesapeake can only be known through a twentieth- and twenty-first-century lens, with the outcome always known and always predetermined. More problematically, it ignores the experiences of the hundreds of other Africans who came to Maryland in the seventeenth century and who, through the imposition of an identity that was based on skin color, found their lives circumscribed in ways that often meant enslavement for life, both for themselves and for their children.

Africans in Early Maryland

While de Sousa's identity may be open to question, people of known African origin were in Maryland from the beginning of permanent English settlement. Many of these Africans arrived as slaves, although, as a number of historians have pointed out, not all Africans were enslaved. In 1653, for example, John Baptiste, a "Moore of Barbary," was able to convince the Provincial Court that he was an indentured servant and not a slave (Kimmel, 1974). Thomas Hagleton, a "negroe" who had been born in Africa but spent time in England, was able to win his freedom in court in 1676 (MSA, 2007:3). Henry Quando, who arrived in Charles County as a slave, was freed by the terms of his master's will and soon became a small planter himself (Walsh, 1979:192–194). Quando was married to an African woman.

Perhaps the most well-known African immigrant in the seventeenth-century Chesapeake was Anthony Johnson (cf. Breen and Innis, 1980; Cox, 2009). Johnson, who had come to Virginia as a servant, gained his freedom, married an African woman, had children, and made his residence on the Eastern Shore. He subsequently moved to Maryland's Somerset County, also on the Eastern Shore, where he owned a considerable amount of property, including land, livestock, and personal possessions. Historians are divided on the meaning of Johnson's status as a "Negro" with regard to the evolving circumstances of his life. On at least one occasion, about 1670, the Virginia government used Johnson's standing as a Negro to seize land from his son and heir following the elder Johnson's death in Maryland. On the other hand, the fact that Johnson was able to acquire property and live in a manner not especially unusual for many freed servants has led historians to conclude that, while Englishmen bore notions that "Negros" occupied an inferior status, economic opportunity and social fluidity were foundational to early colonial life (Breen and Innis, 1980; Cox, 2009).

Despite the important experiences of Baptiste, Hagleton, Quando, and Johnson, most Africans who arrived in seventeenth-century Maryland remained bound for life. In an analysis of slaves enumerated in probate inventories recorded for four counties on Maryland's western shore, Russell Menard (1975) found that the slave population grew "at an extraordinary rate" between 1658 and 1710. He estimates that the proportion of enslaved people in the immigrant population grew from about 3%, or 100 individuals, in the late 1650s to about 24%, or about 3,500 individuals, in 1710 (Kimmel, 1974 estimates that, for the entire colony ca. 1660, the population of Africans amounted to 760 souls, or 9% of the population, excluding Native Americans). Especially rapid growth in the number of slaves acquired by planters began in the mid-1670s and sharply accelerated in the 1690s (Menard, 1975:30–31). Most of the enslaved men and women in the colony were, Menard found, African born, with demographic, mortality, and morbidity patterns not unlike those experienced by European immigrants. Men outnumbered women, while women outlived men. Illness and disease took their toll.

Throughout the century, Africans were distributed across the landscape in relatively low densities, with most planters owning at most only one or two slaves. From these patterns of distribution, historians have concluded that Africans were even more challenged than the English in forming families. This conclusion assumes Africans would select only African partners and the English only English partners, but such an assumption may be unwarranted. Laws were repeatedly passed by the Maryland assembly throughout the seventeenth century to prevent sexual relations between Africans and Europeans (Kimmel, 1974). Indeed, Eleanor "Irish Nell" Butler, a servant in the household of William Boarman, and her African husband, Charles, a slave in the same household, ran afoul of those laws with devastating consequences for their children and grandchildren. Butler knew the consequences, because Lord Baltimore himself had explained them to her when he tried, unsuccessfully, to talk her out of the marriage.

Menard and other historians argue that the low numbers of Africans on plantations was "a fact with long-term implications for race relations, the process of

assimilation, and the survival of African patterns in the New World" (Menard, 1975:34). On most individual holdings, Africans and Europeans had to work cooperatively to ensure agricultural productivity, and they often shared living quarters as well, especially in the early and middle decades of the seventeenth century. Surely such close, everyday contact fostered relationships different than those found on later plantations, but whether such relationships mitigated against class and racial alienation remains untested and probably even unlikely (see also Deetz, 1996; Glassie, 1975).

While holdings of only one or two slaves were common, larger holdings were not rare. Menard found that, between 1658 and 1710, approximately 13% of lower western shore planters owned more than ten slaves, with 15 planters owning more than 20 slaves. Those who commanded larger labor forces typically divided them up and sent laborers to work and live on outlying plantations. At his death in 1681, Colonel Benjamin Rozer, a wealthy Charles County planter living on a plantation at the head of Port Tobacco Creek, owned 69 male, female, and child slaves or indentured servants. Some of these laborers worked at Rozer's home plantation; others were distributed among various quarters within the county. With one exception, Rozer appears to have organized his labor force along lines of ethnicity; servant and/or slave quarters were either all English or all African. Rozer, a Protestant married to Jane Sewall, the third Lord Baltimore's stepdaughter, was "a remarkable case" (Main, 1982:130) because of his wealth and the number of laborers he controlled at this early date. The way Rozer organized his servants and slaves across his substantial holdings, however, probably mirrored elite English attitudes toward everyday interaction with Africans (Main, 1982:130–131).

Indeed, Rozer's in-laws, the Calvert family, promoted the use of slaves in the colony. In a painting breathtaking for its representation of Cecil Calvert's place in the colonial enterprise, the Maryland proprietor and his grandson are attended by a young African boy who was almost certainly enslaved (Fig. 5.2). Calvert, who is wearing a Persian coat while standing on a Turkish rug, displays a map of Maryland, the bottom of which is held by his grandson, also Cecil (Hall, 1995). While Calvert never came to Maryland, his eldest son, Charles Calvert, the third Lord Baltimore and Rozer's father-in-law, did, and he owned slaves, such as the "Negro Boy Peter" mentioned in 1679 (MSA, 2009:XV:227). The Calvert family encouraged the importation of slaves into the colony as early as 1643, when Cecil's brother, Governor Leonard Calvert, offered to exchange land for 17 slaves (MSA, 2009:IV:189). In 1663, Charles Calvert wrote to his father that he had tried, without much success, to find a couple of hundred colonists who would each buy a slave if the Royal African Company sent a shipload to Maryland. As Calvert noted, "I find we are nott men of estates good enough to undertake such a businesse, but could wish wee were for wee are naturally inclin'd to love neigros if our purses would endure it" (cited in Land, 1981:72). Calvert's assessment may have been exaggerated given that the previous year the ship *Blessing* appears to have delivered 158 Africans from the Senegambia region to Maryland shores (Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database, 2009).

Fig. 5.2 Cecil Calvert, the second Lord Baltimore, painted about 1670 by Gerard Soest (Courtesy Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore)

The Calverts probably also encouraged the Maryland assembly to pass a series of laws circumscribing the social and legal status of people described as "Negroes." The first law, "An Act Concerning Negroes & Other Slaves," passed in 1664, recognized "Negro" slavery as a prior practice and declared that "all Negroes or other slaves already within the Province And all Negroes and other slaves to bee hereafter imported into the Province shall serve Durante Vita," that is, for life. What was more, the Assembly declared that any English woman who married a slave would become a servant for life, and their children would be born into the condition of permanent servitude, or slavery. A subsequent law, passed in 1671, made it clear that a slave's confessional status was no longer relevant to his or her legal standing as a slave, and that planters should not fear losing their labor force to religious conversion. Although Lord Baltimore argued to the Lords of Trade that this law was passed to "encourage the Baptizing of slaves," his claim was belied by the law's title, "An Act for Encouraging the Importacion of Negroes and Slaves into this Province" (Kimmel, 1974).

The Strange Career of Burial 18

Sometime in the 1680s, some 40 years after de Sousa had voted in a meeting of
the colonial assembly, an individual now identified as "Burial 18" died and was
buried on a small tobacco plantation on the Patuxent River in Calvert County,
Maryland. Patuxent Point, as the site of the plantation is called today, was located
approximately 15 miles from the colonial capital at St. Mary's City and directly
across the river from the plantation where Charles Calvert, the Maryland propri-
etor, lived when he was in the colony (Fig. 5.3). The planter's dwelling at Patuxent
Point and its associated cemetery had been uncovered and excavated in 1989 and
1990 during the course of residential development of the property (Gibb, 1996;
Gibb and King, 1991; King, 2006; King and Ubelaker, 1996; Phung et al., 2009;
see also Brown et al., 2006). Burial 18 was one of 19 individuals interred in
the cemetery, including men, women, and children, all of whom appear to have
been of European ancestry based on morphological and metrical attributes of the
skeletons.

Archaeological evidence suggests that Patuxent Point was first occupied ca. 1658
and abandoned in the late 1680s or ca. 1690. By 1658, Maryland was emerging
from a period of relative political and demographic instability exacerbated by polit-
ical events in England. In contrast, the decades of the 1660s and 1670s were, at
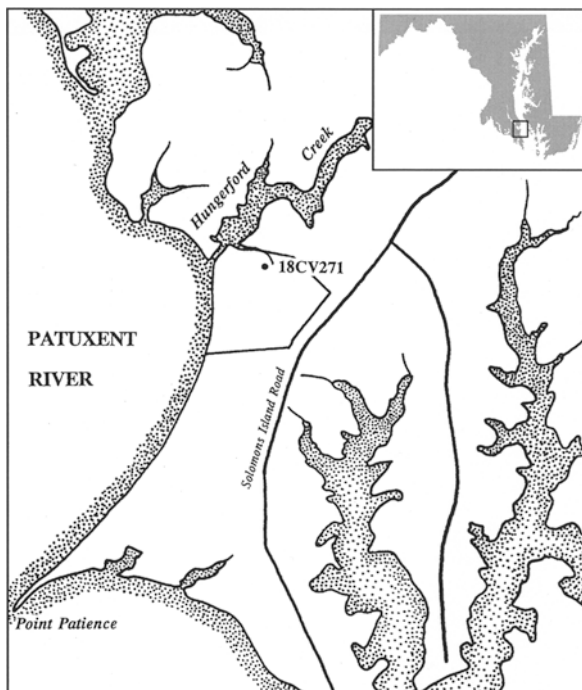
Fig. 5.3 Location of the
Patuxent Point site, Maryland
(Courtesy Julia A. King)

least for English settlers, a kind of "golden age," a politically stable period when most immigrants, including those who had arrived as servants, enjoyed considerable upward mobility (Carr et al., 1991). To be sure, life for an Englishman in early Maryland could be sickly and was usually short, but with a bit of luck, a male immigrant could reasonably expect to improve his economic and material circumstances from those otherwise waiting for him in England. By the end of the 1670s, however, volatility in the tobacco market, a growing unrest among indigenous groups in Maryland and throughout the Middle Atlantic, and new sets of political challenges foreshadowed major changes on the horizon. One in particular—the transition to a predominantly enslaved labor force—appears to have been well underway in the 1680s.

Unfortunately, the people who lived at Patuxent Point during this period remain unidentified by name, in large part because of the poor condition of the county's land records, most of which were destroyed in a series of courthouse fires. Nonetheless, the material circumstances of their lives as revealed through archaeology suggest that the planter and his family enjoyed a relatively spacious earthfast dwelling, measuring 20.5 × 40 feet with a wooden floor and at least one or more glazed windows. The distribution of artifacts suggests the presence of a second building, possibly used as a quarter for servants or slaves, but no architectural features survived in this area.

The nearby cemetery, which was completely excavated, consisted of two clusters of burials (Fig. 5.4). Group A, with 14 individuals, included the remains of children, one 9 months old to a year at death, as well as adult males and females. Group A is an odd assemblage, with later graves cutting earlier graves in a way not seen at any other contemporary plantation site in Maryland or, we are fairly sure, in Virginia. Group B consisted of four burials, including Burial 18. The cemetery's demographic profile, dietary evidence reflected in oxygen isotope data, and archaeological evidence recovered from the site suggest that family members were probably buried in Group A and laborers in Group B (King and Ubelaker, 1996; Phung et al., 2009). This interpretation should be used with caution, however, given that at least one of the individuals in Group B was, at age 38–45 years, older than what would be expected for a servant.

Burial 18 contained the skeletal remains of a 15- to 17-year-old male who was buried late in the site's occupation. This individual is of interest to the issues raised in this chapter because Burial 18 is the only skeleton at the site found with deliberately placed artifacts or funerary objects (other than pins and coffin nails). A broken but usable English white clay tobacco pipe of the late seventeenth century had been carefully inserted in Burial 18's hands as part of the burial process, and the hands were placed over the pelvis (Fig. 5.5). In addition, a tin- or silver-plated cast copper alloy dome button was found in the vicinity of 18's pelvis.

The practice of placing a tobacco pipe in a grave as part of the mortuary ritual has been observed for many—although by no means all—African burials encountered in Virginia, New York, Barbados, Montserrat, and Jamaica (Table 5.1). At least one mid-eighteenth-century example is known from Elmina Castle in Ghana, and records described by Christopher DeCorse (2001) for Ghana suggest the
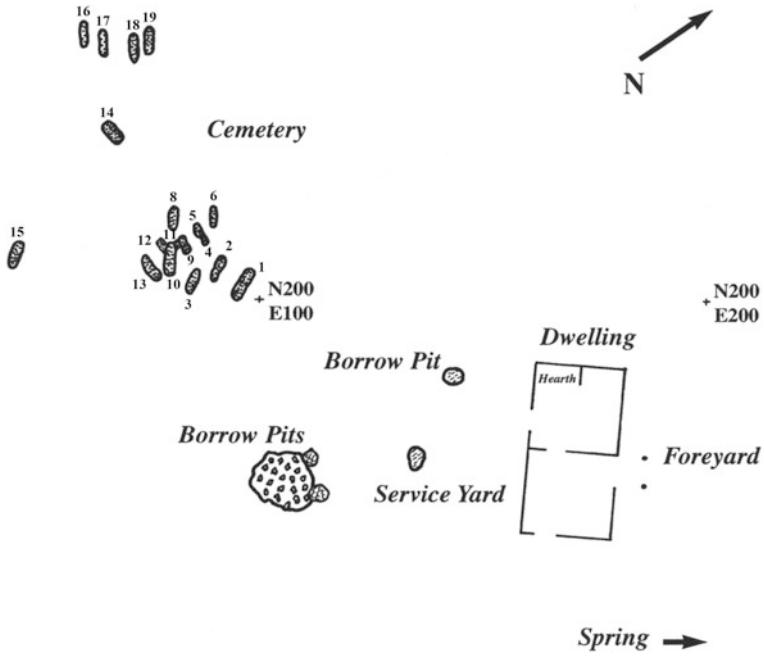
Fig. 5.4 Plan view of the cemetery at Patuxent Point (Courtesy Julia A. King)

Fig. 5.5 White clay tobacco pipe in Grave 18, Patuxent Point (Photo by Julia A. King)

Table 5.1 Burials with deliberate inclusion of white clay pipes as grave offerings

Location	Site name	Feature	Age	Sex	Ancestry	Date	Comments	Citation
Solomons, MD, US	Patuxent Point	Burial 18	15–17	M	Prob. European	1690s	One white clay pipe; under hands, over pelvis; dome-style button	King and Ubelaker (1996)
Williamsburg, VA, US	Utopia	Feat. 80	Middle adult	U	Prob. African	1720–1750	One white clay pipe; mark: "IW"; placed in hand	Boyd and Boyd (1996)
Williamsburg, VA, US	Utopia	Feat. 81	Older adult	F	Prob. African	1700–1750	One white clay pipe	Boyd and Boyd (1996)
Williamsburg, VA, US	Utopia	Feat. 83	Adult	U	Prob. African	1720–1750	One white clay pipe	Boyd and Boyd (1996)
Williamsburg, VA, US	Utopia	Feat. 86	Young adult	M	Prob. African	1700–1750	One white clay pipe; mark: "TD"; along humerus	Boyd and Boyd (1996)
Williamsburg, VA, US	Utopia	KM 316	Older adult	F	African	1700–1750	One white clay along humerus; mark: "IW"	Kelso, 1984
Jamestown, VA, US	Jamestown		Adult	M	European	Seventeenth century	One white clay pipe & spoon in pouch	Bly Straube (Personal communication)
New York, NY, US	African Burial Ground	Burial 340	39–64	F	African	Eighteenth to nineteenth century	One white clay pipe, unused; placed under the pelvis	Perry and Woodruff (2006:429)
Barbados	Newton Plantation	Burial 4	UNK	F	African	Post-1750	One white clay pipe	Handler and Lange (1978)
Barbados	Newton Plantation	Burial 8	Young adult	F	African	Post-1750	One white clay pipe; metal plate over chest	Handler and Lange (1978)
Barbados	Newton Plantation	Burial 10	Young adult	F	African	Post-1750	One white clay pipe	Handler and Lange (1978)

Table 5.1 (continued)

Location	Site name	Feature	Age	Sex	Ancestry	Date	Comments	Citation
Barbados	Newton Plantation	Burial 20	Older adult	M	African	Post-1750	One white clay pipe	Handler and Lange (1978)
Barbados	Newton Plantation	Burial 28	Young adult	U	African	Post-1756	One white clay pipe	Handler and Lange, 1978
Barbados	Newton Plantation	Burial 33	Young adult	M	African	Late 17th/early 18th century	One white clay pipe	Handler and Lange (1978)
Barbados	Newton Plantation	Burial 34	Young adult	F	African	Late 17th/early 18th century	One white clay pipe	Handler and Lange (1978)
Barbados	Newton Plantation	Burial 38	Older adult	U	African	Late 17th/early 18th century.	One white clay pipe	Handler and Lange, 1978
Barbados	Newton Plantation	Burial 43	Young adult	F	African	Late 17th/early 18th century	One white clay pipe; mark: "R[T]"	Handler and Lange (1978)
Barbados	Newton Plantation	Burial 55	Older adult	M	African	Late 17th/early 18th century	Two white pipes; other funerary objects	Handler and Lange (1978)
Barbados	Newton Plantation	Burial 62	Adult	U	African	Late 17th/early 18th century	One white pipe	Handler and Lange (1978)
Barbados	Newton Plantation	Burial 72	Older adult	M	African	Late 17th/early 18th century	One African (?) pipe	Handler and Lange (1978)
Barbados	Newton Plantation	Burial 74	Older adult	M	African	Late 17th/early 18th century	One white clay pipe	Handler and Lange (1978)
Barbados	Newton Plantation	Burial 77	Adult	U	African	Late 17th/early 18th century	One white clay pipe	Handler and Lange (1978)
Barbados	Newton Plantation	Burial 81	Young adult	M	African	Late 17th/early 18th century	One white clay pipe	Handler and Lange (1978)
Barbados	Newton Plantation	Burial 83	Adult	F	African	Late 17th/early 18th century	One white clay pipe	Handler and Lange (1978)
Barbados	Newton Plantation	Burial 85	Older adult	M?	African	Late 17th/early 18th century	One white clay pipe; one copper pin	Handler and Lange (1978)

Table 5.1 (continued)

Location	Site name	Feature	Age	Sex	Ancestry	Date	Comments	Citation
Barbados	Newton Plantation	Burial 89	Sub-adult	U	African	Late 17th/early 18th century	One white clay pipe	Handler and Lange (1978)
Barbados	Newton Plantation	Burial 90	Adult	F	African	Late 17th/early 18th century	One white clay pipe	Handler and Lange (1978)
Montserrat, WI	Galways Plantation	I0003	60+	F	African			Goodwin et al. (1990)
Jamaica	Seville Plantation				African	Eighteenth century		Armstrong and Fleischman (2003)
Cape Town, SA	Cobern Street	Burial 49	Adult	M	African		Pipe, pins, tinderbox, flint, striker; coffin; filed teeth	Apollonio (1998)

practice was not uncommon there. Handler and Lange (1978), who excavated a late seventeenth-/eighteenth-century slave cemetery in Barbados where funerary objects including pipes were common, found that one broad group in Africa, including the Ashanti and the Gold Coast peoples, used tobacco pipes as grave goods. A reference to the practice is known for Jamaica in the late 1680s, and Douglas Armstrong found a burial with a ritually placed pipe at a slave quarter there (Armstrong and Fleischman, 2003). William Kelso (1984:108–109) and, later, Garret Fesler (Boyd and Boyd, 1996) found several burials at an eighteenth-century site near Williamsburg, Virginia, and at least one individual in the New York African Burial Ground appears to have been buried with a pipe (Perry and Woodruff, 2006). The documentary and archaeological evidence is strong that slaves of African ancestry appear to have buried their deceased friends and kin with tobacco pipes as well as tobacco and food, presumably "to sustain [the deceased] in his journey" (Handler and Lange, 1978:199).

The distribution in Africa of burials that contain tobacco pipes as an intended funerary object suggests that this practice was largely confined to West Africa, specifically, Senegambia and Ghana. No burials with tobacco pipes have been reported for any time period in west central Africa, although this observation may be an artifact of sample size, and sample size can be affected by a number of factors, including the amount of archaeology done in a region and the accessibility of its results. A tobacco pipe was found in the grave of a 40-year-old man buried sometime in the mid-eighteenth century in Cape Town, South Africa. The man, who exhibited filed teeth, was also buried with pins, a tinder box, a striker, and flint (Apollonio, 1998). Slaves in South Africa were, like slaves in the Americas, brought from the coasts of West and Central Africa (Elphick and Giliomee, 1989).

Africans forcibly bound for the Maryland and Virginia colonies came from all parts of West and Central Africa, from Senegambia to Angola, but some regions contributed more captives than others. The Senegambia and Ghana region, for example, was the homeland for about a third of the captives brought to the Chesapeake colonies, at least through the second quarter of the eighteenth century, although captives from the Gold and Windward coasts, Bight of Biafra, Sierra Leone, and Bight of Benin found themselves in Maryland (Walsh, 2001). Later, proportionally more captives were brought from Angola or west central Africa.

The Senegambia region and Ghana are also believed to have been the source of many of the enslaved people brought to Barbados (Greene, 1987). Similarly, for Jamaica, historians suggest that slaves were brought predominantly from the Senegambia and Ghana regions (Senior, 2003). And, genetic evidence collected from bone tissues at the African Burial Ground in New York City suggests shared maternal ancestors in Benin, Niger, Nigeria, and Senegal (Jackson et al., 2006:36–67). Perhaps we are seeing, through the distribution of pipe burials in the Americas, the Atlantic distributions of captives from what John Thornton (1998:187–190) calls the "Upper Guinea" cultural zone of West Africa in the late seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth centuries. As imperfect as it may be, pipe burials may be providing a way to think about the African Diaspora that goes beyond the lumping of diverse states and empires into one grossly totalized entity.

The purpose of the button in association with Burial 18 is unclear. It is possible that the individual in Burial 18 was interred in a pair of button-fly trousers. Such trousers are typically closed with more than one button, but it is conceivable that the garment was old and that any other buttons were lost. Alternatively, the button could have been worn as a form of decorative jewelry, such as a bracelet, a practice noted for both slave (Handler and Lange, 1978:153–157) and European burials (the latter a bracelet of folded coins) (Mallios and Fesler, 1999). Buttons are not uncommon in graves of individuals of inferred African ancestry. Indeed, Neiman (1980) found buttons in the graves of three Africans, probably enslaved, excavated at the Clifts Plantation in Westmoreland County, Virginia.

In contrast, the inclusion of funerary objects in the graves of English men and women was rare, and tobacco pipes are seldom among the objects interred with the English dead. A wooden document box with copper alloy hinges was found in the grave of one of the adult male settlers who died at Jordan's Journey, Virginia sometime before 1624 (McLearen and Mouer, 1993), and a folded Elizabeth coin, believed to have been part of a bracelet, was found in association with an early seventeenth-century adult female skeleton at the Buck site, also in Virginia (Mallios and Fesler, 1999). Burials of individuals of European ancestry with tobacco pipes are very rare and the evidence is, in the words of one archaeologist, "highly equivo-cal" (Cessford, 2001). In one case, a burial in South Wales with a clay tobacco pipe was considerably disturbed (Evans, 1996:36–38). In another, a tobacco pipe was recovered from a burial of European ancestry at Jamestown, along with a pewter spoon, but evidence suggests this individual may have been dead a while before his fully clothed body was discovered and buried with little preparation (Beverly Straube, personal communication, 2008). The pipe and spoon were located in an area along the burial's left femur, either in a pocket or a pouch, which left the surrounding soil discolored.

The skeletal remains of the individuals recovered from the Patuxent Point ceme-tery, including both Groups A and B, were analyzed by Douglas Ubelaker, a bioanthropologist at the Smithsonian. Using morphological and metrical attributes, Ubelaker identified Burial 18 as of likely African ancestry based on a "well devel-oped post-bregmatic depression, prominent maxillary prognathism, wide interor-bital distance, wide nasal aperture, and lack of a nasal sill" as well as relatively straight femora (King and Ubelaker, 1996:178). At the time of his analysis, in 1990, Ubelaker noted that identifying the ancestry of the entire sample recovered from Patuxent Point was complicated by its antiquity and a lack of comparative data. He pointed out that, when compared with modern samples, many features of the Patuxent Point remains suggest African ancestry, especially the wide interor-bital distance present on most adults. Close visual examination, however, convinced Ubelaker that all but Burial 18 were of European ancestry. Further, Burial 18 was not a fully grown adult, complicating the identification of ancestry, so Ubelaker qualified Burial 18's ancestry as "possibly African."

Because Burial 18 may have contained what would be the earliest African skele-ton in Maryland, and because Ubelaker's identification was qualified, we undertook additional testing of the remains. We submitted one tooth each from Burial 18

and a second burial from the family portion of the cemetery for mitochondrial and Y-chromosomal DNA testing. Unfortunately, the Y-chromosomal DNA was too degraded to be reliably tested, but the mitochondrial DNA indicates that Burial 18's maternal ancestry is indicative of DNA Haplogroup K, which is found throughout European populations (Fratpietro, 2009). The mitochondrial DNA and the morphological and metrical data point toward a European ancestry for Burial 18, but the mortuary evidence indicates that 18 was interred in a manner known for many African burials and not for any English or European burials.

On the one hand, Burial 18 and his tobacco pipe become one more cautionary tale about the problems of rigidly linking artifacts and ethnicity. As with the many arguments often made about blue beads and cowrie shells, tobacco pipes in burials should not come to "stand for" Africans (Perry and Paynter, 1999). Blue beads and cowrie shells, while often found in association with sites occupied by Africans and individuals of African ancestry, are also found on sites occupied by Europeans (cf. Herman, 2005). The likelihood that the individual found in Burial 18 was of European ancestry reinforces the notion that individuals cannot be reduced to artifacts and their patterns. Similarly, it is dangerous to conflate genetic code with race. Henry Louis Gates, who has promoted genetic testing as a way for African Americans to recover some information about their ancestry, found that his maternal ancestors were probably European. Gates, of course, identifies himself as black (Nixon, 2007).

On the other hand, it would be a mistake to dismiss the pipe in Burial 18 as a manifestation of idiosyncratic or whimsical, and, therefore, insignificant behavior. Much of the mortuary patterning found in the Patuxent Point cemetery and in seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century cemeteries throughout Maryland and Virginia suggests that treatment of the dead was rarely if ever random. Indeed, the evidence from Patuxent Point strongly indicates that the site's occupants followed clearly prescribed rules and practices (Riordan, 2000). Burials, whether in formal churchyards or on isolated plantations, were typically organized according to social rules in life: hence the existence of cemeteries in which the graves of family members and servants or slaves are clearly delineated and separated. Bodies were positioned on their backs with the head in the west end of the grave, unless circumstances intervened—circumstances that probably indicate morally or socially offensive behavior. Presence or absence of a coffin, or of a burial shroud, or of a grave marker are each the outcomes of choices and decisions that were not random or carelessly made.

One such case was found in the cemetery with Burial 18. Burial 15, located some 50 feet away from the other graves, was found without a shroud or coffin and with the head positioned in the east end of the grave. These circumstances indicate that Burial 15 was purposely treated differently when buried. The tiny skeletal remains of a near-term fetus or newborn recovered from Burial 15's pelvis suggest that the 30-year-old female in this grave died in or immediately after childbirth. Of European ancestry but older than what one would expect for a servant, this woman appears to have been denied a standard Christian burial. Early modern English notions of witchcraft and the risk of pregnant women for bewitching may underlie this woman's treatment in death (King and Ubelaker, 1996; Thomas, 1971).

The discovery of a possible witch bottle feature at Patuxent Point suggests that the site's occupants used "supernatural" practices to cope with and redress conditions experienced by the living (King, 2006).

As noted earlier, Burial 18 was found in Group B, among three other graves, in an area of the cemetery we surmise had been set aside for servants. The three associated individuals include a 13- to 14-year-old individual of undetermined sex and ancestry who was buried without benefit of a coffin or shroud; a 25- to 30-year-old female of European ancestry who was buried with a cap or face covering but no coffin; and a 38- to 45-year-old male of European ancestry without shroud or coffin and whose head was placed in the east end of the grave shaft. Pathological evidence indicates that, while these individuals displayed evidence of skeletal stress, including habitual kneeling and/or lifting, none suffered the kind of extensive bone loss evident among the men, women, and children in Group A. Research has suggested this may indicate reduced access to animal protein, tobacco, and alcohol (Phung et al., 2009).

While the occupants of Patuxent Point in the late seventeenth century may have been living at what was, to them, the edge of the known world, these men and women were, by this time, well aware of and acquainted with social and cultural difference as lived experience, and not as some far-away world represented in promotional pamphlets or travel literature. The European household managing the plantation at Patuxent Point, if the archaeological evidence is any indication, worked hard to adapt English styles of life to the Patuxent frontier. The site's occupants lived in a European-derived style of house, known as a "Virginia house" (Carson et al., 1981). From the archaeological evidence, the household's occupants appear to have consumed English meals from English vessels and, if the skeletal pathologies from this cemetery are any indication, the occupants consumed prodigious quantities of meat, alcohol, and tobacco, not unlike their counterparts in England (Phung et al., 2009). Yet, unlike in England, the Patuxent River, where the site is located, was rapidly becoming an important destination for ships carrying slaves to Maryland. Even if Africans did not outnumber Europeans in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, enough Africans were living in the area to render their presence familiar if not unremarkable.

Further, large quantities of red clay tobacco pipes recovered from Patuxent Point—in numbers far exceeding anything found on other contemporary English sites elsewhere in southern Maryland—suggest social encounters for the site's occupants that enmeshed them in a world that looked not only to the Atlantic, but to the people living to the west. Few if any of these tobacco pipes look like those identified by Emerson (1999) and others as African (although the possibility cannot be discounted), and at least a few were produced in European molds, one by a pipemaker living in the Norfolk, Virginia area (Brown et al., 2006). A number of the pipes, however, are of clear Indian manufacture, using forms and decorations known for both pre-Contact and post-Contact Algonquian groups (Henry, 1979). Clearly, the site's occupants were interacting with indigenous groups, although the nature of that interaction is at present unclear.

Unlike Mathias de Sousa, for whom we have a few ambiguous references, for Burial 18 we have only the physical remains, including his well-preserved skeleton

and its associated funerary objects. Although apparently of European ancestry, he was buried in a manner that would have been recognizable by at least some of his contemporaries as including elements of an African burial practice. As in the case of de Sousa, we have no way of knowing if this practice reflects an identity the individual in Burial 18 would have embraced, given that it was how he was treated in death, but we can assume that those participating in the burial were acting in ways that Burial 18 would have acknowledged. Indeed, it is quite likely that, by this period, Africans were resident, if not at Patuxent Point, in the vicinity and, perhaps less likely, Africans may have had charge of the funeral process.

The circumstances of Burial 18's interment invite us to think about race and ethnicity and the material practices of identity formation in the seventeenth century. The individual in Burial 18, almost but not yet an adult, appears to have been a servant at the Patuxent Point plantation. His mother appears to have been of European ancestry, and the ancestry of his father remains unknown. He was given a traditional Christian burial, supine, on his back, with his head in the west end of the grave. Evidence survives for a face shroud or winding sheet. Yet, the presence of the pipe and the dome-style button indicate that Burial 18's identity may have been considered different, by him and certainly by those who attended his burial. That this individual was interred with a ritually placed tobacco pipe—known almost exclusively for the burial of Africans—suggests that notions of group identity remained fluid even at the end of the century. Like Mathias de Sousa, who was present at an assembly of Englishmen, so Burial 18 was present with a smaller assembly of three Europeans. In the one case, a single documentary reference raises questions about identity; in the other, a tobacco pipe and button likewise raise questions about identity.

Conclusion

In *A Guide to the History of Slavery in Maryland*, jointly published in 2007 by the Maryland State Archives and the University of Maryland, the authors note that "blacks [in seventeenth-century Maryland] comprised a small minority—less than 10%—of the colony's population" and "not all of these [people] were slaves." These men and women were instead "Atlantic Creoles," many of whom spoke English and practiced Christianity. Mathias de Sousa's vote in the early assembly is mentioned, and readers learn that Atlantic Creoles, like de Sousa,

> formed families, joined churches, and incorporated themselves into Maryland society. Living and working alongside white indentured servants and trading among themselves and with others (both free and enslaved), they accumulated property... Together, such men and women composed black Maryland's Charter Generation. (MSA, 2007:3, 27)

The *Guide* goes on to note that, only at the end of the seventeenth century, beginning in the last decade, did a "profound transformation" take place in Maryland society, bringing with it the end of "Calvert family rule" and a "change in the character of slavery" (MSA, 2007:28). The real story of slavery in Maryland, the booklet suggests, begins in the eighteenth century.

Africans did constitute a numerical minority in the seventeenth century, and, at least early on, indigenous groups constituted a numerical majority. The idea that a meaningful study of the African experience in Maryland demands a certain but imprecisely defined population "critical mass" is a methodological rather than a substantive issue. While the eighteenth century in Maryland was indeed the century when an enslaved labor system dominated, that system did not appear fully formed out of nowhere. The importance of focusing on times and places not traditionally associated with slavery—like seventeenth-century Maryland—was revealed by the findings from the African Burial Ground in New York City (Perry et al., 2006). Discovered and partially excavated in the 1990s during the construction of a Federal office building in Manhattan, the African Burial Ground drew attention to Northern slavery and the experience of Africans in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century New York. The African Burial Ground project encouraged both historians and popular audiences alike to acknowledge the historical reality of slavery in a region that was not typically linked with slavery, in part because the numbers of enslaved Africans were low, at least in comparison with the southern colonies.

When we first began the research for this chapter, we were building on work we, in conjunction with a colleague, had done on Mathias de Sousa. Iris Carter Ford and the two of us had asked, was de Sousa, in our day and in our representations, "passing for black?" Drawing on the work of anthropologist Signithia Fordham (1996), we noted in an essay published in *The Baltimore Sun* how "passing" is "based on absolute and timeless notions of race, notions that refute the complex identities of Americans of African descent" (King et al., 2001). De Sousa, we suggested, had been put in a "black box," complete with a sculptural representation that could only signify one thing to museum-going Americans: "black man" (cf. Fig. 5.1). We concluded that the use of de Sousa's memory by modern audiences, while well intentioned, may actually be a disservice to those audiences by averting questions about the history of race relations in the colony.

We became convinced that de Sousa—who, significantly, has been ignored in academic circles—offered an opportunity for broaching race and identity in the past as we grappled with the interpretation of Burial 18. Was Burial 18, like de Sousa, also passing for black? How could we make Burial 18 fit the skeletal, genetic, archaeological, and historical evidence? Burial 18, like de Sousa, simply refused to stay put. African? European? What about Indian? After all, pipes were sometimes used as funerary objects in the graves of Native Americans. One confidently certain bioanthropologist declared Burial 18 as "European" and the pipe (that is, the cultural evidence) raised no questions for him about how "ancestry," in other words, race and ethnicity, were being negotiated in this marvelously fluid period.

We came to realize that, although historians and even most Americans reject the "one drop rule" concept, in archaeology (and in bioanthropology), we may simply be using new words to mask old assumptions: "ancestry" for "race," for example (Smay and Armelagos, 2000). The new "one drops" are skeletal attributes, or DNA codes, or white clay tobacco pipes. "Straight facial profiles and narrower faces with projecting, sharply angled nasal bones" (Smithsonian Institution, 2009) become European which then becomes white—all in the context of one exhibit, opened in

2009, when we were supposed to have all moved beyond such notions of race and its biological reality. And yet, we found that we, too, were looking for any clue, including those that might be found on a skull, or a pelvis, or a femur, to make sense of the meaning behind Burial 18's interment. The difference, perhaps, is that we do believe that the ritually placed pipe has something to tell us about race (ancestry) and ethnicity.

A very humble artifact—in this case, a white clay English tobacco pipe transformed into a funerary object—and its many contexts provide us with an opportunity to tack back and forth, from the local to the regional to the Atlantic, and then back again, in the process revealing not just the social interactions within this particular household, but placing those interactions in a larger context as notions of difference were being negotiated throughout the early modern world. Similarly, a single word, *mulatto*, tells us not only about the individual on whom the identity is being imposed, but something about the man who used the descriptor—and those who did not. These individuals, including not just de Sousa and Burial 18, but those who described de Sousa and those who buried 18, may not constitute a large sample, but they do suggest how, during this period, notions of social and cultural difference and identity, far from being settled (as they would seem to become in the eighteenth century), were in continuous negotiation among Africans, Europeans, and Indian groups. The experiences of Mathias de Sousa and of the individual found in Burial 18 suggest that racial categories, while obviously present in seventeenth-century Maryland society, were relatively fluid and evolving.

African slavery was not the inevitable outcome, nor was the form slavery took in Maryland predetermined. Understanding those forms and those outcomes requires a focus on the seventeenth century, and perhaps a rethinking of method, a rethinking archaeology is well positioned to provide.

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Chapter 6
"Sorting Stones": Monuments, Memory and Resistance in the Scottish Highlands

Siân Jones

| Alan: | Well after we sort the stone we'll sort that one. |
| Duncan: | Aye, we'll sort our stone and then we'll sort that stone. |

These enigmatic yet forceful statements are taken from an interview carried out in 2001 with two men in their mid 40s and 30s respectively. Both live in Hilton of Cadboll, a small village on the seaboard of Easter Ross in north-east Scotland. This was my first interview in Hilton and I was nervous about how effective I would be. Rightly so, it turned out. My main aim was to explore the meanings and values attached to the celebrated Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab.[1] Yet Alan and Duncan were primarily concerned with its future destiny, which triggered heated discussion of a variety of seemingly unrelated issues and injustices. I struggled to structure the interview with little success, and at one point Alan interjected with his uncompromising statement about sorting stones, vehemently reinforced by Duncan. Admittedly, a few drinks had been consumed during the course of the evening interview. Nevertheless, the anger which simmered underneath was unsettling and I was confused by the connections they seemed to be making.

Duncan and Alan were born and brought up in Hilton, and it was already very clear to me that, from their perspective, *our stone*, is the Hilton of Cadboll monument, a Pictish symbol-bearing cross-slab dating to the ninth-century AD (Fig. 6.1). In 2001 its ownership and future destiny was the subject of much debate and Alan and Duncan's claim was, and still is, disputed by many heritage professionals. Part of the reason for this discord is the complex biography of the monument (see Foster

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[1] Hilton of Cadboll is referred to simply as "Hilton" in everyday conversation within the village and I will use the abbreviated form for the village. Many also refer to the cross-slab as simply the "Hilton Stone", but others use the term "Cadboll Stone". I will use these terms in citations, but as this naming process has political connotations I use the full name for the cross-slab elsewhere in the text.

Fig. 6.1 The Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab in the Museum of Scotland (Photo by Siân Jones, courtesy of The National Museums of Scotland)

and Jones, 2008). It stood at the site of a ruined medieval chapel north-east of the modern village until the mid-seventeenth century, when the upper section broke and fell, probably as a result of a great storm in 1674. Shortly afterwards the cross-face was dressed off the upper section and a memorial for Alexander Duff and his three wives, dating to 1676, was inscribed. Apparently, it was abandoned and remained lying at the site until the 1860s when it was removed by the landowner to his castle in Invergordon. In 1921 it was placed in the National Museum of Antiquities in Edinburgh following a brief sojourn at the British Museum. The missing lower section, which remained in the ground in the seventeenth century, was rediscovered in 2001 during excavations at the chapel site.[2] This stimulated the formation of a local campaign group seeking ownership of the lower section, which eventually became the Historic Hilton Trust.

Initially, the identity of *that stone* was less clear. But as the conversation progressed it emerged that the men were referring to the Duke of Sutherland memorial, erected in 1834 in memory of the 1st Duke, a wealthy landowner, and one of the

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[2]Thousands of carved and uncarved fragments created when the cross-face was dressed off the monument were also recovered during these excavations (see James et al., 2008).

Fig. 6.2 The Duke of Sutherland Memorial on top of Ben Bhraggie with Golspie in the foreground (Photo by Siân Jones)

most energetic agricultural and social "improvers" of nineteenth-century Scotland. It stands on top of Ben Bhraggie dominating the skyline of the small coastal town of Golspie in Sutherland about 27 miles north of Hilton of Cadboll by road (Figs. 6.2 and 6.3). This too is a contentious monument, although in this case recent developments include acts of hostility towards it and debate about the desirability of dismantling it.

   In terms of the linear chronological framework that archaeologists, art historians and historians employ, these two monuments have little connection with one another. Separated by approximately 1,000 years, they are products of very different kinds of societies. Their form and iconography is distinct and the meanings and interests which they were intended to communicate and serve are unrelated. So, if the connection between these two monuments does not stem from scholarly accounts, and the public forums through which these are disseminated, where does it spring from? The charged nature of Alan and Duncan's statements suggested to me that their connection had considerable resonance for both men. Indeed, their somewhat ominous use of the verb "to sort" implied an active engagement of some kind. Whilst this might be read in straightforward terms as alluding to forms of campaigning and direct action, it seemed from the rest of the conversation to involve a more profound attempt to engage with the past as represented by these monuments. The monuments appeared to provide a medium through which they could endeavour to "sort out" the past in the present; to contest or resist certain versions of the past, as well as simultaneously evoke a sense of political justice or reparation in the present.

   In what follows, I intend to use these two specific monuments and the connections implicit in Alan and Duncan's conversation to explore the relationship between monuments and social memory in the Highlands of Scotland. My ethnographic
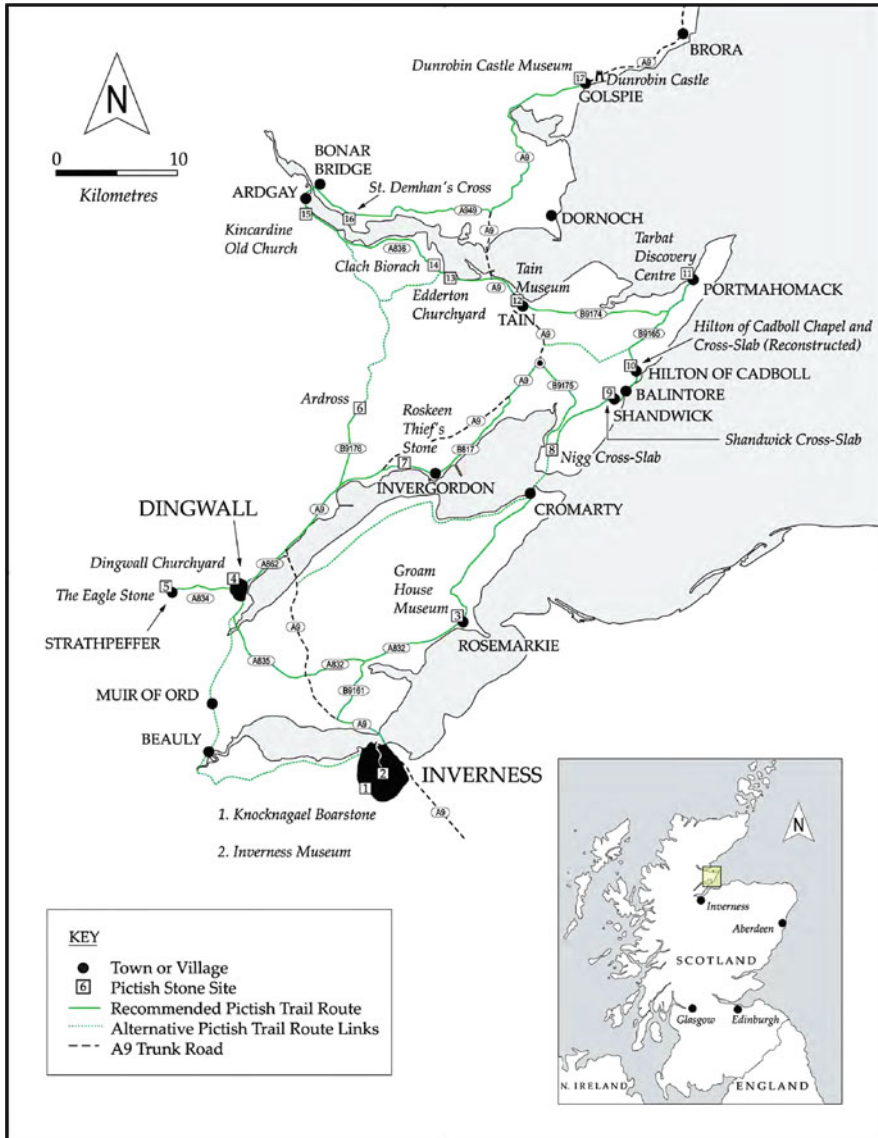
Fig. 6.3 Map of Easter Ross and the Black Isle, north-east Scotland, showing key sites mentioned in the text (Drawn by A. Mackintosh)

research surrounding the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab between 2001 and 2003 will form the core of the discussion (Jones, 2004). This research involved a combination of semi-structured, person-centred interviews and participant observation. Some 52 interviews were conducted involving not just local residents, but also heritage professionals, field archaeologists and those involved in socio-economic

development.[3] I also stayed in the villages for a period of about 6 months in total in order to both observe and participate in daily life.[4] Extensive field notes were produced focusing not merely on events surrounding the cross-slab and the reconstruction, but also the negotiation of social relationships and identities, the cultural meanings and values attached to places and things, and the ways in which these were reproduced and transformed through social practices. I will also draw on other research in the disciplines of archaeology, history, cultural geography and social anthropology. In what, for many people of Scottish Highland descent, has become a topography of loss and displacement, it will be shown that radically different types of monument can become charged with meanings, both literal and metaphorical. Furthermore, I will suggest that through active engagement with these monuments people attempt to interpret and contest some of the historical processes underpinning the development of the modern world.

The Practice of Social Memory: An Interpretive Approach

In dealing with modes of historical engagement that do not conform to linear chronologies and accepted conventions of historical enquiry, scholars have turned to the concept of memory. A concern with memory has become prolific to the extent that reviewers identify a memory "boom" or "industry" (see Connerton, 2006; Klein, 2000; Misztal, 2003; Rowlands and Tilley, 2006; Taithe, 1999; Wertsch, 2002). Whilst memory was once the refuge of the individual, there is now much talk of collective or social memory. Traced to the work of Maurice Halbwachs in the early twentieth century, this form of memory is often linked to the social group, where, it is argued, it plays a key role in the production of historical consciousness and identity. The emphasis on active selection and construction of memory in the present has particular appeal in the context of a post-modern disillusionment with the idea of an objective, distanced historical enquiry. Here much research has focused on memory's capacity to destabilise the authority of grand narratives. Thus scholars in many disciplines, including archaeology (e.g. Fewster, 2007; Hall, 2006; Purser, 1992; Schofield and Morrissey, 2005; Shackel, 2000; Shepherd, 2007; Smith, 2006), have used the concept to "retrieve that which runs against, disrupts or disturbs dominant ways of understanding the past" (Radstone and Hodgkin, 2003:10).[5]

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[3]The interviews were conducted according to a common structure and set of opening questions for each theme. Beyond this they were conversational in style and open-ended, thus allowing interviewees to explore, develop and clarify their thoughts and feelings. Such interviewing techniques provide greater depth of understanding and insights into meaning than highly structured surveys, especially those with closed response categories defined by the researcher.

[4]I stayed in Hilton of Cadboll and the adjacent village of Balintore for 3 months in 2001, 2 weeks in 2002 and 2 months in 2003.

[5]In his critique of the memory concept, Klein (2000:145) even suggests that memory has taken on a quasi-religious role in an age of historiographical crisis where it figures as a therapeutic alternative to historical discourse.

Yet there are pitfalls associated with the concept. The idea of memory as a site of subaltern resistance can result in a romanticisation of popular memory. Furthermore, in seeing memory as a social process, there is a risk of assuming it is the product or possession of spatially and temporally discrete social groups. It is important therefore to ask how we acknowledge the salience of memory without contributing to its naturalisation, objectification or romanticisation (Lambek, 2003:211). The concept of memory is an historically specific one associated with modernity. It is founded on the idea of the individual as a bounded, coherent self, who acts as the container or possessor of memory (Lambek, 2003; Radstone and Hodgkin, 2003). By analogy, social groups and social memory are also often attributed the same qualities of boundedness, homogeneity and continuity; indeed social memory is frequently assumed to be a possession of bounded, coherent social groups. An alternative approach is to see memory as practical and relational (Lambek, 2003:212). Memory is not something we have or possess. It is something that we do; it is "the mediated action of remembering [and forgetting], which itself is a process engaged with the working out and creation of meaning" (Smith, 2006:59, after Wertsch, 2002). This is an active cultural process through which the past is continually interpreted and negotiated. Social memory frames our understanding of the present, but it is also reworked in relation to present and future needs (hence it offers a "usable past").

How then does the practice of remembering and forgetting work? Authorised representations of the past (e.g. those offered by academic histories or public museums) play a powerful role, but social memory is also produced through activities of remembering and reminiscing, which take place in the context of social interaction, and interactions between people and their environments (Smith, 2006:58). Social memory may be based on first-hand experience or the experiences of others far removed, but with whom there is a sense of intimacy created through an imagined community. Whatever the case, it is mediated by a diverse range of "memory props" (Feuchtwang, 2003). It may be "text-mediated" (Wertsch, 2002), or informed by images, objects, oral histories, stories, folklore, myths, events and places. Furthermore, as Portelli (1998:69) points out, there is no simple dichotomy between written history and oral memory; "if many written sources are based on orality, modern orality itself is saturated with writing". For instance, the interpretations of historians enter social memory through television, heritage and museum displays, popular history books and so forth. Likewise social memory can enter written history in a variety of forms; through local history books and pamphlets and though oral history research.

Yet social memories do not usually form grand narratives. Once we accept that remembering and forgetting is a form of inter-subjective practice that takes place between people, its located and disparate nature becomes clear. Social memories are composed of the fragmented stories that surround specific places and events, which are passed within and between generations. But far from being homogeneous or consensual, this process is usually distributed and contested (Wertsch, 2002). Social memory is a multi-layered terrain generated through historical artefacts, witness accounts, oral histories, forgotten and invented landscapes (Taithe, 1999:125). It is also subjective and situated. For individuals it is a means by which they seek to achieve "composure" (Summerfield, 1998:16–17). The performance and narration

of past events and experiences are actively "composed" in an attempt to constitute the self as a coherent subject in relation to narratives that link past, present and ultimately future. In the past, historians and others regarded these active processes of composition with suspicion and attempted to peel away the encrustations that colour social memory over time. More recently, though, these layers of reinterpretation have become an important part of the object of study; for the speaker's subjectivity gives us a unique and precious insight into the *meaning* of past events (see Portelli, 1998:67; Summerfield, 1998:11–12).

During my fieldwork in Hilton and the adjacent seaboard villages of Balintore and Shandwick, I encountered many forms of social memory. Some consisted of reminiscences based on first-hand experiences, such as playing in the streets at night before street lamps were installed, fetching water from the well, picnics at the ruined medieval chapel or at Port Culag (*Port Cuileag*, "port of the flies"), a local beauty spot.[6] Other forms of remembering were not based on first-hand experience, but related to events, objects, places and people that have become part of the oral history of families and communities and are transmitted within and between generations. Processes of remembering and forgetting were often informed by knowledge of who lived where, how buildings have changed and how houses mark out relationships between people. Furthermore, memories of events concerning specific personalities (courtships, fights, ceremonies, etc.) were prompted by the places where they occurred, and in turn inform the qualities of that place. These personalities or events may be real, or imagined, or indeed mythical, as in the case of folk narratives like the King's Sons tale, which revolves around the Hilton of Cadboll, Shandwick and Nigg cross-slabs.[7]

Other aspects of social memory that I encountered were clearly textually and visually mediated. These often concerned wider-scale events, places and people, and offered a means to tie personal family and community forms of remembering into the history of the Highlands, the Scottish nation, or the Scottish diaspora, all of which represent forms of imagined community. Although informed by textual and visual culture, these forms of social memory are also reinterpreted and selectively remembered according to people's needs and interests and subject to

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[6]In current usage (e.g. Macdonald and Gordon, 1971) the spelling is Port Culag, but I was told that the English version of the name is port of the flies which would therefore be *Port Cuileag*.

[7]This folk tradition concerns the daughter of an unnamed King of Denmark (or Norway) who married the Maormor of Ross (usually translated into "local laird") and was badly mistreated by him. She fled back to her father and he sent out a fleet to avenge her maltreatment led by three of her brothers. On nearing Easter Ross the ships foundered and the three princes drowned (some say in a storm and others that the Maormor of Ross sailed ahead of them and led them onto the rocks). Their bodies were washed up at different points, one at Hilton, one at Shandwick and one at Nigg, and the three monumental sculptured stones associated with these places are said to have been erected in their memory. The details of the story vary with its re-telling but the main plot remains unchanged. The origins of the folklore are unclear (for further discussion, see Foster and Jones, 2008; Henderson, 2008), but it was written down by antiquarians in the early nineteenth century (Miller, 1994; Petley, 1857). Subsequently therefore, whilst being subject to oral transmission, it is ultimately text-mediated (see Gazin-Schwartz and Holtorf, 1999 on folklore and social memory).

further transformation through subsequent oral transmission. An excellent example of this process is the production and transmission of social memory surrounding the fishing industry. Popular texts, such as Anson's (1930) *Fishing Boats and Fisher Folk on the East Coast of Scotland*, Gunn's (1941) fictional *Silver Darlings*, and Macdonald and Gordon's (1971) *Down to the Sea*, provide a framework for understanding and locating local oral histories and personal reminiscences. Information about the fishing heritage of the villages on some of the display boards erected along the seafront over the last 10–15 years also feeds into people's memories.[8] At the same time, some of these texts, especially the display boards and the popular local history book, *Down to the Sea*, are partly based on the inscription of orally transmitted-social memory into textual form.

I found that each time memories associated with specific people, events and places were recounted they were reworked and composed according to the situation and the people present. In practice people's accounts did not precisely coincide, being subject to different kinds of elaboration and mediation. Nevertheless, they overlapped and intersected with one another, producing a web of social memory that was negotiated and contested through narration and performance. Through these processes publicly authorised forms of memory emerged and gained authority. At the same time, individuals were able to negotiate power and identity in relation to others. Strong boundary distinctions are constructed and negotiated between "locals", who are of Hilton, and "incomers".[9] The memories a person recounts, for instance, about former occupants of houses or the hardships of the fishing, serve to situate them as "locals" or "incomers". At the same time, a person's identity and authority influences which memories he or she is authorised to perform; an understanding of which is crucial to achieving composure. Thus some people would decline to recount certain memories deferring to someone else with greater public authority; often someone who is deemed to be more "local". Defining oneself as a "local", and being recognised as such by others, depends upon birth and preferably the demonstration of a lengthy family association with Hilton. Yet even most "locals" ultimately trace their genealogy to parts of the interior of Sutherland and Ross Shire at the time of the Clearances (Macdonald and Gordon, 1971:17–18).

Topographies of Loss and Displacement: Negotiating Relationships Between People and Land

> The Highland Clearances is one of the sorest, most painful, themes in modern Scottish history. The events have now receded into the distant past, beyond the direct memory of any

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[8]These display boards are part of a range of development initiatives aimed at encouraging tourism in the area over the last two decades (e.g. see Seaboard Initiative, 2000).

[9]These are constructed social categories which can include people from a wide range of backgrounds. For instance, "locals" can range from people who have lived in Hilton all their lives to people who have lived away for much of their adult lives and recently returned, whereas "incomers" can range from people who married into the village decades ago, to recent settlers from other parts of the Highlands, the central belt of Scotland and England. These finer distinctions can be significant in working out the boundary opposition between "locals" and "incomers" in certain contexts, but they are often simply subsumed within the overarching categories.

living person. But the passionate indignation lives on. . . fed by popular historians and every variety of media construction. A line of denunciation flows from the oral tradition of the early nineteenth century. . . to the electronic graffiti of the present day. (Richards, 2000:3)

As elsewhere in the Highlands, the Clearances, and relationships between landlords and tenants are particularly charged aspects of social memory in Hilton. Some "locals" can recount vivid oral histories about the difficulties people had paying rents to the lairds, the sense of loss when they "lifted their hearts of the place", and the trauma of selling their animals. Social memory relating to the Clearances also revolves around buildings and objects. For instance, the remains of buildings on the raised beach up the coast to the north-east of Hilton are said to be the remnants of temporary residences where people were allowed to stay whilst waiting for the boats to take them abroad. I was also told of an inaccessible cave in the cliffs south of Shandwick where emigrants went to inscribe their names on the wall before leaving. And the owner of one house, formerly an inn, directed me to a carved stone set in the wall, which portrays an upside down thistle, a traditional symbol, she said, of the sense of loss felt by those emigrating.

Historical and literary texts play an important role in mediating social memory regarding the Highland Clearances (Basu, 1997; Macdonald, 1997; Symonds, 1999; Withers, 2005). The massive depopulation of the Highlands to make way for sheep farming and game is portrayed as one of the most overriding transformations wrought by the Enlightenment "Improvement Movement" in northern Scotland. This process involved the displacement of the rural poor (mainly between 1790 and 1855), who once populated the valleys of the Highlands in considerable numbers. Initially referred to by landlords as "removals", by the 1840s the term "Clearance" had emerged as a general derogatory label for the range of methods involved (Richards, 2000:5). In some of the more infamous cases, such as Glencalvie, Strathconan and Strathnaver, this involved forced evictions and outright expulsion of tenants, sub-tenants, cottars and squatters by lairds and their factors (estate managers). In other cases the poverty resulting from loss of land for grazing cattle and growing crops, alongside increased population and rising rents, led to voluntary migration. There is much debate about whether the latter processes should be included under the label of the Highland Clearances, but in popular usage little distinction is made and certainly landlords and their factors actively contributed to such pressures, in some cases through deliberate "rent racking". Many of those who left went to find work in industrial urban centres in Scotland and England, and vast numbers emigrated to parts of the New World (see Richards, 2000). The remnants of the population left behind in the Highlands were pushed onto the most marginal land, often coastal fringes where they were encouraged to become part of the labour force for the fishing and kelp industries.

Marked transformation of the rural economy took place in Easter Ross as elsewhere during this period (see Ash, 1991). Small-scale tenant farmers and cottars were often removed and dispersed silently by the processes of attrition described above. Many of those evicted from the northern and eastern Highlands came via the Easter Ross peninsula on their way to Cromarty where emigrant ships left for Canada, Australia, New Zealand and even South America in the 1830s and 1840s. Some took refuge temporarily on the coastal fringes of estates such as

Cadboll and the neighbouring Gaenies. Others settled on the coast of Sutherland and Easter Ross, which Hugh Miller, a prominent contemporary critic, described as "one vast struggling village, inhabited by impoverished and ruined people" (cited in Richards, 2003:51). Indeed, the seaboard villages of Hilton, Balintore and Shandwick were part of this process and their populations expanded greatly during the early nineteenth century (Foster and Jones, 2008; Macdonald and Gordon, 1971:18).

These changes in the Scottish Highlands represented "the last gasp of the centuries-old enclosure movements depriving peasants of access to land in both Britain and the European continent" (Nadel-Klein, 2003:36). The architects and advocates saw them as a means to increase the productivity of both land and people (see Tarlow, 2007). "Improvement" in agriculture was supposed to go hand in hand with improvements in society, such as changes in housing, sanitation and hygiene. However, the process of clearing people from the land was often brutal, and usually forced upon an unwilling population, resulting in the pain of dislocation and, for many of those involved, greater poverty and powerlessness. Furthermore, the philosophy underpinning the Improvement Movement as applied to the Highlands was intimately connected to racial theories, which constructed the Gaelic-speaking Highland population as a backward, "primitive" race and legitimated the changes imposed upon them in terms of progress and civilisation.

Of course, this is a highly contentious area of historical enquiry. I have summarised the prevailing grand narrative but this is flanked by others, ranging from those who see the Clearances as an unfortunate but necessary step in improving the Highlands, to those who see them as a cataclysmic act perpetrated on a powerless tenantry, bordering on, if not amounting to, genocide. Historians such as Devine (1994) and Richards (2000) may stress the complexity of the processes involved, but production of social memory is often informed by iconic motifs, which are put to use in complex but powerful ways in the present. Drawing on Gass (1982), Basu (1997) refers to these images as "vivid simplicities", in which he includes: stolen land; evil factors and landlords; burning houses; weeping exiles; wretched swathes of people clinging to cliffs. Popular histories such as John Prebble's (1963) *Highland Clearances* play an important role in reinforcing these, as do novels such as Neil Gunn's (1934) *Butcher's Broom* and Iain Crichton Smith's (1968) *Consider the Lilies*. In addition to novels the Clearances have figured prominently in poetry, song, theatre and visual culture, for instance in the play, *The Cheviot, the Stag and the Black, Back Oil* (McGrath, 1981).[10] Highland landlords and their factors in particular have become figures of vilification and hatred, and amongst them there are iconic figures such as the first Duke of Sutherland, his wife the Countess of Sutherland and their factor Patrick Sellar. Certain Clearance episodes have also taken on an iconic role, not least among them the Sutherland Clearances and in particular Sellar's notorious 1814 clearing of Strathnaver where it was

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[10]The play was first performed in 1973 by the 7:84 Theatre Company, but it was not published until 1981.

alleged he set fire to a number of houses and barns causing the deaths of several people.[11]

I encountered many of these iconic images in people's accounts of the Clearances which came up in interviews and daily conversation. For instance, Niall recounted how:

Niall: [Patrick] Seller started the large scale removal of people from Sutherland, you know into Croick, and Caithness never really got hit, but going up to Bettyhill and Maryhill at Helmsdale, these places were all totally cleared.
SJ: Cleared, pushed onto the seafront mostly?
Niall: But there was never much seafront because it was all cliff face and Hilton took a lot of these people in. Now you have a huge connection with the clearances and you still have the outline of these buildings [the temporary dwellings that people were allowed to stay in].

Furthermore, there is a sense of grief and anger running through many of these tales as Alan illustrates in the following account:

the minister was appointed by the laird of the place and... basically the ministers were telling these people, look this is what God says, just you give up your homes, give up everything, and you go to America or go wherever you want, and they went, they went quietly, they never said a word eh, and I mean that was the ultimate eh, when you see like the Duke of Sutherland's statue up on top of Golspie, I mean I think that is the ultimate disgrace to Scotland.

As Alan highlights in this last sentence, the various Clearance monuments that adorn the Highlands are powerful memory props. These range from the empty landscape itself, to the remnants of townships, abandoned lazy beds and cultivation balks, statues of Clearance landlords or memorials to those evicted (see Basu, 1997; Dalglish, 2003; Withers, 1996). Nineteenth-century romanticisation and naturalisation of the Highlands as a rugged, empty wilderness served to construct the region as an iconic landscape that stands for Scotland in the national imagination and in the perceptions of foreign tourists. Yet it is also an icon of loss and displacement and it acts as a mnemonic device for the Clearances especially when accompanied by the remains of former settlements. Whether or not the former residents were evicted during the Clearances, these become entangled in Clearance narratives. The vast majority lie unmarked and their specific histories are unknown to most people, with the exception perhaps of some of those descended from former occupants. Others are memorialised through the construction of memorials to former occupants and their historic acts of resistance. Still others are embellished and demarcated by heritage display boards and bound together in Highland Clearance Trails, such as the Strathnaver Trail (see also Gibson, 2006). Monuments have become the focus of homecoming tourism and companies market Clearances tours, which take in iconic monuments, such as the Duke of Sutherland memorial and Croick Church,

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[11]Sellar was later tried and acquitted of culpable homicide. Macleod (1996) provides a contemporary account (see Withers, 2005), whereas Richards (2000:138–152) provides a recent historical analysis.

where those evicted from Glencalvie took temporary shelter, famously recording their plight in messages scratched on the church windows.

Of course, all of these processes of engagement are purposeful and involve selection, revision, re-imagination and even invention. They also serve as mechanisms for people to retrospectively negotiate and sometimes contest historical processes of displacement and control of the landscape. Alan and Duncan's reference to the Duke of Sutherland memorial served just such a purpose being framed by a discussion of the iniquitous behaviour of landlords, factors and ministers, and associated with wider references to political injustice flavoured with a post-colonial slant. The Sutherland Clearances which took place between 1806 and 1822 are amongst the most notorious and controversial of all. Lord Stafford (created 1st Duke of Sutherland the year before his death) was an English millionaire and it was his money which was used to finance the "improvements". Historians have suggested that the main driving forces were his wife, the Duchess/Countess of Sutherland, and their factors William Young and Patrick Sellar (e.g. Richards, 2000). However, in terms of social memory it is the English Duke and Sellar who are the main villains; the Duke being seen as "symbolic of everything that is evil in Scottish history" (cited in Withers, 1996:331).

The statue of the Duke on top of Ben Bhraggie was erected in 1834, a year after his death. It is visible for miles around being on the skyline of one of the largest coastal hills in that part of Sutherland and standing atop a 100-foot plinth (Fig. 6.4). It can even be seen from parts of the Easter Ross peninsula some 15 miles to the south as the crow flies. There is no doubt that it is a familiar landmark in the landscape that many people feel attached to. One woman from Golspie told me that when she was travelling north she knew she was home when she could see the "mannie from Ben Braggie". Yet for others its erection is a symbolic representation of the power of landlords. As Withers (1996:331) points out, "the gaze from the statue may be sightless, as it were, and the Duke's effigy positioned with its back to the landscape his policies and agents transformed, but the symbolism is of authority over space, of overseeing the prospects of inhabitants of that place".

The rage which this induces in some is fuelled even further by the fact that some of the funds for the statue came from the very tenants who suffered his policies, and the inscription at the base of the plinth reads: "George Cranville, first Duke of Sutherland, B.1758, D.1833, of loved, revered and cherished memory, erected by his tenantry and friends." Duncan and Alan's reference to "sorting" the stone refers to the recent history of attempts to deface and dismantle the monument, through both official and unofficial channels. In 1994 an application was submitted to the Sutherland Divisional Planning Office of the Highland Council to have the statue removed and replaced with a more suitable memorial to the Clearances. This was turned down in 1995, but as Duncan and Alan told me with some satisfaction the statue continues to be subject to attempted acts of desecration:

Alan: Well, shall we say that there was two eh local worthies that had a wee dram one night and decided that eh they would go up there and sort it. They would paint him red.

Fig. 6.4 Close-up of the Duke of Sutherland Memorial (Photo by Siân Jones)

Duncan:	It is big. Now these guys eh went up there with a big tin of red paint and a brush and whatever and arrived at the top and thought oh hell what a height this is and they couldnae climb it to do it.
SJ:	Mmm.
Alan:	But I reckon a dedicated guy will come along, [and put a rope] roond the guy's neck.

The debate surrounding attempts to deface or erase the memorial highlights the contested nature of acts of remembering and forgetting. Duncan assured me that his and Alan's view was "the average thought of the Scotsman to that monument. This is not like a Seaboard view, this is the [view of] those who know what that man did". However, in his examination of the debate surrounding the campaign in the mid-1990s, Withers (1996:331–332) uncovered a wide range of responses to the planning application expressed in letters to local newspapers. Those who felt that the dominant memory should be erased through destruction of the monument included locals, Highlanders from elsewhere and self-confessed "white settlers" (English migrants). Yet their attempts to use Gaelic organisations to highlight their campaign were rebuffed and a number of people expressed the view that the statue represents a local landmark and an important reminder of the iniquities of the past. As Rowlands and Tilley (2006:504) point out, erecting memorials in a public space

is an attempt to define formative historical figures and events in a nation's history. It follows that "disgracing existing monuments is a process of redefining this agenda and replacing it with new narratives" (ibid.).

"Thrown Like Chaff in the Wind": Excavation as a Site for the Production and Negotiation of Memory

So, how does all this relate to the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab? Why is Alan drawing a direct relationship between "sorting" this stone and "sorting" the Sutherland memorial? And why were the Clearances referenced repeatedly in interviews and casual conversation about the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab in 2001? It is not because members of the local community are confused about the antiquity of the monument. Indeed, for some, its Pictish pedigree is a source of pride and identity in local contexts. Instead, it is the practice of social memory and its political role which provides a means of understanding these connections. We have already seen how buildings and monuments provide mnemonic devices in the landscape, and their power is magnified by active interventions. The excavations of 2001 were, of course, particularly dramatic interventions in the landscape, but before discussing them in depth it is important to understand the production of memory at the site in previous years.

The ruins of the Hilton of Cadboll chapel, where the excavations took place, and the land surrounding it to the north-east of the village, are a prominent locus of social memory (see Fig. 6.5). Referred to locally as the "Park", the land was once

Fig. 6.5 View of the Park from the top of the raised beach cliff with Hilton of Cadboll village in the background (Crown copyright: Historic Scotland)

part of Cadboll Estate and was sold off as part of the farmland with Cadboll House in 1918. The medieval chapel site is a scheduled monument and a property in Historic Scotland's Care. Nevertheless, there is a strong sense of belonging locally, which was realised in legal terms in 2001 when the Historic Hilton Trust purchased the land on which it is located. This sense of belonging ultimately stems from the claim that prior to the Reformation the abbot of Fearn Abbey gave eight acres of land (said to include the area known as the "Park") to the fishing community in return for the supply of fish (Macdonald and Gordon, 1971:18). For many this is seen as a defining moment that establishes the rights of the villagers to this land. The story is transmitted orally within families and recounted to "incomers" who settle in Hilton or the other seaboard villages. Conflict over access and ownership has only served to heighten people's awareness of this tradition and increase its social currency. For instance, Clare, who was originally from the south-coast of England but married a local man some 50 years ago, explained:

Clare: . . . we heard that having owned that land where the chapel is he could dispose as he wanted, the abbot I'm talking about.

SJ: Yes.

Clare: And that he wanted some fish or something and, or produce from the sea, and he gave it to the fishermen. Now whether this is an early version or it's a late version that's been pushed back to an early version I don't know whether he did give that to the fishermen. . .

SJ: So you think he, or the story is that he gave the land to the fishermen in return for fish?

Clare: Hmm mmm. . . And it is a public footpath as such. I know I have heard from three or four people that a certain person barred the gate and found that after three or four new locks that he might as well leave the thing open.

Furthermore, when it is recounted, this foundational village tradition is often followed by references to more recent activities in the "Park", and the "Fishers' Eight Acres" generally, such as repair of fishing nets, football, golf, picnics, romantic trysts, walking the dog and so forth. Thus the relationship between the village and the "Park" is reinforced through practice, adding to the texture of social memory surrounding the place.

In the early 1990s, there was an escalation in active interest in the Hilton of Cadboll monument, which had remained a part of local social memory throughout the twentieth century. Other cross-slabs on the peninsula are still prominent in the landscape or in local churches and they often inform village identities. Like Hilton of Cadboll, the names of the cross-slabs of Shandwick, Nigg and Edderton are the same as the settlements they are associated with, and their presence lends distinctiveness to these places. Furthermore, the King's Sons' folk tale ties together the Nigg, Shandwick and Hilton of Cadboll cross-slabs in a single narrative highlighting the absence of the latter.[12] It is not surprising therefore that oral history

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[12]See note 7.

concerning its removal from the chapel site in the 1860s remained strong, nourished by the continued presence of other cross-slabs in the vicinity. A number of "locals" told me how their grandparents or great-grandparents had witnessed its removal, on a cart pulled by oxen. They also recounted how "the men from Hilton walked to Invergordon after the stone"[13]; not inconceivable given the strong tradition of protest which was emerging in relation to crofting and fishing during the late nineteenth century (Ash, 1991:166; Withers, 1995). In the early 1990s, the activities of a Commissioner of the Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, the late Jane Durham, along with a local resident, Dolly Macdonald, served to crystallise pre-existing local interest. A series of unsuccessful attempts were made to locate the long-lost base of the cross-slab by walking the chapel site, searching the walls of houses where part of the cross-slab was said to have been used as a lintel, and even employing a dowser. Then in 1994, a request was made via the Highland Council Archaeologist, John Wood, for the return of the upper part of the cross-slab from the National Museums of Scotland. When this failed, the reconstruction project was launched and sculptor Barry Grove was commissioned to carve a full-scale artistic interpretation of the original cross-slab (see Fig. 6.6).[14]

Fig. 6.6 The reconstruction in 2001 after erection adjacent to the Hilton of Cadboll chapel with the excavation in the background (Photo by Siân Jones)

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[13]I heard a number of versions of this oral historical narrative, including one account derived from the great-granddaughter of one of the farmhands involved.

[14]The reconstruction project was spearheaded by John Wood and the late Jane Durham, with strong local support and the help of Martin Carver of the University of York who had been undertaking archaeological research at Tarbat since 1994. Jane Durham and her brother, Jim Paterson, took an active interest in the cross-slab, bordering on a sense of ownership, as Cadboll House and farm, including the land on which the chapel is located, had been bought by her family from Captain

The reconstruction itself became a powerful focus for the production of social memory. It was carved in Hilton between 1998 and 1999 in a large industrial unit on the premises of William Paterson & Son. This "studio" became a feature of daily life amongst residents in the village who would call in to watch the carving and to see the stone "come alive" and "grow", as well as to pass the time of day in conversation with the sculptor or each other. By the time it was erected in 2000, with an official opening ceremony on 2nd September, the reconstruction had become a source of pride locally, and many local residents remember it as one of the most significant happenings in recent history. Christine illustrates this, reflecting on the day the reconstruction was erected next to the chapel site, and the monument was followed once again through the village:

> I mean we were there all day. All day, watching that stone. It was followed from [Paterson's shed] in the village, came past [the house], we followed behind it. Over to [the Park], they got it right to put in, I mean it was again, it was something that I never ever thought I would be a part of.

Yet events took a more dramatic turn in 2001 when excavations at the chapel site, in part a response to the erection of the reconstruction, led to rediscovery of thousands of carved fragments from the cross-face and the lower section (Figs. 6.7 and

Fig. 6.7 The lower section of the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab, in situ outside the west gable end of the Hilton of Cadboll chapel (Photo by Siân Jones)

Macleod (M. Carver, personal communication). The Tain and Easter Ross Civic Trust (initially under the Presidency of Jane Durham and later Richard Easson) took a lead role in negotiations regarding the project, in consultation with the Fearn, Balintore and Hilton Community Council, the Highland Council, Historic Scotland and the National Museums of Scotland.

Fig. 6.8 One of the carved stone fragments from the cross-face of the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab (Photo by Siân Jones)

6.8).[15] These excavations provoked further reproduction and negotiation of social memory surrounding the chapel, the cross-slab and the reconstruction. The viewing platform that had been erected next to the excavation (Fig. 6.9) became a focal point for the practice of social memory. Here people met with one another and recounted memories, using them as a framework for interpretation and a way to make meaning, as they gazed upon the material remains. In such contexts, stories about what the older people had said about the stone, and what people had done over the years to find the lower section, or get the upper section back "from Edinburgh", became increasingly formalised and accumulated greater social currency by the day. These, of course, were also simultaneously a means by which people attempted to negotiate authority in relation to the monument; to illustrate their "feeling" for it and thus their right to tell its story and look after it. The contestation that arose from this, as the professional arbiters of conservation and interpretation worked in the trench below, was played out not only in public meetings between heritage professionals and local representatives, but also in the daily conversations and banter that took place in and around the excavation trench.

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[15]Whilst a small-scale exploratory excavation was carried out by Kirkdale Archaeology in August 1998, it was the excavations of 2001 that had the greatest impact, physically on the landscape and socially and politically. In March 2001, another small-scale excavation conducted by Kirkdale led to the discovery of the missing lower section and the recovery of a number of fragments (Kirkdale Archaeology, 2001). In August 2001, Glasgow University Archaeology Research Division was commissioned by Historic Scotland to undertake a larger excavation to recover the lower section, the rest of the fragments, and to investigate the stratigraphic relationship between the chapel wall and the lower section (see James, 2008).

Fig. 6.9 Visitors gathered at the viewing platform at the Hilton of Cadboll chapel excavations, 2001 (Photo by Siân Jones)

Yet, as we have heard from Alan and Duncan, the excavations also evoked wider forms of textually and visually mediated social memory concerning relationships between people and land, and issues of access, ownership and power. The Clearances were frequently evoked during the excavations of 2001. There were slippages between discussion of Edinburgh institutions and their representatives, and references to the actions of Highland landlords from the Clearances onwards. The discovery of the lower section of the cross-slab and its excavation also stimulated much discussion of the hardship, loss, marginalisation and decline characterising the history of the village at various points. In particular, the hardships experienced due to the decline of the fishing were often evoked as the following conversation illustrates:

SJ: Why do you think that keeping the stone here is so important to People?
Mary: Yes, yes it's important to the next generation as well.
SJ: But why is that?
Mary: Well it's part of your heritage and you, you feel well I think it belongs and erm... it's like the fishing you know the salmon fishing, I've been in it all my life and there's, we had lots of times we had to fight for...
Ken: Och aye it's difficult.
Mary: Erm, because there was hardly any fish.
Ken: Life's no easy.
SJ: Do you think it's the same with the stone? I was just asking why the stone is so important, to keep it.
Mary: Yes, it's part of our....
Ken: Well its part of the village really and let's look at it this way, if you take the stone away from the village, the village is no different from any other village in the country, but that's why if you put the stone there then that's Hilton stone and Hilton village.

There are a number of factors that underpin the power of the monument as a mnemonic device and role of the excavations as an arena for the production of social memory. First there is the sheer weight of personal and social memory already attached to the "Park", the ruined chapel and the cross-slab. The sense of ownership and belonging surrounding the "Park" means that any intervention is likely to invoke wider social memory about the relationship between people and land and the actions of landowners. This is not specific to the cross-slab, but applies to other interventions. For instance, there was also heated discussion about the permanent access path for visitors to the chapel site that bypasses the village in contrast to the muddy, uneven terrain one had to navigate from the village in 2001 and this too evoked social memory regarding previous conflicts over the "Park".

Second, as Mary and Ken highlight above, many people feel a strong sense of socio-economic disadvantage and marginalisation. There was considerable poverty in Hilton during the late nineteenth and early mid-twentieth centuries linked to the changing fortunes of the fishing industry and the want of a good harbour (see Foster and Jones, 2008). In the 1970s, the North Sea oil boom brought prosperity, but this too turned out to be economically unstable. The sense of marginalisation and decline is also reinforced by the closure of Hilton shops, the post office and the inn. These can still be found in the adjacent village of Balintore, but I was regularly told that "Hilton's got nothing" (see Jones, 2004). Thus any further potential loss, such as the removal of the lower section of the cross-slab to Edinburgh, evokes memories of past loss and disadvantage as illustrated by Duncan:

> Well Hilton, we believe Hilton's been robbed of the main part [of the cross-slab] before and we don't want Hilton to be robbed again. Hilton's got nothing it doesn't have a pub, it doesn't have a Post Office, it doesn't have a shop, it had all of these [but now] Hilton's got nothing, and now they come and dig they know, they know there's a stone over there, and they come to take it away from Hilton.

This too, however, is not specific to the threat of removal of the lower section of the cross-slab to Edinburgh, but is also triggered by other developments, particularly where resources are being invested in other settlements, such as Balintore or Portmahomack.

Third, there is the fragmented and displaced biography of the monument itself, and I suggest it is this which provides the key to its specific mnemonic qualities. I summarised the history of the monument at the beginning of this chapter, but it is worth emphasising its material implications here. From the excavations we now know that the cross-slab was erected at least twice at the Hilton of Cadboll chapel site in the medieval period (James, 2008). The upper portion was then broken off, probably in a storm in 1674, leaving the lower section in the ground (Foster and Jones, 2008). In reworking it into a gravestone, Alexander Duff's mason then created thousands of small fragments as he dressed off the cross-face. The upper portion then remained at the ruined chapel until the 1860s when it was removed to Invergordon Castle by the laird of Cadboll, Robert Bruce Aeneas Macleod. In 1921 it was further displaced when his son sent it to the British Museum. However, its time in London was short-lived, because in response to widespread protest it was

sent to the National Museum of Antiquities in Edinburgh later the same year. The upper portion now features prominently in the "Early People" exhibition in the new Museum of Scotland. Meanwhile the excavations led to the rediscovery of the thousands of fragments and the lower section. In a material sense the excavations fundamentally altered the context of the missing lower portion and fragments, unearthing them so that they once again became a focus of human engagement. The thousands of fragments were sent to Edinburgh where they have been the focus of detailed scholarly analysis, whereas the lower section remained in Hilton in response to widespread protest regarding its potential removal.

The biography of the monument thus offers a material metaphor for processes of displacement and fragmentation in other spheres, past and present. Elsewhere I have discussed how the monument is often conceived as a living thing in local contexts; indeed a living member of the community that has been displaced and rendered asunder (see Jones, 2004, 2005). This is not the place to rehearse these arguments in depth, but its metaphorical potential comes through in the words that were routinely applied to the monument. People talked of it being a "living thing", being "born", "growing", "breathing", and "dying", even imputing it with "charisma", "feelings" and a "soul". A few informants and interviewees were more explicit. One interviewee, Duncan, told me that it is like "an ancient member of the village" that should come home where it belongs, and another, Christine, suggested that "it's like people who emigrate, they should always come back where they were born". Once conceived of as a living thing, indeed a living member of the community, it is easy to see why for some its history of fragmentation and displacement would metaphorically evoke that archetypal narrative of displacement, the Clearances. At the same time, social memory of the Clearances was mobilised to give meaning to current events and to provide a framework for action in relation to the excavation, ownership, and display of the lower section.

To illustrate these specific mnemonic qualities, I can do no better than reproduce the words of Maggie, one of my key informants, and a particularly eloquent "composer" of social memory. Here she is recounting the time when her grandmother took her, at about 8 years of age, to see where her family had come from in Sutherland:

> Maggie:[We came to] a hill, a steep hill and we went up there until we came to a ruin and when we stood, when you know I, I hardly ever saw my granny cry, but she had tears and she said to me, my dear she said, I took you here that you'll know what happened to us, we were thrown like chaff in the wind... I want to show you that this is the place where we lived and died and I want you never to forget that we were thrown like chaff in the wind and one day, I'll not see it, but one day my dear... the world will know about it and you will never forget it and you'll come here and keep faith with us and one day you'll do your best to fight for what's ours....

SJ: Mmmm.
Maggie: And now you talk about the stone.
SJ: Yes.
Maggie: You see the stone you wonder why, well we're Highlands, and we're of the Highlands, and we were taught and knew that we came from the Picts.... And what do you think they [the Picts] were putting these beautiful images up here [for]? It's for us to learn

> what they knew, and so that we would know about them, and what do you think we feel when we were shifted already and now our beautiful stone was shifted to Edinburgh where anybody can see it and, and admire it.

SJ: Yes.

Maggie: And we are without it and we are here. . .. We think and think deeply that that was our flesh and blood and they went to the trouble to show us and to carve out our stone to show us. . . that they were wonderful people.

SJ: Yes.

Maggie: We are one.

SJ: And why do you think this, you were telling me earlier about people, where people came from and who they were related to being very important?

Maggie: Well this is important to them and as you go along you see in the Highlands. . . I have an Englishman who comes here and he doesn't understand this. When he'll be introduced to people they'll tell him, well maybe they'll say but my grandmother was a Mackenzie and my great-grandfather was a Wilson and they'll tell you to the generations who they are and where they came from, it's important, it's important that they know. To the Englishman it's not important, he doesn't understand what we're talking about, he thinks we're mad.. . . We know where we came from. . ., and they'll come back from Australia and America and everywhere, and it's a great thing now to know where you came from. Where do they come? They come here to me. . . To see if I'll tell them where their great-grandmothers [came from], they come back to their roots. This is our roots and the stone is our roots.

SJ: Mmm

Maggie: What do you think it [the stone] was put there for? So that we would know where we came from. . ., it's our heritage that we're fighting for, our heritage, we want to take it back and put it and place it and that stone was in the place that the Picts put it.

Maggie's last sentence negates, or deliberately forgets, the arguments of archaeologists and heritage managers who emphasise that the lower section was discovered in its second or possibly even third setting, and that its primary context remains unknown (see James, 2008). For many in Hilton, seeing it unearthed at the chapel site reinforced the view that it was "born" there in the Park, and that, like people, it should go back where it was born, where it belongs.

Conclusions: Interpreting and Contesting History

Acts of remembering and forgetting represent people's attempts to achieve "composure" (Summerfield, 1998:16–17). Social memory is also mobilised to provide a framework for political action in the present; it offers a means for people to try to negotiate authority and power. Initially, in my interview with Alan and Duncan I failed to understand that I was witnessing, indeed participating in, that process; as were the field archaeologists, heritage managers, journalists, and local politicians involved in other contexts surrounding the excavations in 2001. The connection they were making, between the restitution and the reconstruction of the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab and the destruction of the Sutherland memorial, involves a complex framework of meaning embedded in a web of social memory that I had little understanding of at the time. Only after much more research did it dawn on me that

the connection was a means to make sense of the past and give form to their lives (cf. Portelli, 1998:69), as well as an attempt to negotiate power and authority in the present. Moreover, the reason why the cross-slab facilitated such an exercise is its powerful metaphorical significance as an icon of displacement and fragmentation.

Many people have argued that there is a profound sense of belonging to place in the Scottish Highlands and that this is rooted in the Gaelic language and culture. This is evident in Gaelic concepts, such as *duchthas*, which refers to a notion of inheritance and the right of occupation (Withers, 1996:328), as well as in the emphasis on placing people and in the wide definition and complex classification of "strangers". As Macdonald (1997:144) reveals in her ethnography, "placing seems very important in local conceptions of identity—people must be placed—where you come from is a key part of who you are". Although, today, Gaelic is only spoken by a handful of people in Hilton, and many different kinds of "incomers" live there, I found that *belonging to place* is still a powerful aspect of social discourse. Places are important because of the social relations they entail—when a person belongs to a place they also belong to people. The powerful role of place is of considerable bearing in terms of some people's responses to the monument. This is in striking evidence in Maggie's account above, which is all about place, roots, and displacement. She asks "what do you think we feel when we were *shifted* already and now our beautiful stone was *shifted* to Edinburgh?" (my emphasis). What people are fighting for, according to Maggie, is the opportunity to put the stone back "in the place where the Picts put it".

It is the Clearances that give this issue such power and resonance for those who, like Maggie, identify themselves as "locals" through birth or genealogical ties. The Clearances constituted a massive dislocation and loss, not only of land and attachment to land, but also of the social relationships that this entails. Such a loss demands confirmation and recognition, and as a result the Clearances have come to constitute a master narrative dominating social memory in the Scottish Highlands. It is an archetypal narrative of betrayal and displacement that is structured by iconic motifs. We have seen that in Hilton, as elsewhere, these frame people's interpretations and responses to new events. The evil landlords and stolen land are there in people's narratives about the "Park", as are the state institutions and elites that have been accused of betraying people or abandoning them to their fate. Furthermore, the iconic motifs of the Highland Clearances are reinforced by the language people use, such as Maggie's image of people being thrown like chaff in the wind. This metaphor is commonplace in the Bible, where it is applied to the wicked (Psalm 1:4) or to enemies (Psalm 35:5), but also to the fate of the people of Judah and Jerusalem (Jeremiah 13:24). It also turns up in the lyrics of traditional Highland songs, such as "I Mourn for the Highlands", which has been recorded by a number of artists, most prominently, Andy Stewart. The final verse ends, "The clansmen are gone, but their deeds live in story. Like chaff in the wind, they were borne far away."

Feutwang (2003:86) proposes that the search for recognition of grievous, irrecoverable loss involves three things: evidence; symbolism and a search for justice.

Justice, for victims, it seems is "a setting of the world to rights" (ibid.). I suggest that Alan and Duncan's desire to "sort stones" involves just such a search for the recognition of loss. The Duke of Sutherland memorial offers direct evidence of the power of landlords, whereas the cross-slab offers material evidence of acts of displacement, which, in part, resulted from the actions of Macleod of Cadboll and his son. Both invoke powerful symbolism and function as icons of recognition for many in relation to the Highland Clearances, although in the case of the cross-slab this is unlikely to be obvious to distanced observers. Finally, both offer the opportunity to pursue justice, to "sort" things out and "set the world to rights". In the case of the Duke of Sutherland memorial, this involves a desire to disgrace, or dismantle, the monument. With the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab, it involves the desire to achieve some kind of restitution or reconstruction of the monument, "to take it back and place it".

As we have seen this pursuit of justice has taken many forms in the case of the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab: requests for the return of the upper portion from Edinburgh; the commissioning of a full-scale reconstruction; protests about the excavation of the lower section and subsequently resistance to removal of the lower section of the monument from the village. Under considerable pressure at a public meeting, which took place on a damp and overcast evening at the site of the excavation in late August 2001, the Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments for Historic Scotland agreed that if the lower section was lifted it would not be removed from the village until ownership was established through legal channels. Legal ownership has now been attributed to the National Museums of Scotland (NMS) on the basis that they already own part of the monument. Yet, the Historic Hilton Trust refuses to recognise NMS ownership. Despite NMS's offer to allow long-term display in the village, it seems that relinquishing the claim to ownership is problematic, because, I suggest, it undermines the sense in which the monument *belongs* to place—and thus to the people of that place (see Jones, 2004 for further discussion). As I write, the lower section remains in Easter Ross, standing in a display case in the corner of the Hilton and Balintore Community Hall.

The desire of many local residents to keep the lower section in the Village, and indeed have the upper part returned, is partly informed by the recognition of heritage as a resource which might help to regenerate the economy through the stimulation of tourism. Indeed, for many of the "incomers" who have settled there, this issue of regeneration is paramount in the face of the marginalisation and disadvantage that they have encountered. However, for others, particularly those of Highland descent, I suggest that the impulse is inextricably linked to the role of the monument as a mnemonic device connoting the Clearances. Resistance to removal of the lower section provides them with a means to symbolically resist or at least negotiate historical processes of population displacement and fragmentation of communities; to demand some sort of justice even if only through recognition. Through the medium of an archaeological monument people are thus able to expose and contest some of the historical processes underpinning the development of the modern world. At the same time, by interpreting present relations against an historic backdrop, it allows

people to engage with contemporary power relations embedded in the institutions
of the state.

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Part IV
Gender, Embodiment, Life Course, Materiality, and Identity

Historical archaeologists initially embarked on the study of gender by looking for women in the archaeological record—chiefly by searching out artifacts that could be associated with women and women's activities, an approach that proved to have many limitations. The chapters that follow evaluate the status of gender archaeology in the United States and the UK, and, while pointing out differences in approach, suggest more holistic and nuanced approaches to studying women in the archaeological record than the task-orientation approach affords. Beaudry emphasizes how the very materiality of objects had much to do with the ways in which they were used by women to construct identities and to present themselves as embodied individuals. She stresses the importance of going beyond identification of the function of broad classes of finds towards close contextual analysis of individual artifacts, especially small finds associated with needlework and sewing. Gilchrist, in studying late medieval and early modern burials, evaluates selected types of grave furnishing as indicators of stages in the life course, of the construction of self and the negotiation of gender identity, and as emblems of self intended as tokens of love and affection for the deceased. In so doing, Gilchrist is able to interpret objects seemingly out of place—e.g., spindle whorls in men's graves—to the role women traditionally played in preparing the dead for burial and to the woman's desire to send a loved one to eternal rest accompanied by an object through which in her life she had expressed and represented her own self.

Chapter 7
Stitching Women's Lives: Interpreting the Artifacts of Sewing and Needlework

Mary C. Beaudry

In our introduction to this book, James Symonds and I characterized interpretive historical archaeology as a multifaceted congeries of contextual, politically and socially engaged approaches to the study of human lives and experiences. American historical archaeologists have employed variants of interpretive archaeology in their work since, at the very least, the 1970s (see, e.g., Ascher and Fairbanks, 1971; Deetz, 1977; Leone, 1977), although, apart from the noteworthy exceptions by Ascher and Fairbanks, Deetz, and Leone cited above, interpretive historical archaeologies failed to gain prominence in the field until after postprocessual archaeology (Hodder, 1991) and postcolonial theory (Trigger, 2005:444–478; Wilkie, 2009:337) gained firm traction as alternatives to the long-entrenched canon of processualism (Beaudry, 1996, 2007).

Beginning in the 1960s, a distant and at times antagonistic relationship developed between archaeologists and historians in America as archaeology was enfolded fully into anthropology and as archaeologists were trained in and embraced the emerging anti-historical paradigm of cultural materialism, rejecting the earlier culture history approach (Beaudry, 1996). Anthropological archaeologists mischaracterized history as particularistic and atheoretical, and endorsed a generalizing approach grounded normal science, claiming greater affinity with the natural sciences than with social science, for the most part rejecting the humanities outright (Trigger, 1989). It was also in the 1960s that American archaeologists concluded that historical archaeology was a respectable pursuit and sought to make it even more so by giving it an academic home, arguing vehemently that it was important to lodge the field within departments of anthropology. The misrepresentations made about history by processualists were thoroughly inculcated into a postwar generation of anthropologically trained students of historical archaeology, many of whom readily—and inaccurately—accused historians of being incapable of generalizing about culture or of operating within theoretical paradigms (see essays in Schuyler, 1978). Those who insisted that historical archaeology belonged under the rubric of anthropology

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initially won the day over the minority that thought it should be lodged in history departments, and, up until recently, the processualist paradigm, with its emphasis on cultural evolution and adaptation (South, 1977), predominated over other forms of anthropological theory in American archaeology. Yet cognitive structuralism as practiced by Deetz (1977) and critical theory as practiced by Leone (1977) also promoted a generalizing mode and emphasized broad themes such as world views and capitalism. The first full-fledged generation of historical archaeologists therefore was trained in an environment that fostered deliberate ignorance of historical methods and pronounced distrust of documentary evidence.

I see four developments within allied disciplines as providing impetus for a new relationship between historical archaeology and history. The first was a sea change within anthropology that gave birth to historical anthropology; this is often seen as emerging from Marshall Sahlins' historically informed cultural analysis of myth and reality in the Sandwich Islands (Sahlins, 1981, 1985). Sahlins' work had a profound effect upon archaeology through his collaboration with Patrick Kirch on the history and archaeology of the Anahulu Valley of Hawaii (Kirch and Sahlins, 1992), although the publication on the project consisted of one volume devoted to Sahlins' exposition of the historical information and another volume that presented separately Kirch's detailed report on the archaeology—there was no attempt to integrate or interweave the two narratives. But *Anahulu* did highlight the importance of considering deep pasts and long-term history using both historical and archaeological data. The rise of historical anthropology in some ways mirrored a second influential development, the 1980s "cultural turn" in history, which incorporated anthropological concepts about symbol and ritual with a microscale examination of compelling yet often confusing local historical events (see, e.g., Darnton, 1984; Davis, 1984; Hunt, 1989). A third development, increasing interest in blurring genres and disciplinary boundaries, came out of the trend toward postmodernism and the emergence of the transdisciplinary field of "cultural studies" (see, e.g., During, 2003; Edgar and Sedgwick, 2005; Lewis, 2008; Sardar, 2005) In the 1990s, these developments provided the intellectual grounding for a "postprocessual turn" in certain sectors of American archaeology, though it is important to note that many historical archaeologists do not subscribe to postprocessual theory or approaches, and that alongside a strong processualist mainstream runs a persistent current of "historicalist" historical archaeology whose practitioners subscribe to no intellectual program except to excavate sites (preferably ones that represent "firsts"), fill in historical gaps, and use archaeology as a corrective for inaccurate maps or historical misinformation. The frequency with which American academic presses force authors to justify postprocessual studies that employ the first person or construct alternative narratives or eschew sweeping generalizations before publishing their work is a good indication that processualism is alive and well in the American heartland: postprocessual archaeology is not yet the mainstream, but postprocessual and postcolonial theories have nevertheless galvanized the field. The gradual acceptance of the many strands of thought bundled in the postprocessual program has made it possible for historical archaeology to come into its own, as it were, as the creative, hybrid field it was meant to be (Beaudry, 1996; Hicks and Beaudry, 2006). One of the long-term

outcomes of all of these shifts has been the development of a strong tradition of "documentary archaeology" in American historical archaeology (Wilkie, 2006; see also Beaudry, 1988), and recently historical archaeologists have been at pains to comprehend and make use of historiographic as well as ethnographic methods, including microhistory (e.g., Beaudry, n.d., 2008; Dawdy, 2006; DeCorse, 2008; Lightfoot, 2008).

Materiality, Microhistory, and Historical Archaeology

Microhistory refers more to a style or manner of practice than a method: "an orientation, sensibility, and aesthetic—an 'exploratory stance'" (Walton et al., 2008:4). It centers around intense examination of a single event, place, or life, with the aim of yielding "insights across scales of space and time"; done well, "microhistorical studies reveal in fine-grained detail how larger processes operate, how the case serves as a useful hypothesis for exploring other cases" (Walton et al., 2008:4, 5). Microhistorians examine an event not in isolation but as part of a chain of events, and their exploratory stance allows them to examine the event from many sides, exploring the multiple ways that different individuals perceived and reacted to an event (Darnton, 2004). Microhistory offers a mode of historical investigation well-suited to historical archaeologists who acknowledge that "top-down, generalizing historical accounts are deadening because they suppress the complexities, uncertainties, and open-endedness of all that has already happened but is never quite determinable or concluded" (Maddox, 2008:34).

While links *are* being forged between history and historical archaeology in America, there remains a fairly large distinction between how historians and historical archaeologists deal with material culture. Things—landscapes, architectural remains, and smaller artifacts—almost always constitute the starting point for archaeological interpretation. But for many historians, objects have played only ancillary roles and have seldom been central to their examination of issues seen as historically relevant or important. Laurel Ulrich's book, *The Age of Homespun* (2001), was not the first book by a historian that attended to the role of material culture in American life, but it served as something a watershed in the sense that its impact has been great enough to lend material culture considerable respectability within historical circles in the United States, beyond the territories staked out as the preserves of architectural history and vernacular architecture studies (e.g., Glassie, 2000; Upton and Vlach, 1986) and the loosely defined field of material culture studies, which in America is represents a mingling of decorative arts with social history and cultural studies (e.g., Martin and Garrison, 1997; see also Beaudry, 2000).

Ulrich employs objects as points of entry for examining broader historical issues, moving directly from the object to issues of politics, religion, and American cultural history. In all her work, Ulrich is concerned with writing women's history in such a way as to demonstrate that women's lives and actions were not trivial, "because history hasn't been very good at capturing the lives of those whose contributions have been local and domestic" (Ulrich, 2007:227). She uses humble yet iconic early

American artifacts—an Indian basket, spinning wheels, a cupboard, a pocketbook, embroidered pictures—to explore and explode the Colonial Revival mythology of the "age of homespun" and to document the emergence of a female economy and a female-centered production system in pre-Revolutionary New England (Ulrich, 2001:4). Because Ulrich is interested in women's work, the "things" she looks at are products of women's handiwork or related to women's productive activities around textile production and needlework. The objects are thus for the most part common and abundant, such as the niddy-noddy that belonged to Mary Woodwell Hale of Newburyport, Massachusetts. Niddy-noddies, also called willie-nillies, are wooden cross reels onto which yarn was wound. So many survive in museums that it is clear that every colonial household would have had at least one—some are personalized so it seems possible that each female member of a household would have had her own (Ulrich, 2001:175). As a class of object they constitute a prime example of a once-ubiquitous artifact that does not survive in archaeological contexts.

Ulrich uses Polly Woodwell's niddy-noddy as a departure point for examining women's participation in spinning meetings held at minister's houses, with the yarn being donated to the poor or to the support of the minister's family. These meetings began in the 1760s as part of colonists' campaign for repeal of English taxes on imported everyday goods by boycotting them. Cloth-making therefore took on special significance and became firmly linked with patriotism and with religious revivalism, because so many of the spinning meetings were sponsored by and held in churches and meetinghouses: women spun, ministers preached (Ulrich, 2001:178–184). From a single niddy-noddy, Ulrich moves outward, using account books, diaries, correspondence, newspapers, family stories, and related artifacts to consider how women's work contributed to the American revolutionary effort and the social and economic importance of home textile production. In this manner she is able to demonstrate how women's textile production intersected with almost every aspect of life in colonial New England while it also gave women a measure of control over their labor and hence over their lives.

Ulrich's approach as a historian differs considerably from the work of interpretive archaeologists, who often analyze everyday objects in ways that shed light on the construction of identity and the fashioning of the self (see Cochran and Beaudry, 2006; White and Beaudry, 2009; Yentsch and Beaudry, 2001), trying to shake the anonymity off excavated objects much as they wash or brush the soil from them. A rough metaphor is apt here: Ulrich's approach is telescopic, employing the single point of vantage to bring into focus a larger and distant vista through personal objects and personal stories, whereas the archaeologist seems to be looking through the wrong end of the telescope, or indeed eschews the telescope for the microscope, to pinpoint the individual and the personal. For many historical archaeologists, "the most powerful kind of evidence tends to be both material and personal—something enduring that vividly reminds us of specific individuals who are gone" (Novak, 2008:xiv). This does not mean that there is no broader significance to the archaeological study, just that it is a different way of reading objects. It provides a way for archaeologists to comprehend the historical and social contexts in which objects functioned; constructing contexts at the microscale provides

an avenue for developing genuine insights into how people used objects to fashion identity and to shape social interaction, and at times to reconstruct archaeological biographies of individuals who have otherwise remained historically anonymous.

Artifacts, Situations, Contexts

An explicit aim of a contextual, interpretive approach is to nudge archaeologists out of ingrained assumptions about artifacts and people in the past. The first step toward accomplishing this goal is to understand how items functioned in their social settings by initiating a process of recontextualization that involves weaving together various lines of evidence and metaphorically putting the artifacts back into the hands and worlds of their owners and users. Doing this allows us to consider what people did, or hoped to do, with the things they made or purchased or received as gifts or in payment through barter. We can often gain a notion of intentions, aspirations, ambitions, none of which necessarily produced desired outcomes. This is useful because having some grasp of people's concerns and possible intentions can prevent us from interpreting evidence according to universalizing formulae or in accordance with twenty-first-century "knowledge" or assumptions. My microhistorical study of two New England merchants who lived at the Spencer-Peirce-Little Farm in Newbury, Massachusetts, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century is a cautionary tale against rote, cookie-cutter interpretations. Extensive evidence from the site of social display and entertaining and feasting, in the form of ceramics, glassware, and animal bones, I initially interpreted as direct reflections of wealth and high social rank, but careful reconstruction of the historical and social context of the remains and of the biographies of the two merchants, through archival and secondary sources as well as material culture, revealed debt, failed attempts to negotiate prestige, and unfulfilled ambition. The archaeological remains had to be reinterpreted as evidence of over-extended credit and unsuccessful attempts to regain or improve social position (Beaudry, 2008, 2010).

Steering clear of presentism is as important as avoiding standardized analytical frameworks. Archaeologists at times have interpreted patent medicine bottles from nineteenth-century contexts as evidence of consumers being duped by unscrupulous and greedy "medicine men"; *we* know that the medicines did not work, so people who purchased them must have just been hapless victims of rapacious capitalists. Others acknowledge that consumers may have had a good idea of what was in such preparations and argue that they partook of them in order to consume alcohol or drugs such as laudanum in a clandestine yet socially acceptable fashion (e.g., Bond, 1989). Recent interpretive studies, however, in emphasizing local cultural and historical context, present consumers as active agents who selected medical preparations because they fully believed they were efficacious in overcoming illness; individuals and groups made consumer choices in response to alienation, discrimination, and imposed gender ideologies, or because the medicines contained ingredients, such as abortifacients, well known from earlier herbal and folk remedies (Brighton, 2008; Larsen, 1994; Mullins, 1999; Wilkie, 2003:150–153). Such studies

remind us that we practice archaeology in the present and that we shortchange those whom we study if we substitute our subjectivities for theirs.

My approach to artifact interpretation involves detailed construction of the historical and ethnographic context of artifact use, and careful construction of the "cultural fields" in which objects and people acted and interacted, through critical readings of cultural texts in order to establish "action contexts" in which artifacts could have been deployed as symbols in negotiation and discourse and as elements in the construction of cultural identity. I have been influenced by Mary Douglas's call for analysis in "the active voice" (Douglas, 1982:9; Douglas and Isherwood, 1979; see Isaac, 1980 for application of the active voice method by a historian) and by Clifford Geertz's "literary" approach to ethnography and his emphasis on local knowledge and the "real" in ethnographic writing (e.g., Geertz, 1973, 1983; see also Ortner, 1999, 2006a:119–120).

This approach intersects with the notion that material culture constitutes a form of discourse, between and among people as well as between materials and people (see, e.g., Beaudry et al., 1991; Meskell, 2005; Miller, 2005); it also incorporates elements of performance theory, practice theory, and feminist theory (Butler, 1999; Gilchrist, 1999:54–78, 82; Ortner, 2006b), particularly its calls for consideration of embodied experience and for the integration of multiple voices and differing perspectives (Gilchrist, 1999:27–30). Emphasis is placed on multiple ways of interpreting material culture, on the nuances that only highly contextualized studies can provide (De Cunzo, 1995, 2004; Wilkie, 2003). Here I illustrate how this approach works by presenting case studies that tack back and forth between documents and artifacts to offer interpretations based on cables of inference created from combined evidentiary sources (Beaudry, 1995:4; Wylie, 1999; see also Wilkie, 2006, 2009).

Challenging Assumptions About Gender and Material Culture

Since the early 1990s, interest in gender analysis among historical archaeologists shifted attention to objects associated with women and women's activities (Gilchrist, 1999:41–43, 128–129). This led to attempts to fill the gaps and remedy the silences of finds analysis by seeking out objects formerly deemed trivial because they have been routinely associated with women's domestic activities (e.g., Galle and Young, 2004; Scott, 1994; Seifert, 1991; Wall, 1994). Because sewing is so universally associated with women, artifacts of needlework and sewing are often seen to stand as direct evidence of women and women's activities: the assumption is that sewing artifacts "mean" women and can be taken to "stand for" women. The link is based largely on uncritical assumptions about sewing and how sewing ties in with the lives of both men and women. It is especially pernicious because the assumption that "sewing equals women"—so items used in sewing must also "equal women"— is at the key to the task or activities-oriented "gender attribution" approach in gender archaeology. Roberta Gilchrist notes that this approach has little to offer when it fails to move past assumptions about the sexual division of labor (1999:41–43, 130).

What is more, unquestioned assumptions about how to interpret artifacts of needlework and sewing have arisen because archaeologists, and other students of material culture, sometimes tend to romanticize and reinvent the past—especially America's colonial past. Most sources that archaeologists and others consult in order to identify their sewing artifacts were published by collectors or by amateur historians who wrote in a sentimental, triumphalist, and often wistfully nostalgic vein about the lives of colonial and nineteenth-century women and especially about their sewing and needlework (e.g., the oft-reprinted Whiting, 1928).

In *Findings: The Material Culture of Needlework and Sewing* (Beaudry, 2006), I discuss archaeologists' near-universal tendency to equate finds of straight pins with women because pins are assumed to have been associated with sewing: pins=sewing=women. The equation does not hold up when one learns that pins were used for many purposes having little or nothing to do with sewing; interpreting pins properly is possible only if one attends closely to context (Beaudry, 2006:35–42). In *Findings* I also explore, through further examples of the artifacts of needlework and sewing, ways in which gender identity can be signaled and can shift according to context. These issues can be examined by reconstructing, through critical analysis of documentary and pictorial sources, the ethnographic contexts in which sewing and needlework served practical ends and those in which sewing and needlework implements featured as symbols in myth or ritual, or as expressions of sentiment in society. Interrogating the classificatory logic underpinning the "gendered" nature of sewing, alongside close readings of instances in which the "usual" symbolic import of sewing implements is subverted through symbolic inversion and anomaly leads us away from unproblematic assumptions and the "intransigent taxonomies" of the gender-attribution approach (Meskell, 2005:7).

Feminist art historian Rozsika Parker, in *The Subversive Stitch*, notes that "embroidery has become indelibly associated with stereotypes of femininity"—femininity being a "crucial aspect of patriarchal ideology." She analyzes works written and stitched by men and women and concludes that "the development of an ideology of femininity coincided historically with the emergence of a clearly defined separation of art and craft." In the seventeenth century, embroidery was used to inculcate femininity in young girls, so much so that "the ensuing behaviour appeared innate" (Parker, 1984:2, 3, 5, 11). An ideology of femininity as natural to women evolved in the eighteenth century, and, from the eighteenth century on, embroidery came to signify femininity as well as a leisured, aristocratic lifestyle, proof of gentility because of its association with nobility.

> Moreover, because embroidery was supposed to signify femininity—docility, obedience, love of home, and a life without work—it showed the embroiderer to be a deserving, worthy wife and mother. Thus the art played a crucial part in maintaining the class position of the household, displaying the value of a man's wife and the condition of his economic circumstances. Finally, in the nineteenth century, embroidery and femininity were entire[ly] fused, and the connection was deemed to be natural. Women embroidered because they were naturally feminine and were feminine because they naturally embroidered. (Parker, 1984:11)

Fig. 7.1 A late
eighteenth-century English
engraving showing in its
center a woman keeping her
hands occupied with her
tatting shuttle as she walks
through an idealized
landscape within the flanking
arms of a compass. Around
the central image a motto
abjures women to "KEEP
WITHIN COMPASS AND YOU
SHALL BE SURE TO AVOID
MANY TROUBLES WHICH
OTHERS ENDURE." Gift of
Henry Francis du Pont.
Courtesy Winterthur Museum
and Library, Imprints and
Periodicals Collection

Parker makes the point that although many women may have "colluded" in this construction of gender identity, women were not always passive recipients of such ideologies. They responded to them; they used these ideologies and were used by them. Over the centuries, embroidery (and sewing) has provided support and satisfaction for women but has also served as a covert means of negotiating the constraints of femininity; women were able to make meanings of their own while overtly living up to the oppressive stereotype of the passive, silent, vain, frivolous, and even seductive needlewoman (Parker, 1984:12, 11, 13, 14.). Women were reminded to "Keep Within Compass" (Fig. 7.1) by always keeping their hands busy with their "work" so that they would not be tempted to stray from the path of virtue that men had defined for them (Swan, 1995:10–11, 15).

Parker's work draws our attention to the relationship between women, their bodies, their sewing, and the tools they used. Sewing tools were often worn on or about the body. Thimbles are a good example; women selected the appropriate thimbles based on size and the task(s) at hand, so to speak, but another important factor was how comfortable they felt on the woman's hand—whether they "breathed" and prevented the woman's finger from sweating. Women often had fairly intimate relationships with their thimbles; many thimbles, especially ones made of silver, were personalized with monograms. Indeed, in seventeenth-century New England a woman's social rank might be reinforced by the quality of her needlework tools.

Not Just a Thimble

The case of Grace Stout, a young woman working as a maid and seamstress in homes in Ipswich, Massachusetts, in the 1680s, is instructive in this regard. Grace was accused of stealing linens because she was known to be the owner of the silver thimble that was left at the crime scene. While silver thimbles do not seem to have been included among the items whose ownership was reserved by Massachusetts' seventeenth-century sumptuary laws for individuals of certain wealth or status, other small items such as silver bodkins, when worn or displayed with banned items, were. The list of banned items of dress for anyone whose personal fortune was less than 200 pounds included lace, silver or gold thread or buttons, cutwork, embroidery, hatbands, belts, ruffles, capes, and silk scarves; the 1651 law also directed town selectmen that "whosoever they shall judge to exceed their ranks and abilities in the costliness or fashion of their apparel in any respect, especially in the wearing of ribbons or great boots (leather being so scarce a commodity in this country) lace, points, etc., silk hoods, or scarves, the select men aforesaid shall have power to assess such persons, so offending in any of the particulars above mentioned, in the country rates" (Colonial Laws of Massachusetts, 1887:5; Mays, 2004:383–385). Ipswich folk considered Grace to be acting above her station merely by possession of anything other than an ordinary brass thimble People had seen her using her silver thimble and commented on it disapprovingly, and so the court convicted her of the theft of linen because they assumed she must have stolen money to purchase the thimble (ergo, she stole the linens). To my way of thinking this case reveals that Grace Stout perhaps took a bit too much pride in her self-identification as a needlewoman and reached too far by calling attention to herself in an unacceptable manner. She was accused and convicted as much because her silver thimble was perceived as a symptom of her disrespect for the established social hierarchy as it was believed to be evidence of theft (Beaudry, 2006:86–88).

Truth be told, as an archaeologist it is not important for me to know whether or not Grace Stout stole linens and foolishly lost her thimble in the cupboard or trunk in which the linens were stored, or if perhaps she lost her thimble elsewhere and its finder decided to turn it into an instrument of Grace's downfall. What is of value in this case it the fact that the testimony in the case, charged as it is with resentment toward Grace—not a single citizen of Ipswich had anything kind to say about her—reveals how a silver thimble can be *instrumental* through its materiality as well as through the differing meanings people attached to it. As archaeologists we need to consider the power of even small objects and try to comprehend how they could be so effective and powerful as instruments of self-definition that that they could also be used to overturn and reject the very selfhood someone like Grace was seeking to construct. In other words, perhaps, a thimble is not always *just* a thimble.

When Sewing Implements Become Personal Effects

The portrait of Vermont resident Mrs. Allethenia Fisk Farrar, painted ca. 1835, reveals just how great a pride of place a pair of expensive, high-quality scissors

Fig. 7.2 Allethenia Fisk Farrar, 1834–1835, portrayed at her sewing, wearing, and displaying her scissors on a chain attached to her belt with a chatelaine hook. Attributed to Asahel Powers (1813–1843). Gift of Bertram K and Nina Fletcher Little. Photograph by David Bohl. Courtesy of Historic New England/SPNEA (acc. #199.1199)

could assume (Fig. 7.2). Mrs. Farrar is at her sewing with her scissors displayed prominently; her portrait conveys to the viewer that she is an accomplished needle-woman, a dutiful wife, and a woman of good character. What is more, her scissors are literally attached to her person, depending from an elaborate chain affixed to a chatelaine hook slipped over her wide belt. These accouterments signal wealth, as do the lush fabric and lace of her costume, the small gold brooch at her décolletage, and the large buckle so prominently clasping her belt round her cinched-in waist. That a pair of scissors could be considered so precious as to become part of a woman's costume and a part of her presentation of self is evidence that, in some instances, even seemingly mundane items like scissors could become intimately associated with personhood and gender identity. Here a pair of scissors serves as a medium to convey messages about the self and contributes to the careful construction of an image of domesticity and femininity.

Bodkins are another example of evocative objects associated with sewing and needlework, although they rarely served to accomplish either of those tasks. (The discussion that follows summarizes previously published information; see Beaudry, 2009, 2006:81–85.) Bodkins are needle-like though flattened in profile; they usually

have a point at one end and a large eye at the other. They were used by men and women for lacing up garments and threading drawstrings, but for the most part they are associated with women. This was especially the case in the seventeenth century in the English and Dutch colonies in America, in part because the typical attire of women at that time included a bodice that laced up the front. Every time a woman laced up her bodice, she required the services of a bodkin, so every woman needed one and needed to keep it handy. Nursing mothers in particular would have made frequent use of their bodkins. Despite the fact that bodkins should have been about as numerous as women in seventeenth-century America, archaeologists find bodkins only occasionally on sites of this era.

Often delicate and diminutive, bodkins could also be quite sturdy. The majority are plain and made of base metal, though it appears that most copper alloy bodkins were given a tin wash to make them look as though they were made of silver. A surprising number of excavated bodkins *are* made of silver, not always the highest grade but silver nonetheless. Some were decorated with chasing; Dutch bodkins tend to be much more elaborately decorated than English ones. One feature of bodkins, especially silver ones, is personalization: several excavated examples have initials or even full names inscribed on them, a feature that has prompted archaeologists to seek out information on their possible owners. The initials on bodkins have led to the rediscovery of women's biographies, patchy and incomplete though they may be. Of interest is that women's initials on excavated bodkins link to their married surname versus their maiden name, leading to the possibility that the heavy social import of these items was associated as much with the status of a woman as wife and mother as it was to the value of the metal of which it was made. What is more, compilation and analysis of probate records, court dockets, pictorial, and other sources provided insight into the social and cultural significance that bodkins took on. In seventeenth-century Essex County, Massachusetts, a woman with silver bodkin and a silk scarf might be accused of violating sumptuary laws and called into court to give account of her personal wealth or that of her husband. One lengthy court case of alleged bodkin theft seemed to be more about social positioning than it was about theft (the bodkin had been quickly returned to its owner); it was a silver bodkin and inscribed with the name of its owner, but it came out in court that the woman accused of stealing the bodkin was illiterate because she had to have someone read out the name on the bodkin to her. Goodwife Silver Bodkin clearly wanted everyone to know that her own social position, reflected in her own mind both by ownership of silver bodkin and being able to read, at the very least, her own name, was far superior to that of the woman whose prosecution she pursued so relentlessly.

With or without inscriptions, bodkins still became personalized, worn and polished from use; the thin metal warms to the touch after initially feeling soothingly cool. Silver or tin-plated copper alloy bodkins were shiny and attracted attention to themselves. The fancier ones were bejeweled and could serve as highly decorative headdress pins. Bodkins seem to have threaded themselves into the fabric of seventeenth-century life in manifold and complex ways; it would be a sad mistake to simply classify them as "women's artifacts" without looking more closely at the intricacies of women's relationships with their bodkins.

Closing Thoughts

Reconstructing cultural "fields," "grounds," or "worlds" at the microscale for seventeenth-, eighteenth-, and nineteenth-century America makes us aware that objects like silver thimbles, fine sewing scissors, and silver bodkins could be charged with special significance around personhood, gender identity, and social rank, and could reflect community notions about behavior appropriate to assigned social roles and gender categories. A thimble or a bodkin was only one of many types of objects through which discourses about self-identity and personhood were enacted and, through embodied practices, with which meanings were made. Because they were personal—at times personalized through monograms and inscriptions—as well as instrumental in ways in which women and men chose to present and clothe their bodies, sometimes carried on the person and worn as part of outward social display, implements of needlework and sewing were invested with meanings and, through their materiality, had power. They were deployed in interactive strategies of "conversing by signs" (St. George, 1998; Ulrich, 2001:418), but there is more to this than symbolism (see Hicks and Beaudry, 2010). What objects "meant" in person-to-person relationships could well be far less relevant to our interpretations than what roles such objects, by their very materiality—their form, their substance, their qualities (e.g., pleasing to the eye, silver, shiny, warming to the touch, attaining luster or polish through use, etc.)—played in affecting how their owners and users interacted with and were acted upon by their possessions. This level of interpretation requires us to define "the criteria that allow us to choose particular articulations between persons and objects as significant" (Miller, 1998:14). Our goal should be to try to comprehend the embodied experience of identity construction through material objects that are used in and affect daily behaviors and practices, to emphasize "meaning-making. . ., as against the notion of cultural 'systems'" (Ortner, 1999:8), and to avoid unproblematic classification of finds into predetermined, inflexible taxonomies.

One of the great values of an interpretive approach in historical archaeology, as I see it, is that it steers archaeologists away from the tendency to assume that there is some readily graspable universality in the experience of women (and men and children) that gives us a license to essentialize and to objectify them, and to write about them as undifferentiated groups of humans who shared the same experiences and who, in some incredibly passive manner, were defined by the artifacts they used, which somehow dictated their actions and bound them to their universal condition of womanhood (or manhood or childhood). In gender archaeology, a task-oriented "attribution" approach that fails to go beyond the sexual division of labor or to acknowledge the "fluidity in gendered activities" (Gilchrist, 1999:129–130) denies women agency and authorship of their own lives; it can fail to acknowledge the fact that feminine subjectivities are highly differentiated and changing. As Rosi Braidotti puts it, feminine identity is a "nomadic subject"—every woman constructs her own identity out of her life experiences and possibilities and almost every woman has the opportunity to take on or is forced into alternative subjectivities throughout her life (Braidotti, 1994:2; see also Butler, 1999). We cannot

explore this diversity if we rely on set-in-the-bone assumptions about how artifacts were used or how the experience of women in the past must have been pretty much all of a piece. Looking closely into women's relationships with seemingly everyday objects makes this abundantly clear, and demonstrates that women used material objects in constructing, negotiating, and performing identity in both expected and surprising ways.

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Chapter 8
The Intimacy of Death: Interpreting Gender and the Life Course in Medieval and Early Modern Burials

Roberta Gilchrist

This chapter engages with Mary Beaudry's contribution "Stitching Women's Lives" (Chapter 7) to review points of similarity and difference in the study of gender and material culture in American and British historical archaeology. An interpretive approach is developed through a review of the archaeology of medieval and early modern burial practices in England, with stress placed on evidence connected with age and the family. A dialogue with American historical archaeology prompts a more narrative, microscale approach, explored here through a case study of burial practice as an extension of the social role of mothering. With reference to Beaudry's focus on the material culture of sewing, special emphasis is placed on the meaning of items of weaving equipment placed in medieval graves as an expression of women's roles as family undertakers and care-givers of the family.

Gender and Material Culture: A Trans-Atlantic Discord?

Since the 1980s, gender has been an integral concern of American historical archae-ology, perhaps coinciding with the discipline's inherent feminisation (Wilkie, 2005: 345). The investigation of gender through material culture has also been a significant approach in European prehistoric and early medieval archaeology (e.g. Bertelsen et al., 1987; Hurcombe and Donald, 2000). In contrast, however, the British tra-dition of historical archaeology has barely touched on the relationship between gender and material culture. The field remains largely empirical in approach, and its more theoretical exponents have seldom addressed gender identity explicitly (e.g. Tarlow and West, 1999). The definition of historical archaeology in the Old World is sometimes taken to encompass the archaeology of all documented periods, rang-ing from ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia right up to the twentieth century (Andrén, 1998). The archaeology of recent centuries has been termed "post-medieval archae-ology" in Protestant regions of Europe such as the UK and Scandinavia, where

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the Reformation created a distinct rupture between the medieval and early modern worlds. There has been a concerted effort to challenge the disciplinary boundary that has developed between medieval and post-medieval archaeology in Britain, and to consider social, economic and religious patterns across a broader period of historical archaeology, ca. 1400–1700 (e.g. Gaimster and Stamper, 1997; Gaimster and Gilchrist, 2003; Egan, 2005a).

Studies of material culture within this period remain broadly typological in approach, and where thematic have stressed the generic "household" (Margeson, 1993; Egan, 1998), or chronological and regional patterns in the ownership of personal possessions such as jewelry, dress accessories, and tableware (Hinton, 2005). Jewelry was worn by both men and women in this period, and only a few items of dress can be assigned confidently to a single sex (for example, men's jerkins: Egan, 2005a:14). Personal items of material culture are seldom recovered from contexts that can be linked with documented individuals and stratified artefacts are surprisingly rare, with few cess or midden pits excavated from British sites of this period. However, the sexual division of labour can be reconstructed from textual sources and some material correlates for gendered activities may be proposed. Weaving and tailoring on a commercial scale were largely the preserve of men, but textile work in the home was the work of women and young girls, the latter perhaps represented by small thimbles (ibid: 132). Processed flax and wool were spun with a low-whorl drop-spindle, a stick with a small flywheel or whorl at the bottom (Barber, 2000:941). Spindle whorls in particular were symbolic of female domestic work and were commonly represented in visual sources of the period (Egan, 1998:255–261). These were purpose-made whorls of stone, pottery, wood, bone or lead that were utilitarian in their nature and varied in size and weight according to the different types of yarn for which they were used (Walton, 1991:325). In some cases, spindle whorls may have been customised by their owner: it has been observed that many lead whorls from rural areas were highly decorated with rough linear motifs, in contrast with consistently plain examples from medieval towns (Egan, 2005b:201).

Gender in British historical archaeology has been studied more through spatial approaches that focus on the built environment, gendered patterns of spatial access and the symbolic meanings of space and architecture. Case studies of nunneries, castles and palaces have considered the gendered experience and agency of elite women in later medieval England (Gilchrist, 1994, 1999; Richardson, 2003). The wave of historical scholarship on medieval and early modern masculinity has had little impact on archaeology. By contrast, the early medieval archaeology of the pre-Christian period (the fifth to seventh centuries) has a long pedigree of addressing gender through the distinct sets of grave goods that were interred with men and women (e.g. Stoodley, 1999; Hadley and Moore, 1998). It has been assumed previously that along with Christianity came a greater uniformity of burial practices and the disappearance of grave goods, removing burial from the range of strategies that were used to express social identity. This premise has been challenged recently both in relation to the early Christian burial practices of the seventh to tenth centuries (Crawford, 2004; Hadley, 2004) and the later medieval burial practices of the eleventh to sixteenth centuries (Gilchrist and Sloane, 2005).

American and British historical archaeology can also be contrasted in their interpretive approaches, particularly in their divergent attitudes towards the individual agent and the use of personal narrative. Mary Beaudry (Chapter 7, this volume) employs material culture as a means of pinpointing the individual and the personal, exploring named individuals (such as Grace Stout) and their strategies for using material culture. Historical archaeologists in Britain retain a strong desire to be independent of the discipline of history, and generally do not share the close links with anthropology that American archaeology enjoys. For decades archaeology was regarded as the "handmaiden" of history, producing a collective resistance to the use of documents to *explain* patterns in material culture (Gilchrist, 1994:8–12). For much of the period covered by British historical archaeology, only elite individuals are named in documents or identifiable as individuals through material culture. Archaeology has found its disciplinary niche as "history from below": study of the collective mass of the anonymous and the undocumented, a scholastic trait that has mitigated against focus on the individual and the personal.

The narrative tradition of American historical archaeologists as "storytellers" (e.g. Praetzellis and Praetzellis, 1998), extrapolating from named individuals to construct fictional accounts and dramas in order to enhance interpretation, is entirely absent from historical archaeology in Europe. These narrative approaches experiment with multi-vocality and are said to encourage self-reflexivity in interpretation (Joyce, 2002). British historical archaeologists remain largely constrained by the legacy of processualism, with its pseudo-scientific claims to objectivity. Frankly, the subjectivity celebrated in the storytelling genre is rather unsettling to British historical archaeologists. A more narrative approach has been used with great success by medieval and early modern historians, first to provide accessibility to a general audience (Power, 1924) and second, through the French school of "microhistory", to reconstruct peasant mentalities through well-documented case studies (e.g. Le Roy Ladurie, 1978). For historical archaeologists in the UK, the discussion of named individuals and the elaboration of their experience through narrative remain firmly the preserve of historians. Through dialogues such as those encouraged in this volume, we may strive for interpretive approaches that re-engage with the personal scale.

Embodiment and the Life Course: Trans-Atlantic Dialogues

In my dialogue with Mary Beaudry, I can find many shared points of gender theory and historical archaeology method, despite the centuries that separate our case studies. We are both influenced by feminist perspectives and performance theory, and stress the need to contextualise gender. My current research on medieval and early modern burial focuses on the connection between gender and the life course, exploring how gender in specific contexts is signalled and experienced in relation to age. The biological characteristics of age are culturally created and historically contingent, to the same degree as those of sex. A more reflexive approach to age is critical, one which questions cultural attitudes towards ageing and particular phases in the

lifecycle (Gilchrist, 2004). Although conventional burial archaeology has involved study of the physical anthropology of human skeletons, until recently these analyses have assigned sex and age determinations with little consideration of their associated cultural meanings. I have used the archaeological evidence for funerary rites to explore family relationships and the gendered roles of grief, particularly those expressed by female undertakers as an extension of their social roles as mothers (Gilchrist and Sloane, 2005; Gilchrist, 2006). In this chapter, I have been inspired especially by Laurie Wilkie's study of African-American midwifery (Wilkie, 2003) to consider the place of mothering in medieval mortuary rites.

We share an interdisciplinary approach, moving fluidly between archaeological, documentary and visual sources. Beaudry interrogates texts to establish "action contexts" in which artefacts were deployed as symbols in negotiating gendered identities (Beaudry, 2006). My work on medieval burial has developed along similar lines, using visual representations of medieval death to identify "locales of action" in which funerary preparations took place (Gilchrist and Sloane, 2005:230). Of particular relevance are the Books of Hours that were owned by a wide cross-section of people from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries (Wieck, 1999). Books of Hours included psalms collectively known as "the Office of the Dead" prayers that were used by the living to intercede for the souls of the dead in Purgatory. The miniature illustrations that marked the beginning of each Office frequently depicted the sequence of the funerary rites from the sickbed to the grave, the locale in which mortuary provisions took place, and the individuals who undertook them. From the Books of Hours, it is possible to identify a crucial moment in the funerary sequence at which mortuary rites were transferred from the family to the church. The pivotal point seems to have been the funeral procession itself. Before this, the women of the family washed the corpse and dressed it in clothing or sewed it into a shroud; once prepared, the body was displayed in the home on a bier or in a coffin. It may be suggested that items placed with the cadaver at this stage represent the choices and actions of the deceased's family or community, and more particularly, of the women who prepared the corpse. In contrast, the preparation and furnishing of the grave was carried out within the more highly regulated context of the monastic or parish cemetery, the preserve of the clergy.

Burial Archaeology: From Medieval to Early Modern

The rich potential of burial evidence for interpreting gender identity has been largely neglected in American historical archaeology (as opposed to the study of gravestones), contrasting with trends in prehistoric studies (Arnold and Wicker, 2001). Instead, focus has been on the interpretation of colonialism from mortuary contexts, including culture contact between Native Americans and Europeans (Rubertone, 1989) and the impact of plantation slavery on African traditions (Handler and Lange, 1978). Since NAGPRA (the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act 1990), the investigation of all historic-period burials has been regarded as highly sensitive, undertaken only when graves are uncovered inadvertently during

construction (Poirier and Bellantoni, 1997). In the UK, excavation of cemeteries may still be undertaken for research purposes if the interments are more than 100 years old, and construction activities over approximately the past 15 years have led to the excavation of at least 15,000 medieval graves (Gilchrist and Sloane, 2005:8). Only Christian graves are regarded as requiring specifically defined ethical treatment, and should be reburied after study if close family members are known to be living and request it (Church of England and English Heritage, 2005).

According to medieval Christian belief, the dead continued to exist after expiry of the body. Their souls lingered in Purgatory to endure painful purgation of sin, before full resolution and re-incorporation at the Last Judgement. Archaeologists have often assumed that grave goods did not accompany later medieval burials, and that all Christians were interred in simple shrouds, without elaboration of grave goods, coffins or grave memorials. Prevailing interpretive models of medieval burial have been challenged by a recent study of 5,000 graves from monastic cemeteries in Britain, with a comparative sample of 3,000 burials from parish churches, cathedrals and Jewish cemeteries (Gilchrist and Sloane, 2005). This reassessment has shown that while grave goods were not the norm in later medieval burial rites, there was increasing diversity in mortuary expression from the twelfth century. New modes of burial were developed from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, in parallel with changing perceptions of religious and secular identity, and alongside the increasing emphasis on Purgatory. By ca. 1100, the burials of priests and monks were accompanied by chalices and patens, pectoral crosses and croziers, and religious corpses were wrapped in hides or linen shrouds, or buried in monastic habits. Cists and coffins were sometimes lined with lime or chalk, planks of wood or head-support stones. The emergence of a mortuary symbolism for the clergy is significant, and corresponds with a period in which great efforts were made to present the priesthood as a distinct masculine identity.

Within a century, the laity was adopting burial practices that had been initiated by the clergy. Between ca. 1200 and ca. 1300, interment in clothing and with jewelry became more common. Urbanism brought greater affluence and increased access to material culture that was channelled into burial rites as a means of expressing growing social differentiation. Among these general patterns, we can discern the use of grave goods to mark more intimate social relations, and we can also use the visual sources of the Books of Hours to reassess the active agents behind medieval undertaking. Medieval burials sometimes included apotropaic items that were placed with the corpse when the body was washed and shrouded: for example, coins or stones placed in the mouth, crosses or bullae (seals on papal documents) placed on the chest or in the hand and padlocks placed near the pelvis (Gilchrist and Sloane, 2005; Gilchrist, 2008). From the visual evidence of the Books of Hours, it can be proposed that women added such items to the corpse during the preparation of the body in the home.

Particular objects placed in the coffin or grave suggest the active agency of women. The occurrence of spindle whorls in a mortuary context may be significant for their connection with women's domestic work of weaving (Gilchrist and Sloane, 2005:102–103). For instance, a chalk example was carefully placed on the chest of

a man buried in a lead coffin in the monastic cemetery of Stratford Langthorne (Essex), dated c. 1230–1350 (Barber et al., 2004:4.4). The lead coffin was a sealed context, so that the spindle whorl cannot be dismissed as a casual loss or residual artefact. Another example was found at the foot of a grave of an adult male in the southern cemetery at the medieval hospital of St Mary Spital, London, probably of fourteenth- to sixteenth-century date, and seven lead spindle whorls were recovered from medieval graves at Whithorn cathedral priory, Galloway (Nicholson and Hill, 1997:391).

The only age grades to be marked out for special burial rites were those of the young: infants, children and occasionally adolescents (Gilchrist and Sloane, 2005:223–225). The absence of other patterning by age group may perhaps be explained by the medieval belief that all Christians, whatever their age at death, would be resurrected at the ideal age of 33 (the age at which it was believed Christ had died on the cross). From the high infant and child mortality rates documented for the later medieval period, we would predict that approximately 50% of the total burials from a parish population would be juveniles. Excavated churchyards have yielded figures around 30%, with children under the age of two particularly poorly represented (Gilchrist, 2003:401). This absence may indicate that children were buried elsewhere, in an unexcavated part of the churchyard, or in areas previously destroyed by earthmoving, such as under the eaves of the parish church, an area frequently disturbed by the introduction of modern heating and drainage systems.

Despite their under-representation in medieval cemeteries, infants and children were buried with a considerable number of the surviving grave goods that were added during the process of washing and shrouding the body, in the context of the home. While adults may have chosen whether particular artefacts accompanied their burials, the grave goods of young children reflect the agency of parents or guardians, and comment on the relationship between the generations. Some are likely to have been amulets that held a broadly protective purpose, such as a pilgrim's badge that was buried with a child aged 7–10 years, near the south porch of St Augustine's abbey, Canterbury (Sherlock and Woods, 1988:66). Further examples include a jet pendant cross, placed on the breast of an infant buried in the nave of the Augustinian priory church of St Mary Gisborough, Cleveland (Heslop, 1995:93–94), and a cross recovered from near the mouth of a child buried in the church of Pontefract Cluniac priory, Yorkshire (Bellamy, 1965:93). Crosses and pilgrim badges were deposited as amulets with the shrouded corpse, linking popular and religious traditions. Such practices may be regarded as an extension of women's use of folk remedies in healing, which sometimes had chilling links to the grave. For example, a late eleventh-century charm to induce a safe labour required the pregnant woman to take earth from the grave of one of her own stillborn children. She was to wrap the grave soil in black wool and sell it to a merchant. She was instructed to jump over the grave, chanting "I sell it, you buy it, this black wool, and this sorrow's seed" (Weston, 1995:290).

Archaeological evidence suggests that the emotional bond with infants was intense, demonstrated by the special treatment that their burials received. Theirs is the only category of medieval burial to be marked by a special body position.

The standard position was extended and supine, but infants were regularly placed curled on their sides, in a natural sleeping position (Gilchrist and Sloane, 2005:155–156). Their graves ranged from simple interment in shrouds to the more conspicuous investment of burial within an individual wooden coffin or stone cist. Perhaps the most evocative is a single infant buried in a wickerwork basket, in the north transept of the church of the Cistercian monastery at Stratford Langthorne, the only infant in the entire monastic cemetery (Barber et al., 2004). Infant and child graves are more often located in the western region of the church and churchyard, in both parish and monastic contexts (Gilchrist and Sloane, 2005:67). This zoning is significant when considered in terms of the sacred topography of the church. They were interred in the area associated with the font, so that the efficacy of baptism could continue to protect their vulnerable souls during the dangerous journey through Purgatory (ibid:223).

From the late thirteenth century up to the Reformation, burial practices remained fairly conservative. The Black Death of the latter half of the fourteenth century seems to have resulted in a temporary increase in the use of coffins, and the inclusion of papal bullae with some corpses (ibid:216). A more significant and lasting change was the preference shown in the location of burial. From the twelfth century onwards it was considered prestigious for laypeople to be buried in the cemetery of a religious house (Postles, 1996). By the fifteenth century, however, preference had shifted decisively towards burial in parish churchyards (Harding, 1992:122). Excavation of cemeteries at London's medieval religious houses has shown a dramatic decrease in the intensity of burial in monastic cemeteries by the sixteenth century (Gilchrist, 2003:402). By the time of the dissolution of the monasteries (1535–1539), popular preference for burial location had been transferred to the parish church.

The Reformation brought transformations in religious belief that severed the medieval past—and its dead—from the world of the living. Of particular significance was rejection of the belief in Purgatory, the eradication of prayers of intercession for the dead, and adoption of the Protestant belief that the soul was dispatched immediately at death (Houlbrook, 1998:38, 41). Despite these radical changes in belief, Reformation burial practices demonstrate strong continuity with medieval traditions, maintaining the emphasis on east/west alignment of the grave, with the head placed to the west in anticipation of the resurrection. It seems that apotropaic items were no longer placed with the dead: such items of comfort and healing were not required by Protestants who had rejected the existence of Purgatory. New traditions developed to represent the finality of Protestant death, notably the placement of an hour glass in the coffin or grave, as a *memento mori* (Gilchrist and Sloane, 2005:179). A seventeenth-century tradition is documented of placing an hour glass and a garland of flowers in the coffin (Harding, 2002:145), and this same rite is depicted on funerary monuments such as that to William Inglott (d. 1621) in the nave of Norwich Cathedral (Fig. 8.1). Inglott was a singing man at the cathedral, and the painting shows two members of the choir holding a wreath of bay, a song book and an hour glass. Very rarely, the tradition of placing funerary crosses in graves may have survived into the post-medieval period. A group of lead crosses from Newgate gaol in London has been dated to the eighteenth century and has been

Fig. 8.1 Funerary monument to William Inglott (d. 1621) in the nave of Norwich Cathedral, Norfolk. Inglott was a singing man at the cathedral, and the painting shows two members of the choir by Inglott's corpse or effigy holding a wreath of bay, a song book and an hour glass (Photo copyright R. Gilchrist)

interpreted as items placed with victims of "gaol distemper". This act was perhaps an extension of the practice of sewing metal "poor badges" onto the clothing of the poor (Sloane and Watson, 2005:198).

Few Protestants rejected burial in the consecrated ground of the churchyard, but after the Reformation those of more Puritan persuasion sought burial in the new urban cemeteries. London's New Churchyard, for instance, was established in 1569 at Broadgate, near Bedlam, and became associated with nonconformists and the urban poor. Excavations at the site have shown that the earliest burials were haphazard interments that took place during operations of dumping to raise the ground above flood levels (Malt and White, 1987). These burials were followed by a group of shaft graves, ca. 1570–1600, containing four to six individuals, and then by a series of large pits, ca. 1600, dug to bury groups of between 4 and 16 individuals. It is very likely that these mass burials are catastrophe graves resulting from an epidemic, rather than a Puritan mode of burial (Gilchrist, 2003: 405–407).

Later in the seventeenth century, burials at the New Churchyard were predominantly individual interments placed in coffins, with the exception of newborn babies and infants. The distribution of coffins indicated that a path ran through the site, with the more elaborate coffins facing onto the path. In total, approximately 400 skeletons were excavated from the New Churchyard in Broadgate, dating from its inception in 1569 to the early eighteenth century. Excavation of the contemporary London cemetery at Bridewell indicated a prevalence of single interments: a total of 46 inhumations was recovered. The cemetery at the site of this workhouse and hospital was in use from ca. 1608. Graves were cut into the top 700 mm of medieval reclamation deposits, with approximately equal numbers of adults and children buried. The presence of iron nails and traces of wood suggests that some burials were coffined, but staining on many skeletons also indicates contact with oxidised copper from shroud pins (Catherine Cavanagh, personal communication).

From the slim evidence available for sixteenth- and seventeenth-century burial practice in England, it is possible to discern changes in the treatment of the dead (Gilchrist, 2003). The more equal representation of children in burials from the late sixteenth-century cemeteries at Broadgate and Bridewell suggests that interment was less likely to be segregated on the basis of age, as it had been in medieval cemeteries. The opportunity for special treatment of children's graves was lost, with cessation of the medieval tradition of placing apotropaic items, but there were new means of commemorating the loss of a child. Funerary memorials to children developed from the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries and became increasingly common with Protestantism in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Houlbrook, 1998:346, 351).

A Mother's Grief: The Intimacy of Death

I noted in my introduction that historical archaeology in the UK has been reluctant to engage with the more narrative tradition of American historical archaeology, with its greater emphasis on the individual and personal scale. My discussion of the burial evidence has proposed broad patterns based on social groups and chronological change. There is one group of burials, and one case in particular, that demands a more personal, interpretive encounter.

Somewhat incongruous to the medieval Christian context is the occasional evidence for the burial of infants outside the consecrated ground of the church or churchyard, and instead within the domestic space of houses. Infant remains have been recovered from the medieval English villages of Riplingham, Gomeldon, and Thrislington, the last recovered from the upper fill of a well (Astill, 1988:58). From an urban context, two infant burials have been recovered from twelfth-century houses in Dover. The houses in Townwall Street were part of a poor fishing district, and two contained graves or pits located next to walls, containing the burial of a foetal or newborn child. In both cases, the graves were sealed by later floor levels, confirming that the houses remained in use (Anderson and Parfitt, 1998:123).
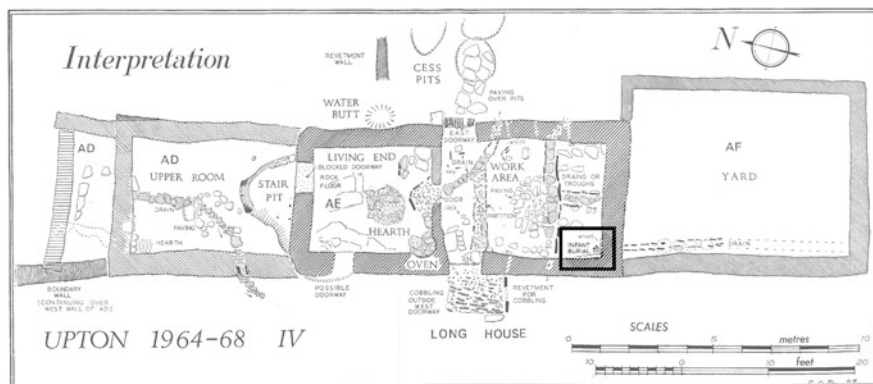
Fig. 8.2 Plan of the excavated long-house (AD–AF) at the deserted medieval village of Upton, Gloucestershire. Published in Rahtz (1969) (Reproduced with kind permission of Philip Rahtz)

Not all of these domestic interments can be dismissed as being those of unbaptised or stillborn infants. At the medieval village of Upton in Gloucestershire, an infant aged between 3 and 6 months was buried beneath the floor of a long-house, located in the service or lower end (Rahtz, 1969:86–88). The house was dated to the mid-thirteenth or later thirteenth century, and the floor of the service end had been cut into a bed of hard rock. The southwest corner of the house had a clay floor reinforced by stone slabs that sealed the grave of the infant (Fig. 8.2). Two objects were found close by the infant and may have been associated with the burial: a limestone spindle whorl and an ornamental whelk shell (Fig. 8.3).

As discussed above, the spindle whorl is symbolic of the home, and particularly of weaving as women's work. The shell is especially significant: it was identified as a fragment of trumpet shell (*Charonia sp.*), probably *Charonia nodiferus*, which occurs only in Mediterranean waters (ibid:124). Since the shell was not a species found in British waters, it was therefore an item that may have been specially collected, for instance, while on pilgrimage to a saint's shrine. The item may have been treasured as a keepsake or household amulet, or even retained for special use as a grave good. This child was certainly old enough to have been baptised in the church, and we must conclude that a deliberate choice was made to bury the infant in the home. As the excavator, Philip Rahtz, commented "There must have been an interesting defiance of ecclesiastical authority, therefore, in avoiding burial in a consecrated graveyard" (ibid:88).[1] Rather than reflecting surreptitious or callous disposal of an unwanted child, this domestic burial seems to stress the close bonds of home and family.

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[1] Professor Rahtz comments that while the spindle whorl could conceivably be residual, the whelk shell is an "exotic" item representing a highly unusual find from a thirteenth-century English village. He reports that when the burial was excavated in the 1960s, it was judged by some commentators to be "highly immoral" in the context of medieval belief (letter from Philip Rahtz to the author, dated 22 November 2005).

Fig. 8.3 Photograph of the infant burial from the southwest corner of the long-house (AD–AF) at the deserted medieval village of Upton. Published in Rahtz (1969) (Reproduced with kind permission of Philip Rahtz)

High infant mortality was confronted routinely by medieval women, just as it remains in many regions today. The anthropologist Nancy Scheper-Hughes (1992) examined the impact of child death on impoverished mothers in contemporary Brazil, who distance themselves from ailing children and accept the death of sickly children as a blessing to be celebrated. These children die without sin or blame and it is believed that their salvation is therefore assured. Their bodies are dressed and displayed as "little angels", transitional objects that allow mothers to "let go". In contrast, medieval mothers in Britain prepared the bodies of their dead infants to sleep peacefully in the grave, curled on their sides; they continued to watch over and protect their children through the perils of Purgatory, by securing grave sites near the font or placing amulets in the shroud. At least one mother in the medieval village of Upton was not ready to "let go" of her baby, and a grave was prepared beneath the floor of her home. Tokens of a mother's grief were placed with the infant corpse: the keepsake of an exotic shell, perhaps to serve as an amulet, and a spindle whorl, a symbol of her everyday work in the home.

The Thread of Life

In closing my dialogue with Mary Beaudry, it seems appropriate to reflect on her theme of sewing items and their relationship to female identity. She notes that material culture associated with needlework should not be viewed as direct evidence

for the presence of women or their activities, but instead should be interrogated as symbols of myth or ritual. This approach is equally relevant to the medieval and early modern world, where spindle whorls could take on complex meanings well beyond their utilitarian purpose for domestic weaving. Particularly when associated with graves, as highly structured deposits that signalled cosmological beliefs and connections between the living and the dead, spindle whorls must be seen as multi-dimensional objects.

Domestic spinning and weaving were seen as women's work, and the distaff became a symbol synonymous with the female. Weaving equipment was included in the grave sets of pre-Christian Anglo-Saxon women, and weaving shears were common symbols used on the grave slabs of Christian women in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. But the tasks of spinning and weaving also took on mythological qualities linked with the acts of creating and sustaining the thread of life (Barber, 2000:945). Women routinely practised healing rites or folk-magic in their roles as mothers and family care-givers, and it seems likely that this magic involved everyday female objects such as spindle whorls (Gilchrist, 2008:132–133). The magic that they worked through weaving was unsettling to some churchmen, notably Burchard of Worms (d. 1025), who feared that it was connected with demonic magic:

> Have you been present at, or consented to, the varieties which women practice: in their woollen work, in their weaving, who, when they begin their weaving, hope to be able to bring it about that with incantations and with their own actions that the threads of the warp and the woof become so intertwined that unless someone makes use of their other diabolical counter-incantations he will perish totally? (Flint, 1991:227)

Despite the concerns of the church, the magic practised by medieval women was of the benevolent, healing variety, connected with their nurture of the family. The use of spindle whorls as grave goods placed with the corpses of children and men is likely to represent an extension of women's nurturing role to include caring for the dead. In the case of the domestic infant burial at Upton, the placement of the spindle whorl and the shell may be interpreted as an act of mothering, whether to express grief or to protect the child through the use of magic.

Contrary to previous assumptions, some medieval and early modern burials have tremendous potential to comment on social identity and the expression of family relationships. Interpreting this evidence through the framework of the life course delivers a more embodied and experiential perspective. By engaging with a more narrative approach that considers the microscale, we can recover the personal in British historical archaeology.

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Part V
Industrial Housing/Landscapes

Historical and industrial archaeologists in the United States have devoted considerable attention to archaeological investigation of domestic spaces provided for workers by large-scale industries, but in the UK, study of worker housing falls largely under the rubric of "buildings archaeology" and does not involve excavation. The following section provides striking examples of these contrasting approaches to studying domestic lives of working people. Whitehead and Casella's case study of the Hagg Cottages at Alderly Edge illustrates the US approach to worker housing (Casella was trained in the US). The authors analyze excavated objects through the biographies of the cottages' residents, using their small-scale case study to explore the wide-ranging dynamics of class affiliation, kinship, and social influence.

Stephen Hughes looks at worker housing as one element of company towns built by coal and copper industrialists in southern Wales. His approach exemplifies the long-standing UK tradition of archaeological landscape studies derived from regional survey and historical geography, although Hughes goes well beyond the study of buildings and town plans to consider worker attitudes to religion and education as well as how ideology and politics converge in actions taken by workers to construct their own notions of home life, to build their own places of worship, and to exert a measure of control over their surroundings within the seemingly inflexible landscapes of the company towns.

Chapter 9
Mrs. Perrin's "Tranklements": Community Life and Class Distinction in (Post)Industrial-Era Cheshire

Sarah Whitehead and Eleanor Conlin Casella

Introduction

Archaeological studies have greatly enhanced our appreciation of the complex materiality that supports everyday expressions of social identity. Traditionally, this work has interpreted artefacts and architecture as physical markers of group affiliation, class aspiration, or ethnic solidarity. This chapter questions such direct material "readings" by considering the intricate family ties, kinship networks, and community relationships that choreograph daily practices of social identity. Juxtaposing images created through three very different sources (artefactual, oral historical, and documentary), the study explores the complicated intricacies of class distinction within a rural English community over the early decades of the twentieth century.

The Materiality of Community Life

How have archaeologists identified the material existence of a "community"? Early work relied upon spatial definitions, linking inter-related households into a settlement group defined by a specific and bounded landscape (Flannery, 1976; Murdock, 1949; Willey, 1968). Recognising the rather static, conservative, and normative image produced by this approach, others have focused on the political economy of communities, outlining three basic functions for this scale of settlement: social reproduction; subsistence production; and self-identification/social recognition (Kolb and Snead, 1997). Correlating with various archaeological indicators, such as labour investment, inter-site spacing, and exchange patterns, these three functions characterised the community as a unique "sociospatial setting" (Kolb and Snead, 1997:611). Crucially, this research demonstrated the influence of both social identity *and* differential economic status in the formation of community settlement patterns.

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Influenced by sociological theories of practice (Bourdieu, 1977; Giddens, 1984), an increasing number of archaeologists have incorporated ideas of agency and interaction to emphasise how individuals competently manipulate, sustain, and challenge their place within a community (Beaudry and Mrozowski, 2001; Brumfiel, 1994; Johnson, 1993; Joyce, 1998; Horning, 2000; Saitta, 1994). Explicitly defining the "community" as a socially constituted human institution, this scholarship has explored patterns of internal hierarchy, of class distinction and social mobility, of embodied and routinised practices, and of extended familial networks to comprehend the basic social fabric of human settlements. Thus, according to this model, a community exists "not [as] a spatial cluster of material remains to be observed, but rather a social process to be inferred" (Yaeger and Canuto, 2000:9).

However, adoption of this interpretive approach immediately requires us to address issues of scale and questions of sources. While regional surveys of historic industrial landscapes have revealed highly significant patterns in the position, design, and multiple functions of workers' housing (Hughes, 2000; Mrozowski, 2005; Palmer and Neaverson, 2003; Timmins, 2000, 2005), the microscale perspective delivered through archaeological excavation has offered a far more intimate understanding of the daily internal dynamics *within* working households (Casella and Croucher, 2010; Casella, 2005; Clark, 2005; Groover, 2003; Horning, 2002; Lawrence, 2000). Together, these approaches offer quite complementary perspectives on the specific social and material processes that forged, sustained, and transformed working communities from the eighteenth century.

Second, the rich diversity of available sources raises questions on the comparative nature of the evidence itself. The subtle nuances of community affiliation, class identity, and social influence emerge through points of both harmony *and* dissonance among different sources. Indeed, contradictory stories frequently appear when we try to cross-check evidence gleaned from historical documents, memories, and excavated objects—a process of epistemological exchange that can be characterised as a "conversation" or exchange between different forms of "knowledge" about the recent past (Beck and Somerville, 2005; see also Purser, 1992). Nonetheless, it is those very contradictions that illuminate the complicated, negotiated, and interactive nature of community life.

Pondering the complicated interplay of social hierarchy and economic mobility, this chapter examines how concepts of "class distinction" were materially sustained through the rural communities of early twentieth-century northern England. A ubiquitous mode of social distinction that characterised pre-war English society, class was not strictly defined as a measure of financial means—although relative states of economic "poverty" and "surplus" certainly provided an embodied experience of this strict social hierarchy. Rather, social class was a complex and situational identity, traditionally mapped through kinship, location of residence, education, and occupational status (Thompson, 1966; Willis, 1977; Rule, 1986; Hughes, 2000; Timmins, 2000). British scholars have also observed how forms of class distinction equally drew upon more symbolic (if not ambiguous) aspects of social practice, including aesthetics, consumption patterns, leisure practices, dress, foodways, and even dialect (Kuhn, 1995; Adkins, 1995; Skeggs, 1997; Walton, 2000; Miller, 2001).

Drawing from archaeological, oral historical, and archival research on working households in Alderley Edge, this study presents a material biography of Mrs. Lena Perrin—a particularly formidable long-term resident of the Hagg Cottages. As an interpretive method that helps "develop a sense of intimacy with lives of persons whom history has overlooked" (Beaudry, 2006:250), this material biography will illuminate how divergent aspects of social class become expressed through different forms of evidence. By juxtaposing the disparate sources available, both complementary and contradictory perspectives emerge to complicate traditional understandings of class, consumption, and community life within the pre-war rural landscape of northern England.

The Alderley Sandhills Project

Located approximately 25 km south of Manchester, Alderley Edge is a natural rocky outcrop with views across both Greater Manchester and the Cheshire plain. Archaeological evidence demonstrates the region was mined for copper deposits during both the Bronze and Romano-British periods. From the late Middle Ages, the region was predominantly supported by agricultural and dairy production. An early rail line was established in the 1840s to link central Manchester to the growing service town, thereby making Alderley Edge the first commuter suburb of Great Britain. By the 1850s, a series of Italianate "Villas" were constructed at Alderley Edge, and sold to the *nouveau-riche* mill barons desperate to escape the urban grime and crowding of Industrial-era Manchester. Parodied as "Cottontots" by the established families of the old-landed gentry, these wealthy urban migrants provided a new source of service employment for the working classes of Alderley Edge. Finally, from the 1780s through the 1890s, the Edge itself was extensively mined for copper, lead, and cobalt deposits. Thus, from the eighteenth century, the region supported a complex mix of agricultural, industrial, and service-based economic activities.

Archaeological research focused on the remains of two brick and sandstone cottages, originally constructed for the accommodation of agricultural tenants (Fig. 9.1). Built as two-storey structures, they were both internally divided in 1808 to accommodate four separate households. The site also contained associated outbuildings, privies, middens, domestic gardens, and a well (Casella and Croucher, 2010). Parish records indicated that the eastern cottage was built in 1747 on Lord Stanley's estate in a local architectural style known as the "Stanley-type" cottage. Based on a two-storey Georgian model, this distinctive local style was characterised by two-end chimneys and a shallow entrance gable in the middle of the house. The date of construction of the southern cottage was not documented, although excavated architectural features and artefacts suggested late seventeenth-century origins (Casella, 2005:81).

Both structures appeared on the 1787 plan of the Stanley estate. Estate records indicated that over the nineteenth century, the two cottages were rented by the Alderley Edge Mining Company as accommodation for the families of men who

Fig. 9.1 The Hagg Cottages, Alderley Edge, c. 1928 (Photo courtesy of Mr. Roy Barber)

worked at the local mines. Since both structures were built on Hagg Lane they became locally known as the Hagg Cottages.

By the turn of the twentieth century, mining activity in the area had completely ceased, and cottage occupants primarily joined the service economy of Alderley Edge village. Residents of the four households consisted of the Barrow, Ellam, Perrin, and Barber families—all closely knit together by intricate bonds of kinship and community. Oral histories recalled the Home Guard using the minimally occupied site as a training base over the war years of the 1940s. Having purchased the cottages and surrounding land during the Stanley estate sale of 1938, local residents Thomas and Fred Nield eventually demolished the neglected Hagg Cottages by the early 1950s.

Funded by English Heritage through the Aggregates Levy Sustainability Fund, the Alderley Sandhills Project was undertaken to explore transformations of everyday domestic life over the Industrial era. Following geophysical and topographic surveys, the site was excavated during the summer months of 2003 (Casella et al., 2004; Casella and Croucher, 2010). Run as a field school through the University of Manchester, the excavations sampled from four site features: the two Hagg Cottages (Areas A and B), a geophysical anomaly located during non-invasive surveys (Area C) and an eroding artefact scatter (Area D).

In addition to excavation and archival research, the Alderley Sandhills Project benefited from the generous involvement of the local community of Alderley Edge. During excavations, former residents Mrs. Edna Younger (née Barrow), Mr. Roy Barber and Mrs. Molly Pitcher (née Barber) visited to see their childhood homes

Fig. 9.2 Main image: (*left* to *right*) Mr. Roy Barber, Mrs. Edna Younger, and Mrs. Molly Pitcher visiting the excavated site of their childhood homes, September 2003. *Inset*: (*left* to *right*) Edna Barrow, Roy Barber, and Molly Barber with the Hagg Cottages in the background, c. 1928 (Inset photo courtesy of Mrs. Edna Younger)

emerge from the soil (Fig. 9.2). Their memories, stories, and family photographs of living in the Hagg Cottages provided a unique personal perspective on the domestic lives of working rural households in northern England before the Second World War.

Evidence from both archaeological and narrative sources indicated a general interest in the "etiquette and equipage" (Paynter, 2001:138) of comfortable domestic life. Further, an unusually high frequency of both glass and ceramic display items were recovered from the demolition layers of Area A. Concentrated inside the northern rooms of the Stanley-type Georgian cottage, these objects were characterised by not only their sheer quantity, but also the rather spectacular aesthetic they embodied. Oral histories provided by former residents and neighbours of the Hagg Cottages invariably associated these decorative artefacts with one specific person—Mrs. Lena Perrin, the final occupant of the Stanley-type cottage of Area A, and great-aunt of Roy Barber and Molly Pitcher. Through their memories, Mrs. Perrin emerged as quite a formidable character within the Hagg community. But did her porcelain figurines, Wedgwood lidded bowl, Isle of Man souvenir vessels, and late Victorian moulded glass mantelpiece "lustre ware" tell a story of straightforward class aspiration? Or did these objects represent a far more complicated

narrative of social belonging? Compelled by this intriguing lady, we began to construct a material biography of Mrs. Perrin from our multi-disciplinary sources of evidence.

The Debris of Daily Life

Archaeological excavation of the mid-eighteenth century Georgian-style Stanley Cottage recovered numerous examples of ceramics that appeared to suggest a general concern with home comforts. Tablewares constituted the largest identifiable category within this assemblage. While coarse earthenwares appeared in small quantities, the ceramics recovered from Mrs. Perrin's household were characterised by a relative lack of such locally produced vessels, particularly in comparison with other post-medieval residential sites in the northwest of England (Howard-Davis, 2004; McPhillips, 2005; Oxford Archaeology North and John Samuels Archaeological Consultants, 2006; McNeil and Newman, 2006). Instead, transfer-printed whitewares and plain porcelain/whitewares formed the bulk of the Area A ceramics.

Vessel forms appeared to emphasise food consumption, with cups, saucers, plates, and mugs dominating the collection. A small number of bowls was present, although these items also represented tablewares (rather than food preparation or kitchenware artefacts). Further distinguished by an absence of high-quality wares, the assemblage was dominated by mass-produced items (like whitewares) decorated by a limited range of standard motifs that represented the inexpensive end of the domestic ceramic market from the mid-nineteenth through early twentieth centuries. For example, Asiatic Pheasant and Willow Pattern designs, the most common transfer-printed designs to survive the 1842 imposition of British copyright laws, were produced in vast quantities by the Staffordshire potteries. Both patterns were heavily represented within Mrs. Perrin's household assemblage.

Nonetheless, the relative absence of high-end tablewares did not suggest that the Hagg Cottage inhabitants were in any sense destitute. Rather, these households appeared to prioritise alternative modes of consumer activity. Excavations recovered a porcelaneous whiteware marked on the underside of the base with a wheatsheaf symbol and the words "CWS WINDSOR CHINA" (Cumberpatch, 2004). The Co-operative Wholesale Society (established in Greater Manchester in 1863) employed the Windsor Pottery, Longton as a supplier from 1911 (Godden, 1991:170) explicitly to produce decent quality tablewares for working-class consumers. The presence of this artefact suggested that residents of Area A either directly participated in or indirectly purchased from the Co-operative Wholesale Society movement. Thus, while middle-class dining served as formalised ritual, a performance of "gentility" that functioned as a distinctive class marker (Fitts, 1999:49; Wall, 1991), workers' households materially communicated their own class consciousness through commodities affiliated with the wider English labour movement. Such open association with an explicitly working-class political movement did not suggest comprehensive aspirations towards a bourgeois lifestyle. Mrs. Perrin's tablewares were decent,

yet provident. Curiously, they materially represented the consumption, rather than preparation, of daily meals.

In stark contrast with this rather frugal tableware profile, an unusual quantity of highly decorative display ceramics were archaeologically recovered from Mrs. Perrin's cottage. These artefacts included fragments of three Black Basalt teapots, a Wedgwood Jasperware jar, various polychrome figurines in both historical and pastoral themes, and two small matching transfer-printed porcelain souvenir vessels from Douglas—a seaside holiday town on the Isle of Man. Consisting of a matte blue body with moulded white classical relief designs externally applied, the Wedgwood jar (missing original lid) depicted a tableaux of female figures with small winged cherubs at their feet (Fig. 9.3). While this popular decorative ceramic style has been continuously produced from the late eighteenth century, the underside maker's mark indicated an early twentieth-century production date for this Area A specimen.

Fig. 9.3 Wedgwood blue jasperware jar (Alderley Sandhills Project, 2003)

Mrs. Perrin's home also contained a surprising concentration of decorative figurines. A number of these display items depicted archetypal human figures dressed in vaguely eighteenth- or early nineteenth-century pastoral costumes—such as the head and arm of a rather androgynous, finely moulded porcelain youth, adorned with a bicorn hat. Within the English ceramic industry, such decorative figurines typically represented relatively inexpensive "Pratt wares", dated from the 1780s through 1840s (Cumberpatch, 2004). Examples from Area A excavations included a tableaux of three female figures supporting a shallow orange-glazed receptacle, possibly functioning as a small jewellery holder. This glazed white earthenware body was moulded in two halves (back and front), and reinforced internally with clay rods prior to conjoining—a technique of manufacture known as "flatback", common through the nineteenth century. A popular form, the flattened back of the figurine allowed free-standing mantelpiece display (Hughes, 1981), in addition to wall display when hooked through a small hole on the rear side.

Another figurine within this assemblage depicted a creature first identified as a horse. However, upon closer examination, the project ceramic specialist determined that black horizontal stripes along the neck and body fragments identified

Fig. 9.4 Whiteware zebra (Alderley Sandhills Project, 2003)

the animal as a zebra (Fig. 9.4)—although one portrayed with the mane of a horse (Cumberpatch, 2004). Further comparative research suggested the specimen dated to the first half of the nineteenth century, when depictions of exotic animals gained wide popularity across England as a result of touring fairs, circuses and wild beast shows.

One particularly spectacular type of decorative figurine was also recovered during excavations of Area A, depicting a white infant hand supporting an egg-shaped orange object, encrusted with fine chips of ceramic and applied polychrome flowers (Fig. 9.5). Dated by its base registration stamp to 1870, the wrist of this hand was also encrusted and adorned with a floral wreath. A highly similar ornamental vase—its exterior described as "textured frit chipping finish, [with] applied ceramic roses and leaves"—was identified as a turn-of-century family heirloom in Grace Karskens' study of The Rocks, a working urban neighbourhood of Sydney, Australia (Karskens, 1999:142).

Specialist analysis of the glass assemblage produced similar results, with the collection distinguished by a remarkable number and variety of non-functional display items. Example included two early twentieth-century press-moulded vases, three opaque white vases, and a particularly spectacular pedestal "lustre" bowl. Popular over the later Victorian era, the "lustre" artefact was moulded of opaque blue glass, decorated with a band of gilding (now highly worn), and retained seven of the eight original cut and faceted glass drops hung from small holes drilled through its central body (Fig. 9.6). Dated from 1860 through 1880 (Willmott, 2004), the specimen was likely one of pair, typically displayed as a matched set of mantelpiece ornaments.

As previously observed, decorative household ornaments, and figurines in particular, have been linked to the expression of "good taste", with their presence in domestic assemblages serving to "extend gentility from the table to other aspects of the public arena" (Brighton, 2001:24; see also Mullins, 1999). Indeed, the sheer

Fig. 9.5 Hand figurine
(Alderley Sandhills Project,
2003)

Fig. 9.6 Opaque turquoise
glass lustre (Alderley
Sandhills Project, 2003)
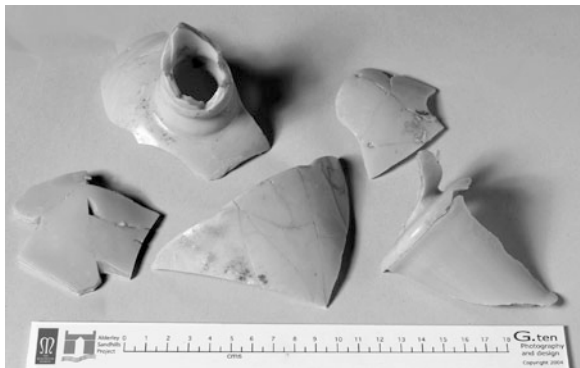
quantity and diversity of decorative ceramics recovered from excavations of an Irish
immigrant neighbourhood in New York City led archaeologists to observe "that the
residents had definite visions of what constituted proper home life" (Cantwell and
Wall, 2001:219).

Extending this theoretical approach, the highly decorative items recovered from
the Area A household would tend to be read as material examples of class
aspiration—with their garish appearance revealing an "unsophisticated", or some-
how failed, attempt at bourgeois sensibilities. In other words, they would be
traditionally interpreted as a gallery of "poor" or "unrefined" taste. And yet, the

inexpensive mass-produced tablewares that constituted the bulk of this ceramic assemblage told a story of frugal domestic life, not flashy gestures of upwards mobility. Perhaps an alternative aesthetic or consumption pattern could be interpreted from this domestic collection, with issues of family composition, household status, or social class guiding the acquisition, use and discard of these remarkable objects (Majewski and Schiffer, 2001; Praetzellis and Praetzellis, 2004). We turned to evidence from the oral histories collected over the 2003 field season and discovered that a far murkier process of class distinction choreographed people's negotiations within the social landscape of Alderley Edge.

That's Just a Family Thing, You Know

Interview participants identified Mrs. Lena Perrin as the great-aunt of Molly Pitcher and Roy Barber, former residents of the Hagg Cottages. She belonged to the Barbers of Brindlow Farm, an extensive and well-known family in the Alderley region of northern Cheshire. Various participants commented on the local standing of the Barber clan, observing that "only the Barbers rang the bells at St. Mary's Church" in Nether Alderley. Most significantly, Barber men produced the annual Christmas production of the Alderley Mummers play—an ancient and regionally flavoured folkloric religious play traditionally performed across England (Mrs. Molly Pitcher, ASP Interviews, August 2003).

From 1912, Mrs. Perrin lived in the northern side of the Stanley-type cottage excavated as Area A. Ostensibly, she had moved there to care for her nephew George Barber, who occupied the southern half of the internally divided cottage with her recently widowed brother Ernest. However, during an interview session, Molly Pitcher (MP) questioned her great-aunt's suitability as a homemaker:

> MP: Yes now, my grandma, which er, she died when my father was very little... she [Mrs. Perrin] took over ... kind of she was supposed to be looking after us. He got fed at Brindlow Farm over there because she wasn't very good at it (Mrs. Molly Pitcher, ASP Interviews, August 2003).

Later in the same interview, Molly Pitcher explicitly referred to "Mrs. Perrin who didn't cook"—a characterisation potentially linked to the curious lack of food preparation and kitchenware vessels within the recovered ceramic assemblage.

Molly Pitcher held a special familial link with Mrs. Lena Perrin, one communicated through both kinship and material bonds:

> MP: ... when she got to the church, my mother had decided what they decided to call me. And told her [Mrs. Perrin], told my father. And she [Mrs. Perrin] took over when I was being christened and gave me this Lena Mary for *her* daughter. So I've been lumbered with that ever since. So as soon as I came back, my mother said "I'm not having that!"

so they called me Molly. But I mean, I mean that's just a family thing, you know. . ..

MP: . . . and of course when Mrs. Perrin died I got left everything because she'd given [me] her daughter's name, who'd died at 21 you see. . . .

MP: So, and of course, my mother didn't like that. She said "The devil, I did everything for her. You did nothing!" So she took some of the things and had them in her house. . . . So I've got some of her treasures. I've still got them. Kind of she'd got them for her daughter. I've got a 30-piece, little baby's, well I don't know whether . . . coffee set or tea service, the whole lot. And a fender with LMB on it, which was Lena Mary Barber. And *she* took me to be christened because my mother was ill. . . . I know this isn't relevant, I don't know. . .. (Mrs. Molly Pitcher, ASP Interviews, August 2003)

These memories demonstrated the nuanced forms of kinship that knit together this rural community. Consisting of extended and multi-generational networks, the social landscape of this settlement transcended both individual nuclear families and architecturally defined households. Further, Molly Pitcher's accounts suggested one possible explanation for the ornamental glasswares and ceramics recovered from Area A trenches. Did these items represent "a value beyond economic calculation" (Cumberpatch, 2004)? Were they the fragmentary remains of Mrs. Perrin's wedding presents, family gifts, or treasured heirlooms?

Mrs. Perrin's husband, Jack Perrin, appeared to hold casual local agricultural employment, as observed by his grand-nephew and former resident Roy Barber (RB):

RB: I've never known him to work, as such. I suppose he did at one time. But he was the one who used to go round the farms assisting in the pig killing. (Mr. Roy Barber, ASP Interviews, September 2003)

Mr. Perrin also delivered the local newspaper by bicycle, with Roy Barber describing how he enjoyed riding on the rear frame as company during delivery routes. When day-trippers from Manchester began visiting Alderley Edge to explore the disused mine shafts, Jack Perrin developed an ingenious source of supplementary income:

RB: They made him. . . custodian of the [disused] mines and he used to sit on a rock just before the mine entrance. . . he used to sit there, selling these candles.

Edna Younger (EY): Ha'penny each.

RB: These candles he bought in Alderley Edge. . . He used to cut them in half and sell them for about, one half for about four times what he paid for them.

[Laughter]

RB: And that was a little income for him. . .. (Mr. Roy Barber and Mrs. Edna Younger, ASP Interviews, September 2003)

Thus, Jack Perrin emerged from these interviews as a man of frugal means, a well-connected fellow who resourcefully drew from local agricultural, service, and emerging tourist industries to generate his livelihood.

Curiously, a very different story unfolded when former residents were asked about the nature of Mrs. Perrin's employment:

> RB: Oh, she didn't do anything. She went and bought at sales, auction. This sort of thing. And she bought five houses.
>
> . . ..
>
> RB: Over a period of time. She bought therein—one, two, three in Wilmslow, and two in Alderley Edge. I know there's one down Moss Lane, but I don't know where the others were.
>
> EY: Yes, she was a very astute lady. (Mr. Roy Barber and Mrs. Edna Younger, ASP Interviews, September 2003)

These memories offered an alternative explanation for the unusual concentration of decorative household ornaments recovered from Area A. More importantly, they suggested a rather contradictory perspective on the socio-economic status of this elderly couple. Dwelling in half of a damp, internally divided, and increasingly dilapidated eighteenth-century worker's cottage, Jack Perrin earned his primary casual income as a "pig sticker" on local Alderley farms. Meanwhile, his wife attended auctions and invested in local property. But did these curious material acquisitions indicate an achievement of middle-class standing? Had Mrs. Lena Perrin managed to elevate her social position within the hierarchical world of Alderley Edge? A final ethnographic vignette further complicated our understanding of class distinctions within this rural English landscape.

Oral history participants generally remembered Mrs. Perrin as "a bit frightening". Both Edna Younger and Molly Pitcher described her "big flashing eyes", dramatic emotional outbursts, and careful personal appearance:

> EY: . . . she was very proud in the way she dressed. She was always beautifully turned out. (Mrs. Edna Younger, ASP Interviews, September 2003)

All former residents and neighbours commented on Mrs. Perrin's love of costume jewellery—the "spangly-danglys" she inevitably wore to accompany her Edwardian era dress (Fig. 9.7).

During excavations the archaeological team was visited by the Parkinson Sisters, elderly local residents who agreed to be interviewed and filmed during their site tour. Pamela and Mary Parkinson explained that they had lived down Whitebarn Road during the 1930s, and had played with Molly Pitcher, Roy Barber, and Edna Younger as children. When we showed these two ladies examples of the decorative ceramics from Area A, they also immediately linked the objects to Mrs. Lena Perrin. Pamela Parkinson repeatedly used the word "Tranklements" to refer to Mrs. Perrin's ceramic ornaments, which we misunderstood as "tranquil-ments"—objects that helped her feel tranquil. Later discussions with Arthur Marsh—father of Sarah Whitehead (one of the authors) and himself a Cheshire man—identified the word

Fig. 9.7 Mr. and Mrs. Perrin (*far right*), and relatives, atop the sandhills. Hagg Cottages in the background, c. 1930 (Photo courtesy of Mrs. Molly Pitcher)

as a traditional local word used to casually describe one's everyday possessions, or "bits and pieces".

The reference was passed on to Tony Willmott, the English Heritage Project Officer for the Alderley Sandhills Project, who discovered an alternative possible etymology of Pamela Parkinson's term. While eating a pub lunch, he suddenly realised the chutney accompaniment was embossed with the word "Tracklement". Of post-war origins, this term described a savoury jelly eaten with roasted meats. We realised that Miss Pamela Parkinson may not have been conjuring a nostalgic memory of Mrs. Perrin's genteel tranquillity, or even her simple "bits and pieces". Perhaps she had referred to Mrs. Perrin's ornaments as a food condiment—with subtle overtones of "mutton dressed as lamb". Either way, in dismissing these ornamental artefacts, she had located Mrs. Perrin within the enduring and clearly hierarchical class structure of this rural English community. It was only then that we realised the implications of what had been casually described as "living down Whitebarn Road". The Parkinson Sisters were daughters of the wealthy families who owned the nearby villas. They had travelled up to the Hagg Cottages to play with the children of the local working households.

Did Mrs. Perrin's "tranklements"—those decorative materials that adorned both her person and household—represent a form of class aspiration? Or, as a landlady for local properties, had she actually "achieved" a middle-class status? Her menagerie of ceramic figurines, glass ornaments, souvenirs, and costume jewellery may have been purchased at auction, their seemingly garish appearance revealing a unique aesthetic distinct from that displayed within the neighbouring

upper-middle class villas. Conversely, they may have been heirlooms of the proud and long-established Barber family. Turning to archival sources, the story grew ever-more complicated.

A Life Recorded

To address the documentary life of Mrs. Perrin at the Hagg Cottages, a detailed examination of archival sources was undertaken. This multi-disciplinary textual information was gathered from the local Cheshire Records Office, searchable digital databases available online, and graveyard inscriptions transcribed from Saint Mary's Parish Church in Nether Alderley. Results exposed quite a curious chronological narrative.

As an extensive and long-established working family, the Barbers retained a certain status within the local Alderley community. Lena Barber was born to Henry and Ann Barber in December 1871. The 1881 Census recorded Lena as a scholar residing at Brindlow Road in Nether Alderley. Six other siblings resided at the same address (Generations Network and Inc, 2005). She was 2 years younger than her brother Ernest—the grandfather of oral history participants Molly Pitcher and Roy Barber (Cheshire BMD, 2005). In contrast with the opportunistic employment of Mr. Perrin, Ernest Barber was listed as a stone quarryman in the 1901 Census records.

Documentary records illuminated a rather tumultuous narrative for Lena Barber. Close examination of the Cheshire Marriage Indices revealed a first marriage to John Thomas Hague (Cheshire BMD, 2005)—a surprising event never mentioned during the oral history interviews. Further referenced in the Parish Registers of Chorley St. Philip for 1899 (Chester Records Office, Microfilm 31/8, page 161), the wedding had occurred at the local church of Alderley Edge on 31 August 1899, "according to the Rites and ceremonies of the Church of England by license". Nonetheless, the 1901 census suggested a rapid end to this unsuccessful marriage. Recorded as 33 years old, John Thomas Hague had returned home to work for his father, a farmer in the nearby village of Chorley. While recorded as "Married", Lena was listed as both Barber and Hague. She resided within her widowed mother's house at Brindlow Road, Nether Alderley. An extended family, this household also accommodated her sister and brother, his wife and new baby, and a "granddaughter"—Emmeline Hague, aged one.

With reference to the increasingly complex socio-economic standing of Lena Barber, further records shed light on her early history. In 1899, she had married into the Hagues—a local farming family, the head of which employed at least one general domestic servant. Early in 1900, she had delivered a daughter, who was baptised on March 4th in the parish church of Alderley. Addition of the word "Private" on the margin of the Church Register indicated a private service of baptism, itself an indicator of decent economic means. Within the year, Lena Hague's marriage had collapsed. She had returned with Emmeline to rejoin the Barber household. By 1904, at the age of only 35 and still residing with his parents, John Thomas Hague died.

Fig. 9.8 Wedding Register, Mr. John Perrin and Ms. Lena Hague, 28 November 1910 (Births, Marriages and Deaths Indices of Cheshire, UK)

On 28 November 1910 (Fig. 9.8), Lena Hague married John ("Jack") Perrin, a 47-year-old widower and farmer from Alderley Edge (Cheshire BMD, 2005). Before the death of his first wife, Sarah Howarth, Jack Perrin's multi-generational household had included their son John and his father Thomas Perrin, a farmer listed as head of family in the 1901 census. Although themselves a working family, the Perrins employed two staff: a male agricultural labourer and a young female general servant. Significantly, this census data also revealed that the Perrin and Hague households had been immediate neighbours along Foden Lane in Chorley. In other words, Lena Barber had remarried the widowed neighbour of her abandoned first husband—a turn of events providing a rather explicit example of the complicated social ties that interwove this rural English landscape.

As mentioned earlier, project oral histories associated Mrs. Perrin's move to the Hagg Cottages with the death of her sister-in-law. Following the early death of his wife Elizabeth, Ernest Barber asked his sister Lena to help care for his young son George (father of our oral history participants). Parish records indicated that George had been baptised within 4 months of Lena's daughter Emmeline Hague. This proximity suggested the two cousins were of similar age. By 1912, the Perrins began to occupy the northern half of the internally divided Stanley-type cottage at The Hagg. Thus the one internally divided domestic structure provided a shared household for this extended family of Barbers.

The death of Mrs. Perrin's daughter was recorded in both oral history interviews and archival sources. After 3 years at the Hagg Cottages, Emmeline died on 21 January 1915, aged only 14 years. A search of the graveyard at St. Mary's Church of Nether Alderley located her burial site. The headstone materially commemorated the complicated narrative of social belonging, kinship, and class identity that had come to characterise the life of Mrs. Lena Perrin. In 1915, this formidable lady chose to bury Emmeline with her father, the contrasting inscriptions reflecting both grief and ambivalence over her first marriage:

> In Loving Memory Of
>
> John Thomas Hague
> Who Died August 10 1904 Aged 37
> Father not my will but thine be done

Also Emmeline
Daughter of the above
Who fell asleep January 21st 1915
Aged 14 years
Safe in the arms of Jesus

Two decades later, following the death of her second husband, Mrs. Perrin reused the grave for a third burial. Inscribed upon the same headstone, the final commemoration offered a very different emotional perspective:

Also John Beloved husband of Lena Perrin
Who died August 5th 1934 aged 71 years
At rest

Why would Mrs. Perrin use the same burial plot for both spouses? Did this reuse suggest economic necessity, and thus serve as a marker of "class distinction"? Did it simply provide one accessible place for commemoration? Or perhaps it represented her own material statement on the specific family history that linked her to the wider community of Alderley Edge.

By the war years of the early 1940s, as families moved away from the Hagg Cottages, Mrs. Perrin became the final occupant of the tiny settlement. Oral history participant Molly Pitcher recalled travelling as a teenager by bicycle up to the dilapidated structures to deliver dinners prepared by her mother. She described the northern "parlour" room as filled with exotic ornaments, display figurines, and memorabilia. Eventually, the Barber family decided a relocation was necessary. Only a selection of her "tranklements" moved with Mrs. Perrin. When the Hagg Cottages were demolished soon after the war, fragments of Mrs. Perrin's material biography were buried under the structural debris. Local parish records indicated that Mrs. Lena Perrin died in 1951, while residing in the nearby village of Sandbach. Molly Pitcher mentioned St. Mary's Church as her place of burial. While the Church Register did not reference a specific plot, she had mostly likely joined her family grave.

Conclusion

Archaeological expressions of both class and community can be easily misunderstood, particularly given their ephemeral and interdependent nature. When we explore the material biography on a microscale of analysis, a strict application of traditional sociological categories of "upper", "middle", and "working" class may actually obscure the internal logic and modes of distinction that choreographed everyday community life. In other words, an over-reliance on direct material indicators would miss the fundamental structure of social identities:

Class is not just about the way you talk, or dress, or furnish your home; it is not just about the job you do or how much money you make doing it; nor is it merely about whether or not you went to university, nor which university you went to. Class is something beneath your clothes, under your skin, in your psyche, at the very core of your being. (Kuhn, 1995:98)

Further, different modes of material "ownership" (household ornaments, ceramic tablewares, property, grave markers) communicate very different aspects of social class. These narratives may simultaneously correspond and contradict—even within the material biography of one individual. Thus, class distinction emerges through community structures, rather than simple economic indicators. Despite her decades of material acquisition—her properties, antiques, tea sets, jewelry—Mrs. Lena Perrin remained firmly placed within the working culture of Alderley Edge.

Nevertheless, by juxtaposing multiple sources of evidence on this individual, the situated, nuanced, and dissonant patterns of her community identity can be illuminated. As a multi-disciplinary method for understanding the recent past, such "conversations" (Beck and Somerville, 2005) among the artefactual, oral historical, and archival sources promote a rich exchange among alternative forms of knowledge. Through this microscale interpretation, a composite portrait can be created to demonstrate the complicated dynamics of class affiliation, of kinship, and of social influence—ultimately yielding "broader insights into the human condition at particular moments in history" (Beaudry, 2006:251). It is only through this careful articulation of sources that we can use excavation of workers' settlements to interpret the social process of community life.

In Memoriam

This chapter is dedicated to the memory of its co-author, Sarah Whitehead, who passed away with her daughter Amber during June 2005. An earlier version of this study was submitted as her final assessed work towards completion of her B.A. in Archaeology. Sarah was awarded a posthumous First Class Honours degree by the University of Manchester in 2005. Both she and Amber are greatly missed by everyone from the Alderley Sandhills Project.

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Chapter 10
Attitudes to Religion, Education, and Status in Worker Settlements: The Architectural and Archaeological Evidence from Wales

Stephen R. Hughes

Welsh Worker Settlements

The main detailed study area studied for the present chapter is within western Britain and relates to the nation of Wales and largely to parts of the south Wales coalfield which became the largest in Britain in the early twentieth century and the largest exporting coalfield internationally. However, the main period of study is in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when that coalfield sustained the largest complexes of ironworks, and of copperworks, in the world.

Both this chapter and the Cheshire study by Whitehead and Casella in this volume seek to use the surviving material remains of workers' housing and settlements to evaluate more philosophical conclusions on the aspirations and differences of social class. However, our methods differ. At Alderley Edge the subject area was small—a couple of cottages demolished to their foundations—but subject to intensive archaeological excavation allied with the oral evidence of former inhabitants.

By contrast this study of the Swansea, Blaenavon, and Amlwch areas in Wales uses the extensive methods of landscape archaeological/architectural examination applied to the much more extensive standing buildings of the industrial settlements attached to three former world centres of industry. It also uses detailed topographical and documentary historical evidence combined with that from the surviving physical remains of the industrial communities. These early industrial areas were at their peak in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, so the use of oral history techniques would not be appropriate. Neither have their hundreds of buildings been demolished so that in the first instance it is more appropriate to examine the fabric, and history, of the standing remains. As the spatial characteristics of complete large worker settlements were examined in this study, it was possible to extend beyond the worker housing as a source and to see what worker religious, educational, and other communal buildings could tell us about class objectives and attitudes.

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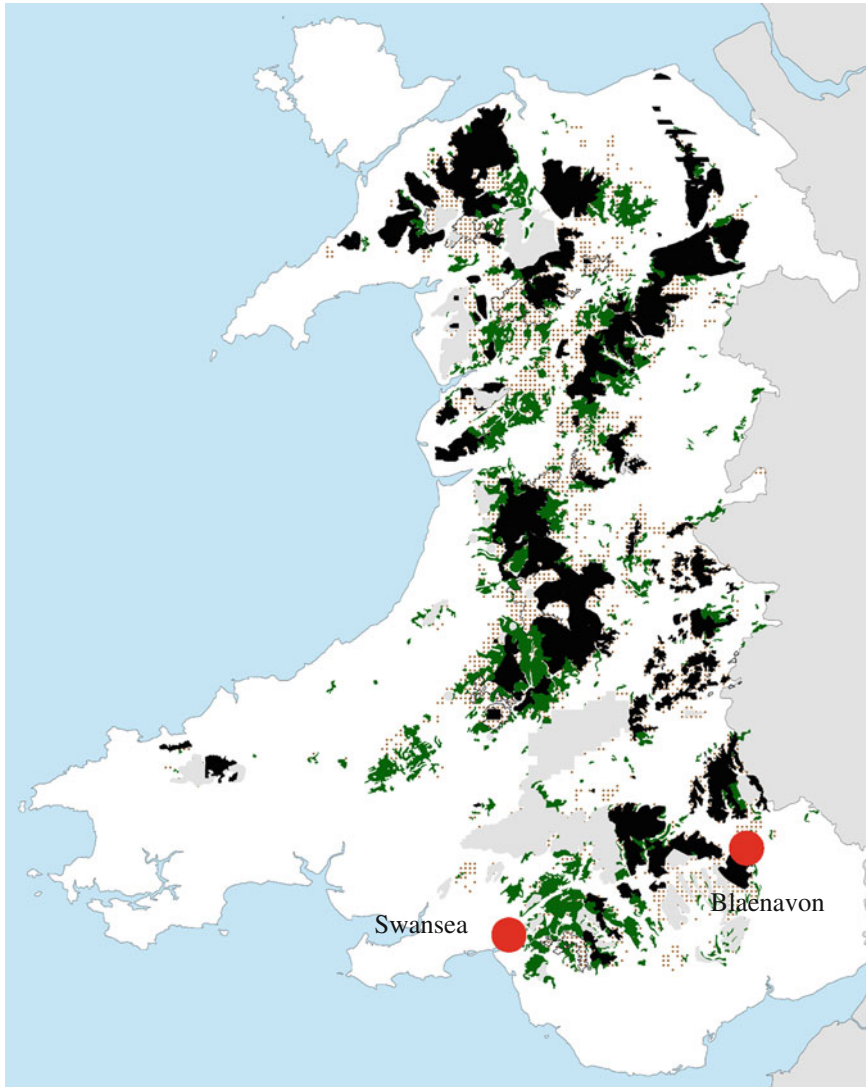
Fig. 10.1 Map of the Welsh Uplands (land over 800 ft/244 m) showing the position of Swansea and Blaenavon. The smaller industrial settlement of Amlwch is on the north of the island of Anglesey or *Ynys Môn*, at the top left-hand corner of the map (Crown Copyright RCAHMW)

The sources used in this study are the architectural remains and the documentary, cartographical, and topographical records of the area. Most of Wales is mountainous upland and currently has a population of almost 3,000,000, the majority still living in the south Wales coalfield area surrounding the capital, Cardiff, and this is the area largely considered here (Fig. 10.1). Amlwch, by contrast, was the settlement and port serving the largest copper mine in the world at the end of the eighteenth

century and is located on the northwest tip of Wales on the Isle of Anglesey (*Ynys Môn*).

In many ways the factors to be considered in the development of worker communities were particularly developed in Wales. By the time of the 1851 census it was the first nation on earth to have more of its workforce engaged in industry than in agriculture and that in a relatively poor mountainous country with few pre-existing urban centres where workers could live. The differentials that existed elsewhere in Britain were accentuated in Wales by a different language and culture. This contributed to Wales having twice the proportion of nonconformists in its population even compared to the most nonconformist industrial areas of England (the northern Pennines and the southwestern Celtic area of Cornwall), added to which this distinct population also attended places of worship much more frequently than the English. This emphasised the contrast to an entrepreneurial class that was largely English-speaking and of the state-sponsored Episcopalian or Anglican Church.

Within Wales the industrial landscapes of the southwestern area called the lower Swansea Valley, the southeastern area of Blaenavon, and the northwest township of Amlwch are those studied in detail in this chapter. Swansea became the international centre of copper-smelting in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries while Blaenavon was one of the first works designed as a multi-iron/blast-furnace works outside the Urals in Russia (Hughes, 2005:153–154). It became the third largest ironworks in the world in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (Fig. 10.2) and has been a World Heritage Landscape since 2000 (Wakelin, 2006:3; Hughes, 2004a:96; 2004b:154).

As such industrial works prospered, and allowed capital to be accumulated, eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century works owners purchased adjacent land to the main works in order to expand, building more and larger workers' townships.

Fig. 10.2 Aerial view of the site of the Garnddyrys Rolling-mills at Blaenavon; the square at bottom left is surrounded by the foundations of key workers' housing on three sides. The oval on the upper picture is the former millpond for the mills that lay below it, and at the right-hand middle edge of the picture are the foundations and cellar of the works manager's house (Crown Copyright RCAHMW)

Early Industrial Settlements in Wales

Workers' settlements in Wales have a much longer period of genesis, however. Some of the earliest figures and information are available for the Elizabethan wireworks founded in the Tintern in Monmouthshire in southeast Wales. In 1566–1568 The Mineral and Battery Company was established and founded the wireworks along the Angiddy side valley to the River Wye. By 1603 some 600 workers were employed in the valley complex and a second centre was established in the Whitebrook Valley nearby in ca. 1606 which functioned until ca. 1720 (Davies, 1992:252). There were houses for managers and workers at both complexes but little evidence for the provision of communal buildings in what was a fairly dispersed layout around the focus of water-powered features placed at intervals along the short valleys.

The largely self-built settlements around the silver-lead mines of mid-Wales were generally too small to be provided with many communal buildings, but there were a few exceptions. In the 1620s Sir Hugh Myddelton, of Denbigh and builder of the New River in London, took a lease of the Cwmsymlog mines near Aberystwyth, which yielded almost fabulous wealth amounting to £24,000 annually from silver alone (Bick, 1976:21). In 1636 Sir Hugh Myddelton, who stayed at a relative's mansion at Lodge Park nearby, built a simple Anglican chapel for the use of the miners and their families.

In 1689 the crown monopoly on gold and silver reserves in Britain was broken over a court case regarding the remote Esgairhir upland mines to the northeast of Aberystwyth. In 1698 the Company of Mine Adventurers led by Sir Humphrey Mackworth, of the Gnoll mansion in Neath, took over the enterprise which was compared to the very rich and developed Potosi Mines in Peru. The idea was developed that there might be a substantial workers' settlement at the mine, and Sir Humphrey, who was one of the five founder members of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (1698), set up schools for the children of the miners at Esgairhir and for the offspring of his smeltery workers at Melin-cryddan near Neath in south Wales. He was a Member of Parliament for Cardiganshire in 1701–1705 and 1710–1713 (Clement, 1952:2). The development of the Welsh Potosi township only seems to have proceeded as far as two rows of four and eight single-storey cottages of West Wales *croggloft* type (i.e. with a partial sleeping-loft for children) with a schoolroom at the end of the latter, but the mine and its settlement were abandoned by August 1708 (Bick, 2004:33). Today there remain the ruins of what seem the school and houses as rebuilt in the nineteenth century.

Swansea, Blaenavon, and Amlwch

South Wales grew to be the world centre of several industries. Considered here are the international centre of the copper industry at Swansea, the settlement at Blaenavon which was built around the first steam-powered multi-furnace ironworks in the world and the third largest when constructed in 1788–1789, and the copper mining centre of Amlwch (northwest Wales) which had the largest copper mine in the world, and the second largest urban population in Wales, at the end of the eighteenth century.

Workers' Housing and Settlements in Swansea, Blaenavon, and Amlwch

Swansea

The first copper, lead, and silver smelter in the Swansea Valley alongside the 3 miles of the navigable River Tawe (nearest the south Welsh coast) was established in 1717, and some 13 smelting works were built before smelting ceased in the 1920s and copper working and rolling in 1980 (Hughes, 2000:16–36). The large-scale provision of workers' housing in the lower Swansea Valley had already been pioneered before the Swansea area became a centre of the copper industry, with housing being provided on a large scale for colliers in the lower eastern valley. Both self-built and employer-provided housing were prompted by the presence of the underlying coastal coal deposits attracting works that needed to be operated by workers in what was a sparsely populated rural area.

Contemporary maps indicate that over a period of 150 years, when coppermasters provided some housing for their workforce, that some factors apparently remained surprisingly constant. It is likely that in the later eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries that all copper-smelting concerns accommodated about a third of their workforce in purpose-built housing. The housing that the copper-smelting concerns constructed were generally comparable with the insanitary courts and dwellings built for workers in the northern part of Swansea town. Most house rentals were lower and map evidence and surviving remains indicate that substantial gardens were provided in most copper industry housing. By comparison, little housing was provided for the dispersed, shorter-lived and smaller-scale centres of employment provided by later eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century collieries.

Swansea Settlements

These 13 copperworks eventually came to have five townships to house the 20,000 workers, and their families, recorded in the 1841 census. However, the large town of Swansea (also with some 20,000 people) was not far distant from these works, and the early owners of these smelters only felt obliged to provide accommodation for key workers, often in subdivided former mansions and outbuildings. The first of these settlements largely consisted of self-built cottages of traditional *croggloft* type, being single-storey with a partial sleeping-loft, and having a thatched roof. These roadside lines of houses were gradually rebuilt into two-storied rows. These self-built settlements were attached to two of the earliest three of the copper-smelters, at Landore (1717) and White Rock (1733) (the second Cwm Bwrlais smelter [1720] was actually in Swansea town).

Initially, there was little capital available, either on the part of workers or entrepreneurs, to build a communal focus for these settlements. The first nonconformist religious congregation at Landore met in one of the copperworks offices until stream-worn stones were collected by the women from the adjacent deep valley and used by their menfolk to build a Sunday School or "missionary chapel" building in 1824. This was used for a Sunday School and also a day

school and became known as *Y Coleg* (i.e. "the College"). The first nonconformist congregation in the self-built workers' settlement at Foxhole also met in the local copperworks offices, but the local copperworks proprietors established a school for the children of the copperworkers in 1807. By the 1860s this had grown into a complex of three schools for boys, girls, and infants (Hughes, 2000:244–246).

The other three settlements had planned elements; two had grid layouts and the third consisted of rows stepped across the hillside. The first, Morriston (1779), had plots of land provided at a nominal rent, but workers had to build their own dwellings to a proscribed plan. Five years after the beginning of construction the first nonconformist chapel, Libanus, was erected at the centre of the first grid. At Grenfelltown, three staggered rows across the hillside, with a total of 40 houses, were built during 1803–1813. It took this smaller settlement much longer to gain enough extra population to require it to construct a small Sunday School or mission chapel in 1871–1872 (Hughes, 2003:90).

Blaenavon and Swansea Settlements

The landscape of worker and capitalist settlement also followed discernable trends. Entrepreneurs of large smelting works at both Swansea and Blaenavon seldom lived on the site of their main smelting works, but their main agent or manager might do so, often in a converted mansion or farmhouse, as at the Upper Forest Coppermills at Swansea, and at the White Rock and Hafod Copperworks. By contrast, the owner of a smaller water-powered forge might live in a detached house, alongside a terrace for his workers, all overlooking the works in the valley below, as at the Varteg Forge (1804–1806) at Blaenavon (Lowe, 1977:48). Every works and most mines from at least the mid-eighteenth century had a house (in the case of a mine) or a row of houses (in the case of a smelting works) for key workers and managers. The original owners of works often lived in former farmhouses or small mansions a little way from their works, as in the Great House at Blaenavon.

Immediately the works were founded, they needed two sets of social architecture to function. One was a substantial dwelling for the resident "agent" or manager, mostly newly built, although on two occasions an old gentry house standing alongside the old works site was initially adapted for this purpose. The other was a terrace of dwellings for key workmen and foremen, often located on or alongside the works site.

In the lower Swansea Valley key workers for the mid- and late eighteenth-century smelting works down by the riverside were provided with housing and sometimes gardens. However, the works these relatively few houses were attached to were on the northernmost section of the 3-mile-long navigable river and remote from the housing available in Swansea town. Some self-built squatter cottages were constructed at Landore and Foxhole, and additions were made to the seventeenth-century squatter settlement on the north end of Craig Trewyddfa to the west of what became Morriston. There was a need to house a much larger number of workers in proximity to the four works, and, in 1779, John Morris, managing director

of the Morris, Lockwood copper-smelting concern resolved to take action to over-come this. He used his accumulation of capital and land to lay out the checkerboard township of Morriston, on which workers built their own houses to a prescribed design.

Blaenavon

At Blaenavon there was only one smelting works, founded in 1788–90. Its key workers were housed in two short parallel rows, or terraces, founded in 1789–1792 immediately adjacent to the ironworks (Fig. 10.3) (Lowe, 1977:9). Blaenavon was so remote from any pre-existing settlement or shelter that, in contrast to the more hospitable lower Swansea Valley, housing for some lower-paid workers was provided from the start. However, resources in starting this remote but heavily cap-italised works were scarce, so the maximum number of houses was built for the minimum cost. At first this was only 20 dwellings built back-to-back on common land, a most unusual configuration for what was then a completely rural location (Lowe, 1977:15). Each house only had a single room on the ground floor and a low sleeping-loft above, with windows set in the only section of vertical wall at floor level and reached by ladder. This development of Bunkers Hill, or Row, was built on common land under the shadow of the Blaenavon Company's tips. This was a long terrace of tiny houses for the lower-paid workers with ladders leading to low-level sleeping attics and flanked the new turnpike rising from the valley bottom enclosed land onto the open moor leading towards Abergavenny (Lowe, 1977:15).

In the same period the other workers at Blaenavon found shelter wherever they could. The ironworks proprietors had built the world's first high railway

Fig. 10.3 The key workers' houses at Stack Square Blaenavon, visible through the arch of one of the iron-furnace cast-houses. The two sides of the square date from soon after the 1788–1789 foundation of the works while the far side is later (Crown Copyright RCAHMW)

viaduct from the Bridge Colliery Tunnel ("level") in order to ensure a smooth delivery of coal to their nearby ironworks. In line with a number of early railway viaducts this may have been planned to include houses in its arches from the first (Hughes, 1990:324), it certainly had chimney flues as an integral part of the structure and a pitched roof over the railway deck in the attic which prevented the water percolation that became a problem with flat viaducts over accommodation elsewhere. The dwellings built below the nine high arches over the deep valley were again constructed on the earlier common land and were two stories in height. However, they were probably short-lived for tipping from the adjacent limestone workings was already starting to bury them some 10 years after construction in 1798 (Barber, 2002:125). Today their site is buried deep underground, although a 2001 *Time Team* excavation, filmed for television, appeared to break into the barrel vault that was constructed on the viaduct deck to keep the line in operation after the viaduct was totally buried by limestone tipping in the first decade of the nineteenth century (Channel 4, 2009).

By the 1790s Blaenavon may have been the largest ironworks in the world although by 1800 it had been overtaken in that role by the Cyfarthfa Ironworks at Merthyr Tydfil. However, the zenith of production was not reached until the 1820s. In this period of prosperity it was possible for the ironworks proprietors to make more provision for their ordinary workers accommodation. The original two rows of key workers' houses at the ironworks were transformed into Stack Square by the addition of a cross row with a company shop, perhaps offices on the ground floor, and a barracks dormitory for single male workers on the first floor (Lowe, 1977:9). The inadequacy of facilities provided in the first unskilled workers' block of Bunkers Row was already recognised before 1814 when two rows of detached larders were added on each side of the block (Lowe, 1977:15). With greater accumulated resources house building on a large scale really took off about 30 years after the foundation of the company, and some 225 dwellings were built on the common land to a fairly consistent design. This had a rear bedroom and back kitchen as well as a large sleeping-room on the first floor.

The form of worker settlements depended, in the first instance, on whether the primary impetus for settlement came from the workers themselves or the works entrepreneur. In the first instance the entrepreneur was primarily involved in the need to establish a major smeltery with the attendant infrastructure to supply it with the raw materials needed at minimal cost. In these circumstances provision was at first made for key workers only, and, insofar as possible, by re-using and converting whatever structures already on the site. Hence at the White Rock Works (1733) in Swansea, an existing landowner's mansion and its outbuilding were adapted to house key workers and their families; a similar thing happened at the Upper Forest Forge and Rollingmills (1793) (Hughes, 2004b:146). As noted above, at Blaenavon workers were sheltered in houses infilling the arches beneath what may have been the world's first high railway viaduct (1788–1789) with chimney protruding up alongside the deck of the railway above (Hughes and Timberlake, 2003:53).

As industrial operators accumulated capital, they could afford to house a larger proportion of their workforce, or to make provision for the workers to provide their own housing in planned townships. In the early modern industrial period this was not a British innovation or concept. The biggest ironworks in the world in the early eighteenth century were in Russia, where Peter the Great founded over 200 industrial works and settlements, largely in the Ural mountains, in order to produce enough ordnance to defeat his Swedish enemies (Hughes, 2005).

In fact, British industrialists, such as those operating the south Wales metals works, tended not to have the capital to lay out a complete checkerboard township until at least a generation after the foundation of the works. In Swansea the main checkerboard worker layouts were at Morriston and Trevivian (Hafod); the former was founded in 1779 by a partnership that had built a new smelting works in 1748 (Figs. 10.4 and 10.5), and the latter was built from ca. 1839 for workers at a works built in 1810. At Blaenavon there were a few elements of planned housing from the beginning in 1788–1789, partly because of a lack of any suitable existing housing, but the only checkerboard developments on a large scale were first the six terraces of the Waun/Park/High Street developments of 1864–1866 on the western edge of Blaenavon town (Jenkins, 2002; Wakelin, 2006:47–50).

A second gridiron plan, Forgeside, was laid out from 1859–1863 to accompany the construction of the forge removed with its workers from Garnddyrys (Wakelin, 2006:13; Barber, 2002:53). Three new furnaces had already been built on this southern slope of the valley in 1840 but were only fully operational from 1869.

At works generally there was no imperative to lay out a township. Of the three company townships in the lower Swansea Valley, one, Grenfelltown, consisted largely of three long rows of houses stepped along a steep hillside. At Blaenavon the rows were laid out in a peculiarly haphazard fashion reflecting the dispersed
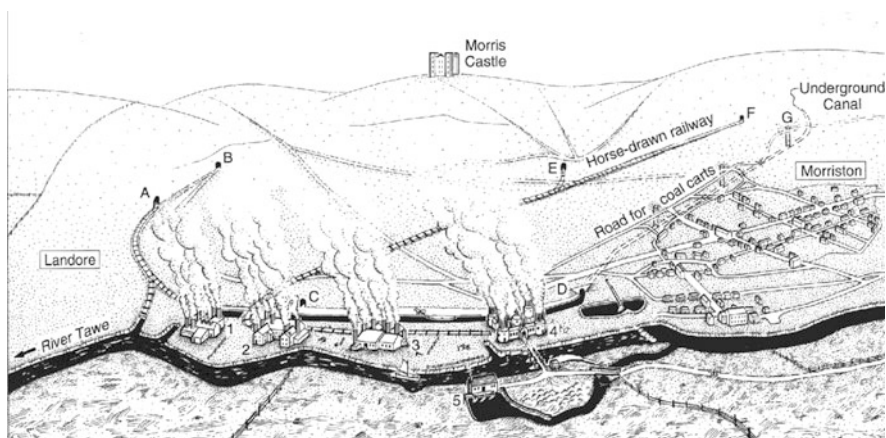
Fig. 10.4 Schematic view showing the relationship of the model workers' township of Morriston (1779), Swansea (on the *right*), to the river and canal-side copper-smelting works (*1–4*). The ornamental castellated colliers' flats of Morris Castle housed miners working in the colliery tunnels at B, E, and F (Crown Copyright RCAHMW)
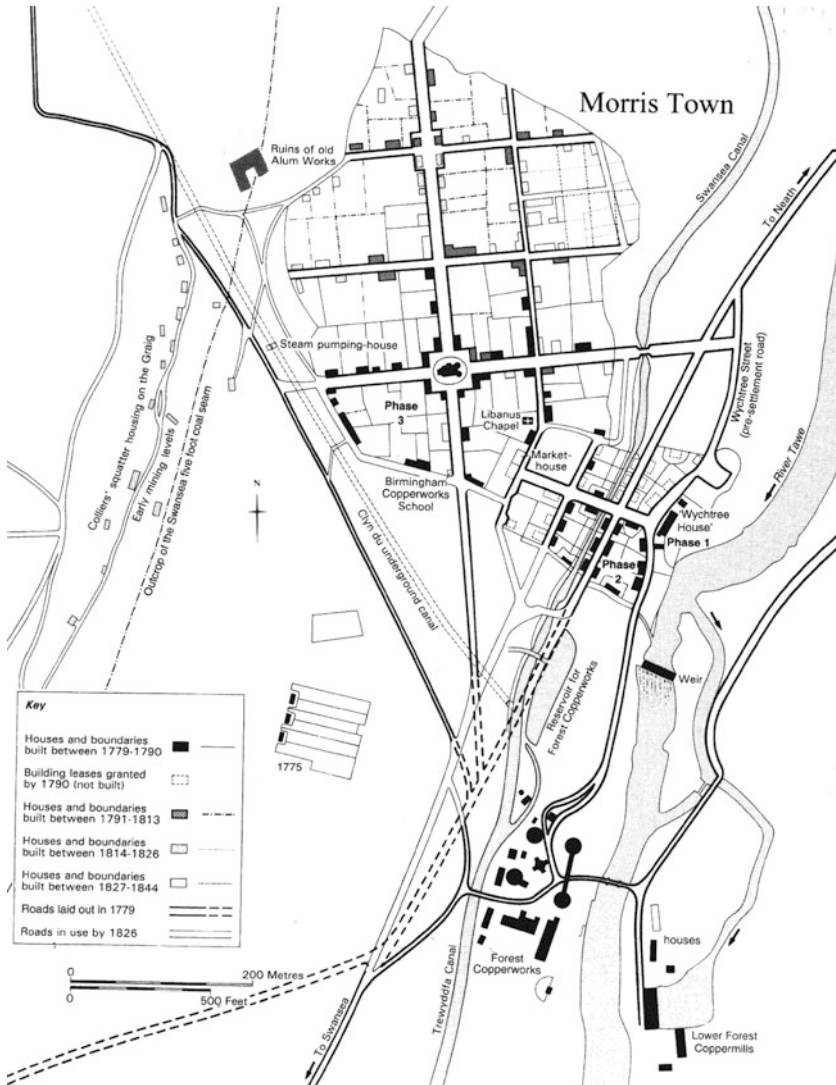
Fig. 10.5 The gridiron plan of "Morris Town" or Morriston (1779), one of the first such metal workers townships constructed after those founded by Peter the Great in the Urals at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Sir John Morris, the coppermaster, founded the Anglican church in the square at the centre while the nonconformist workers had already established a chapel in the first grid of the settlement at lower right (Crown Copyright RCAHMW)

places of work of the residents, the boundary lines of pre-existing fields bordering the common land, and the line of the many horse-drawn railways whose formations reflected the many access route ways of the contemporary landscape (Fig. 10.6).

Rows, or terraces, of houses laid out across the hillside were a viable form of development in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Grenfelltown and

Fig. 10.6 The present township of Blaenavon was built in three components, the first a partly planned company township, the second a partly self-built and speculative worker's town, and the third another planned grid (1864–1866), pictured here constructed as the iron-making company diversified into coal sales (Crown Copyright RCAHMW)

Foxhole in the Swansea Valley, and at contemporary Blaenavon because in early industrial communities wheeled traffic did not have the importance it has today (Lowe, 1977:53). The labouring classes could save themselves some of their slender resources by carrying in what they needed for themselves. Retail street traders would also have used hand-carts or ponies to carry their goods.

It was true that Russian imperial government and aristocracy had used gridiron or checkerboard layouts in their late seventeenth- or early eighteenth-century metallurgical settlements for their workers in the Urals and elsewhere (Hughes, 2005:153–154). Such vast czarist state resources for accommodating serfs were not available to limited-fund capitalists providing houses for unbonded labour in Britain, however. The reason that what was probably the first British industrial workers grid layout was built in Britain at Morriston ("Morristown") in 1779 was that this was a township established for workers to build their own houses on leased plots. The great advantage of such street layouts was the flexibility it offered to the developer of a housing settlement on a large scale. Once the streets had been set out, the land adjoining them could be divided into plots of any required size, and houses could be built at a rate which individual developers found convenient (Lowe, 1977:53). This was certainly the case at Morriston, where four successive phases of the settlement can be identified by size and shape of the plots (Hughes, 2000:199). Similar phases can also be identified in the post-1837 quadrangular grid of Trevivian in north Swansea and the successive post-1860 rows of Forgeside at Blaenavon (Hughes, 2000:207; Barber, 2002:135).

By contrast, hillside rows or terraces had to be built in sequence. As more houses were needed at Blaenavon, the company abandoned continued row building and built the three urban blocks of Park Street, High Street, and Upper and Lower Waun Streets on a grid pattern at Blaenavon town in 1864–1866 (Wakelin, 2006:50). The substantial influence of the smelting companies in running company towns came to an end in the 1920s both at Blaenavon where the succession of owners operating the works since its foundation in 1788–1790 and at Swansea where smelting at the previously independent large copperworks came to an end.

Amlwch

The copper trade in Wales spawned one other large workers township which was the Port of Amlwch in Anglesey. This lay adjacent to what became the world's largest copper mine in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. It had almost 5,000 inhabitants by 1801, rising to 6,285 in 1831 (Pretty, 1977:13). Again, the workers built numerous nonconformist chapels including two whose design derived from the work of the most prolific of the Welsh nonconformist architects, Thomas Thomas, who was based in the copperworkers settlement of Landore in Swansea. The mine proprietors were imposed upon to build a large Anglican church in the village when an Anglican owner gave £600 towards the establishment of a church for his workers, although language and ethnic tensions were rather different at Amlwch, in that the chief entrepreneur in the late eighteenth century, Thomas Williams "the Copper King", was himself Welsh-speaking and from the local community.

The Use of Common Land at Swansea and Blaenavon

Initially at least, the ready availability of open common land, where adjoining farmers had rights to grazing on marginal hill and mountainside, allowed the easy and cheap construction of smelting works, mines, transport, and key workers dwellings. Such hilly and mountainous terrain had a ready availability of upland waste and hence common land. Interestingly, it is this characteristic of the landscape that was a key to understanding the layout of both industrial installations and workers' housing in Swansea and Blaenavon. There is plentiful common land on the steep hillsides and hills of the western flank of the western Swansea Valley, and it is very noticeable that most of the coal mines, copper-smelters. and some workers' housing was actually placed on the common land and not on the adjoining farmland. It is not clear why the commoners apparently accepted the situation but the adjoining farmers would have been tenants of the Duke and doubtless preferred such despoliation and occupation to be elsewhere from their holdings and sited on more marginal land. A complete industrial infrastructure of no less than four copper-smelters, with attendant coalmines, transport, and water-power installations was superimposed on the common of Craig Trewyddfa.

The map of the Morris family industrial complex at Swansea illustrates how the majority of industrial installations and workers' housing were situated on the common land (Fig. 10.7). The eighteenth-century Trewyddfa, Tirdeunaw, Plas Marl, and Landore coal pits were all sunk on the common land that dominated the slopes
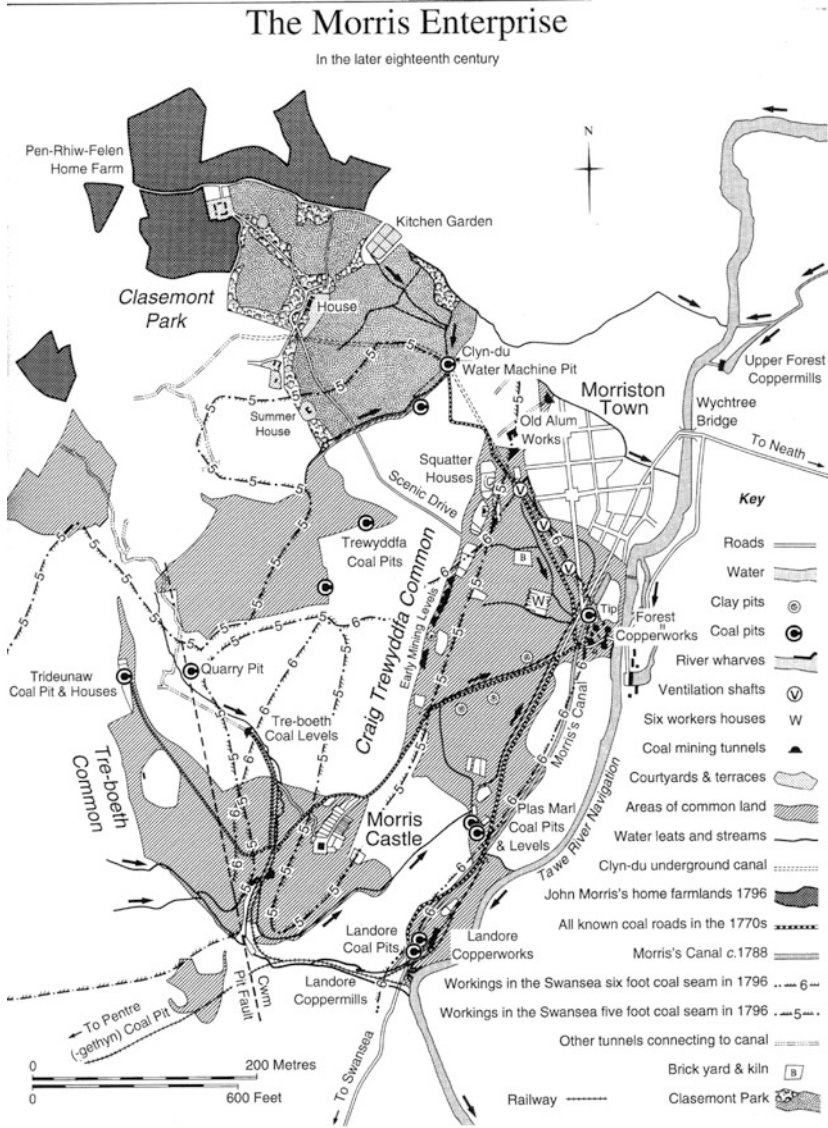
Fig. 10.7 Much of the initial worker settlements in British extractive industries, and the industrial infrastructure they served, were built on common land. Workers were also given large garden plots on neighboring enclosed land at Morriston, Swansea, where the resident industrialists were the Morris family of coppermasters (Crown Copyright RCAHMW)

of the lower western Swansea Valley. It is true that the early eighteenth-century Llangefelach Copperworks, which these collieries originally supplied, was built on private land by Dr. John Lane, but the subsequent operators, Morris, Lockwood & Company, worked very closely with the manorial landlord, the Duke of Beaufort.

Fig. 10.8 Two of the corner turrets remain from the 1773 hilltop Morris Castle at Swansea, which once housed 24 colliers and their families. It also formed a gleaming white eye-catcher for the nearby Palladian mansion of the Morris family, the coppermasters, who ornamented it with horizontal bands and battlements of glistening black cast copper-slag blocks from their smelting-works (Crown Copyright RCAHMW)

When they moved local smelting to the Forest and Landore Copperworks in the mid- and late eighteenth century, both works were built on common-land sites.

A similar process accompanied workers' housing with a few houses being built for head colliers on the northern tip of Tre-boeth Common in the period 1758–1767 (Hughes, 2000:176). A few years later, in 1773, a multi-storey castellated block with extensive gardens for 24 colliers and their families was built in a dominating site. That apartment block also served as a visual eye-catcher for the coppermaster John Morris's Palladian mansion at Clasemont (Fig. 10.8) (Hughes, 2000:176). Then in 1775 three semi-detached houses were built for key workers at the Forest Copperworks on the northern part of Craig Trewyddfa Common, near where squatter houses for other collier families already existed (Hughes, 2000:176). However, when a complete township was built for workers in three nearby copperworks in 1779 at Morriston, it was laid out on adjoining farmland owned by Sir John Morris (Hughes, 2000:17).

A similar process of the widespread utilisation of common land can be seen at Blaenavon. Nearly all the extensive mines and water-scouring prospecting trenches of the Blaenavon Ironworks Company were built on the common land leased by the ironworks owners in 1788–89. The situation of Blaenavon is very high, the town and ironworks being situated at over 300 m. Consequently, only a fairly narrow area around the Afon Llwyd had previously been considered worthwhile using and enclosing as farmland. The tall blast furnaces of the ironworks were situated on

land cut into the steep valleyside of a stream flowing down to the river through a funnel of open land between two enclosed farms (Wakelin, 2006:8–10). During the construction of the works, the stream was culverted and the works cast-houses and yard built on the filled valley bottom. The first planned layout of workers' housing for key workers, two sides of what became "Stack Square", were built in 1789–92 on the levelled common land that had formed the east side of the valley adjoining the ironworks, with a back-to-back terrace for unskilled workers to the south (Lowe, 1982:16–19; Wakelin, 2006:34).

Blaenavon was different from Swansea in being so remote that provision for housing the majority of workers, rather than a select few, had to be done straight away. The blast blowing the iron furnaces was one of the first to be steam-driven, which meant that production could be one of the largest in the industry. Previous water-powered blast-driven works had usually only been sufficient to sustain a single furnace in production. Each of the new steam-powered ironworks required many more workers than the smaller non-ferrous metals smelting plants such as those at Swansea. In 1799, only 10 years after production had begun at Blaenavon, 350 workers were already required for production, and there was no way they could have been accommodated in the 14 existing small upland farms even if that had been desirable (Lowe, 1982:22; Jenkins, 1975:6).

No less than seven separate blocks of housing (including the row of houses built under the convenient shelter of the railway viaduct west of the ironworks) were laid out before 1792. Their planning was random (Lowe, 1982:16), except for the three rows of housing erected at the ironworks which related in form directly to it. Five of these first seven rows were either built on the tongue of common land that intruded off the high moorland into the valley bottom or alongside the coal pits and mineral workings that marked the entrance on to the high moorland common to the north. Even so, these company-built rows could only have accommodated some 215 of the 350 workers and their families at this time (Lowe, 1982:22). As at Swansea's Craig Trewyddfa Common, at Landore/Morriston there was a spread of initially detached self-built cottages on the open moor close to the workings and another spread alongside the pre-existing wide roads to the moorland (at Blaenvon along the high valley road later known as King Street).

The pattern of development of the worker communities gives much information on the motives of those industrialists building them or operating adjacent works. The involvement of the entrepreneurs with the local communities socially and politically as well as economically was a vital ingredient in making sure that their philanthropy was dispensed locally rather than elsewhere. Local political involvement was in their interest, and once they were involved it is true that they had to be seen to be responsive to the needs of the local community—this was enlightened self-interest.

This process is very apparent in the housing and social provision made by the owners of the two large-scale, neighbouring Hafod and Morfa Copperworks founded in the early nineteenth century. With his partners, the Cornishman Michael Williams, owner of the Morfa Copperworks, provided some housing for key workers but never a large settlement with educational and religious facilities or large-scale culverted drainage. He reserved most of his philanthropy and enlightened

self-interest for the West Country, where he was MP for North Devon; he supported charitable causes there and around his Cornish home, Caerhays Castle, a coastal mansion designed by John Nash.

This was in stark contrast to his Swansea-based compatriots, the Vivians, at the neighbouring Hafod Copperworks. The large Morfa workforce at times was equal to or greater than that at Hafod. Interest of providing amenities for the local workforce depended, to a large extent, on a managing partner having a home in Swansea and being involved in local politics and administration. A subsidiary residence could be enough to stimulate considerable local philanthropy, as with the Grenfell's Maesteg House on Kilvey Hill. If the primary residence of a coppermasters' dynasty was elsewhere, that is where much of the family profits would go. In the Grenfells' case it went to maintain and develop the main family mansions near their copper-rolling mills at Taplow in Buckinghamshire, which still dominate the landscape. There, the resident family, involved in local public life, felt obliged to build workers' housing and to fund the construction of local churches. Principal family members might have lived in Swansea for a substantial part of the year, but the family gathered at Taplow, and the vault where they lay in death remains alongside the River Thames and not the Tawe or Tamar.

Economic forces, to some extent, determined that copper-manufacturing entrepreneurs would live near their main markets rather than, or as well as, at the centre of their copper-smelting activities; the Morrises had also had London houses and helped found the first purpose-built art gallery in Britain, at Dulwich rather than in Swansea. The Grenfells were merely following Thomas Williams, the outstanding "Copper King" of Anglesey to political and economic eminence in Buckinghamshire (Marlow), alongside the mills that rolled Swansea copper for the London market which had earlier been used by the Swansea and London entrepreneur, Chauncey Townsend.

Works Schools Provision at Blaenavon, Swansea, and Amlwch

Workers childrens' education here, as elsewhere, greatly benefited from a uniquely Welsh voluntary institution. During the period 1746–1777, the peripatetic intermittent Welsh-medium Circulating Schools were serving the children of Anglesey with no less than 435 school sessions held in the period 1746–1777 in 69 of the island's parish churches (Pretty, 1977:37). However, in north Wales the scale of industrialisation was much smaller than in the south; this may have contributed to the apparent slowness of the north Welsh entrepreneurs in funding workers' education, although the Great Orme Copper Mines School was founded in 1810–1811 (Evans, 1971:204; Pretty, 1977:14). The proprietors at Amlwch, in contrast to Swansea, did not actually build and run schools for the children of their workers. The Anglican church promoted a National School in Amlwch, and in 1819 the Bishop of Bangor made representations both to the Marquess of Anglsey and to the two mining companies at Amlwch. The companies donated £100 each, which would have met about half of the originally estimated cost of £450 to build the Amlwch School, but when it was eventually completed in December 1821 costs had risen to £1,015.2s.8d. for what is

an impressive design with a central two-storey hipped-roof tower that resembles the later Arts and Crafts style (Pretty, 1977:52). The two mining companies each agreed to make an annual payment of £25 towards the upkeep of the schools, but this proved to be insufficient and after first tapping into a local charity, appeals were made to various entrepreneurs with Amlwch connections. Donations and subscriptions were then received from the coal suppliers Gaunt & Co. of Llanelli and the great copper middlemen Newton, Lyon & Co. of Liverpool. This meant that this fine building could be completed by January 1824 and that the schoolmaster Thomas Jones could educate his 180 pupils.

The Welsh iron workers settlement of Blaenavon was founded in 1788–1789 on a very sparsely populated and relatively barren piece of Upland largely above 250 m in altitude. It was founded on a large scale from the beginning with three blast furnaces, making it one of the largest ironworks in the world. Hopkins, one of the original three proprietors, was relatively unusual for being a Welsh, and Welsh-speaking, ironmaster. He had been a works manager in the west Midlands of England, where his other two partners originated.

Eventually, Blaenavon came to have a variety of institutional buildings including St. Peter's Church (1804) (Fig. 10.9), the neighbouring St. Peters Schools (1816), the police station (1867), and the massive Workman's Institute (1894). There are also many nonconformist chapels built by the workers (Barber, 2002:19). In 1901 there were no fewer than 13 functioning nonconformist chapels for a population of

Fig. 10.9 At Blaenavon the ironmasters founded the Anglican St. Peter's Church in 1804 at the heart of the new workers' settlement, complete with cast-iron baptismal font, iron window tracery, sills, and iron heating-flues and surrounded by the cast-iron tombs of the ironmasters and their managers (Crown Copyright RCAHMW)

10,010; by that date all services were held in English because only 8% of the town's population still spoke Welsh.

Even when the Blaenavon area was a sparsely populated upland, it was visited by the evangelists of the Methodist revival, and meetings were held from 1780 in an ancient farmhouse known as *Y Persondy* ("the Parsonage"). The chapel subsequently built was known as Capel-y-graig, but it stood in the way of ironworks expansion and was demolished in 1814. The ironworks proprietors gave the site for a new chapel that was completed in 1813 (Barber, 2002:110–111).

Contrasting Capitalists' and Workers' Houses

Three distinct and widely differing types of copperworks housing have been examined in detail in the study of industrial housing at the former world centre of copper-smelting at Swansea (Hughes, 2000:155–235). The first type of housing was that for resident managing business partners of the various copperworks, the second type was for the works agents or managers, and the third was for the mass of workers. There were some shared characteristics to all these for the copper-smelting concerns were primarily aimed at assuring that their activities were a commercial success. This meant that all available capital should initially reserved for the productive process.

This sequence of events explains why three out of four of the resident dynasties of copper-smelting industrialists first moved into existing small gentry houses. They then either enlarged them, as money from the evolving businesses became available, or left them as they were. Only when the works were successful and producing enough profit were these relatively mansions enlarged or, more rarely, completely new houses constructed, as, for example, the copper-smelter Sir John Morris's Palladian home Clasemont of 1775 (the new stately home was contemporary with him being granted a knighthood and its palace-like appearance designed to impress the worker community in the valley below). The mansion overlooked the family copperworks, constructed as a series of circular and octagonal pavilions in Georgian style. A third generation of the Morris family of industrialists subsequently moved away from the area of smelting in the Swansea Valley but not away from the potentialities of additional wealth in the form of the collieries that were established in the proximity of their new west Swansea regency mansion at Sketty Park.

A similar picture of the modest re-use of existing buildings emerges with the management housing. Two of the four copperworks agents' houses were conversions of former local gentry houses at the White Rock Copperworks and the Upper Forest Coppermills. Only later, when the works were more successful, were these replaced by newly built large houses. With the large works, a couple of large houses might also be built for under-managers, as happened at the Hafod Copperworks when the works were at the height of their prosperity, 50 years after their original construction.

The situation with regard to the general mass of the workers was rather similar. There was an initial concern to house only those workers essential to the productive process, while all available capital was used in the building up of the core business.

However, the remoteness of the works from Swansea town meant that substantial accommodation needed to be provided for a greater number of workers as the works expanded. Sometimes this could be provided in accommodation adapted from existing buildings, as in the 24 dwellings made available at the White Rock Copperworks in a former gentry house, or in the first collier's house provided by the Morrises at Tirdeunaw Colliery.

New housing on a large scale was often provided some 30 years after the construction of a works. They were usually made with sufficient space to attract workers but did not have what the works owners might consider unnecessary ornamentation unless they were visible from an industrialist's mansion (as at Morris Castle, a multi-storey block of colliers' flats built in the form of a castle so as to be a hilltop eye-catcher visible from the Morris's new mansion at Clasemont). There is structural evidence that the small workers' houses at both the Swansea workers' settlements at Vivian's Town and at Grenfell's Town were enlarged as general standards of housing improved and profits became available. A similar process happened at the iron-making centre of Blaenavon.

The financial resources unlocked by the Industrial Revolution provided both industrialists and their workers with the ability to meet the needs of, and to endow, the new industrial communities with new types of buildings. The major elements of the material manifestation of industrial society in Wales 1750–1850 included workers', managers', and employers' housing; development of workers settlements and employers' estates; workers nonconformist chapels and employers' Anglican churches; works and schools; communal workers' or miners' institutes were a characteristic of later nineteenth-century communities (Fig. 10.10). How all these elements related socially, economically, and spatially to each other and to the works that provided employment and attracted people to each industrial area is of considerable interest. However, some of these types of structures were not necessarily confined to industrial areas but did tend to occur in a particularly concentrated form within them. Workers' settlements, works schools, and institutes were structure types specific to industrial districts. How much the nature of each of these elements is particularly Welsh in character is open to discussion. Certainly, in the world's first industrial revolution many of these elements were found throughout Britain but the density of some types such as workers' nonconformist chapels, works schools, and institutes were concentrated in the international centres of the metals-smelting industries in south Wales and evolved some particular architectural traits. However, similar institutions evolved in every industrial area of Britain and need further study as to their inter-relationships. As the industrial revolution expanded internationally, many of these social institutions spread with it but with varying combinations of elements.

Houses

The provision, or construction, of houses was the essential core of a worker settlement. Even in the most basic house there was a moral and social imperative on industrialists and companies to elaborate the sleeping-lofts of the early workers

Fig. 10.10 At the end of the nineteenth century the worker communities had an increasingly secular focus. Institutes, like the 1894–1895 one at Blaenavon, were built largely out of contributions from workmens' wages. Each had a library, meeting rooms, and a large concert hall, and, after the sacrifice of the First World War, often a memorial outside (Crown Copyright RCAHMW)

cottages into separate accommodation for children and parents and then into separate provision for children by gender as the nineteenth century and moral attitudes progressed (Hughes, 2000:174–183).

The previous dispersed self-building of early pre-industrial communities was replaced by a high concentration of workers combined with the potential of the availability of high capitalisation to build. Therefore it was possible to evolve new sorts of communal housing such as the large male barracks at many sites and the multi-storey Morris Castle apartments of the early 1770s (Swansea). The split-level tenement blocks of the south Wales ironworking communities are another example of communal housing widely imitated abroad.

The provision of housing for key workers and of male barracks was universal on large and relatively remote industrial sites. In addition, in locations such as the lower Swansea valley, some 50% of the main employers, especially those locally resident, provided for the housing of large numbers of their workforce in the late eighteenth century.

Religious Buildings

The following section suggests how the comparative religious buildings of a workers settlement might be studied. Works owners were part of the Anglican (Episcopalian) establishment and were persuaded to construct gothic churches at the core of their

workers' settlements, but workers, often led by managers, expressed their independence, culture, and language by constructing Italianate nonconformist chapels that eventually dominated worker townscapes.

The Worker Chapels

The most numerous class of communal structure in a Welsh workers' settlement consisted of the nonconformist chapels. It is worth asking how central these were to the workers' social and economic lives, how they were funded, and what factors determined which architects built them.

If a society was autocratic, then the ruling class would provide religious buildings of the state religion as happened in the hundreds of worker settlements founded in the Urals in Russia. Within Britain the somewhat more radical workers were keen to establish spiritual buildings of their own diverse nonconformist sects. As congregations became wealthier and more assertive, and fired by successive religious revivals, they built and rebuilt chapels using an architectural vocabulary based on the Italian Renaissance. This can be seen as a deliberate move to provide a contrast to the gothic architecture of the more formalised rituals of the established church, the usual religion of the Anglicised ruling class. The managerial class often became the powerful deacons and leaders of these worker congregations, and within particularly strongly nonconformist Wales and Cornwall this standing was formalised by the provision for these communal leaders of the *Sêt Fawr* (Great Seat) or Leaders Pews in the most prominent part of those chapels. Worker congregations could often only afford the elaboration of a single entrance façade, and this "showfront" was usually that facing the road (Hughes, 2005).

The Worker Churches and Chapels Provided by Industrialists

There were social pressures on all industrialists to aspire to join the ruling establishment of the country with its shared values and state religion. In the five workers' settlements in south Wales studied in detail, there are recorded instances of the local Anglican rector visiting two of the founding industrialists concerned and suggesting that it was their duty to balance the influence represented by the construction of new worker chapels with the places of worship of the state religion (Hughes, 2000:257). The period for such provision of worker churches was very long, beginning with Myddleton's construction of an Anglican building for his miners at Cwmsymlog in the sixteenth century.

The Industrialist Churches and Chapels

Construction of a religious building for the use of an owner and his family was often prompted by the construction of a new country residence by an industrialist or by the death of a family member (Sketty, Swansea). Often such churches were elaborate gothic structures.

Nonconformist chapels built by industrialists were generally built in the same Italianate in style as those of the workers but were distinguished by their markedly larger scale and elaboration which dominated the worker townships they were attached to (Hughes, 2005). The design for the first nonconformist chapel of ca. 1779 at Morriston apparently included a tower which was never built. The rebuilding of the main chapel of the worker settlement of Morriston at Swansea by tinplate industrialists was also completed by the high steeple which earned this particular structure the epithet of the "Cathedral of Welsh Nonconformity" (Fig. 10.11) The latter structure was a full "temple" with all four facades completed with fine ashlar masonry in contrast to the single stuccoed show-fronts of the worker chapels.

Fig. 10.11 The workers' settlement built by coppermasters at Swansea came to be dominated by Tabernacle Chapel, "the Cathedral of Welsh Nonconformity" built in 1872–1873 by former local workers who had taken over redundant water-powered copper-mills and converted them into tinplate-works at what became the world centre of that industry (Crown Copyright RCAHMW)

The industrialists' churches were also distinguished by the family crypts, tombs, memorials, mausoleums, and graves attached to them. Examples include the Vivians at Sketty (Swansea) and the cast-iron tomb slabs of the Blaenavon ironmasters situated around St. Peter's Church at Blaenavon.

Cultural, political, and linguistic landscapes are also reflected in the way industrial townscapes developed. Sometimes the first new entrepreneurs of the industrial age may have come from relatively humble beginnings, and some dynasties such as the Williams family who ran the Morfa Copperworks, had a history of building nonconformist chapels. However, even that family showed a drift towards the established Episcopalian church in the second generation. In the first period of industrialisation in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the works owners tended to attend and support the Anglican establishment. In the event that an industrialist was not aware of his perceived duty to make sure Anglican services were available alongside the more radical denominations favoured by the workforce, local rectors were ready to remind them of that duty. This is recorded as happening in the lower Swansea Valley in the cases of John Morris (founder of Morriston in 1779) and Pascoe Grenfell, whose family founded Anglican churches in Grenfelltown, St. Thomas, and Foxhole.

At Blaenavon the ironmasters Thomas Hill and Samuel Hopkins felt obliged to build a larger church to replace the small upland Capel Newydd that was of insufficient size to hold the enlarged population of the new town (Barber, 2002:89–90). In the Swansea Valley the Anglican churches built by the copper industrialists were constructed at the physical centres of the worker townships of Morriston and Foxhole (Kilvey Hill). However, Blaenavon in the early nineteenth century was a much more dispersed settlement with its main artery alongside the long sweeping curve of the horse-drawn railway leading down from the Blaenavon Ironworks to the Monmouthshire Canal near Pontypool. All the new main institutional elements of Blaenavon town were added incrementally by the ironworks company during the nineteenth century alongside this new road-cum-rail connection. Such early horse-worked railway formations often became used as public rights of way and these linear connections of became public roads in these extractive townscapes and landscapes of south Wales.

The new entrepreneurs rapidly felt that they had to reinforce the established church, but their works managers and engineers often were chapel deacons and ministers who actually built nonconformist chapels that predated the buildings of the iron and coppermasters. A significant number of the works hierarchy attended Welsh-language chapels and, as trained engineers, were often their architects.

So it was that William Edwards, John Morris's engineer who laid out Morriston, designed Libanus Chapel at the centre of the first grid of the town (the coppermaster's Anglican church was only added at the centre of the second grid later on). At Blaenavon the first nonconformist chapel was built on the common-land fringe on the pre-existing road later known as King Street.

Nonconformist chapel congregations gradually became more assertive and powerful. Thomas Deakin, influential mines manager at Blaenavon, was a leading Wesleyan Methodist who in the 1840s probably designed the large chapel that

was placed at the centre of two flanking pedimented terraces built by the works company in the 1840s (Barber, 2002:123). In 1863 Thomas Thomas, manager and builder of the rolling mills at Blaenavon Ironworks, designed the new Welsh-language Italianate Baptist Chapel in a dominating position on the uphill side of the ironmasters' Anglican Church (Fig. 10.12) (Hughes, 2003:83).

In the main lower Swansea Valley workers township at Morriston, redundant water-powered copper mills were taken over by a new generation of local Welsh-speaking entrepreneurs and became the nucleus of huge integrated steel and tinplate mills that formed a basis for the establishment of the world centre of the tin-plate industry. By the early 1870s these Welsh Independent Congregationalist entrepreneurs had accumulated enough capital to erect the most expensive chapel ever built in Wales at a cost of some 15 times the usual cost of a chapel. This was on the main street of the workers' settlement, and with its soaring unprecedented Italianate steeple, completely overshadowed the earlier coppermasters' gothic church further down the road, originally designed to dominate the landscape of the township from its central island site.

Although all British worker communities in the industrial period in England and Wales expressed their radicalism through the foundation of nonconformist congregations, this was particularly marked in Wales, where there was no Welsh-speaking

Fig. 10.12 By the end of the nineteenth century the workers township of Blaenavon had no fewer than 13 nonconformist chapels. They were often built in a simple Italianate style to contrast with the gothic Anglican churches. Pictured is Horeb Chapel, built in 1862 by Thomas Thomas, a local works engineer more used to constructing rolling-mills than chapels (Crown Copyright RCAHMW)

bishop in post over the established church in Wales between the mid-eighteenth century and 1870. This was despite the great majority of the population speaking that language almost exclusively. In Wales, at the time of the religious census in 1851, only 19.3% of the population worshipping on a Sunday did so in an Anglican Church, whereas between one third and two thirds did so in English counties (Coleman, 1980:8). This situation was reinforced after the Great Religious Revival of 1857–1859, which was brought to Wales from North America but had a particular resonance in Wales, where Welsh workers built many new and more elaborate places of worship (Hughes, 2003:88).

There was a second difference as well in that membership of a Welsh chapel was central to much of Welsh cultural identity providing a rich linguistic, musical, and social–cultural experience throughout the week and not just a weekly religious experience. As the industrial revolution in Swansea and Blaenavon advanced in the first half of the nineteenth century, the population of Wales boomed but the number of places of worship almost trebled from 1,369 to 3,805 (Jones, 1994:273). Revealingly, the rate of increase in the established Anglican church was only 16% while the workers' nonconformist chapels increased by 51%. By 1851 no less than 82.6% of the population in the 13 counties of Wales attended a place of worship on a Sunday, whereas in England the average was considerably lower: only 37% in London and 41.9% in the northern English counties. The latter area is often compared to Wales in the density of worker chapels but in fact that was much less as the total attending any place of worship on a Sunday was much lower. The building landscape of the Welsh worker communities of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to a great extent reflected the linguistic divide, for the Anglican churches of the landowners and capitalists had had no Welsh-speaking bishops since the mid-eighteenth century until 1870, and some three-quarters of the worker nonconformist chapels remained Welsh-speaking until the end of the nineteenth century (Jones, 1994:273).

Interestingly, the religious townscapes after the great religious revival of 1857–1859 and the growing status of the Welsh-speaking nonconformist population meant that towns such as Blaenavon and Morriston came to have a density of workers chapels unequalled in the rest of the United Kingdom. Increasingly in the nineteenth century, as English-speaking immigrants combined with the at first bilingual and then later monolingual English-speaking students produced by the iron and coppermasters' English-language schools, it was necessary to add English-language chapel equivalents to the multiple denominations of the earlier Welsh-language chapels. Works schools to educate the children of workers were established at Swansea in 1806 and Blaenavon in 1813 and grew in size and range throughout the nineteenth century (Hughes, 2005:159).

At Blaenavon there were 15 worker-built chapels by 1901, and only one (ironmaster-built) Anglican church. By this time only 8% of the town's 10,010 population were Welsh-speakers (Barber, 2000:111). At Morriston, largest of the Lower Swansea Valley worker townships, there were 16 nonconformist chapels by the end of the nineteenth century, two holding congregations of 1,500, completely dwarfing the two Anglican churches (Hughes 2000:286).

Mining and manufacturing districts in Cornwall and the Lancashire/Yorkshire area also came to have townscapes with a strong presence of chapels, but many of the townscapes at Blaenavon and Morriston had (and to an extent still have) such a density of nonconformist chapels that often two or more would dominate the surroundings. Indeed there are still nineteenth-century townscapes in Welsh settlements such as Newport, Brecon, or Aberystwyth where three–four large chapel buildings of different denominations and linguistic groups stand alongside each other on one street. The greater cultural differentiation of largely worker Welsh-language Italianate-style nonconformist chapels and industrialist-built largely English-language gothic Anglican churches remained. English-language worker chapel congregations became established and switched to building gothic chapels by the 1870s, but Welsh-language chapels continued to be built in variants of the Italianate style (Hughes, 2006). In Wales workers and indigenous capitalists also had a fondness for Italianate architecture that outlasted their English contemporaries' conversion to gothic by a generation.

The Schools

Schools for workers' children were increasingly seen as an essential part of the institutional core of worker settlements. Within Britain the simplest worker schools were often the Sunday Schools initially held within worker chapels and then increasingly given their own buildings, which sometimes also evolved into day schools. In other places it was concerned entrepreneurs who organised Sunday Schools.

Children in an industrial settlement might fit into three categories. There were the children of parents employed at the works, children employed at the works, and orphans who were both employed and boarded at the works.

In Britain the provision of a school education largely depended on the interest of the industrialist owning the industrial settlement. There seems to have been more of a moral obligation to educate the children who actually worked for an entrepreneur, particularly if they were orphans given into the "care" of an industrialist, and by the 1830s there was legislation stating that industrialists should provide some schooling for the worker children.

Early examples of the provision of a school building for the education of the children of industrial workers in the UK included Esgair Fraith and Neath in 1698. At Swansea the industrial settlement of Foxhole was provided with a school in 1806, and the gothic-styled Blaenavon Ironworks School was built in 1813. During the nineteenth century the size of works school buildings increased with the gothic-style Hafod Copperworks Schools (1847–1848) at Swansea, eventually serving some 1,100 of the children of workers.

In areas with a dense concentration of large works, such as in the lower Swansea Valley, some 33% of employers (usually those locally resident) provided schooling for the children of their workers, often at a small weekly charge (Hughes, 2000:331).

Conclusions

What did these internationally significant metal-industry townscapes of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century mean in historical terms? What can a study of a complex infrastructure belonging to the world's first Industrial Revolution tell us that we do not already know from documentary sources? Two elements that can distort conventional historical synthesis are the patchiness and uneven nature of the surviving documentary record, and the selectiveness with which this is studied. For this reason two different internationally important landscapes have been examined and compared in detail. A number of historical landscapes analysed in totality should advance objective historical analysis.

One significant example is that of the quantification of entrepreneurial philanthropy. Many general history texts, often driven by pre-existing and partisan political viewpoints, have expressed a political view that is not sustained by detailed field and documentary work. One historical text in a standard popular series on the industrialisation of Europe, by W. O. Henderson, has offered the following generalisation: "But for one enlightened employer like Robert Owen [of New Lanark textile mills, originally from Newtown in Montgomeryshire] or Titus Salt [founder of the model textile mill community at Saltaire, near Bradford, ca. 1853] there were a hundred who ignored the plight of their workers" (Henderson, 1969:137).

The accuracy of this statement in relation to other industries, such as that of copper-smelting, can be assessed from the fairly comprehensive topographical and archaeological evidence that has been studied at Swansea. There were 13 main copper-smelting works in operation in Swansea between 1717 and 1860. The nature of the industry meant that attempts were made from the very first to keep the foundation of large new works away from the existing urban core of Swansea. Therefore, all the works needed to make provision for some of their key workers. However, no less than six of the works made provision for housing a substantially greater number, starting with the White Rock Works in 1737.

Five of these settlements were also provided with large gardens for the employees to keep pigs and grow vegetables. Beyond this, schooling provision started in 1806 and at least four of the works' owners are known to have made provision for the schooling of their workforce. Four of the works' owners provided, in full or in part, Anglican churches and one provided a nonconformist place of worship. One also built a secular meeting hall for the use of the employees of three of the local works and one provided a poorhouse.

Henderson, and many other historians besides, has assumed that the few very famous philanthropists were the exception and that only very few employers made provision for the welfare of their workforce. By contrast, the Swansea evidence suggests that some 50% of employers made substantial provision for the housing of their workforce and that 33% provided schooling for employees' children and places of worship. Indications from published works on Welsh workers' housing and works schools suggest that this level of provision in industrial communities may not have been exceptional.

The religious and institutional buildings of worker settlements are a very friable resource, and often their appearance and plan are unrecorded and can only be recovered by recording the field evidence. A main historical aim of such archaeological fieldwork would be an appraisal of the evidence for the motives of industrialists in providing such an infrastructure. To what extent are planned institutional elements evidence of producing a quiescent workforce, social control, enlightened self-interest, a tolerance of workers expression of their own aspirations, or of entrepreneurial philanthropy?

It is hoped that some of the historical conclusions of this archaeological and architectural study will help to clarify perceptions of what were some of the most significant landscapes of the world's first Industrial Revolution. They also provide a pointer to what information similar studies carried out in similar wide-ranging aspects of social archaeology elsewhere might provide.

There is growing evidence of a substantial degree of enlightened self-interest on the part of the early industrialists providing housing and communal facilities in the many worker settlements that were founded. Equally, there is a substantial indication of the movement for self-improvement by members of the workforce themselves. Both these evolutionary ideas manifest themselves in now often endangered material remains in which scale, siting, and style provide primary evidence of the issues involved. A general assessment of such domestic and institutional archaeology should not be based on the surmised facts from a few representational examples. A far wider archaeological and historical evaluation examining the generality and specifics of the trends discussed here is now necessary.

The now much-studied evidence from three internationally important industrial landscapes can be drawn together and be shown to be complementary in defining the criteria for the development of early industrial landscapes. Linear networks of power and transport provide the framework for industrial development of landscapes where exploitable minerals exist in abundance. Patterns of common-land availability and land ownership define the form of works and worker-settlement development. Worker-settlement plan-form depended on the ambitions of the industrialists, while the cultural character of the communities is strongly indicated by the nature of the religious buildings in worker settlements.

The approaches taken by Whitehead and Casella's Cheshire study in this volume, and this chapter on Wales, are complementary and to an extent depend on the size of the archaeological sample available and its remaining form: whether standing buildings or demolished structures. The former is a large comparative sample that can be compared with a wide range of international workers' settlements while the latter can be taken apart and recorded in detail and allied with copious buried finds telling us much about the lives and attitudes of their previous owners.

database of the Royal Commission at http://www.coflein.gov.uk. Much of the European context of this chapter is drawn from sites explained by colleagues present at successive meetings of TICCIH. Professor Louis Bergeron's is an additional study of international worker settlements that can be found in the "Studies for the World Heritage" section on the ICOMOS website at http://www.icomos.org

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Part VI
Commentary

Chapter 11
Revelations: Comments on Interpreting the Early Modern World

Rebecca Yamin

Soon after I agreed to comment on the chapters in this volume Clifford Geertz died (2006) and I thought re-reading his work might provide a useful context for organizing my thoughts. Since we interpretive archaeologists are all so obviously influenced by Geertz, it seemed like a good opportunity to examine exactly how our ongoing practice reflects his ideas. I did not get very far with the re-reading project and the chapters only recently arrived on my desk making the immediacy of Geertz's passing seem less pertinent to the task. Besides, a good deal has been written about what an interpretive archaeology is (Thomas, 2000), should be (Hodder, 1991), and can be (Wilkie, 2009), leaving Geertz's influence pretty much out of the discussion. There is curiously only one reference to Geertz in the introduction to *Interpreting Archaeology* (Hodder et al., 1995:182), and none in Hodder's seminal article published in 1991.

My own introduction to applying Geertz's ideas to archaeology came from Anne Yentsch (1988, 1994) and Yentsch and Kratzer (1994). I worked with her in the late 1980s on the landscape archaeology project at Morven in Princeton, New Jersey, and her influence (and Geertz's) continues to permeate my approach to archaeological analysis. What I think was the most valuable lesson I learned from Yentsch was that archaeological interpretation is a process (Julian Thomas, I think, calls it a "conversation"), that there is no predefined method (or specific theoretical framework) for understanding the past nor is there a way of truly measuring whether you have got it right or wrong. Geertz puts it this way: "Cultural analysis is (or should be) guessing at meanings, assessing the guesses, and drawing explanatory conclusions from the better guesses, not discovering the Continent of Meaning and mapping out its bodiless landscape" (Geertz, 1973:20). Hodder's (1991:13) use of the hermeneutic circle applies: "We need to understand the past partly in its own terms by using the criterion of coherence in part-whole relations. This internal understanding includes symbolism, meaning, the conceptual, history, action as opposed to behavior, people as well as systems."

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It is better, then, to record the "performance" of interpretation, to admit to the creative act of the endeavor, than to claim surety and report the results as objective truth. Many proponents of the interpretive approach have made this point, of course. Shanks and Hodder (1995:9), for instance, wrote, "conspicuously in archaeology there can be no final account of the past—because it is now an equivocal and ruined mess, but also because even when the past was its present it was to a considerable extent incomprehensible. … What is really happening now? There is no possible final answer." Daniel Miller (2005:219) puts it more succinctly, "It is the very charm of archaeology that at most it will never find more than a hint of what it seeks." What the chapters in this book do most dramatically is demonstrate what that all really means in practice.

These essays are personal. They reveal real archaeologists grappling with real interpretive problems. They speak to us in the first person and in several cases show how the authors' preconceptions of what was important at first interfered with arriving at fresher insights. DeCunzo and Moqtaderi wanted to ignore what they assumed was the elitist meaning of a northern Delaware estate in favor of finding its "real" agricultural past. Their growing knowledge of the "place" created by the wealthy owners, who transformed the farm into "a complex landscape that engaged its creators' senses and had the potential to inspire a respect for nature in others," came as a revelation. They claim their greatest revelation was discovering "how long and stubbornly they had clung to a vision of the past that vehemently and blindly denied the defining principles of an interpretive approach," but it is the story of coming to grips with Mrs. Copeland's project that makes the point best. Likewise, Tom Williamson admits to gaining new sympathy with the estate landscapes he so eloquently interprets, when personal experience brings him into contact with the reality of living in the "country." "The fox does not seem quite such an innocent victim after the hen house has been raided for the fourth or fifth time," he says. It is a revelation, not one that negates the fundamentally Marxist approach he has used to discuss the eighteenth-century language of estate landscaping, but one that complicates the story.

The pair of essays in Part II are personal in a different way. In a valiant effort to make sense of too much data the Praetzellises applied statistical techniques to "examine the archaeology of neighborhoods and cities." They admit to failures to understand (why some tests were significant to only the 5% level, for instance), but in their admissions they challenge us to think what that might mean or, more significantly, how we would deal with too much data differently. It is a huge departure for the Praetzellises who have given us such wonderful human stories from their California data, but it is a stab at dealing with data on the large scale that many of us in the United States have abandoned in recent years. In contrast, Symonds does something we can all only envy. He actually captures that thing that happens to us when we encounter the past face to face, that kind of magical experience that we long to share but seems impossible to translate into words. It is the walk through the former cutlery workshop that jumps off the page. Symonds has captured the ineffable—the light, the dust, the silent tools. It is a powerful introduction to the argument he makes at the end of the essay for an archaeology in Sheffield

that focuses on industrial processes and materials, an archaeology of things for their own sake.

The transparency of the interpretive process is one of the things that makes the chapters in this book so important. One wonders why we took so long to allow ourselves to speak in the first person (although we know very well) and why we so reluctantly admitted to mistakes along the way. Hodder (1989, 1999, 2000) has made the point over and over that the contradictions should be there, that we should not edit out the debates, that conclusions are always contingent. There could be no better examples than the two essays in Part III. Julia King's discussion of Burial 18 changed right up to the deadline for submission of the manuscript. The results of DNA testing of Burial 18 identified the skeletal remains as of European ancestry although an earlier evaluation by a physical anthropologist had interpreted them as African (albeit with some reservations). That the skeletal remains were European could not negate the presence of a white clay tobacco pipe placed within the grave, a practice only recorded in association with African burials; it simply complicated the interpretive process. What a privilege to be given access to this perplexing situation and how fascinating to consider it in the context of the other examples of evolving ethnic and racial identity in early Maryland. Siân Jones also lets us in on her quest to understand the meaning of the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab. Weaving together the often rambling (and incomprehensible) content of oral interviews, local history, archaeological finds, and material remains she builds a context for understanding the cross-slab's significance. She demonstrates how deep one has to dig, in a metaphorical sense, to understand the emotional connection to the monument that even the local people do not understand on a conscious level. Jones gives us the "incomprehensible present" and figures it out.

That the same book—and the same approach—can embrace the Praetzellises' statistical manipulations of thousands of artifacts and Beaudry's intimate investigation of individual ones is testament to the breadth of the interpretive project. The amount of meaning that Beaudry squeezes out of various items of sewing paraphernalia defies the imagination and brings us, as intended, close to people—women, in this case—in the past. Her careful reconstruction of context, what she calls "recontextualization," as always, makes it possible to believe in her subjects—the inappropriately proud owner of the silver thimble, the upstanding housewife who made a fine scissors part of her presentation of self. While Gilchrist's subjects are too distant and too numerous for the kind of individual attention Beaudry gives to her subjects, she too is able to connect items of material culture to an expression of gender identity. Just as Beaudry's bodkins and thimbles provide an emotionally moving connection to individual women's lives (and identities) the spindle whorls found in medieval mortuary contexts suggest the reality of the women who probably put them there. Spindle whorls were, according to Gilchrist, symbolic of the home and particularly of weaving as women's work. Their presence in men's burials and occasionally in children's may well have referred to women's roles as caregivers and specifically as preparers of the dead for burial. More than symbolic, they were a kind of materialization of an individual woman, "a part of that entity which is still here with us in the present" (Thomas, 2005:15).

Like Beaudry and Gilchrist's chapters, the last two chapters in the book come from opposing sides of the interpretive spectrum. These chapters, in particular, reveal what is most distinct between an American approach to an interpretive archaeology and the British approach. It has everything to do with scale and more than a little to do with what Gilchrist politely calls British historical archaeologists' discomfort with the "subjectivity celebrated in the storytelling genre." Lacking the artifact-rich deposits that American historical archaeologists connect to individual households, the British more often look at a larger landscape—at thousands of burials, hundreds of manufacturing shops, or, as in the case of Hughes's study, whole townscapes relating to mining communities in Wales. He looks at how housing, gardens, churches, and schools reflected different local conditions and how they changed through time. Instead of a landscape of exploitation painted with a broad brush, he presents a more complicated picture where workers express agency in a variety of ways, especially through nonconformist churches, and owners show a certain amount of philanthropy (self-interested though it may be). Whitehead and Casella, on the other hand, in true American style (even though they were working in England), manage to go from the analysis of an eclectic collection of trinkets ("tranklements") left by an eccentric woman to a web of social relations extending over several generations. While the individual's material (excavated) possessions seemed confusing, oral interviews and archival research combined to explain who Mrs. Perrin was, and, more importantly, how class membership could not be read from artifacts alone. Along with Sîan Jones's study, this is a wonderful example of how oral interviews enrich our understanding of material culture but do not substitute for it. The artifacts, as many of the archaeologists here have demonstrated, are a language of their own.

This book is full of accessible (non-jargon ridden) insights into the past. The question is, who is its most important audience? Have we finally arrived at a language that can speak to people (even scholars) beyond our own discipline? Rosemary Joyce (2002) has made the point that we are our own best audience for our interpretive narratives. Though many are aimed at the nonprofessional, it is fellow archaeologists who realize how significant they are, how "some of the insights an archaeologist has come in the form of stories and cannot easily be reduced to conventional scientific writing" (Joyce, 2002:122). Is that true of these studies too? Do we appreciate the clarity more as archaeologists because we know what a "ruined mess" it is that we study? Will anyone outside the discipline appreciate the accomplishment?

These chapters are not overtly theoretical, but covertly, they are just that. They are thoroughly interpretive, meeting Wilkie's tenets for an interpretive archaeology quoted in Beaudry and Symonds' introduction to a tee. Like the essays in Geertz's *Interpretation of Cultures*, they are "empirical studies rather than theoretical disquisitions" and through them we see the power of an interpretive approach to make sense of the past. When all the parts come together (Geertz's guesses, Hodder's hermeneutic circle), they come as revelations. It is that revelatory quality that made me address these chapters individually. To have done less would have denied the excitement of each interpretive journey. Or perhaps it is because I am a storyteller

that I could not ignore the individual stories told here. They are stories of discovery, stories of *doing* archaeology, and figuring out what it means (or, as I have written elsewhere, what it might mean). Unlike Wilkie, meaning for me remains primary. I cannot give up wanting to do "thick description" although just making sense of material culture is probably enough (Tilley, 1993:10). There is plenty of that in this book: making sense of the past and showing how it is done.

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Note: Locators followed by 'f' and 't' refer to figures and tables.