Deborah Rotman

Historical Archaeology of Gendered Lives

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CONTRIBUTIONS TO GLOBAL HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY

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Cover illustration (Figure 6.6 from book): The Pocumtuck Basketmakers on the porch of the Manse, 1901.
Photograph by Frances and Mary Allen. Courtesy of Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association, Memorial
Hall Museum, Deerfield, Massachusetts.

Printed on acid-free paper

For Anna, who fills my world with joy

Acknowledgments

Of course, I am especially indebted to Bob Paynter, who spent countless hours with me pouring over field notes, refitting ceramic vessels, reading multiple drafts of my dissertation, and discussing the ideas contained within.

Finally, I owe particular thanks to my family. First and foremost, I wish to thank my daughter, Anna Joy Rotman, who has been patient and understanding during the many hours I worked instead of played. My thanks also to Jim and Linda Rotman; Scott, Cindy, Cameron, and Madison Pikaart; and Jeff and Lori Ann Rotman. I appreciate all you have done to help make my dreams realities.

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Chapter 1
Gender Ideologies as Complex Social Forces

To say that gendered social relations are complex would be to profoundly understate the dynamism of the human experience. The ways in which individuals understand their roles as gendered beings and their relationships to other gendered beings is constantly pushed and pulled by forces both internal and external to the individual and the family/social/economic unit to which they belong at multiple scales from the household to the community to the nation. Identity, sexuality, cultural prescriptions, socioeconomic class, ethnic heritage, life cycle, and other dimensions of the cultural milieus of human agents create tensions between societal structures, gender ideals, and individual choices that require continual negotiation, interpretation, and implementation. Although challenging for scholars who seek to understand these social relations, these complexities are precisely why gender is an endlessly fascinating subject for study.

During the mid-eighteenth through the early twentieth centuries, there were a number of ideologies that shaped gendered social relations in the eastern United States – including republican motherhood, the cult of domesticity, equal rights feminism, domestic reform, and many others. These ideologies can be imagined as a kaleidoscope, "a tubular optical instrument in which loose bits of colored glass at the end of the tube are reflected in mirrors so as to display ever-changing symmetrical patterns as the tube is rotated; a continually shifting pattern, scene, or the like" (Random House 2001:677). Each gender ideology was defined as a discrete entity, a bit of colored glass, yet when intersected or overlapped with another, a new entity was created.

I had already begun working with the analogy of gender ideologies as a kaleidoscope when I encountered a volume entitled *The Kaleidoscope of Gender: Prisms, Patterns, and Possibilities* (2004) written by sociologists Joan Spade and Catherine Valentine. The authors "use the kaleidoscope metaphor to help … grasp the complex and ever-changing meaning and practice of gender as it interacts with other social prisms – such as race, age, sexuality, and social class – to create complex patterns of identities and relationships" (Spade and Valentine 2004:1).

I also use this metaphor in this volume to illustrate that gender ideologies are simultaneously separate from and integral parts of one another as well as combined in a myriad of ways. In the village of Deerfield, Massachusetts, women and men were aware of the ideals of republican motherhood, the cult of domesticity, equal rights feminism, domestic reform, and other ideologies (Fig. 1.1). Yet, individuals and families created
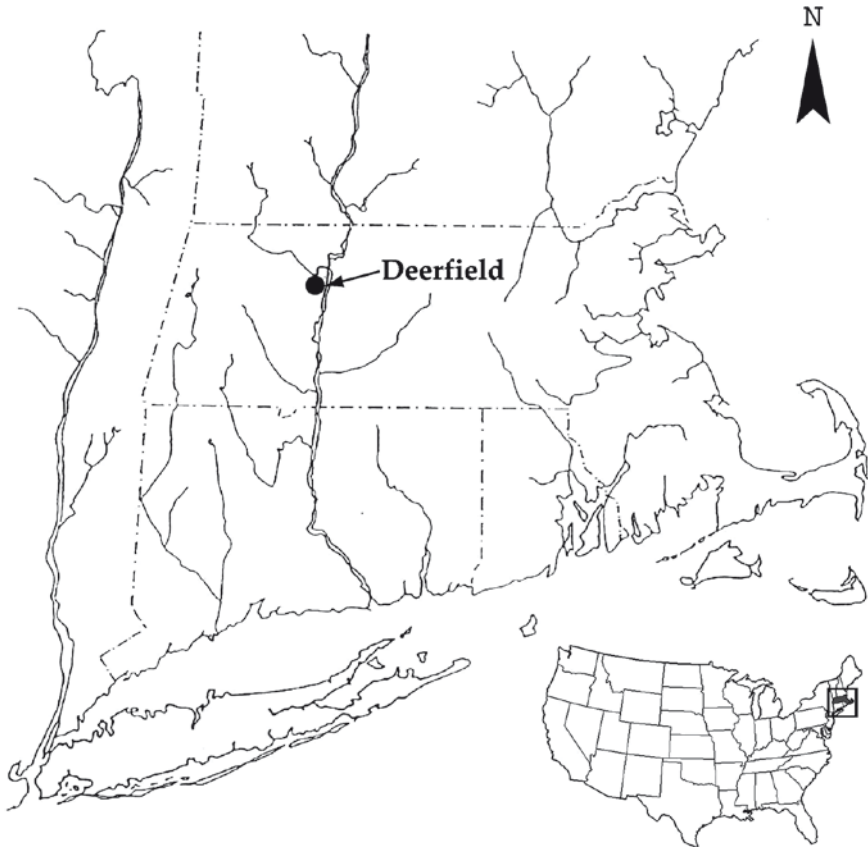
Fig. 1.1 Locator map of Deerfield, Massachusetts in southern New England. (Created by Kit Curran for the author)

and codified gender roles and relations in ways that made sense to their particular circumstances, belief systems, and family requirements. Although gender ideologies existed in idealized forms, they were rarely adopted wholesale; rather, they were interpreted and/or combined according to their unique labor needs, financial abilities, social position, and political ideals, among many other cultural forces and processes.

Gender Complexities Illustrated

The complexities of gender ideologies were well-illustrated through the life of a long-time Deerfield resident, Agnes Gordon Higginson Fuller (1838–1924)[1] (Fig. 1.2). There were tensions between Agnes' upbringing, expectations, and aspirations

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[1] I first presented this story of Agnes Gordon Higginson Fuller in an essay entitled, "Newlyweds, Young Families, and Spinsters: A Consideration of Developmental Cycle in Historical Archaeologies of Gender," *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 9(1):1–36 (2005).

Fig. 1.2 Agnes Gordon Higginson Fuller, ca. 1860. Photography by George Kendall Warren. (Courtesy of the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association, Memorial Hall Museum, Deerfield, Massachusetts)

when juxtaposed with the realities of her life, which were shaped by larger social, cultural, and economic forces as well as changes wrought over time with the evolution of her family.

Agnes was born to parents Stephen and Agnes Gordon Cochran Higginson on 26 December 1838 (Spencer 1987:8). She spent the first 15 years of her life in and around the suburbs of Boston, where her father was a successful merchant. Summers were spent with relatives in Deerfield and, in 1853, they moved permanently to the village. Agnes "enjoyed a life of wealth and elegance, and… was raised in an atmosphere of refinement" (Spencer 1987:14). As a young woman, she spent her time attending lectures, studying the classics under the tutelage of Reverend John Moors (a local minister and subject of this study), and participating in the local Shakespearian society. She spent several months each year in Boston where she studied drawing and took private lessons in French and piano.

Through her family ties, she was exposed to the great intellectual and social impulses of the age – religious revivalism, Transcendentalism, and Romantic ideals. Her uncle Thomas Wentworth Higginson, for example, was "a Unitarian minister,

reformer, ardent abolitionist, and author… best remembered for his association with Emily Dickinson" (Spencer 1987:11). Agnes' diary from 1857 revealed that she had an opportunity to visit the Emersons [Ralph Waldo Emerson] and "Dined with Mr. [Henry David] Thoreau" (Fuller-Higginson Papers, Box 19).

Agnes trained for her intended career as a teacher at the Cambridge school from 1858 to 1860. A letter from her cousin, James Higginson, provided an interesting glimpse into the discourse regarding gender roles and relations during the mid-nineteenth century:

> Are you going this next autumn to teach? Ah Aggie! It is capital that you want or are willing to do this. All the talk in the world about women's rights will never accomplish as much as one woman showing her will and might to earn for herself, think for herself, in any hitherto forbid [sic] direction. If more women would become physicians, merchants, artists, architects, gardeners, etc. (lawyers and farmers must be men I think), this question of rights would settle itself. However, teaching is the best of all occupations, and may be its own reward to every serious, earnest, industrious person. (6 February 1858, Fuller-Higginson Papers, Box 24, Folder 30).

Agnes had met and been involved with George Fuller, however, since October 1856. In 1860, they formally announced their engagement. Her cousin, James, also corresponded with Agnes regarding this matter:

> O Agnes! Why did you go and engage yourself? Isn't it much better to live unmarried without any cross or peevish husband to trouble you? What's the sake of becoming a school-ma'am if you are to leave all your pupils for the sake of a man with a long beard? (8 February 1860, Fuller-Higginson Papers, Box 24, Folder 5).

Another cousin, whose name is indecipherable on the letter, wrote, "Are you to be a school mistress still, I wonder?… I almost hope so to carry out a theory of mine that a women can do something and be married at the same time" (5 October 1860, Fuller-Higginson Papers, Box 24, Folder 5). Her father, Stephen Higginson, also commented "So the die is finally cast, and your lot is henceforth irrevocably bound up in his, for better or for worse" (2 September 1860, Fuller-Higginson Papers, Box 24, Folder 5). Despite the occasionally unsupportive remarks made by her family, Agnes was determined to marry George. In her biography of Agnes, Spencer (1987:33) observed that

> Agnes' personal ambitions and her belief that she had the ability to attain them indicate that before her marriage, she was not a proponent of the cult of domesticity. She at least portrayed herself as a woman who did not intend to limit her sphere to the home. The marriage between Agnes and George marked their transition from Romantic idealism to more traditional Victorian ideals about marriage.

Marrying meant sacrifices for both of them; however, Agnes had to abandon her plans for a teaching career and George gave up his full-time devotion to painting to work his father's farm in the agricultural area at the south end of the main street in Deerfield known as "The Bars."

Agnes did not take well to being a farmer's wife and missed the life of ease and refinement she had enjoyed as a young girl. After the birth of her first child, George Spencer Fuller, in 1863, Agnes wrote to her Aunt Lizzie Higginson:

> I am the 'mistresse de maison' now, and between domestic cares and Spencer every minute of my time is filled. When I get impatient and think how nice it would be to take a book and read I remember Mother who never opened a book in three years. (6 January 1864, Fuller-Higginson Papers, Box 24, Folder 5).

Matters were made worse by the financial difficulties the young couple faced. Revenue from the family farm "barely allowed them to make ends meet, and certainly did not allow Agnes any luxuries" (Spencer 1987:39).

Agnes gave birth to two more sons, Robert Higginson Fuller in 1864 and Henry Brown Fuller in 1867. It was the birth of her daughter, Agnes Gordon "Violet" Fuller, however, that gave her life new meaning and renewed sense of purpose. Spencer (1987:43) observed that after Violet's birth

> [Agnes] no longer wrote of her wasted ambitions and aspirations, or of her conviction that she was meant for something better than life at The Bars… She had finally stopped struggling and had completely surrendered her dreams to the cult of domesticity.

Times continued to be tough on the farm and, in 1875, the family went bankrupt. Their standard of living improved as George returned to painting and enjoyed some measure of success in his work. Their improved circumstances ultimately restored Agnes' faith both in George and herself for having chosen him as a mate.

The story of Agnes' life demonstrates the power of dominant cultural ideologies and the difficulties encountered in attempting to subvert gender norms. Furthermore, it illustrates that middle-class aspirations and Romantic ideals sometimes ran up against the age-old struggles and uncertainties of real lived experience (Sweeney 1987). Additionally, a belief in ideals and the ability to enlist the material trappings of those ideals were not always co-terminus, often correlating to individuals' and families' place along the spectrum of their unique and respective developmental cycles and socioeconomic position.

It is precisely these complexities of gendered social relations I seek to understand through the work presented in this volume. How were idealized expectations for gendered roles and relations defined? How did these expectations change over time? Were these ideals modified or adjusted in actual experience? If so, why and how? What are the factors, conditions, or circumstances that required such adjustments? Finally, what were the material manifestations of gendered relations? What do gender roles and relations look like archaeologically, both in "small things forgotten," such as refined earthenwares, and the ways in which domestic space was utilized?

Unique Contributions of this Research

Most of the current available literature on gender in historical archaeology consists of edited volumes that present a spectrum of studies across space and through time. Extended case studies in a single locale that provide an intensive examination of gendered social relations over an extended period are relatively rare in the currently extant scholarly literature.

Recent edited volumes include Kerri Barile and Jamie Brandon's *Household Chores and Household Choices: Theorizing the Domestic Sphere in Historical Archaeology* (2004); Jillian Galle and Amy Young's *Engendering African American Archaeology: A Southern Perspective* (2004); Elizabeth Scott's *Those of Little Note: Gender, Race, and Class in Historical Archaeology* (1994); and my own volume co-edited with Ellen-Rose Savulis entitled *Shared Spaces and Divided Places: Material Dimensions of Gender Relations on the American Historical Landscape* (2003). All of these volumes are exceptional scholarly works, but illustrate a broad range of examples of gendered social relations in a variety of historical contexts.

Few recent books offer a concentrated case study of gender in one dynamic location as those roles and relations were affected by changes in the larger social and cultural milieu. Two notable exceptions are Diana Wall's *The Archaeology of Gender: Separating the Spheres in Urban America* (1994), which is now nearly 15 years old, and Laurie Wilkie's *The Archaeology of Mothering: An African American Midwife's Tale* (2003). *Historical Archaeology of Gendered Lives* is an intensive examination of gendered social relations in one geographic location over the course of nearly two centuries. This volume contributes to the scholarly literature in an area for which there has been little recent scholarship.

This research also addresses distinctive issues, which are of interest to disciplines such as historical archaeology, women's studies, American history, landscape studies, and geography. Furthermore, this volume is also designed for both scholars and students of history and archaeology, to serve as a model for utilizing multiple lines of evidence to interpret the past. It is my hope that this research will be of utility and interest beyond academia, however, such that nonprofessionals may understand how archaeologists go from a pile of broken dishes to conveying stories about the lives of which those dishes were a part. Indeed, the text has been prepared with these varied audiences in mind, such that it is intended to be both scholarly and accessible to the general public.

This volume strives to make four important contributions to the understanding of gender ideologies in America. First, most scholarly research has focused upon gender roles in the urban middle class, where a separation of male and female activities was often most distinct. Rural settings, the working and upper classes, and the range of variation in gender relations and the ideologies that structured them through time and across space have remained virtually unexplored. This study takes place in a rural village that was, albeit, well-connected to large urban centers such as Albany, New York and Boston, Massachusetts. The residences and families upon which this research focuses encompassed a spectrum of socioeconomic classes between ca. 1750 and ca. 1904, including the professional and working classes as well as single women who were independently wealthy. Therefore, this research examines a range of lived experiences that cut across space, time, and social classes. In addition, the data from Deerfield provide opportunity to test previously published models for understanding gender ideologies through the material and spatial worlds.

Second, as noted above, there were multiple gender ideologies operating in America over time. The cult of domesticity of the nineteenth century, however, has dominated scholarly research on gender relations, although domestic reform has

also been introduced on a limited basis into the conversation. Republican motherhood, equal rights feminism, and other gender ideologies have received only marginal attention in the scholarly literature, most notably in historical archaeology. Consequently, the relationship between these ideologies, the uses of material objects, and the organization of the landscape at the intersection of the daily lived experiences of individuals and families have remained virtually unexplored.

The uneven scholarly treatment of gender creates an interpretive challenge for historical archaeologists. If we do not know what the material expressions of gender ideologies other than the cult of domesticity look like, how will we recognize them in the ground? This question raises methodological issues as well. Material models for understanding gender beyond the cult of domesticity have not been developed within the discipline, particularly for republican motherhood. Therefore, comparative hypothesis testing could not be consistently employed in this study. Where possible, such models were developed using the data from Deerfield.

Since the cult of domesticity is the most thoroughly understood of gender ideologies and since the archaeological sites were residential homelots – that is, the arena in which domestic ideals were concentrated – domesticity was selected as the entry point for these analyses, specifically, ideals of separate spheres of activity for women and men. Evidence indicates that subscription to or rejection of such a separation – ideally or in actual practice – represents more than a presence or absence of any particular ideological position, but rather serves as a lens through which to view how human agents negotiate and incorporate ideologies from the larger cultural milieu.

Third, studies of gender have been concerned primarily with married women in nuclear families with little attention paid to "spinsters", unmarried women, and other individuals on the periphery of the social order. In Deerfield, particularly, during the late nineteenth and into the twentieth centuries, the number and proportion of single women in the village increased as the social and economic climate changed. Gender roles and relations for women are often defined in opposition to men and vice versa. The predominately female population of the village, therefore, is particularly interesting for this study. How do gender relations get defined when the demography of the village is skewed in this way? Deerfield provided a unique opportunity to examine the role played by women in the creation, codification, negotiation, and reproduction of gender ideologies in this context.

Finally, this study holds space constant – the village of Deerfield – and takes a diachronic view of the cultural changes to gender roles and relations over the course of nearly two centuries. As Deetz (1977:67) observed, "styles of artifacts, dancing, vernacular speech, or music have small beginnings, grow in popularity until a peak is reached, and then fade away." Gender ideologies parallel other cultural traits in this way. Although a single ideal regarding gender roles and relations may have been dominant in societal discourse, a multiplicity of ideals was extant on the cultural landscape simultaneously. The goal of this study is to examine which ideals were emphasized at particular moments in Deerfield's history and why as well as the relationship between those dominant ideologies and those of less influence.

Gender ideologies were not monolithic, but rather had a myriad of material and spatial expressions over space and through time as individuals and families

incorporated and expressed gendered ideals according to their financial, social abilities, and personal beliefs. The dynamic and fluid nature of gendered life is of particular interest in the research presented here.

The Organization of this Volume

Organizing this volume proved to be a curious challenge. Each facet of culture is inextricably linked to other facets and it was difficult to separate out these varied degrees of interconnectedness. In order to underscore unique dimensions of rural and urban contexts, for example, some artificial division between these cultural arenas was created while simultaneously attempting to emphasize similarities between them. In addition, bringing particular aspects of gendered experience to the foreground for analysis occasionally required repeating salient details presented elsewhere in the text. Every effort has been made to reduce redundancy while also striving to keep the text a coherent whole.

The primary unit of analysis in this study is that of the household. As Franklin (2004:xiii) observed

> Unpacking the household archaeologically may be as close as any of us gets to comprehending the experiences of past individuals and as far as we may go in revealing the intimacies of their lives. Moreover, its influence regularly transgresses the domestic, as the household is both a microcosm of society and an active agent instituting change within that society.

Six households served as the primary lenses through which I examined gender and other social relations – the family of Dr. Thomas and Esther Williams (ca. 1750–1770), the family of Ebenezer Hinsdale and Anna Williams (ca. 1816); tenants in the E. H. and Anna Williams home (ca. 1845); the families of Rev. Moors (ca. 1848–1865), the Ball family (1865-ca. 1882), and lifelong companions, Annie Putnam and Madeline Yale Wynne (ca. 1885-ca. 1904). A primary strength of this research is that each of these families represented a different era in the unique historical trajectory of the village and, therefore, an opportunity to look at particular moments in the national discourse on gender through the lens of one family or household. Both archaeological and historical data were used in these analyses.

The theoretical context for these investigations is presented in Chap. 2. I have included a review of the multidisciplinary literature on gendered social relations – notably republican motherhood, the cult of domesticity, equal rights feminism, domestic reform, and others. I also discuss gender at the intersection of other social relations and cultural forces, with particular attention to class and ethnicity as well as differences in gender ideologies relative to urban, rural, and suburban settings.

I briefly summarize the history of Deerfield Village as well as the families, included in this study, in Chap. 3. I introduce gendered relations, issues of life cycle, and other details of the family histories that are relevant to the analyses of the material record for each of them. I also summarize the archaeological assemblages for the six occupations upon which I focused. A brief description of methods

for data collection and analyses are included. These data sets serve as the basis for analyses of gender through spatial analyses of residential architecture, vessel color coding and functions, decorative motifs on refined earthenwares, the emergence of modern discipline, an examination of the ideology of separate spheres, and the influence of developmental cycles of families. Sufficient data were not available for every household to be included in every analysis. To maintain the long temporal view that is a hallmark of this study, however, as many assemblages as possible were included for each.

In Chap. 4, I provide the theoretical framework for gendered spaces. I chose to specifically develop this section separate from that of gendered social relations more generally. As such, this chapter moves from a general discussion of the ideologies of gender to how the physical world was manipulated as human agents create, codify, reproduce, negotiate, and otherwise act out gender roles and relations on the landscapes of homesteads and villages. I also undertake an analysis of the residential architecture at each of the households in the study. Specifically, this macrolevel analysis of the cultural landscape provides an overview of the villagescape and the materiality of social relations within it.

I challenge a priori assumptions about ceramic use and consumer choices in the late eighteenth through the early twentieth centuries in Chap. 5. Most scholars proceed with analyses of ceramics with the expectation that utilitarian dishes, such as crocks, will be made of coarse earthenwares and that dining vessels will be of refined, light-colored earthenwares, including whiteware and ironstone. This is particularly true for sites dating to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Various uses of dishes are often closely tied to women's work as well as expressions of social class, divisions of labor, ideas about childrearing, and other cultural norms and expectations. Therefore, failure to question these analytical expectations and confirm/deny these material patterns masks nuanced uses of the material world and the social relations which shaped it.

I continue with a discussion of decorative motifs on ceramics. What constitutes "fashionable" ware for tea time or dining changes often through the period of study. Various patterns on tea and table wares were often intended to communicate specific domestic ideals, a family's understanding of their class and ethnic identity, and aspirations for socioeconomic status, among many other things. A close examination of these trends over time reveals interesting points of convergence and divergence within the village relative to larger cultural trends.

In addition, a major change during the nineteenth century was the growth of the ideology of modern discipline, with its emphasis on the definition and control of the individual. Families were particularly important arenas for training children in this emerging ideology and women were the vehicles for culture change in this regard. Modern discipline – like gender ideologies – had material manifestations in the increasing segmentation and elaboration in dining and other human behaviors.

In Chap. 6, I critically analyze the widely held notions of a separation of male and female as well as public and private spheres. Although, ideologically, a separation often existed in some form, the work of women and men as well as the public and private nature of different tasks frequently overlapped. Seeking only rigid dichotomies

of gender roles may preclude observation and interpretation of nuanced variations in these social relations.

I also discuss the role of life cycle in shaping gender and uses of the material world. Newlyweds, families with young children, and elderly couples all have different material needs and may adopt prevailing gender ideologies in fundamentally different ways. The archaeological assemblages of the various sites in this study demonstrated the tensions and negotiations of gender roles and relations as they evolved with a family's unique developmental arc, specifically as a family's life cycle intersected with socioeconomic class and ethnic heritage.

I provide a concise summary of the major contributions of this study to understanding gendered social relations through time in a single village in Chap. 7. Emerging industrial capitalism, fluctuating demography, and changing political and social circumstances fashioned and refashioned gendered roles and relations over two centuries in Deerfield. In addition, I use different lenses – such as consumer choices, the meanings of meals, the ideology of modern discipline, the notion of separate spheres, and the life cycles of families – as entry points into understanding gendered lives over time.

Although this study focuses on Deerfield, Massachusetts, the experiences of village residents and the cultural forces that shaped them are relevant to understanding gender in a multiplicity of other historical settings. As such, life in the village elucidates the complexities of gendered social relations from the mid-eighteenth through the early twentieth centuries.

Chapter 2
Theoretical Framework for Understanding Gender Roles and Relations

Gendered social relations were inextricably linked to class, ethnicity, race, sexuality, and identity, among innumerable other social, cultural, economic, and political forces that both shaped and were shaped by the lived experiences of residents in Deerfield and throughout the United States. In addition, how individuals and families understood, interpreted, and operationalized gender ideologies was vastly influenced by the rural or urban or suburban context in which they lived as well as the changes and transformations that were part of the natural life course from a child to an adult to a young parent to an elderly individual.

In this section, I summarize the scholarly literature that has informed my investigation of gendered social relations in Deerfield. This literature review should not be interpreted as a comprehensive appraisal of all the gender research available, since such a précis of this dynamic research arena would require a multivolume set. Rather, in this chapter, I seek to contextualize my research within the theoretical and multidisciplinary framework that has most significantly influenced this project.

Defining Gendered Social Relations[1]

As I prepared this survey of the relevant literature on gender, I reviewed a variety of scholarly publications in a range of disciplines, including anthropology, archaeology, history, women's studies, and landscape architecture, among others. I was frequently surprised to find that edited volumes, for example, that offer multiple case studies of gender often fail to even define the term. There seems to be an assumption that gender is mutually understood and all contributing authors were in de facto agreement about which they are speaking.

The categories that we occupy as human agents, however, vary tremendously and traverse other structural forces. It is not enough to say that I am a woman, since "woman" does not represent a universal experience. Rather, for me, being a woman in 2009 is profoundly shaped by the fact that I am of Anglo-European descent, in my

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[1]This literature review builds on work presented in Rotman (2001, 2003).

early 40s, the middle of three children, have a Ph.D. in anthropology, the mother of a 17-year-old daughter, and an employee of a Catholic University. At the intersection of these many social, economic, and cultural relationships, my lived experiences are very different from other women whose ethnic heritage, age, birth order, education, reproductive history, and employment are different from mine. Therefore, it is not only important to define the terms and categories used in our analyses, but also to recognize the range of variation that may exist within them. Scholars must then recognize that "it is not possible to talk about the genders of site's occupants without also talking about their economic, ethnic, religious, and racial identities vis-à-vis others in society" (Scott 2004:4).

Margaret Purser (1991:7) noted that the "debate over issues of definition has focused as much on specifying what gender *is not* as what it is." She stressed that gender is not the same as sex nor should it be equated with women only, particularly in isolation from larger social and ideological milieus. Indeed, "men and women mutually define one another, both in ideology and in experience" (Kerber et al. 1989:575). It is also "clear that all women do not have the same gender, nor do all men" (Brown 1992).

Joan Scott (1986:1053) provides a useful definition of gender as "the social organization of the relationship between the sexes." It is not bound to a binary categorization of sex as men and women nor by particular delimited contexts such as private, domestic, household or kinship (Scott 1986:1069–1071). Such a definition, however, tends to link gender and sexuality. Consequently, people outside the parameters of biological reproduction (i.e., children, the elderly, those who choose celibacy, gay and lesbian individuals) are often not considered.

Arguably, there are also more than two biological sexes and/or gender categories. Fausto-Sterling (2000) emphasizes the range of variation in human genitalia and that the presence or absence of a penis is not as clear an indicator of "sex" as most believe. Indeed, we do not engage in continuous genital inspection as the foundation of gendered social relations so "why are physical genitals necessary for identification? Surely attributes more visible (such as height, build, and eye color) and less visible (fingerprints and DNA profiles) would be of greater use" (Fausto-Sterling 2000:111). In her cross-cultural study of the Bugis in Indonesia, Davies (2007:19–20) observed that "numerous factors go into constituting an individual's gendered identity." Biological sex is certainly one of those factors, but so too are notions of spirituality, role in sexual relationships, the work one performs, and how one dresses – all of which "foster a system where gender multiplicity is accommodated" (Davies 2007:29).

Biological deterministic connections have been debunked in a number of prominent and important studies (e.g., Bleier 1984; Conkey and Gero 1991; Ferguson 1989; Jacobs and Roberts 1989; Kryder-Reid 1994; Moore 1988; Morgen 1989; Vance 1984; Walby 1990; Whelan 1991; Wylie 1991). Paynter (2000a:186–197), in his review of gender in archaeology, observed that recent scholarship "emphasizes the systematic interrelations between men and women, that is, gender systems; studies the significance of gender relations in the workplace and the state as well as the family; and contemplates the notion of gender beyond the two-category system of dominant Western ideology." Such an understanding of gender allows for the dynamic interpretation of

gender relations within a vast array of social, political, economic, geographical, and temporal settings.

Historical archaeologists have enhanced their understandings of the past by engaging in interdisciplinary conversations with historians, geographers, economists, architects, urban planners, political scientists, and literary critics, among others (e.g., Baker 1984; Boydston 1996; Bruegel 2002; Fabricant 1979; Franck 1989; Groag-Bell 1990; Hayden 1980; Kerber 1976; MacMahon 1994; Massey 1994; Merchant 1980; Nash 1997; Rose 1993; Spain 1992). Understandings of gender ideologies in America as presented in historical archaeological research have been enriched by these cross-disciplinary discussions. The body of scholarly literature with regard to the material and spatial expressions of gender continues to grow (see also Rotman 2001, 2003).

Much research has been undertaken to understand how women have become associated with nature, as opposed to men, who have been associated with culture. Merchant (1980) explored the ideas of "women as nature" in Greek philosophy, Christianity, Renaissance literature, and the writings of Chaucer, Shakespeare, and daVinci (among others). Fabricant (1979) analyzed eighteenth-century poetry, literature, and linguistics to illustrate the association of women with nature and the codification of landscapes as female. Ortner (1974) adds another dimension to this dialogue through her investigation of women's subordination to men, stressing that gender relations are cultural constructions and not natural facts. McGirr (1996, 2003) examined the Vietnam Veterans Memorial as a gendered landscape, bringing these issues out of the past and into contemporary life.

Gender research has been concerned with the impact of colonialism and capitalism (e.g., Coontz 1988; Morgan 1989). Brodkin (Brodkin-Sacks 1989) notes three major points of view that are central to studies of gender relations and these powerful forces. According to the first position, domestic labor is primary. Consequently, under this model, domestic exploitation under capitalism is universal, and precapitalist conditions of social existence are at the root of women's exploitation under capitalism. According to the second point of view, the very organization of waged labor under capitalism excluded women and devalued the domestic labor to which women were relegated. Finally, a dual systems theory combines both positions, attributing the subordination of women to the interaction of patriarchy and the capitalist mode of production.

Some scholarly researchers resist assumptions about the subordination of women by seeking a female presence on "male" landscapes. Conkey (1991) takes a feminist perspective when she debunks some of the "mythical qualities" of archaeology, specifically the notion that women were not involved in prehistoric productive activities. Her research reveals that, while harpoons for hunting were used by men, the required cordage was produced by women. Groag-Bell (1990) reviews the omission of women in eighteenth-century garden history. Gardens from this era are usually depicted as having been constructed exclusively by men and passively experienced by women. Yet evidence from diary entries and fiction about schools for training women gardeners reveals that women were actively engaged in both creating and enjoying gardens. Women have also been excluded from the history of the

logging industry in West Virginia. Brashler (1991) reevaluates the historical, oral, and archaeological data from logging camps in this area to illustrate that women and children were present in and vital to some logging contexts. Starbuck (1994) reports similar findings from his investigations of military camps.

The archaeology of gender "is often interpreted as the archaeology of women, rather than as the relationship between different gender ideologies and roles" (Wilkie 2004:76). As an example, some scholars have investigated male-dominated or exclusively male contexts. Kryder-Reid (1994) examined a cloistered, religious training center in Annapolis, Maryland, wherein domestic tasks still needed to be completed in an absence of women. Similarly, Rotman and Staicer (2001) investigated the role of corporate paternalism at the Schroeder Saddletree Factory, a locus of specialty production in Madison, Indiana. Their research illustrated that relationships between men, such as that of master and apprentice, profoundly shaped daily interactions.

Examinations of gender relations have often focused upon domestic spaces. Residential architecture and the landscapes of homelots have been given particular attention in the scholarly literature (e.g., Agnew 1995; Barile and Brandon 2004; Kruczek-Aaron 2002; Massey 1994; Rose 1993). Homes in urban (e.g., Clark 1988; Rotman 2007; Wright 1981) and rural (e.g., Adams 1990; McMurry 1988; Rotman 2006; Rotman and Nassaney 1997) settings were transformed over time as ideologies of gender relations shaped and reshaped the organization and utilization of interior and exterior spaces (e.g., Borish 1995; Nylander 1994; Spain 1992; Wilkie 2004).

Some research has focused on the association of women with particular aspects of culture (e.g., family, reproduction) to the virtual exclusion of all else. A few studies have stretched our understanding of men and women beyond the home. Spain (1992) examined educational institutions and work places and their role in codifying and reproducing social relations. Weisman (1992) investigated department stores, shopping malls, and maternity hospitals to understand how public architecture functions in defining social status and gender roles. Yamin (2005) studied prostitution in New York City and Spude (2005) analyzed brothels and saloons in the American West to understand the roles of women and men beyond traditional domestic contexts.

There are interesting studies of material culture and its impact in various settings on gendered social relations. For instance, Yentsch (1991), in her exploration of the varied uses of stonewares and refined earthenwares within the domestic sphere, has looked at the ways in which these ceramics expressed social rank and their symbolic role in gender relations. Wall (1994) has examined the decorative motifs of ceramic tablewares as expressions of moral and social authority. Forty (1986) observed that objects are associated with particular spaces (i.e., bathrooms, kitchens), social ranking (i.e., parlors, servants' quarters), and even age groups (i.e., nurseries), thus serving to reinforce social relations. Similarly, Pearson and Mullins (1999) investigated Barbie dolls as an expression of domestic ideologies.

The spatial organization of the built environment, features on the landscape, and material culture are effective lenses for discerning gender ideologies and relations from archaeological contexts (e.g., Conkey and Gero 1991; Kryder-Reid 1994; Moore 1996; Rotman 2005, 2006; Rotman and Nassaney 1997; Savulis 1992, 1998; Scott 1994; Spencer-Wood 2006; Wall 1991, 1994, 2000; Yentsch 1991). Gero and

Conkey (1991:23) stress that "by adopting gender as an explicit conceptual and analytical category, by applying gender concepts and categories to familiar and original sets of archaeological data, women are brought into view as active producers, innovators, and contextualizers of the very material world by which we know the past." Importantly, Wilkie (2003, 2004) reiterates the need to recognize that gendered interpretations are not an end in themselves, but as part of a broader project of studying "personhood" archaeologically.

Gender Ideologies in America

During the mid-eighteenth through the early twentieth centuries in America, gender relations were structured primarily, but not exclusively by republican motherhood, the cult of domesticity, equal rights feminism, domestic reform, and the feminine mystique. These ideologies have been well-documented elsewhere and are only briefly summarized here (for more details see Alcott 1838, 1849, 1851; Beecher 1841; Beetham 1996; Bleier 1984; Child 1831, 1833; Clinton 1984; Cott 1977; DuBois 1978; Giele 1995; Green 1983; Hayden 1995; Newcomb 1855; Romero 1997; Ryan 1985; Sklar 1973; Strasser 1982, as examples).

Each of the many ideologies for gendered social relations was distinctive in terms of its primary purpose. In many cases, however, only subtle variations separated them. For instance, throughout time and across space there has been recognition that men and women make different contributions to society. So in a sense, there has always been separation in how those roles were defined, particularly within the culturally prescribed norm of heterosexual married couples. It is only the degree of separation and the particular ways in which those separations were enacted that varied according to ideology. Under republican motherhood, for example, there was a clear ideological separation in male and female roles, but the physical spaces wherein those roles were enacted were not particularly distinct. In contrast, however, the cult of domesticity represented both an ideological and a physical separation of roles for women and men. (More on these ideologies below.)

In other instances, however, ideals differed in fundamental and significant ways. The Cult of Single Blessedness is one example. This ideology (1740–1910s) "advocated that women not marry men but instead marry their professions as religious callings, in analogy with nuns who became celibate brides of Christ" (Chambers-Schiller 1984; Spencer-Wood 1999a:172, 2007:50). This structuring of gender relations was radically different in part because it defined women in roles outside of marriage.

Thus, whether to lump ideologies by their greatest commonalities or split them out according to minor variations proved to be a bit of a dilemma. To lump would be to mask nuanced differences and to split would be to dismiss their inherent similarities. Ultimately, I chose to focus on five primary ideologies: Republican motherhood was an attempt to integrate domesticity and politics by defining women's domestic behavior as having a direct political function in the new republic. This ideal dominated that late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The cult of domesticity was

codified in the 1830s and continued into the twentieth century. This ideal sought to elevate women's status through the domestic sphere, emphasizing distinct spheres of interaction according to gender. In contrast, equal rights feminism rejected the domestic arena and embraced public politics as a vehicle for instituting social change. Domesticity and equal rights feminism had significant temporal overlap. Domestic reform included a variety of social movements of the mid- to late nineteenth century. Like the cult of domesticity and equal rights feminism, domestic reformers were interested in improving the condition of women's lives and elevating their status vis-à-vis men by bringing private aspects of women's roles into the public sphere. The feminine mystique replaced the cult of domesticity at the beginning of the twentieth century and reasserted women's roles in the domestic sphere at the inter-section of new technologies and an emerging consumer society.

The adoption and implementation of each of these ideologies and others varied according to time and space, financial and social circumstances, and the abilities and desires of human agents. Consequently, although republican motherhood, cult of domesticity, equal rights feminism, domestic reform, and feminine mystique were ideologically separate entities, these distinctions were often blurred in the actual lived experiences of individuals – producing a kaleidoscopic spectrum of under-standings, interpretations, and implementations of gendered roles and relations.

Republican Motherhood

Beginning in the late eighteenth century, the ideals of domesticity were "articulated in novels and portraits, sermons and newspapers, even in house plans and styles. Each form expressed the now completely familiar belief that the home was the proper sphere for women, that it was women's natural domain, while the world of work, commerce, and politics was the realm of men" (Leone and Silberman 1995:126). Decades before the "cult of domesticity" was codified as such, the ideas of men and women playing different cultural roles predominated.

The ideology of republican motherhood emerged during a time of tremendous social change in the decades surrounding the turn of the nineteenth century:

> The old order of eighteenth-century America was dissolving, facing serious challenges from all sorts of places: from iconoclastic religious sects demanding and exercising new liberties of worship; from assertive artisans in the cities practicing an egalitarian, populist politics; from self-conscious, exclusive elites withdrawing from older responsibilities to the common good and embracing, instead, the consumer revolution and the genteel styles rapidly spreading across the ocean from England. This is briefly to say that the society of the early republic was splintering, fragmenting, increasingly acrimonious, and beset with tensions, with many people eagerly imitating English styles of politeness and class, others playing with radical notions of the Enlightenment, and still others defending and redefining the values of tradition. (Kerber et al. 1989:574).

In the highly unstable and rapidly changing world of the new nation, republican womanhood "served to consolidate this middle class gentry, to crystallize its identity and position it against licentious aristocrats above and dissolute laborers

below, in that classical American fashion of asserting that we really represent the middle and that the extremes belong in the Old World" (Kerber et al. 1989:172).

During the Revolutionary War, women had served the cause of liberty in essential and very public ways. They "boycotted imported goods, increased their workloads by supplying replacements for the boycotted goods, fed and clothed armies, ran farms and businesses while they their husbands and fathers were away, and engaged in other efforts outside of the women's previous domestic scope" (Evans 1989:58). Republican motherhood also offered a means for integrating women into the new nation by combining domesticity with their political and civic roles, altering "the female domain in which most women had always lived out their lives; it justified an extension of women's absorption and participation in civic culture" (Kerber 1976:204).

The Revolutionary War can be viewed as a source for the central tenets of domesticity, since it challenged the metaphors by which Americans understood the social relationships of the family. "With the rejection of the concept of monarchy, for instance, the idea of a hierarchical, father-headed household was weakened" (Leone and Silberman 1995:126). A new ideology emerged out of the new "democratic" nation and the modern nuclear family of today began to replace the customs, values, and residential arrangements of extended families. Republican ideology "emphasized the need for virtuous, educated citizens who would guard the common welfare to prevent the greed and corruption of contemporaries that was believed prevalent in Europe and had led to the decline of past republics" (Porter 1996:2; see also Kerber 1976, Reiner 1982).

Within this new ideological landscape were "Republican Mothers," who were charged with raising patriotic and responsible citizens – however ironic that may have been given that women had no direct access to political power in the new republic and their participation in the new nation was extremely limited (Clinton 1984). The model republican woman was to be "self-reliant (within limits); literate, untempted by the frivolities of fashion. She had a responsibility to the political scene, though not to act on it… But her competence did not extend to the making of political decisions. Her political task was accomplished within the confines of her family. The model republican woman was a mother" (Kerber 1976:202).

Mothers were believed to be in "the best position to teach their children the right moral lessons because early influences were regarded as the most important. Women's control over the nursery and the education of their children gave them the unique opportunity to instill youth with both proper Christian and proper republican qualities before other, less uplifting forces could interfere" (Salmon 2000:176; see also Gilje 1996, Wood 1969, Zagarri 1992). Religious education was also believed to "inculcate the virtue and restraint essential to the exercise of republican liberty" (Reiner 1982:157).

Methods of childrearing for the republican mother included breast-feeding, the encouragement of "physical liberty" of children, daily time spent outdoors and in the fresh air, engagement through constant conversation with them, and firm behavioral lessons, such as obedience and self-denial (American Matron 1811). The life of the republican mother was isolating, consisting of

a little-changing round of household tasks [that] dominated women's lives and created a
routine they found stifling. Women had limited opportunities for social contact, and those
they had were almost exclusively with other women. They turned women's labor into social
occasions, and they passed the milestones of their lives in the supportive company of
female friends and relatives (Baker 1984:632).

The domestic sphere under republican motherhood gained unprecedented signifi-
cance, wherein "political virtue became domesticated, and the republican mother
became the 'custodian of civic morality'" (Nash 1997:172).

Whereas the nation, communities, and families strove toward greater political
equality, economic equality significantly declined. Petty commodity production
and industrialization were expanding in America during the second half of the
eighteenth century. Economic stratification accompanied that growth (Paynter 1998).
Coontz (1988:121) argued that "The expansion of commerce in its early phases
strengthened some of the economic and social functions of the family and rein-
forced the corporate nature of the household, even as it allowed that household to
escape much community control. Among the upper classes, before the development
of formal credit institutions, family alliances became increasingly important for
preserving or combining blocs of capital and for constructing partnerships."

Education became a hallmark of the new republic, since it was viewed that a literate
citizenry was essential to the health of the nation. "The influences of schools and
high-minded women, then, were stabilizing forces in a rapidly moving society"
(Wallace 1996:54). Common schooling became a central concern of many commu-
nities, which "offered a curriculum of rudimentary intellectual skills, strongly laced
with religious exercises and the memorization of scripture" (Kaestle 1983:31).

Women were central to the dialogue on education, since "in a republic dependent
upon citizens' understanding of principles of liberty and representation, mothers
had to be especially suitably educated" (Cott 1977:104). Advocates of the period,
such as Benjamin Rush (1787) "justified female education for its social utility: an
American woman required education to form her into 'an agreeable companion for
a sensible man,' an efficient household economist, a proponent and example of
Christian morals, and a capable mother of liberty-loving sons" (Cott 1977:105; see
also Marilley 1996).

Female associations were also essential to colonial women. None existed before
the Revolution, but a variety of groups flourished in the postwar period. "Ironically,
public recognition of the importance of motherhood – that most private of domestic
obligations – gave women their first opportunity to find fulfillment outside the home"
(Salmon 2000:177), through charitable work, maternal societies, and the like.

No specific historical archaeological investigations of the materiality of republi-
can motherhood were found during this literature review. Wall (1994:11), in the
preface to her study of nineteenth-century cult of domesticity, provides a tantalizing
clue as to what such a study might entail:

I see the Revolution, in marking the end of America's role as a colony, as an event opening
American culture to congeries of new possibilities and accelerating the transformation to
modern life. Men and women acted on these new possibilities differently, each within a
framework of their relationship within traditional colonial culture: Men continued with and

enhanced their role of mediating between the household and the larger society, and women continuing with and enhanced their role in social reproduction, maintaining the household, and caring for small children.

Wall's description suggests that the materiality of republican motherhood would emphasize the different roles men and women played in the new republic. Importantly, Wall's summary also illustrates that the evolution of gender ideologies represented subtle qualitative shifts rather than wholesale abandonment and adoption of new social ideals.

Nevertheless, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, "motherhood was virtually the only vehicle through which women could earn social recognition" (Salmon 2000:176). The tensions between the rejection of hierarchical explanations for inequality following the revolution and the reinforcement of inequality through female subordination reached a high water mark in the early 1800s. A coherent new image of womanhood emerged in the 1830s in an attempt to reconcile some of these contradictions.

The Cult of Domesticity

The cult of domesticity has been the most widely studied of nineteenth-century gender ideologies, particularly among white middle- and upper-class families (e.g., Beetham 1996; Hayden 1995:54–63; Ryan 1985; Sklar 1973). It was also the prevailing ideological force for many families. Although domestic ideals were in circulation as early as the 1820s, the publication of *The Treatise on Domestic Economy* by Catharine Beecher in 1841 defined and embellished the art of domestic virtue (Beecher 1841; see also Cott 1977; Giele 1995:36; Ryan 1985; Sklar 1973:136).

Domesticity mandated separate spheres of activity – the public arena for men and the private domestic residence for women. Whereas in the ideology of republican motherhood this separation was largely ideological, a literal physical separation was central to ideals of domesticity. In urban settings, the private home became separated from the commercial workplace, effectively ending the integrated family economy and creating a consumer economy for the middle class (Wall 1994:19, 2000). The mid-nineteenth century ideal "stressed the separation of public and private, the protective role of the household, and the importance of order and hierarchy in domestic life" (Spain 1992:124). Consequently, spaces were "reorganized making new areas in houses and yards more isolated and private (i.e., feminized)" (Yentsch 1991:196). The separation of the home and workplace affected women's power and status. In the context of society as a whole, particularly in political and economic arenas, women's power declined. Within the home and family, however, their symbolic power was enhanced (Wall 1994:9).

The real-lived experiences of women and men under domesticity were often much more fluid than a rigid separation would suggest (Wurst 2003). Residential homelots became physical manifestations of these conceptualized ideals and the arenas in which gender realities were negotiated (see Boserup 1970; Coontz 1988;

Ember 1983; Hautaneimi and Rotman 2003; Juster 1996; McMurry 1988; Osterud 1991; Rotman 2001, 2005, 2006; Rotman and Nassaney 1997; Stewart-Abernathy 1986). (An analysis of the separation of spheres is presented in Chap. 6.)

The ideals of "true womanhood," as it was alternately known, elaborated women's position within the private sphere and celebrated qualities such as piety, purity, submissiveness, and domesticity (Giele 1995:36). This ideology segregated male and female responsibilities and assigned women "traditional roles in the home, education, and community service" (Russell 1981:3). The widespread acceptance of this ideal was due in part to the belief that there was a biological basis for a separation (Fausto-Sterling 2000). This social order was so powerful and so pervasive that historians have referred to it as a "cult" (Matthews 1989:6).

Domestic ideologies glorified women's potential and aimed to encourage the development of their moral, intellectual, and patriotic qualities. Proponents of this position, such as Catherine Beecher, were frequently referred to as domestic feminists. Advocates for domesticity "sought to build a sphere of female hegemony by encouraging gender-based roles and responsibilities" (Russell 1981:3). Women were expected to be devoutly religious, sexually pure, conservative in dress, and successful in creating a household that served as a peaceful refuge from the hostile world.

The religious and moral instruction of children was an especially important aspect of true womanhood, so much so that it was also sometimes referred to as "evangelical motherhood" (Coontz 1988:180). These women were also vocal about temperance as well as active in a variety of benevolent and missionary societies and other charities (e.g., Cott 1977; Giele 1995; Sklar 1973).

The cult of domesticity has been much maligned and often misunderstood. The separation of male and female spheres, for example, has often been attributed to industrialization. In preindustrial America, however, men and women worked in close physical proximity to one another, but performed highly differentiated tasks. Men tended the orchards, but women preserved the fruit; men chopped the firewood, but women tended the fire (Matthews 1989:4; see also Stewart-Abernathy 1992). Wall (1994:11, 162–163) observed that the divergence of male and female spheres began before marketplace activities were removed from the home. Clearly, gender separation did not begin with the cult of domesticity, but these ideals were embraced in the national culture with particular zeal by the mid-nineteenth century through this ideology.

Contemporaneous advocates for equal rights feminism argued that the cult of true womanhood resulted in decreased power and status for women. They asserted that the emphasis upon women's domestic roles restricted or excluded them from their rightful place in the public sphere, keeping them out of higher education, the professions, courts of law and legislatures, and the voting booth (Giele 1995:47).

Elizabeth Cady Stanton (1892:6) argued in *The Solitude of Self* that education for woman would be for the benefit of all society, since it would better equip her for her role in the domestic sphere:

> But to manage a household, have a desirable influence in society, keep her friends and the affections of her husband, train her children and servants well, she must have rare common sense, wisdom, diplomacy, and a knowledge of human nature. To do all of this, she needs

the cardinal virtues and the strong points of character that the most successful statesman possesses. An uneducated woman trained to dependence, with no resources in herself, must make a failure of any position in life.

Susan B. Anthony, partner to Elizabeth Cady Stanton in the women's suffrage movement, believed that the problems of domesticity began with marriage:

> Marriage has ever and always will be a one-sided matter, resting most unequally upon the sexes. By marrying, man gains all – woman loses all; tyrant law and lust remain supreme with him – meek submission, and cheerful, ready obedience, alone befit her. Woman has never been consulted… By law, public sentiment and religion, from the time of Moses down to the present day, woman has never been thought of other than a piece of property, to be disposed of at the will and pleasure of man (Ward and Burns 1999:92).

Yet proponents of domesticity argued that this ideology was intended to elevate the status of women in society by elaborating and valuing the domestic sphere and women's roles within it (Matthews 1989:6). The home became the center of culture and each mother in her home became the locus of moral authority. Although women were consigned to a separate domestic sphere, it was a sphere that was intended to be essential to the larger cultural context (Matthews 1989:xiii).

Domesticity has also been misunderstood as a bourgeois rationalization for the capitalist separation of work and home, not simply a matter of ideological preference. The cult of true womanhood, as argued by Coontz (1988:193), was actually a strategy for resisting too complete a separation of these two dimensions of life. The historical development of this ideology was complex and one in which middle-class women played a central role.

The perceived importance of the domestic sphere by some segments of society was clearly illustrated by Mrs. Child, author of *The Mother's Book* published in 1831. She dedicated her book to "The American Mothers on Whose Intelligence and Discretion the Safety and Prosperity of our Republic so Much Depend" (Child 1831:iii). Domestic roles were often featured in the popular presses of the time, such as this excerpt entitled "The Sphere of Woman" from the March 1850 *Godey's Lady's Book*:

> To how few men is it granted to return regularly like a star, and to preside both over the day and the night! But the woman who arranges her household, forms her domestic plans, watches over the economy of her house, and wisely dispenses her means, spreads harmony, love, and peace throughout the circle, and makes her husband, whom she loves, a happy prince over that happiest domain. Her attention gathers all the knowledge she requires, and her activity knows how to employ it. She is dependent on nothing, save the love and attachment of her husband, for whom she procures true independence – that which is internal and domestic.

Clearly, for many men and women, domestic roles and household responsibilities were deemed central to daily life and valued for their contribution to the domestic economy.

The entanglement of gender, class, and identity is a complex phenomenon. Many authors have taken on this subject (e.g., Adams 1990; Agnew 1995; Beaudry 2004; Deslandes 2007; Kockelman 2007; Matthews 1989; McMurry 1988; Middleton 2007; Narotzky 2007; Rothschild 2006; Rotman 2005, 2006; Scott 2007; Wall 1994;

Wilkie and Bartoy 2000). The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries represented a particularly dynamic time, marked by fluctuating geographical mobility, urbanization, and industrialization. Productive relations were restructured and strategies for social and personal reproduction were questioned. The primary mechanism of upper-class domination had resided in social and political institutions rather than economic ones (Coontz 1988:174). Consequently, as the basis of the economic system became industrial rather than agricultural, "the old ruling class, based on landed and mercantile wealth and exercising power through personal, political, and social ties was challenged by rising sections of a new middle class, whose power was based on the ability to increase productivity and compete in a modern market" (Coontz 1988:169).

An increased dependence upon wage labor transformed work relations and was accompanied by changes in homes and families. Some women's labor became increasingly peripheral to the family economy. At the same time, patriarchal authority was weakened as fathers became unable to pass on viable farms and their children sought economic opportunities elsewhere. The previously clear control and structure of the family began to unravel and gender became the primary means of redefining and reestablishing order during the mid- to late nineteenth century in the eastern United States (Coontz 1988:189; Hautaniemi 2001; McMurry 1998; Paynter 2000a, 2000b; Rotman 2006).

Middle-class women were active historical agents in this process. Although they were increasingly excluded from political and economic transactions, new opportunities for education and wage work for young women and new responsibilities in childrearing raised women's aspirations. "Female leadership in religion and reform [was] an active attempt to claim a distinctive space in American society. Women sought power and influence in religious associations, new family ideologies, and a rearranged domestic order that gave them control over reproduction and moral ascendancy over men" (Coontz 1988:186; see also Spencer-Wood 1991, 2003, 2004).

The middle class also played an important role in the restructuring and separation of public and private life. Wage labor created a distinction between a class that owned the means of production (the business class) and a class that increasingly had nothing to sell but its own labor power (the working class) (Coontz 1988:187; Wurst and Fitts 1999). The middle class – consisting of professionals, small farmers or businessmen, managers, writers, ministers, and, in the nineteenth century, clerks – was constantly shaped by the dynamics of capitalist competition and the changing relations between the business and working classes. The middle class had an identity that was distinct from the working class below – since they had been relatively successful in avoiding the worst insecurities and indignities of wage labor – as well as from the capitalists above – since they did not own the means of production (Coontz 1988:188; Fitts 2001; Wurst 1999). The middle class came into crisis during the economic transition and needed organizational and ideological strategies to survive. Women, in particular, had "a vital role in the elaboration and organization of middle-class values and behavior patterns…. [T]hey were specially situated to perceive problems of reproducing class position in a changing society and to develop family strategies that responded to those problems" (Coontz 1988:190; Fitts 2001; Spain 2001).

Piety, purity, submissiveness, and domesticity – the hallmarks of true woman-hood and "separate spheres" – were expressed through other material objects and activities (Giele 1995:36; Welter 1976:21–41). Restrictive clothing included tight corsets, large numbers of undergarments, and weighty over dresses all assured submissiveness and passivity by limiting a woman's physical mobility (Ward and Burns 1999:70–71). Morally uplifting tasks included needlework and crafts which "kept women in the home, busy about her tasks of wifely duties and childcare, keeping the home a cheerful, peaceful place which would attract men away from the evils of the outside world" (Lavender 1999:3).

Wall (1994:160) observed that Gothic-style ironstone at family meals was an iconic expression of women's sacred roles as moral guardian of family members under domesticity. Fitts (1999) also analyzed tableware and teaware sets in seeking to understand middle-class domesticity, a fundamental aspect of which included a mastery of dining etiquette. A person's table manners were viewed as a direct reflection of his or her morality. Meals were an important aspect of childhood training and regarded as "three opportunities a day for teaching 'punctuality, order, neatness, temperance, self-denial, kindness, generosity, and hospitality'" (Matthews 1989:25; see also Fitts 1999). Children were given their own special tablewares for family meals (often with pictures or the alphabet on them) as well as play tea sets, both of which were intended to instill genteel dining behaviors in their users. Furthermore, matching sets of dishes used in these daily rituals "affirmed their [middle class] faith in the power of science and rational thought to transform the world through the products of an industrial society" (Williams 1985:90; see also Fitts 1999). A variety of specialized vessel forms was also a hallmark of genteel dining etiquette (e.g., Shackel 1993). As with table manners, the presence or absence of proper table and teawares were also viewed as an expression of one's morality, which again was inextricably linked with class position. (Because of the central role refined earthenwares played in the daily enactment of gender roles and relations, this class of material objects is the basis of the analysis presented in Chap. 5.)

Other significant objects within the home included furnishings. For urban families, where the separation of work and home was most idealized and dramatic, the home was defined as feminine and decorated accordingly. Lavender (1999:3) observes that "the nineteenth-century household was cluttered with beautiful, ornate objects – elaborate patterns in cloth covering walls, ornate furniture, pianos, paintings, and brick-abrack. Colors were muted – dark and velvety – all to surround, darken, and deepen the quiet of the home, and to accentuate the softness, submissiveness, and leisure of the woman within it, the angel of the house." Also by about mid-century, women were using household furnishings with floral and naturalistic motifs in their efforts to create a home environment as a sanctuary that would instill Christian values in their children and provide refuge for their husbands from the outside world (Fitts 1999:47, 49).

Therefore, material classes, such as Gothic-style ceramics, can be viewed as indicators of gentility operating within a household. Flower pots, miniature ceramic tea sets, and specialized dining vessels for children express the middle-class Victorian ideals that guided daily life for site occupants.

The gender roles and relations codified by the ideals of domesticity were also accompanied by an important demographic transformation. A critical examination of birth rates, while currently underutilized by historical archaeologists, informs our understanding of gender ideologies that advocate for reduced family size.

The nuclear family was the basis of the social order in America and the ideal community was a collection of separate families. As interpersonal indicators of social position lost their effectiveness, "family patterns and values, especially the sexual division of labor, took on special importance as indicators and determinants of class" (Coontz 1988:193; see also Temkin-Greener 1979).

Family size, particularly during the mid- to late nineteenth century, became one such marker of status. Sexual purity and self-control were central to the cult of domesticity. Women were expected to be passionless and husbands were counseled to curb their sexual appetites (Matthews 1989:28). These new behaviors resulted in smaller families. Having few children demonstrated one's self-control and became a status marker, while having many children illustrated the lack of self-control and subsequently lower status.

With smaller families, women (theoretically) had more time to invest in the religious and moral instruction of each child, the maintenance of a proper home, maternal and benevolent societies, and other activities deemed necessary for "true women." Advocating lower fertility also had consequences for children, who became sentimentalized at the same time they tied mothers to the home (Schneider and Schneider 1996:194; see also Beetham 1996:56; Child 1831, 1833; Cott 1977:47; Lasch 1997:132–133).

Wall (1994:89–93) highlighted some additional factors that may have contributed to the decline in fertility. Although industrialization and urbanization have often been cited as the origins of this trend, this assessment is not entirely accurate since birthrates began to decline decades before these processes. The decline really accelerated in the late nineteenth century. In rural areas, the paucity of agricultural land meant fathers could not assist their sons with establishing their own farms. In cities, the loci of production were removed from the home during the growth of industrial capitalism and men could no longer pass on a family business to their children. Regardless of the context, parents began having fewer children.

In addition to declining birth rates, other demographic changes occurred during the nineteenth century. There was an increase in the length of time that young people stayed at home. Young single women entered the paid labor force in increasing numbers, while there was a decrease in wives who did so (Coontz 1988:175). The demography of populations was changing rapidly in other ways as well. Life expectancy, for example, improved from approximately 35 years of age at the time of the American Revolution to over 50 years for individuals born in the 1880s (Giele 1995:36). People were less geographically mobile, with proportionately more individuals living in or adjacent to their state of birth in the 1880s than in the 1850s (Coontz 1988:261–262). Similarly, the birth rate between 1800 and 1860 dropped from 278 to 184 per thousand women of childbearing age (Giele 1995:36) and continued to decline by an additional 40% between 1855 and 1915 (Coontz 1988:260; see also Hautaniemi 2001).

Domesticity was a power-laden social arrangement. Wood (2004:213) eloquently summarizes domestic ideals in this way:

> The prescribed role of the housewife was rooted in the social conditions of the middle classes, and as hegemonic ideologies of "domesticity" and proper gender relations established the roles of housewife and mother as universal roles of womanhood. All women were expected to conform to gender expectations that were considered to be their natural vocation. Seen in this way, domesticity can be viewed as a relation of power and the household as a site of the practice of power.

Nineteenth-century women, during the time that the cult of domesticity was most fervent, were not oblivious to the unequal power distribution in the cultural norms of their time. Alternative ideologies emerged in reaction to women's relative paucity of social, economic, and political power, particularly during the mid-nineteenth century.

Equal Rights Feminism

Equal rights feminism was based on the principle of equal political participation. By 1850, this ideal had emerged out of, and was largely a reaction to, domesticity (Giele 1995:47). Nineteenth-century feminists saw "true womanhood" as oppressive and were concerned about women's dependence upon men for their economic and physical livelihood.

Dissatisfied with women's roles that they believed were too narrowly defined, many women sought equality with men under the law, in the public arena, and within the home. The leadership of this group – women such as Isabella Beecher Hooker, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Susan B. Anthony – sought to free American women from the cult of true womanhood, the suffocating customs and oppressive laws, that they believed kept women powerless and confined to home and family.

> The true woman, explained [Susan B.] Anthony, will not be exponent of another, or allow another to be such for her. She will be her own individual self… Stand or fall by her own individual wisdom and strength… She will proclaim the 'glad tidings of good news' to all women, that woman equally with man was made for her own individual happiness, to develop… every talent given to her by God, in the great work of life (Ward and Burns 1999:76).

Political activism was one of the hallmarks of equal rights feminism. These women "were interested in establishing rights and equality through property reform, control of earnings, educational and work opportunities, labor regulations, guardianship rights over their children, and equal legal status" (Russell 1981:8). They worked passionately on a variety of political issues, both those that benefited themselves directly (i.e., suffrage), but other causes as well (i.e., abolitionism). Indeed, origins of the movement can be traced to the World Anti-Slavery Convention in London in 1840. It was there that Elizabeth Cady Stanton – through her conversations with Lucreita Mott, a well-known abolitionist, and other convention delegates – began to see parallels between the status and oppression of women and that of slaves (Ward and Burns 1999:30).

The spatial, material, and demographic expressions of equal rights feminism remain poorly understood. Historians and other researchers have given much less scholarly attention to this arena than they have to expressions of domesticity, with a few notable exceptions (e.g., DuBois 1978; Flexner 1968; Giele 1995; Gurko 1974; Marilley 1996; Ward and Burns 1999). Historical archaeologists have not yet undertaken its exploration to any substantial depth. The challenge in identifying manifestations of equal rights feminism may lie in its inherent nature. Whereas the cult of domesticity and other domestic-focused ideals were localized in the homes of thousands of virtually anonymous families; equal rights feminism appeared on a national scale in the very public life stories of a small number of advocates, such as the Grimke sister, Ernestine Rose, Fanny Wright, and Lucy Stone (Giele 1995:47).

Although this gender ideology was largely centered on the public arena, it was expected to have material and spatial expressions in the domestic arena as well – specifically in opposition to those of domesticity. Only a few concrete examples of the materiality of equal rights feminism, however, are discussed in the extant literature.

It is known that adherents to domestic ideals advocated restrictive clothing such as corsets, multiple undergarments, and weighty overdresses. In contrast, the equal rights feminists of the 1850s promoted an alternative ideal of "dressing sensibly" in clothing that eschewed restriction and weight (Giele 1995:53). Amelia Bloomer designed a short dress that was much more comfortable and practical to wear. "Bloomers" were perceived as scandalous and women who wore them were ridiculed. Even the spouses of these women were subjected to taunts. The political foes of Elizabeth Cady Stanton indicted her husband by chanting "Heigh! Ho! The carrion crow, Mrs. Stanton's all the go; Twenty tailors take the stitches, Mrs. Stanton wears the britches" (Ward and Burns 1999:71). Finally, both Stanton and Anthony conceded that wearing bloomers was detracting from their message of women's rights and abandoned the practice. Mrs. Stanton lamented "Ah! Such is the tyranny of tradition!" (Exhibit, Women's Rights National Historic Park, Seneca Falls 2000).

Similarly, the Gothic-style ironstone at family meals as an iconic expression of women's sacred roles as moral guardian of family members under the cult of domesticity may have also have been eschewed (Wall 1994:160). It might be expected that women who rejected a narrowly defined domestic role for women also rejected the material objects that most iconographically embodied this ideology and were used in its reproduction. This might also be true for Gothic Revival-style architecture. It is also possible that women who were critical of women's service to men might have avoided the practice of having domestic servants in their homes.

Little too is known about the fertility of gender ideologies other than the cult of domesticity. One critique of equal rights feminism, however, is that these advocates focused upon improving women's status in the political arena and failed to address the deeply gendered and unequal division of labor within the family. As a result, women's suffrage became a substitute for issues feminists were unwilling to address, such as the structure of marriage and sexual practices (see Giele 1995:173, 183).

The materiality and spatiality of equal rights feminism have been rather elusive and understudied in historical archaeology. This may again be attributed to the fact that, unlike the cult of domesticity whose foci was individual domestic residences, equal rights feminism was a national phenomenon. Similar difficulties were encountered in attempting to identify the material and spatial expressions of domestic reform.

Domestic Reform

Like equal rights feminism and unlike the ideals of domesticity, domestic reform was not localized at the level of households. Rather, this gender ideology was a neighborhood phenomenon. Its materiality and spatiality has also often been understood in opposition to domesticity.

Many housing reformers advocated new architectural forms to codify the social ideals of the time. Gothic Revival architecture, for example, epitomized the cult of domesticity and the home as moral haven. Not all domestic reformers were satisfied, however, with architectural plans and arrangements that symbolized woman's honor and encouraged their domesticity. Some, particularly "Yankee women with an interest in some form of communitarian socialism, women of strong will and intelligence,… hoped to transform all American cities and towns by material strategies designed to promote women's economic power" (Hayden 1995:63). Melusina Fay Pierce, for example, published plans for cooperative homes and kitchenless apartments.

Pierce's ideas were not popular with either proponents of domesticity or equal rights feminists. The former "found her emphasis on women's economic power distasteful, while [the latter] were frustrated by her insistence that women deal first with the issues raised in their domestic lives" (Hayden 1995:89). Pierce's visions for domestic architecture clearly illustrated that neither domesticity nor equal rights feminism were universally accepted. Alternative perspectives which incorporated aspects of both positions were available, although perhaps held by a minority of the population.

Domestic reformers, also referred to as cultural feminists, sought to expand women's roles into domestic areas of the public sphere by professionalizing housework occupations both in the home and in the public sphere women (Spencer-Wood 1991:275; 2003, 2004, 2006). Where they were active and successful, these groups and individuals redefined the domestic arena so that increasingly it overlapped with public ones. They created communal networks, such as working-class neighborhood housework cooperatives, day nurseries, kitchen gardens, and kindergartens. These domestic reformers "argued that just as women's natural abilities uniquely suited them for taking care of the family and home, so they also made women best suited for taking care of the wider family of the community and its homes" (Spencer-Wood 1991:234; see also Clinton 1984; Strasser 1982).

Domestic reform included a variety of social movements that were interested in improving the conditions of women's lives and elevating their status vis-à-vis men. Spencer-Wood (1991:223) asserted that "domestic reformers resisted the male-dominated cultural categorization of women's work as inferior to men's work…

[and] successfully empowered female dominance in a wide range of professional occupations." In this way, domestic reformers occupied the "middle ground" between the public and private spheres by negotiating a place for women in each of them. Utopian societies and communitarian experiments also fell under the rubric of domestic reform, since they were challenging mainstream gender roles and relations. Domestic reform movements illustrate how nineteenth-century gender ideologies did not fit neatly into clearly defined and discrete categories.

In *The Grand Domestic Revolution: A History of Feminist Designs for American Homes, Neighborhoods, and Cities*, Dolores Hayden (1995:5) asserted that these movements "held the intellectual ground between the other feminists' campaigns directed at housewives' autonomy in domestic life or at women's autonomy in the urban community." Material feminists, as Hayden called them, fell between the work of Marxist socialism and feminism. Whereas "the Marxists lost sight of the necessary labor of one half of the population [that of women]; the feminists lost sight of class structure under capitalism and addressed most of their demands to the state" (Hayden 1995:7). Material feminism sought to address the issues of class and gender as well as production and reproduction and, consequently, included such diverse movements as utopian socialist communities (e.g., the Shakers) and cooperative housekeeping efforts. Hayden's (1995:4–5) work is particularly important in that it acknowledges that artificial categorization of these movements masks their inherent similarities:

> The overarching theme of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century feminist movement was to overcome the split between domestic life and public life created by industrial capitalism, as it affected women. Every feminist campaign for women's autonomy must be seen in this light. Yet scholars have tended to divide this coherent struggle into separate factions. Typological labels such as suffragist, social feminist, and domestic feminist distinguish too sharply between women who worked on public, or social, issues from those who worked on private, or family, issues. Most feminists wished to increase women's rights in the home and simultaneously bring homelike nurturing into public life.

This broad definition allows for a range of movements and gender ideologies all aimed at improving women's status. It highlights the complexities of gender roles and relations as they were operationalized in different times and places as they intersected with the social relations of class and ethnicity (Hayden 1995:21).

The practices of domestic reformers fell somewhere between the cult of domesticity and equal rights feminism in their purest idealized forms. Furthermore, they illustrate that there were multiple gender ideologies operating simultaneously in American society, particularly during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Feminine Mystique

Another gender ideology emerged in the early twentieth century that was known as the feminine mystique. Betty Friedan (1963) attributed it to social and cultural changes of the 1940s and 1950s; however, Ruth Schwartz Cowan (1973, 1982) suggested that it actually emerged decades earlier, perhaps as early as the 1910s.

According to Cowan (1973), feminine mystique replaced the ideology of domesticity. This ideal was both unique from and shared some common attributes with the ideals of true womanhood:

> The mystique makers … believed that women were purely domestic creatures, that the goal of each normal woman's life was the acquisition of a husband, a family and a home, that women who worked outside their homes did so only under duress or because they were "odd" (for which read "ugly," "frustrated," "compulsive," or "single") and that this state of affairs was sanctioned by the tenets of religion, biology, psychology, and patriotism (Cowan 1978:148).

The matron of the house now did everything without the assistance of servants. Technological revolutions of the time, such as electricity, fueled a change in household labor with a variety of "labor-saving devices" (Cowan 1982). Laundering, preparation of meals, and cleaning were all redefined not only by the tools with which women could complete these tasks, but were also given new social meaning. Diapering the baby, for example, was no longer just diapering, but a time to build the baby's sense of security; [and] cleaning the bathroom sink was not just cleaning, but an exercise for the maternal instincts, protecting the family from disease (Cowan 1982:151). The new housewife under the feminine mystique became a significant consumer of manufactured goods. These included household appliances, cleaning supplies, new items for interior decorating, and prepackaged foods.

The material and spatial correlates of the feminine mystique are also not well understood. Indeed, no previous archaeological studies of this gender ideology could be located for comparison with this research project.

It is possible that feminine mystique was emerging on the ideological landscape of Deerfield during the final decade covered by this study. The household representing this period was that of Madeline Yale Wynne and Annie Putnam. Given that mystique defined women relative to their husbands as homemakers, it seemed unlikely that we would see evidence of this gender ideology for Wynne and Putnam. Nevertheless, since the ideals were extant on the cultural landscape of the region and nation, it is imperative to be mindful that feminine mystique may have shaped gender roles and relations in the village during the early twentieth century, even if such a gender ideal was not adopted in its entirety by families in the village.

Other Gender Ideologies

In addition to those presented above, there were a number of other ideals circulating in the cultural milieu during the late eighteenth and through the early twentieth centuries. Spencer-Wood (2007:47–50) provides an especially cogent review of these ideologies.

Some of these principles had strong parallels or commonalities with domesticity. The Cult of Female Invalidism, for example, was found predominantly in elite, middle-class white households and "used the dominant ideology of women's inherent physical weakness as a way to control their sexual relationships with their husbands" (Spencer-Wood 2007:47). "Intensive mothering" emerged with the separation of domestic and

public spheres and "scientific mothering" accompanied the development of male-dominated medicine and childbirth (see also Wilkie 2003:11, 177–204).

Other ideals resonated with white middle-class domestic reformers. The Cult of Home Religion, as one example, served as platform for recognizing "that women's housework should be equivalent in status to the male ministry because women sacrificed for their family flock just as ministers sacrificed for their religious flock" (Spencer-Wood 2007:48; see also Spencer-Wood 1994, 1996:418–419, 1999b:181–183).

Still other ideologies seem to be almost entirely unique. The Cult of Single Blessedness, as indicated earlier in this chapter, emerged in the 1740s and persisted through the 1910s. Importantly, this gender ideal defined women's roles outside of marriage and advocated that women marry their professions as religious callings (Chambers-Schiller 1984; Spencer-Wood 1999a:172, 2007:50).

Clearly, gender was incredibly complex social relation. As we examine the ideologies that guided gendered roles and relations through the kaleidoscope, we can see them both as separate entities and in unique amalgamations. Gender ideals and the ways in which they were operationalized were also intimately connected to socioeconomic class, ethnicity and race, sexuality, and identity. Furthermore, there were a myriad of social, cultural, economic, and political forces that pushed and pulled at the lives of human agents, as we will explore in the balance of this chapter.

Other Social and Cultural Forces that Shape Gender Roles and Relations

The material world was differentially experienced by a highly varied citizenry in the United States during the late eighteenth through the early twentieth centuries. Thus, the social actions that built, used, modified, and led to the abandonment of cultural landscapes can be understood only in relation to the structured positions of class, gender, and ethnicity (Paynter 1990:11). Brodkin-Sacks (1989), Scott (1994), and Delle et al. (2000), furthermore, stress the importance of these social relations as mutually related forces – such that one cannot be understood without consideration of the others. Each fashioned lived experiences in Deerfield and the eastern United States in powerful ways, forming the bases of group identity and identities (see also Rotman and Clay 2008).

Household settings, whether rural or urban or suburban, actively shaped the creation and codification of gender roles. Yet while the cultural differences that defined these varied contexts were important, it is also essential to recognize the continuum of experience that was represented by rural, suburban, and urban settings as well as the social, political, and economic interconnectedness of these loci. The following section introduces the scholarly work that has been most influential in shaping my own understanding of class and ethnicity in rural, urban, and other households.

The Social Relations of Class

Class analysis based on material remains can be a difficult undertaking. It involves complex sets of social relations including "theoretical and empirical studies of class process, class structure, and class formation" (Paynter 1999:184). Furthermore, historical archaeologists are frequently divided as to what class actually is and how to define it. Marx and Weber are commonly associated with two differing, yet over-lapping, understandings of this subject (Paynter 1999:185–186). Marx theorized class as an "economic relationship." That is, class was a qualitative position defined by where an individual was situated within a wage-labor capitalist system and the process of extracting surplus. Weber, on the other hand, viewed class as a quantitative position, such that class is defined "in terms of the assets an individual brings to a series of market situations." Notions of class analysis become even more complex when one understands that class relations are historically constituted, fluid, and constantly changing (Wurst 1999:9; Wurst and Fitts 1999).

Wurst (2006:191) summarized the complexities of the social relations of class by asserting that:

> Statements by the general populace and historical archaeologists seem to run a wide gamut: from class being the single most important aspect of social life to class being unimportant; from class as a structural location to class as a process; from an attribute of individuals to an analytical method; from a stale and outdated evolutionary moment to a fluidly historical abstraction. So which is it? My glib answer is "yes"!

In order to understand individual lived experience, we must "recognize that class is a relational, analytical, multi-scalar category" (Wurst 2006:201).

A number of historical contexts have been investigated in an effort to understand class relations, including plantations (e.g., Delle 1996, 1998, 2000; Galle 2004; Heath 2004; Orser 1992; Young 2003, 2004), cemeteries (e.g., McGuire 1988, 1991; Wilson and Cabak 2004), city and regional studies (e.g., Paynter et al. 1987; Perry 1999), homelots (e.g., Davidson 2004; Hautaniemi and Rotman 2003; Nassaney et al. 2001; Paynter 1990; Rotman 2005, 2006; Rotman and Nassaney 1997; Stewart-Abernathy 2004; Wood 2004; Yentsch 1996), utopian communities (Savulis 2003), city parks (Spencer-Wood 2003), schoolhouses (Gibb and Beisaw 2001; Rotman et al. 2005), and industrial sites (Rotman and Staicer 2001; Shackel 1996), among others (see also Barile and Brandon 2004; Delle et al. 2000; Rotman and Savulis 2003).

Mrozowski (1991) observed that class distinctions and other social relations were often expressed and maintained through spatial features of and activities carried out upon the landscape (see also Hood 1996; Leone 1984; Leone et al. 1987; Rotman 2003, 2006; Rotman and Black 2005; Wall 1991, 1994; Yentsch 1991). Historically, however, class differences were not universally emphasized. In some contexts, expressing superior social position was either unwanted or unnecessary. In the case of the Burghardts, a family who owned a specialty production firm in Upper Lisle, New York, "emphasizing social mobility was not relevant since the immigrant laborers

[who comprised their work force] had very little hope of ever owning their own tannery" (Wurst 1999:13).

Significantly, a dialectical approach also makes it clear that class has different meanings at different scales of analysis:

> At the local level, terms such as working class and elite are of a particularistic nature, whether we are talking about John Russell [factory owner], cutlery workers, coal miners and their wives, or the Burghardt family. When we shift the analytical lens to larger capitalist relations, the stark dialogue of capitalist and working class are necessarily of a significantly different nature to capture social relations at this scale (Wurst 2006:200).

Consequently, as we seek to understand the social relations of class, it is imperative that we examine those relations at the varied levels and contexts in which they operated.

Additionally, class, as a relational concept, has been observed as being partially performance based. Mullins (1999a:27, 1999b) recognized that status for African-Americans in Annapolis, Maryland (1850–1930) was expressed through genteel social performance and espoused values such as self-control and rational morality. Fitts (1999:49) noted that, for Victorian Brooklyn, a mastery of dining etiquette was imperative in respectable middle-class social circles. For turn-of-the-century farmers in North Carolina, character attributes such as being "crooked," slovenly, or lazy were more important than class, occupation or racial category (Stine 1990:49). A similar phenomenon was observed at the Schroeder saddletree factory and residence in Madison, Indiana (1879–1972). As the proprietors, "the Schroeders owned the means of production, were active members of the community, and had a reputation for being good, kind-hearted people. Their status was explicit and, therefore, not asserted materially" (Rotman and Staicer 2001:106).

It is imperative to be cognizant that class is not a monolithic force imposed on human agents from external sources. Rather, "both class and status are subject to change and negotiation, and they are the result of social dialogue, not simply societal imposition of social standing" (Pappas 2004:159). With regard to the intersection of gender with other structured social positions, Voss (2006:119) emphasized that "identities are dually shaped by both daily practices and by institutional forces. And, perhaps most importantly, historical archaeological research has brought to the forefront vital connections between gender and other aspects of social identity such as race, class, ethnicity, and occupation." As we turn the kaleidoscope, we must actively seek the ways in which gender interconnects with class relations and structures as well as the articulations of gender with other identities.

Ethnic Identities, Other Identities

Historical archaeology attempts to understand the materiality of group identity. As with defining "gender," a first step toward interpreting ethnic variation from the material record is to assess what constitutes ethnicity (see also Day and Rotman 2001).

In a classic treatment of the topic, Barth (1969:10–11) defined an ethnic group as a population that, "is largely biologically self-perpetuating; shares fundamental

cultural values, realized in overt unity in cultural forms; makes up a field of communication and interaction; and has a membership which identifies itself, and is identified by others." He (1969:9) also wrote, "practically all anthropological reasoning rests on the premise that cultural variation is discontinuous; that there are aggregates of people who essentially share a common culture, and interconnected differences that distinguish each such discrete culture from all others, and that there are discrete groups of people, such as ethnic groups, to correspond to each culture." Thus, each ethnic group will have its own structure of organization and ideology.

These different ideologies will manifest themselves in many different material traits, such as artifact functions, styles, spatial relations, architecture, and symbols. Deetz (1988:221) defined ideology as the "way people perceived their world and their place within it and how that place can be secured by shaping it physically to provide comfortable accommodation." That is, members in a particular ethnic group will identify each other and others will identify them via dress, language, styles, action, food ways, and other traits.

Although variations among members as to the number of identifiers displayed exist, the members will maintain their overlying belief system of ideology because they wish to remain as members of the group. In other words, material forms express ethnic identity. If these material forms are preserved in the archaeological record, then ethnic variation may be discernable. Researchers have attempted to examine ethnicity through analyses of specific material classes – including, for example, faunal remains and food ways (Cheek and Frielander 1990; Stewart-Abernathy and Ruff 1989), ceramics (Day 1996; Ferguson 1992), and firearms (Hunt 1993). Features on the landscape – such as pit cellars (Kimmel 1993; Young 1997) and domed rock ovens (Wegars 1991) – have also been investigated for possible ethnic correlates.

Singleton and Bograd (2000:8) caution, however, that searching for ethnicity in the archaeological record often leads archaeologists to search for artifacts rather than contexts and "segments a culturally plural society, drawing boundaries between groups that may or may not have existed." Therefore, these scholars advocate for interpretations that emphasize context over typology. This concept has useful application for the historical archaeologies of gender as well; that is, moving beyond "women's objects" and "men's objects" to understand how space and the material world represent the creation, codification, and negotiation of gendered roles and relations.

Brighton (2001, 2004), in his study of the Irish Diaspora in New Jersey, observed the insertion of ethnic identity and class identity. In his analysis of ceramics from working class households in Five Points, New York, Brighton (2001) observed that ceramic tea and tablewares were used to "communicate Irish cultural traditions and middle-class Victorian values" (Brighton 2001:21). Protestant missionaries in the city strongly encouraged newly arrived Irish immigrants to assimilate into American culture and emulate the behaviors of Victoriana. Consequently, the material assemblages associated with their households often contained matched sets and iconographic Gothic-paneled ironstone. Interestingly, however, their use of these fancy ceramics did indeed create the outward appearance of gentility, but were not necessarily assigned the same symbolic meanings given by other middle-class families.

Rather, these Irish immigrants "adopted elements of Victorianism and fused them with their own concepts of morality" (Brighton 2001:28). Some of the ceramics were clearly designed for children and would have been important instruments in training boys and girls for their culturally prescribed roles in society.

In addition, the cultural rituals of which ceramic tea and tablewares were a part were also transformed for Irish families. Outwardly, tea drinking was a very Victorian middle-class activity, yet it inwardly served to reinforce the cultural tradition of the *céilí* – a nighttime gathering of neighbors for the sharing of food and stories. In this way, immigrant families utilized distinctly American material culture and behaviors to engage in authentically Irish practices.

It is interesting to note too that, despite the poverty in which many families in the Five Points neighborhood lived, CC indices for ceramic assemblages associated with Irish immigrants were comparable to the lower end of the middle-class spectrum. Brighton (2001:18) attributed this relatively high index value to the easy access of consumer goods in metropolitan New York.

Brighton (2001:25) also examined figurines and bric-a-brac as social symbols of gentility. Certain knick-knacks, such as those depicting temperance, were displayed in some Irish-American homes. Such objects would have depicted Victorian values of hard work, diligence, and perseverance. Equally important, these display items would have been important ways for Catholics to illustrate that they – like their Protestant counterparts – also knew that these values were a path to salvation.

Fitts (1999) also includes ethnicity as an aspect of his analyses of tablewares and teawares. He asserts "that in the mid-nineteenth century, gentility was not the sole criteria for membership in [the Victorian middle] class; occupation, religion, ethnicity, and race were also important criteria. At this time, the white-collar middle class was dominated by native-born white Protestants who strongly associated gentility with Protestant Christianity" (Fitts 1999:41). Consequently, non-Protestants as well as other ethnic groups were often excluded, although each of these groups also had their own middling class.

Discerning ethnic and other identities from the archaeological record is often challenging (see Orser's 2001 edited volume for eloquent explorations of race, racism, and identity in archaeology). The following three points should be kept in mind when attempting to interpret ethnicity from the material data (following Day and Rotman 2001). First, ethnicity coexists with other social identifications such as class, occupation, and gender and these boundaries may crosscut or override ethnicity. Second, materials typically associated with an ethnic group may change or be replaced and yet the group identity is still maintained (Spicer 1975:41). Third, attempts to associate fixed ethnic identifiers with a particular ethnic group can obscure ethnic change and emergence.

The effects of industrialization and homogenization can also blur ethnic identity in the material record. Items once produced by traditional methods and techniques were replaced by factory made items during the late nineteenth century. Different ethnic groups begin to buy and use the same materials. In addition, new ideologies of wage labor and cash economy begin to replace the older forms of labor and exchange.

Industrialization compelled many ethnic groups to quickly assimilate, acculturate, and/or accommodate the capitalistic culture of their employers. Employees were persuaded and often forced by availability and economics to wear the same clothes, eat the same food, buy the same housewares, and speak the same language (Leone and Silberman 1995; Skibo et al. 1995; Takaki 1993). Ethnic groups cast off many of their ethnic identities in an attempt not to be singled out and exploited as a minority group.

Resistance to homogenizing efforts also existed; ethnic-based exploitation led to ethnic-based revolts, secret organizations, and labor unions. Many groups and individuals may not have exhibited their ethnic identities publicly for these reasons, but they may have exhibited it in the privacy of their own homes and religious centers. It is important to be cognizant that a reduction or change in the material identifiers of an ethnic group does not necessarily correlate in any way with a breakdown in ethnic identity. Attempts to establish fixed ethnic identifiers or to place too much weight upon them during interpretation can obscure the processes of social, political, economic or cultural change within a group. Ethnic groups are fluid and change over time. Their ethnic identifiers may also change with them, but this does not mean that the group has become less cohesive.

Rural, Urban, and Other Spaces

"Rural" contexts are often defined in opposition to "urban" ones. Rural is understood to be simple, homogenous, agricultural, passive, and past; while urban is complex, stratified, industrial, active, and future (Wurst 1994:1; see also Moore and Rotman 2003). Historians have used low population densities and occupations based primarily on agriculture to define the meaning of rural (Baker 1991:4; Barron 1986:141; Moore and Rotman 2003). Swierenga (1982:496) characterizes the rural way of life as "physical if not social isolation, extended family networks, simple social organization, seasonal labor patterns, and unceasing hard work." Hahn and Prude (1985:9) take issue with these criteria, contending that many of the attributes thought to be distinctly rural, including extended family networks and communal values, are also found in urban settings.

Wurst (1994:3) challenges us to look beyond simple rural/urban dichotomies – that rural is agrarian, while urban is industrial; that rural is family oriented, while urban is profit motivated; that rural is egalitarian, while urban is stratified; or that rural is homogenous, while urban is heterogeneous. These dichotomies oversimplify the complexity of social relations that were operating in America historically. Williams (1973:289) further states that "our real social experience is not only of the country and city, in their most singular forms, but of many kinds of intermediate and new kinds of social and physical organization."

Stewart-Abernathy (1986) observed dynamic spatial organization when he examined the landscape of an antebellum house in Arkansas. This urban homelot possessed "a complex assemblage of buildings and spaces that paralleled the inventory

and structures of rural farmsteads" (Stewart-Abernathy 1986:5). The concept of "urban farmstead" was employed as a way of expressing the interrelation of rural and urban elements on a single landscape (see also Rotman 1995; Rotman and Nassaney 1997).

This parallel is particularly apparent during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It is during this time that many farm families were not only responsible for the production of agricultural goods for market exchange as well as limited production of goods for consumption by farm residents, but also for tending to their daily needs of sanitation and trash disposal. The same was often true for urban households for whom the services of supermarkets, wastewater systems, and garbage collectors had yet to be realized. Hence, Stewart-Abernathy's (1986:6) concept of an urban farmstead "represents in three dimensions the result of a process through which the household in a nucleated settlement supplied many of its own needs… by grow[ing] some it its own food, feed[ing] and car[ing] for some of its own animals, acquir[ing] its own water through wells, dispos[ing] of its own organic and inorganic waste, and stor[ing] its own fuel for cooking and heating."

Economic pursuits outside the home provided for the family's livelihood. Combining domestic farm tasks and other employment muddles the separation of rural and urban activities. Moreover, "in small town America, the urban farmstead never totally disappeared, although many of its elements have been stripped away by the extension of urban services, town ordinances, and the spread of the ideal of green lawn" (Stewart-Abernathy 1986:13).

The urban farmstead model brings some of the landscape changes observed in this study into better focus. For example, there are five factors which can account for the abandonment of farmstead elements of the urban landscape (Stewart-Abernathy 1986:12–13). The first is infilling, whereby larger land holdings are divided into smaller parcels to permit the building of more houses. Second is the development of municipal services. As public utilities such as water and sewers became available, the need for recharge basins and privies, for instance, was eliminated. The third factor is zoning. Building codes and city ordinances often banished the keeping of chickens and other livestock on the urban farmstead on the grounds of sanitation and avoiding a public nuisance. Transportation improvements, the fourth factor, led to the elimination of the horse and other associated landscape features or resulted in architectural changes to buildings. Finally, innovations in the transportation, storage, and packaging of food goods directly affected, and often replaced, food production at the property.

There were three types of modifications – additive, subtractive, and substitutive – which can be made to landscapes as a result of these five factors (Stewart-Abernathy 1986). Additive adjustments include the construction of new landscape features, such as the addition of a kitchen or bathroom wing to the house. Subtractive adjustments include the removal of landscape elements. Privies or other obsolete waste disposal systems were often eliminated once they were no longer needed. Finally, the replacement of one building with another is a substitutive adjustment including, for example, the construction of a garage following the demolition of the barn.

In sum, the urban farmstead model has utility in deconstructing the rural-urban dichotomy by pointing to similarities between activities carried out on a rural

farmstead and in more urban settings. Yet while this model can explain the presence or abandonment of elements on the landscape, it does not suggest why the environment is constructed or modified in a particular way. Landscape changes are not merely adaptations to the external world. Rather, they embody aspects of social relationships. The built environment is not merely a static entity, but actively expresses the dynamics of the social relations of class and gender.

A number of historical archaeological investigations have focused on understanding rural and urban households (e.g., Allison 2003; Groover 2005; Lewis 2003; Muller 1994; Nassaney et al. 2001; Nickolai 2003; Rotman and Nassaney 1997; Stine 1990; Wood 2004; and Wurst 2007, among others). Allison (2003:190) observed that despite being 1,000 km northwest of Sydney, Australia "patterns of consumption at the Old Kinchega Homestead were tied to local conditions as much as to the availability of consumer items produced by the world economy" and also the commercial exploitation of rich mineral deposits in the nearby mountains. Nickolai (2003) made similar observations regarding the farm occupied by Ellen White, main prophet of the Seventh-Day Adventists. Although the small rural village of Battle Creek in which she resided in the mid-nineteenth century was well-connected to global markets, "Ellen White and her family probably could have afforded more prestigious and even common place items, but they chose not to. Religion must be considered as an important aspect of the social positions and relationships of past people, and an important component in the formation of some aspects of the archaeological record" (Nickolai 2003:157).

Significantly, the studies conducted by Allison and Nickolai highlight that the location of a household in a rural, urban, or other setting is only one factor to shape uses of the material world. The relative physical isolation or inclusion of a site cannot be utilized as an indicator of the degree of connectedness for site residents. Often, families in rather remote locations – such as the occupants of the Old Kinchega Homestead – are intimately connected to the outside world in important social and economic ways, while other households – such as the Seventh-Day Adventist home of Ellen White – are proximal to their physical neighbors, but very much ideologically separate. That is not to suggest that "ruralness" or "urbanness" or "suburbanness" play no role, but rather that the local context for each site must be carefully examined and understood.

Dialectical Understandings of Gender Ideologies

Gender ideologies – such as republican motherhood, the cult of domesticity, equal rights feminism, domestic reform, feminine mystique, and others – shaped relationships between men and women, both within the family and within the larger community. These dynamic social relations were created, codified, and reproduced through the spatial organization of houses, the objects used in cultural rituals, and the structure of the population. In order to understand the complexities of gender relations and the range of material and spatial expressions in Deerfield, I utilized a dialectical

framework to interpret and understand the unique material implications revealed through this research.

The relational aspects of gender ideologies are of primary importance in this study. How were gender relations transformed across time and space as new ideals were introduced in rural Deerfield? How were these transformations expressed, accommodated, and resisted through the built environment, material culture, and human behavior? How can archaeologists understand these relationships? Employing a dialectical framework in this research elucidates the answers to these questions.

Dialectics is a complex theory of internal relations; a dynamic way of thinking about the spectrum of interactions in the world. With this model, understanding an aspect of the past comes from examining both its historical trajectory and the larger interactive context of which it is a part. In this way, "dialectics restructures our thinking about reality by replacing the common sense notion of 'thing,' as something that *has* a history and *has* external connections to other things, with notions of 'process,' which *contains* its history and possibly futures, and 'relation,' which *contains* as part of what it is its ties with other relations" (Ollman 1993:11, emphasis in the original).

Dialectical investigations explore relations. This method "starts with the 'real concrete' (the world as it presents itself to us) and proceeds through 'abstraction' (the intellectual activity of breaking this whole down into mental units with which we think about it) to the 'thought concrete' (the reconstituted and now understood whole present in the mind)" (Ollman 1993:24). There are three modes of abstraction used in dialectics: abstraction of extension, abstraction of level of generality, and abstraction of vantage point (Ollman 1993:40–41). Abstraction of extension involves delimiting spatial and temporal boundaries. For this study, the spatial boundary is drawn around Deerfield's main street to capture gender ideologies in action in multiple households. The temporal boundary is defined as the years from ca. 1750 to ca. 1904, a specific time frame in which to observe the transformation of gender relations over time. Abstraction of levels of generality requires moving from the specific to the general, as though utilizing a microscope with different degrees of magnification. During this project, the levels of analyses will move from the specific experiences of individual men and women to their households, from their households to New England and the nation in general, and then back to the village of Deerfield. Finally, the abstraction of vantage point refers to the process of examining different sides of the same relation. Consequently, gender ideologies in Deerfield and how they were differentially experienced by men and women, by the elite and the middle class, and by merchants and consumers are explored.

Two kinds of dialectical relations are of particular interest for this project: inter-penetration of opposites and contradiction. The interpenetration of opposites is the understanding that how anything functions; objects and how people perceive them are to a large degree due to their surroundings. It is a perspective element which recognizes "that things appear very different[ly] depending on who is looking at them" (Ollman 1993:14). The interpenetration of opposites reveals that processes are not monolithic, but are situated within unique conditions. For instance, to a capitalist, a machine is a commodity he bought on the market and which will make

him a profit; yet to a worker, it is the instrument that will determine his movements in production (Ollman 1993:14).

The interpenetration of opposites has important implications for historical archaeology. For example, in Wurst's (1999) investigation of class relations within the wealthy Burghardt household in Binghamton, New York, the family and their servants exemplified Ollman's concept of the interpenetration of opposites. Each group lived at and experienced the homelot in a unique way and each contributed to the creation of cultural deposits.

This concept is also applicable to gender. Household composition is not monolithic. Just as the homeowner and servant experience life differently, so too do husbands and wives, parents and children. Consequently, understanding and being cognizant of the interpenetration of opposites makes visible the range of social relations operating on the landscape.

Contradiction, the second dialectical relation of interest in this study, recognizes that elements within the same relation "do not only intersect in mutually supportive ways, but are constantly blocking, undermining, otherwise interfering with and in due course transforming one another" (Ollman 1993:16). Contradiction, or the interaction and negotiation within relations, brings about change. Furthermore, the uniquely situated nature of those relations allows for a multitude of responses and expressions to a single stimulus. For example, Ollman (1993:16) states that "capitalism's extraordinary success in increasing production... stands in contradiction to the decreasing ability of workers to consume these goods."

Gender ideologies were understood and experienced differently by men and women, married women and "spinsters," rural and urban families, and so on. Similarly, the goals of husbands and wives as well as a family's social and productive needs were not always in complete agreement and were, in fact, sometimes in direct contradiction to one another. For example, a husband's desire to have his wife participate in social rituals to enhance the family's status within the community (such as formal teas) may have been constrained by her ability to find the time to do so, particularly if she was tending the children and maintaining a household alone or with minimal support. Consequently, the interaction and negotiation of these ideals and their practice between husbands and wives and between families in the community resulted in a range of meaningful responses and expressions.

Gender relations and the ideologies that shaped them were multifaceted and complex. A dialectical investigation of gender entails "manipulating extension, level of generality, and vantage point,... put[ting] things into and out of focus, into better focus, and into different kinds of focus, enabling [the researcher] to see more clearly, investigate more accurately, and understand more fully and more dynamically [the] chosen subject" (Ollman 1993:41).

Engaging in abstractions of extension, levels of generality, and vantage point as well as seeking the social relations of the interpenetration of opposites and contradiction will bring into relief possible alternative gender ideologies that may have been at work in the village of Deerfield. Additionally, other forces and factors that shaped the social relations of gender as well as variations in the observed material and spatial expressions will be explicated.

Chapter 3
The Village, Families, and Archaeological Assemblages in this Study

Beginning in the mid-eighteenth century, residents of Deerfield, MA experienced the social, economic, and political transformations that emerged with the new republic. The nineteenth and twentieth centuries were also eras of change, marked by the effects of intensified agricultural production and industrialization, with eventual economic decline as industry bypassed the village, and canals and railroads opened the vast agricultural regions to the west (Fig. 3.1). The ways in which the men and women in this rural village responded to and were influenced by these changes were expressed in their social and material worlds (e.g., Blades 1976, 1977; Bograd 1989; Folbre 1985; Garrison 1991; Glazier 1987; Harlow 2001; Hautaniemi 2001; Hautaniemi and Rotman 2003; Hautaniemi 2001; McGowan and Miller 1996; Miller and Lanning 1994; Paynter 2002; Paynter et al. 1987; Rotman 2001, 2005, 2006). In this chapter, I summarize the history of the village, introduce the families included in this study, and summarize the archaeological assemblages analyzed to understand gendered social relations in the community.

Early Settlement: 1665–ca. 1730

During the village's period of initial settlement (until about 1730), Deerfield served as an outpost on the turbulent frontier between the British and the French (Paynter et al. 1987:6). Known as Pocumtuck in its early history, the village plan followed a variation of a nucleated form present in early New England, whereby house lots were centered along a main street and surrounded by open agricultural fields (Melvoin 1989:63). The linear configuration of the main street was known colloquially within the village as "the Street" (Fig. 3.2). A map drawn ca. 1671 by the Proprietors Committee showed that the tillage fields were long and narrow, extending to the northwest (Hood 1996:135). All settlers in the community were also entitled to portions of the adjacent meadows and wood lots (Garrison 1991:19).

Conflict marked the period of early settlement in the village. Following a skirmish at Bloody Brook in 1675 during King Philip's War, the fledgling community was virtually abandoned. Deerfield was resettled in 1682, but experienced several raids

Fig. 3.1 Bird's eye view of Deerfield Village, 1867–1869. Photograph of Pelham Bradford. Courtesy of the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association, Memorial Hall Museum, Deerfield, MA

by Native Americans, including a particularly devastating attack in 1704 by a group of French and Indians (Sheldon 1972). During this conflict, 111 captives were marched to Canada, including the Reverend John Williams, who returned to resettle in Deerfield in 1707 (Historic Deerfield 1994:4–5). After about 1720, the village essentially became a quiet agricultural community whose history shared a trajectory with many other settlements of a similar nature.

Great pains were taken in distributing land in the new settlement. An elaborate system for drawing lots was established and house lots were issued after farmland, meadow, and wood lots had been divided. The available lands were not entirely equal in size and quality. According to the Records of the Deerfield Proprietors, the apportioning of lots was made with consideration for "quallitie thereof that equitie may be attended to each propiato" (Sheldon 1983:15–16; see also Hood 1996:137). The lot system (at least theoretically) gave all men an equal chance at acquiring the
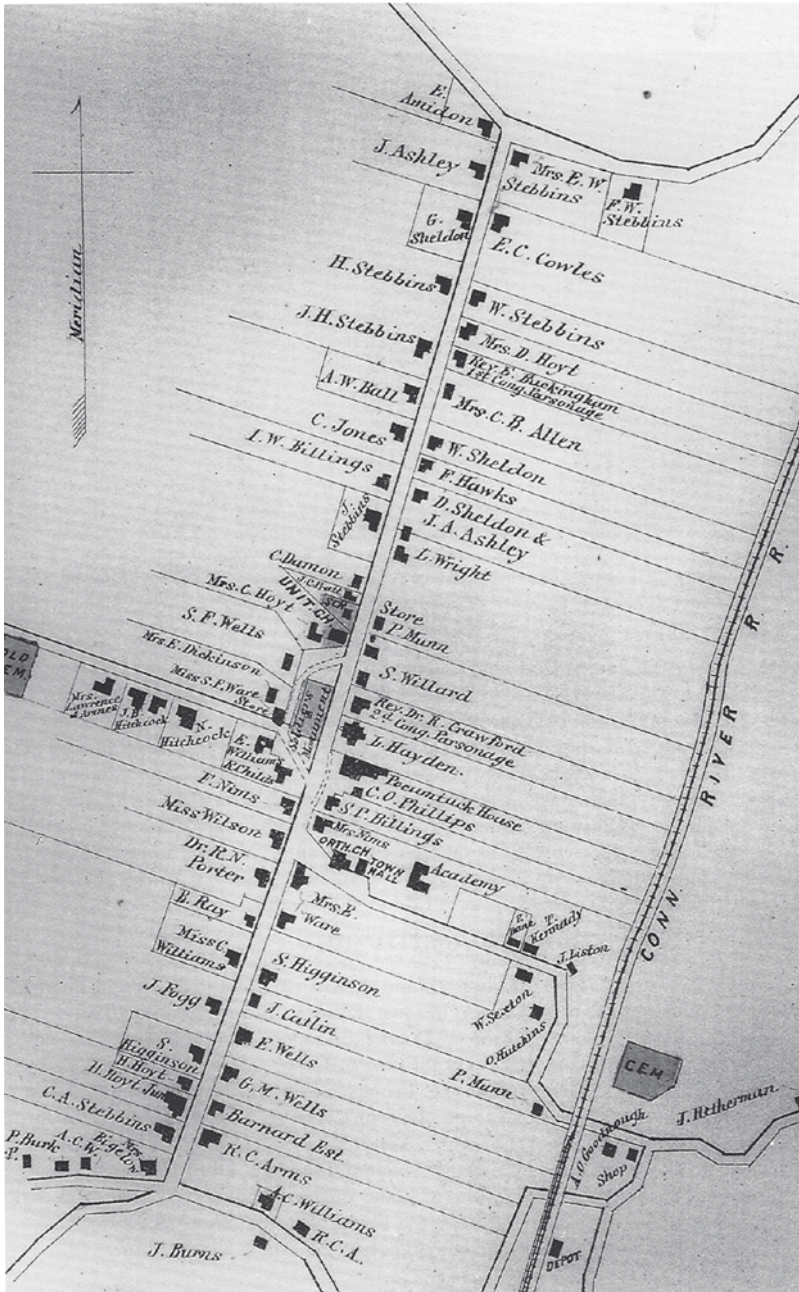
Fig. 3.2 Historic Beers map of "the Street" in Deerfield, MA (Beers Atlas 1871)

best property and locations (Melvoin 1989:61–63). This system created the sense that there was no differentiation along class lines in the placement of houses along the street or in the parceling out of agricultural land.

Hood (1996:139) contends, however, that the gentry – known locally as "the River Gods" – controlled the creation of the village as well as the flow of products and information to and from it. Therefore, an individual's wealth and status did influence property distribution despite the allegedly egalitarian process of drawing lots. Presumably, wealthy farmers could afford to purchase a greater number of parcels and, therefore, had a greater likelihood of acquiring the highest quality agricultural land and choicest homelots. The gentry were able to maintain unequal social relations "by embedding unequal relations of power and wealth in material symbols that emphasized organic community, ideal physical order, and even community" (Hood 1996:136; see also Sweeney 1984, 1985).

St. George (1988:346) concurs that this settlement layout specifically served the interests of the River Gods. Although perceived as a socially open form, in reality it "correspond[ed] to a closed, hierarchically ordered social structure… and [gave] the impression of social integration and 'community values'." The organization of the fields, for example, expressed the ideals of shared community responsibilities and order, because although "the lots in the meadow were owned by individuals… the fields themselves were managed to a certain degree as a unit" (Garrison 1991:19). The Proprietors of the Common Field determined when to close the field in the spring for planting and when to reopen it after harvest to allow livestock to graze on the crop stubble (Fig. 3.3). This cooperative management was symbolized through

Fig. 3.3 Carting off the hay after harvest, 1913. Photograph by Frances and Mary Allen. Courtesy of the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association, Memorial Hall Museum, Deerfield, MA

the single common field fence that bordered the village fields. The committee that delegated responsibility for maintaining and repairing the fence and its gates continued to meet up through 1858 (Glazier 1987:110). This illusion of community interest, however, masked power relations within the village. With the growth of the village in the early eighteenth century, political power became increasingly concentrated in fewer hands and relationships between economic groups – as well as between men and women – were restructured as "the local gentry exploited [their] positions of prestige for personal gain" (St. George 1988:339; Bograd 1989).

The arrangement of residences within the village during this time was also significant. With all of the houses situated along the main street in close proximity to one another, "their doorways [roughly] facing one another, the proprietors directed Pocumtuck's people inward, away from the wilderness and toward one another. Part of this scheme doubtless came from their fears of the frontier; another reflected a Puritan concern for watchfulness…" (Melvoin 1989:63). The nucleated village form facilitated constant personal contact as well as casual observation and surveillance of everyday activities (Hood 1996:134). Consequently, the social, political, and economic interests of the community could easily be monitored by those who stood to benefit the most – the local gentry.

The illusion of consensual politics within the community extended beyond the activities of the Proprietors of the Common Field. During the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, for example, political leadership and decision making was "widely distributed among males and… most men over twenty-one participated in the community politic" (Garrison 1991:153). During this time, people in the village struggled economically and the new community was still relatively unstable, continuing to be plagued with difficulties stemming from their acrimonious relationship with local Native American groups.

Changing World View: ca. 1730–ca. 1776

During the second and third quarters of the eighteenth century, "as British hegemony became more firmly established… Deerfield, and the Connecticut Valley region, became a rather well-to-do agricultural periphery of the British world system" (Paynter et al. 1987:6). Melvoin (1989:249) noted that the community at about this time "showed an evolution of a small, communal village into a more secure, less unified, and more contentious New England town." The River Gods accumulated surpluses through grains, animals, timber, and other forest products for market sale and began to set themselves apart from other members of the community (Paynter et al. 1987:6). The illusions of egalitarianism were eschewed in favor of strategies of individual accumulation and efforts to perpetuate the illusion of communal enterprise waned.

This transformation was most evident in the appearance of newer towns established in the Connecticut River Valley during this period. The planned layouts of these new communities reflected a shift in values. Surveyors divided up land,

effectively scattering families over the entire geographic area of the settlement from its inception. Households were no longer arranged along a central street with long narrow fields stretching out behind them. Farmsteads were now situated upon 100–150 acre blocky parcels with houses more widely dispersed along multiple streets. A town center was established for the meeting house and perhaps a tavern and a small business enterprise or two. Residents no longer lived in the center of town and traveled out to the agricultural fields during the day (Garrison 1991:21–23).

The nearby village of Conway in the Connecticut River Valley was one of the communities settled according to this new scheme (Fig. 3.4). Interestingly, many of its original proprietors were familiar with or actually part of the town system of Deerfield. The model of corporate community and mutual responsibility of the 1670s, however, was no longer important by the 1760s – at least not important enough to be replicated in the townscape of Conway, settlement of which began during this decade. Rather, the village was centered on more rationalized economic principles, such as the efficient movements of daily agricultural tasks facilitated by the consolidation of the farmstead and its associated important resources (Garrison 1991:23). The changing spatial arrangements of newly established towns like Conway "symbolized a shift in values toward a more individualistic type of community in which the needs and goals of the family were elevated in importance over the group" (Garrison 1991:23).
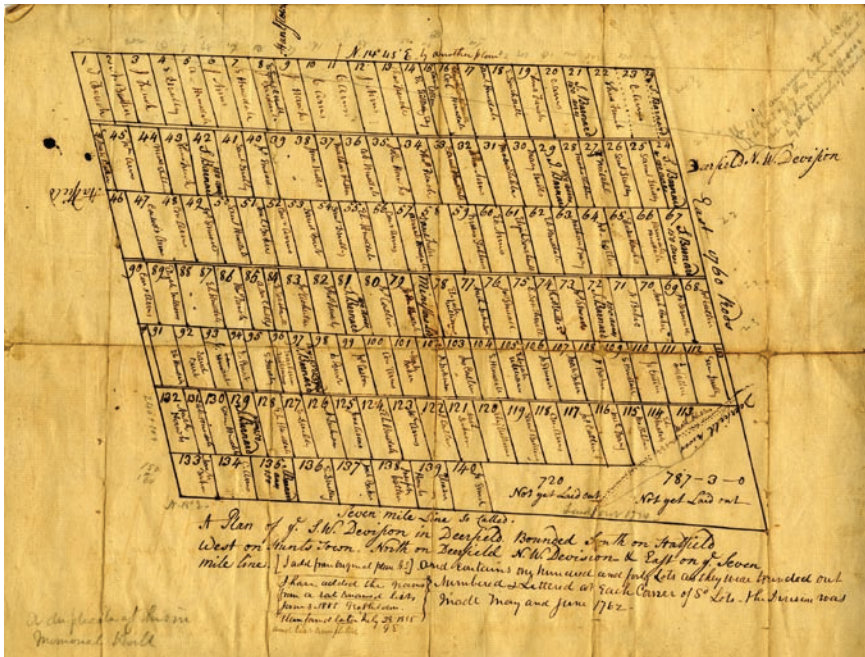
Fig. 3.4 Historic map of Conway, MA, ca. 1762. Courtesy of the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association Library, Deerfield, MA

Emergence of New Elite Classes: ca. 1776–1850s

During the 1730s and until after the mid-nineteenth century, English settlement within the Connecticut River Valley expanded. Deerfield was no longer a frontier outpost in the extreme northwest of colonial Massachusetts, but rather was connected to other villages and loci of economic activity (Melvoin 1989:253). Consequently, the community began to experience a degree of relative prosperity. Class lines began to sharpen and politics became increasingly stratified as the local gentry asserted broader control over all aspects of village life. Paynter et al. (1987:6–7) asserted that "The Revolution, the embargo of 1807, the War of 1812, and declining sugar profits all disrupted the world trade system and provided an impetus for a shift to strategies of industrial accumulation and an opening for large scale penetration by Eastern Massachusetts capital into Western Massachusetts." Furthermore, it was the ability of the River Gods to accumulate surpluses and thereby distinguish themselves materially that led to sharpening class divisions.

Deerfield continued to grow and prosper following the Revolution. During the late eighteenth and first few decades of the nineteenth century, the village was "a producer of intensive agricultural products, stall-fed beef, onions and tobacco, within an industrializing region" (Paynter et al. 1987:7). Prosperity, however, was not without its difficulties. The model of corporate community in Deerfield continued to diminish as elite households pursued the accumulation of wealth and material goods. The reign of the local gentry, which had been strongly linked to kinship networks during the first 100 years of Deerfield's history, would not go unchallenged as the nineteenth century approached. For the first century of Deerfield's history, families of the Reverend John Williams' lineage (the famed captive of the 1704 attack) had a large degree of control in the community. By the late 1770s, however, "wealthy families in the valley who were not tied in with the Williams' patronage system out-built the River Gods and challenged the Williamses' control of the valley's political affairs" (Garrison 1991:155).

The emerging elite class built elaborate, classic-style Georgian mansions that eclipsed the architectural grandeur of other elite homes. (More about architectural changes in the village is presented in Chap. 4.) By the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the village streetscape had been almost completely transformed from what it had been little more than 50 years earlier. By the end of the eighteenth century, the citizens of Deerfield had reconciled the political and ideological differences that had divided them during the Revolutionary War and returned to prosperity under the new nation. Economic disparities, however, were an increasing source of division within the community.

Transportation improvements also significantly contributed to Deerfield's continued growth and prosperity through the final decades of the eighteenth and into the nineteenth centuries (Coleman 1926:27). The lock and canal system facilitated the export of agricultural products to larger markets. By 1795, boats were running from Hartford, Connecticut to "Cheapside Landing," connecting Deerfield to these greater economic networks. The following year, the stage-coach system was well

in place and the construction of the "Boston Road" – the fifth turnpike built in Massachusetts – soon followed. In 1798, an additional link to broader economic markets was achieved when a bridge was built across the Deerfield River. These transformations had consequences for social relations and the cultural landscapes on which they were lived and experienced.

A Mysterious Century: ca. 1850s–ca. 1936

Preservation activities and tourism in the village began in the late nineteenth century and became the social, cultural, and economic foci for Deerfield residents. Led by individuals such as C. Alice Baker, as part of the Arts and Crafts and Colonial Revival movements (Miller and Lanning 1994), these efforts were continued by Historic Deerfield, Inc., founded in the 1930s (Paynter 2000b:3). Together, these organizations reshaped the landscape and obscured the social realities of the community. Many Victorian houses were demolished and older (and older-looking) structures were moved to the Street or constructed to recreate "New England as you hope to find it" (advertising slogan of Historic Deerfield, Inc., seen on a sign in the Hartford/Bradley International airport in Windsor Locks, Connecticut 1999).

In addition to preservation and tourism, education has been an important aspect of twentieth century life in the village. Deerfield Academy began as a small rural school and grew to be a prep school with an international reputation under the guidance of Frank Boyden between 1902 and 1968 (Paynter 2000b:2). The Bement and Eaglebrook schools also operate in the village (McGowan and Miller 1996; see also Historic Deerfield Inc. 1994). These educational institutions, along with Historic Deerfield, continue to be powerful forces upon the village landscape and are important components of the local economy (Paynter et al. 1987:7).

Social, political, and economic aspects of life in Deerfield were expressed in the cultural landscape of the village through time. Changes in social relations – specifically class and gender – were encoded in space through the creation, use, modification, and abandonment of the built environment and the material world.

Deerfield Village as a Research Arena

The village of Deerfield was an ideal lens through which to explore issues of culture change and the recreation of social order, specifically gender relations and family structure, throughout the late eighteenth and into the twentieth century (Fig. 3.5). The village – particularly the main street – presented a manageable number of households (never more than 54 during the time period encompassed by this project) upon which to focus. Furthermore, Deerfield has been occupied for more than three centuries, which allowed gender relations and other complex social processes to be examined over time. Finally, the village has been intensively studied

Fig. 3.5 Scene on "the Street," 1907. Photograph by Louisa Dresel. Courtesy of the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association, Memorial Hall Museum, Deerfield, MA

and a wealth of documentary and material evidence was available for conducting comparative analyses.

If the small scale of Deerfield makes it a manageable place to study, it is also a limitation. Deerfield's size is the result of the ways it has participated in the industrialization and urbanization of New England. The decline of agriculture in the region, the unsuitability of the hydro-resources of the town for nineteenth-century industry, and the growth of education and heritage all make it a place that is more rural, more agricultural, less commercial, and seemingly less modern than other contemporaneous villages in New England. The results of this research, therefore, are limited by the fact that Deerfield is only one small portion of a very complex landscape of evolving capitalism and gender relations.

Within the village, six households served as the foci of this study – Dr. Thomas and Esther Williams (ca. 1750–ca. 1770); Ebenezer Hinsdale and Anna Williams (ca. 1816) and later tenants in their house (ca. 1845); the family of Reverend John Moors (ca. 1848–1865); Arthur and Frances Ball (1865–ca. 1882); and Madeline Yale Wynne and Annie Putnam (ca. 1885–ca. 1904). These occupations and residences were chosen because they (1) covered a span of time from the mid-eighteenth through the early twentieth centuries, (2) had extensive documentary and architectural data available, (3) had been the focus of archaeological excavation and varying degrees of analysis, and (4) represented a spectrum of different class positions within the village. Again, the strength that comes from sampling many time

periods also entails the weakness of knowing less about any particular time. Accordingly, the interpretations of the historical and archaeological records presented in this volume are conditional until a wider number of households from each period can be investigated. It is my hope that this study will serve as a place to begin or continue conversation about complex social relations in Deerfield rather than be viewed as the definitive final word on these matters.

Families in this Study

The purpose of this section is to introduce the reader to the individuals and families who served as lenses through which to view social relations in the village at particular moments of Deerfield's history as well as provide a "big picture" overview of these investigations. Additional details and relevant anecdotes are provided in the analytical chapters that follow. Some details may be repeated as necessary to emphasize different facets of lived experience in the village.

Dr. Thomas and Esther Williams (ca. 1750–ca. 1770)

Dr. Thomas and Esther Williams represented the local gentry, known as the River Gods, who dominated life in Deerfield and the Connecticut River Valley during the mid-eighteenth century. Despite belonging to this elite social and economic group, Williams experienced a loss of status as his political views came into conflict with other village residents during the pre-Revolutionary War period.

   Thomas' father, Ephraim, was a first cousin to the Reverend John Williams (McGowan and Miller 1996:20). As a member of the famed captive's lineage, Dr. Williams already possessed a degree of status and privilege as his birthright when he settled in Deerfield in 1739 (Sheldon 1972:381). He married Anna Childs in 1740 and they resided in her father's house.

   In 1744, Williams purchased Lot 9 on the Street (Fig. 3.6). It was unclear whether the lot had been improved upon and a house built at the time of its acquisition (Blades 1976:4). Thomas and Anna had three children before her death in 1746. Williams married his cousin, Esther Williams, in 1748 and together they had 11 more children (Sheldon 1972:381). His account books indicate that, shortly after his second marriage, he was building on the parcel (McGowan and Miller 1996:20).

   Dr. Williams became a prominent citizen within the village. He was not only a reputable physician, but also distinguished himself in civil positions. He held seven different political offices between 1746 and his death in 1775: selectman (1746, 1748), town clerk (1748–1751, 1762–1774), moderator of town meeting (nine times between 1754 and 1771), justice of the peace (1754–1765, 1775), representative to the General Court (the provincial legislature) in Boston (1759), special justice of the common plea (1762–1764), and judicial judge, Court of Common Pleas (1764–1775)

Fig. 3.6 Home of Dr. Thomas and Esther Williams. Photograph by Broughton Anderson. Used by permission

(Blades 1976:8; following Sheldon 1972:853–857). Blades (1976:8) observed that "The respect which Williams commanded as a physician enabled him to assume these numerous political roles. Conversely, his position of power and influence as a civil authority served to reinforce the popular respect for him." Williams used his medical training not only in private practice, but in the military as well. During the 1740s and 1750s, he served as a surgeon for the frontier outposts of the militia, for an expedition against France and Canada, and during the French and Indian War (Sheldon 1972:381, 640, 641).

Williams remained a pivotal figure in the life of the village during the 1760s and 1770s. His political views, however, eventually eroded his social position. As an unrelenting Tory, he became increasingly unpopular as political unrest grew. Blades (1979:9) recounted several events that illustrated the challenges to Dr. Williams' social authority and status. One evening in September 1774, for instance, he feared that his home would be stormed by a Whig mob. His friends gathered to defend him, although nothing happened. The following year, in 1775, Williams lost his position as town clerk to the Whig majority and was accused of consistently recording only those events that were of interest or favorable to the Tory cause. Also that year, Williams refused to honor the Whig ban on drinking tea. On 26 May 1775, he received a shipment of tea from Colonel Williams of Great Barrington, MA in a package labeled "Monongahela Balsam."

Dr. Williams was a fascinating fellow. As a member of the local gentry during the middle decades of the eighteenth century, he was in a position to influence social, political, and economic life in Deerfield. His life was even more interesting

in light of the difficulties he encountered during his final years due to his unpopular and rebellious political position.

Virtually nothing is known about Anna or Esther through documentary records, other than they were the mothers to his children. Did they share Thomas' political views? How did they manage their respective households? What roles did these women play in martial and familial relationships? Did they subscribe to the ideals of republican motherhood that were emerging in the larger cultural milieu during their adult lives? As women and spouses in the colonial period, their social status would have been intimately linked to that of their doctor husband.

The challenges that the Williams' family faced signaled, in a way, the beginning of the end for the reigning local gentry. Not only were political views contested as the Revolution approached, but the economic and social landscape was being reshaped as well, through new agricultural practices, technological innovations, and the emergence of wealthy families not tied to the Reverend John Williams' lineage.

Ebenezer Hinsdale and Anna Williams (ca. 1816)

Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams purchased the home on Lots 41, 42, and 43 in Deerfield on 23 April 1816 (Fig. 3.7). The property and residence had formerly belonged to Colonel Ebenezer Hinsdale, his uncle and namesake (Miller n.d.:17) and was constructed in 1738, during the reign of the River Gods (Bograd 1989:15).

Fig. 3.7 Home of Ebenezer Hinsdale and Anna Williams and later tenants. Photograph by Broughton Anderson. Used by permission

Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams had lived in Deerfield for many years. He was first listed as a resident in the 1790 census (U.S. Bureau of Census 1790) and presumably lived on his farm on "Carter's Land" which he had purchased in 1789 (Miller n.d.:3). He was married in January 1791 to Joanna (Anna) Smith of Northfield. As with other women in the village and elsewhere during the early nineteenth century, little is recorded about Anna in the historic documents. Together, the couple had two children, Anna McCarthy Williams (born 30 November 1799) and Elijah Williams (born 13 April 1802) (Miller n.d.:8).

Ebenezer and Anna extensively remodeled their new home into an elaborate two-story, Federal-style residence shortly after purchasing it (McGowan and Miller 1996:189). This structure characterized the material codes of the wealthy agriculturalist in Deerfield during the first third of the nineteenth century (a more detailed discussion of the residential architecture at this site is presented later in this chapter).

By the time of his son's birth shortly after the turn of the nineteenth century, E. H. Williams was prospering. He continued to add acreage to his Carter's Land farm. He owned additional property on the Street, including the "Manse" on Lot 32, operated a tavern (probably in the ballroom south wing of the "Frary House"), and granted personal mortgages with high interest rates (Miller n.d.:14).

Williams continued to buy and sell real estate throughout the ensuing decade. One of these was his father's estate in Roxbury. At the time of his father's death in October 1815, he had sold his interest in the property to his brother, Thomas Williams, for $20,000. E. H. Williams was financially secure at the time he purchased the house and acreage of Lots 40, 41, and 42 at the north end of the Street as well as able to extensively renovated the residence.

Williams' daughter, Anna, married Charles Howard of Springfield in November of 1818 (*Franklin Herald*, 24 November 1818). She died 4 years later in July 1822, probably during childbirth (*Franklin Herald*, 23 July 1822). Also in 1822, Williams' son, Elijah, graduated from Harvard (Sheldon 1972:869).

The following year, in September of 1823, E. H. Williams' brother, Thomas, died while still owing nearly half of the $20,000 from the purchase of their father's estate. Despite this financial loss, Williams was still well-off. According to Miller (n.d.:21), he continued to buy land, extend personal mortgages, and sell property at a profit. He lived a comfortable lifestyle, clothed himself and family well, possessed good tableware and crockery, drank French cognac and imported wines, and hired domestic help. Although specific details regarding Anna's role in these activities were not documented in the historic records of the site, she was likely very involved in decisions that affecting the maintenance and operation of the household. E. H. Williams even appeared to have financed the purchase of a house by his son, Elijah, in 1825 in anticipation of his marriage to Isabella Hoyt (Miller n.d.:22).

The relationship and financial partnerships between father and son were especially interesting. E. H. Williams was known to cover the debts of his financially intemperate son and to underwrite Elijah's endeavors with the hope that he would find a successful business venture. In fact, in 1830, E. H. Williams owned the home in which Elijah and his wife were living, having redeemed the mortgages against the property.

Elijah was actively engaged in the anti-Masonry movement in Deerfield and even published an anti-Masonry paper, the *Franklin Freeman*, out of his home. Tolson (2005:3–4) described that in the early eighteenth century, "Freemasonry encouraged social movement and a more inclusive elite through education, the cultivation of politeness and honor, mutual assistance, networking, and tolerance for differences in the delicate matter of religion." This latter point was particularly troublesome to prominent evangelical ministers at the time who railed against the Masons from their pulpits. Freemasonry, along with other societies such as the Odd Fellows and Knights of Pythias, "provided a buffer against the dynamic, often cutthroat economy and an increasingly diverse society" (Tolson 2005:7).

Allowing the paper to be printed in a house he owned and underwriting expenses of the endeavor suggested that E. H. Williams was in agreement with anti-Masonry ideals (Miller n.d.:29, 32). Although the precise nature of Williams' objections was not entirely clear, he may have been adverse to the group on religious grounds or perhaps he viewed their position of socioeconomic inclusion as a threat to his place in the emerging wealthy elite.

Elijah's financial difficulties continued and eventually he and Isabella moved away from Deerfield; first to Boston in 1832 and then on to Florida in 1834, where he died in November of 1835 (Miller n.d.:34, 35, 37). Isabella returned to Deerfield by July 1836, where she resided in the home of her father-in-law.

In January 1838, E. H. Williams became terminally ill and was treated by his nephew, Dr. Stephen West Williams. On 1 June 1838, E. H. Williams died, five days before his 77th birthday.

Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams – like his father's cousin Dr. Thomas Williams – was a prominent and fascinating character on the Deerfield scene. His life in the village spans a period of political, economic, and social transformation as the country emerged under a new republic, as the agriculturally based economy evolved, and as the previous social order under the local gentry was challenged.

Tenants in the E. H. and Anna Williams' Home (ca. 1845)

After E. H. Williams' death in 1838, ownership of the house was transferred to his sister, Lydia Williams (McGowan and Miller 1996:189). The homelot served as rental property for several years. David Barnard resided at the property with his wife, Eliza, and their family (Sheldon 1972:72). According to McGowan and Miller (1996:189–190), the taxes for the parcel were paid by David from 1839 until his death in 1843; then by his daughter, Sophronia Barnard, from 1844 to 1846; and then by his son, Calvin Barnard, from 1847 to 1849. Interestingly, Reverend John Moors shared the payment of taxes on the property with Calvin Barnard in 1847, while his house on Lot 7 was being constructed. The Reverend married Esther Hastings of Northfield in the same year (Sheldon 1972:242) and presumably his new bride joined him in residence at the Williams' home. It remained unclear whether the Moors were boarders with the Barnard family or whether they established a

discrete household. In 1850, the house was once again owner-occupied, after Charles D. Gale purchased the property from Lydia Williams.

Little information regarding the Barnard family could be found. The 1840 Census showed that the household consisted of David (1 male 50–60), his wife (1 female 50–60), Sophronia (1 female 20–30), Calvin (1 male 10–15), and their younger brother, David (1 male 5–10) (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1840). Occupational data was not yet being tabulated in the censuses, but Sheldon (1972:72) indicated that David was a drover.

By 1850, occupational data was collected in the federal census enumerations, but only for heads of households (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1850). Sophronia was absent from the record and Calvin was listed in the home of Eli Barnard (unknown relation), but no occupation was given.

The paucity of documentary evidence available for the Barnard family relative to E. H. and Anna Williams was another indication of their differential class positions. While the Williamses were clearly part of the village elite, the Barnard's and Moors' families represented working-class or perhaps aspiring middle-class families in Deerfield. The use of the site by these two distinct classes of people was clearly visible in the archaeological record (see more in subsequent chapters).

The Families of Reverend Moors (ca. 1848–1865)

In 1848, during the period of intensified agricultural production of the mid-nineteenth century, Reverend John F. Moors, Deerfield's Unitarian minister, began construction on his one-and-a-half story Gothic Revival cottage on the north end of the village (Fig. 3.8) (Hautaniemi and Rotman 2003). The home was built at a time when the ideals of domesticity had become well-established in middle-class families, both within the village and across the Eastern Seaboard. The Gothic Revival structure – with its steep gables and ornate trim – paralleled the architectural designs of churches and epitomized the spiritual values and morality associated with that ideology.

By the time of the 1850 federal census, Moor's household included his wife, Esther; a widowed friend of the family (Orra B. Thayer), Moors' widowed sister (Mary D. Smith) and her infant daughter (Mary R. Smith); and a young Irish woman (Margaret Ranch), who was most likely a domestic servant (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1850). Esther died later that year. Moors remarried, and by 1855, the household consisted of only Reverend Moors and his second wife, Eunice (Massachusetts Bureau of the Census 1855).

A few years later, at the time of the 1860 federal enumeration, Moors was once again the head of a complex household which included Eunice; his mother, Abigail; and two teenagers (Harriet M. Cooley, the daughter of a local couple and a 17-year-old boy, William Thayer) (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1860). The teenagers could have been working for the Moors in the old pattern of family apprenticeship or they may have been students at Deerfield Academy, the local elite secondary

Fig. 3.8 Home of the Moors and Ball Families. Photograph by the author

school. Many families in the village boarded students, an activity which was considered more of a civic duty than an economic opportunity (Amelia Miller, pers. comm. 1994).

Reverend Moors was publicly outspoken with regard to his personal convictions and political views. In addition to serving on the Executive Committee of the Deerfield Temperance Society (Deerfield Town Papers 5II: Minutes, 26 March 1857), the Reverend was also among the citizens in the region who opposed slavery (*Hampshire Herald*, 12 October 1845). Although the Connecticut River Valley was known to have been a route on the Underground Railroad (Burday 1990:1), the precise nature of Reverend Moors' participation in abolitionism remains poorly understood.

In 1861, John and Eunice Moors moved to nearby Greenfield and sold the homelot to Reverend George Hovey. Hovey's wife, Anna, died in 1865, leaving him with their 15-year-old daughter, Ellen. Also living in the household enumerated on the 1865 state census was Lucrieta G. Sibley, an elderly native-born widow who may have been an extended family member, Ellen Sullivan (a young

Irish-born woman and probable domestic servant), and Ellen's infant son, Daniel. Following the Moors' family, George Hovey owned the Gothic Revival cottage and attendant parcel for five years, selling it to Arthur William Ball, a farmer, in December of 1865.

The Ball Family (1865–ca. 1882)

The Ball family lived on the homelot for three generations. Arthur appears to have purchased the farm in anticipation of his impending marriage. The 1865 Massachusetts census lists Arthur and his brother, J. Sumner Ball, as farmers in the household of William and Catherine Sheldon. Early in 1866, Arthur married the Sheldons' daughter, Frances.

The 1870 federal enumeration documented that the Balls' household consisted of Arthur (age 30), Frances (28), and their infant son, William (2), as well as a domestic servant, Catharine Murphy (33), and two foreign-born laborers, Paul Lucian (25) and Thomas Tobin (20) (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1870). By 1880, the family included Arthur (39), Frances (38), William (11), and Arthur W. (8) (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1880; see also Hautaniemi 1994; Hautaniemi and Rotman 2003; and Rotman and Hautaniemi 2000). The Balls eventually had three sons, William, Arthur Ware, and Phillip.

At the time of the 1880 and 1900 censuses, the household included one domestic servant and one farm laborer. There was no continuity, however, between these decades. In 1880, Christine Carsenest, a Swedish woman, was employed as domestic labor and Alanson Loveridge, a native-born man, as farm labor (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1880). In 1900, the Balls employed a young Polish couple, John and Julia Wacek, to complete domestic and agricultural tasks (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1900).

The Ball's middle son, Arthur Ware, inherited the farm after his father's death in 1901. A daybook from 1893 indicates that he may have assumed management of the farm many years earlier, expanding acreage, outbuildings, and the number and kinds of livestock.

Arthur Ware Ball married Elsa Eager in 1916, around the time of his mother's death. The couple had two daughters, Eleanor and Catherine (who died at the age of 10). Arthur Ware continued to farm the property throughout his lifetime, struggling through the Depression years and the death of Elsa at an early age. As the market for tobacco declined, he turned to raising swine, a move that was unpopular with Deerfield Academy, his neighbor and provider of slops. The sights, sounds, and smells of farms located on the main street became a source of conflict between agriculturalists such as Ball and townspeople involved in educational institutions and historic preservation.

Following Arthur Ware's death in 1956, the property passed to his surviving daughter, Eleanor, who did not continue farm operations. The house was occupied sporadically until the mid-1970s; at which time it was closed up, drawing increasing complaints from neighbors as the lawn and ornamental plantings grew feral, eventually

obscuring the entire house (Hattie Ball and Amelia Miller, pers. comm. 1994). Historic Deerfield Inc. purchased the property in 1991 and undertook renovation of the structure. The approximately nine acres of the parcel included the 1848 Gothic Revival cottage with later additions, a small storage shed, late nineteenth-century tobacco barn, and foundation remains.

Madeline Yale Wynne and Annie Putnam (ca. 1885–ca. 1904)

Madeline Yale Wynne and Annie Putnam came from Boston and were significant figures in Deerfield in the decades surrounding the turn of the twentieth century. Often described as "lifelong companions," these women purchased a house near the center of the village (Lots 31 and 32) in 1885 (Fig. 3.9) (McGowan and Miller 1996:159). This property was just down the street from the cottage in which the Moors' and Ball's families had resided. Wynne and Putnam embodied a new trend in Deerfield during the last half of the nineteenth century; that is, the arrival of white, single, and affluent women in the village who were often seasonal visitors, resided in household groups that were largely or exclusively female, and possessed independent sources of wealth. These women would profoundly shape the landscape and town-scape of the village in the decades surrounding the turn of the twentieth century.

Fig. 3.9 The Manse, home to Madeline Yale Wynne and Annie Putnam. Photograph by Broughton Anderson. Used by permission

Madeline Yale was born in 1847 in Newport, New York, a town in the central upstate area. Her paternal grandfather was Linus Yale, Sr. – a descendant of the Yales of Yale University and the inventor of the Yale lock. It was his success that allowed for a life of relative wealth and privilege for young Madeline as a child in New England (Harlow 2001). Her father, Linus Jr. assumed leadership of the Yale Lock Company in 1855 and was a portrait painter and metalsmith. Her mother, Catherine Brooks Yale, was also from an elite family. According to Harlow (2001:4), "Catherine loved literature and published short stories of her own that revealed strongly positive views on civil and women's rights." Madeline was profoundly influenced by the artistic creativity of her parents as well as her mother's liberal political perspective. She painted and worked in father's metal shop, read extensively throughout her childhood, and was well educated.

She married Henry Winn in 1865 at the age of 18 (Harlow 2001:5). Little is known about their courtship or marriage. Henry was 9 years Madeline's elder. Henry possessed "the proper upper class credentials as a senator's son with a B.A. from Yale, who studied law at Harvard, then became assistant attorney general in 1861… and finally became a senator's personal secretary" (Harlow 2001:5). Although they had two sons together, the marriage did not last and by 1874 Madeline was leading a life separate from her husband (Harlow 2001:6).

Madeline spent time with her family in Shelburne Falls, MA. She also traveled to Philadelphia, New York, and Europe, pursuing her love of painting and the arts. In 1883, Madeline began to share a studio with Annie Putnam, also an artist but about whom little else is known (Harlow 2001:7). The two women shared an interest in working in metals. In the same year, Madeline changed the spelling of her name from Winn to Wynne. Harlow (2001:8) explained this change as "a gesture toward the Medieval associations within the early Arts and Crafts movement, but… served as well to distance her from any connection with her ex-husband, since at that time it would have been nearly impossible to jettison the title Mrs. still required of every ever-married female."

Wynne, her sons, her mother, and Putnam spent six months in Deerfield and the remainder of each year near Boston. Madeline was enumerated in the house of her mother in 1880 (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1880). The household consisted of Catherine Yale (age 62), Madeline (32), her sons Phillip (12) and Lidney (9), and a domestic servant (Phoebe Farley, 40).

Madeline Wynne and Annie Putnam purchased a house on "the Street" in Deerfield in 1885 (McGowan and Miller 1996:159). Wynne and Putnam restored their house – one of the first such undertakings in the village – and affectionately referred to it as "the Manse" (*Gazette and Courier*, May 10, 1890). The local newspaper indicated that "The Willard house [its original name] is undergoing extensive repairs. It is a fine old-fashioned mansion and when restored it will make one of the most attractive houses on the Street" (*Gazette and Courier*, 16 November 1885). Presumably, when Madeline purchased the Manse with Annie, her sons would have accompanied her to Deerfield, although Phillip would have been 17 and might have stayed behind in Boston. It is also unclear whether Madeline's mother, Catherine, joined them in Deerfield village and whether they had domestic servants in their household there.

In 1904, the group became year-round residents (Harlow 2001:11). Madeline and Annie initially used a barn behind the Manse for their artistic pursuits, but in 1890 the pair bought a smaller house – known as the "Little Brown House" on Albany Road – for use as a studio (Harlow 2001:12).

Through their travels and involvement with the arts, Wynne and Putnam were well acquainted with the Arts and Crafts movement, "an aesthetic style seen in the decorative arts using innovative design motifs created in reaction to the so-called excesses of the Victorian period" (Harlow 2001:1). Gillian Naylor (1971) asserts that "the Arts and Crafts movement was built upon and expressed, especially in its earlier years, an ideology of radical social reform, so that the movement was concerned… with the ethics as much as with the aesthetics of design" (see also Harlow 2001). Wynne and Putnam were influential in bringing both the artistic aspects and political ideals of Arts and Crafts to Deerfield. Wynne, for example, "used her wide-ranging connections to arrange touring exhibitions of Deerfield [craft] work… [and] brought in speakers on art or politics, such as Representative John Haig, whose topic in 1908 was women's suffrage." Residents of the village were proud of their "strong-minded and independent women" (Beels 1995:35; see also Harlow 2001).

Madeline Yale Wynne died in 1918 and left her share of the Manse and other assets in trust to her family (McGowan and Miller 1996:160). Madeline would have been approaching 40 years old at the time she and Annie purchased the Manse and was in early 70s at the time of her death. It was difficult to determine Annie's precise age, since she could not be located in the census records, but was presumably about the same age as Madeline. The women were not enumerated in the Deerfield Township, Franklin County portions of the federal or Massachusetts State censes at any time during their occupation of the Manse. It is possible that the women retained a residence in Boston, but could not be located in those censes either. The absence of these women from those records makes it difficult to reconstruct the composition of the household at various moments in time.

Annie Putnam died in 1924 (McGowan and Miller 1996:159). Deerfield Academy acquired the property in 1928. The Manse remained empty until 1950 when it was extensively restored by Mr. and Mrs. Henry N. Flynt. It served as a guest house for the Academy until 1968 and as the retirement home of Academy headmaster, Frank L. Boyden and his wife until 1980. Since that time, it has been and continues to be the Headmaster's residence (McGowan and Miller 1996:160).

This brief history of Deerfield and its families presented in this chapter provides an overview of the dynamic changes undergone in the village over nearly two centuries. Each household in this study served as a lens through which to view social relations at particular moments in the village's history.

Research Methods and Archaeological Assemblages in this Study

Material culture was an important vehicle for codifying and reproducing social relations – notably those of gender – during the mid-eighteenth, nineteenth, and early twentieth centuries. Ceramics were especially important in the symbolic rituals within

the home, such as reproducing social relations through tea drinking or dining. Ceramic teawares and tablewares were differentially used to create domestic worlds of middle-class families (Wall 1991, 1994).

My study assesses how ceramics were utilized in the codification and reproduction of gender relations in the rural village of Deerfield, MA. I sought material evidence for symbolic meaning and uses of tea and tablewares, with specific emphasis on the materiality of domesticity and the separation of spheres as well as exploring deviations from expected material patterns.

This research is not intended to reproduce historical archaeological studies that simply use middle-class Victorian women as a yardstick by which all aspects of domesticity and associated behaviors are measured. Wood (2004:213) stressed that

> People who did not utilize material culture in ways that were consistent with middle-class patterns are assumed to have resisted middle-class hegemony. Alternatively, when working-class people used material culture in ways that mirrored middle-class behaviors, it is assumed that they aspired to middle-class status (Beaudry et al. 1991). As a result, all questions about domesticity lead back to the middle class.

Rather, I seek to emphasize the relational aspects of gender roles and relations within the village. In Deerfield, this includes relationships between members of the family (e.g., husband, wife, parent, child), members of the household (e.g., family, farm laborers, domestic servants), and multiple households along the Street. Coontz (1992:11) noted that "For every nineteenth-century family that sheltered the wife and child within the home, there was an Irish woman scrubbing floors in that middle-class house, a Welsh boy mining coal to keep the house warm, and a black woman doing the family's laundry"(see Fig. 3.10 for laundry day in Deerfield).

Wood (2004:213) extends this argument by stating that "The assertion that middle-class domesticity was the norm, or was the most desirable organization of family life, has been a claim to power by ascendant middle class in the past. Archaeologists who today reify this middle-class standard are implicitly repeating middle-class claims to all-encompassing social power in both past and present." This study seeks to understand how the ideals of domesticity as a symbol of economic prosperity by an emerging middle class influenced the lived experiences of households along the economic and social spectrum in Deerfield.

The archaeological assemblages used in this investigation encompassed six different residential occupations at four different sites along the Street. The refuse in both a privy/trash pit at the Dr. Thomas and Esther Williams' home was deposited during the family's residency at the site (ca. 1750–ca. 1770). At the Ebenezer Hinsdale and Anna Williams' site, the artifacts from a privy/trash pit were attributed to the Williamses (ca. 1816), but the material culture from a buried land surface (known as Strat 9) was from the time during which the house was rented by the families of the Barnards and the Moors (ca. 1845). Finally, at the Moors' site, archaeological phases II and III coincide with the occupation of the site by the ministers – Reverend John Moors and Reverend George Hovey and their respective families (ca. 1848–1865). Phase IV materials from the Moors' site were associated with the residence of Arthur and Frances Ball (1865–ca. 1882). Finally, artifacts recovered from a well were attributed to the occupation of the Manse by Madeline Yale Wynne and Annie Putnam (ca. 1885–ca. 1904).

Fig. 3.10 Pumping water on laundry day behind Major David Saxton's house, 1886. Photograph by Emma Lewis Coleman. Courtesy of the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association, Memorial Hall Museum, Deerfield, MA

The homelot of Dr. Thomas and Esther Williams was included in this project for two principal reasons. First, Thomas, as a relative of the famed Reverend John Williams, represented Deerfield's elite during the last half of the eighteenth century. Therefore, the refined earthenwares recovered from archaeological contexts provided a glimpse into the uses of the material world by the local gentry as expressions of class and gender relations. Second, the Williamses' late eighteenth-century occupation of the site predated the early nineteenth-century gender ideology of the cult of domesticity. Therefore, the assemblages served as an entry point for conducting intersite comparisons, evaluating material and spatial changes over time and across space, and (potentially) gauging the degree of gender separation prior to the cult of domesticity to the village.

The residence of Ebenezer Hinsdale and Anna Williams was selected for inclusion for two principal reasons as well. First, their occupation of Lots 40, 41, and 42 in the village occurred during the early decades of the nineteenth century, providing a good temporal continuation from the Dr. Thomas and Esther Williams' home of the late eighteenth century. Second, following the death of E. H. Williams in 1838, the house served as a rental property – occupied by the family of David and Eliza Barnard and the newly married couple of Reverend John and Euncie Moors – and, therefore, the archaeological assemblage at this particular site expressed the experiences of both elite and working-class families in the village.

The home constructed by Reverend John and Eunice Moors – and later occupied by the families of George and Anna Hovey as well as Arthur and Frances Ball – was

selected as the third homelot for this study. Again, it provided a good temporal continuation from the E. H. and Anna Williams' home, representing the last half of the nineteenth century. In addition, as a Gothic Revival cottage, the house was the most visible expression of middle-class ideals of domesticity along the Street and, therefore, was of particular interest to this study of gender ideologies.

The Manse was selected as the final site to be included in this study. The house was occupied by lifelong companions, Madeline Yale Wynne and Annie Putnam, from the late nineteenth and into the twentieth century. This site too represented good temporally continuity within the village, since the archaeological assemblage from this site postdated that of the Ball's occupation of the Moors' cottage up the Street by just a few years. Madeline and Annie were also of interest to this study because they represented a very important and unique chapter in the village's history – notably the demographic shift to a nearly all female community, the arrival of "outsiders" with their elite and nonagriculturally derived wealth, and gendered/ feminist ideals that significantly contrasted those of domesticity.

I used material culture from previously excavated archaeological contexts as my data sets. In addition to the chronological placement and class position of each of these homelots, the availability of these archaeological assemblages was a significant factor in my choice of sites. Some previous analyses have been conducted on these sites and assemblages (Blades 1976, 1977; Bograd 1989; Harlow 2001; Hautaniemi 1994, 1999; Hautaniemi and Paynter 1996, 1999; Reinke and Paynter 1990; Reinke et al. 1987, 1988). The reports from these studies helped me to orient myself to the collections before I proceeded with my own data collection and analyses.

I chose to focus on earthenwares from each of these six occupations within the village. Ceramics are among the most-studied and best-understood material classes in historical archaeology, particularly with regard to gendered social relations. Admittedly, my focus on a single artifact category is a limitation to this study and future work historical archaeological work on gender in Deerfield should seek to incorporate a broader spectrum of material classes to test the preliminary interpretations presented here.

There is an additional limitation to this study. Although the ceramic artifact assemblage for each occupation was relatively robust, not every ceramic vessel could be included in every analysis. Consequently, for some of the models I tested, only a sample of the overall assemblage may have been relevant.

As indicated in Chap. 2, I specifically used a dialectical framework for interpreting and understanding concurrence with or deviations from expected material patterns (following Ollman 1993 and Wurst 1999). I redefined the spatial and temporal boundaries (the abstraction of extension) to capture other lived experiences in the village. I altered the abstraction of levels of generality (the degree of magnification) by examining greater or lesser detail of a homelot, the streetscape, and region to bring into relief new textures in the social fabric of gender relations in Deerfield. Finally, I incorporated additional perspectives (abstraction of vantage point) as necessary to make visible different experiences of the human agents affected by gender ideologies.

Brief histories of each site and the processes of data collection and analyses for all phases of the research are summarized in the balance of this chapter.

Detailed discussion and interpretations of the ceramics were presented in subsequent chapters. To the extent possible, I have limited the presentation of data in order to reduce redundancy in this volume. On occasion, however, details are repeated in subsequent analyses for clarity.

Summary of Analyses

Several assemblages from relatively discrete archaeological contexts were used for both intra- and intersite comparisons. Table 3.1 lists the date ranges of each feature as determined through analysis of stratigraphic, material, and documentary evidence. Mean ceramic dating (South 1978) was undertaken for all assemblages. Table 3.2 shows the inclusive dates of manufacture for all ware types from the

Table 3.1 Summary of archaeological assemblages examined

Family	Feature	Date
Dr. Thomas and Esther Williams	Privy deposits	ca. 1750–ca. 1770
	Trash deposits	ca. 1770
E. H. and Anna Williams	Privy/trash deposits	ca. 1816
Tenant families	Strat 9 land surface	ca. 1845
Ministers' households	Phase II – building house; Phase III – occupation	ca. 1848; ca. 1848–1865
Arthur and Francis Ball	Phase IV – agribusiness	1865 – ca. 1882
Madeline Yale Wynne and Annie Putnam	Well	ca. 1885-ca. 1904

Table 3.2 Summary of mean ceramic dates (MCD) per South (1978)

Site/feature	Range	Calculation[a]	MCD
Dr. T. & E. Williams			
Privy deposits	1670–1850	17653.5 ÷ 10	1765.3
Trash deposit	1670–1850	24677.5 ÷ 14	1762.7
E H & A Williams			
Privy/trash deposits	1762–1831	66360.5 ÷ 37	1793.5
Tenants			
Strat 9 land surface	1762–1860	37896 ÷ 21	1804.6
Rev. and E. Moors			
Phases II/III[b]	1740–1900	36403.5 ÷ 20	1820.2[c]
Arthur and Frances Ball			
Phase IV[b]	1762–1900	27719 ÷ 15	1847.9
The Manse			
Well	1790–1940	81378 ÷ 44	1849.5[c]

[a]This number shows the sum of the mean ceramic dates for individual vessels divided by the number of vessels

[b]Phases I and V were excluded from this and other analyses. Phase I predated any known occupation of the site, while Phase V was outside the temporal boundaries of the project

[c]This early date is explained in the discussion of this assemblage later in the chapter

respective features. Any discrepancies between these date ranges were discussed in the section for each homelot.

For each assemblage, I also determined the type and number of wares, decorative motifs, and minimum vessels. Each assemblage's minimum number of vessels was determined by grouping the sherds according to ware, decorative motif, and function (Noel Hume 1969a; Lofstrom et al. 1982; Majewski and O'Brien 1987). Individual sherds of a distinctive ware and/or with a distinctive motif were counted as a unique vessel, even if the function could not be determined. Using this method, a few vessels were represented by a single sherd.

Ceramic Wares, Motifs, and Vessel Functions

Eleven different ware types were recovered at the various sites. The definitions used in these analyses for each ware were presented in Appendix A.

Decorative motifs followed Wall (1994:139–140), who categorized vessels according into four decorative motifs: (1) Minimally decorated vessels were all white and may or may not have had molded rims; (2) Shell-edged vessels had molded rims in either blue or green; (3) Chinese landscapes; and (4) neoclassical/romantic floral motifs.

Wall also defined vessel function quite broadly, including tablewares (such as plates and serving vessels), teawares (such as teabowls, teacups, saucers, and the like), and other (all vessels that could not be included in the other two functional categories). More detailed definitions of vessel functions were presented in Appendix B.

Archival Research

To enhance my understanding of gender ideologies in Deerfield and the Connecticut River Valley, I also surveyed the historical and archaeological literature pertaining to republican motherhood, the cult of domesticity, equal rights feminism, domestic reform, feminine mystique, and other ideologies that structured social relations on the regional and national levels (i.e., Beetham 1996; DuBois 1978; Flexner 1968; Giele 1995; Gurko 1974; Marilley 1996; Ryan 1985; Sklar 1973; and Ward and Burns 1999, among many others). This endeavor gave me additional grounding in the complexities of gender ideologies and further acquainted me with the range of known spatial and material expressions of gender relations during from the late eighteenth through the early twentieth centuries.

Utilizing archival data, I sought to understand the social relations of gender within the village of Deerfield specifically. Newspapers, such as the *Greenfield Gazette and Courier* and the *Revolution*, and other publications like *Godey's Ladies*

Magazine provided a glimpse into the kind of information that was available to men and women on the Street as well as how gender and family may have been shaped accordingly in Deerfield. I scanned a sample of newspapers (i.e., *Greenfield Gazette and Courier*) from 1820 to 1920. For each decade (i.e., 1820, 1830), I read one paper from each quarter – the first issue for January, April, July, and October. I looked for articles, poetry, and other reported items that provided information regarding gender ideologies, cultural norms and expectations, and the like for the area covered by the newspaper's circulation, which included the village of Deerfield. I also looked for advertisements, particularly those for ceramics which would help to elucidate the types of refined earthenwares, popular dish patterns, and other material objects that might have been available for purchase and used in social rituals by village residents.

I also examined probate inventories for Dr. Thomas Williams, Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams, the Reverend John Moors, and Arthur Ball. Personal papers, diaries, and written accounts by other Deerfield women and men from the mid-eighteenth through early twentieth centuries – such as those of Agnes Higginson Fuller and George Sheldon – further elucidated how gender relations were operationalized in the village and how residents may have felt about them.

In addition, I analyzed newspapers and membership records (i.e., benevolent societies, abolitionist groups, suffragettes) to determine the kinds of social and political activities in which the individuals and families of this study were involved. Women who believed strongly in the ideals of domesticity, for example, were known to participate in benevolent and missionary societies, while their counterparts in equal rights feminism were active in suffrage and abolitionism; while advocates for domestic reform engaged in endeavors that sought to professionalize aspects of women's work. Clearly, this is not a foolproof method for identifying who belonged to which group. The division between ideological camps was not always distinct (Cott 1977). The temperance movement, for example, was of interest to groups across the ideological spectrum during the nineteenth century (Coontz 1988:235). Intemperance was often associated with domestic violence, the squandering of family resources, and other social problems; concerns of broad impact upon women and children (Giele 1995). Nevertheless, group memberships proved to be a good starting point for working out who may have been most committed to particular gender ideologies.

Other studies in Deerfield have successfully used diaries, personal papers, and recorded histories of village residents as well as newspaper articles and other primary documents to study the impact of gender on the materiality of the village. Researchers have employed documentary evidence to understand the role of women in reshaping the economic and social landscape of Deerfield through the Arts and Crafts Movement (Miller and Lanning 1994) and their involvement in bringing municipal water to the village (Hautaniemi and Rotman 2003).

All of these lines of inquiry were brought to bear on the individual homelots that served as the foci of my study. Each of them was summarized below, in chronological order.

Site 1/Occupation 1: Home of Dr. Thomas and Esther Williams (ca. 1750–ca. 1770)

Material culture for analysis of the homelot of Dr. Thomas and Esther Williams came from the excavation of an abandoned privy/trash pit (Fig. 3.11). The feature was clearly stratified and the deposits used for this analysis were in situ. A report regarding the excavation and artifact analysis was written by Brooke Blades (1976) and the objects were curated by Historic Deerfield, Inc. My analysis focused upon four distinct layers of privy soil and a trash deposit which capped them dating from
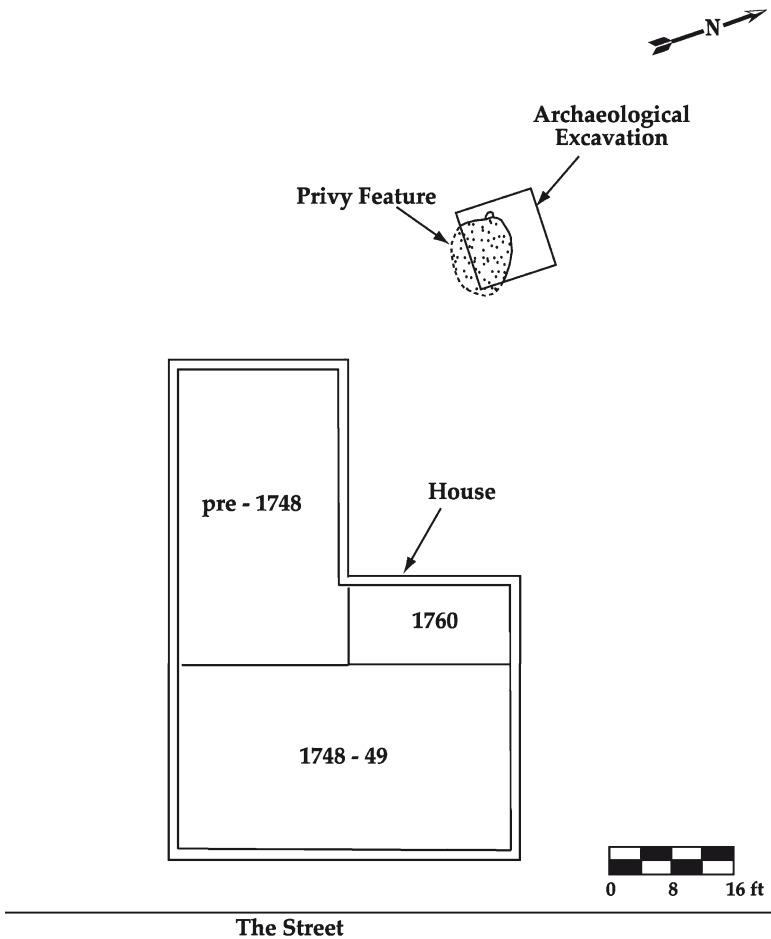
Fig. 3.11 Location of the privy/trash pit excavated at the Dr. Thomas and Esther Williams' home (ca. 1750–1770). Created by Kit Curran for the author

ca. 1750 to ca. 1770, inclusively (Blades 1976:12). The ceramics from this feature were used to measure changes in refined earthenwares in the village over time, particularly for those recovered from the other homelots on the Street examined during this project.

The privy appears to have originally been dug ca. 1740–1750 (Blades 1976:12). The uppermost (Layer IV) and bottommost (Layer I) strata of the privy soil were fairly level and consistent in thickness (Fig. 3.12). The excavation profile clearly illustrates the location of the privy holes in the deposits between, such that Layers II and III were, in vernacular terms, a "two-holer" and "three-holer," respectively.

Blades (1977:62) observed that "the privy pit did not serve as a receptacle for indiscriminate refuse." He noted that – although metal, bone, and ceramics were recovered from the feature – there was also a considerable quantity of glass. Discarding broken glass in the privy may have been a matter of ensuring safety
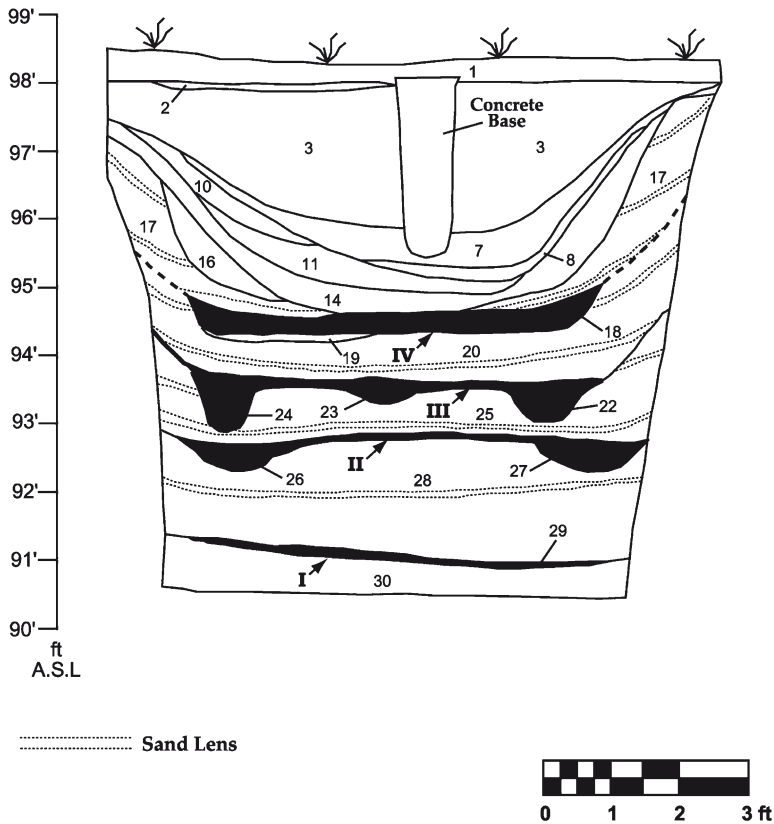
Fig. 3.12 Profile of the privy/trash pit from the Dr. Thomas and Esther Williams' home (ca. 1750–1770). Created by Kit Curran for the author

for the Williamses' many young children. Therefore, deposition many have been selective and the ceramic vessels recovered from the privy may not be a fully representative of the family's early ceramics.

Once the privy was no longer in use, it was capped with a layer of trash dating to the late eighteenth century (ca. 1770) (see Strata 10, 11, 13, and 14 in Fig. 3.12). The deposition of the trash layer appears to have occurred during a relatively short period of time (Blades 1976:20, 1977:57–58). A second trash pit covered the first, dating to ca. 1820–1830 (Blades 1976:22, 1977:58). This archaeological deposit had, unfortunately, been disturbed by the installation of a post for a clothesline and, since it lacked integrity, was excluded from this analysis.

The vessels recovered from this site were summarized in Table 3.3. More details regarding the ceramic assemblage were provided in Appendix C.

Table 3.3 Summary of ceramic vessels recovered from the Dr. Thomas and Esther Williams' site (ca. 1750–ca. 1770)

Vessel #	Feature	Ware	Form	Decorative type
1	Privy IV	Delft	Teabowl	Hand-painted
2	Privy IV	Stoneware	Teabowl	Bristol salt-glazed
3	Privy IV	Delft	Drug pot	Undecorated
4	Privy IV	Delft	Drug pot	Undecorated
5	Privy III	Stoneware	Shallow saucer	Bristol salt-glazed
6	Privy III	Delft	Plate	Hand-painted
7	Privy III	Delft	Drug pot	Undecorated
8	Privy III	Delft	Drug pot	Undecorated
9	Privy IV	Earthenware	Hollowware	Yellow slipware
10	Privy IV	Earthenware	Hollowware	Combed slipware
11	Privy III	Earthenware	Flatware	Lead glazed
12	Privy IV	Hard-paste porcelain	Indeterminate	Hand-painted
13	Trash pit	Stoneware	Hollowware	Impressed
14	Trash pit	Redware	Milk pan	Hand-painted
15	Trash pit	Redware	Jar	Hand-painted
16	Trash pit	Earthenware	Chamber pot	English, dotware
17	Trash pit	Earthenware	Chamber pot	English, dotware
18	Trash pit	Earthenware	Mug/posset cup	English, dotware
19	Trash pit	Earthenware	Pie plate	English, combed slipware
20	Trash pit	Delft	Plate or shallow bowl	Hand-painted
21	Trash pit	Delft	Drug pot	Undecorated
22	Trash pit	Delft	Drug pot	Undecorated
23	Trash pit	Stoneware	Mug	Impressed
24	Trash pit	Stoneware	Jug	Impressed
25	Trash pit	Stoneware	Chamber pot	Impressed
26	Trash pit	Hard-paste porcelain	Teabowl	Hand-painted
27	Trash pit	Redware	Butter pot	Lead glazed
28	Trash pit	Earthenware	Bowl	Yellow slipware
29	Trash pit	Earthenware	Indeterminate	Yellow slipware
30	Privy I	Delft	Indeterminate	Undecorated

Site 2/Occupations 2 and 3: Ebenezer Hinsdale and Anna Williams (ca. 1816) plus Tenants (ca. 1845)

The tabulation of ceramic wares, motifs, and vessels for the archaeological assemblages from the Ebenezer Hinsdale and Anna Williams' homelot was based on two features, an early nineteenth-century privy/trash pit and a buried land surface from mid-century. These deposits appeared to represent the occupation of the home by the Williams' family and a series of tenants, respectively. The assemblages from this site were recovered during a series of field school excavations in the 1980s and 1990s. A report regarding the excavation and preliminary artifact analyses was written by Mark Bograd (1989). The artifacts and associated excavation documentation were curated with the Archaeological Field School Laboratory at the University of Massachusetts Amherst.

The privy/trash pit was located off the northeast wing of the house (proveniences N1E40.5 and N0.5E40.5, both of which were excavated in 1987, and N1E41, excavated in 1992) (Fig. 3.13). The soil profiles showed the four distinct deposition episodes (Bograd 1989:16) (Fig. 3.14). The two deepest strata represented its use as a privy and contained very few artifacts. The feature was then capped by two distinct layers of trash, which ceramic cross-mends confirmed were contemporaneous.

The deposits from the privy/trash pit represent a unique interpretive challenge that is important to note. Bograd (1989:19) examined the range of materials present in the privy feature. He determined that the likely date range of deposition was 1800–1820. Consequently, the objects in the privy could have potentially belonged to any of three households: Reverend John Taylor (1800–1807), Andrew Bardwell (1807–1816), or Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams (1816–1820). Bograd (1989:20) reconciled the matter this way: "… the owner of the ceramics is not relevant…. [since] the analysis purports to tells [sic] us about the status of the owner, not the identity of the owner." Amelia Miller, long-time historian of Deerfield (pers. comm. 2000) confirmed that Taylor, Bardwell, and Williams could all be comfortably categorized as members of the middle class. The most likely scenario, however, was that the filling of the privy was done by the Williams' family with objects they had brought with them to the homelot from the Carter's Land farm and which were broken upon moving in. This hypothesis was further substantiated by the presence of two glass tumblers and blue shell-edged plates that matched line items on Williams' probate inventory (Robert Paynter, pers. comm. 2000).

The buried land surface from the mid-nineteenth century (known as Strat 9) served as the second feature used for analyses at the Williams' homelot. The stratigraphic relationship of this deposit clearly indicates that this buried land surface dates to ca. 1845 (Reinke 1990; Paynter 2000c). Additional vessels were refitted from Strat 9, notably units from north of the back ell of the house and driveway. The home was occupied by the Barnards' and Moors' families as tenants at that time.
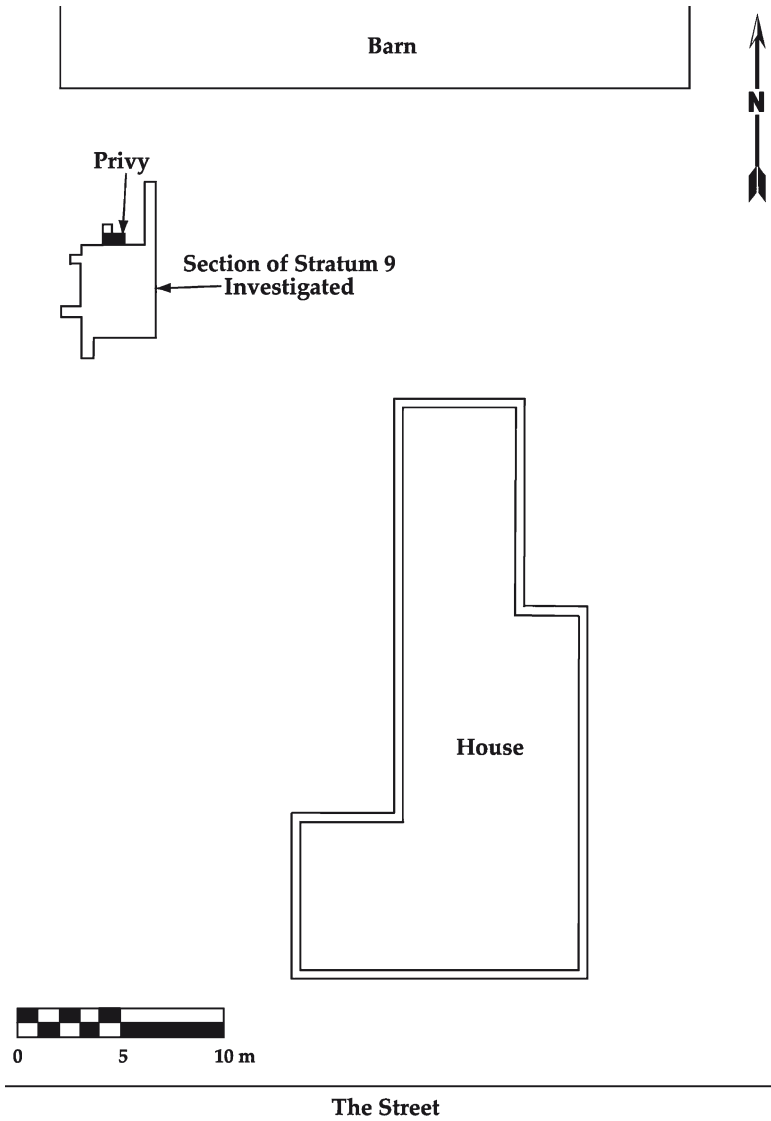
Fig. 3.13 Location of the features excavated at the Ebenezer Hinsdale and Anna Williams' home (ca. 1816–ca. 1845). Created by Kit Curran for the author

The vessels recovered from this Williamses' occupation of the site were summarized in Table 3.4, while the vessels associated with the tenants were presented in Table 3.5. More details regarding these assemblages may be found in Appendix C.
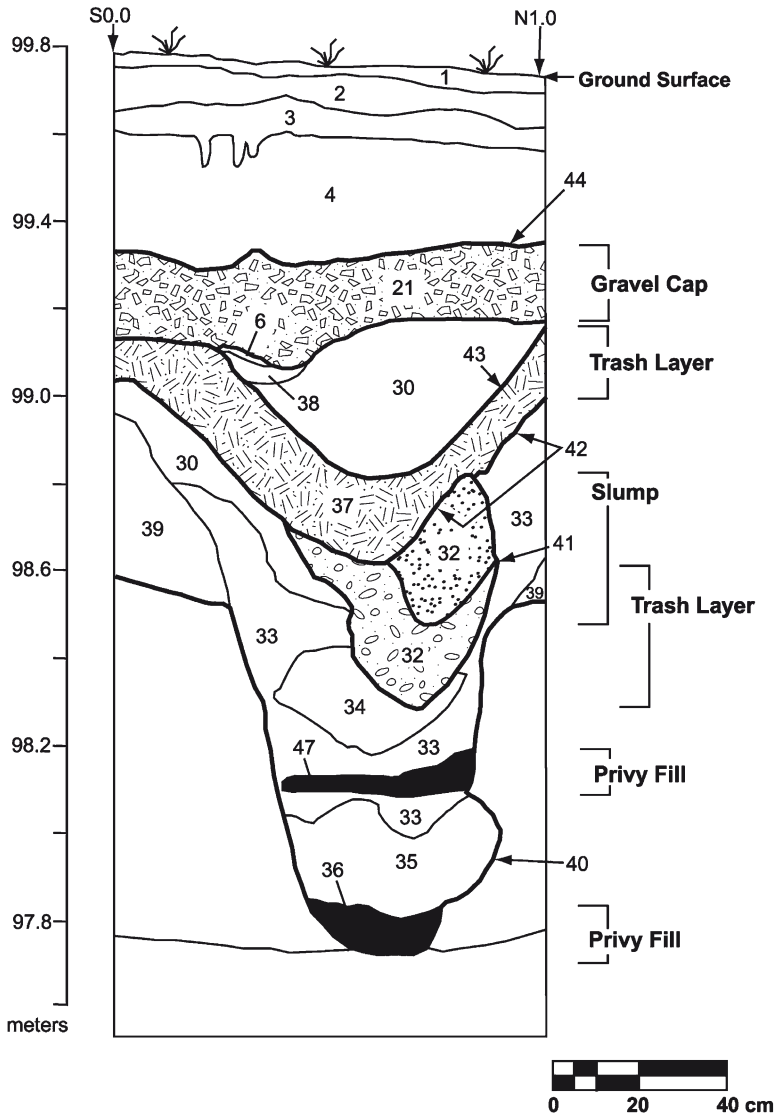
Fig. 3.14 Profile of the privy/trash pit from the Ebenezer Hinsdale and Anna Williams' home (ca. 1816). Created by Kit Curran for the author

Table 3.4 Summary of ceramic vessels recovered from privy/trash pit at the Ebenezer Hinsdale and Anna Williams' occupation (ca. 1816)

Vessel #	Ware	Form	Decorative type
63	Pearlware	Shallow bowl	Hand-painted
64	Pearlware	Large saucer/bowl	Hand-painted
65	Pearlware	Small saucer/bowl	Hand-painted
66	Pearlware	Small saucer/bowl	Hand-painted
67	Pearlware	Deep bowl	Hand-painted
68	Pearlware	Deep bowl	Hand-painted
69	Redware	Jug	Undecorated
70	Redware	Milk pan	Undecorated
71	Redware	Deep bowl	Undecorated
72	Creamware	Teacup	Undecorated
73	Creamware	Bowl	Undecorated
74	Hard-paste porcelain	Small saucer/bowl	Hand-painted
75	Creamware	Pitcher	Undecorated
76	Creamware	Deep bowl	Undecorated
77	Creamware	Deep bowl	Undecorated
78	Creamware	Deep bowl	Undecorated
79	Creamware	Deep bowl	Molded rim
80	Creamware	Chamber pot	Undecorated
81	Creamware	Plate	Molded rim
82	Creamware	Plate	Molded rim
83	Creamware	Plate	Molded rim
84	Whiteware	Plate	Molded rim
85	Creamware	Plate	Undecorated
86	Creamware	Plate	Molded rim
87	Creamware	Shallow bowl	Molded rim
88	Creamware	Plate	Molded rim
89	Creamware	Plate	Molded rim
90	Creamware	Plate	Molded rim
91	Creamware	Plate	Molded rim
92	Creamware	Plate	Molded rim
94[a]	Creamware	Plate	Molded rim
95	Creamware	Shallow bowl	Molded rim
96	Creamware	Plate	Molded rim
97	Creamware	Plate	Molded rim
98	Creamware	Plate	Molded rim
99	Creamware	Plate	Molded rim
100	Creamware	Plate	Molded rim
101	Creamware	Plate	Molded rim
102	Creamware	Plate	Molded rim
104	Pearlware	Flatware	Shell-edged, blue
105	Hard-paste porcelain	Indeterminate	Hand-painted
108	Redware	Milk pan	Undecorated
109	Redware	Milk pan	Undecorated

[a]Additional analyses refined some vessel designations; hence, the vessel numbers are not entirely sequential

Table 3.5 Summary of ceramic vessels recovered from Strat 9, associated with the tenants' occupation of the Williams' site (ca. 1845)

Vessel #	Ware	Form	Decorative type
1	Stoneware	Indeterminate	Gray salt-glaze/Albany slip
2	Redware	Indeterminate	Green to ginger glaze
3	Redware	Indeterminate	Unglazed
4	Stoneware	Indeterminate	Yellow-bodied slipware trailed
5	Redware	Indeterminate	Unglazed
6	Stoneware	Indeterminate	Nottingham type
7	Redware	Indeterminate	Dark brown to black glaze
8	Redware	Hollowware	Yellow brown to brown glaze
13[a]	Whiteware	Plate	Transfer printed
14	Pearlware	Plate	Transfer printed
15	Creamware	Hollowware	Hand-painted
16	Creamware	Pitcher	Dipped, engine-turned
17	Pearlware	Hollowware	Transfer printed
18	Pearlware	Plate	Transfer printed
19	Pearlware	Plate	Feather-edged, blue
22	Pearlware	Indeterminate	Shell-edged, blue
24	Pearlware	Plate	Molded rim
27	Creamware	Hollowware	Undecorated
28	Pearlware	Plate	Shell-edged, painted not molded
29	Pearlware	Platter	Shell-edged, green
32	Pearlware	Plate	Shell-edged, green
34	Creamware	Mug	Undecorated
41	Creamware	Indeterminate	Undecorated
45	Hard-paste porcelain	Indeterminate	Undecorated
46	Pearlware	Indeterminate	Shell-edged, green
47	Pearlware	Plate	Shell-edged, green
48	Creamware	Plate	Molded rim
49	Creamware	Indeterminate	Undecorated
51	Pearlware	Hollowware	Undecorated
55	Creamware	Indeterminate	Undecorated

[a]Additional analyses refined some vessel designations; hence, the vessel numbers are not entirely sequential

Site 3/Occupations 4 and 5: Home of the Moors (ca. 1848–1865) and Ball Families (1865–ca. 1882)

The Moors' house is a Gothic Revival cottage and was an icon to the cult of domesticity. Following relatively brief successive occupations by two ministers, the structure was home to two generations of the Arthur and Frances Sheldon Ball family. These families were successful agriculturalists and actively engaged in the community during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (an especially interesting period in the village's history with regard to women as the population became increasingly female).

The ceramics from the Moors' site, excavated during a series of field schools and contract projects during the 1980s and 1990s. Susan Hautaniemi Leonard and

Bob Paynter reported on these investigations (Hautaniemi 1994; Hautaniemi and Paynter 1996, 1999). The artifacts and associated project documentation were curated with the Archaeological Field School Laboratory at the University of Massachusetts Amherst. Only basic field processing and preliminary analyses of the material culture had been completed prior to my involvement with the site.

Hautaniemi and Paynter (1999) identified five principle occupations of the site. Phase I (pre-1848) represented the land surface exposed prior to the construction of the house. Phase II (ca. 1848) was the ground surface upon which the Gothic Revival cottage was built. Phase III (ca. 1848–1865) was the period during which the house was occupied by the Reverends Moors and Hovey and their families. The time from which the lot was purchased by Arthur Ball (1865) through its early twentieth-century occupation (ca. 1882) as a thriving agribusiness was referred to as Phase IV. Finally, the era of declining agricultural productivity and purchase by Historic Deerfield (ca. 1910–1991) was Phase V (the current exposed land surface). The first phase was excluded from my analyses because it predated any formal occupation of the site and the final phase was excluded since it fell outside the temporal parameters of this project.

I focused my analyses upon excavation units 16, 17, and 18 from the 1994 field season (Fig. 3.15). These units had the greatest density of refined earthenwares, were located in areas that had previously been intensively utilized for the daily activities of site residents, and in whose deposits these phases of occupation were represented. In addition, these units were excavated beneath the extant kitchen ell built sometime between 1870 and 1882, providing a convenient terminus ante quem for the artifacts recovered from them (Hautaniemi and Paynter 1999).

Excavation of unit 16 (beneath the pantry) encountered the land surface prior to construction of the house (1; Phase I), a deep fill layer used to backfill the house foundation (2; Phase II), a second land surface which formed upon the fill (3; Phase III), a trench containing a wooden box drain (4; Phase IV), a trench containing a lead bathtub drain (5; Phase IV), the ell expansion and builder's trench (6; Phase IV), and an additional layer of fill (7; Phase IV) (Fig. 3.16). In unit 17 (beneath the back kitchen), numerous cultural deposits were excavated, including the pre-house land surface (1; Phase I), a deep fill layer (2; Phase II) and the land surface which formed on top of it (3; Phase III), a second fill layer (4; Phase IV), a water deposited ash layer (5; Phase IV), and a layer of fine silts which appeared to be dirt sifted down through the floor boards and/or blown in from outside after the foundation was breached in several places (6; Phase IV) (Fig. 3.17). Finally, the investigation of unit 18 in the woodshed revealed the pre-house land surface (1; Phase I), a deep fill layer (2; Phase II) and the land surface which developed upon it (3; Phase III), a cut from a trench containing a wooden box drain (4; Phase IV), evidence for the abandonment of the drain and filling (5A, 5B, and 5C; Phase IV), coal deposit (6; Phase IV), and current land surface (7; Phase V) (Fig. 3.18).

The vessels recovered from Moors's/Hovey's occupation of the site were summarized in Table 3.6, while the vessels associated with the Ball's family were presented in Table 3.7. More details regarding the ceramic assemblage were provided in Appendix C.
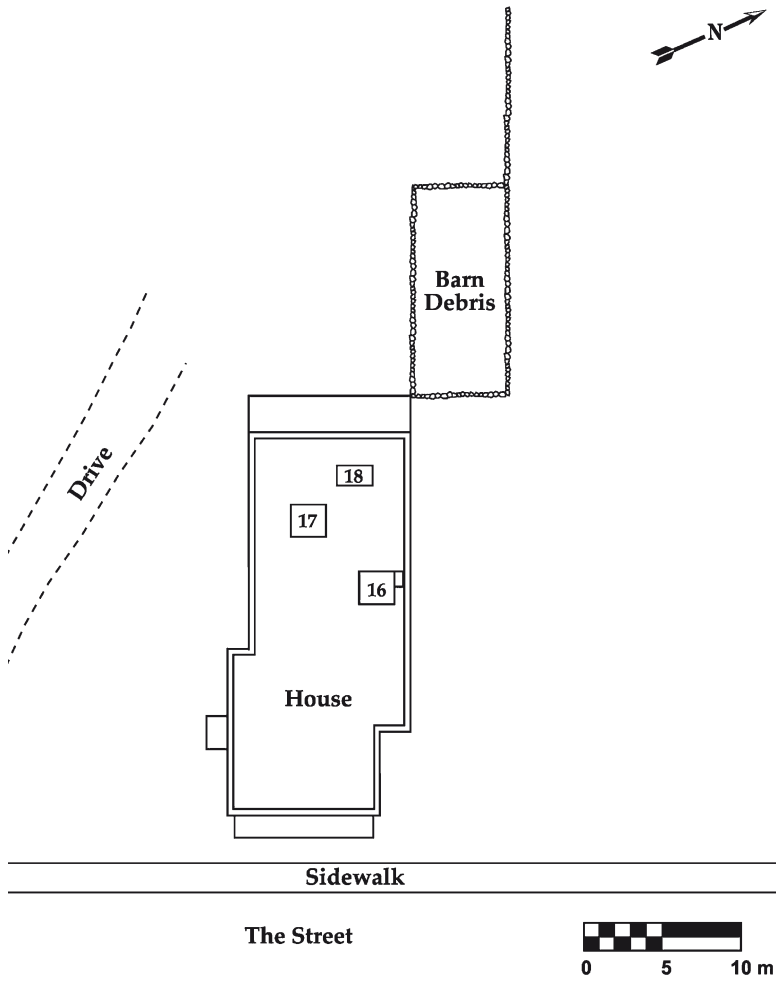
Fig. 3.15 Location of the excavation units at the Moors' site that were the foci of study (ca. 1848–ca. 1882). Created by Kit Curran for the author
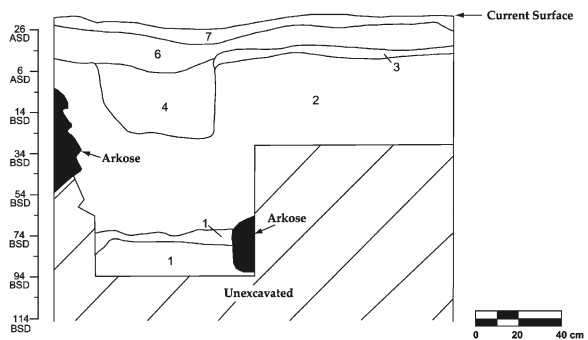
Fig. 3.16 South wall profile of unit 16, Moors' site. Created by Kit Curran for the author

Fig. 3.17 West wall profile of
unit 17, Moors' site. Created
by Kit Curran for the author
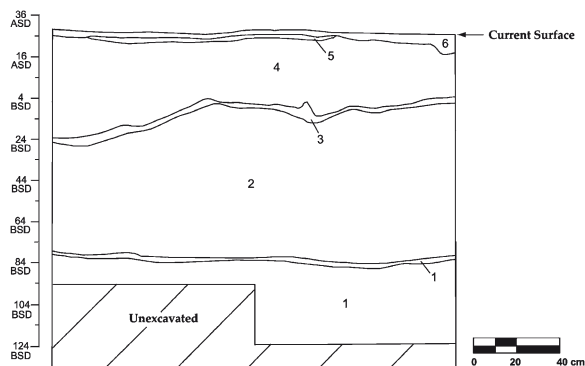
Fig. 3.18 West wall profile of
unit 18, Moors' site. Created
by Kit Curran for the author
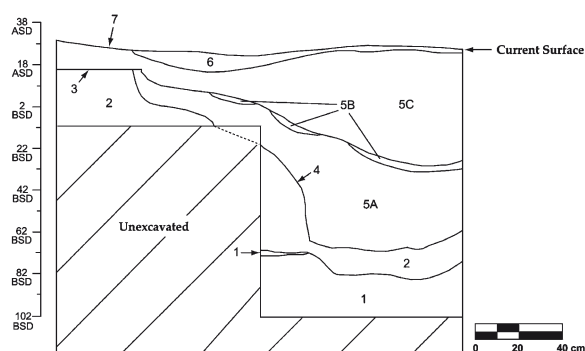
Site 4/Occupation 6: Home of Madeline Wynne and Annie Putnam (ca. 1885–ca. 1904)

The material culture used for an analysis of gender relations at the Manse during
its occupation by Madeline Wynne and Annie Putnam came from an excavated well.
This project was completed as a salvage archaeology project, when construction at
the site revealed two features (the second was a trash pit not included in this study).
No site plan or feature profile was available for inclusion in this volume. Elizabeth
Harlow's (2001, 2005) analyses of the materials from the well has been particularly
useful for this study. The ceramics recovered during the excavation were attributed
to the Wynne-Putnam occupation of the structure (Harlow 2005:58). These vessels
are summarized in Table 3.8, with additional details provided in Appendix C.

Summary of the Archaeological Assemblages

The archaeological assemblages encompassed six different occupations. Two
archaeological contexts at the Dr. Thomas and Esther Williams' home – a privy/
trash pit – were associated with a mid- to late eighteenth century occupation of

Table 3.6 Summary of ceramic vessels recovered from Phases II and III at the Moors' site, associated with the Reverends' occupation (ca. 1848–1865)

Vessel #	Phase	Ware	Form	Decorative type
1	III	Whiteware	Plate	Undecorated
2	III	Whiteware	Small saucer/bowl	Molded rim
3	III	Redware	Pitcher?	Molded decoration
4	II	Pearlware	Flatware	Shell edge, blue
5	II	Pearlware	Indeterminate	Hand-painted
6	II	Pearlware	Indeterminate	Transfer print
7	II	Pearlware	Flatware	Transfer print
8	II	Pearlware	Flatware	Hand-painted
9	II	Pearlware	Plate	Shell-edged, green
10	II	Pearlware	Indeterminate	Transfer print
11	II	Pearlware	Indeterminate	Transfer print
12	II	Pearlware	Teacup	Hand-painted
14[a]	II	Jackfield-type	Indeterminate	
15	II	Jackfield	Hollowware	
16	II	Ironstone	Serving platter?	Molded rim
17	II	Whiteware	Flatware	Undecorated
18	II	Whiteware	Flatware	Molded rim
19	II	Whiteware	Indeterminate	Hand-painted
20	II	Creamware	Indeterminate	Molded rim
21	II	Creamware	Flatware	Undecorated
22	II	Creamware	Indeterminate	Hand-painted
24	II	Stoneware	Indeterminate	Lead glazed
25	II	Stoneware	Indeterminate	Lead glazed
27	II	Redware	Hollowware	Lead glazed
28	II	Redware	Indeterminate	Lead glazed

[a]Additional analyses refined some vessel designations; hence, the vessel numbers are not entirely sequential

Table 3.7 Summary of ceramic vessels recovered from Phase IV at the Moors' site, associated with the Ball family occupation (1865–ca. 1882)

Vessel #	Ware	Form	Decorative type
35	Hard-paste porcelain	Teacup	Decalcomania
36	Hard-paste porcelain	Hollowware	Hand-painted
37	Hard-paste porcelain	Indeterminate	Annular
38	Yellowware	Hollowware	Molded rim
39	Stoneware	Jug	Hand-painted
40	Stoneware	Crock	Salt-glazed
41	Stoneware	Bottle	Unglazed
42	Stoneware	Bottle	Salt-glazed
43	Stoneware	Lid	Unglazed
44	Stoneware	Lid	Lead glazed
45	Stoneware	Indeterminate	Salt-glazed
46	Stoneware	Indeterminate	Salt-glazed

(continued)

Table 3.7 (continued)

Vessel #	Ware	Form	Decorative type
47	Stoneware	Indeterminate	Lead glazed
48	Stoneware	Flower pot	Unglazed
49	Stoneware	Indeterminate	Lead glazed
50	Creamware	Hollowware	Undecorated
51	Pearlware	Flatware	Transfer print
52	Pearlware	Mug	Molded rim
53	Whiteware	Deep saucer	Molded rim
56[a]	Whiteware	Plate	Undecorated
57	Whiteware	Indeterminate	Transfer print
58	Whiteware	Indeterminate	Hand-painted
59	Whiteware	Teacup handle	Undecorated
60	Whiteware	Flatware	Transfer print
61	Ironstone	Plate	Undecorated
62	Ironstone	Butter dish insert	Undecorated
63	Ironstone	Plate	Molded rim
64	Ironstone	Flatware	Undecorated
65	Ironstone	Hollowware	Undecorated

[a] Additional analyses refined some vessel designations; hence, the vessel numbers are not entirely sequential

Table 3.8 Summary of ceramic vessels recovered from the well at the Manse (ca. 1885–ca. 1904)

Vessel #	Ware	Form	Decorative type
51	Creamware	Plate	Shell edge, blue
52	Pearlware	Plate	Shell edge, blue
53	Pearlware	Plate	Shell edge, blue
54	Pearlware	Plate	Shell edge, blue
55	Pearlware	Plate	Shell edge, blue
56	Porcelain	Small plate	Canton
57	Whiteware	Large saucer	Oriental
58	Stoneware	Jug	Salt-glazed, hand-painted
59	Pearlware	Teacup	Transfer print
60	Whiteware	Small plate	Transfer print
61	Whiteware	Medium plate	Transfer print
62	Whiteware	Plate	Molded
63	Ironstone	Large plate	Plain
64	Ironstone	Indeterminate	Molded
65	Whiteware	Plate	Plain
66	Whiteware	Plate	Plain
67	Whiteware	Plate	Plain
68	Whiteware	Plate	Plain
69	Whiteware	Plate	Hand-painted
70	Whiteware	Teacup	Hand-painted
71	Whiteware	Saucer	Transfer print
72	Whiteware	Bowl	Transfer print

Table 3.8 (continued)

Vessel #	Ware	Form	Decorative type
73	Whiteware	Indeterminate	Transfer print
74	Whiteware	Saucer	Transfer print
75	Whiteware	Plate	Transfer print, molded
76	Yellowware	Milk pan	Plain
77	Whiteware	Indeterminate	Transfer print, molded
78	Whiteware	Indeterminate	Transfer print
79	Whiteware	Saucer	Transfer print
80	Whiteware	Indeterminate	Transfer print
102	Porcelain	Teacup	Hand-painted
103	Porcelain	Teacup	Hand-painted
104	Earthenware, thick	Indeterminate	Hand-painted
105	Redware	Indeterminate	Plain
106	Stoneware	Jug	Plain
107	Stoneware	Jug	Plain
108	Porcelain	Bowl	Hand-painted
109	Porcelain	Handle	Plain
110	Earthenware, yellow	Compote	Hand-painted
111	Stoneware	Crock	Salt-glazed
112	Stoneware	Crock	Salt-glazed

the site (ca. 1750–ca. 1770). At the Ebenezer Hinsdale and Anna Williams' site, the artifacts from the privy/trash pit were attributed to the Williamses (ca. 1816), but the material culture from the buried land surface (Strat 9) was associated with the time during which the house was rented by the families of the Barnards and the Moors (ca. 1845). At the Moors' site, archaeological phases II/III coincide with the occupation of the site by the ministers – the Reverend John and Eunice and Esther Moors from 1848 to1861 and the Reverend George and Anna Hovey from 1861 to 1865. Phase IV materials at the site were deposited by Arthur and Frances Ball (1865–ca. 1882). Finally, at the home of Madeline Yale Wynne and Annie Putnam, the artifacts from a well were attributed to their occupation of the site from ca. 1885 to ca. 1918 (Harlow 2001:10–11), although the artifacts specifically represent the early part of their residency in the Manse (1885–1904) (Harlow 2005:58).

The assemblages from these archaeological excavations – notably the refined and coarse earthenwares – were analyzed to understand gender roles and relations at these sites. These analyses and their elucidation of the complexities of consumer choice, the emergence of modern discipline, the separation of gendered spheres, and the role of life cycle in uses of the material world were presented in the following chapters. Prior to analyzing these "small things forgotten," however, the larger cultural landscape of the village and homelots was analyzed to understand the spatial context in and on which gendered social relations were lived and experienced.

Chapter 4
Gendered Landscapes in Historic Deerfield

Cultural landscapes are dynamic social spaces. In this chapter, I define cultural landscapes and provide comparative examples of landscape studies. Since individual homelots are the foci of this study, domestic spaces and residential architecture are a particular emphasis. I theoretically contextualize the macrolevel analyses of the villagescape.

Defining Cultural Landscapes

Landscape study remains a relatively new focus of anthropological research, a development that has brought the discipline, and notably historical archaeology, into intersection with other disciplines interested in space and spatial relationships. There were a number of concurrent themes in the literature of cultural landscapes that were particularly useful in this research in Deerfield village. Notably, landscapes are material, complex, and meaningful. Furthermore, they represent unique as well as collective experiences. I explore these themes in the following section and conclude by challenging the scalar aspect of landscape as it is currently studied and understood (see also Rotman 2003; Rotman and Savulis 2003).

The materiality of landscape is naturally an important and relevant concept for historical archaeology and, therefore, it is not surprising that I utilize an understanding of landscape that emphasizes this material dimension. The landscape can be envisioned as a "moment of *material practices* [that] focuses on the material embeddedness of human life" (Harvey 1996:70). Indeed, as a discipline, historical archaeologists are interested in understanding the relationships between the material world and the people who inhabited it.

These relationships, however, are infinitely complex. It is often difficult, if not impossible, to delineate where one landscape, one moment of material practice, ends and another begins. There does not exist "an unquestionable autonomy or rigid separation between… spaces (physical, mental, social), for they interrelate and overlap" (Soja 1989:120). An awareness of this complexity is central to understanding and interpreting historical landscapes. These dynamic interrelationships, furthermore, are meaningful for the human agents who create and reproduce them.

The landscapes are "spaces that people build and occupy [and] are endowed with multiple meanings, meanings that change with social situations, and that change through time… Material landscapes both shape and reflect social relations" (Delle 1998:14, 2000). These fluid and changing cultural spaces – as well as the social roles and relations embedded within them – are differentially interpreted and understood. As with the interrelatedness of physical, mental, and social spaces, historical archaeologists need to be cognizant of the fluidity of landscapes and the plurality of meanings for the people who interacted with them.

Landscapes can encompass both unique and collective experience. Ashmore and Knapp (1999:1–21) use the concept of "nested landscapes" in their research. This idea is particularly useful in landscape studies since it acknowledges "the diversity of experience and meanings held by the socially varied people who co-inhabit the land" (Ashmore and Knapp 1999:16–18; see also Meskell 1998a, 1998b). It is important to note, however, that landscapes are not only experienced in unique ways by individuals and groups, but can also understood as "the infrastructure or background for our collective existence" (Jackson 1984:7–8).

The notion of "accumulative landscapes" is also instructive. Holtorf and Williams (2006:236) define these as "landscapes composed of the traces of human action and natural features that form the focus of retrospective memories." Importantly, accumulative landscapes embody multiple temporalities, as humans shape and reshape them over time, but also express both the natural and cultural worlds as they mutually define one another.

The multidisciplinary literature for landscapes studies contains many concepts that I found useful in this research into the gendered landscapes of Deerfield, MA. The utility of these ideas and definitions, however, is limited since the multiscalar aspect of landscape is not frequently emphasized. J. B. Jackson (1984:8), for example, defines the spatial extent of landscape as the "portion of the earth's surface that can be comprehended at a glance." Gillian Rose (1993:86) delimits landscape as "the scene within the range of the observer's vision." Anne Yentsch (1996:xxvii) provides a somewhat expanded definition by stating that a landscape "can be as small as a hidden circle of grass beneath a willow tree or it can be expanded to truly large areas like regions or more inclusive communities such as the social and physical spaces encompassed within small towns and cities."

None of these definitions of landscape, however, are specifically inclusive of interior space. In Yentsch's (1996) description (and indeed in other essays in the volume in which her essay appeared), the outside world – lawns, gardens, streetscapes, and other "natural" environments with cultural meaning – are emphasized and interior spaces of structures are excluded. Human activity, cultural expression, political statements, and reflections of worldviews, however, occur within the bounded spaces of structures as well. Residential dwellings, barns, shopping malls, and other buildings are important components of and should be included in the definition of landscape. So, although landscape indeed consists of multiple scales, interior spaces need not be excluded. In order to understand the behaviors and cultural rituals that occurred in gardens, on public sidewalks, and in villages, for example, it is imperative to examine that which occurred within domestic

dwellings and other structures – and vice versa. In this research, then, the terms "landscape," "built environment," and "space" are used synonymously (see also Rotman 2003; Rotman and Savulis 2003).

These concepts are particularly important for guiding a study of gender and landscape. Simple, binary interpretations of cultural landscapes often relegate interior private spaces to women and exterior public ones to men, ignoring the spatial continuum and the interpenetration of relations. As these models have fallen out of favor, they have been replaced with ones that recognize that gender, class, and other social relations play themselves out on fluid landscapes that result from and support complex relations and are evaluated differently by differentially positioned agents. This study attempts avoid to simplistic understandings of gender and class in Deerfield by keeping in mind that landscapes supported the dynamic social relations on which people in different positions interacted, built their lives, and created material worlds.

Landscape Studies in Historical Archaeology

Social relations are manifested in the built environment, whose spatial organization is used to create, support, and reproduce society (Paynter 1982:1). The relationship between human agents and their environments is reflexive and dynamic (see Giddens's theory of structuration [1981:54]). Human beings both shape and are shaped by their physical and social worlds. The built environment is encoded and modified as social relations are negotiated and contested.

It is also imperative to understand social relations as dynamic forces with a multiplicity of meaningful responses. The material world is experienced in a variety of ways by human agents from different classes, genders, and ethnicities. Thus, the social actions which build, use, modify, and lead to the abandonment of cultural landscapes can be understood only in relation to these structured positions (Paynter 1990:11). Consequently, the built environment must be analyzed from a variety of scales and vantage points to understand how these are utilized in the creation and maintenance of as well as resistance to social power. Furthermore, the exploration of the cultural landscape as a dynamic entity makes visible the spaces created and inhabited by elites and nonelites alike.

Paynter's observation regarding transportation costs incurred in the acquisition of resources can be applied not only to groups but also to interactions between individuals. In the nineteenth century, for example, wells were essential elements in the daily routines of women. Water was required for preparing meals, washing dishes, laundering clothes, and bathing children – tasks that all required a considerable amount of time for their completion. Consequently, according to Borish (1995:89–92), "tensions between husbands and wives often surfaced when farm women had to travel long distances to an outdoor well." Changes in the location of a well may have expressed struggles between men and women over the organization of residential landscapes. Issues of access to resources and control of domestic space

can also be observed in the arrival of municipal water to a village, the areas of homelots served by this amenity, and the role of men and women in negotiating the implementation of this service (Hautaniemi and Rotman 2003; Rotman and Hautaniemi 2000). Thus, spatial organization can inform our understanding of the relationships between individuals as well as groups.

By the mid-1980s, interest in the archaeology of landscapes was flourishing. This paradigm shift was influenced in part by the incorporation of garden archaeology under the rubric of historical archaeology (Delle 1998:14). In addition, two significant professional events – a conference in 1986 sponsored by the University of Virginia and the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation and a symposium in 1987 organized by Faith Harrington for the annual meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology (Delle 1998:15) – brought scholars together to explore historical landscapes in their various forms. Three important commentaries on the importance of landscape to historical archaeology followed the symposia (Kelso 1989; Leone 1989; Rubertone 1989) and, since that time, landscape as both a concept and a term has appeared frequently in the scholarly literature. (See DeCunzo and Ernstein [2006] for an especially eloquent survey of the literature on historical landscapes.)

There are a number of historical archaeologists who are working in a wide array of settings to understand the relationship between power and place. Hall and Silliman (2006a) brought together impressive array of scholars in their recent edited volume, *Historical Archaeology* (e.g., Burke 2006; Funari 2006; King 2006; McGuire 2006; O'Keeffe and Yamin 2006; Symonds and Casella 2006, among others). These authors illustrate that landscapes "can be interpreted as both the consequence and determinant of institutionalized behavior" (Hall and Silliman 2006b:10).

Stephen Mrozowski (1991), for example, observed class distinctions were often expressed through spatial features of and activities carried out upon. In the corporate communities of nineteenth-century New England industrialists. The front and side yards of mill agents' dwellings were maintained with carefully manicured lawns and landscaping, whereas all areas around the boarding houses of mill workers were utilized intensively for a variety of domestic tasks. In addition, the mill agents' homes were placed between the factory and boarding houses, in full view of the factory workers each day. In these ways, the differential use of space as well as the overall organization of the village served to reinforce differences in social status (see also Jenkins 1994).

Ornamental flower gardens, like manicured lawns, also reproduced class distinctions and reinforced underlying ideologies. Leone (1984) noted that the deliberate manipulation and geometrical organization of plants and flowers in the eighteenth century created the illusion that the arbitrary nature of the social order was natural and even inevitable. By constructing a garden and controlling the plants within it, wealthy elites "could take themselves and their position as granted and convince others that the way things are is the way they had always been and should remain. For the order was natural and had always been so" (Leone 1984:34).

Material culture – like spatial organization and specific landscape features – is yet another form of meaningful social expression which provides insights into the processes of resistance and domination. A household well on Barrack Street in Cape Town, South Africa, for example, illustrates the ways in which everyday items were used as a form of resistance (Hall et al. 1990). The archaeological assemblage from this feature reveals the persistent use of Oriental, rather than British, ceramics at the site well into the nineteenth century. The occupants of the house resisted the dominant social and political structure by refusing to purchase the ceramics of the elite.

The concept of landscape is relevant to understanding gendered spatial relations in Deerfield. Social relations and interactions operate on multiple meaningful levels – at individual homelots, within communities and regions, and nationally. They are expressed through a variety of forms – the spatial organization of the built environment, features on the landscape, and material culture. In this study, these multiple scales and expressions of social interaction are examined to illuminate the differential experiences of the women and men who created and inhabited cultural landscapes.

Households as Lenses for Social Relations

Households represent "small landscapes" for analyzing social relations (Rotman and Savulis 2003; see also Brandon and Barile 2004). Moore (1988, 1994, 1996) was particularly influential in analyses of households by emphasizing the symbolic uses of space, notably as they intersected with gender.

Households also correspond to a nexus of social reproduction and production in the form of practice. Brandon and Barile (2004:8), following Bourdieu (1977), assert that "household activities serve to 'produce' material things (such as food, clothing, and shelter), but they do these things in a way that both reifies and transforms social structure – along with such things as gender constructions and power relations – which, on a grander scale, are shared with the larger community." As such, households are important units of analysis for understanding lived experiences (Hendon 1996; Tringham 1988).

Stewart-Abernathy (2004:52) reminds us that people exist in a habitus, "a system of durable, transposable dispositions; … [that is,] tendencies, propensities, inclinations, and habits" (see also Bourdieu 1977, 1993; Fowler 1997; Johnson 1993). The kitchens of antebellum Washington, Arkansas "embodied and were embedded in a set of meanings and practices that were fundamental to social conditions of existence. Food preparation was a daily reproduction of the divisions between those who were doing the cooking, slaves, and those who were doing the eating, owners. These kitchens were important components of the social landscape of slavery" (Stewart-Abernathy 2004:51).

Brandon (2004:207) elaborates on that discussion by emphasizing that not only do gender, race, and modernity coexist in a complex entanglement, but also that it is critical to assess what the local representations of those social relations are,

rather than assuming them a priori. As previously indicated, social relations are not universally defined and experienced, but rather are locally rooted in national discourses as well as individual experiences.

As Deetz (1982:724) observed, "the household reveals relationships of thought and substance that can aid immensely in understanding the past." Because of their rich and multitextured nature, households were selected as the primary unit of analysis for this study.

In the eastern United States, social relations in urban and rural settings were transformed by the onset of industrialization and the decline of agriculture as an economically viable pursuit during the nineteenth century. Although not the origin of, the rise of industry certainly contributed to a changing population structure. With the decreasing importance of farming, men moved away from rural areas to seek jobs in the surrounding towns and cities; yet the economic opportunities for women who stayed at home remained virtually the same (Paynter 1990:5–6; Paytner and McGuire 1991). Consequently, some rural areas became increasingly female, including places like Deerfield, MA (Miller and Lanning 1994:436). An awareness of the factors affecting population changes is essential for understanding the social, political, and economic milieu for gender relations.

Families in rural and urban settings had (and continue to have) different productive needs, since they were differentially situated in the changing social and economic world of the late eighteenth, nineteenth, and early twentieth centuries. Consequently, gender roles and relations within these households were defined accordingly, resulting in a multiplicity of material, spatial, and demographic expressions.

The physical and economic interdependence of home and farm in subsistence farming often precluded the establishment of rigid boundaries between the spheres of men and women, unlike their urban counterparts, where a separation was frequently observed (McMurry 1988:57). Women's role in farm production (such as making butter and cheese for market sale) was economically significant (McMurry 1988:61). The contribution of farm women to the domestic economy, therefore, created complementary gender relations and resulted in their relatively high status vis-à-vis men (Rotman 1995:78; Rotman and Nassaney 1997).

Over the course of the nineteenth century in particular, however, farm production became progressively more specialized. Tasks formerly completed by women, including butter and cheese making, were appropriated by men as these activities became more significant to farm revenues (McMurry 1988:61). In addition, as standards of housekeeping rose, women directed their energies away from nonmechanized farm work and toward fulfilling new ideals of domesticity (Cowan 1982). During the latter half of the nineteenth century, the separation between work and family on specialized farms grew even more pronounced (McMurry 1988:6; Halttunen 1982). Bruegel (2002:5) noted that

> conflicts over the use of the family's material resources predominantly implicated differences in generations in the first half of the nineteenth century when women were in charge of the sale of products resulting from their work. Gender emerged as the defining feature of strife after 1850 when men not only monitored women's particular tasks, but supervised the entire process of production and controlled the strings of the purse partially fed with earnings from women's work.

Therefore, gender roles were not only evolving, but the entire process of farm production was also changing.

The gendered uses of some spaces within the home may have also been shaped by its rural or urban context. Within cities, Nylander (1994:241) observed that parlors, for example, were used for entertaining (male and public) and were, therefore, placed at the front of the house. Women's social gatherings such as teas and clubs, as well as marriages and baptisms might also be held in the parlor (female and private as well as public). For rural settings, McMurry (1988) noted that parlors served distinct functions for both family rituals and social activities. She states "Private family rituals held in the parlor reinforced ideas of family solidarity, continuity, and patriarchy. The social aspect of the parlor encompassed female hegemony, entertainment of friends, and the display of feminine accomplishments" (McMurry 1988:141); equating private with male and public (or semipublic) with female, contrary to understandings of public and private space under domesticity in urban settings. Consequently, social functions in the parlor in both urban and rural contexts illustrated that the use of space for public and private purposes by men and women was fluid and contingent upon the type of social interaction taking place in that space.

Domestic architecture was an important material symbol of social relations. Residences "reflect ideals and realities about relationships between men and women within the family and society" (Spain 1992:7; see also Moore 1996). The spatial organization of the home also expresses attitudes about how the activities of daily life should be ordered (e.g., Barber 1994; Bourdieu 1973; Glassie 1975; Johnson 1993). Dwellings are designed to accommodate occupants and reflect the size and economic status of the social groups that reside there. Domestic space was an especially important arena in which the changing ideals of gender and family manifested themselves.

Although it is possible to alter a house somewhat to accommodate changes in attitude or activity, the basic structure of houses generally remains. In extreme instances (e.g., destructive fire or extensive remodeling) radical changes may occur. More often, however, "the house becomes the conservative factor, encouraging inhabitants to continue the types and organization of activities in a way similar to those current when the house was built. What was once molded to the owner's will now itself becomes the mold" (Barber 1994:75; see also Giddens 1981). Or, as Winston Churchill once said, "First we shape our buildings and afterwards our buildings shape us" (Pearson and Richards 1994:3).

From about 1725 until the Revolution, the Georgian house dominated architectural styles and featured formality and symmetry in the United States. Two stories in height, the typical Georgian house possessed an elaborate doorway at the center, flanked by evenly spaced windows on either side (Howard 1989:85). The Federal-style house followed and was a simpler version of the Georgian house with a flatter, often hipped-roof (Howard 1989:87). Both the Dr. Thomas Williams family (ca. 1750–ca. 1770) and the Madeline Yale Wynne and Annie Putnam (ca. 1885–1904) lived in Georgian houses, although the orderly appearance of this architectural style was interpreted differently by these two families.

From the early colonial period until ca. 1830, "most house parts were made by the carpenter, often on site and usually by hand" (Howard 1989:50). This meant that a variety of architectural forms might be present in any given village. "Vernacular building traditions abound in this era of architectural history. The majority of early American settlers were from England, France, and Holland. They naturally brought with them the styles and practices of their native cultures, even as they adapted to life in the Colonies" (Poore 1995:46). Much of the early diversity in Deerfield "reflected the town's relative instability as a new community rebuilding after the 1704 massacre" (Garrison 1991:153).

Beginning ca. 1830, however, the advent of new technologies, such as power saws with circular blades and inexpensive machine-made nails, led to an increased standardization of architectural forms. During the nineteenth century, both the exterior appearance and interior arrangement of homes were transformed. Clark (1988:536) notes that the "Classical Revival homes, long associated with the virtuous republicanism of the American Revolution, were replaced by picturesque gothic revival cottages and Italianate villas." The stylish chimneys, high gabled roofs with deep eaves, and delicate ornamentation of the new domestic architecture were designed "to evoke feelings of a welcoming home and reinforce the religious ties of a Christian home" (Wright 1981:83). This architectural style was believed to be ideally suited for the moral education of children, an important dimension of the cult of domesticity.

The historian John Higham (1969) saw this movement as a reaction against the hectic economic growth and rapid mobility that were fueled by the general expansion of cities, westward movement, and the growth of industrialization. The home became "an island of stability in an increasingly restless society" (Clark 1988:538). Although romantic architecture had been built in America as early as the turn of the nineteenth century, this style did not receive widespread attention until the 1840s. The proliferation of this ideal was facilitated by Louis Antoine Godey (*Godey's Ladies Magazine*, 1846–1898); Andrew Jackson Downing (*Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening… With Remarks on Rural Architecture*, 1841 and *Cottage Residences; or, A Series of Designs for Rural Cottages and Cottage Villas*, 1842); and Henry Hudson Holly (*Modern Dwellings in Town and Country: Adapted to American Wants and Climate with a Treatise on Furniture and Decoration*, 1878). These domestic reformers published hundreds of house patterns that exemplified the ideals of the "proper" home and family. The agricultural presses of the time – *American Agriculturist* (New York), *Prairie Farmer* (Chicago), *Rural Affairs* (Albany), and *New England Farmer* (Boston), just to name a few – published plans specifically for farmhouses. These works "codified the aesthetic theory of the new movement and provided examples of the different kinds of revival houses that could be built" (Clark 1988:536).

Gender ideologies such as those of domesticity found expression in new housing forms as well. Residential architecture in the Gothic Revival style increased in popularity as women became separated from the mode of production and glorified in their roles as the moral guardians of children (Vlach 1995:142).

This architectural form, previously associated mainly with churches, possessed "natural" (that is, asymmetrical) floor plans. The symbolic associations of the architectural style with nature and religion became inextricably linked with the natural and religious ideals of the cult of domesticity (Sklar 1973:173).

Home interiors also underwent a transformation. The economic and productive needs of rural farm families, however, differed from those of wage laborers in nucleated settlements. Consequently, some aspects of domesticity were given primacy over others depending on the setting. Farmhouse plans – some of which had been designed by women – often put a premium on efficiency for the sake of greater productivity, with children's nurseries placed close to the kitchen, and special rooms designated rooms for farm "helps." This contrasted with the urban ideal in which the "home as an asylum" was emphasized; in which, children's spaces were prominent, kitchens were isolated or hidden, and home and work were sharply differentiated (Adams 1990:96; McMurry 1988:5).

Domestic space was central to the reorganization and redefinition of the family and gender roles within it. Equally important were the material objects and rituals performed within domestic spaces. Ceramic tablewares, food choices, and home furnishings were implicated in reproducing domesticity and so other gendered ideals. Even the clothing women wore was an important symbolic expression of their true womanhood. Residential architecture was important to understanding gender ideologies in Deerfield.

Complex Intersections of Class, Gender, Ethnicity, and Space: A Comparative Example from Indianapolis, Indiana[1]

Houses and homelots were the arenas in which gender ideologies and attendant gender roles were lived and experienced on a daily basis. As such, residential landscapes were dynamic entities that shaped and were shaped by social actions. The relevance of domestic space to understanding social relations of gender – particularly in intersection with class and ethnicity – is well illustrated in the case study of the Morris-Butler House in Indianapolis, Indiana (Rotman 2007, 2008). This historical and archaeological investigation was informed by research in Deerfield as well as contributed to interpretations of gendered spaces in the village.

The Morris–Butler House (12Ma768) was constructed during the mid-nineteenth century, by which time the ideals of the cult of domesticity had been firmly codified. Decades before, beginning in the 1820s, domesticity emerged as a powerful ideological force in eastern North America. Largely a phenomenon of the white urban middle class, this ideal sanctioned the separation of public and private spaces within homes and yards, which were also defined as masculine and feminine,

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[1] This case study of cultural landscapes in Indianapolis was first published as a 2007 essay entitled, "Public Displays and Private Tasks: Historical Archaeology of Landscape Utilization and Gender Relations in Indianapolis." *Midcontinental Journal of Archaeology* 32(1):89–116

respectively. As the urban dwelling of a white middle class family, it was expected that spaces within the house and yard at the Morris-Butler House would express these idealized dichotomies. The architectural, documentary, archaeological, and oral history data from the site, however, illustrated that public and private spaces were not solely masculine and feminine; varying according to the type of social interaction occurring within them.

Gender separation was an important dimension of social relations under domesticity as evident in the differential definitions and conceptualizations of space. Within domestic residences, for example, private spaces like kitchens were defined under this gender ideal as feminine since they were arenas for women's work, including female members of the family and/or domestic servants (e.g., Coontz 1988; Ryan 1994; Spain 2001). Similarly, areas like the formal dining room as a space for entertaining and social reproduction were by virtue of their public purpose, defined as masculine. These dichotomies were often applied to exterior spaces as well, such that kitchen dooryards and barns are often differentially defined as feminine and masculine, respectively. Public and private as well as interior and exterior space at the Morris–Butler House were examined to understand social relations at the site (Fig. 4.1).

Architectural, documentary, archaeological, and oral history data were all important sources of evidence in this study. Shovel testing was undertaken at the Morris–Butler House Museum in June 1996 and revealed areas of intact archaeological deposits in the yard (Rotman 1996). Seven units (six 1 m × 1 m and one 2 m × 2 m unit) were hand-excavated the side yard south of the summer kitchen and the southwestern corner of the north lot in 1997 (Rotman et al. 1998) (Fig. 4.2). Units were excavated in arbitrary 10 cm levels and all soils were screened through ¼″ mesh. There was no physical, archaeological, or historical evidence of human occupation at the site prior to the Morris family in the mid-nineteenth century.

The evidence from the Morris–Butler House illustrated that uses of space were not influenced solely by gender and the ideals of domesticity, but by class and ethnicity as well. Public space (both interior and exterior) and exterior private landscapes were all shaped primarily by class and ethnicity. Gender was given primacy in social relations only for interior private spaces at the Morris-Butler House.

Social Relations and Uses of Space Under Domesticity

True womanhood, as part of a larger milieu of cultural change, found expression in multiple ways. Domestic spaces were reorganized, material objects were used as meaningful symbols in social rituals, the composition of the population was altered, and behaviors were transformed. Significantly, public and private spaces were defined in particularly gendered ways. Importantly for archaeologists, many activities under domesticity left little or no material signature in the archaeological record, particularly those undertaken in the public sphere of exterior spaces on a houselot.

Fig. 4.1 Morris–Butler House, Indianapolis, Indiana (a property of Historic Landmarks Foundation of Indiana). Photograph by the author

The relative degree of public and private spaces is also significant in understanding the role social relations played in shaping their use (Yentsch 1991). The houselot is defined as private within the context of the public sphere of the neighborhood. At the level of the houselot, however, the interior of the house was more private than exterior spaces. Similarly, within the household, the kitchen and bedrooms were more private than the formal parlor and dining room.

Domestic space was expressive of the reorganization and redefinition of the family and gender roles within it. Most notably, the cult of domesticity codified public and private spaces as strongly male and female, respectively (see more in Chap. 6).
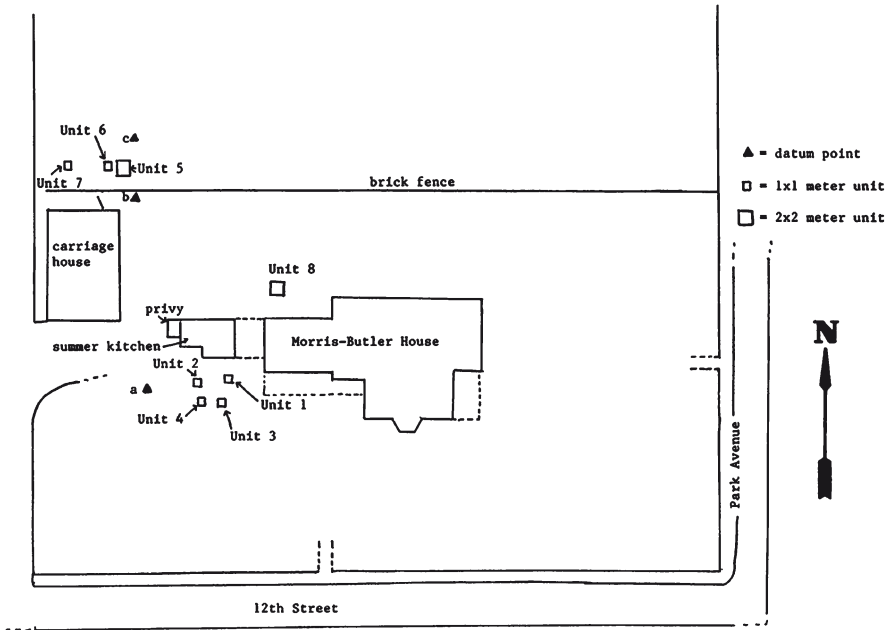
Fig. 4.2 Site map of unit excavation at the Morris–Butler Site (12Ma768). North to top of page. Map created by the author (Rotman et al. 1998)

Brief Historical Background of the Morris–Butler House

The Morris–Butler House represents an urban middle class residence for the mid-nineteenth century. Indianapolis was a bustling Midwestern city during this time and, like many regional towns, it was experiencing significant social, economic, political, and cultural changes (Bodenhamer and Barrows 1994). Over a few decades, urban centers developed from small frontier towns into important hubs of transportation and commerce via canals and railroads. In addition, the economic focus shifted from agriculture to industry. These developments spawned numerous changes in ethnic composition, wealth distribution, and gender roles leading to changes in the organization of cities and the attitudes of their citizens. Urbanization, industrialization, and other processes of the nineteenth century also shaped social relations and the landscapes on which they operated.

In 1865, John D. Morris, the son of an Indianapolis settler, completed a new house for his family on the corner of Butler and Jackson streets (now Twelfth Street and Park Avenue, respectively). At the time, the area was a suburb of Indianapolis, two blocks north of the city limit (Asher and Adams 1867). Ovid Butler, the founder of Northwestern Christian University (now Butler University), had platted the subdivision known as College Corner in 1862. By the 1870s, this area was inhabited by primarily upper middle class families (Ryan 1994:123).

In 1870, the Morris household consisted of immediate family and domestic servants. The Federal Census from that year enumerates John (age 52), his wife Martha (49) and their five children – Charles (29), James (26), Kate (22), Nancy (known as Nannie; 15), and David (9) (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1870). There were also three domestic servants residing in the house: Ellen Clere (age 20) and her sister, Jane (18), both of whom were enumerated as "white" and born in Indiana, and Joseph Smith, a young African-American man from Kentucky (14). Mr. Morris' profession was listed as "Agent for RR." Mrs. Morris was "keeping house." James worked for the railroad like his father, only as a clerk. The eldest son Charles was a drug clerk. Kate was enumerated as "At home," while Nannie and David were shown as "Attending school" (United States Bureau of the Census 1870).

The family was well connected and moved in elite social circles. Significantly, John's father, Morris Morris, helped to bring the railroad to Indianapolis. His farm land became the site of Union Station and various family members orchestrated railroad travel to and from Indianapolis (Shannon Borbely, pers. comm. 2005).

John Morris declared bankruptcy in 1878, 13 years after completing his home on Park Avenue (Morris-Butler House Archives [MBHA] 1878). The *Indianapolis News* (April 25, 1910), in an unrelated story, reported that possession of the home was assumed by First National Bank of Indianapolis (MBHA 1910). The house appears to have been a rental property for a few years, until January 1881 when it was purchased by Noah Armstrong (MBHA 1881:1B).

Noble C. Butler (a renowned bankruptcy lawyer and no relation to Ovid Butler who platted the subdivision) acquired the property from the Armstrong family in October of that same year (MBHA 1881:1B). The family consisted of Mr. Butler (age 34), his wife Anna Lee (34), and their seven young children – John (11), Mary (9), Anna (7), Noble C. (5), Walter (3), and "Baby" (7 months; later named Alice). Two domestic servants also resided in the house. Patsy Hart was 43 and described as a "mulatto" woman from Kentucky, while Mary Young was a 22-year-old "white" woman born in Indiana. Mr. Butler's occupation was listed as "Clerk U.S. Court," while Mrs. Butler was "keeping house." John, Mary, and Anna were all enumerated as "at school" (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1880).

Like the Morris family, the Butlers were both affluent and well connected socially in Indianapolis and nationally. The family papers at the Morris–Butler House include an invitation that Mrs. Emeline Browning, Noble's mother, received from Henry Clay to attend a dinner party in 1839. Miss Mary Browning Butler, Noble's daughter, was invited by President Benjamin Harrison to the White House for a New Year's reception in 1890 (MBHA 1890).

In early 1888, Mr. Butler sold the northern third of the parcel (now known as the "north lot") to Marshall D. Williamson (Deed #3984) (MBHA 1888). The Sanborn Fire Insurance maps illustrated that, although a portion of the original homelot underwent a change of ownership, this area of the parcel remained a locus of domestic activity and exhibited remarkable continuity of function. At the time of the 1900 census enumeration, Mr. Butler remained the head of a complex household (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1900). Mr. and Mrs. Butler were both 56 years old. Mr. Butler's occupation was again recorded as "Clerk U.S. Court," but nothing was

listed under occupation for Mrs. Butler. Five of their children lived at home – Mary
(age 29; no occupation listed), Anna (27, "in school"), Walter (23, "clerk in court
house"), Alice (20, "in school"), and Florence (18, "in school"). Mr. Butler's father,
John H. Butler (retired), also resided with the family. Only one domestic servant
was enumerated in the 1900 census, Josie Barnett (20, a young "black" woman
from Kentucky) (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1900).

   The federal census only documented persons physically living in the household.
We know, however, that at least three additional servants were also employed by
the Butler family. These individuals resided elsewhere in the city and were day
workers for the family. Martha Hawkins and her husband, John, were freed slaves
who began their employment with the Butlers in the 1880s. Martha was a cook
for the family for about 30 years (MBHA 1920). John did general maintenance.
Martha's niece, Rosy, would help with the cooking and serving during Butler
family get togethers. Another young African-American man named Amos helped
John with spring and fall cleanup at the property. On very special occasions, waiters
from the Columbia Club (a local social organization of which Mr. Butler was a
member) would come to help serve, although Martha was the one who prepared the
meals (MBHA 1920).

   By 1910, the number of individuals residing in the house had dramatically
reduced to three (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1910). Mr. and Mrs. Butler were
enumerated as 64 and 59 years old, respectively; although this is inconsistent with
ages listed for them in previous censes. Mr. Butler's occupation was once
again listed as "Clerk U.S. Court." No profession was recorded for Mrs. Butler.
The Butlers' youngest daughter, Florence (marked as age 24), was a very talented
pianist. Her occupation in 1910 was "Teacher, Piano." No domestic servants lived
in the house after ca. 1900. (The ages were clearly not correct in this census.
Mr. and Mrs. Butler would have both been about 66, while Florence would have
been about 28) (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1910).

   Mrs. Butler passed away in 1917 (MBHA 1917), so at the time of the 1920 census
enumeration only Mr. Butler (age 75) and Florence (37) remained in the house.
Mr. Butler's long career as a clerk with the U.S. Court continued. Florence appeared
to have been working with her father. Her occupation was recorded as "Dep. Clerk
U.S. Court" (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1920). By 1930, Mr. Butler (aged 86) had
retired. Florence was no longer working. Her age was recorded as 35, but she would
have been in her late 40s (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1930).

   The Butler family continued to occupy the house on the southern portion of the
original parcel until Mr. Butler's death in 1933 (MBHA 1933). Florence inherited the
property at that time. Although she lived alone in the house, an African-American
gentleman named Oscar Berry assisted with a variety of chores on the property.
Florence remained in the home until her own death in 1957 (MBHA 1957).

   Robert Pace purchased the house from Florence Butler's estate in November
1959 (Abstract of Title, MBHA 1959). Pace opened the Park Avenue Art Gallery,
which served as both a gallery and studio apartments for artists. The occupants
during this period do not appear to have made any major alterations to the property.
In December 1964, the home lot was purchased by Historic Landmarks Foundation

of Indiana. The house and grounds were rehabilitated and the Morris–Butler House was opened to the public as a museum in 1969 (MBHA 1969).

Landscape Utilization at the Morris–Butler House

Multiple lines of evidence were investigated in order to understand social relations at the Morris–Butler House. Historical accounts and photographs were examined with regard to the utilization of interior and exterior spaces, the latter of which was also investigated archaeologically. Oral accounts provided important supporting evidence and yielded new details regarding the utilization of space and social relations at the site.

Interior Spaces

The house constructed by the Morris family was a grand brick Second Empire structure (see again Fig. 4.1). It was among the first residences to be constructed within the new neighborhood. The Morris family finished the first two floors, while the completion of the third floor was attributed to the Butler family.

The house is a classic example of a middle- to upper-class residence for its time. The main floor consists of an entry hall with a formal parlor on one side and a library/family parlor and formal dining room on the other. The kitchen is situated beyond the dining room at the back of the first floor. A summer kitchen is attached to the main kitchen by a roofed passage and has an adjoining privy (Fig. 4.3). [This outbuilding is reported to have served as a wash house during the Butler occupation (Brady 1996:52).]

The second floor was accessible by both the grand main staircase in the front hall and a servants' staircase off the kitchen. The second floor contained the private spaces of the family bedrooms, a lady's sitting room (the third parlor in the house), and servants' quarters. Despite the opulence of the exterior, oral accounts indicated that the Morris family was in trouble financially and largely "keeping up appearances" (Shannon Borbely, pers. comm. 2005).

The uses of spaces within the house by the Morris family reflect the gendered social relations operating within it at the time, which were consistent with both the cult of domesticity and the socioeconomic status of the family (Beecher 1841; Ryan 1985; Sklar 1973). Public spaces, such as the formal parlor and dining room, were on the first floor, while the second floor was reserved for private family uses (their bedrooms). This spatial separation of public and private tasks and areas of the home was exactly as prescribed by domestic ideals.

The third floor of the house remained unfinished until the Butlers moved in during the early 1880s (Shannon Borbely, pers. comm. 2005). When they finished the third floor, they added a nursery, bedrooms for the older children, and a sewing

Fig. 4.3 The rear section of the Morris-House showing (from left to right) the main house, the kitchen ell, the roofed passageway, the summer kitchen, and attached privy. Facing southeast. Photograph by the author

room (MBHA 1888). They also added a Queen Anne style, two-story porch to the south side of the house in the 1890s. Through these renovations, the Butler family continued the prescribed ideal of keeping private areas clearly separated and spatially distinct from public spaces in the house. They also further codified the ideals of domesticity by expanding the number of single-purpose and gender-specific rooms in the home (for example, the sewing room).

Exterior Spaces

The collective evidence from the site revealed two distinct activity areas in the exterior portion of this residential landscape. The side yard south of the summer kitchen was an arena for public activities while the southwest corner of the north lot was utilized for the private tasks of daily life (Rotman et al. 1998). A bird's eye view of Indianapolis dating to 1871 indicates two outbuildings on the north end of the lot along the alley between Central and Park Avenues (Brady 1996). These structures were likely stables.

Those outbuildings were either replaced or conjoined by 1887 (Sanborn 1887). The Sanborn Fire Insurance map from that year indicates that a wood-frame building

comprised of several sections stood along the alley. One portion had a one-and-a-half story stable flanked by one-story structures on either end. Immediately to the south was another connected structure. The 1887 Sanborn map also shows a brick ash bin or pit along the alley, south of the conjoined outbuildings.

This side yard, which was highly visible from the street, was an arena for public displays (Brady 1996:33). The Morris and Butler families utilized the public spaces of the yard as an expression of their aesthetic and horticultural talents. The Morris family was known to have planted several rose bushes, a *pyrus japonica* or burning bush, a smoke bush, and three kinds of lilacs (Brady 1996:47). The layout and appearance of the flower beds and other garden plantings was common during the Victorian era, reflecting the taste and wealth of the family in residence.

Mary Risk Hine, a granddaughter of Noble Butler, recalled being told as a child that the rose bushes in the side yard came from the home of Mary Todd in Kentucky. "[M]y great-grandmother, Emeline Armstrong Browning," she explained, "had been in boarding school with the lady who was to become Mrs. Lincoln" (MBHA 1940:1E). The landscaping and grass was also being maintained during the Butler occupation of the house as demonstrated by a bill received for "trimming, removing, and correcting trees" in 1905 and "grinding (sharpening) the lawn mower shears" in 1906 (MBHA 1905–1906:1B).

Plan books from the late nineteenth century provided elaborate guidelines regarding the appropriate vegetation for landscaping suburban yards and the utilization of exterior spaces (Brady 1996). The side yard at the Morris-Butler House was not only an ideal location for displaying garden plantings but also for outdoor recreation. Lawn tennis, badminton, and croquet were popular lawn games during the Victorian era (Jenkins 1994:27). Receipts from the Butler occupation showed that a family member had purchased lawn tennis shoes in the 1890s (Brady 1996:37).

In the yard south of the summer kitchen, a layer of nineteenth-century deposits was observed during archaeological excavation. The material recovered in this area consisted of debris from the original construction of the house (including nails, slate, brick, and mortar), some refuse from food preparation and storage in the kitchen (such as butchered animal bone, ceramics, glass, coal, and slag), and the intermittent loss of personal items (which included a possible hook from a Christmas tree ornament, the handle to a cup from a child's play tea set, marbles, and buttons).

The density of material culture from this area was quite sparse (Table 4.1). Although 40% of the area excavated was situated in the side yard, the artifacts from this portion of the excavation represented only 26.5% of the total assemblage recovered from the site. In addition, only six ceramic sherds were found within the nineteenth-century deposits in this location. The paucity of ceramics, as well as other cultural debris, was not surprising. The south side of the summer kitchen was highly visible from Butler Street and, therefore, too public for many activities associated with the daily maintenance of the household.

According to documentary, photographic, and oral history sources, the Morris and Butler families utilized the side yard for recreational and horticultural activities. In all likelihood, they enjoyed pastimes such as lawn tennis or croquet.

Table 4.1 Summary of archaeological excavation and artifact density at the Morris-Butler House, Indianapolis

Location	m²excavated	% of excavation	# of artifacts recovered	% of total assemblage
Side yard	4	40	1,605	26.5
North lot	6	60	4,455	73.5
Total	10	100	6,060	100

These endeavors were not expected to (nor did they) result in the accumulation of significant or stratified archaeological deposits. These leisure pursuits and landscaping were important aspects of displaying the families' class status. While plucking chickens or hanging laundry to dry would not have been out of the ordinary on the north side of the structure, such public activities were not have been deemed suitable or appropriate for the more public space southern side yard of the summer kitchen (Beecher 1841; Matthews 1989; Ryan 1994).

The north side of the house represents an activity area quite different from that south of the summer kitchen. Whereas space in that side yard was used primarily for public displays and outdoor leisure pursuits, the northwest corner of the homelot was a locus of private domestic activity, intended to be concealed from public view.

Prior to the availability of supermarkets, municipal water systems, and garbage collectors, the back yards of urban properties served as places where the tasks required for every day living were carried out. The Morris–Butler House was very much an urban farmstead (Stewart-Abernathy 1986; Rotman 2007, 2008).

In Indianapolis, city government did not offer garbage collection until 1895 (Brady 1996). Municipal water was not available in the neighborhood until around the turn of the century (Tiffany Sallee, pers. comm. 1999). An early water bill from the Indianapolis Water Company dating to March 1, 1898 was among Mr. Butler's personal papers (MBHA 1898). Consequently, the Morris and the Butler families would have needed to maintain stables, ash bins, and garbage dumps. These features were frequently associated with unpleasant smells and attracted rodents and other pests. Therefore, they were often situated on the alley, away from public viewing. The configuration of outbuildings shown on the Sanborn maps (see again Fig. 4.4) illustrated that the site conformed to an urban farmstead model.

The majority of "unsightly" activities at the Morris-Butler property occurred on the northwest side of the house. Indeed, privacy fences were erected to hide the household task being completed behind them (MBHA 1900). Mary Risk Hine recalled that the family's cook, Martha Hawkins, used to beat her biscuits with a bottle on a stump in the back yard (Pat Moeller, pers. comm. 1997). Laundering, food preparation, and the like would also have taken place in these remote portions of the yard concealed by fences.

The density and variety of artifacts recovered during the archaeological investigation of the site indicated that this area was intensively utilized for domestic tasks, particularly when compared to the side yard south of the summer kitchen.
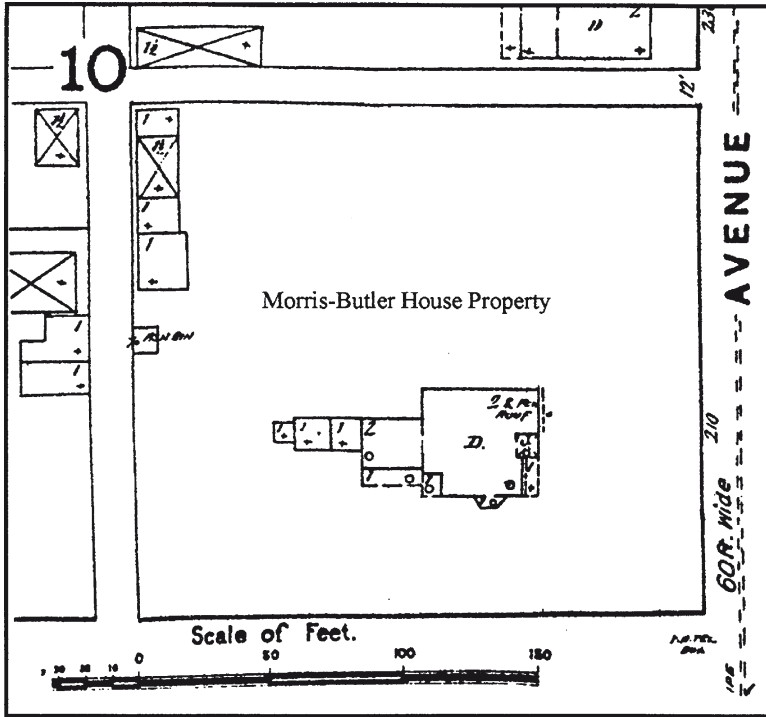
Fig. 4.4 1887 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map showing the Morris–Butler House property. North to top of page. Twelfth Street is along the southern property boundary; Park Avenue is along the east. Copyright EDR Sanborn. Used by permission

Although 60% of the area excavated was situated on the north lot, the artifacts from this portion of the excavation represented 73.5% of the total assemblage recovered from the site. In addition, the excavated area of the north lot was one and half times larger than that excavated in the side yard; however, nearly six times the amount of ceramics were recovered there (Rotman et al.1998:Appendix 1).

The cultural deposits of the north lot represented debris associated with the daily activities of food preparation (including butchered animal bone, peach pits, coal, and slag), trash disposal (such as broken dishes, glassware, and flower pots), and the incidental loss of personal items (which included a vulcanized rubber hair comb, buttons, and a metal toy chicken). The intensive utilization of this secluded portion of the property resulted in the accumulation of a greater quantity of material than the public side yard.

The evidence from the Morris-Butler House clearly illustrated that spatially distinct areas of the house and yard were used for public activities and private tasks. But do these public and private areas readily translate into male and female spaces, respectively?

Does Public = Male and Private = Female?

The separation of gender roles and public/private spheres were often understood as inextricably linked, particularly under domesticity (see Beaudry 1999; Wurst 2003; and Rotman 2006 for critiques; see also Chap. 6 of this volume). A series of photographs from the Morris-Butler House illustrated both literally and figuratively that the public and private uses of space (particularly exterior space) were not rigidly defined by gender. Rather, the landscape was a dynamic entity also shaped by class and ethnicity. Its uses varied according to the type of social interaction occurring. Significantly, gender was given primacy in shaping social relations in interior private contexts. Class and ethnicity, however, were central to structuring public uses of space both inside and outside the home as well as private exterior landscapes.

No historic photographs were found that clearly showed the north side of the residence. The absence of such photos likely reflects that activity in the area consisted primarily of private domestic tasks completed by servants and, as such, were likely perceived as too mundane to capture on film.

All of the photographs available for this study were taken in the front or side yards of the house, the outside spaces for leisure and other status displays. In an 1885 photograph, Noble's daughter Mary (known as Brownie), her grandfather, John Hopkins Butler, and an unidentified young girl are sitting on the front porch, surrounded by potted plants and other ornamental vegetation (MBHA 1885) (Fig. 4.5).

Fig. 4.5 An 1885 photograph showing Mary (Brownie) Butler (*center*) with her grandfather, John Hopkins Butler, and an unidentified girl on the front porch. Collection of Morris-Butler House, an Indianapolis property of Historic Landmarks Foundation of Indiana. Used by permission

Fig. 4.6 John Hawkins (*left*) watering the lawn at the Morris–Butler House (1890). Noble C. Butler III, grandson of Noble C. Butler, accompanies him. Collection of Morris-Butler House, an Indianapolis property of Historic Landmarks Foundation of Indiana. Used by permission

In another image, John Hawkins is watering the lawn, while Noble C. Butler III (Noble's grandson) accompanies him (MBHA 1890) (Fig. 4.6). In another, Mary Butler, Noble's granddaughter, is playing with her doll, carriage, and purse in the side yard (MBHA n.d.) (Fig. 4.7). An image taken in 1895 shows two of Noble's daughters, Anna (known as Annie) and Brownie (Mary), entertaining their beaus, playing with the dog, and reading (Fig. 4.8). There are also a variety of images showing various family members posed in the yard – Mr. Butler with the dog (undated) (Fig. 4.9), Florence Butler (ca. 1900), Annie Browning Butler (ca. 1910), Annie Butler Sturgis and an unknown man (undated), and Mary Henderson Risk and James Boyd Risk (ca. 1910). None of these activities would have produced significant accumulations of cultural deposits, which is consistent with the results of the archaeological investigation in those areas of the site. Furthermore, these photographs illustrated that the spaces of the front and side yard were used by many different individuals.

Wurst (1999) noted that archaeological deposits were complex formations attributable to the many individuals who live and work and play at residential sites. This was certainly true at the Morris–Butler House. The photographs show men and women, adults and children, and family members and guests. Although one image shows John (the African-American servant) at work, the photos were primarily of the family. These photos also show some of the objects associated with domesticity,

Fig. 4.7 Mary Butler, granddaughter of Noble C. Butler, playing in the side yard (undated photograph). Collection of Morris–Butler House, an Indianapolis property of Historic Landmarks Foundation of Indiana. Used by permission

such as ornamental plantings (flower pots) and gender-specific toys for training children in their prescribed roles in society (Mary's doll and carriage) (see Fitts 1999), vestiges of which might be expected in the archaeological record. Importantly, the uses of space were largely defined according to ideals of public and private and crosscut categories of gender. Exterior public space was utilized by the family and their guests for leisure and status displays. Artifacts from this portion of the yard included a possible hook from a Christmas tree ornament, the handle to a cup from a child's play tea set, and marbles. Family access to this space was determined by their ethnicity and socioeconomic status as "white" and middle class. John occupied the public and most visible area of the property only while doing yard work and other chores.

   The private spaces outside of the north side of the house were intensively utilized for daily domestic tasks, which was supported by both archaeological and

Fig. 4.8 Annie (Anna; *left*) and Brownie (Mary), daughters of Noble C. Butler, entertaining friends in the yard in 1895. Collection of Morris–Butler House, an Indianapolis property of Historic Landmarks Foundation of Indiana. Used by permission

Fig. 4.9 Noble C. Butler with the dog in the side yard. Collection of Morris–Butler House, an Indianapolis property of Historic Landmarks Foundation of Indiana. Used by permission

historical data. These tasks were completed not by the family, but by hired domestic servants, both men and women. Most of these individuals were of African-American descent and none of whom were middle class.

The highly visible area of the yard south of the summer kitchen was defined as "public" in the context of entertaining nonfamily guests, but relatively "private" during times of its maintenance by servants. The activities in and access to public and private spaces in the yard were determined by the class and ethnicity of the individuals first. Gender was a secondary consideration.

In contrast to exterior space, primacy was given to gender in the uses of interior private spaces. The kitchen during the Butler occupation, for example, was clearly a private space and the domain of the family's African-American cook, Martha Hawkins. Yet it was Mrs. Butler who determined the menu. Furthermore, since Martha could not read, one of the Butler's daughters (sometimes Mary) would be stationed in the kitchen to read the menu to Martha and help her prepare the courses in proper order (Shannon Borbely, pers. comm. 2005). Gender was a dominate force in this particular space, since all the agents involved were women. Yet, class and ethnicity were also important in establishing the roles of each and the activities they would undertake (Mrs. Butler giving directions versus Martha doing the actual cooking).

In the "private" context of family interaction and preparation for a party, the use of the kitchen by Martha, Mrs. Butler, and Mary crosscut the social relations of class and ethnicity. The gender of the actors was primary to their use of the kitchen. In the "public" context, once the formal dinner had begun, however, class and ethnicity would structure who had access to that space. That is, Mrs. Butler and Mary would not enter the kitchen while guests were present in the house (MBHA 1920).

The uses of public and private spaces were not defined by gender alone as the dichotomies of domesticity would suggest. Rather, gender was given primacy in shaping social relations in private interior contexts only, whereas uses of public space and private exterior landscapes were influenced largely by class and ethnicity.

Domesticity and Domestic Space

Domesticity represented a powerful force on the ideological landscape, particularly during the nineteenth century. These ideals structured social relations and defined separate spheres for men and women. Public and private, however, were not exclusively defined in terms of gender. Importantly, the uses of spaces in and around the house were also shaped by class and ethnicity.

For exterior spaces at the Morris-Butler House, public activities – entertaining, recreation, and displays of status through ornamental landscaping – were exclusively the domain of its white middle class urban residents. In contrast, private tasks – principally the daily activities associated with running a household,

such as food preparation, laundry, and refuse disposal – were undertaken by the black servants the families employed. In both of these examples, class and ethnicity are given primacy in these structured interactions.

Interior spaces of the house also exhibited differential use. Gender was a significant force in shaping social relations in private contexts, such as with Mrs. Butler, Mary, and Martha preparing to entertain guests. Class and ethnicity, however, continue to structure interaction in public activities within the house.

Separation of gender roles and public/private spaces were important components of the ideals of domesticity. Evidence from the Morris–Butler House, however, illustrated that uses of space were shaped by a complex intersection of the social relations of class and ethnicity as well as gender. Rigid associations of public/male and private/female masked the complexities of the lived experiences of site residents. Public activity in both exterior and interior spaces was strongly influenced by class and ethnicity; gender was given primacy in shaping social relations only in the context of private activity in the interior of the Morris–Butler Home. Therefore, in assessing the nature of social relations at a site, scholars must be cognizant of conceptualizations of both public and private as well interior and exterior space.

Similar dynamic uses of public and private, interior and exterior spaces could also be seen in the residential homelots in Deerfield. Importantly, class and ethnicity are social forces which continually influence the lived gendered experiences of individuals and families as well as their material expressions.

Changing Landscapes, Changing Social Relations

Social, economic, and political transformations in the village were expressed in the changing architecture at individual homelots in Deerfield. Domestic residences were not simply containers for the enactment of the rituals of daily life. Rather architectural style, the arrangement of rooms, and assigned meanings to particular household spaces represented active social arenas which shaped and were shaped by the human interactions occurring within them – producing and reproducing the social relations of those human agents. In this section, I explore changes to the domestic landscapes of Deerfield at the level of the village as well as the messages individual homelots conveyed about families and social relations.

Early Settlement: 1665–ca. 1730

The early period of the village's history was marked by the illusion of consensual politics within the community, which was expressed in the cultural landscape of the Street. Residential dwellings, for example, were fairly diverse and irregularly situated. The original house of the John Nims family (ca. 1740), for example,

may have been quite small (McGowan and Miller 1996:139). The cellar measured only 15 by 20 feet, and was oriented to magnetic north, rather than strictly parallel to the street (Garrison 1991:151). Additionally, residences were not markedly delineated by socioeconomic status. Both the gentry and yeomen farmers lived in houses that were similar in basic form. St. George (1988:347) observed that the use of similar architectural "forms were necessary linkages of identification that might [have] help[ed] to ensure deference." In short, the River Gods manipulated the built environment to their advantage and, by extension, masked unequal social relations (see also Paynter 2000b).

During the early colonial period, household authority and community authority were often inseparable (Coontz 1988:79). Households were not spatially or economically contained entities, but were rather part of a larger community system in which goods and services were constantly exchanged (Nylander 1994:221; see also Coontz 1988; Greven 1970; Stewart-Abernathy 1986). Consequently, women were required not only to be good housewives and republican mothers, but also to be good neighbors. Furthermore, households served not only as a center of economic production, but also as loci for social services, education, socialization, work training, and religious instruction (Coontz 1988:83; see also Johnson 1993; Spain 1992; Wright 1981). Therefore, household space was multifunctional and not rigidly delineated spatially along gender lines.

There was undoubtedly a sexual division of labor. Men plowed and planted agricultural fields, tended to livestock and repaired tools while women processed food and prepared meals, made candles, and did the spinning and weaving. This "sexual division of labor, [however], did not pull men out into a separate public sphere, distinct from women's household affairs and rewarded on a different basis" (Coontz 1988:93). Rather, all members of the household were contributing to the domestic economy in distinct but complementary ways. In addition, the participation of colonial women in vital productive activities resulted in their relatively high status vis-à-vis men.

The physical and economic interdependence of home and farm precluded the establishment of rigid boundaries between the spheres of men and women (Coontz 1988:83; see also McMurry 1988:57; Nylander 1994:221). The use of space – as well as lived experience – was more complex than simple dichotomies of public/private, agricultural/domestic, male/female, elite/nonelite would suggest (Conkey and Gero 1991; Wylie 1991; Wurst 2003). While these distinctions were real, they did not always produce mutually exclusive spaces (Borish 1995:88). On rural farmsteads, when circumstances demanded, women were involved in outdoor tasks of plowing, planting, and harvesting (McMurry 1988:61; see also Stewart-Abernathy 1992). Similarly, men and boys occasionally performed "women's work" in the house, such as cooking, washing dishes, doing laundry, and sewing (McMurry 1988:61; Osterud 1991:186; Stine 1991:498).

By the end of the first quarter of the eighteenth century, the conflict that had marked the early decades of Deerfield's history had ended. Settlers were able to focus their efforts on farming and agricultural pursuits, leading to even greater disparities in wealth and status within the village.

Changing World View: ca. 1730–ca. 1776

During the early to mid-eighteenth century (the earliest time period included in this study), wealthy families in Deerfield and elsewhere in the Connecticut River Valley controlled many civil, military, and political offices (Stillinger 1992:79; see also Sweeney 1986). From the 1740s through the 1770s, many of these elite families renovated or constructed homes in the Georgian style. The significance of architectural transformations of this era has been explained two ways. Garrison (1991:54; following Sweeney 1984) argued that these central-passage houses with their elaborate doorways and gambrel roofs were symbols of status and statements of power. St. George (1988:348) contended that the local gentry were also casting aside the illusion of commonality. Social relations within the community were changing and the material world was used to assert new social, political, and economic identities and boundaries. In 1751, an entire two-story section was added to the front of the small, unpainted, clapboard-sided home of Ebenezer Wells in an effort to retain the family's social position within the changing community (Historic Deerfield 1996:11) (Fig. 4.10).

Increasing social stratification and growing economic individualism had a negative impact on the status of women (Coontz 1988:142). Although the basic floor plan of the domestic sphere did not radically change during this period,

Fig. 4.10 Home of Ebenezer Wells, ca. 1900. Photograph by Frances and Mary Allen. Courtesy of Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association, Memorial Hall Museum, Deerfield, MA

particularly in existing homes that were simply renovated into the new Georgian style, there were implications for gender relations. Space was reconceptualized into specialized zones. Household space was transformed "from organic forms open for public involvement in domestic life to those that regimented and controlled access, directing visitors and family to portions of the house where certain behaviors were deemed appropriate" (Garrison 1991:163; also Deetz 1977; Glassie 1975; Johnson 1993).

The house that Dr. Thomas and Esther Williams originally constructed in the late 1740s (McGowan and Miller 1996:20) has undergone many renovations over the past 250 years, including the replacement of the gambrel roof with a less elaborate gabled one (Fig. 4.11). Two other architectural changes - the construction of an ell and the creation of a central hall - were particularly interesting for understanding social relations within this household (Fig. 4.12).

In October of 1760, the Williamses had their old kitchen torn down and a new one built in an ell addition to the rear of the house (McGowan and Miller 1996:21). A few years later, in 1772, they removed the center chimney to create a wide central hall with a main staircase (McGowan and Miller 1996:22). These changes to the home were significant for two reasons. Firstly, the kitchen ell was among the first of its kind in the village (Garrison 1991:163). Previously, the primary means by

Fig. 4.11 Home of Dr. Thomas and Esther Williams, ca. 1900. Photograph by Frances and Mary Allen. Courtesy of Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association, Memorial Hall Museum, Deerfield, MA
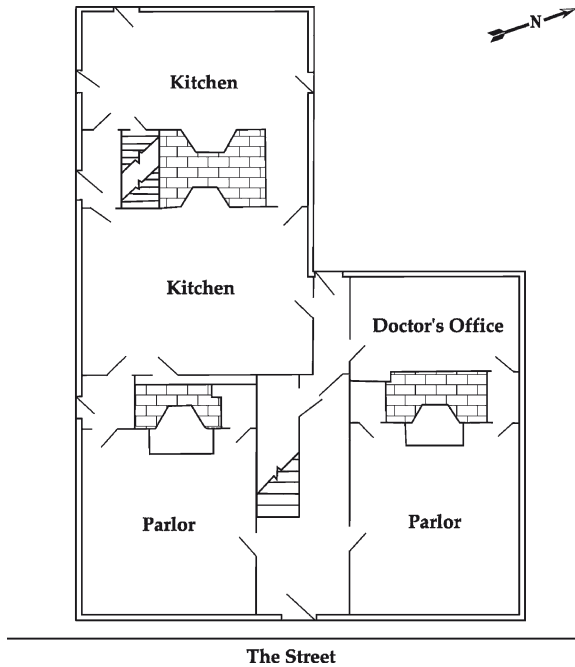
Fig. 4.12 Floor plan of Dr. Thomas and Esther Williams (ca. 1772). Created by Kit Curran for the author

which additional space was created was through the construction of a lean-to on the back of the house. This latest architectural fashion may have served as a status symbol.

Secondly, both of these renovations – the ell and the central passage – represented a change in the way people perceived of and reorganized space. As the process of social and economic stratification and individualism continued to evolve, other material and spatial expressions of changing gender relations emerged. During the last two decades of the eighteenth century, for example, a new architectural element appeared in Deerfield – the ell – and was increasingly added to existing houses and incorporated into the designs of new ones (Hautaniemi 1999). The ell changed how people organized household space, especially work space, since these areas almost always contained kitchens. This space was associated with women and thus was highly specialized and sexually delineated. Relocating female activities to the back of the house was the beginning of a process by which women became increasingly isolated from the community and whose labor became differentially valued as the public and private spheres diverged (Johnson 1993:137; Rosaldo 1974:68; Wall 1994:19; Yentsch 1991:201). Ells also contained other spaces for the completion of domestic tasks, such as

pantries, butteries, woodsheds, and even occasionally a privy (Garrison 1991:162), emphasizing differential perceptions of public and private spaces.

The creation of a wide central passage and the transition to Georgian-style architecture was significant for the Dr. Thomas and Esther Williams family. St. George (1988:348) described its importance:

> With four rooms arranged symmetrically around a central hall or passageway, these "Georgian" houses effectively cast aside the importance of identification, or the assertion of a feigned commonality, as a basis of deference. In opting out of consensual forms, these houses may seem to show a new confidence on the part of the gentry, but they also betray their owners' fear that their social position was weakening… As they witnessed the rise of "modern" attitudes toward privacy and individualism, these houses also announced the loosening of the River Gods' hold on local society.

Sweeney (1986:657) further noted that the rural gentry often created these opulent exteriors, while the interior of the structure remained relatively barren; that is, families invested first in the most visible symbol of their social position – the facade of their home.

Redefining household space was either not possible or not desired for all families and may have had implications for women's status in some households. Women who remained involved in productive activities in the home, for example, did not experience a decline in their status (Ember 1983:304; Rotman and Nassaney 1997). For wealthy families, however, the household became less a center of production and more of a locus of social reproduction. Consequently, the separation of women from household production during the pre-Revolutionary War period resulted in their lowered status vis-à-vis men.

Emergence of New Elite Classes: ca. 1776–1850s

By the late 1770s, "wealthy families in the valley who were not tied in with the Williams patronage system out-built the River Gods and challenged the Williamses' control of the valley's political affairs" (Garrison 1991:155). As the social and political power of the early ruling class in Deerfield waned, the emerging elite class continued to build elaborate, classic-style Georgian mansions that eclipsed the architectural grandeur of other elite homes. The Joseph Barnard house possessed a "classically inspired segmental arched doorway, quoins at the corners of the clapboard walls, double-hipped roof, and five-bay, double-pile floor plan (making) it the largest, most elaborate, and expensive dwelling built in the town to that time" (Garrison 1991:155) (Fig. 4.13). A few years later (1773–1774), Joseph Stebbins built an even larger house to express his wealth and status in the community (Historic Deerfield 1996:23) (Fig. 4.14). Architectural details similar to those on the Barnard and Stebbins homes were replicated on other, less pretentious houses in the village.

Yet while new links to markets for the village's agricultural products were being developed, growing commercialization and land speculation resulted in a scarcity of farm land. Consequently, children of farmers were less assured of receiving land

Fig. 4.13 Joseph Barnard house, ca. 1900, as restored by Madeline Yale Wynne and Annie C. Putnam. Photograph by Frances and Mary Allen. Courtesy of Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association, Memorial Hall Museum, Deerfield, MA

assets from their parents. Folbre (1985:202; following Clark 1982) asserted that "Families' prime concern, the transmission of resources to their offspring, was becoming hard to achieve in the conditions of land shortage and wealth inequality which prevailed around 1800; over the following decades more and more of them turned to the marketplace in order to fulfill ambitions." Children, particularly young men, struck out on their own rather than staying on the family farm, selling their labor power to purchase life's necessities.

Young girls were also affected by the changing family dynamics (see Abel 1987; Temkin-Greener 1979). As household production continued to be subordinated to demands of the market, daughters were likewise displaced from the farm. Between 1780 and 1820, their labor came to be viewed as redundant and was distinctively less productive in character (Coontz 1988:149). These young girls frequently left the farm and joined what was to become the country's first industrial labor force in places such as the Boott Mills in Lowell, MA (i.e., Beaudry and Mrozowski 1987a, 1987b).

For those individuals who remained actively engaged in farming, technological innovations altered agricultural practices (McMurry 1988). For example, by 1800, "Dutch" and common plows were made locally and widely used in the region. Cast iron plows were in use by the 1820s. Two particular labor-saving devices were adopted during the first quarter of the nineteenth century – corn shellers and fanning

Fig. 4.14 Joseph Stebbins Jr. house, ca. 1901. Photograph by Frances and Mary Allen. Courtesy of Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association, Memorial Hall Museum, Deerfield, MA

mills (Garrison 1991:46). In the Connecticut River Valley, however, expensive machinery and the small size of mowing fields inhibited the acceptance of power machinery. Farmers were conservative in their approach to farm mechanization. Instead, they increased productivity by reorganizing the landscape (Garrison 1991:49). The size of land holdings expanded and farmers began to focus on one or two primary crops rather than tending to a broad spectrum of agricultural pursuits (Bailey and Kennedy 1983:535). Dairying – butter and cheese production, for example – gained importance in Franklin County ca. 1845–1855 (Garrison 1991:56). Hence women, the principal agents in milk processing, made a significant contribution to the local economy.

Improvements in transportation and technological innovations transformed other aspects of farming in the region during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Prior to this time, the farm household had in many ways been the center of production; all or most of its members worked together to maintain the family unit and contribute to the domestic economy. Market forces operated on a limited scale. At about the mid-nineteenth century, however, this arrangement gave way to one based on competition, market orientation, capital accumulation, and profits (McMurry 1988:57).

The changing nature of agricultural production coincided with a transition from an economy based on mercantile capitalism to one rooted in industrial capitalism (Mrozowski 1991:57; see also Abel 1987). The processes by which children were displaced from the rural countryside intensified. Young men and women found employment in growing industrial areas – such as the planned cities of Lowell and Manchester, New Hampshire – in even greater numbers. The young people of Deerfield were going to nearby burgeoning centers such as Turner's Falls and Holyoke (Abel 1987; Reid 1988).

Ebenezer Hinsdale and Anna Williams moved to Deerfield during the early period of this transition. They extensively renovated the house on lots 40, 41, and 42 after purchasing it in 1816 (Figs. 4.15 and 4.16). The changes made were important clues to the status of the family in the community. The alterations the Williamses made included:

> splicing eighteen inches of new wood onto all of the first floor posts, which caused the heightening of the first floor ceilings, allowed for front entrance with a large elliptical fanlight, and elevated the entire structure. [They] also changed the position of the windows, at the same time enlarging them;… added a two-story ell, which more than doubled the size of the original house; and… graded and terraced the land around the building (McGowan and Miller 1996:189).

Fig. 4.15 Ebenezer Hinsdale and Anna Williams house, with early farm buildings on right, ca. 1900. Photograph by Frances and Mary Allen. Courtesy of Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association, Memorial Hall Museum, Deerfield, MA
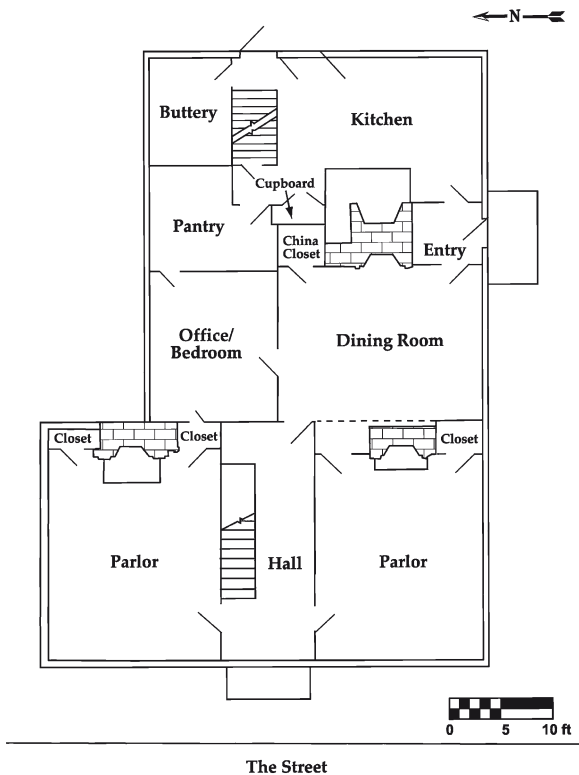
Fig. 4.16 Floor plan of the first floor of the Ebenezer Hinsdale and Anna Williams house (ca. 1816). Created by Kit Curran for the author

Miller (n.d.:18) attributed these extreme measures to a sense of family pride since razing the existing house and building anew may have been less expensive and much quicker. Regardless, the remarkable transformation of the structure into an elaborate, two-story Federal-style house was an important material expression of Williams' social position within the village during the early eighteenth century. Much like their distant cousin, Dr. Thomas Williams, down the street, the style and organization of this new home served to assert the elite status and modernity of E. H. and Anna Williams and their family.

No major additional changes were made to the house by the Barnards or Moors during the period for which it served as rental property in the 1830s and 1840s. This was expected since tenants were unlikely to make financial investments in updating or renovating a property that they do not own (Rotman 1995; Rotman and Nassaney 1997).

The transformations of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century undoubtedly had consequences for social relations and for the cultural landscape on which they were lived and experienced. This aspect of Deerfield's past – particularly the later period, the decades beyond the mid-nineteenth century – has largely been obscured by twentieth century preservationist activities. Many of the houses, which

date to the second half of the nineteenth century, for example, have been removed from the Street. Consequently, understanding this era of the village's history has been difficult and will require future historical and archaeological research.

A Mysterious Century: 1850s–ca. 1936

Few houses from the second half of the nineteenth century remain extant along the Street in Deerfield. Fortunately, a few representations of architectural styles from this period survive including: the Edwin Ware house (Greek Revival, constructed 1841) (Fig. 4.17), the Reverend John Farewell Moors house (Gothic Revival cottage, constructed 1848) (Fig. 4.18), and the Elbert Amidon house (Italianate, constructed 1867) (Fig. 4.19). These residential dwellings provide a glimpse into the spatiality of social relations of the second half of the nineteenth century.

The Greek Revival-style house dominated the early years of the Victorian era in Deerfield and elsewhere. Inspired by ancient Greek and Roman temples, the Greek Revival form was the first truly American architectural style (i.e., without English roots) (Howard 1989:92–93). This style represented rational, public, powerful, and masculine space. It symbolized "the autonomy and right of the Republican male individual, who had at least been superficially schooled in the classics, to possess and display private property, including personal knowledge" (Leone and Silberman 1995:128). Vlach (1995:144) elaborated that

> Certainly the Greek Revival's well-delineated, freestanding forms bespoke a fierce individualism. Its other features – cleanliness, order, efficiency, novelty - were also deeply embedded American values. Greek Revival architecture, a reminder of the presumed apogee of Old World civilization, had become a grassroots expression of American character.

The emphasis of the Greek Revival house as a masculine space clearly devalued or ignored the place of women within the household. These ideal architectural forms and associated world views were spread through builders' books written by individuals such as Asher Benjamin (1826) and Minard Lefever (1833).

Conversely, the Gothic Revival house – along with the Italianate – may have overemphasized the role of women in the family and represented a fundamental shift from Classical to Romantic architectural styles. This transition was associated with the crusade of housing reformers to create proper domestic residences that reflected the changing attitudes of the era toward nature, religion, technology, and family (Clark 1988:536). There was an increased focus on children within the family. The environment surrounding a child was believed to have a crucial impact on the shaping of his or her personality. Housing reformers were certain that the "morals, civilization, and refinement of the nation… depended on the construction of a proper domestic residence" (Clark 1988:539). The home - as during the early colonial period of the village – was an important locus for socializing children and reproducing social relationships, although the particulars of those relationships had changed.

The house was originally constructed by Reverend Moors ca. 1848 in two sections (see again Figs. 3.8 and 4.18). The first was a newly constructed front portion in the Gothic Revival style of one and one-half stories. It contained four rooms on

Fig. 4.17 Edwin Ware house (ca. 1841). Photograph by Broughton Anderson. Used by permission

the first and second floors and had an open garret above (Fig. 4.20). The second section consisted of a one story ell at the rear of the house, with two rooms, and was the reuse of a preexisting structure, possibly an old carriage house (Hautaniemi and Paynter 1999:31). The fact that the house was constructed with a rear ell containing a kitchen served to separate women's work and private tasks from the balance of the home (Hautaniemi 1999:4). No architectural changes to the house were attributed to the Hoveys' occupation.

Between 1870 and 1882, during the period when the property was owned by the Ball family, a new ell was added to the north and west sides of the house, which

Fig. 4.18 Rear view of the Reverend John Farewell Moors house (ca. 1848). Photograph by Broughton Anderson. Used by permission

Fig. 4.19 Elbert Amidon house (ca. 1867). Photograph by Broughton Anderson. Used by permission
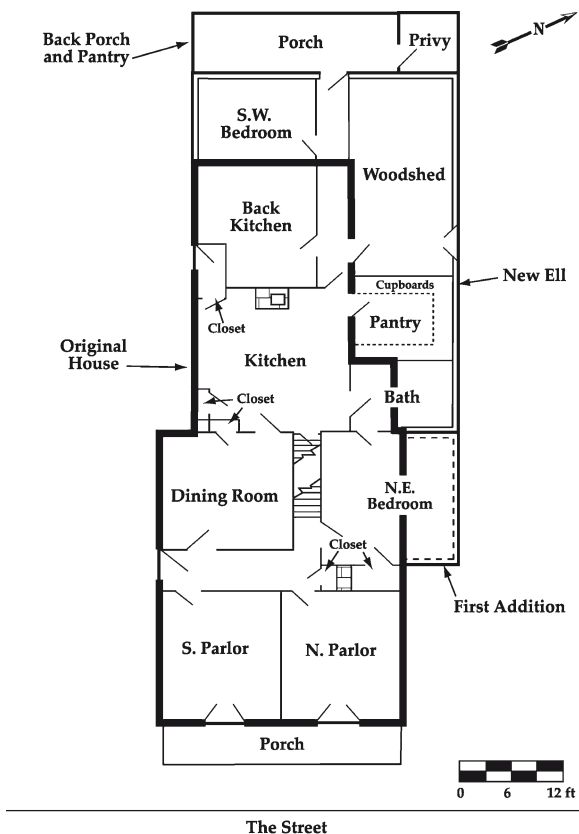
Fig. 4.20 Floor plan for the home of the Reverend John Farewell Moors family (ca. 1848). Created by Kit Curran for the author

contained a pantry, woodshed, and additional bedrooms. Also, in 1882, a new barn was built near the west end of the house. Concurrent with these landscape changes, a driveway on the north side of the house was abandoned and a new drive to the south was used (Hautaniemi and Paynter 1999:33).

The original construction of the home as well as later modifications were important expressions of social relations at the property. The former reflected the ideals of separate spheres for men and women as envisioned in the tenets of the cult of domesticity. The latter indicated the Ball family's growing prosperity as well as that the demography of the village was changing as new families of immigrants became part of the cultural landscape. Alterations to the residential architecture of the cottage by the Moors and Ball Families was particularly interesting with regard to the developmental cycle of the family (see more in Chap. 6).

The Manse – home to Madeline Yale Wynne and Annie Putnam – was a grand Georgian structure. Its facade was formal, balanced, and symmetrical. Three stories

Fig. 4.21 Side and rear yard of the Manse, home to Madeline Yale Wynne and Annie Putnam, ca. 1950. Courtesy of Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association, Memorial Hall Museum, Deerfield, MA

tall, the dwelling contains many rooms with highly specialized functions (Fig. 4.21; also see again Fig. 4.13).

As of ca. 1950, the first floor possessed two parlors on either side of the front entry with a kitchen and sitting room behind them to the rear (Fig. 4.22). Additional kitchen and work space consisting of two rooms was situated in an ell off the northeast corner of the house. This one-story-and-a-half gambrel structure was built between 1794 and 1807 (McGowan and Miller 1996:159). The second floor contained three "chambers," two baths, and a "sitting & dressing room." On the third floor, there were two additional "chambers" and another bath (William Flynt, pers. comm. 2003).

The Manse very clearly expressed the Georgian worldview, which was one of modernity and the centering of society on the individual (Leone 1999:198). It was expressed through architecture, gravestones, and ceramics, through increased segmentation and standardization. Deetz (1977:59–60) states, "One person: one dish relationship is symmetrical… Balance and a greater importance of the individual characterize this new view of life."

When Wynne and Putnam purchased the house in 1885, there had been a clapboard ell attached to the southern elevation, which had in essence expanded the home into a multifamily dwelling (McGowan and Miller 1996:158–159). Wynne and Putnam removed this ell and replaced it with a screened porch during their renovations. The porch was then removed in 1950 during the restoration of the structure by Henry and Helen Flynt.
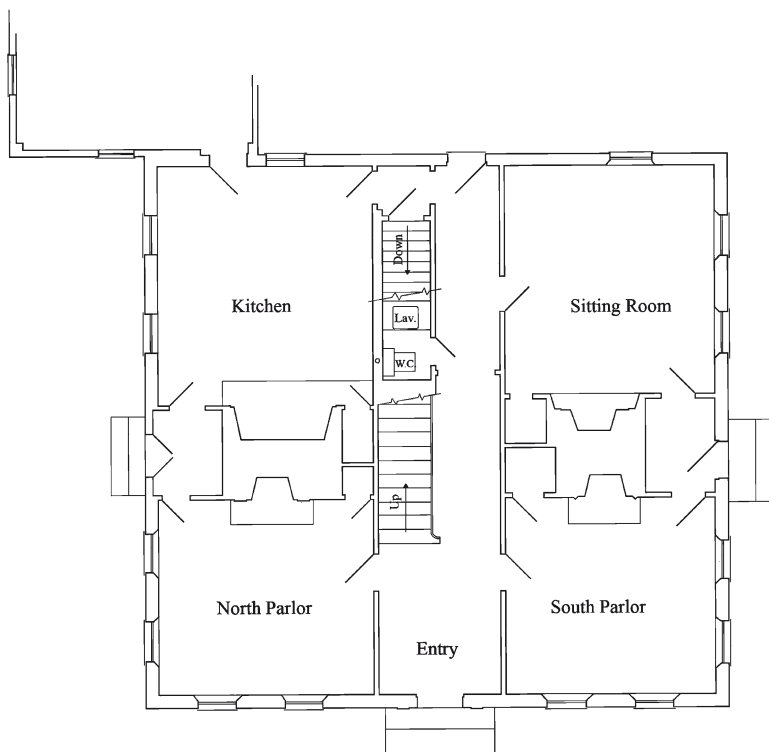
Fig. 4.22 First floor plan for the home of Madeline Yale Wynne and Annie Putnam. Created by Maura Galbraith for the author

The decision by Wynne and Putnam to purchase the Manse is an interesting one, specifically because the house does so clearly embody the Georgian worldview. To have removed the southern ell altogether during their renovation, the women would have restored the symmetry and balance to the dwelling, perhaps indicating their acceptance and participation in the modern world. Yet they chose to replace the ell with a screened porch; in essence deliberately not restoring the symmetry. The architecture of the Manse seems to embody some of the contradictions and constraints the women and their daily experiences. (See more about these unconventional women in the following chapters.)

Only one authentic residence from the early twentieth century remains in Deerfield – the Henry and Helen Brown house, constructed along the Albany Road in 1924 (Historic Deerfield 1996:7) (Fig. 4.23). Most other buildings built after ca. 1925 were reconstructions or reproductions of earlier era homes, designed to recreate the atmosphere of the colonial period.

The residences and domestic spaces for the families in this study were analyzed and compared to the broader architectural trends in the village. As dynamic social spaces, households also corresponded to a nexus of social reproduction and production

Fig. 4.23 Henry and Helen Brown house (ca. 1924). Photograph by Broughton Anderson. Used by permission

in the form of practice. Exterior appearance, organization of interior spaces, and their evolution over time provided information regarding the social relations of class and gender. Adherence to or eschewing of larger cultural norms were linked to gender, class, and other social relations. Preliminary understandings of the material world as gleaned from architectural data were supplemented by artifacts to interpret village life as an active social arena which both shaped and was shaped by human interactions – producing and reproducing the social relations of those human agents.4   Gendered Landscapes in Historic Deerfield

Chapter 5
Complex Intersection of Social Relations and the Material World

A separation of public and private spheres, at least in idealized forms, was an important aspect of domesticity. Elements of separation were extant in a variety of gender ideals, however, during the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries. Each of these ideologies placed at least some emphasis on defining and creating distinct tasks, roles, and arenas of interaction for men and women. Therefore, evaluating gender separation – both the presence and absence as well as degree – was critical to interpreting the archaeological assemblages in Deerfield as an expression of gendered social relations as well as changes throughout the history of the village.

Ceramics were a particularly useful material class for assessing gender separation. Yentsch (1991) developed a model that examined the color coding of vessels – earth-toned and white-toned – as well as their symbolic associations with male and female activities and, by extension, a separation of male and female roles. Wall (1994) investigated changes to decorative motifs on ceramic tea and table wares as well are their roles in increased ritualization of family meals and gender roles within the family. Leone (1999), Leone et al. (1987), and Shackel (1993) were also interested in changes to ceramic tea and table wares, particularly the ways in which these transformations corresponded to the emergence of the ideology of modern discipline. Although they did not specifically address gender ideologies in their analyses, the rituals of tea drinking and dining were intimately connected to gender roles and social reproduction.

As these models illustrate, analyses of a single material class can elucidate multiple dimensions of past lived experience. Ceramic artifacts from six occupations in the village were analyzed using these models in order to understand the material expressions of gender within the village. Each turn of the kaleidoscope revealed nuanced details of gendered lives in Deerfield.

Earthenwares and the Gendered World

The basic premise of archaeology is that human agents use objects and space in nonrandom, symbolic ways. That is, that the choices we make with regard to the clothes we wear, the houses we live in, the cars we drive, the dishes that adorn our

dinner tables, and so on are expressions of the social, political, economic, and cultural milieus to which we belong as well as the ideological systems – such as gendered social relations – in which we are embedded.

The multidisciplinary literature on the topic of consumerism is well-developed elsewhere (see Brandon 2004; Cochran and Beaudry 2007; Foley 1997; Galle 2004; Heath 2004; Hooks 1990; Johnson 2006; Mullins 1999a, b; Roediger 1991; Samford 2004; Whayne 1996; and Young 2004 for some interesting examples). I summarize here only a few highlights of this scholarship that has informed my understanding of consumerism as it relates specifically to gender ideologies.

Dynamic studies of consumption practices "demonstrate how the consumption of material things can be very important in constructing highly personal relationships… or conceptualize the 'local' through consumption of globally itinerant goods" (Cochran and Beaudry 2007:197; Miller 1998). Approaching questions of systems of gender relationships and gender identity "through the lens of consumerism enables us to explore the interplay between gender and economics" (Heath 2004:21).

Shackel (1996) noted that the emergence of modern consumer behavior was facilitated by romanticism in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Furthermore, "since women's roles were increasingly being redesigned into that of domestic engineers, especially in the middle classes, women became the proponents of this new romantic consumerism" (Shackel 1996:23; see also Campbell 1987). Tilley and Scott (1978) referred to this emphasis on household management as a "family consumer economy." Importantly, "the family unit no longer served as a productive unit, but primarily as a consumer of goods. Household goods and foods prepared for family consumption became symbols of domesticity" (Shackel 1996:24; see also Ryan 1981; Wall 1985, 1994).

By the late nineteenth century, consumption was linked to the emergence of an industrial democracy and the spread of mass production, which made conspicuous consumption possible for a larger segment of the socioeconomic spectrum. As a result, "a form of commodity fetishism had been created which confused material things with human relations: once the availability of things changed, the illusion of change in human relations was created" (McGuire 1991:107). Rather than representing simply an ideological shift, the material conditions of the working class were also transformed through shorter work days, more leisure time, higher pay, and the extension of credit – all of which facilitated increased consumption by working-class laborers.

Mullins (1999a, b) asserted, however, that this rising consumerism was rooted in White racial privilege. The material disparities of America's consumer culture "were minimized, ignored, and legitimized by pervasive discourses on affluence that trumpeted the accessibility of consumer goods, hyperbolized consumer culture's ever-expanding capacity to provide goods and services, and brazenly heralded the civil and moral benefits of prosaic commodities" (Mullins 1999b:3). Meanwhile, another ideology that was simultaneously emerging, Social Darwinism stressed that "hard work, thrift, intelligence, sobriety, cleanliness, and a little luck

guaranteed success, while failure resulted from the lack of these characteristics, or, more important, from their opposites – laziness, extravagance, stupidity, sloven-liness, and drunkness" (McGuire 1988:460). Consequently, consumption by the marginalized – women, people of color, working-class individuals and families –may have been a form of empowerment and a means for actively participating in the larger cultural milieu (see Mullins 1999b for an especially eloquent discussion).

Ceramic tea and table wares were one of many consumer items available for con-sumption in the mid-eighteenth through early twentieth century. This material class was used to assess the realities of the social, political, economic, and cultural milieus as well as ideological systems of which the residents of Deerfield were a part.

Symbols of Gendered Social Relations

Yentsch (1991) analyzed the distribution of different types of ceramic vessels over space and time to understand the relationship between gender, vessel form and color, and space. She began by linking women's activities (e.g., cooking) to the household spaces in which their work was conducted (e.g., the kitchen) and to the types of objects (i.e., ceramic vessels) utilized in the completion of various tasks.

In the gendered foodways of the medieval world, women prepared and served food that was eaten communally. Over time, food preparation and dining became increasingly associated with private and public aspects of social reproduction as well as increasingly gendered (i.e., associated with women and men, respectively). Vessel forms were elaborated as dining became segmented and as food preparation and dining became spatially separated within the home. The colors of vessels used for these activities also became differentiated.

Yentsch classified ceramic vessels according to their place in the food cycle, focusing on functional categories over time. These included vessels for food and beverage processing, preparation, and storage (e.g., milk pans and butter pots), distribution (e.g., bowls and tureens), and consumption (e.g., porringers, plates, and tea bowls). Other nonfood ceramic vessels were included in her analyses in a separate category of "other." After classifying the ceramics in this way, she tabu-lated the vessels according to whether they were earth-toned or white-toned and by the functional category to which each belonged (i.e., processing, preparation, storage, etc.).

Yentsch (1991:214–215) concluded that, over time, whiter wares were increas-ingly used for food distribution and consumption, while earth-toned vessels were used almost exclusively for less prestigious tasks such as food preparation. This transformation was accompanied by an elaboration of individual forms, both qualita-tively with the introduction of ceramic vessels with specialized functions (e.g., dinner plates, salad plates, dessert plates) and quantitatively by an overall increase in the number of vessels present in the household. This elaboration was accompanied, in

turn, by an increase in spatial differentiation for the use of vessels within specific household spaces; that is, earth-toned vessels in the kitchen and white-toned vessels on the dinner table.

The differential use of ceramics and their distribution within household space had important implications for gender relations and represented the basic ideological separation in the social structure between men and women's roles. Yentsch (1991:225) observed that "white-toned vessels were symbols associated with social display" and, by extension, the public arena and culture. Earth-toned vessels were relegated to private household spaces dominated by women and distanced from the public spaces. In this way, the roles of men and women were expressed and reproduced through ceramic vessels. This social structure was reinforced daily through the use of different ceramic vessels with different functions and in different spaces within the household.

The differential gendered and symbolic uses of pottery were inextricably linked to displays of class and status as well. Yentsch (1991:221) observed that "[i]n a context where the status gradations were wide-ranging, greater variety and elaboration in pottery existed. In a context where status gradations were simpler, there was less of a need for variation and elaboration." Greater status differences were expressed not only through a greater elaboration in the vessels themselves, but also in their quality. She compared two rural villages in Massachusetts with sites in the more urban Chesapeake and concluded that there was an overall greater use of white-toned vessels in the latter setting.

It is important to note, however, that the models posited by Yentsch was originally created and tested in very specific temporal and geographic contexts. Historical archaeologists often assume that, with the advent of mass production of tea and tablewares during the nineteenth century, these models are so well codified that they no longer need to be examined for sites dating to or beyond this time period.

The ceramics from the households in this study were examined for adherence to or deviation from this larger pattern of consumer choice as well as for possible reasons for why such adherence or variance may have occurred. Subscription to or deviance from color-coding of ceramic vessels revealed important dimensions of social relations.

Dr. Thomas and Esther Williams (ca. 1750–ca. 1770)

The privy deposits and trash layer which overlaid them were analyzed for color and function (see Appendix D). Fourteen vessels were identified in the privy deposits, but only four were clearly related to food preparation, storage, processing, distribution, or consumption (Table 5.1). All of the vessels were white-toned. The trash deposit yielded 16 vessels – ten of which were food-related (Table 5.2). Most of the vessels were earth-toned. (Note: The artifacts from the Thomas and Esther Williams site were not available for photographing or scanning and, therefore, a sample of

Table 5.1 Dr. Thomas and Esther Williams, privy deposits, ca. 1750–ca. 1770; earth-toned and white-toned vessels by function

	Earth-toned vessels	White-toned vessels
Food/beverage distribution		
Saucer[a]		1
Food/beverage consumption		
Plate		1
Teabowl		2

[a]According to Yentsch (1991), a saucer could be for either distribution or consumption

Table 5.2 Dr. Thomas and Esther Williams, trash pit deposits, ca. 1770; earth-toned and white-toned vessels by function

	Earth-toned vessels	White-toned vessels
Food/beverage processing, storage, preparation		
Milk pan	1	
Butter pot	1	
Pie plate	1	
Food/beverage distribution		
Jug	2	
Bowl[a]	1	
Food/beverage consumption		
Mug	2	
Teabowl		1
Plate/bowl[b]		1

[a]This bowl could potentially be a mixing bowl and, therefore, categorized as food preparation
[b]This vessel was a possible soup plate or bowl

those ceramics could not be illustrated here.) According to Yentsch's model, vessels for food processing, preparation, and storage would be expected to be earth-toned, while vessels for distribution and consumption are white-toned.

Both the privy and the trash pit were associated with the occupation of the Dr. Thomas and Esther Williams family from ca. 1750-ca. 1770. The ceramic vessels recovered from the privy fit Yentsch's model nicely, although the sample size was quite small ($N = 4$). A larger sample ($N = 10$) was recovered from the trash deposit. For the most part, the ceramics from this portion of the feature also fit expectations based on Yentsch's model. Deviations included all earth-toned vessels for distribution (two jugs and a bowl) and two earth-toned mugs for consumption; all of these vessels were expected to be white-toned according to the model. Distribution of food represented a liminal activity; that is, that food was taken from the kitchen (space for food preparation) to the dining room (space for food

consumption) – and often transported between these loci by domestic servants. As such, vessels for food distribution may represent transitional pieces and, therefore, some earth-toned pieces might be expected in this capacity, particularly if those vessels did not remain on the dining table after the food within them had been served.

The ceramics recovered from these features expressed a differential use of vessels for public and private tasks. This evidence is consistent with that which was observed in the architectural data – namely that the Williamses had added a kitchen ell on the back of their house. Reorganizing domestic space in this way emphasized that private tasks, such as food preparation, were to be isolated from other more public areas of the home. Furthermore, the kitchen ell was a very gendered space, one that was highly correlated with women, particularly female domestic servants. The ceramics were also consistent with the Williamses' remodeling of their home into the Georgian style. In addition, the River Gods were experiencing increased prosperity and the grand formal symmetry of their Georgian houses was intended to assert this changing status and break the illusion of communal social relations in the village.

Whiter-toned wares were associated with formal dining and prestigious contexts; or at least more prestigious than earth-toned wares and their association with food preparation in the kitchen ell. Yentch (1991:215) observed that "To the extent that formal dining, social pomp, and conspicuous consumption were means of expressing power, of establishing reciprocal relationships, and of forming and strengthening alliances between households, they fell within a masculine domain. While women might participate in ritual dining and could enhance their power through their orchestration and support of conspicuous food consumption, their benefits were merely derived; men controlled this cultural domain." For the Dr. Thomas and Esther Williams family, their choice to color-code their ceramic vessels according to public and private activities and associated gender roles may have lain at the intersection of class and political struggles within the village.

Ebenezer Hinsdale and Anna Williams (ca. 1816) and Tenants (ca. 1845)

Forty-three vessels were recovered from the privy/trash pit associated with E. H. and Anna Williams (Table 5.3; see also Appendix D); 40 of which were suitable for inclusion in this analysis. An additional 30 vessels were identified with the assemblage from the buried land surface and associated with the later tenants in the house (Table 5.4; see also Appendix D), but definitive form and function could only be determined for 12 of them. A sample of refined earthenwares recovered from the trash pit at the E. H. and Anna Williams site was illustrated in Fig. 5.1, while a sample of ceramics from Strat 9 was shown in Fig. 5.2.

Table 5.3 E. H. and Anna Williams, privy/trash deposits, ca. 1816; earth-toned and white-toned vessels by function

	Earth-toned vessels	White-toned vessels
Food/beverage processing, storage, preparation		
Milk pan	3	
Food/beverage distribution		
Bowl	1	10
Saucer/bowl[a]		4
Jug	1	
Pitcher		1
Food/beverage consumption		
Tea cup		1
Plate		19

[a]Saucer/bowl could also be consumption in Yentsch's (1991) model

Table 5.4 E. H. and Anna Williams, Strat 9 land surface deposits, ca. 1845; earth-toned and white-toned vessels by function

	Earth-toned vessels	White-toned vessels
Food/beverage distribution		
Platter	1	
Pitcher	1	
Food/beverage consumption		
Plate		9
Mug		1

[a]According to Yentsch (1991), a saucer could be for either distribution or consumption

The vessels recovered from the trash pit at the Williams' property fit Yentsch's model very neatly; vessels for food preparation were earth-toned, while those for food distribution and consumption were white-toned. This material patterning was not surprising, given that E. H. and Anna Williams represented the village's elite, much like their distant cousins up "the Street" (Dr. Thomas and Esther Williams). It is striking, however, that the E. H. Williams family were asserting themselves in material ways that were almost identical to the Dr. Thomas Williams family. They extensively renovated their home into a two-storey Federal-style dwelling (a somewhat less elaborate form of the Georgian architectural style) and used ceramic tea and table wares according to color and function, both of which again suggested a complex intersection of class and gendered social relations at the homelot.

The ceramics from the buried land surface were associated with the tenants at the E. H. and Anna Williams site. The vessels for food and beverage distribution were expected to be white-toned according to Yentsch's model (1991:216–217). Yet, these vessels were earth-toned. As observed at the Dr. Thomas and Esther

Fig. 5.1 A sample of the ceramics recovered from the trash pit at the E. H. and Anna Williams site: (1) Royal Scalloped creamware plate, nearly whole; (2) Blue shell-edged pearlware plate rim fragment, and (3) Blue, under-glaze, hand-painted Chinoiserie pearlware bowl rim fragment

Williams site, vessels for distribution may have been transitional pieces, such that some earth-toned vessels might be expected in this capacity.

In addition, since this land surface represented a period of tenancy rather than ownership at the property, this material patterning may not be altogether unexpected. As Rotman and Nassaney (1997) observed, in lower class households where the family is economically dependent upon the labors of all its members, gender separations may not be as distinct as with wealthier, elite households. Consequently, it was anticipated that the fluidity of social relations would also be expressed through the ceramics used for food-related tasks – including for Lots 40, 41, and 42 during the mid-nineteenth century, when the house was occupied by working-class families. The apparent absence of clearly differentiated use of earth-toned and white-toned vessels by the Barnard family and the newly married Reverend and Mrs. Moors (the tenant assemblage) was consistent with complimentary gender relations that were likely to have been in operation at the site at the time of deposition.

Fig. 5.2 A sample of the ceramics recovered from Strat 9 at the Williams site, associated with the tenants: (1) Green shell-edged pearlware plate rim; (2) Blue shell-edged pearlware plate rim; (3) Blue transfer-printed whiteware plate rim; (4) Polychrome annualar creamware pitcher fragment; (5) Blue transfer-printed pearlware plate fragment; and (6) Molded pearlware plate rim with blue

The Moors (ca. 1848–1865) and Ball (1865–ca. 1882) Families

Vessel function was critical to testing Yentsch's model. For the assemblages associated with the Moors' occupation, however, function was often difficult to determine. Sherds were quite small and vessels were sometimes represented by a single fragment. The model was applied to three vessels from phase II and two vessels from phase III – for a total of five vessels representing the Moors family (Fig. 5.3 and 5.4)
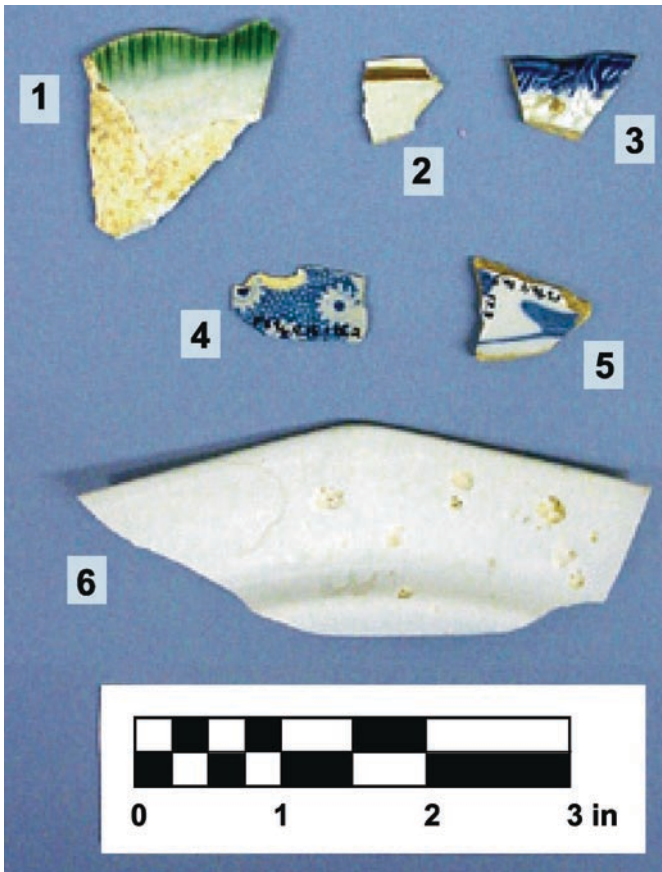
Fig. 5.3 A sample of the ceramics recovered from phase II at the Moors site: (1) Green shell-edged pearlware plate rim; (2) Pearlware teacup fragment with brown banding; (3) Blue shell-edged pearlware flatware rim; (4) Blue transfer-printed pearlware flatware body sherd; (5) Blue hand-painted pearlware flatware body sherd; and (6) Gothic-paneled ironstone plate rim

Fig. 5.4 A sample of the ceramics recovered from phase III at the Moors site: (1) Molded whiteware rim of small saucer/bowl and (2) undecorated whiteware plate rim

(Tables 5.5 and 5.6; see also Appendix D). Fourteen vessels were analyzed from phase IV, associated with the Ball family (Figs. 5.5–5.7) (Table 5.7; see also Appendix D).

The results for phases II and III and the occupation by Rev. Moors and his families were tenuous at best given the very small sample size. There were no deviations from expected color coding. The house itself, as a Gothic Revival cottage, was an icon to the cult of domesticity, which mandated a separation of male and female spheres. It would, therefore, be expected that the ceramics would parallel that ideology.

The results from phase IV and the Ball occupation were more definitive. Even though Yentsch's research focused on the period of time leading up to the turn of the nineteenth century (ca. 1800), the pattern for color coding and differential usage of ceramic vessels continued at the Moors site until nearly the turn of the twentieth century (ca. 1882), suggesting clear separations of women's and men's tasks at the site.

These results, however, were somewhat surprising. The Ball family was a farming household in which the husband was likely working in a complementary fashion with his wife and other members of the household (Coontz 1988; Rotman and Nassaney 1997). As such, it was expected that the ceramics would not express clear separation, but rather emphasize the household collective, particularly with regard to gender roles and relations – similar to that which was observed for the period of tenancy at the E. H. and Anna Williams site. The availability of mass produced and inexpensive consumer goods may have influenced the Ball family's choice of these tea and table wares, as color coding of these vessels may have been well codified by the mid–1880s.

Table 5.5 Moors family phase II (ca. 1848); earth-toned and white-toned vessels by function

	Earth-toned vessels	White-toned vessels
Food/beverage distribution		
Platter		1
Food/beverage consumption		
Plate		1
Tea cup		1

Table 5.6 Moors family phase III (ca. 1848–1865); earth-toned and white-toned vessels by function

	Earth-toned vessels	White-toned vessels
Food/beverage distribution		
Saucer[a]		1
Food/beverage consumption		
Plate		1

[a]A saucer could be for either distribution or consumption.

Fig. 5.5 A Gothic-paneled ironstone plate from the Ball family occupation of the Moors site (Phase IV)

Fig. 5.6 Additional ceramics recovered from phase IV at the Moors site: (1) Undecorated whiteware plate fragment and (2) Gothic-paneled deep whiteware saucer
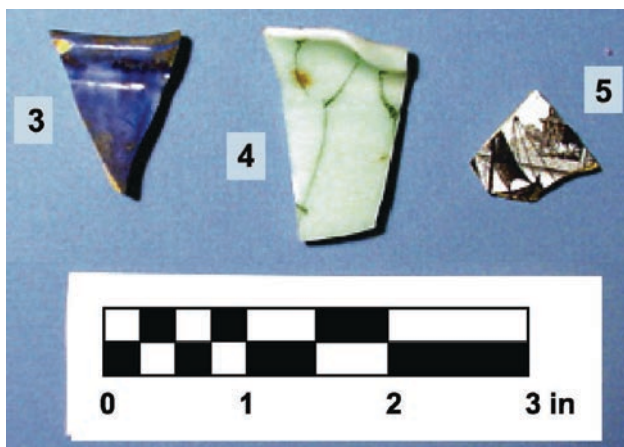
Fig. 5.7 Additional ceramics recovered from phase IV at the Moors site: (1) Flow-blue transfer-printed whiteware flatware rim sherd; (2) Green hand-painted underglaze whiteware rim sherd from an indeterminate vessel; and (3) Black transfer-printed whiteware flatware body sherd, water/landscape scene

Table 5.7 Ball family phase IV (1865–ca. 1882); earth-toned and white-toned vessels by function

	Earth-toned vessels	White-toned vessels
Food/beverage processing, storage, preparation		
Crock	3	
Bottle	2	
Food/beverage distribution		
Jug	1	
Saucer[a]		1
Butter dish insert		1
Food/beverage consumption		
Tea cup		2
Mug		1
Plate		3

[a]Saucer could also be consumption in Yentsch's (1991) model

Madeline Yale Wynne and Annie Putnam (ca. 1885–ca. 1904)

The archaeological assemblage includes artifacts recovered from a well that dates from ca. 1885 to ca. 1904, spanning the occupation of the Manse from shortly after its purchase. The artifacts, therefore, would have represented Madeline and Annie from about ages 40 to 60. Forty-one vessels were identified from the well at the Manse, 34 of which were suitable for inclusion in the analysis for color coding of ceramics (Yentsch 1991) (Table 5.8; see also Appendix D). (Note: The artifacts

Table 5.8 Madeline Yale Wynne and Annie Putnam, well (ca. 1885–194); earth-toned and white-toned vessels by function

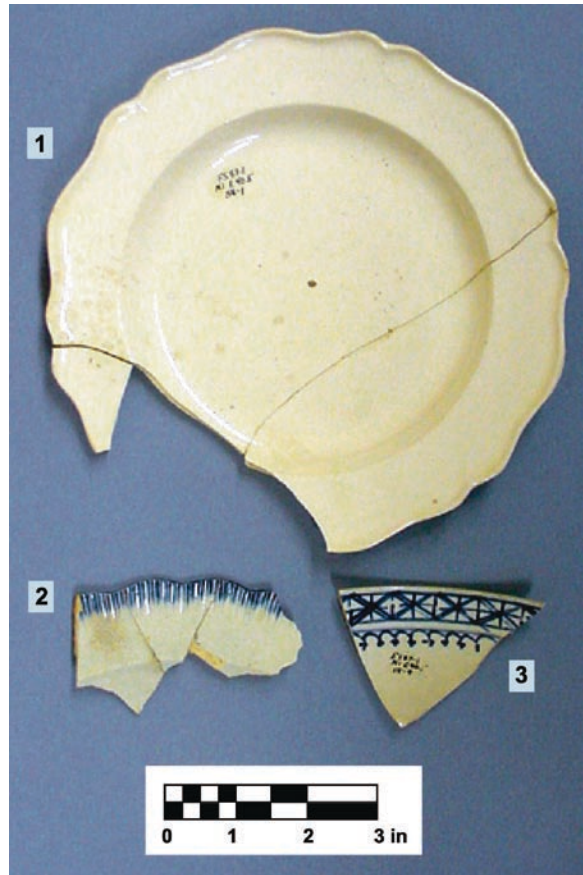|	Earth-toned vessels	White-toned vessels
Food/beverage processing, storage, preparation		
Crock	2	
Milkpan	1	
Food/beverage distribution		
Jug	3	
Compote	1	
Food/beverage consumption		
Plate		14
Plate, small		2
Teacup		5
Bowl		2
Saucer		4

from the Manse site were not available for me to scan and, therefore, a sample of those ceramics could not be illustrated here.)

The results of this analysis indicated that Madeline and Annie were using vessels largely consistent with well-codified norms for color coding of vessels. By the late nineteenth century, white-toned vessels had become increasingly standard for dining room tables in America. Improvements in infrastructure – such as road and rail transportation systems – would have facilitated fast and inexpensive shipment of agricultural products and manufactured goods around the landscape (Weir and York 1990:25), thus making refined earthenwares available to virtually everyone (see Purser 1999, for additional discussion on the material culture of later capitalism).

In addition, Miller (1991:2) noted that, between 1809 and 1848, English ceramic prices dropped significantly. Furthermore, by the late nineteenth century, American potters were producing wares that rivaled English production. Manufacturers such as the East Liverpool, Ohio potteries were the largest domestic producers of ceramic toilet and tablewares between 1890 and 1940 (Gates and Ormerod 1982). So, for late nineteenth and twentieth century assemblages, it would be expected that the color coding of vessels by function observed by Yentsch would have been well codified and easily visible in the material record.

By the time of deposition in the well at the Manse, vessels for food preparation and storage were primarily produced in redware and stoneware, whereas vessels for serving and consumption were primarily produced as refined earthenwares, such as whiteware and ironstone. Therefore, for Wynne and Putnam to eschew these codified norms would have required considerable effort on their part to purchase something other than the mass-produced ceramic dishes that were readily available to and economical for Deerfield residents.

Collective Interpretation of Color Coding of Vessels

The application of Yentsch's model for color coding of vessels – a model developed for earlier seventeenth and eighteenth century contexts – helped to bring the subtle nuances of these social relations during the nineteenth and into the early twentieth century into greater relief. Some degree of separation, both ideologically and physically, was extant in the most idealized form of gender ideologies for the two centuries of this study. Not every household, however, expressed evidence of that separation through the color-coding of ceramic tea and tablewares (Table 5.9). The ceramics associated with the tenants at the E. H. and Anna Williams home were not consistent with expectations under Yentch's model. These working class families appeared to be engaged in more complementary, rather than hierarchical, gender roles and relations. Their ceramics did not follow rigid color separations and, by extension, attendant-gendered social relations.

Scholars interested in understanding social relations should not readily accept that color coding of vessels was so thoroughly entrenched that all human agents were utilizing ceramics reflecting this material patterning. Nineteenth and twentieth-century assemblages merit further scrutiny to elucidate aspects of social relations that may be encoded in a household's dishes in unexpected ways. Families that chose not to purchase widely-available, mass produced ceramics may have also eschewed the gender separation and class ideologies expressed by them.

Ceramic Use and the Meaning of Meals

The decorations and patterns that adorned ceramic tea and table wares were also highly symbolic, culturally significant, and relevant to understanding gender roles and relations. Wall (1991, 1994, 1999, 2000) examined modifications to the decorative motifs on ceramics over time. She (1994:139) argued that the evolution of styles used to embellish tablewares corresponded to changes in the social meaning

Table 5.9 Summary of analyses; testing Yentsch's model for color-coding of vessels in Deerfield

Assemblage/occupation	Conform to Yentsch's model?	Was conformity expected?
Dr. Thomas and Esther Williams	Yes	Yes
E. H. and Anna Williams	Yes	Yes
Tenants (Barnard and Moors)	No	No
Rev. Moors families	Sample size too small	Yes
Arthur and Francis Ball	Yes	No
Madeline Wynne and Annie Putnam	Yes	No

of the meals in which vessels were used. Specifically, she linked these transformations to emerging ideals regarding gender roles and relations, particularly those of domesticity.

Decorative Motifs and Gender Ideologies

Utilizing additional historical information, etiquette books, and archaeological assemblages, Wall (1994:147–149) discerned that the meaning of meals changed over time (see also Wall 1991, 1999, 2000). In the late eighteenth century, the focus was on the meal itself. Its importance was determined by the quantity of dishes served. There was little segmentation of the meal, since the main course and desserts were often placed on the table at the same time. In fact, pies and puddings were often consumed first!

The elaboration of meals by women increased during the late eighteenth century. By the 1820s, the number of courses served, rather than simply the quantity of dishes present, during a meal was used to mark its rank (Wall 1994). These courses also became more specialized, often with two or more main courses presented. The serving of the food also became more ritualized. The mistress ladled out the soup, thereby stressing her role as the family nurturer, while the master of the household carved the roast or main meat dish, emphasizing his role as the family provider. Less important dishes were served by the domestic servants.

In addition to an increased number of courses and the ritualization of the serving itself, the ceramics used at the dinner table underwent a transformation, becoming symbols of ritual dining. The busy chinoiserie decorations in the decades surrounding the turn of the nineteenth century had overshadowed the importance of the food and covered almost every available space of the vessels they adorned. In fact, serving dishes were often covered with a lid, so that it was the vessel rather than the food that was initially visible to diners (Wall 1994:148). Wall (1994:149) concluded that "this intensification in decoration expressed the changes in the meaning of a meal." Dining was no longer simply a matter of nourishment, but had become symbolically-charged social ritual.

By the 1840s, the trend of busy ceramic decoration was reversing itself. Already beginning in the 1830s with the emergence of social changes associated with Gothic Revival architectural styles, ceramics used for family meals became predominately white (Wall 1994:160). A particular vessel pattern, referred to as "Gothic" or "Gothic paneled," was the preferred style (see again Fig. 5.5 for an example). These white-toned vessels expressed purity, reinforcing women's role as the guardian of her family's morality.

Wall's analyses (1991, 1994, 1999, 2000) focused on ceramic assemblages from middle-class households in New York City to understand how these objects were used to construct domestic worlds in the mid-nineteenth century. She was particularly interested in decorative patterns, types of ware, and the number and kinds of

specialized serving pieces. These vessels, she noted "were used in two different domestic arenas: tea, where nonfamily members were entertained, and family meals, where participation was usually limited to family members [or those individuals who were perceived as being like family]" (Wall 1991:75). She concluded that women at the poorer and wealthier ends of the middle-class spectrum used ceramic tablewares (large plates and intermediate-sized plates, known as twifflers) and teawares (cups and saucers) differently.

Approximately, half of the tablewares from each household that Wall studied were of the Gothic pattern; that is, white granite ironstone with paneled rims. Gothic-style dishes and furnishings correlated with the sanctity and community of Gothic churches and were intended to contrast with the competitive capitalist marketplace (Wall 1991:79). These vessels were used within the ritual of family meals and enhanced the sacred aspect of women's domestic roles under domesticity.

Poorer families also used Gothic, paneled dishes for serving tea, whereas wealthier families used decorative wares, such as gilded and pedestaled porcelains. According to Wall (1991, 1994, 2000), the differences in ceramics indicated a difference in the purpose of afternoon tea. For wealthy families, this social ritual exhibited family status and the dishes were used as part of a competitive display by the mistress of the house "designed to impress her friends and acquaintances with the refined gentility of her family" (Wall 1991:79). For poorer families, however, only those equated with family and community would have been invited for tea. Thus, competition in this arena was unnecessary. Gothic teawares "may have served to elicit the almost sacred values of community and mutual help – values which could be very useful for those at the lower end of the middle-class spectrum – among the women who were gathering together for tea" (Wall 1991:79). Clearly, although the ceramic teawares and tablewares recovered from the sites in Wall's study, they were used to create very different domestic worlds for middle-class families in mid-nineteenth century New York City.

Wall (1994:125) observed that, over the course of the nineteenth century, the social context and meaning of family meals both underwent a transformation. Breakfast and family supper continued to be somewhat informal meals. Lunch became the midday meal in homes where men were absent during the day. Dinner became a ritualized meal and the occasion for a daily family reunion as well as the focal point of the woman's sphere. The structure of dinner was particularly interesting since both the foods served and the table settings became highly ordered, specialized, and elaborated.

For urban families, tea continued to be a social gathering for both sexes and for the display of household status (Wall 1994, 2000). By mid-century, however, this dining ritual became an afternoon social event by and for women only. Meals had firmly become symbolic social rituals. The decorative patterns, the type of ware, and the number and kind of specialized serving pieces were all utilized to develop a woman's sphere, to reproduce gender relations, and to define the position of families within the larger social order.

Family meals were transformed in rural settings as well. Multicourse menus appeared in farm journals, but they represented an elevated standard of eating rather

than a ritualization of dining. During the mid-to late nineteenth century, farm women began to serve their families cookies, puddings, oysters, neck of veal, and curried rabbit (McMurry 1988:97). These dietary changes indicated that farm women were now performing domestic services rather than economically-productive tasks. The role of ceramic tablewares in the reproduction of gender relations in rural settings remains unstudied and poorly understood.

Wall's analyses do not extend into the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It was expected, however, that decorations on ceramic vessels would parallel the elaborate ornamentation seen in other aspects of the material world – such as grave markers (McGuire 1988; Sears 1989) and architectural styles (Howard 1989) – particularly in the decades surrounding the turn of the twentieth century (see Rotman and Clay 2008).

A trend toward increased elaboration in mortuary displays, as one example, began at about the mid-nineteenth century and continued until approximately World War I. McGuire (1988:160) discussed this transformation within the mortuary contexts of Broome County, New York. After the mid-nineteenth century, grave markers became increasingly varied and highly decorated. Elaborately ornamented family obelisks and mausoleums replaced simple rectangular marble grave markers. Sears (1989:115) asserted that these material displays within rural cemeteries "intensified and reflected back the emerging fashion-conscious, status-oriented, property-owning culture of the time." Elaboration of the material world also manifested itself in the garish ornamentation of Queen Anne architectural styles and other forms of conspicuous consumption. Sears (1989:99) observed these material trends in virtually all cities and villages in the eastern United States during this period.

Therefore, although Wall did not analyze ceramic assemblages that postdated the 1860s, it was expected that the trend toward an increased material elaboration seen elsewhere in the material world during the Victorian era would have a parallel expression in ceramic vessels, tablewares, and teawares. Indeed, of the 12 tableware sets illustrated in the 1897 Sears catalog, all but one has some form of floral decoration (Israel 1968). The wells (the interior portions of the plates and other dishes) were, however, sometimes undecorated with elaborate floral decorations – mostly decals and transfer prints – confined to the area around the marley.

The Meaning of Meals in Deerfield

Wall's analyses elucidated how changes in decorative motifs were associated with changes in the meaning of meals. These alterations were simultaneously linked to the transformation of gender ideologies at the intersection of class and status. Understanding the complex social relations surrounding ceramic usage requires an examination of the unique historical trajectory and circumstances of the family being studied.

Dr. Thomas and Esther Williams (ca. 1750–ca. 1770)

The ceramics from the privy and trash pit were analyzed using Wall's model (Tables 5.10 and 5.11; see also Appendix E). Her model was restricted, however, to only those refined earthenwares which could be definitely determined to be either teawares or tablewares. The function of many vessels from the Dr. Thomas and Esther Williams site, however, could not be determined beyond hollowware or flatware. Eight of the 12 vessels (67%) from the Williams site were too fragmentary to determine whether they were tea or tablewares.

In order to increase the numbers of vessels included in this analysis, I modified Wall's model slightly. Although Wall included a category of "other" for vessel decoration, I included one additional category of "other" for vessel function. Doing this allowed me to include a greater number of vessels from each feature in the analysis. Even with this modification, however, the sample of vessels for this site remains small. Therefore, these results are tentative at best until future archaeological excavation at this site yields additional ceramic vessels for analysis.

It was expected that an assemblage from the late eighteenth century would be dominated by tablewares that were minimally decorated and teawares that were evenly divided between Chinese landscapes and floral/Neoclassical decorative motifs – since these were the "fashionable" dishes of the era. Seven of the 12 vessels in this analysis, however, were minimally decorated. There were five floral/neoclassical patterns. No shell-edged wares and no Chinese landscapes were recovered.

The family may have experienced financial constraints due to the number of young children in the home. Therefore, ceramic tablewares may have been a relatively

Table 5.10 Dr. Thomas and Esther Williams, privy (ca. 1750–ca.1770); decorations on tea and tablewares

	Teawares	Tablewares	Other
Minimally decorated			5
Shell edged			
Chinese landscapes			
Floral/neoclassical	2		1
Other			

Table 5.11 Dr. Thomas and Esther Williams, trash pit (ca. 1770); decorations on tea and tablewares

	Teawares	Tablewares	Other
Minimally decorated			2
Shell edged			
Chinese landscapes			
Floral/neoclassical	1	1	
Other			

low financial priority for them. In addition, since only the most intimate of their acquaintances would have ever observed the family's tea and table wares, the Williamses may have chosen to invest in a more public statement of their social position, namely through the extensive architectural changes they made to the home. There does not appear to have been an elaboration of ceramic dishes or increased ritualization of meals within the home and, by extension, gendered roles within the family also do not appear to have been elaborated.

E. H. and Anna Williams (ca. 1816) and Tenants (ca. 1845)

Thirty-eight vessels from the privy/trash pit were associated with the Williamses and used to test Wall's model regarding decorative motifs (Table 5.12; see also Appendix E). Twenty-one vessels from the tenant occupation of the site were also analyzed (Table 5.13; see also Appendix E).

The ceramic vessels from the privy/trash pit were predominately minimally decorated ($N = 29$), with one shell-edge and eight Chinese landscapes. According to Wall (1994:146), minimally decorated wares ca. 1830 were used for family meals and more highly decorated/expensive wares (i.e., shell-edged) were used for special occasions. Only one shell-edged vessel was present in the assemblage.

The ceramics represent an early style of tableware, Royal Scalloped creamware, that was likely purchased prior to the Williamses occupation of the site. These vessels are believed to have broken while the family was moving in (ca. 1816) and the privy/trash pit from which they came appears to have been capped shortly thereafter.

Table 5.12 E. H. and Anna Williams, privy/trash pit (ca. 1816); decorations on tea[a] and tablewares

	Teawares	Tablewares	Other
Minimally decorated	2	26	1
Shell edged			1
Chinese landscapes	3	4	1
Floral/neoclassical			
Other			

[a]Four small saucer/bowls were included as teawares (one minimally decorated and three Chinese landscapes)

Table 5.13 Tenants at the E. H. and Anna Williams home (ca. 1845); decorations on tea and tablewares

	Teawares	Tablewares	Other
Minimally decorated		3	6
Shell edged		5	2
Chinese landscapes		1	1
Floral/neoclassical		3	
Other			

The family was known to have invested in fancy wares – and indeed Historic Deerfield has a table setting of Chinese Export porcelain on exhibit in the home. The feature appears to have been open a relatively short amount of time and this circumstance may have precluded the more expensive porcelains from being deposited in any meaningful quantity. Or possibly, if a large number of creamware plates were indeed broken in a single episode, this may account for the relative proportions of the different wares in the feature.

The ceramics from the trash pit – which the family likely brought with them from the Carter's Farm land – was right in line with what was fashionable before the turn of the nineteenth century. According to Wall (1994:141), minimally decorated wares were used in much greater quantities than any other decorative motif ca. 1780. Indeed, Ebenezer and Anna were married in 1792 (Sheldon 1972:384). These vessels, which were largely Royal Scalloped creamware plates, may have been their first set of tableware as a newlywed couple at a time before the elaboration of decorative motifs and associated gender roles within the family had been firmly codified.

For Strat 9 (associated with the tenants at the E. H. and Anna Williams site), the vessels were nearly evenly distributed across the categories of minimally decorated ($N = 9$) and shell-edged ($N = 7$). According to Miller (1980; see also Wall 1994, Appendix E), the index value of shell-edge declined from 1.67 in 1795–1805 to 1.28/1.33 in 1849–1855. Consequently, by the time of deposition (ca. 1845), it was no longer true that shell-edged plates were used only for special occasions. Undecorated and minimally-decorated wares came back in to fashion under the Gothic Revival movement in the 1830s and 1840s, making shell-edged wares more affordable.

In the analysis of decorative motifs, the difference between the deposition date (ca. 1845) and the mean ceramic date (MCD) (1804.6) becomes most striking and requires reevaluation of the decorative motif analysis with regard to the tenants. The very early MCD seems to indicate that the ceramics used while Strat 9 was a current land surface were brought with the family when they moved to the property ca. 1839 – much like the scenario with the Williamses and the dishes they brought with them from Carter's Farm.

The distribution of minimally decorated and shell-edged wares in the Strat 9 assemblage was consistent with the expectations under Wall's (1994:146) model for ca. 1805. At that time, minimally-decorated wares were used for family meals and shell-edged wares were used for special occasions. Therefore, the assemblage was fashionably current for the first decade of the nineteenth century.

So, what is the explanation for the time lag between the MCD (of manufacture) and the deposition of these vessels in the archaeological record nearly 40 years later? Two possible scenarios come to mind. First, the dishes used by the Barnard family may have originally belonged to E. H. and Anna Williams; that is, the remnants of the Williamses occupation at Carter's Farm. Perhaps when Ebenezer's sister, Lydia Williams, rented that house, the "old dishes" were left for the tenant families to use. Another possible explanation is that, as a newlywed working-class couple (ca. 1820), David and Eliza Barnard received these "hand-me-down dishes" to start them out in their married life and these are the vessels represented in the

Strat 9 assemblage. A similar explanation could be applied to Reverend John Moors and his wife, Esther, as the Williams' house appears to have been their first residence together.

It is also interesting that no sets of *matched* dishes were recovered from the buried land surface. Fitts (1999:50) observed that "by the mid-nineteenth century, most middle-class households owned table settings in matched patterns," which he defined as "at least three different vessel forms in the same pattern." The absence of matched table settings in the assemblage from Strat 9 further supports the understanding of the tenants as working-class, rather than middle-class families. Furthermore, the lack of elaboration of vessel forms suggests an absence of elaboration of gender roles, reinforcing the ideal that working-class husbands and wives had a relationship that was more complementary than hierarchical (Rotman and Nassaney 1997).

Finally, the absence of teawares suggested that the tenants were not doing a lot of entertaining or engaging in social rituals to establish/reproduce their class position within the community by hosting afternoon tea. Clearly, the tenants at the site – neither the Barnards nor the Moors – appeared to have assigned cultural meaning to meals or utilized the decorative motifs in ways expected under Wall's model.

The Moors (ca. 1848–1865) and Ball (1865–ca. 1882) Families

For the analysis of the data associated with the Moors family, 16 vessels were used from phase II and two from phase III were analyzed using Wall's model (Table 5.14; see also Appendix E). Seventeen vessels from the Ball family occupation of the site, phase IV, were also examined (Table 5.15; see also Appendix E).

The vessels associated with Reverend Moors and his families (phases II and III) were evenly split between minimally-decorated ($N = 9$) and shell-edged ($N = 2$)/floral and neoclassical ($N = 5$). Gothic-paneled ironstone first appear in this phase ($N = 1$) and continue to be present in phase III ($N = 1$). This was not surprising since the house, as a Gothic Revival cottage, was built as an icon to the ideals of domesticity. The Reverend and Mrs. Moors may have purchased this style of plate to furnish their new home or perhaps they already possessed them when they moved in. It is difficult to say, however, which the Moors decided upon first – Gothic revival-style architecture or Gothic-paneled plates. All lines of evidence from the Moors occupation,

Table 5.14 Moors family phases II and III (ca. 1848–1865); decorations on tea and tablewares

	Teawares	Tablewares	Other
Minimally decorated	2[a]	2[b]	5[a]
Shell edged		1	1
Chinese landscapes			
Floral/neoclassical			5
Other			2

[a]Includes one Gothic-paneled vessel; small saucer/bowl counted as teaware
[b]Includes one Gothic-paneled vessel

Table 5.15 Ball family phase IV (1865–ca. 1882); decorations on tea and tablewares

	Teawares	Tablewares	Other
Minimally decorated	1	6	4
Shell edged			
Chinese landscapes			
Floral/neoclassical	1		1
Other			4

including the architectural style of the house and the dishes used by the family, adheres to clear material patterning and suggests definitive subscription and adherence to distinct gender roles and relations as defined under the cult of domesticity.

The assemblage from the Ball family (phase IV) was dominated by minimally decorated vessels ($N = 11$), of which two were also Gothic paneled. The balance of the vessels were of floral/neoclassical ($N = 2$) or other ($N = 4$) decorative motif. Wall's analysis did not extend beyond the 1860s. It appeared, however, that there was significant continuity between the mid-nineteenth century and the turn of the twentieth century with regard to preferred decorative motifs for ceramic tea and table wares. The Ball family ceramics do not appear to have paralleled elaborations of decoration seen elsewhere in the material world of the Victorian era, indicated that gender roles and relations within the family also may not have followed the trend toward increased elaboration.

Madeline Yale Wynne and Annie Putnam (ca. 1885–ca. 1904)

The well at the Manse yielded a ceramic assemblage that was comparable in size to the other sites in this study. Thirty-three vessels were analyzed using Wall's model (Table 5.16; see also Appendix E).

The assemblage from the Manse was quite interesting (Figure 5.6). According to Wall's model and other features of the Victorian era in America, it was expected that the Manse ceramics would include matched sets of Chinese landscapes and floral-decorated teawares and that overall the tea and table wares would be quite garish in their ornamentation. While simple Chinese and foliar patterns were indeed evident in the assemblage, they did not appear in matched sets. Wynne and Putnam appeared to have been setting a complementary table; however, as 19 of the 41 vessels consisted of blue decoration on a white background. There were no Gothic-paneled ironstone or "gaudy highly decorated floral patterns so disdained by Wynne, yet so popular among her working-class contemporaries" (Harlow 2005:59).

Harlow (2001:17) interpreted the ceramic assemblage in this way:

> … the simplicity of the effect of form and minimal decoration is striking. The assemblage is obviously that of a well-trained artist who was in most cases more interested in breaking out of women's home sphere than celebrating it. This person who abdicated her motherly

Table 5.16 Madeline Yale Wynne and Annie Putnam, well (ca. 1885–1904); decorations on tea and tablewares

	Teawares	Tablewares	Other
Minimally decorated		7	1
Shell edged		5	
Chinese landscapes	4	1	1
Floral/neoclassical	7	2	3
Other	1		1

role to her own mother when she found childcare interfered with her chosen work was not, I think, interested in training sons directly in etiquette or morals…. Furthermore, the ceramics from the manse [sic] dovetail nicely with what is known about Wynne's artistic sensibilities and aesthetic philosophy. She is known to have eschewed highly decorated pottery and she stated that her jewelry was designed for beauty, not as a display of wealth.

Fuller noted in 1929 that Madeline's fine (and largely inherited) antique furnishings were highly admired by her neighbors (Fuller Higginson Papers 1929). Madeline's mother, Catherine, also lived with them for many years. Consequently, some of the vessels in the assemblage may represent either family heirlooms or antiques purchased for decorating the restored Manse. In addition, Madeline and Annie were active participants in the Arts and Crafts movement in Deerfield – a nostalgic return to "the good old days," which may have prompted the women to purchase and use "old-fashioned" ceramics. Harlow (2005:59) further noted that "the older scenic, Asian, understated shell-edged, and reproduction Meissen Onion [were] all deemed best by colonial revival collectors of the late nineteenth century." All of these factors likely shaped the nature of the ceramic assemblage at this site.

It is interesting that Wynne and Putnam subscribed to the cultural norm of color-coding vessels (as observed through testing with Yentch's model in the previous section), but rejected the codified models for decorative motifs. Beels (1995) reported that Madeline had often tried to escape woman's standard constricted role of the period. Wynne herself had commented on the fact that many women had to fight censure for making nonconforming lifestyle choices (Harlow 2001:9). Perhaps, these "mixed messages" presented in the ceramics indicate the tensions between negotiation of living an unconventional lifestyle and the power of traditional gender roles in the village. Importantly, Madeline and Annie's consumer choices reflect the importance of class in these decisions. Their status as wealthy women enabled them to purchase outside of the cultural norms of mass-produced and readily available wares.

Collective Interpretation on Decorative Motifs

The assemblages in this study were assessed according to Wall's model for decorative motifs and ceramic tea and table wares. Only two of the six occupations – E. H. and Anna Williams and the Moors families – conformed to material

Table 5.17 Summary of analyses testing Wall's model for changing decorative motifs in Deerfield

Assemblage/occupation	Conform to Wall's model?	Consistent with expectations?
Dr. Thomas and Esther Williams	No, but small sample	No
E. H. and Anna Williams	Yes	Yes
Tenants (Barnard and Moors)	No	Yes
Rev. Moors families	Yes	Yes
Arthur and Francis Ball	No	No
Madeline Wynne and Annie Putnam	No	Yes

expectations under the model (Table 5.17). Each of the remaining occupations deviated from the patterns observed by Wall.

Wynne and Putnan did not appear to conform with larger cultural norms and, as such, it was not expected that these women would have utilized ceramic tea and table wares in completely traditional ways. The uses of the material world by the other families in the study, however, appeared to have been tempered by complex intersections of social, political, and economic relations. Dr. Thomas and Esther Williams were part of the emergence of a new republic as well as newly defined elite within the village. Their uses of the material world were undoubtedly shaped by their contested political views and socioeconomic position. The tenants at the E. H. and Anna Williams home were working-class families, while the Ball family was a middle-class farming family. For both of these households, gender roles and relations appeared to have been organized in a complementary, rather than hierarchical, manner, which is reflected in the ceramic artifacts from the site.

For each of these occupations, however, the life cycle of the family also played a role in the consumer choices each household made. Dr. Thomas and Esther Williams had a very large family with lots of children to feed and clothe, which may have led the family to invest in the most visible social displays (their house) over ceramic tea and table wares. Similarly, the Moors were newlyweds during their time of tenancy at the E. H. and Anna Williams house and the Balls were also a young family at the time of the cultural deposits at the Moors site. The consumer choices reflected in the archaeological record may also have been shaped by the life cycles of these families, an issue explored in greater detail in Chap. 6.

Modern Discipline and the Gendered World

Republican motherhood, the cult of domesticity, equal rights feminism, domestic reform, and feminine mystique were *dynamic* ideological forces that affected families in both rural farming villages and urban industrial communities, each of which had unique economic and productive needs. These social forces intersected in ways that at once homogenized and fractured class and gender relations throughout the

developing social and spatial order of the United States. The late eighteenth through the early twentieth centuries represented a period of major class change, which was accompanied by the growth of the ideology of modern discipline, with its emphasis on definition and control of the individual.

Although Deerfield was rural and agricultural in economic terms, the village was very much connected physically through transportation networks and, by extension, ideologically to larger urban places in the northeastern United States. It is important to remember, however, than during the early period of Deerfield's history, residents had an acrimonious relationship with their Native American neighbors. Therefore, it was expected that the village would have been relatively isolated up through the Revolutionary War, but became increasingly less isolated by the turn of the nineteenth century.

The penetration of modern discipline is particularly relevant to understanding gender ideologies. Women, as wives and mothers, were instrumental in socializing children into the ideals of time discipline and individuality as well as assuring that all members of the household conducted themselves properly in the behaviors associated with personal discipline (Figs. 5.9 and 5.10). Therefore, modern discipline and gender both had material manifestations in the increasing segmentation and elaboration in dining.

Gender Ideologies and Personal Discipline

Shackel (1993) examines how disciplined work environments under industrial capitalism found expression through individual time in the archaeology of houselots. Some of the ideas that are central to his work were first published by Leone, Potter, and Shackel (1987) and were later elaborated upon by Leone (1999). Shackel (1993:30) asserts that as behavior became standardized and regimented, it encouraged the development of a modern discipline that allowed for a successful manufacturing process and promoted the consumption of goods, such as ceramics, that reinforced this behavior every day and at special, ritualized meals. In this way, human agents, particularly those belonging to the middle and lower classes, learned to think and conduct themselves according to an emerging social ideal that encouraged individuality and time discipline.

Although this model has not been discussed specifically with regard to its implications for gender roles and relations, men and, particularly, women were active participants in the dissemination of and engagement with this new ideology. Men were indoctrinated with these new ideals as their workplaces became reorganized according to new structures of time, routines, and work disciplines during the Industrial Revolution (Leone 1999:200; see also Thompson 1967, 1974). Ideals of order and productivity were also discussed in classrooms, hospitals, libraries, schools, and even prisons (Leone 1999:203). Women, as active agents in individual households, were responsible for children's upbringing and the early enculturation

Fig. 5.8 A sample of the ceramics recovered from the Manse (*clockwise from upper left*): (1) Pearlware, plate?, brown banded design; (2) creamware, creamer?, brown banded design; (3) pearlware, hand-painted polychrome floral bowl; and (4) whiteware, cup/bowl?, black geometric design

into these ideals. Consequently, gender played a significant role in codifying and reproducing personal discipline.

With the codification of the cult of domesticity in the early nineteenth century, the ideology of republican motherhood was replaced by that of evangelical motherhood. That is, women – through the very important task of childrearing – were socializing children to not only be good citizens of the republic, but also "to internalize the values of the industrial order" (Coontz 1988:179–180). In this way, one can envision that the ceramic table and tea wares that accompanied mealtimes not only instilled the domestic ideals of purity, sanctity, and morality but also taught children about time discipline and etiquette.

Dinner Plates and Discipline

Ceramics clearly changed over time – whiter wares became preferred over cream colored wares and matched sets of ceramics gained favor over the course of the nineteenth century (Yentsch 1991; Wall 1994). These changes, however, have been

Fig. 5.9 "The Baby," ca.
1899. Photography by
Frances and Mary Allen.
(Courtesy of Pocumtuck
Valley Memorial
Association, Memorial Hall
Museum, Deerfield,
Massachusetts)

explained in different ways. Deetz (1996) attributed this transformation to a cognitive shift, a change in the way people saw reality, specifically the emergence of the Georgian worldview which centered society on the individual, and who then behaved according to what they thought. Miller (1991) argues, however, that falling prices for English ceramics increased consumption and thereby influenced the process of social emulation. (See Leone 1999 for an extended discussion of these positions.)

Although Deetz's and Miller's ideas are useful, Leone, Potter, and Shackel give greater credence to the complexities of capitalist social relations. This model is, especially, appealing for this project, since my assertion is that there were multiple gender ideologies simultaneously at work in Deerfield. This idea is supported by Leone (1999:200), who states,

> There should be differential participation in, and subjugation to, a wage-labor system as people shift into classes and are either impoverished or become owners. There should be fluctuations in the use of matched ceramics from household to household as people rent or buy, become debtors or lenders, are workers or owners, or are in or out of the market, since cooking, eating, and associated acts of cleanliness mark the disciplines needed to produce wage earners and rent payers.

Hence, if we can expect differential participation in the ideology of discipline to be expressed through refined earthenwares, so too should we be able to observe ideologies that govern different ideals that shaped gender roles and relations.

In their various publications, Leone, Potter, and Shackel examine the proportion of ceramic types (decorative motifs) to forms (functional categories) and sizes (particularly of plates for a specialized function; i.e., salad, dinner, or dessert plates) over time. According to Shackel's (1993:32) model, if few types and sizes are present in an assemblage, this lack of variation and segmentation indicates the owner's nonparticipation in the new discipline. Conversely, the presence of few types but many sizes indicates a high degree of acceptance and participation in the new social pattern (i.e., one plate per person, vessels with highly specialized functions, and all of which would have been, at least theoretically, in the same matched pattern/set). A variety of types and sizes indicates some segmentation and partial participation (Shackel 1993:32). An index for calculating the penetration of modern discipline can be obtained through the formula $TF/T \times F$ (where TF = the number of type-functions [the various sizes and functions in an assemblage within the x–y coordinates of the table (Shackel 1993:33)], T = the number of types, and F = the number of functions).

Leone (1999) modified this model slightly by removing the element of vessel size and focusing solely on type and form. He created two formulas utilizing the variables V, W, and F (where V = the total number of vessels present in minimum vessel count; W = the number of ware types further subdivided by the number of primary decorative techniques; and F = the number of different vessel forms present) to create a type-function index for tablewares, teawares, vessels for food preparation, and those for personal use. The first formula, $V/F \times W$, measures the Type variant, while the second, $V/W \times F$, measures the Function variant. Together, these equations determine how orderly a dining table was at meal time as well as "how such a dining pattern taught people time, etiquette, and the rules of producing labor in a profit-making economy" (Leone 1999:196).

The Hyde/Thompson house in Annapolis, Maryland, for example, was consistently owned and occupied by upper-middle class families, while the Carroll house was occupied by working-class renters (Leone 1999:205–208). The indices for tableware for the former began high and continued to rise relative to the latter which began low and remained so over time. The indices generated should not be considered determinations of wealth. Rather, they indicate the degree to which households, through their actions and beliefs, were engaged in the culture of modern discipline that accompanied the growth of capitalism (Leone 1999:208). Therefore, variations in and among ceramic assemblages were determined by the economic history of individual households and families as well as their relation to the larger economic milieu.

Discipline in Deerfield

The scholarship of Leone, Potter, and Shackel (Leone 1999; Leone et al. 1987; Shackel 1993) has provided interesting perspectives on changing patterns of ceramic consumption and use. Leone's work was most useful for the analyses in

Deerfield. First, the size of vessels, particularly plates, was not necessary in order to utilize his formula. This was especially relevant for the ceramics recovered from the Moors site, since the diameter of the vast majority of vessels could not be determined. Second, Leone expects variation, which his model attributes to the differential economic histories of the families in his study. The economic positioning of individual households varied not only according to the different families who occupied the residences, but also according to the life stages through which families passed during their occupation (i.e., newly married family, mid-career family and time of peak earnings, retired couple; as presented in Chap. 6). This was clearly the case for the families who resided at the homelots in Deerfield which serve as the foci of my study. The unique economic history of each homelot, therefore, was central to these analyses. Rotman and Bradbury's (2002) formulas for diversity analysis were used to calculate the indices for measuring modern discipline.

The segmentation of dining figures prominently in all of the models reviewed in this chapter. Yentsch (1991) and Wall (1991, 1994) link changes in ceramics to changing gender ideologies. Shackel's (1993) and Leone's (1999) works measure the penetration of the culture of modern discipline through the degree of segmentation visible in ceramic tablewares and tewares. In all cases, ceramic tea and table wares were important cultural symbols utilized in ritual dining and tea drinking. As such, refined earthenwares were central to reproducing social relations both within the household and relative to other families in the community. Consequently, ideologies of gender and modern discipline are interrelated and both had material expressions in increased elaboration/segmentation of dining vessels.

Dr. Thomas and Esther Williams (ca. 1750–ca. 1770)

The assemblages from the privy and trash pit at the Dr. Thomas and Esther Williams homelot were analyzed according to measure the degree to which the household participated in the ideas of modern discipline (see Appendix F). Shackel's (1993) and Leone's (1999) analytical procedure was used to interpret the refined earthenwares recovered from these features and the results for each were then compared.

The four vessels from the privy were of two different wares and decorative motifs – Bristol stoneware and hand-painted Delft. These vessels represented three functional categories (Table 5.18). Although ten vessels were identified in the trash deposit, only four of them could be utilized in the analysis using Shackel's formula, since it relied solely upon vessels related to dining. Milk pans, chamber pots, drug pots, and other nondining vessels were, therefore, excluded. I utilized this formula twice for the vessels from the trash deposit – first with vessels for food consumption only (Table 5.19) and then with the vessels for food distribution (i.e., pie plates and jugs) also included (Table 5.20).

Table 5.18 Dr. Thomas and Esther Williams, privy deposits, ca. 1750–ca. 1770; diversity of functional categories, dining only (no additional vessels to include)

Functional category	Saucer	Plate	Teabowl
Stoneware, Bristol	1		1
Delft, hand-painted		1	1

Type = 2; Type-Function = 4; Functional categories = 3
Index of functional categories: 4/2 × 3 = 6.0

Table 5.19 Dr. Thomas and Esther Williams, trash deposit, ca. 1770; diversity of functional categories, dining only

Functional category	Mug	Teabowl	Bowl
Dotware	1		
German stoneware	1		
Porcelain, hand-painted		1	
Yellow slipware			1

Type = 4; Type-Function = 4; Functional categories = 3
Index of functional categories: 4/4 × 3 = 3.0

Table 5.20 Dr. Thomas and Esther Williams, trash deposit, ca. 1770; diversity of functional categories, dining plus pie plate and jugs

Functional category	Mug	Teabowl	Bowl	Pie plate	Jug
Dotware	1				
German stoneware	1				
Porcelain, hand-painted		1			
Stoneware, impressed					1
Yellow slipware			1		
Redware, hand-painted					1
Combed slipware				1	

Type = 7; Type-Function = 7; Functional categories = 5
Index of functional categories: 7/7 × 5 = 5.0

There were eight vessels from the privy to which Leone's formula could be applied. Since his formula was not limited to only dining-related vessels, those for personal use – namely the four drug pots – could also be included in the calculation. There was one ambiguous vessel, a saucer, that could have been classified as either a tableware or a teaware. Therefore, I applied Leone's formula to the assemblage twice – first with the saucer as tableware (Table 5.21) and then with the vessel as teaware (Table 5.22). The reclassification of the saucer in this analysis did not greatly alter either type or function indices. Rather, both remained low.

Leone's formula was also applied to the vessels recovered from the trash deposit (Table 5.23). Again, the sample size increased in this analysis from 10 to 15 with the inclusion of personal use vessels ($N = 5$) – two drug pots and three chamber pots.

Table 5.21 Dr. Thomas and Esther Williams, privy deposits, ca. 1750–ca. 1770; index of ceramic variability, with saucer as tableware

	Type	Function
Tablewares	2.0	2.0
Teawares	4.0	1.0
Food preparation	N/A	N/A
Personal use [a]	4.0	4.0

[a]Includes drug pots only

Table 5.22 Dr. Thomas and Esther Williams, privy deposits, ca. 1750–ca. 1770; index of ceramic variability, with saucer as teaware

	Type	Function
Tablewares	1.0	1.0
Teawares	3.0	3.0
Food preparation	N/A	N/A
Personal use [a]	4.0	4.0

[a]Includes drug pots only

Table 5.23 Dr. Thomas and Esther Williams, trash deposit, ca. 1770; index of ceramic variability (following Leone)

	Type	Function
Tablewares	5.33	3.0
Teawares	13.0	1.0
Food preparation	4.0	6.25
Personal use[a]	7.5	3.33

[a]Includes two drug pots

The results using Shackel's model were held suspect due to the paucity of vessels for which diameters could be determined. The results from the analyses with Leone's formula, which deemphasized vessel size, were viewed more confidently with regard to determining how this family may or may not have been operationalizing new social patterns of individuality and time discipline. In the end, however, the indices generated under both models for both features were comparably low.

The deposits from the privy layers (ca. 1750-ca. 1770) are from the earliest period of occupation at the Dr. Thomas and Esther Williams homelot. Both the Type variant and Function variant indices for this assemblage, however, were very low. The assemblage contained a small number of vessels, which may drive the indices down. The small number of vessels may be significant, however, if it is a reflection of the size of the family at the time of deposition. Thomas was newly married to his second wife, Esther (married 1748). Together, they were just beginning their new family, which would eventually include 11 children, plus the three that Thomas had had with his first wife, Anna. Additionally, the sample may not be representative of all the ceramic vessels utilized in the household.

The low indices from the later period may illustrate that the Williamses may have been limited in their ability to participate in emerging ideals of modern

discipline given their large family size, despite Thomas' profession as a physician. Additionally, the low indices may confirm that Deerfield was indeed relatively isolated during the eighteenth century and, therefore, the Williamses may not have been influenced by the ideology of modern discipline to any meaningful degree.

At the time the trash deposit was formed, capping the privy deposits (ca. 1770), the doctor was well established in his career as a physician. The Type variant and Function variant indices had risen relative to the indices for the assemblage from the privy. It is interesting to note that the Type variant for tablewares increased the most during this time period. According to Leone (1999:196), this means that the Williamses may have been setting a more orderly table than in the previous decades and suggests that the ideas of individuality and time discipline were beginning to enter their collective consciousnesses. Overall, however, the assemblage continued to have many different types and functions represented in the ceramic tea and table wares.

Limited participation in the ideology may be related to the fact that the Williamses still had many young children at home. If Esther had their first baby in 1749 (the year after she married Thomas), the youngest of their 11 children would have been no older than 10 at the time of the trash deposit. As previously indicated, the family may have been constrained by their financial responsibilities or chosen not to participate as a means of resisting the social changes occurring within the village.

Esther would have been instrumental in bringing modern discipline into the home through her contact with other village women and her role as matron of the home. Her husband's contrary political views, however, may have isolated both of them from other village families and left them outside of emerging ideals and trends in the community, such as that of modern discipline. Their circumstances created an interesting tension between them being socially and economically among the elite – members of the famed captive John William's lineage, Thomas's occupation as a physician, the family was comparatively affluent – and being politically outside elite circles on the eve of the Revolutionary War.

Ebenezer Hinsdale and Anna Williams (ca. 1816) and Tenants (ca. 1845)

The ceramics from the privy/trash pit and land surface from the Williams site were also analyzed according to the models put forth by Shackel (1993) and Leone (1999) for the penetration of an ideology of discipline (see Appendix F). The diameter of many vessels could not be determined from the sherd fragments in the assemblage. Consequently, the interpretation as to the degree to which occupants of this home participated in modern discipline relied heavily upon Leone's (1999:196) indices, for which vessel size was not a variable.

Forty-one of the 43 vessels identified in the privy deposits were analyzed using Shackel's (1993) model. Only two vessels were excluded – one pearlware and one

hard-paste porcelain vessel – since their function was indeterminate. The model was applied to the assemblage twice – first utilizing vessel function only (Table 5.24) and a second time with those vessels for which a size could be determined ($N = 28$) (Table 5.25).

Similarly, the analysis of the Strat 9 assemblage used the 12 vessels for which function could be determined. The model was applied twice – once with vessel function only (Table 5.26) and once with those vessels for which sizes were available ($N = 8$) (Table 5.27). The 41 ceramics vessels from the trash pit included in the analysis using Shackel's (1993) model were also included in the application of Leone's (1999) formula. Although vessel size was not an issue, the formula again had to be computed twice. There were four small saucer/bowls which could have been used either as tablewares or tearwares, so the formula was applied both ways (Tables 5.28 and 5.29, respectively). No tearwares – only tablewares – were among the 12 vessels from the buried land surface (Table 5.30).

The indices for the trash pit, which again represent the period of occupation by the Williams family, were quite high, particularly for tablewares. The index of functional categories using Shackel ranged from 13.6 to 20.0. The Type variant and Function variant under Leone's model ranged from 54.3 to 70.0 and 17.5 to 17.7, respectively. This again was not altogether unexpected since the Williamses were part of Deerfield's agricultural elite. According to Shackel (1993:40), discipline first appeared among the elite by the turn of nineteenth century. The ceramics from the privy were likely from E. H. and Anna Williams' lives as newlyweds (ca. 1792), predating the peak dates of popularity for both domesticity and modern discipline. The Williamses may have used this emerging ideology of individualism as a strategy for asserting themselves among the new elite in Deerfield, working collaboratively as a couple in this social venture.

The indices for the buried land surface (Strat 9) and the period of tenancy at the home were lower than that for the earlier period of occupation at the site. The index of functional categories ranged from 3.0 to 4.0 using Shackel, while the Type and Function variants for Strat 9 were 33.0 and 4.4, respectively. Furthermore, only tablewares – no tearwares – were present in the assemblage. Adherence to modern discipline was not expected given the house's use as a rental property during the time of deposition. These working-class families may have been outside of the race to be the most fashionably current in the village, an observation similar to that made by Leone (1999:208) for a number of sites in Annapolis.

Reverend Moors Families (ca. 1848–1865) and Ball Family (1865–ca. 1882)

As with other sites in this study, size and function were indeterminate for many vessels and sample sizes were small. Therefore, Shackel's (1993) model was only applied to the 15 vessels from phase IV, representing the Ball occupation at the site (Table 5.31; see also Appendix F). These same vessels were also analyzed using

Table 5.24 Ebenezer Hinsdale and Anna Williams, trash pit deposits, ca. 1816; diversity of functional categories, by vessel function only

F. C.	Shallow bowl	Plate	Lg. saucer	Chamber pot	Small saucer bowl	Deep bowl	Jug	Milk pan	Tea cup	Bowl indet	Pitcher
PWCd	1		1		2						
PWCb						2					
RW, undec						1	1				
CW, undec		1		1		3	1	3	1	1	1
Porc, C(a)					1				1		
CW, bead						1					
CW, Royal	2	14									
CW, other sclp	1	2									
WW Royal		1									1

FC functional category, *indet* indeterminate, *PWCd* pearlware chinoiserie (type D), *PWCb* pearlware chinoiserie (type B), *RW undec* redware undecorated, *CW undec* creamware undecorated, *Porc C(a)* hard-paste porcelain chinoiserie (type A), *CW bead* creamware beaded rim, *CW Royal* creamware Royal scallop, *CW other sclp* creamware other scallop rim, *WW Royal* whiteware Royal scallopType = 11; Type-Function = 20; Function Categories = 11; *Index of functional categories: 20/11 × 11 = 20.0*

Table 5.25 Ebenezer Hinsdale and Anna Williams, trash pit deposits, ca. 1816; diversity of functional categories, by vessel sizes

F. C.	Shallow bowl 4–6"	Shallow bowl 6–10"	Large saucer 6–10"	Small saucer/ bowl < 6"	Deep bowl 6–10"	Deepbowl 10–16"	7" plate	8" plate	9" plate	10" plate
PWCd	1									
PWCa			1							
PWCc				2						
PWCb										
RW, undec					1					
Porc, C(a)					1					
CW, undec					3					
CW, bead						1				
CW, Royal		1					4	2	2	6
CW, other sclp								1		
WW, royal										1

F. C. functional category; PWCd pearlware chinoiserie (type D), PWCa pearlware chinoiserie (type A), PWCc pearlware chinoiserie (type B), RW undec redware undecorated, Porc C(a) hard-paste porcelain chinoiserie (type A), CW undec creamware undecorated, CW bead creamware beaded rim, CW royal creamware royal scallop, CW other sclp creamware other scallop rim, WW royal whiteware royal scallop
Type = 11, Type-function = 15; Function categories = 10
Index of functional categories: 15/11 × 10 = 13.6

Table 5.26 Tenant assemblage at the Williams Site, Strat 9 Land surface, ca. 1845, diversity of functional categories, by vessel function only

Functional category	Plate	Pitcher	Platter	Mug
WW, tp	1			
PW, tp	1			
CW, An		1		
PW, C(b)	1			
PW, F	1			
PW, B	1			
PW, S(a)	1			
PW, S(b)			1	
PW, S(c)	2			
CW, undec				1
CW, Royal	1			

WW tp whiteware transfer printed, *PW tp* pearlware transfer printed, *CW An* creamware annular decoration, *PW C(b)* pearlware chinoiserie (type B), *PW F* pearlware molded feathered rim, *PW B* pearlware basket molded rim, *PW S(a)* pearlware shell-edged (type A), *PW S(b)*, pearlware shell-edged (type B), *PW S(c)* pearlware shell-edged (type C), *CW undec* creamware undecorated, *CW royal* creamware royal scalloped rim
Types = 11, Type-functions = 11, Function categories = 4
Index of functional categories: 11/11 × 4 = 4.0

Table 5.27 Tenant assemblage at the Williams Site, Strat 9 land surface, ca. 1845; diversity of functional categories, by vessel sizes

Functional category	8″ plate	9″ plate	10″ plate
WW, tp		1	
PW, tp		1	
PW, C(b)		1	
PW, F			1
PW, B			1
PW, S(a)	1		
PW, S(c)			2

WW tp whiteware transfer printed, *PW tp* pearlware transfer printed, *PW C(b)* pearlware chinoiserie (type B), *PW F* pearlware feather molded rim, *PW B* pearlware basket molded rim, *PW S(a)* pearlware shell-edged (type A), *PW S(c)* pearlware shell-edged (type C)
Types = 7, Size-functions = 7, Sizes = 3
Index of functional categories: 7/7 × 3 = 3.0

Table 5.28 Ebenezer Hinsdale and Anna Williams, trash pit deposits, ca. 1816; index of ceramic variability, with small saucer/bowls as tablewares

	Type	Function
Tablewares	70.0	17.5
Teawares	1.0	1.0
Food preparation	2.0	8.0
Personal use	1.0	1.0

Table 5.29 Ebenezer Hinsdale and Anna Williams, trash pit deposits, ca. 1816; index of ceramic variability, with small saucer/bowls as teawares

	Type	Function
Tablewares	54.3	17.7
Teawares	10.0	2.5
Food preparation	2.0	8.0
Personal use	1.0	1.0

Table 5.30 Tenant assemblage at the Williams Site, Strat 9 land surface, ca. 1845; index of ceramic variability

	Type	Function
Tablewares	33.0	4.4
Teawares	N/A	N/A
Food preparation	N/A	N/A
Personal use	N/A	N/A

Table 5.31 Ball family occupation (Moors Site, phase IV, 1865 – ca. 1882); diversity of functional categories

F. C.	Tea cup	Jug	Crock	Bottle	Lid	Flower pot	Mug	Deep saucer	Plate	Butter insert
Porc, dec	1									
SW, hp		1								
SW, sg			1	1						
SW, gl				1	1	1				
SW, ug					1					
PW, An							1			
WW, G								1		
WW, ud	1								1	
IS, ud									1	1
IS, G									1	

F. C. functional category, *Porc dec* hard-paste porcelain decalcomania, *SW hp* stoneware hand painted, *SW sg* stoneware salt-glazed, *SW gl* stoneware glazed, *SW ug* stoneware unglazed, *PW An* pearlware annular, *WW G* whiteware Gothic paneled, *WW ud* whiteware undecorated, *IS ud* ironstone undecorated, *IS G* ironstone Gothic paneled
Type = 10, Type-function = 14, Function categories = 10
Index of functional categories: 14/10 × 10 = 14.0

Leone's (1999) formula. Phase IV had indices of 14.0 with Shackel's model and a range of 1.0–8.0 for Type and Function variants using Leone's formula (Table 5.32).

These indices for the Ball family ranked between that of the tenants at the E. H. and Anna Williams home (4.0) and that of E. H. and Anna Williams (20.0). The Balls and Moors were indeed middle class, both ideologically and occupationally. With the widely available and largely inexpensive matched sets of dishes that were being mass produced in the late nineteenth century, however, it was expected that the Ball family would exhibit a higher degree of variation and segmentation than observed in the assemblage.

Table 5.32 Ball family occupation (Phase IV, 1865 – ca. 1882); index of ceramic variability

	Type	Function
Tablewares	4.5	8.0
Teawares	4.0	1.0
Food preparation	6.0	6.0
Personal use	1.0	1.0

The middling indices for the Ball family may underscore the ways in which life cycle influences the degree to which human agents participate in larger cultural ideals. One's imagined or idealized social position can only be asserted through very real economic investment in associated material objects. At the time of their occupancy represented by the material assemblages in this study, the Ball family may have not yet reached a point of financial security that enabled them to fully participate in middle class life. In essence, with regard to socioeconomic status, their "economic" lagged somewhat behind their "social" position (see more in Chap. 6).

Madeline Yale Wynne and Annie Putnam (ca. 1885–ca. 1904)

The ceramic vessels from the occupation of the Manse by Wynne and Putnam were also analyzed using the models put forth by Shackel (1993) and Leone (1999) regarding time discipline, work routines, and etiquette. According to these models, if few types and sizes are present, this lack of variation and segmentation indicates nonparticipation in the ideology of modern discipline. Conversely, the presence of few types but many sizes indicates a high degree of participation (per Shackel 1993). Removing the element of vessel size, as with Leone's (1999) model, one would expect few types, but many different vessel functions for those who subscribed to this ideology. The assemblage from the Manse contained 25 different vessel types and 12 different vessel functions (see Appendix F).

The index of functional categories under Shackel for this assemblage (15.4) was comparable to the middle-class Ball family (14.0) (Table 5.33). Yet, for Leone's Type and Function variants, the results for tablewares were 67.5 and 3.3, respectively, and 21.6 and 6.7 for teawares, respectively (Table 5.34). This second set of calculations was most closely aligned with those of the affluent E. H. and Anna Williams (54.0 Type and 17.0 Function for tablewares; 10.0 Type and 2.5 Function for teawares).

Harlow (n.d.:13) observed that Madeline Wynne "was in many ways a conventional upper middle-class woman despite a progressive reformist bent." Gretchen Townsend (1989:n.p.), head tutor for the Historic Deerfield Summer Fellows program, has characterized Wynne as "clearly… not on a road less-traveled. She is smack in the middle of an upper-class enchantment with the 'back-to-nature' arts and crafts movement." So perhaps, despite the fact that Madeline and Annie deliberately eschewed many of the cultural conventions of the time, they did not abandon them wholesale.

Table 5.33 M. Wynne and A. Putnam, well, ca. 1885 – ca. 1904; diversity of functional categories

FC	Plate	Md plate	Sm plate	Lg saucer	Saucer	Jug	Teacup	Indet	Bowl	Milkpan	Compote	Crock
CW, shell, blue	1											
PW, shell, blue	4											
PW, tp, blue, pastoral							1					
PC, oriental			1									
PC, hp, blue, floral							1					
PC, hp, polychrome							1		1			
PC, plain, brown							1					
IS, plain	1											
IS, molded												
WW, hp, oriental				1				1				
WW, hp, floral	1				1		1	1				
WW, tp, oriental					1			1	1			
WW, tp, blue boat and figure												
WW, tp, blue, boat and flowers			1									
WW, tp, bl, landscape		1			1							
WW, tp, black, floral	1											
WW, tp, brown, nature								1				

WW, molded 1
WW, plain 4
WW, majolica
RW, plain 1
SW, plain 1
SW, salt-glazed 2
YW, plain 1
EW, hp, 1 1
  polychrome 2

Type = 25, Type-function = 32, Function categories = 12
Index of functional categories: 32/25 × 12 = 15.4

Collective Interpretation of Modern Discipline

The results for modern discipline in Deerfield were mixed (Table 5.35). The archaeological assemblages from three families did not have clear evidence for increased elaboration and segmentation in dining (Dr. Thomas and Esther Williams, the tenants at the Williams home, and the Ball Family), while ceramics from two families did conform to expected material patterning for modern discipline (E. H. and Anna Williams and Wynne/Putnam). The sample was too small from the Moors site to be included in this analysis.

Of particular interest are those assemblages that did not have clear material expressions of modern discipline. The Dr. Thomas and Esther Williams family appeared not to have to subscribed to this ideology, which may have been a function of the relative isolation of the village in the late eighteenth century, the family's contrary political views or limitations on their financial resources due to having a large family. Similarly, the tenant families at the E. H. and Anna Williams house and the young farming Ball family, with their apparent complementary gender relations, did not appear to engage with modern discipline either.

Throughout the analyses of the ceramic earthenwares from the occupations in this study, gender separation was observed, but rarely universally or definitively so. Similarly, the results of these analyses often seemed tempered by unique life histories of the families. In the next chapter, I critically assess the notion of gender separation and explore the role of life cycle in shaping uses of the material world.

Table 5.34 Madeline Yale Wynne and Annie Putnam, well, ca. 1885 – ca. 1904; index of ceramic variability

	Type	Function
Tablewares	67.5	3.3
Teawares	21.6	6.7
Food preparation	6.0	6.0
Personal use	N/A	N/A

Table 5.35 Summary of analyses testing models for modern discipline in Deerfield

Assemblage/occupation	Conform to model?	Consistent with expectations?
Dr. Thomas and Esther Williams	No	No
E. H. and Anna Williams	Yes	Yes
Tenants (Barnard and Moors)	No	Yes
Rev. Moors families	sample too small	N/A
Arthur and Francis Ball	No	No
Madeline Wynne and Annie Putnam	Yes	No

Fig. 5.10 "A Steep Path," ca. 1896. Photography by Frances and Mary Allen. (Courtesy of Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association, Memorial Hall Museum, Deerfield, Massachusetts)

Chapter 6
Critical Analyses of Separate Spheres and the Role of Life Cycle in Shaping the Material World

Throughout the various analyses of the material world in Deerfield – architectural changes as well as ceramic tea and tablewares – two recurring themes emerged. The first was that gender separation was extant in virtually every ideology shaping gendered social relations from the mid-eighteenth through the early twentieth century. Nevertheless, families and individuals did not consistently adopt wholesale the gender ideals most fashionably current during their respective lifetimes – such as republican motherhood, the cult of domesticity, equal rights feminism, domestic reform, or other ideology. Rather, the ideals to which residents in Deerfield appeared to subscribe were frequently tempered by the unique evolutionary arc of their family. As such, the role of life cycle in shaping the material world was the second theme to emerge through the course of these analyses. The archaeological record was often affected by whether the couple was newly wed, had many young children at home, were in their peak earning years as a family, and so on.

Variations in gender separation under different ideologies as well as the influence of life cycle were clearly important to the lived experiences of Deerfield residents. Consequently, these two themes warranted further scrutiny and critical analyses, which are the foci of this chapter.

Questioning Separate Spheres[1]

A "separation of spheres" was not unique to the ideology of the cult of domesticity. Indeed the model of "women at home" has shaped the social relations of many peoples across time and space. Beginning in the Revolutionary War period, domestic ideals "expressed the now completely familiar belief that the home was a proper sphere form women, that it was women's natural domain, while the world of work, commerce, and politics was the realm of men" (Leone and Silberman 1995:126).

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[1] This section was first presented in 2006 as an essay entitled, "Separate Spheres?: Beyond the Dichotomies of Domesticity." *Current Anthropology* 47(4):666–674.

Under domesticity, the separation of gender roles has often been unyieldingly correlated with the separation of public and private spaces. The lived experiences of women and men, however, were more dynamic than this rigid dichotomy suggests.

Many scholars have recognized the universality of gender in shaping social roles and uses of space, such as with the division of labor. Unfortunately, this has often resulted in "women at home" and "men away at work" as an assumed model (e.g., Hodder 1990; Jameson 1990; Nevitt 2001; Walker 1983), without challenging or critically analyzing these assumptions. Analyses of gender frequently seem bogged down in the "legacy of separate spheres" (Wurst 2003). This has been especially true of investigations of gender ideologies in historical archaeology.

Ideologies of Separation

A separation of gender roles were often perceived as inextricably linked with a separation of public and private spheres, especially under the ideals of domesticity (e.g., Alcott 1838; Child 1833; Cott 1977; Wall 1991, 1999, 2000). These ideals emerged in part during the Revolutionary War, when a challenge to the concept of monarchy simultaneously weakened "the idea of a hierarchical, father-headed household" (Leone and Silberman 1995:126). In addition, as production was removed from the home and the ideals of domesticity gained wide acceptance in the larger cultural arena, public and private aspects of household space became increasingly separated – both ideologically and physically, particularly during the nineteenth century (e.g., Wall 1999; Yentsch 1991).

Defining women as family matriarchs and nurturers, however, excludes them as agents of social change, making such activity the exclusive domain of the culture bearers (i.e., men) (Collier et al. 1992; see also Lamphere 2001). In this chapter, I will demonstrate that the women of Deerfield were not merely passive consumers of the cultural milieu in which they lived, but actively engaged it to empower themselves and shape their worlds.

Domestic residences were active social arenas for producing and reproducing social relations. In America, architecture was also specifically instrumental in creating and maintaining status distinction by gender (Spain 1992). Housing reformers believed that Romantic architecture created the home as a safe haven for families. It was simultaneously designated a space for women, however, especially during the nineteenth and through the early twentieth centuries. Middle-class women worked primarily within the home, while their husbands were employed outside of it, in the public sector (Lehner 1994:19).

The socioeconomic status of a family was expressed in both the scale of a domestic residence as well as the proportion of gender-specific spaces within it. Houses built for families of substantial economic means possessed a variety of specialized rooms, such as parlors, libraries, sewing rooms, dens, and nurseries. Homes for families of modest means, however, had simplified floor plans that reduced gender segregation by combining single-purpose, gender-specific spaces

into multipurpose, sexually integrated rooms within the house, such as the living room (Spain 1992:127). Whereas numerous gender-specific spaces were indicative of separation, the sexual integration of many household spaces was consistent with the complementary, but hierarchical, nature of gender relations at the property (see Brydon and Chant 1989; Ember 1983; Rotman 2006; Rotman and Black 2005; Rotman and Nassaney 1997).

Gender-specific as well as sexually integrated spaces exist beyond the walls of a domestic residence into the outdoor areas of the homelot. In characterizing the division of labor on urban farmsteads during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Stewart-Abernathy (1992) noted that men and teenage boys were largely responsible for the care of the hogs, mules, and horses as well as tending to the grain, hay, and firewood. Meanwhile, women and teenage girls were charged with the chickens, vegetable gardens, and fruit. Outdoor activities areas, like interior rooms of houses, were perceived as gendered spaces.

An absolute division of these spheres, however, did not exist. Yentsch (1991:205) astutely noted that "public space was not wholly public for it also contained a private component; [while] private space was not wholly private for it also contained a public component. Within the context of the community, household space was private. [Yet] within the context of the house, some spatial areas were more private than others." Therefore, whether an activity within a given space was public or private was often a matter of the nature of interaction occurring within it and the human agents involved.

Spain (2001) also demonstrated that categories of "public" and "private" did not capture the complexities of gendered social relations, particularly with regard to women's involvement in domestic reform activities. She identified a parochial space; that is, "the world of the neighborhood as opposed to the totally private world of the household and the completely public realm of strangers…. The boundaries between domestic, community, and paid work [were] porous, just as they [were] between private, parochial, and public spaces" (Spain 2001:6–7). Significantly, parochial space extends the porosity of public and private – and their associated gender roles – beyond the boundaries of a discrete household to the communities in which they were situated.

Grey (1995:140) observed challenges to the ideology of separation in her examination of early nineteenth-century art as an expression of gendered social relations. She noted that "Many of the depictions of nineteenth-century male artists implicitly stressed … divisions between the 'domestic sphere' and the 'public sphere.' Women, on the other hand, often highlighted the connections between public and private, male and female, in their renderings of the world." Indeed, female artists often featured elements from the assumed male, public, and economic sphere in their work. By rendering these scenes in embroidery and watercolors, female artists juxtaposed "public and domestic male and female themes… [and] implicitly collapsed the boundaries that the dominant ideology of the 'cult of domesticity' held to be natural and inevitable."

When gender relations are defined as public versus private, production versus consumption, active versus passive, culture versus nature, and men versus women,

that view distorts social reality (Beaudry 1999, 2004; Lamphere 2001; Nixon and Price 2001; Rotman 2006; Spencer-Wood 2004). Such binary oppositions belie the fact that an artifact can be an aspect of production and consumption, public and private, or male and female (Wurst 2003:227). Rejecting a rigid binary structure "allows us to conceptualize more than two genders and to see age, marital status, class, and race as key aspects of gendered social relations" (Wurst 2003:230). Acknowledging this complexity also allows scholars to imagine that the ideologies that shape gender relations are themselves equally fluid and, furthermore, are often an amalgam of several related ideals.

The ideologies that structured gender relations during the eighteenth and through the early twentieth centuries included not only republican motherhood and the cult of domesticity, but also equal rights feminism, domestic reform, and feminine mystique. Each was distinctive in its primary purpose. Domesticity sought to elevate women's status through the domestic sphere, while equal rights feminism rejected the domestic arena and embraced public politics as a vehicle for social change. Domestic reformers "created a positive gender ideology that not only resisted male dominance, but empowered women to develop independent identities and to raise their status vis-à-vis men by creating female professions" (Spencer-Wood 1991:231), including cooperative housework enterprises such as bakeries, laundries, and day cares. The feminine mystique replaced the cult of domesticity in the early twentieth century and reasserted women's roles in the domestic sphere at the intersection of new technologies and an emerging consumer society.

The adoption and implementation of gender ideologies varied, however, according to time and space, financial and social circumstances, the abilities and desires of human agents, and developmental cycles of the family (Rotman 2005). Therefore, although republican motherhood, domesticity, equal rights feminism, domestic reform, and feminine mystique were ideologically separate entities, these distinctions were often blurred in lived experience as individuals differentially incorporated these ideals. Indeed, Demos (1970) observed that disconnects between the "ideal" and the realities of one's life often required that "concessions" be made.

Critical evaluation of the dichotomies of domesticity has exposed the separation of the public/private and male/female roles and relations for what they were – artificial, cultural constructions (e.g., Yanagisako 1987). Given the fluidity in the utilization of space for public or private activity, apparent gender separation as evidenced by the differential use of space may mask subtle nuances in the gender roles and relations operating within a household.

The prescriptions for domesticity shaped behaviors, structured social interactions and the uses of space, and influenced the daily activities of all members of the household. For example, the creation and organization of space at the Morris–Butler House was consistent with the ideals of domesticity, notably the separation of public and private spheres (as presented in Chap. 4). The use of these public and private spaces, however, was influenced not only gender ideals, but also by class and ethnicity. Gender ideologies also affected the uses of space in the village of Deerfield, particularly during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Gender Relations in Deerfield: Beyond the Dichotomies of Domesticity

Historical archaeologists have routinely analyzed table and teawares as a meaningful expression of class and gender (Wall 1991, 1999; Yentsch 1991, presented in Chap. 5). Therefore, analyses of ceramics from these sites were particularly informative, since it was often possible to assess whether the families in this study closely paralleled larger consumer patterns or deviated from them. The archaeological evidence from the Manse, as one example, illustrated that Wynne and Putnam chose to mix and match vessels rather than simply purchasing matched sets of commercially available dishes (Rotman 2001, 2005, 2006; see also Harlow 2001).

Material evidence from Deerfield was also combined with documentary, photographic, and other historical data to understand gendered social interaction. Again, for Wynne and Putnam as an example, documents revealed that they were engaged in the Arts and Crafts Movement, interested in political issues of the day (e.g., suffrage), and otherwise unconventional for their era. Collectively, these multiple lines of inquiry helped to illuminate the gender ideologies to which Wynne and Putnam had access as well as how they incorporated those ideals into their lives. Analyses of social interactions in Deerfield revealed that public/private and male/female may have been conceptualized as distinct and separate, but were much more dynamic in lived experience.

The mid-nineteenth through the early twentieth centuries was a particularly dynamic era economically, politically, and socially, both in the national arena and in the northeastern United States. Social historians and anthropologists have discussed how the arrival of industrial capitalism restructured class and gender relations (e.g., Brodkin-Sacks 1989; Coontz 1988; Dudden 1983; Kessler-Harris 1982; Margolis 1984; Reiter 1975; Rotman 2005, 2006; Ryan 1981; Wall 1994, 1999).

Affluent white women were an especially vibrant force in the village during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (see Hautaniemi and Rotman 2003; Hautaniemi 2001; Rotman 2001, 2005, 2006). The gendered division of men's and women's activities in the village underwent radical transformation during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Hautaniemi and Rotman 2003). Up until the 1860s, a woman in Deerfield acquired property only through inheritance of her father's or husband's estate. In 1864, 17% of the property along the Street was owned by women who had inherited (Mackenzie 1974:8) (Table 6.1). Frequently, she shared the inheritance with her brothers or sons – often receiving the house, while the farm acreage went to the men. This pattern of inheritance illustrated assumptions about the proper allocation of space and resources by gender and demonstrates that domesticity was a powerful force in shaping the separation of public and private spheres.

Inheritance practices had two significant consequences. First, while the woman undoubtedly controlled private domestic space, she was left without a means of deriving an income for herself (Mackenzie 1974:12). Second, male heirs were often

Table 6.1 Summary of Households along the Street, Deerfield, MA, 1820–1910

Census year	Total # of households	# of female-headed households	% of female-headed households
1820	40	4	10.0
1830	43	4	9.3
1840	42	6	14.3
1850	47	7	14.9
1860	45	7	15.6
1870	46	6	13.0
1880	44	12	27.3
1890[a]			
1900	44	16	36.4
1910	43	17	39.5

[a] Data incomplete

Table 6.2 Summary of the Population along the Street, Deerfield, MA, 1820–1910

Census year	# of females[a]	% of population	# of males[a]	% of population	Total population[a]
1820	120	58.0	87	42.0	207
1830	119	48.8	125	51.2	244
1840	89	47.1	100	52.9	189
1850	116	59.8	78	40.2	194
1860	113	58.6	80	41.4	193
1870	117	57.4	87	42.6	204
1880	97	58.8	68	41.2	165
1890[b]					
1900	58	52.3	53	47.7	111
1910	66	58.4	47	41.6	113

[a] These figures are estimates. Summer residents and tenants were often absent from or difficult to identify in the Deerfield census enumerations
[b] Data incomplete

left without homes and had to build or buy residences for themselves elsewhere. All the village homelots had already been built upon, so these residences were likely to be in outlying areas of the town. Together with out-migration rooted in the decline of agriculture as an economically viable pursuit, inheritance patterns contributed to a changing demography in Deerfield. When financial opportunity left the village, so did increasing numbers of men; "as the nineteenth century progressed, the population along the [main] street became smaller, older, and increasingly female" (Miller and Lanning 1994:436) (Table 6.2). Social and economic transformations in the village resulted in a distinct spatial residential patterning in which women were concentrated along the Street. This inheritance pattern reflected both the ideals and realities of gendered social relations, reinforcing gender separation.

Domestic ideals, however, could only be fully operationalized when both women and men were present in the household, since gender roles were very much

defined in opposition to one another (Spencer-Wood 1991). Consequently, in the absence of men to fill public and economic roles, women in the village were not as constrained by the ideals of domesticity. Rather, they incorporated elements of other gender ideologies, such as domestic reform and equal rights feminism, into their lives. Similarly, they may have differentially adopted aspects of these ideologies according to their unique personal circumstances and the demography of the household (e.g., the presence of young sons who would assume culturally defined masculine roles as adults).

Female home ownership along the Street increased to nearly 30% by 1884 (Mackenzie 1974:8). Many of the women were Civil War widows or "spinsters." The decline of agriculture and attendant out-migration left few eligible husbands. Also, women who had inherited property in the 1860s had died, leaving their former ancestral homes available for purchase by "outsiders" (Mackenzie 1974:44). A new group of female property owners emerged, many of whom were also widows or otherwise single. Not native to Deerfield, they came from Boston and elsewhere, with independent incomes to purchase country summer homes (McGowan and Miller 1996:152).

Significantly, these women introduced nonagriculturally derived wealth to the Street (Mackenzie 1974:36). Two arrivals, Ellen Miller and Margaret Whiting, further altered the economic landscape by establishing the Blue and White Needlework Society in 1895 (Figs. 6.1 and 6.2) (Mackenzie 1974). The Society of Deerfield Industries, a similar organization, was founded a few years later. As members of these groups, many Deerfield residents produced traditional rugs, embroidery, and jewelry for market sale as part of the Arts and Crafts Movement. The Deerfield Basket Makers, for example, consisted of a group of women who wove palm-leaf, reed, and willow baskets.

Residents were differentially motivated by class, education, ideology, and need to participate in village craftwork. Notably, there was a clear split between the leadership of the Blue and White Needlework Society (largely urban women who summered in Deerfield) and craft workers who were primarily year-round residents. This conflict may be rooted in socioeconomic differences, since the former were largely independently wealthy women while the latter were working class.

C. Alice Baker, for example, was a single woman, author, and educator. She had attended the local Deerfield Academy as a young girl and had lived in Cambridge and Chicago. For Alice and many other summer residents, "the colonial and craft revivals meant opportunities for investment that dovetailed nicely with increased cultural prestige" (Miller and Lanning 1994:446).

For other women, however, producing craft goods provided sources of sorely needed income. Eleanor Arms, a single woman and long-time village resident, was responsible for the care of her elderly parents, her alcoholic brother, and his motherless children. She "relied on weaving money [to keep her] in groceries, milk and oil… [and participated in craftwork] to just get money for the sake of money" (Miller and Lanning 1994:446). Other women joined the movement "out of a need for a pleasant creative outlet or a determined view of themselves as serious artists" (Harlow 2001:14). Margaret Eager was an outside woman attracted to the burgeoning

Fig. 6.1 Ellen Miller, ca. 1895. Photograph by Frances and Mary Allen. Courtesy of Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association, Memorial Hall Museum, Deerfield, MA

Fig. 6.2 Margaret Whiting, ca. 1895. Photograph by Frances and Mary Allen. Courtesy of Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association, Memorial Hall Museum, Deerfield, MA

arts community, bringing her niece, Elsa (who would later marry Arthur Ware Ball, son of Arthur and Frances Ball), with her to Deerfield (Hautaniemi and Rotman 2003:151) (Figs. 6.3 and 6.4).

The number of artisans was not static, but fluctuated regularly as individuals chose to participate some years and not others or as summer residents moved in and out of the village. Consequently, although motives could be identified for a few individuals, it was impossible to quantify how many women were involved in craftwork

Fig. 6.3 Members of the Blue and White Needlework Society, ca. 1900. Photograph by Frances and Mary Allen. Courtesy of Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association, Memorial Hall Museum, Deerfield, MA

Fig. 6.4 Palm Leaf Basket Maker, ca. 1902. Photograph by Frances and Mary Allen. Courtesy of Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association, Memorial Hall Museum, Deerfield, MA

out of necessity or for other reasons. Some village women – particularly those who were not native to Deerfield – may have subverted the ideals of domesticity by buying into the community and reuniting public and private spheres through their involvement in craftwork. Gillian Naylor (1971) asserts that "the Arts and Crafts movement was built upon and expressed, especially in its earlier years, an ideology of radical social reform, so that the movement was concerned… with the ethics as much as with the aesthetics of design." Wynne and Putnam were influential in bringing both the artistic aspects and political ideals of Arts and Crafts to the village. Wynne, for example, arranged touring exhibitions of Deerfield craftwork and brought in speakers on art or politics, including women's suffrage (Harlow 2001). These activities illustrate that the ideas of equal rights feminism were present in the village, shaping social roles and gender relations.

Although craftwork was dominated by women, it was not women's exclusive domain. Men were also involved. Some were seasonal residents, while others lived in the village year round. Dr. Edwin C. Thorn was a furniture maker and Chauncy Thomas was a potter (McGowan and Miller 1996:120, 187). Two other men were known to be basket makers and a few were weavers, but the specific identities of these craftsmen remain unknown (Elizabeth Harlow, pers. comm. 2005). Deerfield artisans did not produce crafts that were exclusively along "traditional" gender lines. Wynne and Putman, for example, were both expert metalsmiths (Fig. 6.5).

Similarly, the crafts were not produced in exclusively public spaces; rather work was undertaken individually in their homes as well as collectively in centralized locations. Some worked on embroidery or quilts in their parlors or converted bedrooms for part-time craft production. Others, like Wynne and Putnam, worked in studios to privately pursue their craftwork (Harlow 2001:11). Yet simultaneously, these women made their porch available to the Pocumtuck Basket Makers for communal production of their wares (Fig. 6.6). In this way, Wynne and Putnam empowered other women in the village toward economic self-sufficiency and autonomy.

Fig. 6.5 Madeline Yale Wynne at work in her studio, ca. 1908. Photograph by Frances and Mary Allen. Courtesy of Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association, Memorial Hall Museum, Deerfield, MA

Fig. 6.6 The Pocumtuck Basketmakers on the porch of the Manse, 1901. Photograph by Frances and Mary Allen. Courtesy of Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association, Memorial Hall Museum, Deerfield, MA

Their ability to do so was no doubt facilitated by their status as wealthy women. Furthermore, the sole or communal production of wares may have been grounded less in ideology and more in the technicalities of the craft. Metalsmithing was an individualized pursuit, while basketmaking was more conducive to collective involvement.

For those who participated in craftwork, their homes were no longer only private domestic spaces, but now also defined as loci of production and distribution in the public economic realm. Indeed, Ellen Miller's home was where "the work of selling took place, in the 'permanent showroom' in 'a small front parlor.'… Other furnished rooms in the house served as showrooms too, displaying items as if in use on beds and tables" (Elizabeth Harlow, pers. comm. 2005).

Village women were active in other aspects of community public life, engaging in domestic reform through the Deerfield Temperance Society (Deerfield Town Papers 5II:Minutes, 26 April 1834), the Franklin County Domestic Missionary Society (Phelps and Ingersol 1833), and the Dorcas Society of Greenfield (Germain 1999). These groups promoted sobriety and provided relief to the poor and disadvantaged, activities relevant to both public and private spheres. The temperance movement, for example, sought to not only reduce drunkenness, but also the domestic violence and squandering of family resources that often accompanied it. In this way, temperance linked women's power in the home to their power in the public sphere (Giele 1995:64).

These domestic reform activities were also spatially distinctive, confined not only to private households, but also carried out in the public arenas of churches, schools, and community centers. By encompassing both community and home, these endeavors breached the borders between public and private, highlighting parochial spaces in the village (Spain 2001).

The greater public presence of women in the village also had a political expression. By 1904, 43% of the homes along the Street were owned by women (Mackenzie 1974:51), many of whom now had control over their own labor as a saleable resource through craftwork and wielded some degree of economic and political power. Although unable to vote in state or national elections, women in Deerfield were allowed to vote on local school board issues. In 1900, they were instrumental in overthrowing a committee accused of paying poor wages for teachers and inadequately preparing students (Mackenzie 1974:55).

In 1911, women were particularly effective in the public arena by influencing the installation of the municipal water system (Hautaniemi and Rotman 2003). Logistical and organizational support for municipal water was orchestrated by the Deerfield Improvement Society, a group of women and men committed to civic projects, such as establishing benches and trash receptacles in the village and dealing with diseased elm trees. This organization raised funds for its various endeavors through a series of historical pageants in 1910, 1913, and 1916 (Suzanne Flynt, pers. comm. 1999). The pageants went beyond the expression of reform ideals to a more active role in their implementation. Elsa Eager Ball, wife of Arthur Ware Ball, and her aunt, Margaret Eager, directed these events (Hautaniemi and Rotman 2003:151).

Many of the women involved with village craftwork also participated in the pageants, thereby taking an active role in securing water to their own homes. Their involvement in the municipal water project and associated pageants illustrated that domestic reform and equal rights feminism were part of their ideological landscape. Despite having no official political power and supposedly being relegated to the private sphere, many women property owners were instrumental in shaping the very public political, social, and economic townscape of this Massachusetts village.

The lived experiences of women and men in nineteenth and early twentieth-century Deerfield were not solely shaped by the dominant ideology of the cult of domesticity. Social roles and relations were also influenced by domestic reform and equal rights feminism. The dichotomy of separation of gender roles and public/private spaces under domesticity does not explain the complexity of this vibrant village community. Although the idealized dichotomies of domesticity existed in the consciousness of the men and women of Deerfield (such as evidenced in inheritance practices), they created new versions of gender roles and relations according to their unique needs and circumstances.[2]

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[2] There are numerous cross-cultural examples that show that space and gender roles are not universally rigidly constructed or mutually exclusive. See duBoulay's (1974; Greece), Kent (1983; Navajos in Utah), and Hodder (1995; Neolithic at Çatalhöyük).

Separate Spheres?

A variety of spaces at different scales in Deerfield were examined for evidence of gendered social interaction. Individual households, the Street, and the village were all loci of activities that defied clear categorization as male or female (or even clear categorization as private, parochial, or public). The lives of village residents illustrated the complexity of gendered social relations during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Furthermore, their experiences raised important questions about the validity of associations between public/private and male/female under the ideals of domesticity.

Domesticity was clearly part of the cultural milieu of Deerfield village. Inheritance practices illustrated beliefs about the proper allocation of space and resources according to gender – that is, that men received the economically productive agricultural land and women were given the domestic residence. In addition, the decline of agriculture resulted in significant out-migration as men went elsewhere to seek work. This demographic shift also reflected assumptions and realities of gendered social relations - men worked outside the home, while women remained in the domestic sphere.

As the population along the Street became increasingly female, women controlled not only the private domestic sphere, but were also empowered to create economic opportunities for themselves in the public economic arena through their participation in village craftwork. Private residences were redefined as public loci of production and distribution, uniting economic and domestic spheres (Hautaniemi and Rotman 2003).

Activities of village women, however, were not simply confined to those of economic necessity. Their civic-oriented work in the Deerfield Temperance Society and other organizations had public and private relevance. These activities were also spatially distinctive, carried out in public arenas like churches and schools. Clearly, women in Deerfield were not only influenced solely by domesticity, but also incorporated the ideals of domestic reform into the gender relations that shaped their lives.

Women and men further blurred the boundaries between the public and private spheres through their active collaboration on the municipal water project and fundraising through historical pageants. Village women also exerted influence and exercised power in the public political sphere by voting on local school board issues. Like domesticity and domestic reform, equal rights feminism was also part of the ideological landscape in Deerfield.

This multiscalar examination of gendered social relations in Deerfield revealed that men and women used space for public and private tasks in ways that were fluid and transcended the dichotomies of domesticity. Historical, archaeological, and other anthropological analyses of gender must recognize that simple correlations of male/female to public/private spaces mask the complexities of dynamic social relations.

Real lived experiences and unique personal and community circumstances often required that concessions be made to the idealized categorization of space as exclusively public/private or male/female. Residents of Deerfield village challenged the dichotomous understanding of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century gender ideologies. Furthermore, they adopted these varied ideals, in whole or in part, according to the unique life cycle of their families.

Life Cycle Shaping the Material World[3]

Historical archaeologists readily acknowledge the complexity and interrelatedness of the social relations of class, gender, and ethnicity (Brodkin-Sacks 1989). Family units were affected, however, not only by the external social, political, and economic milieus in which they lived, but also by internal events such as birth and death, and marriage and divorce, among other life-altering events. Individuals and families lived, experienced, and negotiated gender ideals, for example, according to their financial and social abilities as well as personal beliefs. Therefore, the ideologies which structured gender roles within families were not monolithic, but rather had a multiplicity of spatial expressions over space and time.

This research reveals the importance of social relations and developmental cycle in shaping the material world. In addition, it emphasizes that variations in the material and spatial expressions of gender ideologies were more than simply deviations from middle-class cultural norms. Rather, they represent the active negotiation of dominant ideologies and the construction of alternate meaningful gender relations and forms of domesticity.

The Dynamism of Life Course

The impact of the developmental cycle on social relations and life choices is well illustrated in through the life of Deerfield resident, Agnes Gordon Higginson Fuller that was shared in the opening chapter of this book. Her life as revealed through the historical documents elucidates the complex negotiations between the "ideal" and the "real." There were tensions between Agnes' upbringing, expectations, and aspirations and the realities of her life, which were shaped from within and without. Her life was influenced not only by the social relations of class, gender, and ethnicity, but also by the developmental phases through which she passed as a child, single woman, newlywed, wife, and young mother.

Families are continually changing (e.g., Anderson 2004; Stewart-Abernathy 2004). Members are added through birth and marriage as well as removed from the household through migration, divorce, and death. These events profoundly affect the family unit in a variety of ways. The death of the primary wage earner, for example, has significant impact on a family's ability to provide for itself. Few archaeologists would likely disagree that developmental cycle affects a family's use of the material world and, by extension, the formation of the archaeological record. Remarkably, however, the unique circumstances and composition of a household at the time of cultural deposition do not often figure as important or central to interpretation of those cultural remains.

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[3]I first presented this discussion of family life cycles in a 2005 essay entitled, "Newlyweds, Young Families, and Spinsters: A Consideration of Developmental Cycle in Historical Archaeologies of Gender," *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 9(1):1–36.

Examining family developmental cycle is hardly a new idea in archaeology. Discussions regarding the evolution of family, developmental cycles, and the like have appeared in the literature for many decades. Goody (1971:13) proposed that "each phase of the [family's] life cycle can be thought of as the outcome of 'pushes' and 'pulls'… They come in part from the external structure of society." Goody's (1972) other early analyses considered changes relative to families as units of production, reproduction, and consumption. These studies were among the first to make developmental cycle a central focus of anthropological inquiry.

More recently, historical archaeologists have taken an increased interest in these issues. Early consideration of developmental cycles within the subdiscipline included Mrozowski's (1984) analyses of households in Queen Anne's Square, Newport, Rhode Island. In this research, Mrozowski stresses internal factors such as the producers-to-consumers ratio within the household as well as birth spacing. He also considers external forces, such as the larger kin networks of which a household is part that can potentially mediate economic exchanges. These factors profoundly influenced how gender roles and productive labor were defined as well as differentially valued (Mrozowski 1984:43). Similarly, Brown's (1987) examination of the Jacob Mott Site in Portsmouth, Rhode Island revealed that architectural changes corresponded with transitions in property ownership, specifically through inheritance. Household succession also significantly affected the creation of the archaeological records at the Gibbs Farmstead in eastern Tennessee (Groover 2003; see also Groover 2004) and the Carnduff Farm dump near the San Francisco Bay (Van Bueren 2004).

There are a number of notable examples in the recent archaeological literature of the influence of developmental cycle in shaping social relations and the material world. Wilkie (2003, 2004) explored the life of Lucretia Perryman, an African-American woman who settled in Mobile, Alabama after Emancipation. The death of her husband, Marshall, in 1884 necessitated that she turn to midwifery to support herself and her children. Ms. Perryman's life was shaped not only by the social relations of class, gender, and ethnicity, but also by her status as a widow. Wilkie (2004:76) advocates for a model that "more explicitly recognizes stage of life as an important component of identity."

Abell and Crane (1999) analyzed half dozen domestic residential sites from the antebellum period in Washington, DC. The assemblages represented various ages, occupations, and personal wealth for heads of households. Yet despite these variations, analyses of refined earthenwares and faunal remains yielded very similar results in each case. The commonality of these households was that they all consisted of "prototypical nuclear families in the child rearing years of their lives" (Abell and Crane 1999:5). O'Malley (2002) observed a similar phenomenon in her study of Kinkeadtown, an African-American post-Civil War neighborhood in Lexington, Kentucky. Young families with small children "may be represented by a relative lack of diversity or quantity of artifacts due to limited participation within the market economy, while a gradual increase in artifactual richness may occur as families age and establish market connections" (Heath 2004:31).

Many studies have emphasized the role of developmental cycle in consumer choices. Miller (1983) studied newly married couples and their "set outs" or preliminary household furnishings. Carson (1990) surveyed probate inventories for Washington, DC to understand how families accumulated goods over the course of its life time as well as how and why some families did not share in these aspirations.

In her recent review article of developmental cycle and household assemblages, Beaudry (1999:119) stressed that

> …not all household members contribute to the household economy in the same way, and that the presence of some goods in the household context have more to do with production than with consumption. It is important, therefore, to consider income strategies (e.g., domestic production for outside sale vs. domestic production for internal household consumption and survival; piecework and outwork; taking in boarders, etc.) and the overall household economy, including contributions made by women, servants, slaves, boarders and other inmates, and potentially, by children.

Therefore, it is imperative to understand the complexity and fluidity of social roles and relations as well as their material correlates. Adrian Praetzellis and Mary Praetzellis (1998) advocate an analytical approach for telling these complex stories of changing households which intimately weaves together archaeological evidence and historical data, a genre which they call "archaeological biography."

Though not intended to be comprehensive, this literature reiterates that families and households are dynamic. Changes in demographic composition of the household, successions in land ownership or head of household, and other events that alter the developmental course of the family unit – either from within or without – significantly shaped social relations and uses of the material world. The resulting archaeological assemblages embody the active negotiation of dominant cultural ideologies and the construction of alternative meaningful gender relations and forms of domesticity.

Social Relations, Developmental Cycle, and the Material World

The developmental cycles of the Moors and Ball families played an especially important role in shaping uses of the material world. Consequently, I have chosen to highlight these families as a case study. The data from the Moors and Ball family occupations were reexamined with a particular emphasis on how the developmental cycle of these families shaped their uses of the material world. These data sets are summarized briefly below for clarity and emphasis.

The Moors Families

The Phase II archaeological deposit at the Moors site is associated with a time when the household of Reverend John Moors included: himself (age 30), his wife Esther (24), a widowed friend of the family (Grace Thayer, 52), John's widowed sister and

her infant daughter (Mary D. Smith, 26, and Mary B. Smith, 1 year), and a young Irish woman who was most likely a domestic servant (Margaret Ranch, 24) (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1850). Esther Moors died that same year and the Reverend remarried. By 1855, when the Massachusetts Census was taken, the household consisted of only Reverence Moors and his second wife, Eunice (Massachusetts Bureau of the Census 1855).

The vessels from the Reverend Moors' occupation of the site were evenly split between minimally decorated vessels ($n = 9$) and combination of shell-edged ($n = 2$) and floral/neoclassical ($n = 5$) using Wall's model (see again Table 5.14). The minimally decorated vessels included Gothic-paneled vessels, which was iconographic of domesticity (Wall 1994), but represented only a small proportion of the total assemblage ($n = 2$; 14.29%).

Architecturally, the house was originally constructed by Reverend Moors in two sections ca. 1848 (see again Fig. 3.8). The first was a newly constructed front portion in the Gothic Revival style of one-and-a-half stories. It contained four rooms on the first floor, including two parlors, a dining room, and a bedroom, while the second floor contained only bedrooms and had an open garret above. The second section consisted of a one story ell at the rear of the house, with two rooms, and was the reuse of a preexisting structure, likely an old carriage house (Hautaniemi and Paynter 1999:31) (see again Figs. 4.18 and 4.20).

The archaeological and architectural data from the Moors occupation of the site illustrated the importance of both social relations and developmental cycle in the uses of the material world and formation of the archaeological record, particularly with regard to gender ideology. The Moors site reflected strong evidence for adherence to the cult of domesticity and attendant separation of gender roles, at least as an ideal.

The house, for example, was constructed in the Gothic Revival style, iconographic of the ideals of domesticity. It was also designed with a rear ell containing a kitchen, which served to spatially separate women's work and private tasks from the balance of the home (Hautaniemi 1999:4). The ceramics from the site also suggest adherence to domesticity. The Moors site yielded Gothic-paneled ironstone plates, another known indicator of this gender ideology (Wall 1994; see Rotman 2001, 2006 for more examination of additional houselots in Deerfield).

Several aspects of the data, however, suggest tension between the idealized vision for social relations at the site and the lived reality of the Reverend and his family. Reverend and Esther Moors were ideologically middle class as defined by John's occupation as a minister. Domesticity was largely an ideal of the middle class and, with its association with religion and Christian values, an appropriate guiding principle for a minister and his family. By building their new home in the Gothic Revival style, John and Esther built a house that embodied the ideals of domesticity in a highly visible form. Yet, realizing their dream home appeared to have required an element of creativity. Although socially middle class, the couple's status as newlyweds created very real financial barriers to acquiring all of its associated material trappings. The newlywed Moors may have been able to afford the construction of the cottage by reducing expenses through recycling a preexisting structure for the back section of the house.

The refined earthenwares from the site revealed another tension between ideology and the ability to enlist its associated material symbols. Only two teaware vessels were recovered from the site. This paucity of teawares seemed to indicate that the Moors were not reproducing their social position through the ritual of afternoon tea. The Moors may have chosen to expend their limited financial resources on hired help rather than elaborate teawares, since domestic servants working in and around the house were a symbol of their middle-class status that would have been visible to a larger segment of the community than the dishes on their table would have been.

An examination of the data through the additional lens of developmental cycle, however, revealed that material patterning at the Moors site was more than a matter of their socioeconomic position as middle class. The proportionately small number of Gothic-paneled ironstone vessels in their assemblage suggested that their status as newlyweds may have affected their ability to acquire these iconographic ironstones. In addition, Esther died about two years after the Moors moved into their new home. Although she was not the primary wage earner, as the matron of the house she would have played a key role in selecting housewares such as ceramic tablewares and hosting afternoon tea in the family's parlor, important elements of her gender role as defined under the most idealized model of the cult of domesticity.

The material record of the Moors house reflected both the iconographic ideals of gender roles as well as real lived experience. John and Esther's dream of embodying middle-class domesticity was significantly tempered by constraints as newlyweds who had just built a home together. Consequently, the Moors may have channeled their financial resources into the most visible symbols of their subscription to the ideals of domesticity and their status as a middle-class family – namely their Gothic Revival cottage and the hiring of domestic servants. Ceramics would have been visible only to those individuals who were invited to the Moors home and may, therefore, have been a lower financial priority. The archaeological assemblage – specifically the housewares – was further shaped by Esther's premature death.

The Ball Family

Following the Moors family, George Hovey owned the parcel for five years, selling it to Arthur William Ball, a farmer, in December 1865. The Ball family lived on the homelot for three generations. Early in 1866, Arthur married Frances Sheldon. Arthur appears to have purchased the farm in anticipation of his impending marriage. The 1870 census shows that the Ball household consisted of Arthur (29), Frances (age 28), and their son, William (2), as well as a domestic servant and two foreign-born laborers (Catherine Murphy, 33; Paul Lucian, 25; and Thomas Tobin, 20) (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1870).

At the time of the 1880 enumeration, the household included Arthur (age 39), Frances (38), William (11), and Arthur W. (8) as well as one domestic servant and one farm laborer (Christine Carsenest, 36, and Alanson Loveridge, 68) (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1880; see also Hautaniemi 1994; Hautaniemi and Rotman

2003; and Rotman and Hauntaniemi 2000). The archaeological assemblage (Phase IV) associated with the Ball family dates from 1865 to ca. 1882, spanning the period during which Arthur and Frances were newlyweds and young parents.

Twenty-nine vessels can be attributed to the Ball family. The ceramics for the period of occupation by the Ball family (Phase IV) adhered closely to Yentsch's model for gender separation (see again Table 5.7). This pattern was illustrated by differential vessel usage that persisted until nearly the turn of the twentieth century (ca. 1882). The assemblage was dominated by minimally decorated vessels ($n = 11$), of which two were Gothic paneled (see again Table 5.15), following Wall's model; the balance of which were floral/neoclassical ($n = 2$) or other ($n = 4$) decorative motif.

Many architectural changes to the house and landscape were completed during the occupation of the site by the Ball family. Between 1870 and 1882, a new ell addition was added to the north and west sides of the house, which contained a pantry, woodshed, and additional bedrooms. Also, ca. 1882, a new barn was built near the west end of the house. Concurrent with these landscape changes, a driveway on the north side of the house was abandoned and a new drive to the south was used (Hautaniemi and Paynter 1999:3).

The material patterning of the Ball family was in many ways similar to that of the Moors. The ceramics, for example, followed Yentsch's model for gender separation closely. Vessels for food preparation, processing, and storage, were exclusively stored in earth toned and, with the exception of an earthenware jug, all vessels for serving and consumption were white toned. This was not unexpected, since color coding of vessels by ware and function was well codified in mass-produced and readily available ceramics.

As indicated in the Chap. 5, white-toned vessels had become increasingly standard for dining room tables in America by the late nineteenth century. Mass-produced ceramic dishes were widely available to and economical for Deerfield residents. Unlike their neighbors up the Street (Madeline Wynne and Annie Putnam), the Ball family chose to purchase these readily available consumer goods rather than eschew codified norms.

An analysis of ceramics according to Wall's model illustrated that Ball family also used minimally decorated vessels like the Moors. Although Wall's analysis did not extend beyond the 1860s, it was expected that there would be an increase in garish decorations on ceramics that paralleled other material forms during the Victorian era. Rather, 11 out of 17 vessels (64.7%) were undecorated or possessed molded decoration, including two Gothic-paneled ironstone vessels. This pattern of consumption suggested that the Balls were not keeping current with what was "in fashion," including the latest ceramic wares.

Cohen (1986:275) interpreted an absence of elaborately decorated wares this way:

> The over-wrought, cluttered, and gaudy accoutrements popular before that time were criticized as cheap, pretentious, false, and inefficient. By the turn of the [twentieth] century, many Americans who were by income of social inclination members of the middling class rejected Gilded Age fashions in favor of a simplified style of décor that was considered more natural and efficient (cited in Van Bueren 2004:74).

The terminus ante quem for the assemblage was ca. 1882, too late for Wall's analysis and too early for Cohen's observation.

Leone (1999) noted that class position may temper the extent to which families participated in the ideals of domesticity and its attendant material trappings. This certainly appeared true for the Ball family. Analysis of historic documents revealed that there were 16 individuals on the Street listed as farmers in the 1870 federal census and for whom there was also a listing in the 1874 tax valuation. The value of the real and personal estate of these individuals ranged from $455 to $12,121. The median tax valuation was $4,666 and the mean was $4,496. The assessment for Arthur Ball was $4,185 (Anonymous 1874:10). Ranking eighth out of 16, he and his family were quite literally in the middle economically. Therefore, a modernizing agricultural family of moderate means (such as the Balls whose primary agricultural product was tobacco) might not have acquired the iconographic objects of domesticity to the same degree as more affluent farmers engaged in other agricultural and livestock practices (such as those who were experimenting with stall-fed oxen) (Hautaniemi and Rotman 2003).

In addition to the considerations of affluence, the last decade of the nineteenth century saw numerous financial crises which would have further strained family resources. Arthur and Frances Ball, like many farm families, worked together in a hierarchical but complementary fashion and whose lives, therefore, were not structured by rigid separation of gender roles and relations (Boserup 1970; Brydon and Chant 1989; Coontz 1988; Rotman 2006; Rotman and Nassaney 1997).

The fact that the Balls purchased a Gothic Revival cottage indicated that the family subscribed to the ideals of domesticity, at least to some degree. Like the Moors family, the cottage was a very prominent icon of their middle-class status and "proper" gendered relations within the household. The architectural modifications that the Balls made to the home were also important expressions of social relations at the property. They indicated the Ball family's growing prosperity as well as that the demography of the village was changing as new families of immigrants became part of the cultural landscape:

> The ell addition, new barn, and shift of the driveway to the south represent a major reorganization of work and living space on the homelot by the agricultural Balls. The new ell provided additional indoor work and living space as well as two new rooms of separate living space, presumably for the domestic and/or farm laborers (Hautaniemi and Paynter 1999).

The creation of a separate space within the home for hired workers indicated a change in these employment relationships. During the early occupation of this site, domestic servants were often young men and women from the village, who resided in the main section of the house along with the family. By the time the Balls purchased the property, however, workers were increasingly difficult to obtain. Having a separate living quarters for them may have made it easier to attract hired help (Hautaniemi 1999:5).

This physical separation may have also reflected the fact that the nature of the domestic work force was changing, consisting now of immigrant laborers from Eastern Europe. Indeed, in the later decades of the nineteenth century, the Balls' household included one domestic servant and one farm laborer. In 1880, Christine

Carsenest, a Swedish women, was employed as domestic labor and Alanson Loveridge, a native-born man, as a farm hand (U. S. Bureau of the Census 1890). In 1900, the Balls employed a young Polish couple, John and Julia Wacek, to complete both domestic and agricultural tasks (U. S. Bureau of the Census 1900).

The lens of developmental cycle again facilitates additional insight into the creation of the material record and the social relations that both shaped and were shaped by it. Frances Ball was the mistress of a complex household. Despite the presence of domestic servants and farm laborers, Mrs. Ball was actively engaged in the daily physical maintenance of the house (Sumner 1994:12). As with other middle-class farming families, the mistress of the house would have labored with domestic servants, rather than simply overseeing their activities (Sumner 1994:10). Her task was made even more challenging, since she was simultaneously raising their three boys. The Balls were not only a growing family but struggling middle-class farmers as well.

The ceramics from the Balls' occupation of the Moors site illustrated the intersection of class, gender, ethnicity, and developmental cycle in shaping the material world. Teawares were virtually absent ($n = 2$; 11.76%) and the decorative patterns on their dishes were somewhat outdated and less than currently fashionable. Together, these data suggested that the Balls' priorities were elsewhere. They were not interested in reproducing the ideology of the cult of domesticity in their tea and tablewares in the same way or to the same degree that the ideology was epitomized by their Gothic Revival cottage. They were focused on keeping the farm going during difficult economic times and declining tobacco markets, raising their children, managing a complex household, and coping with the difficulties of securing qualified farm laborers and domestic servants to assist them.

The physical modifications to the homelot were also significant in that they occurred after the Balls had been married for several years. These changes corresponded to the end of the occupation associated with the archaeological assemblage (ca. 1882) (Hauntaniemi and Paynter 1999:33). The addition to the house, construction of the barn, and reorganization of the landscape might also signal that perhaps the difficult times of being a young family and struggling financially were ending. A new era of growing prosperity was coming in as the family became firmly established.

The intersection of these complex social forces from within and outside the family precluded wholesale adoption and strict adherence to the ideals of domesticity by the Ball family. Instead, the Balls adopted some symbols of the ideology (the Gothic Revival cottage) while eschewing others (Gothic-paneled ironstones and other fashionable ceramic teawares) according to their financial abilities and priorities.

Life Changes, Changing Social Relations

Personal accounts, such as that of Sarah Anna Smith Emery (b. 1787) in West Newbury, Massachusetts, describe "a changing cast of characters as family members moved in and out of the house, married and gave birth, prospered and grew old,

sickened and died" (Nylander 1994:11). The demographies of households and families changed at the intersection of evolving economies, productive needs, and social aspirations.

As clearly illustrated in the lives of the Moors and Ball families, gendered social relations did not occur in a vacuum; rather, they were intimately connected to pushes and pulls of a variety of cultural processes - some within the family and some from the social, economic, and political world outside. Separations of male and female and/or public and private tasks were often shaped by the unique historical trajectory and life cycle of the family under study. As such, historical archaeologists must be mindful of the complexities as gender was experienced between codified ideals and real lives.

Chapter 7
Through a Kaleidoscope: Gendered Lives in Deerfield, MA

The metaphor of a kaleidoscope characterizes the complex and ever-changing meaning and practice of gendered social relations. Gender interacts with a myriad of other social prisms – including, but not limited to, competing gender ideologies, socioeconomic class, political agendas, and developmental cycle of individuals and families – to create complex patterns of identities and relationships.

In Deerfield, village residents were aware of republican motherhood, cult of domesticity, equal rights feminism, and domestic reform, among many other ideologies. Women and men, however, created and codified gender roles and relations in ways that were appropriate to their respective needs, desires, and abilities. Although gender ideologies existed in idealized forms, they were rarely adopted in totality; rather, they were interpreted and/or combined according to their unique labor requirements, financial constraints or abundance, economic and social position, and the like.

Summary of the Material and Spatial Evidence

The material data from each of six occupations in the village was examined for evidence as to whether ideas regarding gender separation shaped gender roles and relations. The results for individual households were summarized below (Table 7.1). It is clear from the table that these families rarely subscribed to all of the ideologies extant on the ideological landscape. The Dr. Thomas and Esther Williams family purchased ceramics consistent with color coding of vessels (Yentsch), but did not follow trends for decorative motifs on those same ceramics were. Consequently, these multidimensional analyses of tea and tablewares often revealed tensions between cultural ideals and the realities of lived experience. Additional discussion of these results was presented in the following sections.

Table 7.1 Summary of material evidence for gender ideologies in Deerfield

Family feature, dates of occupation	Met expectations for architecture/ spatial organization?	Color coding of ceramic vessels (i.e., gender separation)?	Followed model for decorative motifs?	Adhered to modern discipline?
Dr. T. & E. Williams, ca. 1750–ca. 1770	Yes	Yes	No, but small sample	No
E. H. & Anna Williams ca. 1816	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Tenants at E. H. and A. Williams Strat 9, ca. 1845	No	No	No	No
Ministers' households, ca. 1848–1865	Yes	Yes, but small sample	Yes	n/a
Ball family, 1865–ca. 1882	Yes	Yes	No	No
Wynne-Putnam, ca. 1885–ca. 1904	Yes	Yes	No	Yes

n/a sample size too small to interpret

Dr. Thomas and Esther Williams (ca. 1750–ca. 1770)

Dr. Thomas and Esther Williams resided at Lot 9 on the Street from ca. 1748 to ca. 1775. The Williamses represented the local gentry, known as the River Gods. Architectural changes to the house were investigated as well as the ceramics from two archaeological features from the site definitively associated with the family – a privy (ca. 1750–ca. 1770) and a trash pit (ca. 1770).

In the 1760s and 1770s, the Williamses built a new kitchen ell and renovated their home into a Georgian structure with a wide central hall. St. George (1988:348) described the transition to this architecture style as an attempt on the part of the gentry to reassert their social position at a time when their hold on local society was weakening. As such the Williams family – and particularly Thomas – was caught in the tension between their class standing and political perspectives.

The assemblages from both the privy and trash pit indicated that gender separation was reproduced through color coding of ceramics. Vessels for food preparation, processing and storage, for example, were all earth-toned, while those for consumption were all white-toned. A separation of men's and women's roles appeared to have been operating at this site during the mid- to late eighteenth century. This was not surprising, however, since the Williamses were part of the village's elite and gender separation was expected for a family of their social position and economic standing.

With regard to decorative motifs on ceramic tablewares, it was expected that the assemblages would be dominated by tablewares that were minimally decorated and teawares that were evenly distributed between Chinese landscapes and floral/ Neoclassical decorations. The results were difficult to interpret since so many of the

vessels from this assemblage could not be specifically identified as being either tea or tablewares. Nevertheless, 7 of the 12 vessels in this analysis were minimally decorated. There were five floral/Neoclassical patterns. No shell-edged wares and no Chinese landscapes were recovered. This material patterning suggests that there was not an elaboration of ceramic dishes or increased ritualization of meals within the home and, by extension, gendered roles within the family also do not appear to have been elaborated during the two decades of occupation represented in the archaeological record.

The ceramics were also analyzed for evidence of modern discipline. The values generated for the teawares and tablewares from the privy and trash pit indicated that segmentation and standardization were not strongly represented in the vessels utilized by the Dr. Thomas and Esther Williams family. As with gender separation, a high degree of penetration of modern discipline had been expected for this elite family. The juxtaposition of the architectural changes to solidify their social claim as the local gentry and the apparent rejection of individuality in the ceramic wares (and the new order it represented) illustrated the contradictions extant in the lived experiences of the family.

The apparent absence of this ideology at this site may be attributed to two possible factors. First, the large size of the Williams family and thus a limited in their ability to acquire the material manifestations of modern discipline (i.e., individual place settings for all 16 members of the family). Second, and perhaps more likely, the emerging modern world order conflicted with Thomas' very strongly held Tory political convictions, which created an interesting incongruity for the family. The deviations from expected material patterns are reexamined below.

Ebenezer Hinsdale and Anna Williams (ca. 1816)

Ebenezer Hinsdale and Anna Williams moved to the property on Lots 41, 42, and 43 in 1816. Ebenezer died in 1838, at which time Anna moved away from the village. The Williamses were part of the wealthy agricultural elite in Deerfield during the first third of the nineteenth century. A trash lens at the top of an abandoned privy was attributed to the Williamses. The dishes in the trash likely represented vessels that were broken while moving in and discarded ca. 1816. These were examined for evidence of the gender ideologies operating within the family.

The residence was extensively renovated after the Williamses purchased it in 1816. The elaboration of the house into a grand Federal-style home was an important material symbol of the family's class and social position. The construction of a two-story ell with an expansive kitchen at the rear of the house also signaled a separation of gender roles within the household.

Color coding of ceramics was clearly visible through the dishes from the trash pit. As with the assemblage from the Dr. Thomas and Esther Williams site, vessels for food preparation, processing, and storage at the Ebenezer Hinsdale and Anna Williams site were earth-toned, while those for consumption were white-toned.

These results were not unexpected since again a rigid gender separation was expected among the village's elite.

It was also expected that there would be a significant number of expensive shell-edged wares in the privy assemblage. Yet the ceramics were overwhelmingly minimally decorated with only one shell-edged vessel present, a result that was unexpected and inconsistent with the other material and architectural evidence from the site. This deviation, however, proved to be a function of the circumstances surrounding the deposition of these objects in the feature. The ceramics dated to the Williamses earlier occupation of the Carter's Land farm. The decorative motifs were consistent for this earlier time period.

Evidence for the penetration of the ideals of modern discipline was also expected for this elite family. Segmentation and standardization in the ceramic assemblage was not clearly indicated by the indices generated for teawares and tablewares. Fourteen identical Royal scallop plates were among the vessels recovered from the privy. It was believed that all of these vessels were broken in a single episode – perhaps while moving in the home in 1816. The large number of these plates resulted in a very low variation/segmentation and may have skewed the ceramic sample from the privy, which is therefore not representative of the vessels utilized in the household.

The material and architectural evidence from Ebenezer Hinsdale and Anna Williams was consistent with expectations for gender separation. This occupation is also the only one in the village to clearly and definitively fit all models and expectations for uses of the material world.

Tenants at the Williams' House (ca. 1845)

Lydia Williams inherited Lots 41, 42, and 43 from her brother, Ebenezer Hinsdale, after his death in 1838. She rented the house to the family of David and Eliza Barnard. In 1847, Reverend John Moors and his new bride, Esther, joined the Barnards in residence at the property. No architectural changes to the house corresponded to the ceramic assemblage (ca. 1845) were discerned. A buried landsurface (known as Strat 9) was revealed archaeologically and associated with these tenants. The ceramics were used to explore gender ideologies in these families.

The vessels from the buried landsurface revealed less rigid color coding of the ceramics than during the previous occupation of the site. Vessels for food and beverage distribution according to Yentsch's model, for example, should have been white-toned. The dishes for food and beverage distribution in this assemblage, however, were earth-toned. Given that this feature represented a period of tenancy rather than ownership, the results were not unexpected. Gender roles in lower class households were complementary, with men and women both contributing to the domestic economy, and, therefore, not rigidly separated either ideologically or physically from are another in the household (Wall 1994; Rotman and Nassaney 1997).

The decorative motifs on the ceramics from Strat 9 were almost evenly split between minimally decorated and shell-edged wares. Furthermore, according to Wall's model, Gothic-paneled ironstone should have been in use by both middle and working-class families by mid-century as the cult of domesticity continued to gain popularity. Yet Gothic-paneled wares were entirely absent from this assemblage.

Similarly, given the status of the families as tenants, it was not expected that a high degree of penetration of the modern discipline would be visible. The indices for the buried landsurface (Strat 9) associated with the period of tenancy at the home were lower than for the earlier period of occupation at the site. These values indicated a relative absence of segmentation and standardization in the ceramics from the tenant households.

The ceramic data and absence of architectural changes to the house during the period of tenancy were consistent with the status of the occupants. This occupation is also the only one that did not fit any of the models and expectations for uses of the material world. (See again Table 7.1).

The Ministers' Households (ca. 1848–1865)

Reverend Moors and his wife, Esther, moved to their new cottage on Lot 7 after it was completed ca. 1848. Esther passed away shortly thereafter, in 1850, and Moors was remarried the following year. He and his second wife, Eunice, resided at the property until 1861, at which time a new minister, Reverend George Hovey and his wife, Anna, moved in. Shortly after Anna's death in 1865, George sold the property to Arthur Ball. Phases II and III at the site were associated with the construction of the house and the ministers' households, respectively.

The most prominent symbol of domesticity at the Moors property was the Gothic Revival cottage. The choice by the Reverend and his wife to build a house in this architectural style clearly signals their subscription to gender separation.

The ceramics associated with the Moors occupation were difficult to interpret or held suspect due to the small sample size for these phases ($n = 3$ and $n = 2$ for Phases II and III, respectively). The color coding of vessels, for example, did not deviate from the expected pattern, but a definitive statement regarding gender separation during this occupation could not be made based on a sample of only two vessels.

In the analysis of the decorative motifs for the ministers' households, it was not surprising that Gothic-paneled ironstone, a known emblem of the cult of domesticity, appeared during their occupation of the site. The presence of this decorative motif correlated with Gothic Revival architecture and, as such, this particular ceramic pattern served as another icon of this gender ideology.

None of the indices generated for the Moors occupation at the homelot indicates a significant degree of penetration of modern discipline, but these results may also be attributed to insufficient sample size. It was expected that this middle-class

professional household would have been participating to a fairly large degree in this ideology. The small sample size, however, may have skewed the results in that the vessels were not representative of the teawares and tablewares used in the household.

Material expressions of gender in the ministers' households were elusive, in part due to small sample of ceramic vessels. The cult of domesticity was clearly evident in the architectural style and presence of Gothic-paneled ironstone in the assemblage, both of which are consistent with expectations regarding gender separation within these households. The deviations from expected results were explored below.

Arthur and Frances Ball (1865–ca. 1882)

Arthur Ball bought the cottage on Lot 7 from Reverend George Hovey in 1865 in anticipation of his marriage to Frances Sheldon the following year. Although the property was owned and occupied by successive generations of the Ball family well into the twentieth century, the material assemblage from this site (Phase IV) represented the early years of Arthur and Frances' married life, until ca. 1882.

No architectural changes to the house corresponded to the ceramic assemblage (ca. 1865–ca. 1882) were discerned. The construction of an ell and new barn as well as the reorganization of the landscape occurred after this date.

The color coding of ceramics, indicative of gender separation, persisted at this site well into the late nineteenth century. It was expected that, as a middle-class farming household, the ceramics would not express a clear separation, but rather emphasize the household collective. The availability of mass produced and inexpensive consumer goods may have influenced the Ball family's choice of these tea and tablewares, as color coding of these vessels may have been well codified by the mid-1880s.

An analysis of decorative motifs for the Balls' occupation indicated that there was continuity in preferred decorative motifs for ceramic tablewares between the mid- and late nineteenth century (i.e., middle-class assemblages dominated by minimally decorated wares for family meals and floral decorations on teawares for social rituals). So despite the trend toward opulence and garish ornamentation in other areas of the Victorian world (i.e., grave markers) during the last decades of the nineteenth century, there did not appear to be a parallel expression in ceramic teawares and tablewares in this household. In a similar way, the indices generated for measuring modern discipline at the site did not indicate that this ideology was operating to any meaningful degree within the family.

The results of the ceramic and architectural analyses for the Balls' occupation were interesting. Although middle-class agriculturalists, the indices for the penetration of modern discipline were strikingly similar to that of the working-class tenants at the E. H. and Anna Williams home, an issue that is further examined later in this chapter.

Madeline Yale Wynne and Annie Putnam (ca. 1885–ca. 1904)

The women who resided in the Manse in the years surrounding the turn of the twentieth century provided a glimpse into an interesting demographic trend in Deerfield at that time. The population of the village – and particularly along the Street – became increasingly female over the course of the second half of the nineteenth century. These women brought with them nonagriculturally derived wealth and independent incomes, which enabled many of them to live nonconventional lifestyles for the era.

This was certainly true for Madeline and Annie, both of whom were artists. The material evidence from their homelot, however, reveals some of the tensions and contradictions of their lives. The women appeared to have eschewed many of the cultural norms and traditions of the period. While they did engage in the rigid separation of vessel function based on whether it was earth- or white-toned, they "mixed and matched" blue-on-white decorative motifs on their ceramics as it suited them.

Two interesting contradictions in the material assemblage were worth noting. First, standardization and segmentation was evident in the ceramic assemblage from the site. Despite their desire to live in a nonconforming manner, they appeared to have subscribed to at least some degree the ideologies associated with modern discipline. Perhaps in this particular circumstance, the women's social position and economic standing superseded their desire to reject the gender roles and relations of the time. Second, the architectural styling of the Manse was Georgian – an icon to modernity, yet the women chose to replace an ell on the southern elevation of the structure with a screened porch rather than restore symmetry and balance to the dwelling by simply removing it. These disconnects illustrate that tensions between the lives the women imagined for themselves did not always correspond neatly with their real lived experiences.

The ceramic and architectural evidence from the individual homelots in this study often fit the known material and spatial expressions for gender separation, notably under the nineteenth-century ideals of domesticity. There were several instances, however, in which the results of analyses did not conform to any known models. A dialectical framework was utilized to understand deviations from these known patterns.

Gender Through a Dialectical Lens

Dialectics is a complex theory of internal relations; a dynamic way of thinking about the spectrum of interactions in the world. In this study, dialectics was applied to understand variations in the expressions of gender relations.

Ollman's (1993:40–41) three modes of abstraction were applied as a tool for interpreting the analyses in this study that varied from expectations: abstraction of extension, abstraction of level of generality, and abstraction of vantage point.

(See Chap. 2 for a detailed discussion.) Abstraction of extension involved delimiting spatial and temporal boundaries. Abstraction of levels of generality required moving from the specific to the general, like a microscope with different degrees of magnification. Finally, the abstraction of vantage point referred to the process of examining different sides of the same relation. All of these principles were used in seeking to understand the materiality of gendered lives in Deerfield.

Within the processes of abstraction, there are two kinds of dialectical relations that were of particular interest for this project: interpenetration of opposites and contradiction. The interpenetration of opposites is the understanding that how anything functions – objects and how people perceive them – is to a large degree due to its surroundings (Ollman 1993:14). The interpenetration of opposites revealed that processes are not monolithic, but are situated within unique conditions. Additionally, it can be comprised of internal relations between processes that are quite different from one another. Contradiction recognized that elements within the same relation "do not only intersect in mutually supportive ways, but are constantly blocking, undermining, otherwise interfering with and in due course transforming one another" (Ollman 1993:16).

Virtually all of the observed deviations from expected material patterns could be explained in mundane ways, such as the sample size was too small or the sample was not representative of the ceramics used in the household, among others. More dynamic explanations for variations, however, were sought by reexamining them using a dialectical lens.

Understanding Deviations Through Contradiction

For nearly every family and household examined in this study, there was at least one deviation from expected material patterns. The relation of contradiction was a particularly useful perspective for understanding the observed deviations. Remarkably, similar circumstances appeared to affect the material and spatial expressions of gender ideologies at multiple homelots in the study.

Dr. Thomas and Esther Williams, as the first example, were part of the village's elite class. Since Thomas was a physician, it was expected that his family would have participated to a large degree in the ideals of etiquette and time discipline, yet the indices generated were unexpectedly low. Additionally, these results contradicted the architectural evidence, since the grand central hallway and kitchen ell conveyed that there was a high penetration of these ideals at the homelot.

The Williamses were indeed members of the upper class and may have aspired to all the material trappings that accompanied their social position. Thomas and Esther were married in 1748, however, and had 14 children (including the three that Thomas had with his first wife, Anna). At the time of the privy deposits, ca. 1750– ca. 1770, the household consisted of a large and growing family. By 1770, the time of the trash deposit, there were still many young children at home.

In addition, the social and economic position of the local gentry was eroding in the Connecticut River valley. The family chose to invest in the most visible marker of their social position within the community – their home – rather than in the small material objects that only guests to the home would observe. Furthermore, the modern ideals expressed by the Georgian style of architecture contradicted Thomas' long-held Tory beliefs and desire to maintain the current social and political structure. Their participation in the ideology of discipline, therefore, was selective and the dialectical relation of contradiction illustrated the tension between the family's desire to retain their social position while simultaneously rejecting political stances with which they did not agree.

A second, similar deviation was observed with the ceramic assemblage from the buried landsurface at the homelot of Ebenezer Hinsdale and Anna Williams, which represented a period of tenancy at the property. The color coding of the ceramics revealed that there was less rigid gender separation than in the previous household and that there was little penetration of the ideas of modern discipline. The assemblage was generated by a mixed household. From 1839 to 1847, the house appeared to have been occupied by David and Eliza Barnard – a long-married, working-class couple and their family. In 1847, Reverend John and Esther Moors – a newly married, middle class, professional couple with no children – joined the Barnards in residence, while their house on Lot 7 was under construction.

The composition of the residents embodies the interpenetration of opposites and, therefore, mixed results from the material assemblage were anticipated. Some segmentation in dining, for example, and perhaps even some Gothic-paneled ironstone were expected from the Moors family, who were also contributing to the creation of the archaeological record. All of the results using analytical models, however, were consistent with a working-class household. As such, minimal degrees of gender separation and penetration of modern discipline were visible in the material record associated with the tenants.

The dialectical relation of contradiction had utility for explicating this deviation as well. The Moors' social position as a middle-class professional family – like that of Dr. Thomas and Esther Williams – contradicted their status as a newly married couple just getting established. Therefore, material differences between the working-class family (the Barnards) and the middle-class couple (the Moors) were not visible archaeologically.

This circumstance was also observed for a third family in this study. Although the Balls were middle-class agriculturalists, the indices for the penetration of modern discipline, for example, were similar to that of the tenants at the Ebenezer Hinsdale and Anna Williams home. Therefore, it became clear that the materiality of the lived experiences of newly married, middle-class couples – Dr. Thomas and Esther Williams, Reverend John and Esther Moors, and Arthur and Frances Ball – consistently paralleled that of a long-married, working-class couple – the Barnards. Contradiction was also visible in the material assemblage of Madeline Wynne and Annie Putnam, who seemed experience tension between the conventions of their upper middle-class socioeconomic position and their desire to live a nonconforming lifestyle.

In a similar manner, the interactions within the Barnard household did not appear to have been rigidly structured by domesticity. The house in which they were residing, however, was designed to facilitate the codification and reproduction of these ideals. Therefore, although characterized by a complementarity of gender roles, these social relations operated daily within a rigidly constructed landscape, which emphasized gender separation.

Moving Beyond Domesticity and the Level of the Home

Evidence for gender separation was observed to at least some degree at all the sites and for all the assemblages investigated, expressions of which appeared to have been tempered by class position and life cycle. Was domesticity the only gender ideology, however, that was operating in the village? Could additional gender systems be gleaned from the material and spatial data from these homelots? Were there other explanations for the deviations from the expected material patterns?

Answering these questions requires abstracting to other levels of analyses – including the Street, region, and even the nation – for additional perspective on and context for gender ideologies in the village. Further, it is clear that attributes such as gender separation, segmentation in dining, and particular decorative motifs were not the exclusive domain of the cult of domesticity, but had expressions in alternative ideologies as well.

Implications for Alternative Gender Systems in Deerfield

Specific material and spatial evidence was examined in this study because of their known association with the ideals of domesticity. Gender separation was revealed through color coding of ceramics. Trends in decorative motifs related to the meaning of meals. Additionally, the degree of penetration of modern discipline was visible through segmented dining. It has remained unclear, however, whether the presence of these attributes obscured the material and spatial expressions of other gender ideologies operating within the village of Deerfield. In the sections that follow, the attributes associated with domesticity and gender separation are reexamined at a level beyond the homelot using a dialectical perspective.

Gender Separation Over Time

For nearly all of the sites in this study, a gender separation was illustrated through the differential use of earth-toned and white-toned pottery. It was visible through the ceramic vessels recovered from the Dr. Thomas and Esther Williams privy and trash pit. It was evident at the home of Ebenezer and Anna Williams and the tablewares recovered from their privy. This pattern was apparent in the material assemblages

from the Moors cottage and continued through the occupation of the site by the Ball family. Finally, the ceramics from the Manse also reflected a color coding of vessels. Only the assemblages associated with the tenants at the E. H. and Anna Williams house and did not conform to this model.

At first glance, this separation at these various moments in time and across space seemed to indicate that the same ideology structured gender relations in Deerfield from the mid-eighteenth through the early twentieth century. The discrepancies in the expectations, however, indicate that a more complex situation was operating in the village.

During the mid-eighteenth century, the separation of spheres was attributed to the removal of production from the home with the advent of industrialization (Coontz 1988:117). As the agrarian-centered economic system was transformed into one based upon industry, men (primarily) no longer worked in and around their homes. Rather, they spent a significant portion of the day at loci of production (e.g., factories) away from their residences. Republican motherhood emerged as the home became redefined as a locus for training future citizens of the new republic, giving mothers a particular role in this cultural endeavor.

By the 1830s, the cult of domesticity further defined the home as a private, female sphere, and reinforced gender separation. Yet, this ideal was meant to resist too complete a separation of these two dimensions of life (Coontz 1988:193). Domesticity has also been interpreted as a means of preserving the new republic from perceived threats. Americans believed that the survival of the republic lay in the character of the rising generation. Child rearing became a concern of the highest order (Halttunen 1982:10) and the home became a haven from the evils of the outside world (Clark 1988:538). In short, the private space of the household became increasingly important within the larger cultural context during the first half of the nineteenth century as well as increasingly feminized.

As the turn of the twentieth century approached, gender separation still existed, but the reasons for it had once again been transformed. The structure of the population had changed due to uneven mortality rates and male out-migration (Miller and Lanning 1994:47). This demographic shift was particularly pronounced in the village of Deerfield. As agriculture declined as an economically viable pursuit, it further contributed to the changing demography. Gender separation in the village was product of larger social and cultural processes that left the Street occupied almost entirely by women.

Gender separation was clearly visible in the archaeological assemblages that spanned the middle of the eighteenth through the early twentieth century. Utilizing a dialectical lens brought additional aspects of the village's social fabric into greater relief. As a result, the apparent continuity in gender roles and relations within the community was unmasked and made the factors and ideals that structured gender visible.

Public Versus Private Spheres

The separation of gender roles has often been inextricably linked to the separation of public and private spheres under the ideals of domesticity. Additional abstractions – of both extension and level of generality – reveal new dimensions of gendered

experiences by delimiting new spatial boundaries as well as focusing on specific individuals and groups and then extending that to the more general context of the community. According to the tenets of the cult of domesticity, private space (e.g., an individual home) was viewed as female and associated with culture, while public space (e.g., the Street) was defined as male and associated with culture. These boundaries become blurred, however, through the process of abstraction.

Although public and private aspects of household space became increasingly separated during the nineteenth century, an absolute division did not exist. Parlors, for example, were used for entertaining (male/public) and were, therefore, placed at the front of the house. Women's social gatherings, such as teas and clubs, as well as marriages and baptisms might also be held in the parlor (Nylander 1994:241). Thus, women's social functions illustrated how the separation of masculine and feminine (and hence, public and private) space was not always rigid.

The blurring of public/private and male/female spheres was also visible at the level of the Street. Spain (2001:6–7; following Lofland 1998; and Milroy and Wismer 1994) identified a "parochial" space, that is

> the world of the neighborhood as opposed to the totally private world of the household and the completely public realm of strangers…. The boundaries between domestic, community, and paid work [were] porous, just as they [were] between private, parochial, and public spaces.

A variety of organizations such as the Deerfield Temperance Society (Deerfield Town Papers 5II:Minutes, 26 April 1834), the Franklin County Domestic Missionary Society (Phelps and Ingersol 1833), and the Dorcas Society of Greenfield (Germain 1999) would have provided opportunities for women in Deerfield to engage in affairs that had relevance to both spheres – public and private – and, therefore, to breach the borders between them. The women of Deerfield were, for example, intensely interested in school board issues, the debate that surrounded bringing a trolley to the Street, and the arrival of municipal water in the village.

These organizations served another purpose as well. During the second half of the nineteenth century, the number of nonnative born residents in the village was growing (Miller and Lanning 1994:438). Middle and upper class women "develop[ed] a cultural and economic strategy that answered nativist anxieties while buttressing both the economic and cultural foundations of Deerfield's white Anglo-Saxon community" (Miller and Lanning 1994:439) by engaging in the Arts and Crafts movement and historic preservation activities.

This phenomenon created an interesting contradiction. Participation in groups such as the Blue & White Needlework Society simultaneously reinforced traditional roles and identities while providing these women access to vital economic resources. Miller and Lanning (1994:449) observed that

> The colonial and craft revivals provided Deerfield women with an opportunity to develop occupational alternatives that enabled them to seek economic security without jeopardizing their status as elite descendants of New England's first families. The preservation and promotion of Deerfield's preindustrial landscape and the production of preindustrial craft goods enabled women symbolically to reject modern forms of production and consumption while enthusiastically embracing the development of a lucrative tourist industry, profiting nicely from excursionists' search for reassuring touchstones in a rapidly changing world.

In other words, traditional gender roles were asserted through these activities despite that fact that social relations in the village at the time, due in part to the demographic composition of the population, were anything but traditional.

The Arts and Crafts movement in Deerfield seems to have fortuitously fit Hayden's (1995:4–5) observation that the "feminist movement was to overcome the split between domestic life and public life created by industrial capitalism, as it affected women. Every feminist campaign for women's autonomy must be seen in this light." Craft production in the village did indeed blur the boundaries between the domestic and public spheres as well as created vital economic opportunities for village women. Overcoming the split between these spheres, however, appeared to be a secondary motivator. Alice C. Baker, for example, was involved for the social and cultural prestige. Indeed, her involvement was solely administrative and organizational, since she did not produce a craft. For Eleanor Arms, however, her needlework, basketry, and weaving were essential vehicles for meeting the critical financial needs of her family.

The arrival of municipal water in the village in 1911 provides an interesting lens through which to view gender relations and the organization of labor and control of space (Hautaniemi and Rotman 2003; Rotman and Hautaniemi 2000). By this time, women owned nearly half the homes along the main street. Many were engaged in an economic network of female craft workers and exercised political influence in community affairs. In this way, many women had control within both domestic and public spheres. An examination of female-owned properties on the plans for the water system revealed that 75% of the homes that had water connections to the house also had occupants who are active in the Arts and Crafts movement.

Logistical and organizational support for municipal water in the village was orchestrated by the Deerfield Improvement Society, a group of men and women committed to civic projects such as establishing benches and trash receptacles along the main street and dealing with diseased elm trees. This organization raised funds for its various endeavors through a series of historical pageants in 1910, 1913, and 1916 (Suzanne Flynt, pers. comm. 1999). Such theatrical events were common at this time, and "flourished as a form of local boosterism, patriotic moralizing, and popular entertainment, and also as a vehicle for expressing reform ideals sweeping the nation…" (Glassberg 1995:210–211). In Deerfield, the Improvement Society's pageants went beyond the expression of reform ideals to a more active role in their implementation. The "Deerfield water works" was one of their beneficiaries (quote from a privately held diary; Suzanne Flynt, pers. comm. 1999), and proceeds helped ensure that the planned water system would become a reality. Not surprisingly, many of the women involved with the Arts and Crafts Movement also participated in the pageants, thereby taking an active role in securing water to their own homes.

Many women in Deerfield had demonstrated their ability to participate in, and potentially asserted influence over, community affairs. The arrival of municipal water was one example. Men who owned substantial numbers of livestock had water to their barns indicating that male control dominated this decision on some homelots (Hautaniemi and Rotman 2003; Rotman and Hautaniemi 2000).

Yet, women who had asserted their autonomy through their involvement in the Arts & Crafts movement (and by extension the pageants) were more likely to have water to the house than any other group in the village. Despite having no official political power, many female property owners were instrumental in shaping the political, social, and economic townscape of this Massachusetts village.

Abstracting the levels of generality in this case revealed the separation of the public/private and male/female roles and relations for what they were – artificial, cultural constructions – that were in reality porous and negotiable. Given the fluidity of defining space as public or private, it became clear that apparent gender separation may mask subtle nuances in the gender roles and relations operating within a household.

Developmental Cycle

The families in this study also illustrate that their lived experiences were shaped not only by the social relations of class, gender, and ethnicity, but also by the unique developmental arc that each family traveled. Furthermore, the variations in the material and spatial expressions in gender roles and relations specifically were more than simply deviations from middle-class cultural norms. Rather, they represent the active negotiations of dominant ideologies and the construction of alternate meaningful gender relations and forms of domesticity.

Reverend Moors, as a middle-class minister, aspired to create a household which epitomized the cult of domesticity. He and his wife, Esther, constructed their residence in the Gothic Revival style, iconographic of the ideals of domesticity – as were the Gothic-paneled ironstone vessels recovered from their occupation of the site. The kitchen ell constructed on the rear of the house also created "proper" gender separation for various household activities within the home. The visions and aspirations, however, were somewhat tempered by their status as newlyweds. Financial limitations required them to recycle a preexisting structure in the building of their home. The acquisition of important teawares appears to have been truncated by Esther's early death only two years after their marriage. Consequently, gender roles and relations within this white middle-class family were shaped not only by the ideals of their social position, but also the realities of their lived experiences as newlyweds and Reverend Moors' status as a young widower.

The Ball family was also white and middle class. Arthur and Frances' choice to purchase the Gothic Revival cottage suggests some desire to adhere to the tenets of the cult of domesticity. Similarly, there were Gothic-paneled ironstone vessels in the assemblage from the Ball occupation of the site, lending additional evidentiary support that the family subscribed to the ideals of domesticity on some level. The material and architectural evidence from the site indicates that the family was either not interested in or not able to enlist the full material trappings of middle-class domesticity. The largely undecorated and minimally decorated ceramics, for instance, suggest that the Balls were not keeping current with "fashionable" trends for the period. At this time, however, they were struggling agriculturalists. Tobacco

markets were declining and it was increasingly difficult to acquire suitable laborers to assist them. Furthermore, the couple was newly wed and were young parents managing a complex household in these difficult economic times. The intersection of social relations and the developmental cycle of the family resulted in unique material manifestations of the gender ideology operating within the household.

Madeline Wynne and Annie Putnam represented the white upper class elite in Deerfield. The ceramic vessels from their occupation of the Manse were contrary to expectations for decorative motifs. In addition, during the renovation of their home, the women chose not to restore the symmetry to their Georgian mansion. All evidence appears to indicate that the women were constructing their social worlds and gender relations on their own terms. Their status as wealthy individuals and unmarried older women allowed them to choose not to subscribe to the cultural conventions of their time, again illustrating that social relations and developmental cycle are important for shaping uses of the material world.

Alternative Gender Ideologies?

Clearly, gender ideologies beyond the cult of domesticity were operating in Deerfield and many gender ideals contained elements of gender separation. Furthermore, women were active in both the public and private spheres within the village. The material and spatial expressions of alternate gender systems, however, remains largely elusive.

Whereas the cult of domesticity was experienced primarily in the loci of individual homes, domestic reform and equal rights feminism happened at a level of abstraction beyond the homelot – namely at the level of the Street or the village. Consequently, it was difficult to discern the expressions of these alternate gender systems in the archaeological assemblages of the homelots in this study.

The activities of Deerfield women could be categorized as part of the domestic reform movement, since they often blurred the boundaries between the public and private spheres. The materiality of these gender relations was visible in the tracks of the trolley down the main Street (which many women adamantly opposed), the piping used in the municipal water system, and the basketry, jewelry, and needle-point produced by village women.

Other reform ideas were known to have circulated in Deerfield, particularly that of equal rights feminism and women's right to vote. Edith Barnard Delano was a local woman and devoted suffragette, who spoke to many local and regional women's groups on this issue. Catherine Yale, a Boston woman who spent her summers in Deerfield (and Madeline Yale Wynne's mother), had met and become friends with Lucretia Mott. Wynne had arranged in 1908 for a speaker on women's suffrage. Although material and spatial manifestations of equal rights feminism have not yet been detected, that does not preclude their existence.

Similarly, no evidence for the ideals of feminine mystique were observed during this study. This can undoubtedly be attributed to the fact that the household representing this time period was that of Wynne and Putnam. Since the feminine mystique

defines women's roles within the home as caretakers and consumers in an emerging technological age, it will be necessary to investigate a different household in the village to understand this ideology and its material expressions.

Through a Kaleidoscope

On a national scale, republican motherhood, the cult of domesticity, equal rights feminism, domestic reform, feminine mystique, and others became the dominant ideologies structuring gender relations. In Deerfield, individuals and families negotiated and meditated these ideologies through uses of objects, residences, and spaces. These uses both shaped and were shaped by forces from within and outside the family. Couples married and divorced. Babies were born. Older children moved out and established their own households. There was turnover in the domestic help. Members of the household, young and old, passed away. Extended family members came for extended visits. All of these events "pushed" and "pulled" on the family and influenced life choices.

Variations in the material and spatial expressions of gender ideologies, for example, were more than simply deviations from middle-class cultural norms. They represent active negotiations of dominant ideologies and the construction of alternative gender relations and forms of domesticity. The families in Deerfield did not adopt any one dominant gender ideology wholesale. Rather they balanced their familial needs and desires with the demands of the larger culture, differentially adopting material aspects of gender ideals and defining roles and relations within the family in ways that were unique and meaningful to them. Similarly, they were likely aware of and incorporated alternate gender ideologies, such as domestic reform and equal rights feminism, blending multiple ideals and emphasizing their fluidity.

Although discrete entities, these homelots were important components of the greater villagescape. The social relations that fashioned the intersections of family members within the house, out in the yard, along the Street, and in the region both shaped and were shaped by broader social, political, and economic processes. Like a kaleidoscope, these unique families provided a lens through which to view the lives of other village residents and begin to understand the complexities of gender ideologies in Deerfield and the influence of the complex social forces in the negotiations and expressions of gender relations.

Obfuscations that Remain

As with every research program, there are unanswered questions, lines of inquiry that were not pursued, and ideas for additional research that have not been implemented. Some of these were methodological, while others theoretical.

First, the formulas provided by Shackel and Leone were quite useful in discerning the penetration of modern discipline. The method of indices, however, needs some fine tuning since they are sensitive to sample size as well as the forces of discipline.

Second, there remains a need to assess how ceramics were acquired/purchased in the village. Local merchants such as Philo Munn and Estella Lamb may have served as gatekeepers for gender ideologies through the objects that they had available – or did not have available – for purchase in their stores.

Third, in order to further understand alternate gender systems, it is necessary to explore the material and spatial worlds of socially and politically active women, both within the village and elsewhere. We examined the homelot of Madeline Wynne, a coppersmith active in the Arts and Crafts Movement in Deerfield, and Catherine Yale, a friend of Lucretia Mott, who coresided in "the Manse" on the Street. Both of these women were actively engaged in economic and social pursuits outside the home. They were, however, only one of many women in the village who engaged in such activities. Additional archaeological research should be conducted on the homelots of such women to acquire a larger sample of material evidence for alternate gender systems and to increase our understanding of the lives of these extraordinary women.

The historical and archaeological research presented here is part of a growing body of literature in the discipline regarding the material and spatial expressions of gender in the historical past. My study is built upon that which came before – namely the research conducted by Anne Yentsch, Diana Wall, Mark Leone, Parker Potter, and Paul Shackel – and represents another conversation in this on-going dialogue.

Appendix A: Ceramic Ware Types

Eleven different ware types were recovered at the various sites. The definitions for each ware as given below.

Deflt: Tin-glazed pottery made in and around Spain and the Netherlands beginning in the early sixteenth century (Caiger-Smith 1973:127). The paste of these vessels was often of local clays and, therefore, variable in their color. Decorations consisted of opaque white tin-glazing decorated with cobalt blue hand-painted and transfer-printed designs, which often imitated Chinese import porcelains. Delft was used in domestic wares, decorative tiles, and a variety of other uses.

Redware: This ceramic type was made from about 1730 up until 1840. As an artifact category, redware comprises a broad spectrum of specific paste and decoration variations. It is generally manufactured from rather unrefined materials and fired at relatively low temperatures. Decoration may take the form of colored slips, colored glazes, incisions, etc. Since redware bodies tend to be quite porous, interior glazing is common on those vessels intended to hold liquids (Ramsay 1947:128; Fay 1986). The lead glaze on redware affords the vessel a glossy surface finish that may be produced with a low firing temperature (Ketchum 2000:10; Ramsey 1939).

Stoneware: Stoneware served as the "daily use" pottery of America, particularly rural America, after its introduction during the last decade of the eighteenth century. Stoneware is a vitreous, but opaque ware, manufactured of a naturally vitrifying fine, but dense clay. The pottery was fired longer and to a higher temperature than earthenwares; a kiln temperature of a least 1200–1250°C must be obtained (Dodd 1964:274–275; Cameron 1986:319). As a result, stoneware exhibits a hard body and a very homogeneous texture.

Its body is nonporous and well suited to liquid storage. It is not a refined ware, and it was typically utilized for utilitarian purposes such as jars, churns, crocks, tubs, jugs, mugs, pans, and pots. The paste may vary from grays to browns, depending on the clay source and length and intensity of the firing. Vessels were typically glazed; salt glazing and slip glazing were the most common.

Although salt glazing was practiced in England during the eighteenth century, it was not introduced to the United States until the early nineteenth century. Indeed, by 1780 the production of English salt glaze had been virtually supplanted by the manufacture of cream-colored earthenwares (Lewis 1950:29). Salt glazing was accomplished by introducing sodium chloride into the kiln, where it quickly volatilized.

The vapor reacted with the clay to form a sodium aluminum silicate glaze (see Billington 1962:210; Dodd 1964:239). The surface of the glaze is typically pitted.

Stoneware may also be coated with a colored slip, a suspension of fine clay and a pigment. The Albany slip, named after the rich brown clay found near Albany, New York, first appeared in the 1820s. At first, it was mainly used for the interior of stoneware vessels. However, by the 1850s, it was also used as an exterior glaze. Bristol slip, an opaque white slip, was introduced late in the nineteenth century. It was often used in combination with Albany slip (Ketchum 1983:19). A third glaze often used on stoneware is the alkaline glaze. Like the Albany slip it was developed in the 1820s. The basic alkaline glaze is made up of wood ash, clay, and sand. Other additions may be slaked lime, ground glass, iron foundry cinders, or salt. These additions affected the color and texture of the glaze. Colors vary from olive to brown to a gray-green or yellowish hue, depending on adjustments in proportion of ingredients (Ketchum 1991:9).

Hard-paste porcelain: Porcelain is the name given to the high-temperature fired, translucent Chinese ware. Porcelain was introduced to Europe by Portuguese sailors during the sixteenth century. The formula for true for feldspathic porcelain was not discovered in Europe until 1708, and not marketed until 1713 (Boger 1971:266). The production of true porcelain was limited to three factories in England; all other products were softer porcelains made with glass, bone ash, or soapstone. Bone china became the preferred product after 1800, since it was harder and cheaper to produce than the other two formulas (Mankowitz and Hagger 1957:179). Among the more affluent households, porcelain was a common tableware used during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Fay 1986:69).

Porcelain production in America was not successful until 1826 and the number of porcelain factories in the United States remained small through the nineteenth century. Bone china, which may contain as much as 40% bone ash, was also the most common porcelain manufactured in America (Mankowitz and Hagger 1957:27). In the lab, bone china can be differentiated from hard-paste porcelain by placing it under ultraviolet light. Bone china fluoresces blue-white while hard-paste fluoresces magenta (Majewski and O'Brien 1987:128).

Creamware: One of the earliest historic ceramics was developed by Josiah Wedgwood in England about 1762, and was quite popular by 1780. An off-white or cream-colored glaze characterizes this ceramic. The glaze often exhibits a yellow or greenish cast where the glaze has collected in the crevices of the ceramic. Creamware vessels are usually not decorated except for molded relief around the rim (Lofstrom et al. 1982:4–5; Noel-Hume 1969a:125; Price 1979; South 1972).

Pearlware: An improved creamware, with a whiter paste and a lead glaze to which a small amount of cobalt oxide was added to masked the natural yellow color of the glaze; pronounced bluish tint to the glaze where it is thickly puddle, such as around the footring; dates from ca. 1815 to ca. 1835 (Lofstrom et al. 1982:5–6; Godden 1965:xxi; Noel-Hume 1969b:390–392; Lofstrom 1976:23).

Whiteware: As a ware group, whiteware includes all refined earthenware exhibiting a dense, relatively nonporous, white to grayish-white clay body. Undecorated areas on dishes exhibit a white finish under clear glaze. This glaze is usually a variant combination of feldspar, borax, sand, niter, soda, and china clay (Wetherbee

1980:32). Small amounts of cobalt were added to some glazes, particularly during the period of transition from pearl ware to whiteware and during early ironstone manufacture. Some areas of thick blaze on whiteware may therefore exhibit bluish or greenish-blue tinting. Weathered paste surfaces are often buff or off-white and vary considerably in color from freshly exposed paste.

Most whiteware produced before 1840 had some kind of colored decoration. These decorations are often used to designate ware groups (i.e., edge ware, polychrome, and colored transfer print). Most of the decorative types are not, however, confined to whiteware and taken alone are not particularly accurate temporal indicators or actual ware group designators (Price 1981).

The most frequently used name for undecorated whiteware is the generic "ironstone," which derives from an "Ironstone China" patented by Charles Mason in 1813 (Mankowitz and Hagger 1957). For purposes of clarification, however, "ironstone" will not be used when referring to whiteware. Ironstone is theoretically harder and denser than whiteware produced prior to about 1840. Manufacturer variability is, however, considerable and, therefore, precludes using paste as a definite ironstone identifier or as a temporal indicator. Consequently, without independent temporal control, whiteware that is not ironstone is difficult to identify, as is early versus later ironstone (Lofstrom et al. 1982:8; see also Cushion 1976; Hughes and Hughes 1968; South 1974).

Ironstone: Ironstone, a highly refined, vitreous, opaque earthenware with a clear glaze, is often indistinguishable from whiteware, particularly when shards are being viewed. Ironstone differs from whiteware in that the body is more vitreous and dense and a bluish tinge or a pale blue-gray cast covers the body. In some cases, a fine crackle can be seen in the glaze (Denker and Denker 1982:138); however, this condition is not restricted to ironstones. Confusion in the classification of white-bodied earthenwares is further compounded by the use of the term as a ware type or trade name in advertising of the nineteenth century. Both ironstones and whitewares were marketed with names such as "patent Stone China," "Pearl Stone China," "White English Stone," "Royal Ironstone," "Imperial Ironstone," "Genuine Ironstone," "White Granite," and "Granite Ware" (Gates and Ormerod 1982:8; Cameron 1986:170). These names do not imply that true ironstone was being manufactured. Some investigators avoid the distinctions entirely by including ironstones as a variety of whiteware, while Wetherbee (1980) adopted the opposite course, referring to all nineteenth century white-bodied earthenwares as ironstone. For this analysis, the primary determining factor in classification of a shard as ironstone was the hardness and porosity of the ceramic paste. Shards with a hard vitreous paste were classified as ironstone.

Charles James Mason is usually credited with the introduction of ironstone (referred to as Mason's Ironstone China) in 1813 (Dodd 1964:176), although others, including the Turners and Josiah Spode, produced similar wares as early as 1800 (Godden 1965:xxiii). British potters as a competitive response to the highly popular oriental porcelain instigated this early phase of ironstone production. The ironstone of this early phase bears a faint blue-gray tint and oriental motifs much like Chinese porcelain.

A second phase of ironstone was prompted after 1850 in response to the popularity of a hard-paste porcelain being produced in France. This variety of ironstone had a harder paste, and reflected the gray-white color of French porcelains.

While some ironstones continued to use oriental design motifs, the general trend was toward undecorated or molded ironstones (Collard 1967:125–130; Lofstrom et al. 1982:10 in Majewski and O'Brien 1987). Ironstone continued to be produced in England, and after 1870 it was manufactured by numerous American concerns. Majewski and O'Brien (1987) report that by the late 1800s thick, heavy ironstones were losing popularity and began to be equated with lower status (Collard 1967:135; Majewski and O'Brien 1987). Its production all but ceased by the second decade of the twentieth century (Lehner 1980:11). There was a shift to a thinner, lighter weight ironstone between 1870 and 1880. This ironstone was popular in American homes during most of the twentieth century (Majewski and O'Brien 1987:124–125). Heavy ironstone remained on the market, however, and was popular in both hotel/restaurant service as well as home use (Lofstrom et al. 1982:8; see also Majewski and O'Brien 1984; Mankowitz and Haggar 1968; South 1974).

Yellowware: Ramsay (1939:148) stated that yellowware represents the transition from "pottery" to earthenware. The paste is finer than the coarse earthenwares but coarser than more refined earthenwares, such as whiteware and ironstone. Prior to the gloss firing, the paste is a buff or cream color; however, the addition of an alkaline glaze creates a deep yellow upon firing. Yellowware was universally a utilitarian ware - chamber pots, slop jars, urinals, mugs, pitchers, bowls, cuspidors, pie plates, food molds, and canning jars were produced.

For the purposes of this study, yellowware is assumed to be American, although it is realized that the wares were generally of English inspiration and that some English yellowware was imported into this country. James Bennett, and English emigrant who had just left Cincinnati in 1839, is generally credited with the introduction of American yellowware to East Liverpool in 1840 (Stout 1923:16; Gates 1984:47). Vodrey and Frost of Pittsburgh were the first to produce yellowware in the United States, perhaps as early as 1827 (Ramsay 1939:74). Yellowware, produced in molds, was very conducive to mass production, and other potters in Ohio, Vermont, and New Jersey opened factories in the 1840s. Ohio was one center of yellowware manufacture, and it is estimated that in 1850, half of all U.S. yellowware was manufactured in East Liverpool (Gates 1984:47). Yellowware is rarely marked, although William Bromley, who operated potteries in Cincinnati and Covington during the mid-nineteenth century, included an elaborate molded mark on some of his finer Cincinnati pieces (Genheimer 1987).

One decorative treatment of yellowware, called Rockingham, is simply a mottled, brown-glazed yellowware. It is sometimes referred to as Bennington ware; however, it was manufactured throughout the eastern United States. A glaze of pure oxide of manganese produced a brown or purple-brown tint resulting in a mottled or streaked effect (Hughes and Hughes 1956:130). Originally, Rockingham ware referred to ornate porcelain manufactured between 1826 and 1842 at Swinton, Yorkshire, England on the estate of the Marquis of Rockingham (Dodd 1964:232). Hence, the term is not actually paste specific; the characteristic glaze was applied to redwares, whitewares, porcelain, and yellowware. Rockingham wares were introduced to the United States around 1845 by Christopher Webber Fenton at Bennington, Vermont. Yellowware potteries in East Liverpool and other parts of Ohio and the eastern

United States, quickly took up its production. Bennington designs were closely copied in Ohio, including hound-handled pitchers, book flasks, picture frames, mugs, pie plates, and milk plans (Ramsay 1939:76–77). During the mid-nineteenth century, both Rockingham and yellowware were marketed as "Liverpool" ware and "Queens ware" (Gates and Ormerod 1982:7). Another prominent decorative treatment for yellowware includes the application of bands, which were usually blue, white or brown in color.

Appendix B: Vessel Functions

Decorative motifs followed Wall (1994:139–140), who categorized vessels according into four decorative motifs: (1) Minimally decorated vessels were all white and may or may not have had molded rims; (2) Shell-edged vessels had molded rims in either blue or green; (3) Chinese landscapes; and (4) neoclassical/romantic floral motifs.

Wall also defined vessel function quite broadly, including tablewares (such as plates and serving vessels), teawares (such as teabowls, teacups, saucers, and the like), and other (all vessels that could not be included in the other two functional categories). My assessment of vessel functions followed Beaudry et al. (2000) and Ketchum (2000):

- *Teabowl and teacup*: Small drinking vessels had sloped sides. Teabowls did not have handles, whereas teacups did (Miller 2000:100). Teabowls and teacups had less than one pint in capacity (Beaudry et al. 2000:22).
- *Mug/posset cup*: These drinking vessels had a single handle and were generally cylindrical in shape (Ketchum 2000:28). Most mugs were taller than they were wide (Beaudry et al. 2000:23). Capacity of mugs was generally greater than one pint and could be as much as two quarts (Beaudry et al. 2000:23).
- *Plate*: These vessels were essentially circular, although different ornamentation on the rim (such as scalloping) occasionally altered the overall shape. The sides were gently sloping, but occasionally angled more sharply. The interior of the plate consisted of a wide marley (rim) around a recessed panel (Ketchum 2000:28). Plates in this study varied in size from 7″ to 10″ in diameter and may or may not have footrings (Beaudry et al. 2000:26).
- *Saucer*: Saucers were very similar in shape to plates, but were generally smaller in diameter (4–6″). All saucers had a central recessed area as well, to accommodate the base of a teacup. Beaudry et al. (2000:27) observed that saucers were often "used for serving condiments (hence: sauce-r) and perhaps as small plates."
- *Platter*: Platters were generally larger than plates and saucers. They were also oval or rectangular, rather than circular, in shape (Ketchum 2000:28).
- *Compote*: A stemmed serving dish, often with a lid, used for serving fruit, nuts or candy.
- *Pie plate*: These round, low-profile vessels were similar in size and shape to plates, but the sides were more sharply angled. Pie plates resembled milk pans in shape, but were smaller in diameter.

- *Milk pan*: These vessels were shaped as inverted, truncated cones and were generally 10″ or more in diameter. They were used for cooling milk, as a wash basin, and cooking (Beaudry et al. 2000:28).
- *Bowl*: These vessels were generally round with sloped/convex sides, terminating in either plain or everted rims (Beaudry et al. 2000:26). These versatile objects could be used for food preparation (such as mixing), food serving or food consumption, depending on their size (Ketchum 2000:26).
- *Jugs*: Before 1800, jugs were generally elongated and ovoid in shape, but became squatter and almost "ball-shaped" by 1820. Jugs continued to evolve over the course of the nineteenth century. Straight sides with sloping shoulders became popular at mid-century and by 1890 were distinctly cylindrical with square shoulders (Ketchum 2000:14). Jugs were designed to hold liquids (Ketchum 2000:26) and generally occurred in refined earthenwares and stonewares (Beaudry et al. 2000:23).
- *Jars*: Jars were designed to hold a variety of different food items, such as water, oil, and beer (Ketchum 2000:26). These large vessels were taller than they were wide, with pronounced shoulders and constricted necks (Beaudry et al. 2000:29).
- *Bottle*: During the early nineteenth century, bottles were ovoid with long necks and tapering shoulders. A more cylindrical form emerged ca. 1840, which had straight or slightly curving shoulders (Ketchum 2000:14). Bottles were designed to store liquids (Ketchum 2000:26) and may or may not have handles (Beaudry et al. 2000:24).
- *Pitcher*: These vessels had pouring spouts that formed part of the rim as well as possessed a handle (Ketchum 2000:26). In America, pitchers were used primarily in the kitchen and dairy; occurring in coarse earthenwares (Beaudry et al. 2000:24).
- *Crock*: During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, crocks were ovoid in shape with a high waist, generally possessing two handles which protruded from the shoulders. These vessels became more cylindrical in profile by 1820 and were straight sided by 1850. Handles on these later crocks were tucked closely against the body (Ketchum 2000:14). These pieces were wide-mouthed storage vessels (Ketchum 2000:26).
- *Butter pot*: Large, cylindrical or slightly convex-sided, these vessels were taller than they were wide. Butter pots were used for souring cream or storing butter, fat, lard, and the like (Beaudry et al. 2000:29).
- *Drug pot*: These cylindrical vessels resembled mugs without handles, but possessed accompanying lids; hence, were classified as apothecary jars or drug pots (and indeed, were recovered only at the home of Dr. Thomas Williams).
- *Chamber pot*: These handled vessels had convex sides and a sturdy flared rim (Beaudry et al. 2000:30). Chamber pots were temporary toileting facilities in the bed chambers, generally during the night when it was undesirable to journey to the outhouse or for the ill who could not do so. These vessels generally occur in refined earthenwares.

Appendix C: Artifact Inventories

Summary of ceramic vessels recovered from the Dr. Thomas and Esther Williams site (ca. 1750–ca. 1770)

Vessel #	Feature	Ware	Form	Decorative type	Decorative motif	Date
1	Privy IV	Delft	Teabowl	Hand-painted	Blue, indeterminate	1700–1800
2	Privy IV	Stoneware	Teabowl	Bristol salt-glazed		
3	Privy IV	Delft	Drug pot	Undecorated		1730–1830
4	Privy IV	Delft	Drug pot	Undecorated		1730–1830
5	Privy III	Stoneware	Shallow saucer	Bristol salt-glazed		
6	Privy III	Delft	Plate	Hand-painted	Blue, floral (tulips)	1700–1800
7	Privy III	Delft	Drug pot	Undecorated		1730–1830
8	Privy III	Delft	Drug pot	Undecorated		1730–1830
9	Privy IV	Earthenware	Hollowware	Yellow slipware	Brown, dotware	1670–1850
10	Privy IV	Earthenware	Hollowware	Combed slipware	Brown	1670–1850
11	Privy III	Earthenware	Flatware	Lead glazed		
12	Privy IV	Hard-paste porcelain	Indeterminate	Hand-painted	Blue, indeterminate	
13	Trash pit	Stoneware	Hollowware	Impressed	German, blue	1720–1805
14	Trash pit	Redware	Milk pan	Hand-painted	Yellow	1670–1850
15	Trash pit	Redware	Jar	Hand-painted	Yellow	1670–1850
16	Trash pit	Earthenware	Chamber pot	English, dotware	Yellow/brown	1670–1850
17	Trash pit	Earthenware	Chamber pot	English, dotware	Yellow/brown	1670–1850
18	Trash pit	Earthenware	Mug/posset cup	English, dotware	Yellow/brown	1670–1850
19	Trash pit	Earthenware	Pie plate	English, combed slipware	Yellow/brown	1670–1850
20	Trash pit	Delft	Plate or shallow bowl	Hand-painted	Blue, floral	1700–1800
21	Trash pit	Delft	Drug pot	Undecorated		1730–1830
22	Trash pit	Delft	Drug pot	Undecorated		1730–1830
23	Trash pit	Stoneware	Mug	Impressed	German, blue	1720–1805
24	Trash pit	Stoneware	Jug	Impressed	German, blue	1720–1805
25	Trash pit	Stoneware	Chamber pot	Impressed	German, blue/gray, floral	1720–1805
26	Trash pit	Hard-paste porcelain	Teabowl	Hand-painted	Blue, indeterminate	
27	Trash pit	Redware	Butter pot	Lead glazed		
28	Trash pit	Earthenware	Bowl	Yellow slipware		1670–1850
29	Trash pit	Earthenware	Indeterminate	Yellow slipware		1670–1850
30	Privy I	Delft	Indeterminate	Undecorated		1680–1800

Summary of ceramic vessels recovered from privy/trash pit at the Ebenezer Hinsdale and Anna Williams' occupation (ca. 1816)

Vessel #	Ware	Form	Decorative type	Decorative motif	Date
63	Pearlware	Shallow bowl	Hand-painted	Chinoiserie-house/tree (D)	1780–1805
64	Pearlware	Large saucer/bowl	Hand-painted	Chinoiserie-landscape (A)	1780–1805
65	Pearlware	Small saucer/bowl	Hand-painted	Chinoiserie-landscape (C)	1780–1805
66	Pearlware	Small saucer/bowl	Hand-painted	Chinoiserie-landscape (C)	1780–1805
67	Pearlware	Deep bowl	Hand-painted	Chinoiserie-landscape (B)	1780–1805
68	Pearlware	Deep bowl	Hand-painted	Chinoiserie-landscape (B)	1780–1805
69	Redware	Jug	Undecorated	Undecorated	
70	Redware	Milk pan	Undecorated	Undecorated	
71	Redware	Deep bowl	Undecorated	Undecorated	
72	Creamware	Teacup	Undecorated	White slip or glaze only	1762–1820
73	Creamware	Bowl	Undecorated	White slip or glaze only	1762–1820
74	Hard-paste porcelain	Small saucer/bowl	Hand-painted	Chinoiserie-landscape (A)	
75	Creamware	Pitcher	Undecorated	White slip or glaze only	1762–1820
76	Creamware	Deep bowl	Undecorated	White slip or glaze only	1762–1820
77	Creamware	Deep bowl	Undecorated	White slip or glaze only	1762–1820
78	Creamware	Deep bowl	Undecorated	White slip or glaze only	1762–1820
79	Creamware	Deep bowl	Molded rim	Beaded	1762–1820
80	Creamware	Chamber pot	Undecorated	White slip or glaze only	1762–1820
81	Creamware	Plate	Molded rim	Royal Scallop	1762–1820
82	Creamware	Plate	Molded rim	Royal Scallop	1762–1820
83	Creamware	Plate	Molded rim	Other Scallop	1762–1820
84	Whiteware	Plate	Molded rim	Royal Scallop	1762–1820
85	Creamware	Plate	Undecorated	White slip or glaze only	1762–1820
86	Creamware	Plate	Molded rim	Royal Scallop	1762–1820
87	Creamware	Shallow bowl	Molded rim	Royal Scallop	1762–1820
88	Creamware	Plate	Molded rim	Other Scallop	1762–1820
89	Creamware	Plate	Molded rim	Royal Scallop	1762–1820
90	Creamware	Plate	Molded rim	Other Scallop	1762–1820
91	Creamware	Plate	Molded rim	Royal Scallop	1762–1820
92	Creamware	Plate	Molded rim	Royal Scallop	1762–1820
94[a]	Creamware	Plate	Molded rim	Royal Scallop	1762–1820
95	Creamware	Shallow bowl	Molded rim	Royal Scallop	1762–1820
96	Creamware	Plate	Molded rim	Royal Scallop	1762–1820
97	Creamware	Plate	Molded rim	Royal Scallop	1762–1820

(continued)

(continued)

Vessel #	Ware	Form	Decorative type	Decorative motif	Date
98	Creamware	Plate	Molded rim	Royal Scallop	1762–1820
99	Creamware	Plate	Molded rim	Royal Scallop	1762–1820
100	Creamware	Plate	Molded rim	Royal Scallop	1762–1820
101	Creamware	Plate	Molded rim	Royal Scallop	1762–1820
102	Creamware	Plate	Molded rim	Royal Scallop	1762–1820
104	Pearlware	Flatware	Shell-edged, blue	Miller Type D	1809–1831
105	Hard-paste porcelain	Indeterminate	Hand-painted	Chinoiserie-general	1780–1805
108	Redware	Milk pan	Undecorated		
109	Redware	Milk pan	Undecorated		

[a]Additional analyses refined some vessel designations; hence, the vessel numbers are not entirely sequential.

Summary of ceramic vessels recovered from Strat 9, associated with the tenants' occupation of the Williams' site (ca. 1845)

Vessel #	Ware	Form	Decorative type	Decorative motif	Date
1	Stoneware	Indeterminate	Gray salt-glaze/ Albany slip		
2	Redware	Indeterminate	Green to ginger glaze		
3	Redware	Indeterminate	Unglazed		
4	Stoneware	Indeterminate	Yellow-bodied slipware trailed		
5	Redware	Indeterminate	Unglazed		
6	Stoneware	Indeterminate	Nottingham type		
7	Redware	Indeterminate	Dark brown to black glaze		
8	Redware	Hollowware	Yellow brown to brown glaze		
13[a]	Whiteware	Plate	Transfer printed	Floral w/ beaded rim	1830–1860
14	Pearlware	Plate	Transfer printed	Floral w/ landscape	1795–1840
15	Creamware	Hollowware	Hand-painted	Floral	1762–1820
16	Creamware	Pitcher	Dipped, engine-turned	Annular	1780–1815
17	Pearlware	Hollowware	Transfer printed	Chinoiserie (A)	1780–1805
18	Pearlware	Plate	Transfer printed	Chinoiserie (B) w/ molded rim	1780–1805
19	Pearlware	Plate	Feather-edged, blue	Miller Type D	1809–1831
22	Pearlware	Indeterminate	Shell-edged, blue	Miller Type D	1809–1831
24	Pearlware	Plate	Molded rim	Feathered, basket, blue	1780–1820
27	Creamware	Hollowware	Undecorated		1780–1830
28	Pearlware	Plate	Shell-edged, painted not molded	Painted, not molded	1780–1820
29	Pearlware	Platter	Shell-edged, green	Geometric shape	1780–1820
32	Pearlware	Plate	Shell-edged, green	Miller Type D	1809–1831

(continued)

Vessel #	Ware	Form	Decorative type	Decorative motif	Date
34	Creamware	Mug	Undecorated		1762–1820
41	Creamware	Indeterminate	Undecorated		1762–1820
45	Hard-paste porcelain	Indeterminate	Undecorated		
46	Pearlware	Indeterminate	Shell-edged, green	Miller Type D	1809–1831
47	Pearlware	Plate	Shell-edged, green	Similar to Miller Type D	1809–1831
48	Creamware	Plate	Molded rim	Royal	1762–1820
49	Creamware	Indeterminate	Undecorated		1762–1820
51	Pearlware	Hollowware	Undecorated		1780–1840
55	Creamware	Indeterminate	Undecorated		1762–1820

[a]Additional analyses refined some vessel designations; hence, the vessel numbers are not entirely sequential.

Summary of ceramic vessels recovered from Phases II and III at the Moors site, associated with the Reverends' occupation (ca. 1848–1865)

Vessel #	Phase	Ware	Form	Decorative type	Decorative motif	Date
1	III	Whiteware	Plate	Undecorated		1820–1900
2	III	Whiteware	Small saucer/ bowl	Molded rim	Gothic paneled	1840–1860
3	III	Redware	Pitcher?	Molded decoration	Lustre finish	1790–1840
4	II	Pearlware	Flatware	Shell edge, blue	Blue	1824–1835
5	II	Pearlware	Indeterminate	Hand-painted	Blue, floral	1780–1820
6	II	Pearlware	Indeterminate	Transfer print	Blue, floral	1800–1840
7	II	Pearlware	Flatware	Transfer print	Blue, floral	1800–1840
8	II	Pearlware	Flatware	Hand-painted	Blue, floral	1780–1820
9	II	Pearlware	Plate	Shell-edged, green	Green	1809–1831
10	II	Pearlware	Indeterminate	Transfer print	Blue, indeterminate	1800–1840
11	II	Pearlware	Indeterminate	Transfer print	Gold, indeterminate	1825–1840
12	II	Pearlware	Teacup	Hand-painted	Brown banding	1795–1820
14[a]	II	Jackfield-type	Indeterminate			1740–1850
15	II	Jackfield	Hollowware			1740–1780
16	II	Ironstone	Serving platter?	Molded rim	Gothic paneled	1840–1860
17	II	Whiteware	Flatware	Undecorated		1820–1900
18	II	Whiteware	Flatware	Molded rim	Gothic paneled	1840–1860
19	II	Whiteware	Indeterminate	Hand-painted	Green, floral	1820–1900
20	II	Creamware	Indeterminate	Molded rim	Beaded	1762–1820
21	II	Creamware	Flatware	Undecorated		1762–1820
22	II	Creamware	Indeterminate	Hand-painted	Red, linear	1765–1810
24	II	Stoneware	Indeterminate	Lead glazed		
25	II	Stoneware	Indeterminate	Lead glazed		
27	II	Redware	Hollowware	Lead glazed		
28	II	Redware	Indeterminate	Lead glazed		

[a]Additional analyses refined some vessel designations; hence, the vessel numbers are not entirely sequential.

Summary of ceramic vessels recovered from Phase IV at the Moors' site, associated with the Ball family occupation (1865–ca. 1882)

Vessel #	Ware	Form	Decorative type	Decorative motif	Date
35	Hard-paste porcelain	Teacup	Decalcomania	Gold/white floral	
36	Hard-paste porcelain	Hollowware	Hand-painted	Green, floral	
37	Hard-paste porcelain	Indeterminate	Annular	Gold	
38	Yellowware	Hollowware	Molded rim	Linear	1827–1900
39	Stoneware	Jug	Hand-painted	Blue, floral	
40	Stoneware	Crock	Salt-glazed		
41	Stoneware	Bottle	Unglazed		
42	Stoneware	Bottle	Salt-glazed		
43	Stoneware	Lid	Unglazed		
44	Stoneware	Lid	Lead glazed		
45	Stoneware	Indeterminate	Salt-glazed		
46	Stoneware	Indeterminate	Salt-glazed		
47	Stoneware	Indeterminate	Lead glazed		
48	Stoneware	Flower pot	Unglazed		
49	Stoneware	Indeterminate	Lead glazed		
50	Creamware	Hollowware	Undecorated		1762–1820
51	Pearlware	Flatware	Transfer print	Flow blue?	1815–1835
52	Pearlware	Mug	Molded rim	Banding	1790–1840
53	Whiteware	Deep saucer	Molded rim	Gothic paneled	1834–1848
56[a]	Whiteware	Plate	Undecorated		1820–1900
57	Whiteware	Indeterminate	Transfer print	Black, water/ landscape	1820–1900
58	Whiteware	Indeterminate	Hand-painted	Green, indeterminate	1820–1900
59	Whiteware	Teacup handle	Undecorated		1820–1900
60	Whiteware	Flatware	Transfer print	Flow blue, indeterminate	1835–1860
61	Ironstone	Plate	Undecorated	Maker's mark	1851–1900
62	Ironstone	Butter dish insert	Undecorated		1830–1900
63	Ironstone	Plate	Molded rim	Gothic paneled, Maker's mark	1845–1857
64	Ironstone	Flatware	Undecorated	Maker's mark	1839–1841
65	Ironstone	Hollowware	Undecorated		1830–1900

[a] Additional analyses refined some vessel designations; hence, the vessel numbers are not entirely sequential.

Summary of ceramic vessels recovered from the Manse (ca. 1885–ca. 1904)

Vessel #	Ware	Form	Decorative type	Decorative motif	Date
51	Creamware	Plate	Shell edge, blue		1780–1820
52	Pearlware	Plate	Shell edge, blue		1780–1830
53	Pearlware	Plate	Shell edge, blue		1780–1830
54	Pearlware	Plate	Shell edge, blue		1780–1830
55	Pearlware	Plate	Shell edge, blue		1780–1830
56	Porcelain	Small plate	Canton	Blue on white	1800–1830

(continued)

Vessel #	Ware	Form	Decorative type	Decorative motif	Date
57	Whiteware	Large saucer	Oriental	Polychrome/copper, figures and house	1790–1840
58	Stoneware	Jug	Salt glazed, hand-painted	Dark blue on gray	1816–1817
59	Pearlware	Teacup	Transfer print	Blue, cow	1795–1840
60	Whiteware	Small plate	Transfer print	Blue, boat and flowers	1839–1842
61	Whiteware	Medium plate	Transfer print	Light blue, landscape/trees	1851–1859
62	Whiteware	Plate	Molded	Panelled	1851–1861
63	Ironstone	Large plate	Plain		1813–1900
64	Ironstone	Indeterminate	Molded	Veined leaf	1813–1900
65	Whiteware	Plate	Plain		1820–1900+
66	Whiteware	Plate	Plain		1820–1900+
67	Whiteware	Plate	Plain		1820–1900+
68	Whiteware	Plate	Plain		1820–1900+
69	Whiteware	Plate	Hand-painted	Blue, foliar	1820–1900+
70	Whiteware	Teacup	Hand-painted	Blue, Oriental, tree	1820–1900+
71	Whiteware	Saucer	Transfer print	Blue, figure/boat	1820–1900+
72	Whiteware	Bowl	Transfer print	Blue, Oriental, willow	1820–1900+
73	Whiteware	Indeterminate	Transfer print	Blue, ship?	1820–1900+
74	Whiteware	Saucer	Transfer print	Blue, "flame" border	1820–1900+
75	Whiteware	Plate	Transfer print, molded	Black, flowers, dots	1820–1900+
76	Yellowware	Milk pan	Plain		1827–1900
77	Whiteware	Indeterminate	Transfer print, molded	Brown, nature	1835–1900+
78	Whiteware	Indeterminate	Transfer print	Blue, Meissen Onion	1862–1902
79	Whiteware	Saucer	Transfer print	Blue, Meissen Onion	1862–1904
80	Whiteware	Indeterminate	Transfer print	Brown/copper, Etruscan Majolic	1875–1906
102	Porcelain	Teacup	Hand-painted	Polycrhome, insect/flower	
103	Porcelain	Teacup	Hand-painted	Blue, foliar	
104	Earthenware, thick	Indeterminate	Hand-painted	Blue/pink, linear	
105	Redware	Indeterminate	Plain		
106	Stoneware	Jug	Plain		
107	Stoneware	Jug	Plain		
108	Porcelain	Bowl	Hand-painted	Polychrome, birds/floral	
109	Porcelain	Handle	Plain	Brown	
110	Earthenware, yellow	Compote	Hand-painted	Green/silver on rust, scallop, geometric, foliar	
111	Stoneware	Crock	Salt glazed	Albany/light gray	
112	Stoneware	Crock	Salt glazed	Cobalt blue	

Appendix D: Summary of Analyses of Earth-Toned and White-Toned Vessels

OR "Object refit" or vessel number.

Dr. Thomas and Esther Williams, privy deposits, ca. 1750–ca. 1770; Earth-toned and white-toned vessels by function

	Earth-toned vessels	White-toned vessels
Food/beverage Distribution		
Saucer[a]		1 (OR 5)
Food/Beverage Consumption		
Plate		1 (OR 6)
Teabowl		2 (OR 1, 2)

[a]According to Yentsch (1991), a saucer could be for either distribution or consumption.

Dr. Thomas and Esther Williams, trash pit deposits, ca. 1770; Earth-toned and white-toned vessels by function

	Earth-toned vessels	White-toned vessels
Food/beverage processing, storage, preparation		
Milk pan	1 (OR 14)	
Butter pot	1 (OR 27)	
Pie plate	1 (OR 19)	
Food/beverage distribution		
Jug	2 (OR 15, 24)	
Bowl[a]	1 (OR 28)	
Food/beverage consumption		
Mug	2 (OR 18, 23)	
Teabowl		1 (OR 26)
Plate/bowl[b]		1 (OR 20)

[a]This bowl could potentially be a mixing bowl and, therefore, categorized as food preparation.

[b]This vessel was a possible soup plate or bowl.

E. H. and Anna Williams, privy/trash deposits, ca. 1816; Earth-toned and white-toned vessels by function

	Earth-toned vessels	White-toned vessels
Food/beverage processing, storage, preparation		
Milk pan	3 (OR 70, 108, 109)	
Food/beverage distribution		
Bowl	1 (OR 71)	10 (OR 63, 67, 68, 73, 76, 77, 78, 79, 87, 95)
Saucer/bowl[a]		4 (OR 64, 65, 66, 74)
Jug	1 (OR 69)	
Pitcher		1 (OR 75)
Food/beverage consumption		
Teacup		1 (OR 72
Plate		19 (OR 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 94, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102)

[a]Saucer/bowl could also be consumption in Yentsch's (1991) model.

E. H. and Anna Williams, Strat 9 land surface deposits, ca. 1845; Earth-toned and white-toned vessels by function

	Earth-toned vessels	White-toned vessels
Food/beverage distribution		
Platter	1 (OR 29)	
Pitcher	1 (OR 16)	
Food/beverage consumption		
Plate		9 (OR 13, 14, 18, 19, 24, 28, 32, 47, 48)
Mug		1 (OR 34)

Moors Family Phase II (ca. 1848); Earth-toned and white-toned vessels by function

	Earth-toned vessels	White-toned vessels
Food/beverage distribution		
Platter		1 (OR 16)
Food/beverage consumption		
Plate		1 (OR 9)
Teacup		1 (OR 12)

Moors Family Phase III (ca. 1848–1865); Earth-toned and white-toned vessels by function

	Earth-toned vessels	White-toned vessels
Food/beverage distribution		
Saucer[a]		1 (OR 2)
Food/beverage consumption		
Plate		1 (OR 1)

[a]A saucer could be for either distribution or consumption.

Ball Family Phase IV (1865–ca. 1882); Earth-toned and white-toned vessels by function.

	Earth-toned vessels	White-toned vessels
Food/beverage processing, storage, preparation		
Crock	3 (OR 40, 43, 44)	
Bottle	2 (OR 41, 42)	
Food/beverage distribution		
Jug	1 (OR 39)	
Saucer[a]		1 (OR 53)
Butter dish insert		1 (OR 62)
Food/Beverage Consumption		
Teacup		2 (OR 35, 59)
Mug		1 (OR 52)
Plate		3 (OR 56, 61, 63)

[a]Saucer could also be consumption in Yentsch's (1991) model.

Madeline Yale Wynne and Annie Putnam, Well (ca. 1885–1904); Earth- and white-toned vessels by function

	Earth-toned vessels	White-toned vessels
Food/beverage processing, storage, preparation		
Crock	2 (OR 111, 112)	
Milkpan	1 (OR 76)	
Food/beverage distribution		
Jug	3 (OR 58, 106, 107)	
Compote	1 (OR 1)	
Food/beverage consumption		
Plate		14 (OR 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 61, 62, 63, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 75)
Plate, small		2 (OR 56, 60)
Teacup		5 (OR 59, 70, 102, 103, 109)
Bowl		2 (OR 72, 108)
Saucer		4 (OR 57, 71, 74, 79)

Appendix E: Summary of Analyses of Decorative Motifs

OR "Object refit" or vessel number.

Dr. Thomas and Esther Williams, privy (ca. 1750–ca.1770); decorations on tea and tablewares

	Teawares	Tablewares	Other
Minimally decorated			5 (OR 3, 4, 7, 8, 30)
Shell edged			
Chinese landscapes			
Floral/neoclassical	2 (OR 1, 6)		1 (OR 12)
Other			

Dr. Thomas and Esther Williams, trash pit (ca. 1770); decorations on tea and tablewares

	Teawares	Tablewares	Other
Minimally decorated			2 (OR 21, 22)
Shell edged			
Chinese landscapes			
Floral/neoclassical	1 (OR 26)	1 (OR 20)	
Other			

E. H. and Anna Williams, privy/trash pit (ca. 1816); decorations on tea[a] and tablewares

	Teawares	Tablewares	Other
Minimally decorated	2 (OR 72, 87)	26 (OR 73, 76, 76, 77, 78, 79, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102)	1 (OR 80)
Shell edged			1 (OR 104)
Chinese landscapes	3 (OR 65, 66, 74)	4 (OR 63, 64, 67, 68)	1 (OR 105)
Floral/neoclassical			
Other			

[a]Four small saucer/bowls were included as teawares (one minimally decorated and three Chinese landscapes).

Tenants at the E. H. and Anna Williams home (ca. 1845); decorations on tea and tablewares

	Teawares	Tablewares	Other
Minimally decorated		3 (OR 24, 34, 48)	6 (OR 27, 41, 45, 49, 51, 55)
Shell edged		5 (OR 19, 28, 29, 32, 47)	2 (OR 22, 46)
Chinese landscapes		1 (OR 18)	1 (OR 17)
Floral/neoclassical		3 (OR 13, 14, 16)	
Other			

Moors Family Phases II and III (ca. 1848–1865); decorations on tea and tablewares

	Teawares	Tablewares	Other
Minimally decorated	2[a] (OR 2, 12)	2[b] (OR 1, 16)	5[a] (OR 17, 18, 20, 21, 22)
Shell edged		1 (OR 9)	1 (OR 4)
Chinese landscapes			
Floral/neoclassical			5 (OR 5, 6, 7, 8, 19)
Other			2 (OR 10, 11)

[a]Includes one Gothic-paneled vessel; small saucer/bowl counted as teaware.
[b]Includes one Gothic-paneled vessel.

Ball Family Phase IV (1865-ca. 1882); decorations on tea and tablewares

	Teawares	Tablewares	Other
Minimally decorated	1 (OR 59)	6 (OR 52, 53, 56, 61, 62, 63)	4 (OR 37, 50, 64, 65)
Shell edged			
Chinese landscapes			
Floral/neoclassical	1 (OR 35)		1 (OR 57)
Other			4 (OR 36, 51, 58, 60)

Madeline Yale Wynne and Annie Putnam, well (ca. 1885–1904); decorations on tea and tablewares

	Teawares	Tablewares	Other
Minimally decorated		7 (OR 62, 63, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69)	1 (OR 64)
Shell edged		5 (OR 51, 52, 53, 54, 55)	
Chinese landscapes	4 (OR 56, 57, 70, 79)	1 (OR 72)	1 (OR 78)
Floral/neoclassical	7 (OR 59, 60, 61, 71, 74, 102, 103)	2 (OR 75, 108)	3 (OR 73, 77, 110)
Other	1 (OR 109)		1 (OR 80)

Appendix F: Summary of Analyses of Modern Discipline

OR "Object refit" or vessel number.

Dr. Thomas and Esther Williams, privy deposits, ca. 1750–ca. 1770; diversity of functional categories, dining only (no additional vessels to include)

Functional category	Saucer	Plate	Teabowl
Stoneware, Bristol	1 (OR 5)		1 (OR 2)
Delft, hand-painted		1 (OR 6)	1 (OR 8)

Type = 2; Type-function = 4; Functional categories = 3
Index of functional categories: 4/2 × 3 = 6.0

Dr. Thomas and Esther Williams, trash deposit, ca. 1770; diversity of functional categories, dining only

Functional category	Mug	Teabowl	Bowl
Dotware	1 (OR 18)		
German stoneware	1 (OR 23)		
Porcelain, hand-painted		1 (OR 26)	
Yellow slipware			1 (OR 28)

Type = 4; Type-function = 4; Functional categories = 3
Index of functional categories: 4/4 × 3 = 3.0

Dr. Thomas and Esther Williams, trash deposit, ca. 1770; diversity of functional categories, dining plus pie plate and jugs

Functional category	Mug	Teabowl	Bowl	Pie plate	Jug
Dotware	1 (OR 18)				
German stoneware	1 (OR 22)				
Porcelain, hand-painted		1 (OR 26)			
Stoneware, impressed					1 (OR 24)
Yellow slipware			1 (OR 28)		
Redware, hand-painted					1 (OR 15)
Combed slipware				1 (OR 19)	

Type = 7; Type-function = 7; Functional categories = 5
Index of functional categories: 7/7 × 5 = 5.0

Dr. Thomas and Esther Williams, privy deposits, ca. 1750–ca. 1770; index of ceramic variability, with saucer as tableware

	Type	Function	Vessels included
Tablewares	2.0	2.0	OR 5, 6
Teawares	4.0	1.0	OR 1, 2
Food preparation	N/A	N/A	N/A
Personal use[a]	4.0	4.0	OR 3, 4, 7, 8

[a]Includes drug pots only.

Dr. Thomas and Esther Williams, Privy deposits, ca. 1750–ca. 1770; index of ceramic variability, with saucer as teaware

	Type	Function	Vessels included
Tablewares	1.0	1.0	OR 6
Teawares	3.0	3.0	OR 1, 2, 5
Food preparation	N/A	N/A	N/A
Personal use[a]	4.0	4.0	OR 3, 4, 7, 8

[a]Includes drug pots only.

Dr. Thomas and Esther Williams, trash deposit, ca. 1770; Index of ceramic variability (following Leone)

	Type	Function	Vessels included
Tablewares	5.33	3.0	OR 18, 20, 23, 28
Teawares	13.0	1.0	OR 26
Food preparation	4.0	6.25	OR 14, 15, 19, 24, 27
Personal use[a]	7.5	3.33	OR 16, 17, 21, 22, 25

[a]Includes two drug pots.

Ebenezer Hinsdale and Anna Williams, trash pit deposits, ca. 1816; diversity of functional categories, by vessel function only

F. C.	Shallow bowl	Plate	Lg. saucer	Chamber pot	Small saucer bowl	Deep bowl	Jug	Milk pan	Tea cup	Bowl indet	Pitcher
PWCd	1 (OR 63)										
PWCb			1 (OR 64)		2 (OR 65, 66)	2 (OR 67, 68)					
RW, undec						1 (OR 71)	1 (OR 69)	3 (OR 70, 108, 109)			
CW, undec		1 (OR 85)		1 (OR 80)		3 (OR 76, 77, 78)			1 (OR 72)	1 (OR 73)	1 (OR 75)
Porc, C(a)					1 (OR 74)						
CW, bead						1 (OR 79)					
CW, Royal	2 (OR 87, 95)	14 (OR 81, 82, 86, 89, 91, 92, 94, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102)									
CW, other sclp	1 (OR 88)	2 (OR 83, 90)									
WW Royal		1 (OR 84)									

F. C. = functional category; indet indeterminate, PWCd pearlware, chinoiserie (type D); (type C); PWCb pearlware, chinoiserie (type B); RW, undec redware, undecorated; CW, undec creamware, undecorated; Porc, C(a) hard-paste porcelain, chinoiserie (type A); CW, bead creamware, beaded rim; CW, royal creamware, royal scallop; CW, other sclp creamware, other scallop rim; WW, royal whiteware, royal scallop Type = 11; Type-function = 20; Function categories = 11
Index of functional categories: 20/11 × 11 = 20.0

Ebenezer Hinsdale and Anna Williams, trash pit deposits, ca. 1816; diversity of functional categories, by vessel sizes

F. C.	Shallow bowl 4–6"	Shallow bowl 6–10"	Large Saucer 6–10"	Small saucer/bowl <6"	Deep bowl 6–10"	Deep bowl 10–16"	7" plate	8" plate	9" plate	10" plate
PWCd	1 (OR 63)									
PWCa		1 (OR 64)								
PWCc				2 (OR 65, 66)						
PWCb					1 (OR 67)					
RW, undec					1 (OR 71)					
Porc, C(a)				1 (OR 74)						
CW, undec					3 (OR 76, 77, 78)					
CW, bead						1 (OR 79)				
CW, Royal		1 (OR 87)					4 (OR 86, 89, 100, 102)	2 (OR 96, 101)	2 (OR 81, 82)	6 (OR 91, 92, 94, 97, 98, 99)
CW, other sclp								1 (OR 83)		
WW, Royal										1 (OR 84)

F. C. functional category; PWCd pearlware, chinoiserie (type D); PWCa pearlware, chinoiserie (type A); PWCc pearlware, chinoiserie (type C); PWCb pearlware, chinoiserie (type B); RW, undec redware, undecorated; CW, undec creamware, undecorated; Porc, C(a) hard-paste porcelain, chinoiserie (type A); CW, bead creamware, beaded rim; CW, royal creamware, royal scallop; CW, other sclp creamware, other scallop rim; WW, royal whiteware, royal scallop
Type = 11; Type-function = 15; Function categories = 10
Index of functional categories: 15/11 × 10 = 13.6

Tenant Assemblage at the Williams Site, Strat 9 land surface, ca. 1845; diversity of functional categories, by vessel function only

Functional category	Plate	Pitcher	Platter	Mug
WW, tp	1 (OR 13)			
PW, tp	1 (OR 14)			
CW, An		1 (OR 16)		
PW, C(b)	1 (OR 18)			
PW, F	1 (OR 19)			
PW, B	1 (OR 24)			
PW, S(a)	1 (OR 28)			
PW, S(b)			1 (OR 29)	
PW, S(c)	2 (OR 32, 47)			
CW, undec				1 (OR 34)
CW, Royal	1 (OR 48)			

WW, tp whiteware, transfer printed; *PW, tp* pearlware, transfer printed; *CW, An* creamware, annular decoration; *PW, C(b)* pearlware, chinoiserie (type B); *PW, F* pearlware, molded feathered rim; *PW, B* pearlware, basket molded rim; *PW, S(a)* pearlware, shell edged (type A); *PW, S(b)* pearlware, shell edged (type B); *PW, S(c)* pearlware, shell edged (type C); *CW, undec* creamware, undecorated; *CW, royal* creamware, royal scalloped rimTypes = 11; Type-functions = 11; Function categories = 4
Index of functional categories: 11/11 × 4 = 4.0

Tenant Assemblage at the Williams Site, Strat 9 land surface, ca. 1845; diversity of functional categories, by vessel sizes

Functional category	8″ plate	9″ plate	10″ plate
WW, tp		1 (OR 13)	
PW, tp		1 (OR 14)	
PW, C(b)		1 (OR 18)	
PW, F			1 (OR 19)
PW, B			1 (OR 24)
PW, S(a)	1 (OR 28)		
PW, S(c)			2 (OR 32, 47)

WW, tp whiteware, transfer printed; *PW, tp* pearlware, transfer printed; *PW, C(b)* pearlware, chinoiserie (type B); *PW, F* pearlware, feather molded rim; *PW, B* pearlware, basket molded rim; *PW, S(a)* pearlware, shell edged (type A); *PW, S(c)* pearlware, shell edged (type C)
Types = 7; Size-functions = 7; Sizes = 3
Index of functional categories: 7/7 × 3 = 3.0

Ebenezer Hinsdale and Anna Williams, trash pit deposits, ca. 1816; index of ceramic variability, with small saucer/bowls as tablewares

	Type	Function	Vessels included
Tablewares	70.0	17.5	OR 63–68, 71, 73–79, 81–102
Teawares	1.0	1.0	OR 72
Food preparation	2.0	8.0	OR 69, 70, 108, 109
Personal use	1.0	1.0	OR 80

Ebenezer Hinsdale and Anna Williams, trash pit deposits, ca. 1816; index of ceramic variability, with small saucer/bowls as teawares

	Type	Function	Vessels included
Tablewares	54.3	17.7	OR 63, 64, 67, 68, 71, 73, 75–86, 88–102
Teawares	10.0	2.5	OR 65, 66, 72, 74, 87
Food preparation	2.0	8.0	OR 69, 70, 108, 109
Personal use	1.0	1.0	OR 80

Tenant assemblage at the Williams site, Strat 9 land surface, ca. 1845; index of ceramic variability

	Type	Function	Vessels included
Tablewares	33.0	4.4	OR 13, 14, 16, 18, 19, 24, 28, 29, 32, 34, 47, 48
Teawares	N/A	N/A	N/A
Food preparation	N/A	N/A	N/A
Personal use	N/A	N/A	N/A

Ball family occupation (Moors Site, Phase IV, 1865–ca. 1882); diversity of functional categories

F. C.	Tea cup	Jug	Crock	Bottle	Lid	Flower pot	Mug	Deep saucer	Plate	Butter insert
Porc, dec	1 (OR 35)									
SW, hp		1 (OR 39)								
SW, sg			1 (OR 40)							
SW, gl				1 (OR 41)	1 (OR 43)	1 (OR 48)				
SW, ug				1 (OR 42)	1 (OR 44)					
PW, An							1 (OR 52)			
WW, G								1 (OR 53)		
WW, ud	1 (OR 59)								1 (OR 56)	
IS, ud									1 (OR 61)	1 (OR 62)
IS, G									1 (OR 63)	

F. C. = functional category; Porc, dec hard-paste porcelain, decalcomania; SW, hp stoneware, hand painted; SW, sg stoneware, salt-glazed; SW, gl stoneware, glazed; SW, ug stoneware, unglazed; PW, An pearlware, annular; WW, G whiteware, gothic paneled; WW, ud whiteware, undecorated; IS, ud ironstone, undecorated; IS, G ironstone, gothic paneled

Type = 10;

Type-function = 14; Function categories = 10

Index of functional categories: 14/10 × 10 = 14.0

M. Wynne and A. Putnam, well, ca. 1885–1904; diversity of functional categories

FC	Plate	Md plate	Sm plate	Lg saucer	Saucer	Jug	Teacup	Indet	Bowl	Milkpan	Compote	Crock
CW, shell, blue	1 (OR 51)											
PW, shell, blue	4 (OR 52, 53, 54, 55)											
PW, tp, blue, pastoral							1 (OR 59)					
PC, Oriental			1 (OR 56)									
PC, hp, blue, floral							1 (OR 103)					
PC, hp, polychrome							1 (OR 102)		1 (OR 108)			
PC, plain, brown							1 (OR 109)					
IS, plain	1 (OR 63)											
IS, molded								1 (OR 64)				
WW, hp, Oriental				1 (OR 57)	1 (OR 79)		1 (OR 70)	1 (OR 78)				
WW, hp, floral	1 (OR 69)											
WW, tp, Oriental									1 (OR 72)			
WW, tp, blue boat and figure					1 (OR 71)			1 (OR 73)				
WW, tp, blue, boat and flowers			1(OR 60)									
WW, tp, bl, landscape		1 (OR 61)			1 (OR 74)							

WW, tp, black, floral	1 (OR 75)			
WW, tp, brown, nature			1 (OR 77)	
WW, molded	1 (OR 62)			
WW, plain	4 (OR 65, 66, 67, 68)			
WW, majolica			1 (OR 80)	
RW, plain			1 (OR 105)	
SW, plain		2 (OR 106, 107)		
SW, salt-glazed		1 (OR 58)		2 (OR 111, 112)
YW, plain				1 (OR 76)
EW, hp, polychrome				1 (OR 110)

Type= 25; Type-function=32; Function categories=12

Index of functional categories: 32/25 x 12 = 15.4

Ball Family occupation (Phase IV, 1865–ca. 1882); index of ceramic variability

	Type	Function	Vessels included
Tablewares	4.5	8.0	OR 52, 53, 56, 61, 62, 63
Teawares	4.0	1.0	OR 35, 59
Food preparation	6.0	6.0	OR 39, 40–44
Personal use	1.0	1.0	OR 48

Madeline Yale Wynne and Annie Putnam, well, ca. 1885–1904; index of ceramic variability

	Type	Function	Vessels included
Tablewares	67.5	3.3	OR 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 62, 63, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 72, 75, 108
Teawares	21.6	6.7	OR 56, 57, 59, 60, 61, 70, 71, 74, 79, 102, 103, 109
Food preparation	6.0	6.0	OR 58, 76, 106, 107, 111, 112
Personal use	N/A	N/A	N/A

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