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IDENTIFYING THE VISIBLE: A LOOK AT HOW ECONOMIC CLASS
AND ETHNICITY INFLUENCE WOMEN'S VISIBILITY
WITHIN A HOUSEHOLD

Cori Elise Rich

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Archaeology has allowed for underrepresented, often invisible, groups of people within history to become visible and have their stories told. Minority groups such as women, African Americans, and those occupying the lower class are just some of these underrepresented groups who have been identified through cultural remains. Despite archaeologists' best efforts in identifying these groups; there is still much work yet to be conducted. There is a lack of information from the eighteenth-century, and even less work done on the way ethnicity and class impact women's visibility within the archaeological record.

This paper utilizes seven site reports, from households of different economic position, dating to the eighteenth-century. Using ceramic assemblages and women's activity related materials, I examine how factors such as class and ethnicity impact women's visibility at these domestic sites. Analysis of this data shows distinct differences between women's activities and visibility when comparing those of the upper class and those of the middle and lower classes, and parallels are seen in the assemblages of both the middle and lower classes.

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AND ETHNICITY INFLUENCE WOMEN'S VISIBILITY
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CORI ELISE RICH

A Thesis Submitted in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

ILLINOIS STATE UNIVERSITY

2014

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AND ETHNICITY INFLUENCE WOMEN'S VISIBILITY
WITHIN A HOUSEHOLD

CORI ELISE RICH

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The study of women and their activities is not new to the field of historical archaeology. Archival documents address women within the household and the work they conducted. Archaeologists verify these work related activities through the artifacts that women have discarded or lost. While there is a large body of research on women's activities, relatively little of it takes into account about not only gender, but class and ethnicity as well. This thesis will focus on households with eighteenth-century occupations. Seven sites east of the Mississippi River were chosen; two upper class, three middle class, and two lower class households were utilized. This research examines how class and ethnicity impact the visibility of women in archaeological interpretations of household sites. Feminist and Marxian theories were used as the building blocks of this study, helping to understand and explain women's work within the household as well as class and ethnic inequalities. Since archaeologists have rarely discussed this, the goal of my research is to provide a better understanding of women's visibility in past societies and acknowledge potential factors impacting their visibility in archaeological interpretation.

The Household

Historical archaeologists have looked at eighteenth-century household assemblages in terms of social class, gender, and even ethnicity. Many of these archaeologists focus on identifying consumption patterns and consumerism within the household. Other archaeologists have looked at the construction of the house itself. Architecture and the space utilized by those within the domestic sphere have also been examined. Those archaeologists interested in households often focus on how the materials of the past can aid in understanding the household in terms of gender, class, and ethnicity.

The home is made up of various components that must work together in order for the household to function properly. Things such as financial and social abilities along with personal beliefs are all part of shaping a household (Rotman 2005). All persons in the home have roles, which can manifest themselves into what archaeologists today label as hierarchies. These hierarchies can be seen in terms of gender as well as ethnicity, and can be seen archaeologically (Galle 2004; Hendon 1996; Rotman 2005; Yamin et al. 2000; Yentsch 1994). These are just some aspects of a household that need to be recognized when taking on household archaeology. Hendon (1996) looked at domestic action and social relations within the home and, like Deborah Rotman (2005), saw the importance of social and gender identity within a household. There is often too much emphasis on what a household did and not on who did what within the household (Hendon 1996).

Many historians have examined the household and those who worked within it. Carol Berkin and Leslie Horowitz (1998) discuss the work of men and women within the household, using historical documents, letters, poems, and songs to help paint a picture of colonial life. Merrill D. Smith (2010) discusses women's roles within the household in eighteenth-century America. Alice Morse Earl (1927) details such things as work, dress, and food preparation and consumption within the colonial household. Laurel Thatcher Ulrich (1980) captures daily work and interaction with neighbors in northern colonial New England, providing a glimpse not only into colonists' households but into their interaction as members of a community.

While a large body of research has already been done on households, there are still avenues of research that have yet to be discovered. It is important to look past the known and look into the unknown.

Plantations and Slave Quarters

Daily activities at plantations and slave quarters are often preserved archaeologically and lend insight into the life and household activities of the enslaved (e.g., Edwards-Ingram 2001; Kelso 1984; Mrozowski et al 2008; Reinhart 1984). Archaeologists have looked at consumerism, foodways, activities, and ritual practices to interpret gender within the slave quarters and plantation. Gender roles are more often examined within the slave quarters and the enslaved community than among the plantation owners. Food preparation and consumption has been used to identify gender

related activities as well as working conditions within the plantation. Magic and ritual practices have also been looked at and used as a way to identify gender and identity within the enslaved community.

According to Leland Ferguson (1991) eighteenth-century African slaves in North Carolina maintained foodways similar to those of West Africa, while being significantly different from those of European-Americans. African-American slaves appear to have been consuming more one-dish meals from domestically manufactured cookware and dishes (Ferguson 1991).

Other materials preserve archaeologically and aid archaeologists in understanding activities at these slave quarters. Whitney Battle discusses the importance of looking at domestic sites on plantations. By examining slave quarters a better understanding of everyday actions and activities can be uncovered (Battle 2004: 33). Archaeology on the Andrew Jackson Hermitage yielded important details about an enslaved seamstress, Gracy Bradley (Galle 2004). Enslaved individuals had the ability to use their special skills to participate in economic and social systems (Galle 2004: 66). Traditional African gender roles were seen preserved at an enslaved household at the Utopia Plantation (Fesler 2004). Garrett Fesler (2004) discusses similarities in living arrangements between Utopia Plantation and West and Central Africa. Franklin (2004) looks at a slave quarter at Rich Neck plantation and discusses the family groups that occupied this home, and the gender related activities such as child rearing and sewing. Samford (2004) looked at gender roles and domestic production in enslaved homesteads in Virginia. To combat the negative influence of enslavement, African slaves may have relied on West African

social and gender roles to create culturally rich communities within the plantation system (Samford 2004). Archaeologists have looked at plantation and slave homes in ways that not only identify gender roles but also family dynamics within a particular ethnic group (Battle 2004; Galle 2004; Fesler 2004; Franklin 2004; Samford 2004).

Ritual and spiritual practices have been the focus of many archaeological studies done within plantations and slave quarters. Artifacts from the Jordan Plantation are nearly identical to materials found in modern-day West African-style conjure kits (Samford 1996:87). These ritual and spiritual practices were important to enslaved communities and were used as a way to not only preserve their culture, but as a means of creating their own identity. Mass produced objects were often modified by those enslaved in order to give them a West-African meaning (Samford 1996). Slave religion, ritual, and spiritual practice evolved and developed from what it had once been in Africa. Those that were enslaved had to observe these practices in the privacy of their homes (Fennell 2003). Often ritual materials to ward off bad luck or protect the home were buried under the slave quarters in subfloor pits (Samford 1996). Often objects were worn on or close to the body to ward off evil, objects such as hand charms and blue beads (Thomas 1998:547).

The presence of blue beads at an enslaved domestic site is often associated with magical or ritual practices (Stine et al. 1996). These beads are found in larger quantities when compared to other colored beads at slave quarters (Stine et al.) These blue beads were believed to have protective powers; the ownership of blue beads was a mark of status and power in some West African societies (Samford 1996: 102). Other magical practices evolved from those in Africa. Hoodoo was practiced from 1702-1920

throughout the American South (Leone and Fry 2001:157). Hoodoo was used to prevent disease, bring luck, provide protection, and occasionally punish (Leone and Fry 2001). Coins, charms, animals' feet, beads, knots, and even animal skins were used for their magical properties. Ritual and spiritual practices evolved from many African traditions and were used by the enslaved as a way to negotiate an identity of their own.

Enslaved Africans have been made visible within their homes through their consumerism, foodways, activities, and ritual and spiritual practices. Women of these households can be seen through many of these same mediums. Once you leave the slave quarters, these women seem to disappear in the archaeological literature. Their presence within the Main House is often overlooked and understudied. It is vital that these women and the work they did outside of the slave quarters becomes recognized and appreciated.

Gender, Class, and Ethnicity

It is difficult to discuss gender, class, or ethnicity separately since within a household these three things are often combined. Archaeologists also need to combine them to give a better understanding of the archaeological remains. Often archaeologists examine two of these aspects together, but seldom all three.

It is important to note both social class and gender identity when examining household assemblages (Cabak et al. 1999; Rotman 2005; McInnis 1999; Wall 2000; Warner 1998; Veech 1998). Other household studies do not necessarily focus on gender, but look at class and note ethnicity within the household (Groover 2005; Herman 1991;

Wall 1994; Yentsch 1994; Zierden 2010). Often studies that focus on the household vary in geographic location, economic class, and the degree to which ethnicity is discussed (Cabak et al. 1999; Cusick 1993, 2000; Loren 1999, 2000; Warner 1998). Household archaeologists have also looked at the construction and location of a home in terms of gender, ethnicity, and class (Brandon and Barile 2004; Dawdy 2006; Spencer-Wood 2002).

Some studies look at how different spaces within a home are reserved for women (Spencer-Wood 1991; 2006; Wheeler 2001; Yentsch 1991). These spaces have often been noted as kitchen, garden, and dairying areas and are commonly referred to as “private” sectors of the home. Anne Yentsch (1991) looked at gender and space. Interested in looking at activity areas in relation to gender, she saw areas of activity as socially and culturally defined. Suzanne M. Spencer-Wood (1991) looked at gender dichotomy in the nineteenth century. She placed an emphasis on kitchen-less homes and public kitchens, using her work to challenge typical gender biases. At the home of a white family in Boston, Massachusetts, the construction of new kitchens was seen with a new female head of household (Wheeler 2001). Archaeologists see this as women having decision making power within the home. Certain women had a say in the construction of their kitchen as well as and the power to discard old tableware in order to obtain new wares (Spencer-Wood 2006). Spencer-Wood (2006) also sees the movement of the kitchen as an indicator of women’s control of structure in the home.

Archaeologists often rely on consumption and consumerism as a means to identify economic status of these households (Heath 2004). Probate inventories and

documentation can also aid in the understanding of social as well as economic status (Hawley 1987; Holliday 1999; Martin 2008, Nylander 1988; Ward 1987). Sheer size of a plantation or home, the number of slaves, probate records, and presence or absence of certain materials can help indicate the economic status of a site. Rotman (2005) looked at how class affected gender roles in Deerfield, Massachusetts. Another study, done by Diana Wall (2000), looked at the household assemblages of middle class women in New York City, examining ceramics, glassware, and furniture. Mark Warner (1998) looked at nineteenth and twentieth-century African American consumerism in Annapolis, Maryland, by comparing the households of two African American families. His research illustrated the complicated nature of creating a unique African American identity while consuming and purchasing similar meats to those of white Americans (Warner 1998). There are numerous studies done within the nineteenth century and twentieth century, while the eighteenth century is much more limited.

Archaeologists have dealt with plantations in similar ways. The archaeology often focuses on one group, household, or individual person who occupied the plantation. Gender is looked at even more simply within the confines of a plantation. Wealthy women living on a large plantation would not have had the same gender roles as their female slaves or servants. Archaeologists often neglect making enslaved women visible outside of the slave quarters. This must not be ignored since many of these enslaved women were working within the Main House doing domestic chores and activities. It is important when looking at the archaeological materials to think about not only who owns certain materials, but who was utilizing these materials.

Women of different racial and economic groups living side by side are often looked at separately when examining plantation and domestic sites. Jillian Galle (2004), Laurie Wilkie (2004), Brian and Larissa Thomas (2004), and Amy Young (2004) have all looked at enslaved women within the home or African American community. These women have been made visible, yet only within their homes and communities. The next step is to look at these women outside of these contexts, making them visible among other classes and ethnicities of women. Anne Yentsch (1994) comes close to addressing the issues of identifying enslaved women out of the slave quarters as she discusses the relationship between the Calverts and their slaves.

Archaeologists have studied households in a variety of different ways. They have examined material culture, historical documents, and architecture to look at gender, class, and ethnicity. Even though gender may not have been examined in the initial analysis of certain sites, it can still be identified through the material culture from these sites. This review of existing research has shown a need for additional work on the comparison of women's visibility across economic class and ethnicity.

Theoretical Orientation

How does one begin to examine women's visibility at the household level? To answer this question there must be a theoretical foundation; feminist theory and Marxian theory will be the building blocks for this research

Feminist Theory

Feminist archaeologists criticize sexism in society and the androcentric bias of past archaeological research (Engelstad 2007; Moore 1988; Spencer-wood 1992, 1999; Whitehouse 2007). Through a critique of these societal gender roles, women become more than just hidden characters within history. It also allows women to be seen in a diverse way by noting that gender roles are social constructions and vary not only culturally, but within the confines of the household. Feminists point out that household archaeology has been devalued because of its concerns with the domestic sphere, a space predominantly associated with women (Spencer-Wood 1992, 1999). By studying and identifying women within the household, feminist archaeologists are giving value to domestic duties, which have otherwise been overlooked. At other times, feminists critique the notion that men's work was public, while women's was private, because it limits women to the domestic sphere (McGraw 1996; Moore 1988; Spencer-Wood 1992, 1999; Wall 1994, 2000).

Women's activity, when found in the historical record, was often filtered through a male perspective (Samford 2004; Wylie 1997). Making women in the past visible is at the forefront of feminist archaeologists' minds (Conkey 2003, Conkey and Spector 1984; Engelstad 2007; Franklin 2001; Moore 1988; Spencer-Wood 1992, 1999; Whitehouse 2007). Women who performed domestic tasks were invisible not only in history but within their own homes

Using a feminist perspective across racial and ethnic lines can be difficult at best. For example, Maria Franklin (2001) discusses the importance of seeing African American women as affected by both gender oppression and racial oppression. This critique must be kept in mind when looking at enslaved women at the household level. White Western feminists have been criticized by those of color for using middle class white women's lives as the rule by which to measure the lives of women of other ethnicities (Edwards-Ingram 2001; Scott 1994). It is important to keep in mind the historical contexts in which women lived and worked. Different racial histories will affect how women are seen and identified at the household level.

All of these women have played a role in guiding this pressing question about women's visibility. Keeping women, especially those of different ethnicities and classes, relevant within the field of archaeology is important. Numerous studies have been conducted about gender within the household, but there is still something missing. Archaeologists neglected to place women of different ethnicities and classes outside of their homes. Whitney Battle (2004) emphasizes how looking at household archaeology can provide a better understanding of everyday actions within slave quarters. This needs to be taken a step further. By looking at enslaved women outside of their home and seeing their activities within the Main House as well will enhance their visibility. Maria Franklin (2001) emphasizes that the histories of different ethnic groups need to be taken into account. Overlooking the presence of enslaved women within the Main House would be ignoring a part of these women's history. Anne Yentsch (1994) comes close to making enslaved women within the Main House visible when she discusses the Calvert family

and their relationship with their slaves. Eighteenth-century women are undeniably visible within the household. What becomes important is looking at which women are visible, how they are visible, and how this compares to other domestic sites.

Feminist theories provide an important framework for this study. It is imperative to identify ways in which the field of gender or feminist archaeology can be improved. By including concepts such as ethnicity and class more can be learned about the women of the past.

Marxian Theory

A Marxian perspective focuses on labor, inequality, and power struggles. Looking at these assemblages from a Marxian perspective calls attention not only to class, but to inequalities because of these constructed classes (LeeDecker et al. 1987; Wurst 1999, 2002). This study focuses on upper class, middle class, and slave assemblages to show gender inequalities both economically and racially.

Consumption and consumerism are not possible without commodities; these commodities are used as a means of exchange (Orser 2004).”Commodification refers to the act of assigning the characteristics of exchangeability to objects, attitudes, behaviors, and in the case of slavery, people” (Orser 2004:159). Inequalities can be seen through consumer choice and the materials accessible to certain groups of people. Ceramics and other materials are often used to see this distinction in consumer choice studies, even if not from a Marxian perspective (Ferguson 1991; Garman and Russo 1999; LeeDecker et

al. 1987; O'Donovan and Wurst 2001; Shepard 1987; Spencer-Wood and Heberling 1987).

Mark Leone (1988) discusses how those of the eighteenth-century middle class, though impoverished, were participating in many of the same activities as the wealthy. Those in the middle and lower classes often purchased similar ceramics as elites (Baugher and Venables 1987). By purchasing expensive ceramics the middle and lower classes were attempting to create the illusion of a higher social status. Commodities were not the only way to separate the wealthy from impoverished; the use of space would become a way to further separate as well as control those with little power. Epperson (1999) discusses how plantation owners had control over the space utilized and occupied by their slaves, creating even more rigid racial divisions.

The material culture of enslaved peoples in other contexts has shown a rejection of capitalism through the production of their own materials. In both the Chesapeake and southern colonies enslaved peoples rejected forms of capitalism by creating their own handmade pots, colonoware, which were produced by women (Ferguson 1991; Matthews 2010). The production of these wares alongside the continued use of traditional cooking and clothing materials occurred because of class struggle. Those who were enslaved lost their power and control. In order to create a sense of control, they maintained many African traditions. By using these objects, slaves took away the capitalistic construction of reality and created their own reality (Ferguson 1999; Fennell 2003; Matthews 2010; Russell 1997; Thomas and Thomas 2004; Yentsch 1991). The maintenance of their traditional folklore, songs, and language was also a form of non-violent resistance

towards plantation owners (Orser 1991). Since slaves did not have the same opportunities as their owners, socially or economically, they created their own identities. These identities allowed the enslaved to create a sense of power and resistance.

Both gender and class can be seen in the archaeology of inequality, emphasizing the struggles of those within society (Ferguson 1991; Paynter and McGuire 1991:1; McGuire and Wurst 2002). Marxists typically argue that gender is less important than class conflict and at worse divisive of the working class (Hartman 1979:1). Sexism and the struggles women endure have become more contagious because of capitalism and the exclusion of women from the wage labor force (Hartman 1979). Eighteenth-century women worked within the household, wage free. Those women who had the means were able to purchase slaves and servants to conduct this labor for them. The economic class and race of women affected the type of labor they conducted within the household.

Research Questions

By looking at these sites from feminist and Marxian perspectives, this research hopes to address issues of women's visibility across class lines while taking ethnicity into account. Four questions will be asked to help guide this research and interpretation of the data. 1) Women are visible within household assemblages, but to what extent? 2) Do some women disappear or reappear depending on social class? 3) If a home has slaves, how does that play a role in the visibility of women of different classes and ethnicities

within the same household? 4) Does the visibility of women differ in urban and rural settings?

The first question addresses both the known and unknown. Research has proven that yes, women are visible at domestic sites. The extent to which these women are visible must then be examined. The comparison of different assemblages will help in understanding the degree to which women are visible and the factors that affect their visibility

The second question addresses social class. Since different economic classes are being compared it is important to note whether or not certain women are visible or remain hidden depending on their class. Marxian theory can be used in the understanding and interpretation of class differences and help shed light on this question.

The third question addresses class and ethnic differences. Many of the sites analyzed had a Main House as well as slave quarters. If a home had slaves it creates a complex scenario for associating certain materials with women of certain classes and ethnic groups. The addition of different classes and ethnicities of women working under the same roof cannot be ignored and must be addressed.

The fourth question addresses geographic location. Both urban and rural sites are utilized in this research. It is important to note whether a rural or urban location influences the activities in which women would have participated, thus potentially affecting their visibility.

Summary

There has been a limited amount of research conducted about women on eighteenth- century domestic sites. Archaeologists have often overlooked women's visibility within the household and how potential class and ethnic differences could affect this visibility. Using a feminist and Marxian theoretical framework this thesis will attempt to look at factors affecting women's visibility and hopefully open up doors for more research of this type to be conducted

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

There is no universal when it comes to associating artifacts with gender. Objects that are related to men and women vary across time and space. This is why it is important to have a clear understanding of the time period studied. Women in the eighteenth century have often been noted for their activity in areas such as the kitchen, gardens, spring house, and hen house (Yentsch 1991). Often materials located in private sectors of the home are considered feminine (Yentsch 1991). Other activities often considered to be “women’s work” included gardening; milk and dairy collection; laundry; curd separation; curation of roots, herbs, and cheeses; roasting; brewing; serving; and cleaning (Ulrich 1980; Gibb and King 1991). This is why spatial analysis is an essential part of understanding gendered activities within the household. By identifying objects women used or wore, they are moved out of the private areas of the home and become visible.

By looking at homes of different economic class, located in rural and urban contexts, my hope is to see variation in the extent of women’s visibility. Seven eighteenth-century households were chosen based off of information found within their individual site reports. Two upper class households located in Charleston, South

Carolina, while the middle class homes are located across the country. One of the middle class homes is located in Delaware, one in Michigan, and the other in South Carolina's back country. The two homes associated with the lower class and slave quarters are located in Virginia. Sites were chosen based on availability of existing reports, existence of an eighteenth-century component, and the types of materials recovered from excavations.

Artifact Categories

Artifacts found in household contexts can be ideal for seeing women archaeologically, which is why the discussion of these materials within the site report was imperative to my research. Certain types of ceramics, kitchen and table wares, clothing related objects, personal objects, adornment, and sewing materials were all used to make women visible at these sites.

Ceramics

Ceramics from all seven sites were separated into two categories, tableware and food preparation and storage. Ware types were noted, as well as vessel forms when possible. Certain types of ceramic wares and vessel forms have often been associated with women's activities (Gibb and King 1991; Yentsch 1991). Anne Yentsch (1991) attributes coarse earthenwares, such as butter pots, crocks, and storage jars, with

women's activity. These earth-toned vessels would have been used in activities associated with food preparation and storage. Food preparation and storage was often the responsibility of the women in the household (Gibb and King 1991). These were activities that took place in the private sectors of the home, another reason for their association with women (Yentsch 1991).

Colonoware, categorized as food preparation and storage, was looked at separately from other wares associated with this category. The presence of colonoware can help in the identification of enslaved women because those producing colonowares at these sites were women (Ferguson 1991). Colonoware was an important identifier of enslaved women at the upper class assemblages and was used as a means of comparison across all seven sites.

Table wares were examined in terms of vessel number and ware type. Economic class can be seen through the presence and absence of certain ceramic wares, as well as the variety of wares (Baugher and Venables 1987). Tea wares were included in the category of tableware but were used separately also as a means of inter-site comparison.

Other Activities Related to Food and Drink

Metal tableware and kitchenware were included alongside the ceramic wares. Kettles, pots, and skillets are associated kitchenware and were thus included with the food preparation vessels. Kitchenware included brass pots, cast iron pots, iron pot handles, bronze pot handles, iron cutlery, iron kettles, and a possible skillet or pan.

Cutlery items were included with ceramic tableware; these tablewares included iron forks, spoons, and knives, pewter spoons, bone handled cutlery, and lead spoons. When possible, these materials were discussed in terms of both numbers of fragments as well as minimum number of items. Fragments were included in tables discussing ceramic sherds, while specific numbers of items were included in MNV tables.

Clothing, Adornment, Personal, and Sewing Activities

Class and gender can also be seen through the clothing women wore (Loren 2010). Since women were often responsible for textiles and for making clothes, I associate these items with them. Activities such as carding wool, combing flax, bucking yarn, spinning, sewing, knitting, washing, ironing, mending, altering, and framing quilts were women's activities (Beales 1990). Since many women were often seamstresses and laundresses, needles, thimbles, and other sewing-related items can thus be attributed to women (Baumgarten 2002; Beaudry 2006; Fesler 2004; Galle 2004; Wood 2004; Young 2004).

Probate inventories help identify the clothing that women wore in the 1700's. Women often wore ribbons, aprons, silk hoods, and gloves (Trautman 1989; McLean Ward 1989). Unfortunately many of these materials do not survive archaeologically. What archaeologists are often left with are pins, buttons, beads, buckles, and hooks/eyes that were placed on clothing. Other artifacts such as hand charms, pins, bells, and certain colored beads can help in the identification of enslaved women (Ferguson 1999; Fennell

2003; Russell 1997; Thomas and Thomas 2004; Yentsch 1991). These clothing, adornment, and personal objects are associated with women throughout my analysis. It was important when analyzing these materials to try and decipher which women were utilizing which materials.

The categories above helped aid in my understanding of women within a domestic site. The ceramics women used, and the smaller objects they would have interacted with on a day to day basis were imperative in making women visible within the archaeological record. Categories were created using the information from the authors cited above, as well as documents describing women's work from the eighteenth century (Berkin and Horwitz 1998; Earle 1927; Hendon 1996; Smith 2010).

Analytical Process

In order to complete this research I looked at variety of household assemblages from different economic backgrounds, ethnic backgrounds, and both urban and rural locations. I relied on descriptions and the identification of ceramic ware types and vessel forms outlined in site reports. First ceramic data was gathered and separated into one of two categories: tableware or food preparation and storage ware. Data tables were made to organize this information and each ware type was given a subtotal and percentage of the total ceramic assemblage for each site. Totals and percentages were also given for sherds, vessels, and, when available, both.

Metal table and kitchenware items were placed within the ceramic category and then put into a different table. After the ceramics and metal artifacts were organized, the smaller finds were categorized as clothing, adornment, personal, sewing, or other. These activities were used along with the ceramic assemblages to compare sites within the same economic class as well as to aid in a larger inter-site comparison.

Site Descriptions

Upper Class Households

Brewton. The Miles Brewton house is a private dwelling located at 27 King Street in Charleston, South Carolina. This home was built in 1769 and saw eight generations of the Brewton family, with the most affluent generation occupying the home from 1791 until 1830 (Zierden 2001). Miles Brewton married Mary Izard in 1754. The couple had three children together, two boys and one unnamed infant (Zierden 2001). Miles and his family were lost at sea in 1775; the property was then handed down to his sister, Mary Brewton Motte and her family (Zierden 2001). This home is one of two examples of a wealthy, urban household.

The excavation at this site was conducted in two phases by Martha Zierden and The Charleston Museum; phase I was initiated in 1988 and phase II in 1989. I take into account findings from both phase I and phase II, but place the materials found from these phases into separate tables. Materials from phase II of the archaeological excavation were

recovered from the Brewton formal garden; these materials were analyzed separately from those in phase I. Excavations (phase I and II) came from the Brewton occupation circa 1760-1775 with a brief overlap from the Motte-Alstone occupation circa 1770-1830. Phase II of the excavation, which included the formal garden dates to 1770, and includes both the Brewton and Mott-Alston occupations. Phase I, or “Brewton 1766” as seen on the tables, refers to the earlier Brewton occupation spanning 1760 to 1775.

The materials I analyze are limited to what was uncovered from the 18 units excavated in phase I and the trenches from phase II. The excavations in phase I were conducted with both trowels and shovels and all materials were water screened through ¼-inch mesh. Phase II consisted of dry-screening through ¼-inch mesh.

Sherd counts were utilized to describe the ceramic assemblage for both phases of this excavation. Sherd counts and ware descriptions were taken from Zierden’s (2001) report. Since vessel forms were mentioned in general terms and counts were not always provided, minimum number of vessels was not included for this site. Smaller finds were categorized by activities associated with clothing, sewing, adornment, personal, and other. These artifacts, like the ceramics, were analyzed within their individual excavation phase and were then compared to the other six sites.

Heyward. The Heyward Washington house is located on 87 Church Street, in the oldest part of Charleston. The first home at the Heyward Washington site was occupied by John Milner in the 1730’s. Archaeological excavations were conducted in the 1970’s, 1990’s, and early 2000’s (Zierden 2007). Like the Miles Brewton house, the Heyward site has seen a long range of occupation. The site has been continually occupied since

1730 (Zierden 2007). The earliest occupation was from 1730-1740's by gunsmith John Milner, while the Heyward family occupied it from the late eighteenth century through the nineteenth century.

Excavations in 2002 and 2003 were conducted using both trowels and shovels; the dirt from seven separate units was dry-screened through ¼-inch mesh (Zierden 2007). The two different assemblages I analyzed from this site were from the John Milner, gunsmith occupation (1730-1740) and from the John Milner, Jr. occupation (1740-1760s). Since the Heyward occupation and Grimke occupation periods extended to 1820, they were left out of my analysis. John Milner ran a gunsmith business on his property while John, his wife, and five children occupied a small wooden house (Zierden 2007:13). Upon his death he divided his 11 slaves amongst his heirs and his business was continued by John Milner, Jr.

Similar to the Brewton site, artifacts from the Heyward site were kept within the occupation period from which they were recovered. This meant the 1730's John Milner occupation and the 1740's John Milner, Jr. occupation were placed into separate tables. The ceramic sherd counts from these occupations were reconstructed based on the site report (see Appendix A). MNV were not always provided; therefore only sherd counts were utilized for this site, as with the Brewton site. Other artifacts such as sewing and personal objects were included in a separate table according to occupation period.

Middle Class Households

Block 1184. Block 1184 is an example of a middle class urban site. It is located in Wilmington, Delaware and is the site of parsonage associated with a Swedish church (LeeDecker et al. 1990). Throughout the eighteenth century the Trinity Church saw three buildings used as parsonages; however the materials discussed below seem to be associated with the mid eighteenth-century occupation dating between 1740 and 1760(65) (LeeDecker et al. 1990: 91). The parsonage lot saw numerous pastors and their families between 1712 and 1791. Residents during the mid-eighteenth century included John Enneberg (1732-1742), Peter Tranberg (1742-1748), Israel Acrelius (1748-1756), Eric Unander (1755-1758), and Andrew Borell (1758-1767) (LeeDecker et al. 1990:30). LeeDecker and colleagues (1990:31) note that Peter Tranberg was married and had at least two sons who possibly occupied this parsonage. Details of other pastors and their families associated with the eighteenth-century Swedish Church parsonage were not discussed.

Backhoe stripping and trenching were used along with hand troweling. Backhoe dirt was not screened while the excavated soil was sifted through ¼ -inch screens. Artifacts from depositional units 58B, 58C, and most of 58A were associated with the eighteenth-century parsonage.

The ceramic assemblage described for this site was modified from the original (LeeDecker et al. 1990:92) so that it was consistent with the format of the other site tables. Of the 140 total vessels identified at this parsonage, only 80 were used in my

study; the purpose of this was to isolate the known tableware and food preparation and storage vessels for comparative purposes. Fifty-four fragmentary vessels were included in my ceramic description table but were not factored into my MNV totals or percentages. These fragmentary vessels were identified in the site report only as flatware, hollowware, and teaware. Ware type was not included so placing them into tableware or kitchenware was not possible, but because 19 of the fragmentary vessels were identified as teaware, I chose to utilize these vessels for comparison. These were used to give a better representation of teaware vessels at this site as well as aiding in cross-site comparisons.

Brown Cowpen. The Catherine Brown cowpen is located in Barnwell County, South Carolina. It represents a rural middle class household and was occupied between the 1750's and early 1780's (Brooks et al. 2000). Catherine Brown was married to Bartlett Brown, and the two had a son, Bartlett Brown, Jr. (Brooks et al. 2000:49). The Brown family was considered affluent by backcountry standards because of their land and slave holding, but the materials recovered are those of modest means.

Units at this site were excavated by hand and dirt was put through ¼-inch screens while features were removed for flotation. In the original site report, kitchen-related ceramics accounted for 656 of the total artifacts recovered and colonoware was placed into an "activity" category (Brooks et al. 2000:165). For the purposes of my analysis I included colonoware (n=382) with the kitchen-related ceramics, making the new total n=1038.

Sherd and vessel counts were gathered from the discussion given for each ware type. Exact vessel counts were not given for all ware types so the MNV counts in my study are only for vessels discussed in the report. Chamber pots were identified in the report in terms of MNV as well as ware type, but not exact sherd count. Since I could not separate the chamber pots into certain numbers of sherds for each waretype, they are being left as they appeared in the original site report.

House D. House D, at Fort Michilimackinac, located in northern Michigan saw both French and British occupation in the 1700's. I chose to focus on the 1761-1781 British household for my analysis. House D was probably occupied by Surgeon's Mate David Mitchell, a warrant officer, and his Métis wife, Elizabeth Bertrand (Evans 2001). Excavations at House D began in 1989 and continued on through 1997.

All of the soil was initially sifted through ¼-inch mesh screens and then water-screened through 1/16- inch window mesh. This allowed for small artifacts to be recovered that can aid in my identification of women at these locations. The artifacts I analyzed came from British interior occupation deposits, British refuse pits, puddling pits, fireboxes, and the fireplace. There were a total of 3,958 ceramic sherds from this excavation; however, only 34 of these sherds were directly associated with the British occupation of this home. No vessel forms were given for these 34 sherds, but a general idea was possible, given the vessels that were identified for the total assemblage. Vessel types were described in the report for the total ceramic assemblage, but since my sample size was so small I made no definitive conclusion on vessel forms.

Lower Class Households

Rich Neck. The Rich Neck slave quarter (RNSQ) is described as semi-rural and is located on a satellite tobacco plantation in Williamsburg, Virginia. The slaves belonged to the Ludwells, a wealthy planter family who owned the plantation from 1665 to 1838 (Franklin 2004). The RNSQ dwelling dates to the eighteenth century, and will be used for my research. The dwelling was occupied by two families who made up 21 of Rich Neck's resident slaves (Franklin 2004:13). Excavation at Rich Neck began in 1993, while the slave quarter excavation took place in 1994 until 1995; the field crew utilized both dry-screening through ¼-inch mesh and floatation sampling (Franklin 2004:1).

Individual tables in Franklin's report (2004) describing vessel form, ceramic ware type, and sherd count and description were combined into one table for my analysis. Both minimum number of vessels and sherd counts were utilized for tableware and kitchenware, along with metal artifacts related to these two categories. The smaller finds that could be attributed to women's activities were placed into separate tables. These artifacts were then compared to similar artifacts from the six other sites.

Hemings. The Elizabeth Hemings site is located on Thomas Jefferson's primary plantation, Monticello, in Charlottesville, Virginia. She arrived at Monticello in 1775 at the age of 40. Throughout the 1770's and 1780's Hemings is believed to have lived on Mulberry Row and was one of Jefferson's core staff of house servants (Neiman et al. 2000). In 1795 a log house was constructed for Hemings to live in; this home was the context for the artifacts I examine in this study. Hemings would not have occupied this

home long, however; documentary evidence indicates she died in 1807 as a slave. In 1996 a field crew excavated at this location, using 1/4-inch screens for artifact recovery.

Sherd counts were not included in MNV tables in the body of the report, but for the purposes of this research they were gathered from Appendix 1 of the site report (Neiman et al. 2000:61). Two unidentified coarse earthenware sherds that could be initially associated with food preparation and storage are the only type of coarse earthenware from this location. Following the same methodology as the other six sites, the small finds related to women's activities were placed in a separate table to be used for inter-site comparisons.

Summary

Women and their activities are visible within household assemblages, but to what extent? Do some women disappear or reappear depending on social class? If a home has slaves, how does this play a role in the visibility of women of different classes and ethnicities within the same household? Does the visibility of women differ in urban and rural settings? In order to answer these questions a number of households needed to be examined. Seven sites, ranging from upper class homes to slave quarters, were utilized.

These women, rich and poor, free and enslaved, are visible through the remains of their activities and ceramics. Kitchenwares, tablewares, clothing materials, sewing materials, and personal and adornment objects these women used are some of the materials that help identify them within a household.

Analysis of these materials helps answer the questions noted above that for so long have been overlooked.

CHAPTER III

ANALYSIS

This research focuses on seven different eighteenth-century households and the visibility of women within these homes. My analysis will be presented according to economic class, and then it will be broken down by site within these class categories. I begin with two upper class households, followed by three middle class households, and ending with two lower class/slave households. By looking at this data my goal is to be able to answer the following questions. Women and their activities are visible within household assemblages, but to what extent? Do some women disappear or reappear depending on social class? If a home has slaves, how does that play a role in the visibility of women of different classes and ethnicities within the same household? Does the visibility of women differ in urban and rural settings?

Upper Class Households

Miles Brewton House

At the Miles Brewton House, the proportion of food preparation and storage vessels is double that of the tableware sherds (Table 1). These vessels are present in higher frequencies than any other artifact analyzed from this site. Of the food preparation vessel sherds, 10% (n=140) are identified as colonowares, which were made by enslaved African women (Table 2). This is a larger percentage than is found in most Charleston households; usually colonowares make up around 6.5% of the ceramic assemblage (Zierden 2001). The larger presence of colonoware brings an interesting dynamic into the interpretation of gendered activities on this site. Enslaved women and often young children worked in the Main House and kitchen. The presence of this type of ware makes female slaves visible alongside the wealthy Brewton women.

Kettles and pots were included in the food preparation and storage category because of their use within the kitchen, while cutlery was added to tableware (Table 1). The first occupation at the site dates to 1766 while the second dates to the 1770's Brewton garden assemblage; in both occupations, the proportion of preparation and storage sherds is twice that of tableware sherds (Table 1).

Table 1 Miles Brewton Tableware and Kitchenware

Sherd/Fragment Count								
	Tableware			Food Preparation and Storage			Percentage	
	Ceramics N Sherds	Cutlery	Total	Ceramics N Sherds	Kettle Parts	Total	Tableware %	Food Preparation and storage %
Wealthy								
Brewton 1766	247	1	248	514	5	519	32.0%	68.0%
Brewton 1770	14		14	22	1	23	38.0%	62.0%

Table 2 shows the same proportion of porcelain ceramics in both occupations. The 1766 assemblage has 42 sherds (6%) while the 1770 assemblage has two porcelain sherds (6%). Porcelain is the second highest tableware in the 1770 assemblages and the third highest in the 1766 assemblage (Table 2). White salt-glazed stoneware is only seen in the 1766 assemblage and makes up 10% of the total ceramic assemblage (n=72). Delft ware makes up 14% of the 1766 ceramic assemblage (n=109) and 33% (n=120) of the 1770 ceramic assemblage (Table 2). Colonoware (n=104, 18%) and slipware (n=201, 26%) make up the highest percentages of the 1766 assemblage (Table 2).

Following a similar trend, slipware makes up 44% (n=16) of the 1770 assemblage (Table 2). Both the 1766 and 1770 assemblages show similar frequencies of ceramic wares, except that there are no colonowares present in the later assemblage. It might indicate that the Brewton's were moving away from these types of wares in favor of something different such as the slipware discussed above and grey salt-glazed stoneware (n=3, 8%). The small sample size from this assemblage could also be a factor in the absence of colonowares in the 1770 assemblage. Enslaved women and their activities are still visible through the presence of other food preparation and storage vessels, since

enslaved women were responsible for this type of activity in the household.

Teawares often made up 20% of the ceramics found in upper class households elsewhere in Charleston (Zierden 2001:4); however, the Brewton home shows a significantly lower percentage of these ceramics (6%). The majority of porcelain at the Brewton home was blue-on-white underglaze decorated. A popular teaware found elsewhere in Charleston was Jackfield ware; however, this ware made up less than 1% (n=3) of the Brewton 1766 ceramic assemblage (Table 2). White salt-glazed stoneware was also represented by tea vessels in the 1766 assemblage. It appears that Chinese porcelain was favored at the Brewton household, yet was seen in smaller quantities when compared to similar Charleston homes.

Table 2 Brewton Ceramic Assemblage

Brewton Ceramic Assemblage				
Tableware	Brewton 1766	Sherd %	Brewton 1770	Sherd %
Porcelain	42	6.0%	2	6.0%
Elers	1	0.1%		
Astbury	8	1.0%		
Agate	1	0.1%		
Jackfield	3	0.4%		
Whieldon	1	0.1%		
White Salt-glazed Stoneware	72	10.0%		
Creamware	7	1.0%		
Delft	109	14.0%	12	33.0%
Majolica	3	0.4%		
Subtotal	247	33.1%	14	39.0%
Food Preparation and Storage	Brewton 1766	Sherd %	Brewton 1770	Sherd %
Brown Saltglazed Stoneware	22	3.0%		
Grey Salt-glazed Stoneware	5	1.0%	3	8.0%
Slip dipped stoneware			1	3.0%
N Devon Ware	1	0.1%		
Sgraffitto	2	0.3%		
Mid-Atlantic Ware	15	2.0%		
Westerwald	16	2.0%		
Buckley	1	0.1%		
Nottingham	1	0.1%	1	3.0%
Slipware	201	26.0%	16	44.0%
Mottled Ware	15	2.0%		
Earthenwares	95	12.0%	1	3.0%
Colonoware	140	18.0%		
Subtotal	514	66.6%	22	61.0%
Total	761	100.0%	36	100.0%

The number of sewing materials, an activity associated with women, only consists of four straight pins at the Brewton site (Table 3). These four pins come from excavations that utilized water-screening. It is interesting that women are more visible at this site through their ceramics than they are through other activities. This could be attributed to the location of the excavation units or the possibility that sewing activities were being done elsewhere. The four pins found could be related to both the wealthy and the enslaved women. It is hard to identify which women were using these materials. However, it is possible that these pins were associated with the enslaved women, since wealthy women were likely not doing much of the sewing or mending. There are also small amounts of clothing related materials.

A total of five buttons, one hook/eye, and two buckles were recovered from the 1766 assemblage (Table 3). The hook/eye is most likely associated with women's clothes, while men were more likely to utilize buttons. The two buckles are not identified as shoe, knee, or belt, and therefore cannot be associated with either gender (Table 3). The clothing materials, based on location, are more likely associated with the Brewton family than with their slaves. These clothing materials make the Brewton women and men more visible than the slaves who worked for the family.

Table 3 Brewton Clothing, Adornment, Personal, Sewing, and Other Activities

	Brewton 1766	Brewton 1770
Clothing		
bone button	1	
brass button	4	
hook/eye	1	
buckle	2	
Adornment		
glass beads	2	
bead	3	
Personal		
umbrella part	6	
Sewing		
straight pin	4	
Other Activities		
flower pot		1
total	23	1

Zierden (2001:28) cautions against associating all glass beads recovered from colonial sites with enslaved residence; however, it is suggested that glass beads did not gain popularity among Euro-Americans until the nineteenth century (Yentsch 1994). The beads recovered from the 1766 Brewton occupation could be related to the enslaved women of the household or even the wealthy female occupants. The flower pot fragment and umbrella fragments could be associated with wealthy women's activities. Umbrellas were often used for cosmetic purposes; they were a way to keep the sun out of a woman's face (Aimes 1992:22).

The total of the small items for the 1766 occupation totals at 23, while the total of the 1770 occupation as one (Table 3). The difference in material culture uncovered

during the two occupation periods can provide a cautionary tale for those interested in identifying women's activities. The small number of materials found in the 1770 assemblage is much too small to provide information about women's activities. The 1770 assemblage needs to be looked at in conjunction with the 1766 assemblage to get a better understanding of women's activities at this home. Multiple lines of evidence need to be examined when making women visible at this home. Evidence of food preparation and storage are the strongest evidence for activity; however, by looking at all artifacts together both enslaved women and the wealthy Brewton women are visible together.

Heyward Washington Site

The first home at the Heyward Washington site was occupied by John Milner in the 1730's. The Heyward site saw four different periods of occupation spanning from the eighteenth century to the late nineteenth century. The two occupations analyzed date to the 1730's John Milner, Sr. occupation, and the 1740's John Milner, Jr. occupation.

Like the Brewton house, the Heyward house showed similar high proportions of food preparation and storage sherds, and a smaller proportion of tableware sherds (Table 4). Also, 28% (n= 55 sherds) of the 1730's ceramic assemblage and 18% (n=174) of the 1740's assemblage were colonowares (Tables 5 & 6). The greater proportion of colonoware could indicate a larger enslaved female presence at the Heyward site, during the 1730's occupation, than at the Brewton site. Both of these sites have a greater proportion of colonoware than is usual for a wealthy home in Charleston.

The large quantities of these wares could reflect the relationship between slave and slave owner, and even a reliance on these enslaved women and their pottery.

Table 4 Heyward Tableware and Kitchenware

Sherd/Fragment Count								
	Tableware			Food Preparation and Storage			Percentage	
	Ceramics N Sherds	Cutlery	Total	Ceramics N Sherds	Kettle Parts	Total	Tableware %	Food Preparation and storage %
Wealthy								
Heyward 1730	60		60	133		133	31.0%	68.0%
Heyward 1740	277		277	612		612	29.0%	63.0%

The significant amounts of colonowares at the Heyward site give voice to these African Americans and write them into the history of this house-lot. Even more than giving voice to the enslaved, we are giving voice to enslaved women. These women were often in charge of food preparation both in the main house, and in the slave quarters as well. The large proportion of preparation and storage vessel sherds, along with the presence of colonowares, makes the activity of enslaved women noticeable. The overwhelming presence of food preparation vessels in this wealthy household could be due to several factors. Food preparation and storage vessels would have been handled by many more people and possibly used more frequently making life could have been much shorter than that of the tableware. Another possible reason for the large proportion of these sherds could be because of the need to prepare many more kinds of foods at this upper class home.

Like the Brewton's, the occupants at the Heyward site showed similar trends in tableware. Delft was most prevalent in both the 1730 (n=49, 25%) and 1740 assemblage

(n=145, 15%) (Table 5 & 6). White salt-glazed stoneware, like at the Brewton home, made up a small proportion of tableware at the Hewyard site. The 1730 assemblage had 3% (n=6) while the 1740 assemblage had 7% (n=67) (Tables 5 & 6). Porcelain made up only 2% (n=4) of the 1730 assemblage and 6% of the 1740 assemblage (n=56) (Tables 5 & 6). The majority of porcelain vessels were blue-on-white underglaze; only two vessel sherds exhibited an overglaze enamel.

All types of vessels used as teaware were identified among the 67 white salt-glazed sherds (Table 6). The two different types of teawares, porcelain and white salt-glaze stoneware, indicate at least two different sets, unlike that of the Brewton household. Other teaware vessels were identified among the Astbury sherds (n=8) (Table 6). This suggests at least four sets of teaware identifiable by four different types of ceramic wares: two different types of porcelain, white salt-glaze stoneware, and Astbury. This is significantly different from the Brewton site. The presence of these teawares provides information about the Milner women at this upper class site. Though vessel numbers are not given, based on the number of sherds and the number of teaware types, it would appear that the 1740's Milner, Jr., family's occupation had a greater reliance on teawares. This could indicate that the role of the tea ceremony was more important at the later occupation.

Table 5 Heyward 1730's Ceramic Assemblage

Heyward 1730s Sherd Description		
Tablewares	N Sherds	Sherd %
Porcelain	4	2.0%
Delft	49	25.0%
Majolica	1	0.5%
White Salt-glazed Stoneware	6	3.0%
Subtotal	60	30.5%
Food Preparation and Storage	N Sherds	Sherd %
North Devon	5	3.0%
Sgraffito	3	1.5%
Buckley	1	0.5%
Lead Glazed Coarse Earthenware	26	13.0%
French Green-Glazed	1	0.5%
Tankards	7	4.0%
Slipware	20	10.0%
Slip Coated	3	1.5%
Westerwald	6	3.0%
Brown Salt-glazed	3	1.5%
Colonoware	55	28.0%
North American	3	1.5%
Subtotal	133	68.0%
Other Ceramics	3	1.5%
Grand Total	196	100.0%

Table 6 Heyward 1740's Ceramic Assemblage

Heyward 1740s Sherd Description		
Tableware	N Sherds	Sherd %
Porcelain	56	6.0%
Delft	145	15.0%
White Salt-glazed Stoneware	67	7.0%
British Brown Stoneware	?	?
Astbury & Agate Ware	8	1.0%
Whieldon Ware	1	0.1%
Subtotal	277	29.1%
Food Preparation and Storage	N Sherds	Sherd %
Staffordshire Slipware	184	19.0%
Manganese & Mottled	15	1.0%
Slip-Coated Ware	4	0.4%
American Slipware	14	1.4%
Mid-Atlantic Earthenwares	4	0.4%
Lead-Glazed Earthenwares	74	8.0%
Underglazed Red/Buffered Wares	9	1.0%
North Devon Gravel Tempered	5	0.5%
Sgraffito	5	0.5%
Buckley	5	0.5%
Spanish Olive Jar	14	1.0%
Spanish Majolica	1	0.1%
French Green-Glazed	4	0.4%
French Yellow-Glazed	4	0.4%
Rhineland Stonewares	96	10.0%
Lesene	113	12.0%
Yaughan	34	4.0%
All Native American	15	1.0%
Other Colonowares	12	1.0%
Subtotal	612	62.6%
Other Ceramics	75	8.0%
Grand Total	964	100.0%

There were only 17 small finds from the 1740's occupation (Table 7) and zero from the 1730's. One straight pin was recovered, a link to women's sewing related activity, and one scissor part, associated with either men or women, was also recovered (Table 7). These activities could have been done by an enslaved woman or by one of the wealthy women occupying the home at this time. Wealthy women often sewed decorative needlework as a means of personal expression and social competition (Galle 2004). This activity often became too time-consuming so the wealthy women often looked to skilled enslaved laborers to complete these works. The straight pin is likely associated with an enslaved woman. Wealthy women took part in needlework activities to maintain or increase their social status. The possible mending or altering of clothing, and therefore the use of straight pins, would have been an activity saved for their enslaved workers.

There were also five glass beads, all of which were clear and could have been from a necklace (Table 7). These beads could be associated with the wealthy women of the Main House, or the enslaved women. Also present were three different categories of buttons. There were two bone buttons, five brass buttons (often used on men's coats or vests), and three glass buttons (Table 7). The small sample size could be due to the ¼-inch screening; however what was recovered shows women's activity in sewing and possibly in clothing and adornment.

Table 7 Heyward 1740s Clothing, Adornment, and Sewing Activities

Heyward 1740	
Clothing	
bone button	2
brass button	5
glass button	3
Adornment	
bead	5
Sewing	
straight pin	1
scissor parts	1
Total	17

Middle Class Households

House D

House D is one of the three middle class households analyzed here. This home was located at Fort Michilimackinac in northern Michigan and in 1766 housed British foot soldiers (Evans 2001:7). Sometime after 1770, when the soldiers moved to their newly built barracks, House D was probably occupied by Surgeon's Mate David Mitchell, a warrant officer, and his Métis wife, Elizabeth Bertrand (Evans 2001).

The ceramic assemblage that came from the British occupation of this household was significantly smaller than the other assemblages (n=34 sherds). Therefore any conclusion made about this household should be viewed as preliminary. The low frequency of tableware sherds and the absence of any food preparation and storage ceramic sherds could be because they were possibly disposing this type of refuse in other

locations (Table 8). Another explanation might be the use of pewter or tin plates, bowls, and basins; these were often issued by the military to officers and soldiers (Scott 1991). The materials I analyzed were those recovered from British refuse pits, puddling pits, fireboxes, and the fireplace. The lack of sherds in the fireplace indicated it was cleaned before it was abandoned. Other artifacts such as trade items, sewing materials, and beads were recovered from fireplace features. The complete absence of sherds in the yard indicated that trash was not being thrown out windows or swept outside (Evans 2001). Plain and relief creamwares, plain white salt-glaze, Chinese export porcelain, and blue and white tin-glazed ceramics were all recovered from this household. A single kettle part was recovered from House D and is the only representation of kitchen materials (Table 9).

The ceramic assemblage points to an emphasis on food consumption and serving (Tables 8 & 9). Evans (2001:17) notes that the creamware sherds (n=13, 38%) from this site were identified as saucers, cups, tea bowls, bowls, plates, soup bowl, and lidded containers. Plain white salt-glaze vessels were identified as teacups, bowls, and plate/platters and accounted for 9% of the assemblage (n=3) (Table 8) (Evans 2001). Chinese export porcelain (n=10, 29%) would have been from a small bowl or cup (Table 8). The types of forms identified further suggest an emphasis on food consumption and serving at House D. The ceramic assemblage provides indirect evidence of food and drink preparation (through the direct evidence of food and drink consumption), an activity conducted by women. One kettle lug is the only indication of cooking or food preparation (Table 9).

The ceramics at House D show a diverse range of teawares. All four types of wares had sherds possibly related to teawares. This is similar to that of the Heyward site, but much different than the Brewton site. The Mitchell family was likely using a mixed set of teawares, a possible economic indicator.

Table 8 House D Ceramic Assemblage

Tableware	N Sherds	Percent
Creamware	13	38.0%
White salt-glazed	3	9.0%
Porcelain	10	29.0%
Blue and white tin	8	24.0%
Total	34	100.0%

Table 9 House D Tableware and Kitchenware

House D (Sherd/Fragment Count)								
	Tableware			Food Preparation and Storage			Percentage	
	Ceramics N Sherds	Cutlery	Total	Ceramics N Sherds	Kettle/Pot Parts	Total	Tableware %	Food Preparation and storage %
Middle								
House D	34		34		1	1	97.0%	3.0%

The high frequency of small finds was made possible by the utilization of fine water-screening. The hook/eye is most likely associated with women's clothing while the three buttons are most likely associated with men's clothing (Table 10). The sequins, which all appear to be gilded, could have come from a military uniform (Evans 2001) (Table 10). Evidence of women's activities can be seen in a greater frequency of religious, personal adornment, and sewing related artifacts.

As a Métis of French and Native heritage, Elizabeth would have been exposed to Roman Catholic beliefs and practices; this is an explanation for the rosary beads and religious medallion found in the assemblage. These religious materials are evidence of her presences and activity at House D. It is also known that Dr. Mitchell used Elizabeth's Native family connection to launch trade; this could also explain the large amount of seed beads, and the two bone comb fragments in the assemblage (Table 10). It is also possible that these materials belonged to Elizabeth and David. The seed beads would have been used for clothing decoration while a few are identified as necklace beads. Elizabeth could have used these beads to decorate her clothing or moccasins. There were eight necklace beads located at the House D site and these also provided evidence for women's activity at the home. The final 77 artifacts are sewing related and therefore women related (Table 10). The 914 small finds from House D are a more reliable source for identifying women's activities than is the ceramic assemblage (Table 10).

Table 10 House D Clothing, Adornment, Personal, and Sewing Activities

House D	
Clothing	
bone button	3
eye	1
Adornment	
seed beads	814
necklace beads	8
military sequins	6
rosary bead	1
clay medallion	1
Personal	
bone comb	2
Sewing	
straight pin	68
needle	6
thread guide	4
Total	914

Block 1184

Block 1184 is an example of a middle class urban site. It is located in Wilmington, Delaware and is the site of parsonage associated with a Swedish church. The ceramic wares at this location were categorized into tableware and food preparation and storage wares, like the other sites. Of the 90 vessels, 47 (52%) were tableware and 33 (36%) were food preparation and storage vessels (Tables 11 & 12) (Note that 54 fragmentary vessels could not be categorized as tableware or food preparation and storage ware [Table 12].). Ten cutlery artifacts were then placed within the tableware category, suggesting an even greater preference for tableware.

Table 11 Block 1184 Tableware and Kitchenware

Block 1184 (MNV/Fragment Count)								
	Tableware			Food Preparation and Storage			Percentage	
	Ceramics N Sherds	Cutlery	Total	Ceramics N Sherds	Kettle Parts	Total	Tableware %	Food preparation and storage %
Middle								
Block 1184	47	10	57	33		33	40.0%	23.0%

LeeDecker (1990:33) states that the old parsonage would have included a servants' quarters. Servants would have been considered a necessity since the care for animals and cultivation of vegetables at the site would have not been appropriate activities for an educated man and his wife. The wife however, would most likely have supervised these activities. Of the food preparation and storage vessels, 11 milk pans and 15 "pie plates" made up the majority of vessels (79%). These vessels would have been used by the servants, especially since the milk pans were used in dairying. The minister's

wife would have also been involved in food preparation, more than upper class women, but not to the extent of the servants.

LeeDecker(1990) does something unique with this site that is only seen within one other household. He identifies five coarse earthenware vessels as tablewares. Three are bowls categorized as red slipware (Philadelphia Petalled), one is a red slipware (Other), while the porringer has a dark brown/ black glaze.

Those occupying the parsonage would have held a higher social position than their economic position. Economically these occupants would have been categorized as middle class. Their standing in society is visible through the 21 teaware vessels, 16 of which were made of Oriental porcelain (Table 12). About 45% of the tableware vessels were identified as teaware (Table 12). These vessels could have been used by women as well as men. Tea drinking and other tea related activities seem to be an important part of this middle class assemblage. Women could use tea as a way to entertain both family and friends (Wall 1999, 2000). The expensive oriental teaware shows status and can be seen as a form of conspicuous consumption by the occupants of the parsonage. Tea related activities are more visible at this location than other activities associated with serving and food consumption. This possibly suggests that the occupants were interacting, socially, through the medium of tea ritual.

Table 12 Block 1184 Ceramic Assemblage

Block 1184 Vessel Description						
	Hollowware	Flatware	Teaware	Undefined	MNV Total	MNV%
Tableware						
Delft	2	10			12	9.0%
Other refined earthenware			3		3	2.0%
White salt-galzed	2	5	2		9	7.0%
Oriental Porcelain		2	16		18	13.0%
Coarse earthenware	5				5	4.0%
Subtotal	9	17	21		47	35.0%
	Hollowware	Flatware	Teaware	Undefined	MNV Total	MNV %
Food preparation and storage						
Coarse earthenware	31				31	23.0%
Buff Slipware	2				2	2.0%
Subtotal	33				33	25.0%
	Hollowware	Flatware	Teaware	Undefined	Total	Sherd %
Fragmentary	31	4	19	19	54	40.0%
Grant total	73	21	40	19	134	100.0%

The small finds from this site are limited. This is probably due in part to the excavation methods and screening techniques. Since women were responsible for mending and making clothing it is possible that the buttons and buckles could be indicators of women's activity, although they would be associated with men's clothing. The straight pin was the only direct evidence of sewing related activities at this site. The ceramic bead, ring, and jewelry part could be materials a woman would have worn (Table 13).

Table 13 Block 1184 Clothing, Adornment, Personal, and Sewing Activities

Block 1184	
Clothing	
shell button	1
brass button	1
belt buckle	3
buckle	1
Adornment	
ceramic bead	1
ring	1
jewelry	1
Personal	
tooth brush	1
Sewing	
straight pin	1
total	11

Catherine Brown Cowpen

The Catherine Brown cowpen is located in Barnwell County, South Carolina. It represents a rural middle class household. The Brown site was occupied between the 1750's and early 1780's. The Brown family was considered affluent by backcountry standards because of their land and slave holding, but the materials recovered suggest they were of modest means.

The ceramic vessels and sherd counts show a higher proportion of tableware than food preparation and storage ware (Table 14). Please note that the vessel counts are not exact. The description of the white salt-glazed stoneware vessels was not given and therefore they were left out of the MNV counts, but since sherd counts were given those were included in Table 14. A Delft chamber pot was included in the hollowware form. It

remained in the table since the sherd count for this vessel was not provided (and it could not, therefore be subtracted from the total number of Delft sherds). Even with the missing vessels and included chamber pot, there is still a staggering difference between these two categories in terms of minimum vessels: 68% tableware and 32% food preparation and storage (Table 14).

Twenty-nine of the total vessels (61.7%) associated with tableware are classified as teaware (Table 14). There are eight different ware types that have tea vessels. A variety of different tea sets were utilized by this household. Looking at these vessels compared to the food preparation and storage vessels suggests an emphasis on food serving and consumption rather than on food preparation. How the table was set, what kind of pieces were used on the table, and the presentation of meals as well as tea seem to have been of importance at this household.

Food preparation and storage vessels also provide information about women's activity at the Brown cowpen. Food preparation and storage vessels made up 33% of the total ceramic assemblage and 20% of the food preparation and storage vessels are colonoware. As noted previously these vessels were made and utilized by enslaved women. The presence of these vessels along with the other food preparation and storage vessels makes enslaved women visible at this site. The presence is important to note since their work is seen alongside the activities of Catherine Brown.

Table 14 Brown Ceramic Assemblage

Brown Ceramic Vessels and Sherds							
	Hollowware	Flatware	Teaware	N Vessel	Vessel %	N Sherd	Sherd %
Tableware							
Delft	2	2	2	6	9.0%	161	15.0%
Astbury	1			1	1.3%	17	2.0%
Agate ware	1			1	1.3%	10	1.0%
Green glazed creamware			1	1	1.3%	4	0.4%
Creamware	1	5	7	13	19.0%	130	12.0%
Jackfield			2	2	3.0%	40	4.0%
Pearlware			1	1	1.3%	10	1.0%
White salt-glazed stoneware						91	9.0%
Scratch blue white salt-glazed stoneware			8	8	12.0%	25	2.0%
British brown stoneware	2			2	3.0%	5	0.5%
Westerwald	3			3	4.0%	3	0.3%
Porcelain			8	8	12.0%	13	1.3%
Colonoware			1	1	1.0%	1	0.1%
Subtotal	10	7	30	47	68.0%	510	48.6%
	Hollowware	flatware	teaware	N Vessel	Vessel %	N Sherd	Sherd %
Food Preparation and Storage							
Colonoware	11	2		13	19.0%	381	37.0%
Iberian	2			2	3.0%	10	1.0%
Other earthenware (slipware)	5	2		7	10.0%	137	13.0%
Subtotal	18	4	0	22	32.0%	528	51.0%
Grand Total	28	11	30	69	100.0%	1038	100.0%

Two forks and one spoon were added to the tableware collection and 69 metal kitchenware artifacts (Table 15). Present in the kitchenware category were at least 3 metal pots, one possible skillet or pan, and two kettles; two wire fragments suggest wire kettle bails or pot lid handles. These represent enslaved women's work in the household.

The 69 metal fragments were included along with sherd counts in Table 15 while the six identified skillets and pots were listed alongside the minimum number of ceramic vessels. When adding the cutlery and kettle/pot fragments, the distribution of tableware and food preparation vessel fragments is more evenly distributed, with 46% tableware and 54% food preparation and storage vessels, than with ceramics alone (Table 15). When looking at minimum numbers of vessels, tableware represents 63%, while 37% is food preparation and storage vessels (Table 15).

Table 15 Brown Cowpen Tableware and Kitchenware

Brown Sherd/Fragment Count								
	Tableware			Food Preparation and Storage			Percentage	
	Ceramics N Sherds	Cutlery	Total	Ceramics N Sherds	Kettle Parts	Total	Tableware %	Food Preparation and storage %
Middle								
Brown	510	3	513	528	69	597	46.0%	54.0%
Brown MNV/Fragment Count								
	Tableware			Food Preparation and Storage			Percentage	
	MNV	Cutlery	Total	MNV	Kettle Parts	Total	Tableware %	Food preparation and storage %
Middle								
Brown	47	3	50	22	6	28	64.0%	36.0%

Table 16 shows other items that could be related to women's activities at the Brown cowpen. Enslaved women were usually responsible for mending and washing clothing. Their sewing activity can be seen in the straight pins and thimbles (Table 16). Since buttons were easily lost and often removed before washing, this could be the reason for the large number of buttons at this site (Table 16). The large number of buttons could also indicate a large male presence at this location, since men primarily utilized buttons

on their clothing in the eighteenth century. The buttons not only show men’s activity at this site, but also enslaved women’s sewing and laundering activity. Shoe buckles were worn by both men and women. Four glass beads were recovered, three being black seed beads, and one a turquoise tubular bead (Table 16). These beads could have been sewn on women’s clothing and accessories, or even worn as jewelry. These beads could have been worn under the clothing of a slave as a form of protection from harm (Leone and Fry 2001). They could have also been worn by slaves as a way to display their individuality either publically or privately (Stine et al.1996; Thomas and Thomas 2004)

Table 16 Brown Cowpen Clothing, Adornment, and Sewing Activities

Brown Cowpen	
Clothing	
shell button	2
brass button	5
button other	33
knee buckle	2
shoe buckle	3
Adornment	
bead	4
ring	1
Sewing	
straight pin	5
thimble	2
Personal	
umbrella part	1
Total	58

Lower Class Households

Rich Neck Slave Quarter

The Rich Neck slave quarter is described as semi-rural and is located on a satellite tobacco plantation in Williamsburg, Virginia. This location will be the first of two lower class assemblages examined.

Enslaved women's activities are made visible by looking at ceramics sherds and vessels (Table 17) as well as "smaller" finds (Table 19). In both sherd counts and minimum number of vessels, tablewares outnumber food preparation and storage wares. Of the 94 tableware vessels, 54 (57%) were hollowware, 31 (33%) flatware, and nine (10%) teaware (Table 17). All but one of the food preparation and storage vessels were hollowware. There were 11 metal pots and 1 flesh fork identified, also evidence of enslaved women's cooking activities (Table 18). Franklin (2004) describes the tableware vessels in great detail. Most interesting are the coarse earthenware and colonoware vessels that she groups as tablewares.

Of the 18 coarse earthenware and colonoware vessels, five were mugs/tankards; nine were coarse earthenware bowls and two were colonoware bowls, one of which had a pie crust rim. Also included in this count were two plates (Franklin 2004:105). The stonewares included in the tableware category of Table 17 are made up of Nottingham stoneware, Staffordshire brown stoneware, Westerwald, white salt-glazed and unidentified stoneware. These categories have been kept the way they appear in

Franklin's 2004 RNSQ site report. The stoneware included in food preparation and storage includes American brown stoneware, American stoneware, British/English brown stoneware, Frechen, Fulham, Westerwald, white salt glazed, and unidentified stoneware (Franklin 2004).

Table 17 shows the breakdown of both vessel form and ware type. It then shows the number of vessels for each of these categories. Some categories have no MNV but have a sherd count, meaning these sherds were not identified in the site report in terms of vessel form. The majority of tableware vessels were stoneware or coarse earthenware. Fifty-four (57%) of the tableware vessel forms were hollowware, suggesting that the majority of the meals were soups or stews (Table 17). All but one food preparation and storage vessel was identified as hollowware and these vessels were mostly stoneware or earthenware. Franklin (2004) describes three jugs, one being redware, one Fulham, and the other Westerwald. There were six storage jars: two Fulham, one American brownstone, two British brown stone, and one unidentified. All four milk pans were coarse earthenware, while two patty pans and one jelly mold were of white salt-glaze stoneware. There was one Fulham water bottle and five unidentified coarse earthenware vessels (four hollowware and one flatware).

Table 17 Rich Neck Ceramic Assemblage

Rich Neck Ceramic Vessels and Sherds							
Tableware	Hollowware	Flatware	Teaware	N Vessels	Vessel %	N Sherds	Sherd %
Astbury						3	0.2%
Creamware	6	9		15	13.0%	289	18.0%
Whiteware						6	0.4%
Pearlware						9	0.6%
Delft	5	2		7	6.0%	236	15.0%
Stoneware	24	10	7	41	35.0%	339	21.0%
Porcelaine	1	6	1	8	7.0%	23	1.0%
Jackfield			1	1	1.0%	8	0.5%
Red Agate	3	1		4	4.0%	19	1.0%
Rouen						3	0.2%
Tin-Enamled Ware						93	6.0%
Whieldon						1	0.1%
Refined Earthenware, unid						18	1.0%
Coarse eathenware and colono ware	15	3		18	15.0%	114	7.0%
Total	54	31	9	94	81.0%	1161	72.0%
Food preparation and Storage	Hollowware	Flatware	Teaware	N Vessels	Vessel %	N Sherds	Sherd %
Colonoware						113	7.0%
Earthenware	9	1		10	9.0%	229	14.0%
Yellow ware						1	0.1%
Stoneware	12			12	10.0%	108	7.0%
Total	21	1		22	19.0%	451	28.1%
Grand Total	73	32	9	116	100.0%	1612	99.96%

Other women's activities as indicated by the material culture are evident as well. Food related activities are visible not just through the ceramic assemblage discussed above (Table 17), but through cutlery as well and kettle and pot fragments (Tables 18). The large number of cutlery and kettle/pot fragments can also lend insight into types of food being prepared at this slave home. Fifty (68%) of the total 74 artifacts grouped as cutlery were spoons (Table 18). Twenty-eight of these spoons were made of pewter. Also found were five forks (7%), 13 knives (17%), and six unidentifiable fragments (8%) (Table 18). Fifty-seven percent (n=54) of the ceramic tableware was made up of

hollowware and 95% (n=21) of the ceramic food preparation and storage vessels were hollowware (Table 17). This could indicate that the occupants of this dwelling were consuming more soups and stews compared to the other sites discussed above.

One pot meals would have been consumed more often among enslaved households for a few different reasons. Meals such as grits and porridge can be traced back to West African tradition, with one pot meals being most common among the Igbo and Mande (Opie 2008:10). The preservation of these traditional African foodways could be one reason for the consumption of these types of meals. Another possible explanation could be that because of enslavement the time allowed for food preparation within the slave quarters was limited. Therefore, having a meal that can sit and cook all day in one vessel would be easier and more convenient. Stewing was also ideal for softening tougher cuts of meats (Franklin 2001). Whatever the reason, it is apparent that those occupying RNSQ were utilizing one-pot meals. The overwhelming number of tablewares compared to food preparation and storage wares is seen in Table 18. This stands in stark contrast when comparing RNSQ with the upper and middle class households.

Teaware at this site can be interpreted in multiple ways. Franklin (2004) suggests that the nine teaware vessels could have had an alternate use, apart from simply drinking tea. Tea was not something planters would have supplied to their slaves, so it is possible that these bowls, teapots, and milk jugs could have served a different purpose, though these possible uses were not discussed and require further investigation (Franklin 2004:226). It is also possible that these ceramics were being used by these enslaved women to drink hot beverages or tea. Drinking tea with someone might have held a very

different meaning in an enslaved person’s household than in the household of women in the middle and upper class. Scott (1997) discusses how lower class women may have observed tea drinking rituals, with or without teawares. It is suggested that those within the lower middle class were sharing tea with family or close friends (Wall 2000). These women were not using tea drinking as a means of status display, but as a way to socialize and interact with those closest to them.

Table 18 Rich Neck Ceramic Tableware and Kitchenware

Rich Neck (Sherd/Fragment Count)								
	Tableware			Food Preparation and Stroage			Percentage	
	Ceramics N Sherds	Cutlery	Total	Ceramics N Sherds	Kettle Parts	Total	Tableware %	Food Preparation and storage %
Lower								
Rich Neck	1161	74	1235	451	12	463	73.0%	27.0%
Rich Neck (MNV/Fragment Count)								
	Tableware			Food Preparation and Stroage			Percentage	
	MNV	Cutlery	Total	MNV	Kettle Parts	Total	Tableware %	Food preparation and storage %
Lower								
Rich Neck	94	74	168	22	12	34	83.0%	17.0%

The high frequency of small finds at this site could be due to recovery techniques, or possibly due to the high frequency of female related activities, or both. Since women were responsible for making, altering, and washing clothing, the high number of clothing related materials, such as buckles, hook/eyes, and buttons, could be evidence of women’s activities. A total of 384 sewing related materials were also found, 380 of which were straight pins accompanied by two thimbles and two scissors (Table 19). The large amount of sewing materials provides evidence pointing to women’s activity within the dwelling.

The large number of these materials could also be a result of the two families occupying this dwelling or a result of the continual need to mend clothing. Due to the strenuous work the enslaved faced their clothing would have worn down much quicker than those within the Main House. Work such as sewing and mending clothing also might have been carried out for those within the Main House, but conducted inside the slave quarters.

Enslaved African women were both using and purchasing sewing and clothing related materials for their own personal use (Heath 2004). Cloth for those enslaved needed to be utilized to its full extent. Mending and altering clothing would have been essential in getting as much use out of the material as possible. Enslaved women would often create their own unique attire as a means of personal expression. Individuality could have been expressed through a hand-made dress or beads sewn onto clothing. Creating and altering became a way enslaved women could signal, within the slave population, their access to goods and services (Galle 2004). The abundance of sewing related materials at a slave quarter could indicate these types of activities. The large number of buttons, beads, and sewing related material at the Rich Neck slave quarter suggests these enslaved women were possibly skilled workers and/or these women were altering their clothing to express personal style and individuality. Altering clothing would have been a means of control in a restricted environment.

The large number of beads at this dwelling could be evidence of adornment. Women would have added beads to their clothing or used beads to create jewelry. A total of 84 beads were recovered from this site (Table 19). Of the 84, 33 were white, and 19 were blue (Table 19). A possible explanation for the large bead presence at this location

could lie in traditional West African religious practices (Stine et al. 1996; Russell 1997). The presence of these white and blue beads could indicate these slaves were maintaining their religious traditions and preserving their culture while facing adversity.

The personal objects such as the mirror and bone comb fragments could have been utilized by both men and women (Table 19). Ann Smart Martin (2008) discusses mirrors and their meaning in eighteenth-century Virginia. Mirrors were often called looking glasses and played an important role in tales of magic and mysticism throughout history. By the eighteenth century these looking glasses could be purchased for only a couple shillings and were a symbol of genteel fashion (Martin 2008). The presence of mirror fragments at this slave quarter could reveal something much more complex than a mere fashion statement. Martin (2008) discusses the spirituality of mirrors in African American slave culture. Mirrors were often believed to capture, attract, or repel a spirit. The presence of mirror fragments at the Rich Neck slave quarter could be a representation of genteel fashion or possibly faith practices, magic, and customs (Martin 2008). If used for esthetic or magic purposes they could have been utilized by both men and women. Other evidence of possible religious activity can be seen on the pewter spoons. One of the pewter spoons displays an incised pentagram, suggesting a symbolic purpose (Franklin 2004; Samford 2004). This spoon was included with the rest in the cutlery category, since this is assumed to have been its original function before being modified for symbolic purposes.

Table 19 Rich Neck Clothing, Adornment, Personal, and Sewing Activities

Rich Neck	
Clothing	
button other	131
hook/eye	4
aiglet	1
sleeve cuff link	5
clothing pin	1
clothing stud	1
shoe buckle	4
buckle	1
Adornment	
bead	84
Personal	
bone comb	2
mirror	10
Sewing	
straight pin	380
thimble	2
scissor parts	2
Total	628

Elizabeth Hemings

The Elizabeth Hemings site is located on Thomas Jefferson’s primary plantation, Monticello, in Charlottesville, Virginia. The home was occupied by Elizabeth Hemings, one of Jefferson’s most trusted slaves. The proportion of tablewares is much higher than that of food preparation and storage vessels (Table 20). Please note that three to four chamber pots are included in the MNV and in the sherd count. The chamber pots are included because the number of sherds associated with these vessels was not indicated in the site data. To maintain the integrity of the sherd count these vessels were included, just

as they were included in Block 1184. One pearlware, one creamware, and one white salt-glazed stoneware chamber pot were in the Hemings ceramic assemblage.

Since Elizabeth Hemings was the main occupant of this home all of these materials could be attributed to her activity. The extremely small number of food preparation and storage vessels could be due to what has been left archaeologically or placement of excavation units. Another possible explanation is that Elizabeth Hemings could have been using the hollowware table wares (n=10) for both food preparation/storage as well as tableware (Table 20). The 15 flatware vessels and 7 teaware vessels suggest that Hemings put an emphasis on both food consumption and serving (Table 20). Elizabeth Hemings, like other slaves, raised vegetables and poultry (Neiman et al. 2000:8). This would have not only provided food, but would have also been used to sell to the Jefferson family. Hollowware vessels included three pearlware bowls, one pearlware can, one creamware creamer, and four possible chamber pots (Table 21).

Table 20 Hemings Tableware and Kitchenware

Hemings Sherd/Fragment Count								
	Tableware			Food Preparation and Storage			Percentage	
	Ceramics N Sherds	Cutlery	Total	Ceramics N Sherds	Kettle Parts	Total	Tableware %	Food Preparation and storage %
Lower								
Hemings	790		790	2		2	99.9%	0.002%

Hemings MNV/Fragment Count								
	Tableware			Food Preparation and Storage			Percentage	
	Ceramics MNV	Cutlery	Total	Ceramics MNV	Kettle Parts	Total	Tableware %	Food preparation and storage %
Lower								
Hemings	32		32	1		1	97.0%	3.0%

The home was occupied by Elizabeth for about a decade; the short occupation period could also be cause for the small number of artifacts recovered. The total vessels (n=33) included four tea bowls and five saucers (Table 21). Flatware was categorized as either plates or platters. There were 12 plates, six of which were pearlware, five porcelain, and one creamware. There were three platters, two porcelain and one pearlware (Table 21).

The ceramic assemblage points to an emphasis of serving and possibly entertaining. Of the eight hollowware vessels only three were bowls. The large number of plates and small number of bowls suggests a shift from foods such as soups and stews, to other types of meals. This stands in stark contrast with the Rich Neck slave quarters, which had a larger number of hollowware vessels than flatware vessels, however, this could be due to the number of occupants at each location. The small number of food preparation and storage wares could also be a result of Elizabeth living

alone and not having the need to provide meals for a family. She also had her children and grandchildren living in close proximity. She could have been eating meals with them instead of preparing large meals at her home. Elizabeth had the ability to access and be more selective in the types of ceramics she acquired, possibly because of her closeness with Thomas Jefferson; however the mixed teaware sets indicate she did not have the means to purchase matching sets. Her ceramics were fashionable for the time period and like others, she replaced pewter vessels with ceramic vessels (Neiman et al. 2000:54). The absence of colonoware vessels suggests Elizabeth Hemings had both the means and ability not to use this ware type. Identifying colonoware vessels in other slave quarters at Monticello would provide an interesting comparison between enslaved women.

Table 21 Hemings Ceramic Assemblage

Hemings Ceramic Vessels and Sherds								
	Hollowware	Flatware	Teaware	Unid	N Vessels	Vessel %	N Sherds	Sherd %
Tableware								
Pearlware	5	7	2		14	42.4%	547	69.0%
creamware	2	1	6		9	27.2%	130	16.0%
porcelain		7	1		8	24.0%	86	11.0%
Other refined earthenwares	1				1	3.0%	27	3.0%
Subtotal	8	15	9		32	96.6%	790	99.0%
	Hollowware	Flatware	Teaware	Unid	N Vessels	Vessel %	N Sherds	Sherd %
Food preparation and Storage								
Coarse earthenware				1	1	3.0%	2	0.3%
Subtotal				1	1	3.0%	2	0.3%
Grand Total	8	5	9	1	33	100.0%	792	99.0%

Only three finds associated with women’s activities were found: two buttons and one shoe buckle (Table 22). The small sample size could be due to the screening method, the short occupation of the home, the fact that only one person occupied the home, or the advanced age of Elizabeth Hemings. Overall the artifacts recovered from this location suggest women’s activity centered on food and tea consumption. Other activity occurred minimally when compared with Rich Neck slave quarter or the middle and upper class sites.

Table 22 Hemings Clothing Related Activities

Hemings	
Clothing	
Button	2
Buckle	1
Total	3

Summary

Seven sites were used to look at women’s visibility within the household. Ceramics and smaller finds, associated with women’s work, were utilized in the identification of these women. The Brewton and Heyward sites, both located in Charleston, South Carolina, made up the two upper class assemblages. The presence of both enslaved women and the women of the Main House are visible when looking at the ceramic assemblage and smaller activity related materials. Three different sites made up the middle class: House D, Block 1184, and the Brown cowpen. All three of these homes showed similar preference for tableware over food preparation and storage vessels.

Similar to the upper class homes, both the women of the Main House and the enslaved women were made visible through the materials left behind. The final two sites are both slave quarters. These two sites followed a similar pattern in ceramics as the middle class homes. When compared to one another however, they stood in glaring contrast.

Upon breaking down each individual site, and isolating artifacts related to women's activities, interesting similarities and differences are noticeable. One common thread that ties all of these sites together is that women are visible through the remains of their activities. Enslaved women who lived and worked on many of these sites are visible alongside those women who occupied the Main House. It became essential to break down each collection to fully understand how class affected the extent to which women are visible. Ceramics were broken down not only by use, but by ware type. Percentages were given for function, ware type, sherd count, and MNV. Metal kitchenware and tableware were included with ceramic assemblages to give a more comprehensive look at food-related activities. Small finds varied in prevalence across sites but became of great importance when identifying women's activities. Through this chapter it becomes clear how many different avenues need to be taken when identifying the visibility of women at a domestic site.

CHAPTER IV

INTERPRETATION AND DISCUSSION

This chapter is dedicated to interpreting and discussing the findings from all seven sites previously presented as well as answering my research questions about women's visibility. The discussion is organized by economic class to allow consideration of similar sites. I will begin by discussing the two upper class sites, followed by the middle class and lower class sites. Lastly, I discuss similarities and differences in women's visibility across the different economic classes.

Upper Class Households

When comparing the two upper class households one can see similar trends in food preparation and storage sherds, as well as tableware sherds. Tableware ceramics average about 32.5% of these upper class households while food preparation and storage ceramics average about 65% of the household ceramics (Table 23). Compared to other Charleston household assemblages, both of these households have a greater than average

proportions of colonoware, and a lower than average proportion of porcelain. Colonoware, while high at the Brewton household was even higher at the Heyward site and when compared to the other sites, maintains the highest percentage of colonowares. Colonoware makes enslaved women's activities more visible at the Heyward site than at the Brewton home. The large presence of colonoware at the Heyward site could also indicate greater slave activity than at the Brewton home. Both the 1730's and 1740's assemblages at the Heyward site included colonoware, while the Brewton site only has evidence of colonoware in the 1766 assemblage. This indicates a change through time and shows that enslaved women were not making their own pottery in the later period.

Vessel forms are occasionally discussed within the Brewton and Heyward site report, however, not enough vessels were mentioned to allow for a detailed discussion within these upper class sites. Other variations at these two households can be seen in the contrast in tea wares. The ceramics from the Brewton site point toward matching teaware sets, while the Heyward site shows a possibility of at least four different sets or of a mixed tea set. The Brewton site when compared to the Heyward site shows a greater proportion of porcelain ceramics with over-glaze enameling. This could indicate the Brewtons were slightly wealthier than the Milner families occupying the 1730's and 1740's Heyward site

The archaeological record preserves these ceramics and allows women's activities to be seen in the present. Enslaved women's activities are represented in a higher

frequency than the upper class women's activities when examining the ceramic assemblage for both the Brewton and Heyward site. The enslaved women's work at these two locations was very important, even though their work, at the time, was private and not meant to be seen. Yet somehow, their work has preserved archaeologically, making them and their activities visible today.

Table 23 Upper Class Tableware and Kitchenware

Sherd/Fragment Count								
	Tableware			Food Preparation and Storage			Percentage	
	Ceramics N Sherds	Cutlery	Total	Ceramics N Sherds	Kettle Parts	Total	Tableware %	Food Preparation and storage %
Wealthy								
Brewton 1766	247	1	248	514	5	519	32.0%	68.0%
Brewton 1770	14		14	22	1	23	38.0%	62.0%
Heyward 1730	60		60	133		133	31.0%	68.0%
Heyward 1740	277		277	612		612	29.0%	63.0%

Middle and Lower Class Households

The middle and lower class assemblages show a very different trend in tableware and food preparation and storage ware than did the upper class assemblages. House D, Rick Neck Plantation slave quarter, and the Hemings site all show a greater amount of tableware sherds than food preparation and storage vessel sherds. The Brown site shows a more even distribution between the two wares, when looking at sherd count. Tableware sherds at the Brown site make up 49% (n=509) of the ceramic assemblage, while the remaining 51% (n=529) is made up of food preparation and storage vessels (Table 14). The minimum vessel counts show a preference for tablewares in both middle and lower

class assemblages (Table 24). The middle and lower class sites show an interesting trend when it comes to tea wares. Of the 134 vessels at Block 1184, 40 (30%) are teaware and are made up of three different ware types (Table 12). There are 69 identified vessels at the Brown cowpen, 30 (43%) of which are tea wares and occur in eight different types of ceramic wares (Table 14). The Rich Neck Plantation slave quarter has only nine tea ware vessels out of 116 total vessels (8%), made of three different ceramic ware types (Table 17). The Hemings slave quarter site has nine of the 33 vessels (27%) identified as teaware; these forms are seen in three different ware types (Table 21).

Block 1184, the Brown cowpen, and the Hemings site had over $\frac{1}{4}$ of the ceramic vessel assemblage categorized as teaware. Only about 8% of the vessels at the Rich Neck Plantation were tea ware vessels. This further emphasizes women of more means could afford tea wares. Though Hemings was enslaved, she had access and the ability to be more selective in her ceramic purchases. Despite the economic class of these four sites, each location had at least one vessel of porcelain. This suggests that whether enslaved or free, possessing this type of ware was a way to try and show status. Block 1184 had 16 porcelain teaware vessels (Table 12), the Brown cowpen had 8 porcelain vessels (Table 14), Rich Neck Plantation had one (Table 17), and the Hemings site also had one (Table 21). The large proportion of porcelain tea wares at Block 1184 might indicate an elevated social status or an attempt at showing status through the acquisition of these tea wares.

Table 24 Middle and Lower Class Tableware and Kitchenware

Sherd/Fragment Count								
	Tableware			Food Preparation and Storage			Percentage	
	Ceramics N Sherds	Cutlery	Total	Ceramics N Sherds	Kettle Parts	Total	Tableware %	Food Preparation and storage %
Middle								
House D	34		34		1	1	97.0%	3.0%
Brown	510	3	513	528	69	597	46.0%	54.0%
Lower								
Rich Neck	1161	74	1235	451	12	463	73.0%	27.0%
Hemings	790		790	2		2	99.9%	0.002%
MNV/Fragment Count								
	Tableware			Food Preparation and Storage			Percentage	
	MNV	Cutlery	Total	MNV	Kettle Parts	Total	Tableware %	Food preparation and storage %
Middle								
Brown	47	3	50	22	6	28	64.0%	36.0%
Block 1184	47	10	57	33		33	40.0%	23.0%
Lower								
Rich Neck	94	74	168	22	12	34	83.0%	17.0%
Hemings	32		32	1		1	97.0%	3.0%

When looking at the percentage of colonoware across economic class, the greatest proportion is among the two wealthy assemblages. Colonoware is also seen at the middle-class Brown cowpen site, making up 14 vessels (20%) and 382 sherds (37%) of the total ceramic assemblage (Table 14). The Rich Neck slave quarter assemblage included 113 colonoware sherds (7% of the total ceramic assemblage). Colonoware is not seen at Block 1184, House D, or at the Hemings site, suggesting that colonoware was made by, and associated with, enslaved Africans. The absence of colonoware at Block 1184 and House D corresponds to the lack of slaves at these sites, and its absence at the Hemings site suggests that at least some slaves chose not to use colonoware at all. The fact that Elizabeth Hemings was so close with the Jefferson family could be a factor in the absence of this ware.

At Block 1184, 33 (100%) of the food preparation and storage vessels are hollowwares (Table 12). In contrast, the food preparation and storage vessels at the Brown cowpen are flatware and hollowware (Table 14). There is more variety of preparation and storage vessels at the Brown cowpen than at any other site; 18 vessels are hollowware and four are flatware, (Table 14). Preparation and storage vessels at Rich Neck Plantation are made up of 21 (95%) hollowware vessels, and one flatware vessel (Table 17). These three site reports are the only ones that indicate vessel forms. One vessel from the Hemings site is categorized as a kitchenware, but its form is unidentified (Table 21). This comparison suggests that the majority of food preparation and storage vessels are hollowware at middle and lower class sites.

Both the Hemings and Rich Neck Plantation slave quarter show similarities in amount of food preparation and storage vessels/sherds when compared to the middle class sites. When looking at tableware, however, there is a little more variation among these sites. The Hemings site and Block 1184 have more flatware than hollowware (Tables 21 & 12). Rich Neck Plantation and the Brown cowpen contain more hollowware (Tables 17 & 14). This could be indicative of what types of foods were being prepared at these sites or how the food was being served. Tableware at Rich Neck has more variety in vessel form and ware type than any of the other sites used in this study. This is most likely because the occupants of this home were receiving hand-me-down items or purchasing second-hand ceramics. If the occupants had the ability to purchase these items, it is unlikely that they would be able to afford full or matching sets. The variety of ceramics wares at the middle and lower class sites is much greater than that of the upper class sites.

Discussion

When looking at all the sites together patterns begin to emerge. It appears that the upper class sites have more kitchen related activities occurring than the middle and lower class sites (Table 25). The Brewton and Heyward sites have a greater proportion of food preparation and storage vessel sherds than tableware sherds. This could be a result of food preparation and storage vessels being used more than tableware making them break faster and discarded more regularly. It is also possible that more of these types of vessels were required to prepare meals at upper class homes than at middle and lower class homes, due to the number of courses served at each meal.

The women using these materials at the Brewton and Heyward site were most likely the enslaved, while the owners of the materials were the masters. Enslaved women were in charge of the manufacturing of colonoware; the greater proportion of this type of ware at the Heyward site could indicate a larger female slave presence at this location than at the Brewton site. The higher occurrence of the colonoware could also indicate a reliance on enslaved women to manufacture and produce pottery. Both sites however, show a decrease in colonoware over time, this could be a result of declining slave related activities overtime for both the Brewton family and the Heyward site occupants.

When looking at activities at the upper class households, it appears that it is enslaved women who are the most visible. This is important to keep in mind when looking at homes that have both a Main House and slave component. While the slave quarters at these sites were not excavated, the presence of enslaved women within the

Main House is undeniable. The overwhelming evidence of enslaved women's visibility at wealthy households shows the importance of their work. In the eighteenth century their work was not valued and their presence was made as invisible as possible. Thanks to archaeology, evidence of enslaved women within the Main House appears in greater frequencies than evidence of wealthy women. Their presence is clearly visible through the colonoware and coarse earthenware ceramics they used on a daily basis.

There is a great difference in the way that enslaved women are visible within the Main House and inside their own homes. At the Main House they are visible through the overwhelming percentage of food preparation and storage vessels. When looking at enslaved women in their own homes, their visibility is seen in similar ways as those of upper class women. The presence of tea cups, saucers, bowls, and tea pots are seen in different frequencies throughout enslaved homes than within the Main House. They prepared meals, yet different meals than they prepared within the Main House. Food preparation and storage vessels as well as hollow tablewares suggest an emphasis on soups and stews. Enslaved women appear to have put an emphasis on their tables and possibly how the table was set. What the enslaved used to consume their food and drink, as well as how they served their meals, seems to have had more importance than the preparation and storage of foods. Lack of storage vessels could also indicate scarcity of excess food. Since slaves were given rations and often supplemented their diets by hunting, fishing, gardening, or raising poultry, their quantity of food would have been much smaller than that of the Main House (Ferguson 1991; Franklin 2004; Yentsch 1994).

Enslaved women are often overlooked when archaeologists study the Main House. Their presence is not ignored from history or literature, yet there is little emphasis on their visibility. The overwhelming percentage of food preparation and storage vessels makes these women visible within the archaeological record. Their work stands out among the other women of the Main Household, indicating just how vital their work was to everyday life within the Main House. Enslaved women did not work only at the Main House; the presence of these women is preserved at their homes as well, through their ceramics, sewing items, and personal and adornment materials.

Rich Neck slave quarter is the mirror-image of the upper class households and provides a unique look at the very different lives of these women. Those enslaved at Rich Neck plantation were powerless. They lived their lives working for their masters and working within their own homes. The women of RNSQ did the best they could to create a household and life style that was their own. They prepared exquisite meals for those within the Main House but returned home to consume their one pot meals. These women adorned themselves with beads in an attempt at some type of individuality. Those within the upper class lived a lifestyle much different. These women often centered their lives on maintaining and reinforcing their social status. Unlike at Rich Neck, the upper class sites lacked adornment artifacts, which could indicate little desire to create a unique identity through material culture. These women exercised their power or what little power they had in very different way and because of this their lifestyles were worlds apart.

The middle and lower class emphasis on tableware suggests a few life-style

differences when compared to those of the upper class (Table 25). The middle and lower class households may not have had the means to purchase food in excess the same way that those in the upper class could. Smaller and simpler meals might have been prepared at these homes, which would account for the smaller proportions of preparation and storage vessels. The large proportion of tableware and teaware at these locations also suggests that these women were attempting to show status through their serving and consumption vessels, rather than through the preparation of complex dishes and the storage of large quantities of food and drink. Block 1184 and the Brown cowpen both show an emphasis on teaware (Tables 12 & 14). They differ in presence of hollowware and flatware when looking at serving serving and consumption of food and drink. Block 1184 shows more flatware (n=17) than hollowware (n=9); the Brown cowpen shows a more even distribution with 10 hollowware vessels and 7 flatware vessels (Table 12). The emphasis on tableware and teaware has more to do with how meals were presented, or the presence of tea related ritual, than the actual food being consumed.

Block 1184 showed the third smallest number of “small finds” (n=8) (Table 26). This site is one of the most unique sites out of all seven looked at, because of it being a parsonage. Documents indicate a number of Swedish pastors that occupied this location for a number of years, with little information regarding their families. Despite the heavy male foot-traffic this site appears to have, archaeology has managed to preserve evidence of pastors’ wives at this site. Similar to the other sites there is evidence of tea related activities as well as sewing. The expensive Oriental porcelain found at the parsonage would have provided a way not only for the pastor, but for his wife as well, to show

social status. In this case the social status may not always be indicative of economic status.

The smaller number of tea related vessels at Rich Neck and the Hemings site may have more to do with the freedom to conduct this ritual. Since the occupants at both of these sites were enslaved they attempted to show status differently than those in the middle class households. Instead, tableware might have been used as a way to display some type of status within the enslaved community. It is also possible that these vessels were used as a way to decorate and brighten up a plain-looking slave cabin.

Middle and lower class households appear to have had multiple tea sets or mixed sets, while the upper class households seem to have more full or complete tea sets. Women of the upper class were likely to have used tea drinking as a way to show off their status. By having expensive matching sets, the women at these wealthy homes would have been able to show off and impress their friends and those who were mere acquaintances (Wall 2000). It is possible that middle and lower class women were not using tea ware as status seekers or as a means to impress. Tea consumption might have been a way for these women to entertain family and close friends; therefore expensive, matching tea sets were not a necessity (Wall 2000).

Teaware at the enslaved households could have had a very different meaning. Teaware at the Hemings site makes up a greater percentage of vessels than it does at the Rich Neck Plantation slave quarter. Both sites show a variety of teawares and the only ware that is seen within both sites was porcelain, which was represented by one vessel at both locations. Elizabeth Hemings had both children and grandchildren working and

living at Monticello. It is possible that she was using these tea wares to interact with family and close friends. The teaware at the Hemings site could suggest that Elizabeth was at an elevated social position when compared to the occupants of RNSQ.

Similarities are seen when looking at House D and David Burley's (1989) study of bison-hunting Metis. Metis wives were adopting British tea rituals in an attempt to show their British husbands that they could be "good wives" (Burley 1989). It is possible that Elizabeth Bertrand of House D was doing something similar. Evidence of this is seen by the presence of British tea sets alongside her Metis/French upbringing.

Women are visible at the household level depending on what can be preserved and recovered archaeologically. I had to rely on certain activities directly related to women such as certain clothing/adornment artifacts, sewing related activities, and food preparation/storage activities. These categories vary from site to site and occur at different frequencies. In the households analyzed here, where there is more evidence of kitchen related activities, there is less evidence of sewing related activities. This could indicate, especially in wealthier households, that sewing and mending were not being done as much as in lower class homes. It could also mean that if these activities took place, they were carried out at a different location. There are methodological limitations that need to be addressed as well. Each site used slightly different recovery and excavation methods. Fine water-screening and floatation account for higher numbers of small materials found than using dry-screening techniques.

There seems to be some difference in materials found in urban and rural settings, although it is not possible to examine location separately from economic class. The rural

areas seem to have greater amounts of sewing related and clothing related materials than do the urban areas. This could be because these rural sites were middle to lower class, which, combined with a rural location meant people had to repair their clothing more often than those in an affluent urban household. Also since these sites were rural and some were located on plantations, the work these people did was strenuous and clothing would have worn out quicker.

Sites that have different classes and ethnicities living amongst one another need to be analyzed differently than sites that do not. Archaeologists who analyze these kinds of sites need to keep in mind that slaves and servants were the ones doing many of the activities associated with women. This makes those enslaved and of a lower class visible alongside the affluent members of society. If this is ignored, the enslaved cease to be visible.

Table 25 Tableware and Kitchenware for all sites

Sherd/Fragment Count								
	Tableware			Food Preparation and Storage			Percentage	
	Ceramics N Sherds	Cutlery	Total	Ceramics N Sherds	Kettle Parts	Total	Tableware %	Food Preparation and storage %
Wealthy								
Brewton 1766	247	1	248	514	5	519	32.0%	68.0%
Brewton 1770	14		14	22	1	23	38.0%	62.0%
Heyward1730	60		60	133		133	31.0%	68.0%
Heyward 1740	277		277	612		612	29.0%	63.0%
Middle								
House D	34		34		1	1	97.0%	3.0%
Brown	510	3	513	528	69	597	46.0%	54.0%
Lower								
Rich Neck	1161	74	1235	451	12	463	73.0%	27.0%
Hemings	790		790	2		2	99.9%	0.002%
MNV/Fragment Count								
	Tableware			Food Preparation and Storage			Percentage	
	MNV	Cutlery	Total	MNV	Kettle Parts	Total	Tableware %	Food preparation and storage %
Middle								
Brown	47	3	50	22	6	28	64.0%	36.0%
Block 1184	47	10	57	33		33	40.0%	23.0%
Lower								
Rich Neck	94	74	168	22	12	34	83.0%	17.0%
Hemings	32		32	1		1	97.0%	3.0%

Smaller finds were also utilized in making women visible. Finds were grouped in categories of clothing, adornment, personal, sewing and other activities. Table 26 shows interesting differences in the small finds recovered from these sites. The upper class assemblages contained artifacts from all categories, but in small quantities. Most of these artifacts are related to clothing or adornment. Evidence for sewing related activities is also present in the small number of straight pins (n=5) and single scissor part (Table 26). The straight pins are most likely associated with the enslaved women working within the house, while the scissor fragments could be related to men or women but were probably

used by women. What is present at the Brewton site, that is not seen anywhere else are the 6 umbrella fragments and the single flower pot fragment. This possibly suggests women doing more leisurely activities. Umbrellas or parasols in the eighteenth-century provided protection from the sun (Ames 1992:22).

Of the middle and lower class assemblages, House D and Rich Neck plantation had the largest number of small finds of any site examined. A total of 914 small finds were associated with House D. The majority of these finds were seed beads (n=814) and straight pins (n=68) (Table 26). Although these seed beads could have been used in the fur trade, these finds possibly suggest Elizabeth Bertrand was busy adorning her clothing and/or moccasins with these beads. The large number of sewing related materials (n=78) suggests sewing, mending, and altering clothing was taking place at this home. These materials allow for a different perspective on women's activities. Rich Neck plantation also yielded a large number of small finds (n=628). Over half of these artifacts (n=384) were sewing related, 380 of which were straight pins (Table 26).

The high frequency of sewing related artifacts shows the importance of that activity at both of these locations. All seven sites yielded information about other activities related to women, outside of those noted by the ceramic assemblages. These activities occurred at different frequencies across these sites. Evidence of more leisurely activities are present in the upper class, while adornment and sewing related activities took place more often in the middle and lower class sites. The large number of adornment artifacts could be related to the ways in which women showed their individuality and personality. Enslaved women may have been using these materials to show identity or for

magical and religious purposes. The Métis wife, Elizabeth, could have been preserving her native heritage through the adornment of seed beads. All of these materials work hand in hand to make women and their activities visible no matter what economic class they hailed from.

The small finds can help shed light into these women's lives. Similarities can be found across the board, yet each class of women experienced a very different lifestyle. The upper class women occupying the Brewton and Heyward site appear to have maintained a more leisurely lifestyle. The Brewton women may have spent their free time planting and staying current with the latest trends, as indicated by the umbrella parts. Minimal sewing activities are present at both sites; four straight pins were found in the earliest Brewton assemblage and none in the later assemblage (Table 26). The Heyward site shows no finds in the 1730's period, yet much more a mere 10 years later. Like the Brewton site, the Heyward site shows minimal sewing related activity, with only one straight pin and one scissor part. These activities at both sites are more than likely associated with the enslaved women, because wealthy women were more likely partaking in needle work and not the mending of clothing. These upper class women were likely picking out the ceramic patterns, forms, and ware types, a task that is not easily seen archaeologically.

The women of the middle class show a large variety of materials from all categories. These middle class women, like those of the upper class, were adorning themselves with beads and other objects. Like the Brewton site, the Brown Cowpen shows evidence of an umbrella. Sewing activities increase at these middle class sites.

This indicates that these middle class women, while maintaining some type of “appearance” were busy working as well. The lifestyle of these women would have been busier and more demanding than that of the upper class women.

The enslaved women, especially those at Rich Neck, appear to have been very active. The number of sewing related materials and buttons at RNSQ is significantly larger than at any other site. These women were busy working within the Main House and appear to have been working just as hard within their own homes. Elizabeth Hemings on the other hand, in her old age, was the least active of the enslaved women, the middle class women, and the upper class women.

Table 26 Personal, Adornment, and Activity Artifacts

	Brewton 1766	Brewton 1770	Heyward 1730	Heyward 1740	House D	Brown	Block 1184	Rich Neck	Hemings
shell button						2	1		
bone button	1			2	3				
brass button	4			5		5	1		
glass button				3					
button other						33		131	2
hook/eye	1				1			4	
aiglet								1	
sleeve link								5	
clothing pin								1	
clothing stud								1	
shoe buckle						3		4	
buckle	2						1	1	1
military sequins					6				
ceramic bead							1		
rosery bead					1				
necklace bead					8				
seed beads					814				
glass beads	2								
bead	3			5		4		84	
ring						1	1		
clay medallion					1				
jewelry							1		
umbrella part	6					1			
bone comb					2			2	
tooth brush							1		
mirror								10	
flower pot		1							
straight pin	4			1	68	5	1	380	
thimble						2		2	
scissor parts				1				2	
thread guide					4				
needle					6				
total	23	1		17	914	56	8	628	3

Summary

What becomes apparent when looking at these sites side by side is that women will leave unintentional clues of their activities on a site, and it is up to the archaeologist to find and delineate these clues. The two upper class assemblages showed unique distributions of kitchen and tableware. These sites had both wealthy and enslaved women working within the home, and evidence of these women becomes visible archaeologically. The middle and lower class sites were most similar in kitchen and tableware. The women of these households were also visible, yet in a different way than those of the wealthy households. Economic factors seem to play one of the largest roles in how women within the household are visible archaeologically. While patterns have been seen within this discussion, archaeologists must evaluate each site as its own entity before considering it within a larger context.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

The eighteenth-century woman and the domestic sphere have become synonymous with one another. Women worked in the private sector of the home, their work often hidden from outsiders. Not until archaeologists and historians began pointing out these underrepresented women did their activities become important in interpreting the past. Feminist archaeologists have created an environment that encourages the study of these women and their importance within society. Despite the work that has been done in terms of feminist and gender archaeology, there is still much to be studied. The goal of this thesis was to demonstrate a different way in which feminists can utilize the archaeological material women have left behind. Eighteenth-century women of different ethnicities and different classes have yet to be analyzed together. By examining gender, class, and ethnicity, I hope to inspire future archaeologists to keep in mind the variables that affect how women are visible and which women are made visible archaeologically.

Four research questions were utilized throughout this study: 1) Women are visible within household assemblages, but to what extent? 2) Do some women disappear or

Reappear depending on social class? 3) If a home has slaves, how does that play a role in the visibility of women of different classes and ethnicities within the same household?

4) Does the visibility of women differ in urban and rural settings?

The first question is one that changes across sites. Yes, women are visible within the archaeological remains of a site, but the degree to which they are visible is much harder to determine. All seven sites had female occupants and all seven sites had archaeological remains associated with these women. It became apparent that the extent to which women were visible varied. The more responsibilities a woman had within the household, the more duties she performed, and the more activities she was involved in, the more visible she is archaeologically. Although ethnicity and class have been looked at within domestic archaeology, usually separately, there has been little to no research on how this will affect the visibility of the occupants of domestic sites.

The second question sought to identify whether class caused women to appear or disappear within the archaeological record. It became apparent that economic class affected how women became visible, but it did not make anyone invisible. The presence or absence of certain ceramics was affected by economic class. The high frequency of expensive porcelain teawares at the upper class assemblages alongside the low frequency of sewing materials marked the activities of an elite woman. What needed to be kept in mind was whether or not the site had servants or slaves. These women were of a lower class, yet were utilizing the materials owned by those within the Main House.

Those in the middle and lower class had very different ceramic assemblages than the upper class women, yet this did not make them any less visible. In fact, middle and lower class women had a greater frequency of clothing, adornment, personal, sewing, and other activity-related artifacts associated with women. The middle and lower class assemblages are most similar to one another, while the upper class assemblages show distinct differences in activity related materials.

The third question keeps in mind households with servants and slaves, and how one's class and ethnicity affect one's visibility. Archaeologists often look at sites that have slaves or servants as if they only occupied two separate spaces, the slave quarter or the Main House. This thesis looked at these Main Houses as a space that both the enslaved and the elite utilized. This impacted how the materials were interpreted. While the wealthy men and women of the household owned and used the expensive ceramics, it is important to acknowledge who was caring for and maintaining these materials and preparing the food and drink consumed in them.

Women are often associated with food preparation, but in a site with two different classes and ethnicities of women, who was realistically using these materials? When sewing materials are recovered it is important to keep in mind which women were doing these activities. It became apparent that the enslaved women were just as visible, if not more visible, within the Main House than the elite women. A high frequency of colonoware at a site can also indicate a larger or more influential female slave population. This question has allowed for those enslaved and servant women within the Main House to become visible alongside the elite.

The fourth question looks at geographic location. Both urban and rural sites were utilized in this research. There seem to be some subtle differences in urban and rural settings. Rural areas showed a greater presence of sewing and clothing related materials than the urban locations. A possible explanation for this could be in part the economic class of the rural sites; in this study, the rural sites were occupied by those of the middle and lower classes. Class, combined with their rural location, meant people were repairing their clothing more often than those within an affluent household or urban location near stores and merchants. Also, since these sites were rural and some located within a plantation, the type of work engaged in by those who lived at these locations would have been more strenuous, causing clothing to wear out more quickly. To address the question of urban and rural differences more fully, a more extensive sample of sites from each economic class in both urban and rural locations could be examined.

Future Research

This research only begins to scratch the surface on what future archaeologists have the potential to accomplish by looking at class, gender, and ethnicity. Future researchers have the ability to expand on this work, furthering our understanding of women's visibility. It is not enough to say that evidence of women is present. Archaeologists must take this a step further. Asking which women are visible and how this compares to other sites of similar or different economic class can provide answers to questions that have yet to be addressed. Since this thesis looks at a variety of different

sites located east of the Mississippi, there is room for more geographic comparison. Future research could look at a larger scope of sites within this region or do comparisons of sites in the northeastern United States versus sites in the southeastern United States.

Archaeologists in the past have looked at ethnicity, class, and gender in a combination of ways. There has yet to be extensive work that focuses on how these three things affect one another. Future work can focus not just on women, but men as well, comparing the visibility of men and women across ethnic and class categories. Gender and class studies have come a long way over the years, but there are still many questions left unanswered.

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APPENDIX

HEYWARD SITE SHERD COUNT EXPLAINED

To find out the appropriate number of sherds for ware type in the 1730's occupation I took the total number of artifacts (994) and the percent of kitchen related artifacts (48%). Of the 48% of kitchen artifacts (n=477) 45% (n=215) was identified as container glass. The other percent of kitchen glass was not given so it could not be assumed that 55% or n=262 artifacts were ceramics. To figure out what percent of glass (other), and what percent of ceramics made up the kitchen assemblage I had to look for a ceramic ware type that gave me both a percentage and a sherd count. Slipware accounted for 10.4% of the assemblage with a sherd count of n=20, so this is where I began. I needed to find out what total number of ceramic sherds needs to equal in order for 10.4% of that unknown number to equal n=20 slipware sherds. After some experimentation the percent of ceramics was found to be 41% making n=196. The remaining 14% or n=66 would be attributed to glass (other). I worked my way through the site report looking at each ware type, using either a percent given or a sherd count given. By the end there were a total of 193 sherds identified by ware type. To reach the 196 mark, a category of "other ceramics" was created with n=3.

In the 1740's I was met with a different problem. Artifact totals were given at 2,564; the percent of kitchen materials, as well as ceramics. Of the 2,564 artifacts 66% was kitchen related (n=1692) and 57% of that was ceramics (n=964). The problem arose when looking at sherd counts and percentages within the text. Adjustments were made accordingly on the percent and ceramic sherd totals given. When I finished looking through sherd counts from specific ware type 8% (n=75) sherds were left unaccounted for. These sherds were placed in a category of "other ceramics".