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CLASS AND GENDER IN SOUTHWESTERN MICHIGAN:  
INTERPRETING HISTORICAL LANDSCAPES

by

Deborah L. Rotman

A Thesis  
Submitted to the  
Faculty of The Graduate College  
in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the  
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Department of Anthropology

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Deborah L. Rotman

## CLASS AND GENDER IN SOUTHWESTERN MICHIGAN: INTERPRETING HISTORICAL LANDSCAPES

Deborah L. Rotman, M.A.

Western Michigan University, 1995

The gardens, houses, and barns that comprise the cultural landscape embody information about their makers. Because the built environment is not static, it actively serves to create, reproduce, and transform relations of class and gender. Members of society use space to reinforce and resist relations of power, authority, and inequality. For example, the organization of the landscape facilitates the activities and movements of some segments of society, while at the same time it constrains others. Material dimensions of form and space are differentially acknowledged by members of society because individuals occupy multiple roles simultaneously. Material responses to the social world take various forms expressed in changing cultural landscapes. Historical investigations indicate that the village, region, and nation have experienced considerable changes since the mid-nineteenth century. Archaeological investigations provide evidence that, despite the transformation of American society at these multiple levels, there has been considerable continuity in class and gender relations at a residential homelot in Plainwell, Michigan.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### Problem Orientation

The organization of space has been of particular interest to historical archaeologists in recent years. The built environment has been a remarkably effective text through which social relationships can be understood. The manner in which individuals construct the cultural environment is neither arbitrary nor random, but rather actively communicates and reinforces messages about social roles along lines of class and gender.

Many scholars have analyzed land use patterns and landscape changes over time to reveal the transformations which have occurred within American society (e.g., Leone 1984, Mrozowski 1990, and Paynter 1990). Archaeological research of this nature has also been conducted in conjunction with the Southwest Michigan Landscape Project which has examined the social meaning of spatial organization in a Midwestern context. My work will contribute to this growing body of literature.

I chose to examine a residential homelot in Plainwell, Michigan as an example of how individuals in the Midwest create the world around them, fashioning the built environment in meaningful ways. Material modifications to

the landscape, as well as periods of stasis, can be read as texts, revealing the story of how the residents viewed and created their social world as well as interacted with it. The landscape and the activity which has taken place upon it has not occurred in isolation, but has been shaped by broader social, political, and economic forces. Individuals articulate within society at multiple scales. For example, events that occur at an individual homelot or within a community, region, and nation are all interconnected and can influence the organization of space. Political ideals, social movements, and economic events, for instance, which occur at one level of society have an impact upon other levels.

Leslie Stewart-Abernathy (1986) observed dynamic spatial organization when he examined the landscape of an antebellum house in Arkansas. This urban homelot possessed "a complex assemblage of buildings and spaces that paralleled the inventory and structure of rural farmsteads" (Stewart-Abernathy 1986:5). The concept of the "urban farmstead" was employed as a way of expressing the interrelation of rural and urban elements on a single landscape. Using this model, I will consider how a landscape in the Midwest was created and modified in reaction and response to the socially dynamic world of which it was a part. Both historical and archaeological evidence will be used to reconstruct the landscape and understand its social context.

Landscape archaeology refers to the examination of spatial and chronological patterning. Historical archaeologists, for example, use this approach in their investigations of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century residential properties

and townscapes. Landscape archaeologists view the built environment as a meaningfully constructed artifact which is actively constituted and socially mediated. As such, landscape archaeology provides an excellent mechanism for understanding social relationships by combining history and archaeology.

I utilize a wide variety of historical and oral accounts, as well as cartographic and photographic evidence in my investigation and reconstruction of land use at a residential homelot. Compilations of local history, tax assessment records, property titles, deeds, and newspaper accounts have been useful sources of information. These documents have provided data regarding national events and their impact on local society as well as local happenings of importance to the community. These sources have enhanced my understanding of the socioeconomic status and gender relations of the individuals at this homelot by providing information about their social lives as well as their political and financial dealings. Cartographic and photographic data were used to reconstruct the landscape and understand the settlement of the neighborhood and community.

The archaeological and historical records have a complementary, and sometimes contradictory, relationship. Comparative analysis of land use patterning, discerned, in part, through archaeological excavation, provides a source of data independent of historical documentation. Oral histories, likewise, present a different point of entry for examining and understanding other evidence. Each of these sources -- historical records, archaeological data, and oral histories -- are recorded, examined, and explicated by individuals of varying social, political, and

economic backgrounds. Thus, the interpretation of the past by the historian, archaeologist, and individual varies according to the social and cultural milieu. Each of these sources provides a unique perspective and informs my understanding of the cultural landscape. By weaving together the written record, oral accounts, and data sets obtained through archaeological field investigations, it is possible to discern how the built environment was constructed to create identities, reinforce status, and empower -- as well as disempower -- individuals.

Examination of contexts within different temporal and spatial scales is essential. Events and ideals do not effect everyone equally and it is for this reason that the homelot is examined with regard to individuals, the community, the region, and the nation. This variation in scale allows for a multidimensional, and thus more comprehensive, analysis of the historical and archaeological data.

My examination of the archaeological and written records is predominately historical and comparative. I gather data from both archaeological and historical sources to reconstruct the landscape through time. These data classes are also used to recreate and understand the social, political, and economic issues which influenced modifications to the homelot as well as periods of stasis. These factors are central to my comparison of intrasite activities and land use patterns. Artifact analysis was conducted primarily to assist in the proper chronological placement of landscape features.

## Organization of the Thesis

My study begins with a discussion of how landscape archaeology has been used in practical application to interpret the material remains of colonial and historic America. Chapter III provides the relevant local, regional, and national context which may have conditioned the choices people made regarding the creation of their built environment. In the fourth section, I summarize the documentary record pertinent to a homelot in Plainwell, discuss the results of the fieldwork, and begin to reconstruct the landscape changes and continuities. Chapter V consists of an historical narrative of the property as it has been reconstructed chronologically as well as how the organization of this space expresses social relationships. In the final chapter, I summarize the results of the study and conclude how class and gender issues are observable at the residential homelot under investigation. I also discuss some problems encountered in the study as well as avenues for future research.

## CHAPTER II

### THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

Many historical archaeologists and prehistorians have examined the material dimensions of social relations. In this section, I review how many landscape archaeologists have approached the task of discerning class and gender relations from the built environment.

Archaeologists became interested in the relationship between settlement patterning and social organization as early as the 1930s. However, it was not until the rise of the processual paradigm thirty years later that these issues became a research focus. Post-processual archaeologists or "social archaeologists" further legitimized this area of study by moving beyond mere description of social organization to include social reproduction and socio-politics.

Tretyakov (1934; cf. Binford 1968; see also Deetz 1965) was one of the first archaeologists to reconstruct postmarital residence patterning from archaeological evidence. Tretyakov contended that the fingerprints seen on the inside of pottery indicated that women were manufacturing the vessels. From this, it was postulated that matrilocality and patrilocality could be determined by the degree of variability in ceramic designs. In matrilocal societies, "there would be less formal variability . . . within a single community than under the conditions where

patrilocality was the rule, since patrilocality brings about a mixed population of female potters" (Binford 1968:270). Therefore, postmarital residence patterning was asserted based on the variability in ceramic designs.

Other aspects of social relations which the New Archaeologists were interested in explicating include the archaeological correlates of ranked societies. Peebles and Kus (1977), for example, examined the chiefdom at Moundville, a Mississippian period society in the southeastern United States. These scholars suggested that chiefdoms emerge when "information processing capabilities of a single-level network are transcended, and higher level controls are necessary for the survival of the system" (Peebles and Kus 1977:445). In other words, the process by which social, political, and economic decisions are made becomes increasingly differentiated. A hierarchy emerges whereby information is processed at the lower levels and passed on to higher level supervisors in summarized form. Archaeological evidence for chiefdoms includes ascribed social status demonstrated through mortuary practices, hierarchical settlement patterning, local subsistence sufficiency, and organized productive activities beyond the level of the household (Peebles and Kus 1977:431-432). Through the examination of these archaeological correlates, the existence of a stratified society could be determined.

Social organization is supported and maintained through settlement patterning. The nature and relative location of structures within a city, for example, creates differential access to strategic resources and results in unequal transportation costs (see Paynter 1982:31). In other words, the greater the distance



from economically essential goods and services the higher the cost to acquire them. In a stratified society, the elite are able to dominate the underclasses through settlement patterns which favor themselves, requiring them to incur minimal transportation costs.

Understanding how the built environment was utilized is paramount to understanding the social meaning of spatial organization. The cultural landscape is comprised of both interior and exterior spaces, such as the organizational layout of a house and the presence of a vegetable garden, respectively. The built environment is an actively constructed artifact which contains information about the social relationships of its makers. Members of society belong simultaneously to specific class and gender categories. For example, an individual might be poor and female or middle class and male. Social actions which build, use, modify, and abandon the cultural landscape can only be understood in relation to these structured positions (Paynter 1990:11).

#### Interpretation of Landscape Features

Social relations are manifested in the built environment, the spatial organization of which is used to create, support, and reproduce society (Paynter 1982:1). The relationship between human agents and their environments is reflexive and dynamic (see Giddens' theory of structuration [1981:54]). Human beings both shape and are shaped by the physical and social worlds. Wells, fences, and gardens are some of the potential landscape features which provide

insight into social dynamics, including socioeconomic status and gender relations. The construction of these material objects, however, does not take place in a vacuum. Events which occur within the household -- as well as at the scale of the community, region, and nation -- have implications for how landscapes are modified or maintained.

### Architecture

Architecture, among other landscape elements, "reflects ideals and realities about relationships between men and women [for example] within the family and society" (Spain 1992:7; see also Glassie 1975; Johnson 1994). The spatial organization of the home also expresses our attitudes about how the activities of daily life should be ordered (Barber 1994:75). Dwellings are designed to accommodate the occupants and reflect the size and economic status of the social groups that reside there. Moreover, attitudes and activities may change through time in response to broader social, political, and economic events.

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

our buildings and afterwards our buildings shape us" (Peirson and Richards 1994:3).

### Wells

Architecture is only one aspect of the landscape that expresses social relationships. Structures, such as wells, do too. For example, the Barrack Street well in Cape Town, South Africa (Hall et al. 1990) illustrates how archaeological investigations can enrich social history and the ways that everyday items are used to assert resistance. The assemblage from this feature reveals the persistent use of Oriental, rather than British, ceramics at this site well into the nineteenth century. In this way, the residents of the home (characterized as "petty bourgeoisie") "were cocking a snook at the powerful wholesale merchants of Cape Town and their advocacy of the latest style in British refined earthenwares, propagated twice a week in the advertisements of the South African Commercial Advisor" (Hall et al. 1990:84). In other words, the occupants of this house were resisting the social and political structure by refusing to purchase the ceramics of the elite.

Wells as an operating source of water can also illuminate social relations between men and women. We know that water was an essential element in the daily routine of nineteenth-century American women and was required for preparing meals, washing dishes, laundering clothes, and bathing children. These tasks require a considerable amount of time for their completion. "In the nineteenth century, tensions between husbands and wives often surfaced when farm

women had to travel long distances to an outdoor well" (Borish 1993:5). Changes in the location of the well may express struggles between men and women over the organization of space. In this way, Paynter's (1982) observation regarding transportation costs can be applied to interaction between individuals as well as between groups.

### Stone Fences

Fences are also an important element in organizing the landscape and expressing social dynamics. Hood and his coauthors (1987) noted that stone fences in historic Massachusetts served more than merely a practical function of delineating property lines and removing a geologic nuisance from agricultural fields. Fences also served to communicate important social messages. Those fences erected within the vicinity of the house, for instance, are generally more substantial and elaborate than those in more remote parts of the homestead. Fences "were often the first or even the only aspect of someone's property that a passerby might see [and, therefore, served] . . . as indicators of 'thrift and good order'" (Hood et al. 1987:7). Fences have also been used to express wealth differences. Mormon groups in particular put an interesting twist on fencing in this regard. The Mormon religion encourages polygamy and the number of gates in a fence indicates the number of wives in a man's household (Leone 1973:145). The greater the number of wives a man had the higher his status in the community. Hence, gates and social status are positively correlated.

Robert Frost's adage "Good fences make good neighbors" also holds true in Mormon culture. Towns and villages were organized in such a way that people and houses were placed in closer proximity to one another than other Anglo groups in the West. Therefore, fences also enabled residents of this communal society to have some degree of privacy. From these examples, it appears that fencing had at least two distinct social functions -- displaying status and establishing privacy.

### Lawns and Gardens

Mrozowski (1990) observed that class distinctions were expressed and maintained through the activities which took place in the yards of New England industrialists in the mid-nineteenth century. The front and side yards of mill agents' dwellings were maintained in ground cover. Botanical analysis reveals the absence of significant soil disturbance which suggests manicured lawns and landscaping. This contrasts sharply with the front and side yards of the boarding houses provided for the mill workers. Floral remains in the mill workers' yards are represented by primarily weed species which require continuously disturbed soils in order to thrive. Clearly, the yards of the boarding houses were openly and intensively utilized for domestic activities, unlike those of the mill agents. Furthermore, the mill agents' homes were placed between the factory and the boarding houses, in plain view of factory workers each day. These manicured lawns served to habitually reinforce differences in social status (see Jenkins 1994).

Floral gardens, like manicured lawns, express class distinctions. However,

they also reinforce underlying ideologies. The deliberate manipulation and geometrical organization of plants and flowers creates the illusion that the arbitrary nature of the social order is actually natural and even inevitable (Leone 1984). By constructing a garden and controlling plants within it, wealthy, high status individuals in eighteenth-century America "could take themselves and their position as granted and convince others that the way things are is the way they had always had been and should remain. For the order was natural and had always been so" (Leone 1984:34).

Gardens communicate other social messages as well. During the World Wars, vegetable gardens were maintained as part of the war effort. "Victory Gardens" were planted and participation in this effort clearly signified that the gardeners were patriots in support of their country.

### Factors That Influence Landscape Change

The events that occur within the home, community, region, and nation affect individuals differently. Class and gender identities can influence the way and degree to which broader social, political, and economic issues impact their lives.

#### Technology and Economy

Technological innovation and subsequent societal changes can impact the landscape. During the third quarter of nineteenth-century America,

industrialization began to supplement and eventually supplant the existing economy based upon agriculture and commercial activities, particularly in New England and areas of the Midwest (see Nassaney and Abel 1993). For example, industrialization exacerbated differential access to resources (Mrozowski 1990). The distance between the "haves" and "have nots" became increasingly difficult to bridge, creating very distinct status categories which often resulted in conspicuous displays of wealth. Thus, as class distinctions increase I would expect to observe increased variation in landscapes along socioeconomic lines as the upper class asserts and seeks to display their wealth.

### Macroeconomic Influences

Fluctuations in general economic conditions can also influence landscape changes. During times of economic crises (e.g., the Depressions of 1893 and 1929), even the most affluent members of society could not escape these national calamities entirely (Bailey and Kennedy 1983:742). Economic depression severely impacted agriculture in Michigan during the 1930s. Banks foreclosed on many farms and those families who managed to stay on their land subsisted by eating their own produce (Kern 1977:52). Financial resources of individuals were channelled into the necessities for survival and less effort, if any, was expended on landscape modifications.

Conversely, periods of economic prosperity (e.g., the Roaring Twenties) provided the elite and others with surplus capital opportunities for conspicuous

displays of wealth, perhaps by constructing an elaborate fence or creating an elegant garden. Similarly, periods of prosperity also gave individuals of generally more modest financial means the opportunity to emulate the upper classes.

### Microeconomic Influences

At the household level, the economic status of the landowner can affect the built environment. The purchase of a homelot by wealthy individuals might result in the alteration of the landscape. Outbuildings may be demolished because the new owner deems them unsightly. Or perhaps an existing barn or carriage house is inadequate for the landowners' needs and, therefore, is razed and another erected.

Conversely, the acquisition of a property by a family of modest means may result only in the maintenance of the landscape, rather than elaborate changes which might be perceived as "improvements." Moreover, an elderly resident may not be physically able to maintain the property and deterioration can occur. Or perhaps an elderly resident is both financially and physically able to maintain or alter the landscape but simply is not interested in using the landscape to send a status message.

There may even be changes in economic status during the lifetime of a single homeowner. An individual might win the lottery or come into a substantial inheritance. Conversely, the homeowner might go bankrupt. Likewise, a growing family may lead the owner to channel resources into additional space rather than other expenditures. Each of these events may have landscape implications.



### Gender Relations

The onset of industrialization did not effect all groups equally. In Massachusetts during the nineteenth century, for example, a decreasing importance of agriculture meant that many laborers, notably men, moved away from the rural areas to seek jobs in the surrounding towns and cities. At the boyhood homesite of W.E.B. DuBois, the shift toward service and industry dramatically altered the economic roles of men while the activities of women remained virtually the same. The continuity in women's roles is expressed and can be seen archaeologically in the continuity of land use around the house where their daily tasks of food preparation, laundering, and the like took place (Paynter 1990:6). In this way, the lives of both women and men are encoded in the archaeological record.

### "Rural" Versus "Urban" Environments

In addition to the differential effects which industrialization had upon men and women, mechanization and mass production have had varying influences in rural and urban environments. However, distinguishing between "rural" and "urban" has been problematic in archaeological research (Wurst 1993).

Researchers have often defined and understood rural and urban landscapes in opposition to one another. Rural is characterized as agricultural, family oriented, and egalitarian while urban represents the opposite -- industrial, profit oriented, and stratified. However, many landscapes embody aspects of both categories and, therefore, any simple dichotomy is lacking. Rural and urban are not mutually

exclusive, but constitute poles of a continuum. Part of the difficulty in characterizing rural and urban landscapes stems from the fact that many of the attributes once thought to be distinctly rural are also found in urban settings (Hahn and Prude 1985:9). Among historical archaeologists, Stewart-Abernathy (1986:6) notes that a "parallel exists between some of the activities carried out on a rural farmstead and some aspects of urban occupation."

This parallel is particularly apparent during the nineteenth century. For it is during this time that many farm families were not only responsible for the production of agricultural goods for market exchange, as well as limited production of goods for consumption by farm residents, but also for tending to their daily needs of sanitation and trash disposal. The same was often true for urban households for whom the services of supermarkets, wastewater systems, and garbage collectors had yet to be realized. Hence, Stewart-Abernathy (1986:6) advocates the concept of an urban farmstead which "represents in three dimensions the result of a process through which the household in a nucleated settlement supplied many of its own needs . . . by grow[ing] some of its own food, feed[ing] and car[ing] for some of its own animals, acquir[ing] its own water through wells, dispos[ing] of its own organic and inorganic waste, and stor[ing] its own fuel for cooking and heating." Economic pursuits outside the home provided for the family's livelihood. Combining domestic farm tasks and other employment muddles the separation of rural and urban activities. Moreover, "in small town America, the urban farmstead has never totally disappeared, although many of its

elements have been stripped away by the extension of urban services, town ordinances, and the spread of the ideal of green lawns" (Stewart-Abernathy 1986:13).

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

There are three types of modifications -- additive, subtractive, and substitutive -- which can be made to landscapes as a result of these five factors (Stewart-Abernathy 1986). Additive adjustments include the construction of new landscape features, such as the addition of a kitchen or bathroom wing to the house. Subtractive adjustments include the removal of landscape elements. Privies

or other obsolete waste disposal systems were often eliminated once they were no longer needed. Finally, the replacement of one building with another is a substitutive adjustment including, for example, the construction of a garage following the demolition of the barn.

In sum, the urban farmstead model has utility in deconstructing the rural-urban dichotomy by pointing to similarities between activities carried out on a rural farmstead and in more urban settings. Yet while this model can explain the presence or abandonment of elements on the landscape, it does not suggest why the environment is constructed in a particular way. Landscape changes are not merely adaptations to the external world. Rather, they embody aspects of social relationships. The built environment is not merely a static entity, but actively expresses the dynamics of class and gender.

To illustrate the application of this theoretical framework to a particular case study, I have selected a residential property in Plainwell, Michigan. Examination of this site can contribute to a better understanding of nineteenth- and twentieth-century social relations in nucleated settlements in the Midwest.

## CHAPTER III

### THE HISTORY OF AN ISLAND CITY: CLASS AND GENDER IN PLAINWELL, MICHIGAN, 1840-1995

In this chapter, I detail the social history of Plainwell, Michigan. Particular emphasis is placed on changes in class and gender relations from its initial settlement to the present. Local and regional as well as national and international influences are examined.

#### The Early Years: 1840-1873

Plainwell was initially established as a frontier settlement in the 1840s, primarily for agriculture. Many of the early settlers were first generation immigrants from the British Isles (e.g., England, Scotland, and Wales) (Ensign 1880). Others were second generation immigrants also from the British Isles whose families had originally settled along the East Coast, particularly the Northeast (e.g., Connecticut and New York). These early settlers were described as generally being of two classes, either "men with more or less capital, who erected mills and went into lumbering or poor, who purchased 40 to 60 acres from the government" (Ensign 1880:35). An individual's socioeconomic status may have influenced the decision to emigrate. The wealthy may have sought to acquire additional wealth, while the poor may have desired new financial

opportunities. Thus, class divisions marked society in Plainwell from the outset. Many settlers brought their wives and families with them and in 1850 there were an estimated 587 individuals living in the area. Over the next three decades, that number increased sevenfold (Whitney 1978:21).

In 1854, two plank toll roads were constructed which intersected at the village. This network connected Plainwell to broader markets and led to profound economic changes. The construction of a mill race across a bend in the Kalamazoo River in 1856 created an island which has become the village of Plainwell proper (see Figure 1). The mill race also spawned further industrial growth by allowing industry, notably flour and paper mills, to capitalize on the river's steep gradient.

The arrival of the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railroad and the Grand Rapids/Indiana Line stimulated further settlement and increased industry in the area. After 1870, Plainwell experienced a significant economic boom made possible by the fast and inexpensive shipment of agricultural products and manufactured goods to outlying areas by rail (Weir 1990:25). In addition to improved transportation networks, other factors stimulated the settlement of southern Lower Michigan. For instance, the free land offered in conjunction with the Homestead Act of 1862 was a powerful incentive for residents of the Eastern Seaboard to push west (Bailey and Kennedy 1983:419).

In the early 1870s, the nation was rocked by a depression. However, Plainwell, and Michigan overall, appears to have been only mildly affected by the

FIRST MAP OF INCORPORATED VILLAGE — INCLUDING PLAINWELL BUSINESS DIRECTORY, 1873

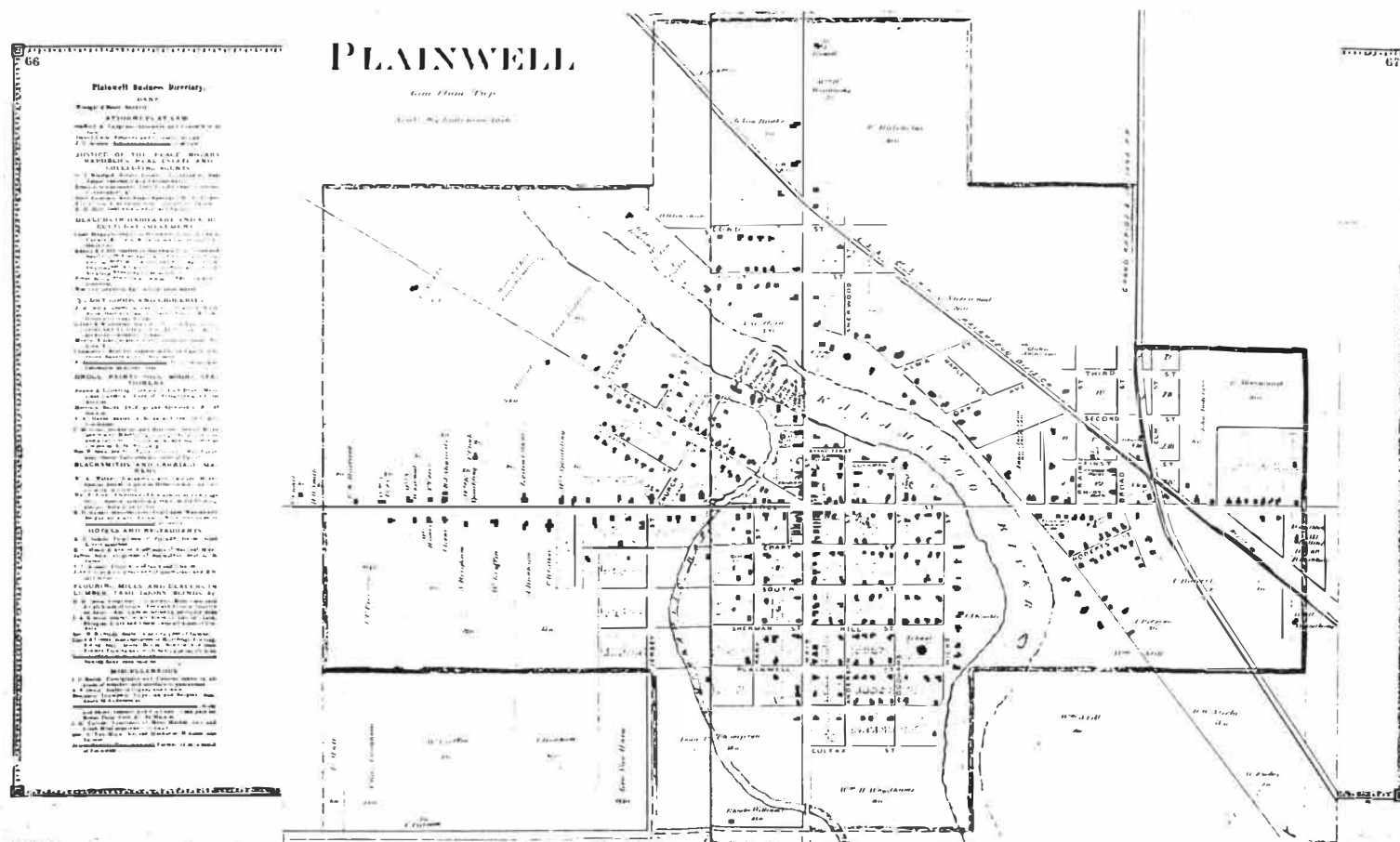


Figure 1. 1873 Map of Plainwell, Allegan County, Michigan (Anonymous 1969).

greater economic climate. A compilation of Plainwell history (Dalrymple 1950) gives no indication of financial struggle or hardship during the 1870s. Rather, during this decade, the railroads continued to be improved and expanded. the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railroad remodeled their Plainwell depot in 1873. According to Dalrymple (1950:5), factories prospered; the Plainwell Paper Mill increased production to "two tons of printing paper a day," a new flour mill was constructed (1874), and a marble works was established (1876). Old hotels were renovated and the three-story Lawrence and Herrick Hotel was erected (1873). Even new churches were built, including the Presbyterian Church (1871), the Episcopalian Church (1873), and the Catholic Church (1875).

#### Economic Prosperity and Disparate Social Status: 1873-1892

The manufacturing revolution of the post-Civil War years influenced social as well as economic dimensions of life. In addition to generating surplus capital, industrialization produced "a leisure class committed to the conspicuous consumption of their new riches . . . seen in the lavishly ornate residential architecture of the wealthy, in the opera houses built in many towns, and in the development of tourism" (Kern 1977:44). Industrialization enabled the residents of Plainwell who possessed financial resources upon their arrival to accumulate additional wealth. As capital became increasingly concentrated in the hands of the factory owners, class distinctions became even more marked. According to William Woodhams, one of the wealthiest early settlers in the village, class



differences in Plainwell were becoming exacerbated in the latter part of the nineteenth century. In an article for the Plainwell Enterprise, the local newspaper, (June 16, 1886), he wrote: "Not that I would claim there is less of a kindly feeling in this day of grace 1886 than forty years ago, but difference of circumstances and the greater density of mankind has had its natural affect of setting (members of the community) off in cliques or sets."

Woodhams was part of the Plainwell upper class of the nineteenth century. His observation serves not only to demonstrate the increasing importance of a wealthy elite, but also to illustrate that class differences were perceived as "natural" (see Leone 1984).

#### Turbulent Times: 1893-1910

A few years before the turn of the century, the nation was struck again by financial distress. The Panic of 1893 lasted approximately four years and "was in some respects the worst of the century" (Bailey and Kennedy 1983:547). Plainwell and other settlements around the state of Michigan were unable to weather this economic storm as well as they had done twenty years earlier. Thousands of Michigan residents were out of work and threatened by starvation (Kern 1977:43).

Although the economy had improved in the first decade of the twentieth century, Michigan faced the ills of urbanization and industrialization such as overcrowding and the exploitation of its workers with long days and low wages, particularly for women and children. Politics became the mechanism with which

Michigan attempted to solve the problems of its changing society. Progressives revised the state constitution and passed new legislation in an attempt to achieve social reforms and regulate industry. Governor Hazen Pingree, committed to protecting the interests of laborers and the foreign-born, "pioneered a Progressive program of higher taxes and public regulation for railroads and other corporations, . . . an eight-hour work day, abolition of child labor, and increased support for public education" (Kern 1977:43).

#### Women in the Labor Force, World Wars I and II: 1910-1945

The rights and interests of women received special attention during the reign of the Progressives in the early twentieth century. Industrialization and financial necessity had attracted women into the work force. Women laborers "were sucked into the clanging mechanism of factory production . . . typically toil[ing] six days a week, earning a pittance for dreary stints of twelve or thirteen hours" (Bailey and Kennedy 1983:280). Likewise, "women's wages for skilled and unskilled labor in Michigan . . . averaged 56% of the pay which men received for comparable work" (Kern 1977:48). Progressive lawmakers began to take steps to protect the interests of women by passing special legislation. For example, in 1911, the power of husbands to retain the earnings of their wives was terminated. This measure gave women control of their own labor as a saleable resource.

World War I brought many jobs to women, such as driving tractors, which had previously been reserved for men. Military production required the

cooperation of all citizens. Women were encouraged to do their part by entering industry or agriculture, spurred by slogans such as "Labor Will Win the War" and "A Woman's Place Is in the War" (Bailey and Kennedy 1983:671). Women also contributed to the war effort by holding bazaars, making bandages, and sending field and hospital supplies to soldiers (Whitney 1978:53).

In 1920, women triumphed when the 19th Amendment to the Constitution was adopted by Congress, assuring their right to vote. Not all men delighted in this victory for their female counterparts. At the time, it was believed that "women's suffrage will tend to increase this searing social evil, divorce; for woman (sic) suffrage will tend to bring about moral looseness, discord and dishonor in the family circle" (Kern 1977:48). In actuality, the 19th Amendment did little to change the political climate or improve the social standing of women. For although women had gained the right to vote, they tended to cast their ballots the same way as men (Bailey and Kennedy 1983:684).

The suffrage movement was active in southwest Michigan. One of the most prominent figures in the women's rights movement was Lucinda Hinsdale-Stone, a local woman from Kalamazoo (Weir 1990:33). Lucy Stone created quite a stir when she retained her maiden name after marriage. The term "Lucy Stoners" was coined for those women who followed her example (Bailey and Kennedy 1983:318). There were other prominent women active in politics in southwest Michigan during this time including Caroline Bartlett Crane and Ella Sharp.

The national census of 1920 noted for the first time that more people were

living in urban areas than in the countryside. Booming cities provided new opportunities for employment for women. However, low paying positions quickly came to be seen as women's work. In 1923, the National Women's Party and other feminists -- as they came to be called in the first decade of the twentieth century (diLeonardo 1991:2) -- began crusading for an Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution. Women began to assert more actively their individuality and power. "Once-modest maidens now proclaimed their new freedom as 'flappers' in bobbed tresses and dresses. Young women now appeared with hem-lines elevated, stockings rolled, breasts taped flat, cheeks rouged, and lips a 'crimson gash' that held a dangling cigarette" (Bailey and Kennedy 1983:716). The "flapper" came to symbolize the wild abandon of American women. Some truly adventuresome feminists even shocked their elders by appearing in public in the new one-piece bathing suits.

The frivolity and free-spiritedness of the 1920s gave way to a more sobering reality with the catastrophic crash of the stock market in October of 1929. The crash led to economic devastation which lasted until the American entrance into World War II (1939). Michigan's industrial unemployment rate approached 50 percent from 1929 to 1933 (Kern 1977:52).

The national effort during World War II relied on women even more heavily than during the first global conflict 25 years earlier. Approximately 216,000 women held non-combat, primarily clerical, positions in all branches of the military. Women also played a crucial role in industry which was considerably

more dramatic than that which was seen during World War I. Women were called upon to participate in even the heaviest industries such as building of tanks, ships, and airplanes which earned them the nickname "Rosie the Riveter." However, once the war ended, many women wanted to continue working and "thus touched off a revolution in the roles of women in American society" (Bailey and Kennedy 1983:799). No longer excluded from the work force and able to exercise political power through the vote, women began to hold a different place in American society than they did a century earlier.

#### Class and Gender in the Last Five Decades: 1945-1995

The economy faltered in the few years following World War II until prosperity returned with a flourish in the 1950s and 60s. The national income doubled and America, comprising 6% of the world's population, enjoyed 40% of the world's wealth (Bailey and Kennedy 1983:927).

This change in the financial tide of the nation led to profound social change. Americans who had struggled through the depression years were now determined to make up for such economic hardship. "Keeping up with the Jones" became the preoccupation of the American family and led to gluttonous consumption of goods. The standard of comfort and security of "a chicken in every pot" gave way to a new standard of "two cars in every garage, swimming pools, vacation homes, and gas-guzzling 'recreation vehicles'" (Bailey and Kennedy 1983:929). Prosperity in Michigan was also fueled by the increasing importance of

tourism in the state (Kern 1977:60). The influx of tourists not only lined the coffers of the Michigan Department of Natural Resources, but also generated revenue for the stores, gas stations, and other businesses which served these park visitors.

Despite the turbulent times of the early twentieth century, wealthy Americans were, for the most part, able to retain their privileged position. In the 1980s, the richest 20% of the population still earned half of the nation's income. Likewise, the relative position of the nation's poorest 20% remained unchanged, receiving less than 5% of the national income (Bailey and Kennedy 1983:929). Regardless of the prosperity enjoyed by the United States overall, disparate class and status positions persisted as a result of differential access to the nation's bounty. the wealthy savored additional riches while the lower classes remained impoverished.

Access to the nation's wealth was also limited along gender lines. Although women had been permanently added to the work force, unfair wages and discrimination in the work place prohibited women from realizing their full potential (see Spain 1992). Legislation was again passed to protect the interests of women. Sexual discrimination from employers was prohibited by the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution in 1972 legally guaranteed sexual equality in the work place.

Compliance with these legal measures is another matter entirely. Although all occupations and professions are theoretically open to women for the same

wages as men who perform them, this is not necessarily the practice. In academia between 1978 and 1993, for example, women received less funding (Gero 1983:53) and held fewer tenured positions (Givens et al. 1994:4) than men.

### Changing Social Relations: 1840-1995

Many political, economic, and social changes have occurred in America in the last century. Plainwell has not been immune to these changes. The village has been transformed from wilderness and frontier to an industrialized center.

At the time the village was incorporated in 1869, agriculture and transportation concerns were the focus of community life. Twenty-five years later, according to the First Annual Report of Inspection of Factories in Michigan, there were five local factories thriving along the Kalamazoo River producing building materials, book paper, flour, machinery, and tables (1894:36). Fifty years after the incorporation of the village, the Bureau of Labor Statistics Report (1919:24-25) indicates that inspectors visited 27 places of business including a factory which was in operation when the First Annual Report of Inspection of Factories was published in 1894. Other industries included a cannery, electric and water works, a creamery, and millinery.

Class distinctions have existed in Plainwell since its initial settlement in the mid-nineteenth century. However, over time socioeconomic status has become even more marked as industrialization has continued to concentrate financial resources into the hands of the wealthy elite. Community members became

spatially separated within the village as neighborhoods developed according to classes that persist today (Brown family, personal communication, 1995).

Changes in economic opportunities and conditions have altered class relations in the nation as well as in the state of Michigan and the community of Plainwell. In the nineteenth century, women concerned themselves with primarily domestic duties (Bailey and Kennedy 1983:294). With the onset of industrialization, women began to sell their labor outside the home for a wage.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics Report (1919:24-25) provides some interesting information regarding the positions that men and women held in industry in Plainwell in 1919. According to this document, women were excluded without exception from power companies. No women were employed in the manufacture of electricity, at the water works or in the lumber and coal industries. Similarly, women were not hired for wagon repair, butchering, plumbing, dairying, shoe repair, auto repair, and harness making. There were only five businesses in Plainwell that employed more women than men: the Harwood Beans and Produce Company, Michigan State Telephone, Michigan Paper Company, Plainwell Canning, and Nettie Shaw's Style Shop and Millinery. Women were clearly deemed most suited for processing produce, answering the telephone, and sewing. It is unclear what positions they filled at the Michigan Paper Company.

Women were not only excluded from certain professions on the basis of gender, but they were also discriminated against with regard to advancement opportunities. The Bureau of Labor Statistics Report (1919:278-279) indicates that



there were 17,782 managerial positions in Michigan industries, only 1.6% were filled by women (N=290). One company in Plainwell is particularly obvious in its depiction of gender relations in the work place. The Michigan State Telephone Company employed nine individuals, eight of which were women. It isn't difficult to imagine the role which the one male employee likely played -- namely that of supervisor (Bureau of Labor 1919:24-25).

Women who were employed in management in Michigan, however, received significantly lower wages than their male counterparts. Male supervisors were paid \$7.22 a day in 1919 while women received approximately one-third of that wage, \$2.79. Foreman earned \$5.09 while foreladies were paid just over half, \$2.67 (Bureau of Labor 1919:410). Status differences were clearly maintained along lines of gender and men dominated women by controlling their access to resources. Women were unable to exercise a great degree of autonomy simply because they were largely dependent on men for their financial security.

The involvement of women in the work place reached a critical point after World War II when they became determined to remain in the work force. A flood of legislative acts and the commitment of leaders to the liberation movement has improved the social standing of American women. Women choose whatever profession they wish, although they still face some challenges.

### Expectations

With the dramatic changes which have occurred economically, socially, and

politically at multiple scales from the nation to the community, I would anticipate the response to these changes to be manifested in the landscape. For instance, as the economy fluctuates, the landscape might be modified in accordance with prosperity or remain static in times of economic crisis. Additionally, as class and gender relationships change, expressions of these social dynamics can be expected in the spatial organization of the homelot. As women became increasingly involved in the work place and other aspects of society, I would expect to see a change in the way women utilized the landscapes around their homes.

I am interested in seeing how a political-economic approach to class and gender can inform my investigation of a residential landscape in lower southwestern Michigan. An examination of land use patterns and landscape changes at the level of a homelot can enhance my understanding of social relations in the village of Plainwell and the forces which shaped life in the Midwest overall.

A variety of evidence will be utilized to reconstruct the landscape through time. Historical documents, oral informants, photographic data, and archaeology will establish a chronology of landscape change as well as elucidate the social, political, and economic conditions which influenced life and the organization of space at this homelot.

Changes in class and gender relations did not occur in a vacuum. Moreover, because social relations are created, reinforced, and resisted through the material world, they had tangible implications for the landscape (see Nassaney and Paynter 1995). The purpose of this chapter has been to discuss how changing

social conditions over the past 120 years may have influenced the choices people made while creating their built environments. In the next chapter, I summarize the documentary research conducted, discuss how the fieldwork progressed, and introduce landscape changes and continuities at a homelot in Plainwell.

## CHAPTER IV

### HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS

Having discussed the major trends in the social relations of class and gender, I now turn my attention to the historical and archaeological investigations conducted to reconstruct the built environment. I also explore how the landscape has changed over the 120-year history of the homelot as well as the ways in which it has remained the same.

I chose a corner property with an Italianate-style house in Plainwell for study because it possessed interesting landscape features, some of which were abandoned. A circular configuration of bricks, which I originally believed to be a well, was found west of the house in the present vegetable garden during the Spring of 1992 while the current landowner was planting a vegetable garden. During a walkover survey of the property, I observed additional landscape features including the foundations of an abandoned outbuilding, a line of stone cobbles along the western property line, and a force water pump. In addition, the property was associated with two individuals who were instrumental in the settlement of the village.

## Background Research

Historic documents and oral accounts by former residents of the property have provided a general history of the homelot and village. Probate records, tax rolls, and land deeds led to a clearer understanding of the individual landowners at the residence. According to tax assessment records, architectural data, and oral reports, the socioeconomic status of homeowners appears to be consistently lower-middle class. A series of historic maps was examined to understand settlement patterning in the village and the way in which the area developed. I also utilized architectural and photographic data to illustrate the additions that were made to the house as well as how landscape features, notably the barn, have changed since the nineteenth century. By using these sources, I have been able to reconstruct the landscape chronologically as well as understand class relations and gender roles.

## Remote Sensing

With the assistance of geologists from Western Michigan University, I attempted to use remote sensing techniques to locate and understand archaeological features. Black & white print as well as color slide photographs were taken from a tethered helium balloon supplied by the Geology Department at the university. This procedure enabled me to view landscape features from a unique vantage point and identify those areas to investigate further. Only one anomaly was located using this technique. Unfortunately, remote sensing was not as useful to this study as I had hoped.

A valuable lesson was learned about relying on aerial photographs to identify archaeological features. At the time the aerial images were produced, no privy had been located on the property. A number of photographs indicated a rather large area (1.5m<sup>2</sup>) which was undulating and had a slightly different grass color and other vegetation than the surrounding area. This area was located in the side yard toward the front of the house (see Figure 2, Excavation Unit 4). At the time of the remote sensing, it was believed that the house might have originally faced east, rather than its current orientation to the south. The house is situated on a corner lot and this hypothesis seemed plausible. Thus the position of the anomalous grassy area relative to the house would not have been an unusual location for the privy. Digging began enthusiastically in a 2 x 2 meter unit in hopes of discovering an abandoned landscape feature. However, enthusiasm waned when I determined that this "anomaly" was a burned-out tree stump. Oral accounts later confirmed that the tree, a large pine, had been struck by lightning 50 years earlier (Brown family, personal communication, 1995). I learned the importance of recognizing that remote sensing techniques identify anomalies on the landscape, not necessarily archaeological features.

Ground penetrating radar was also conducted with the assistance of geologists from Western Michigan University. Investigations were concentrated in three areas: (1) the large depressed, grassy area east of the house; (2) the vicinity of the outbuilding foundations east of the garage; and (3) along the northern property line (see Figure 2). I was interested in obtaining specific information

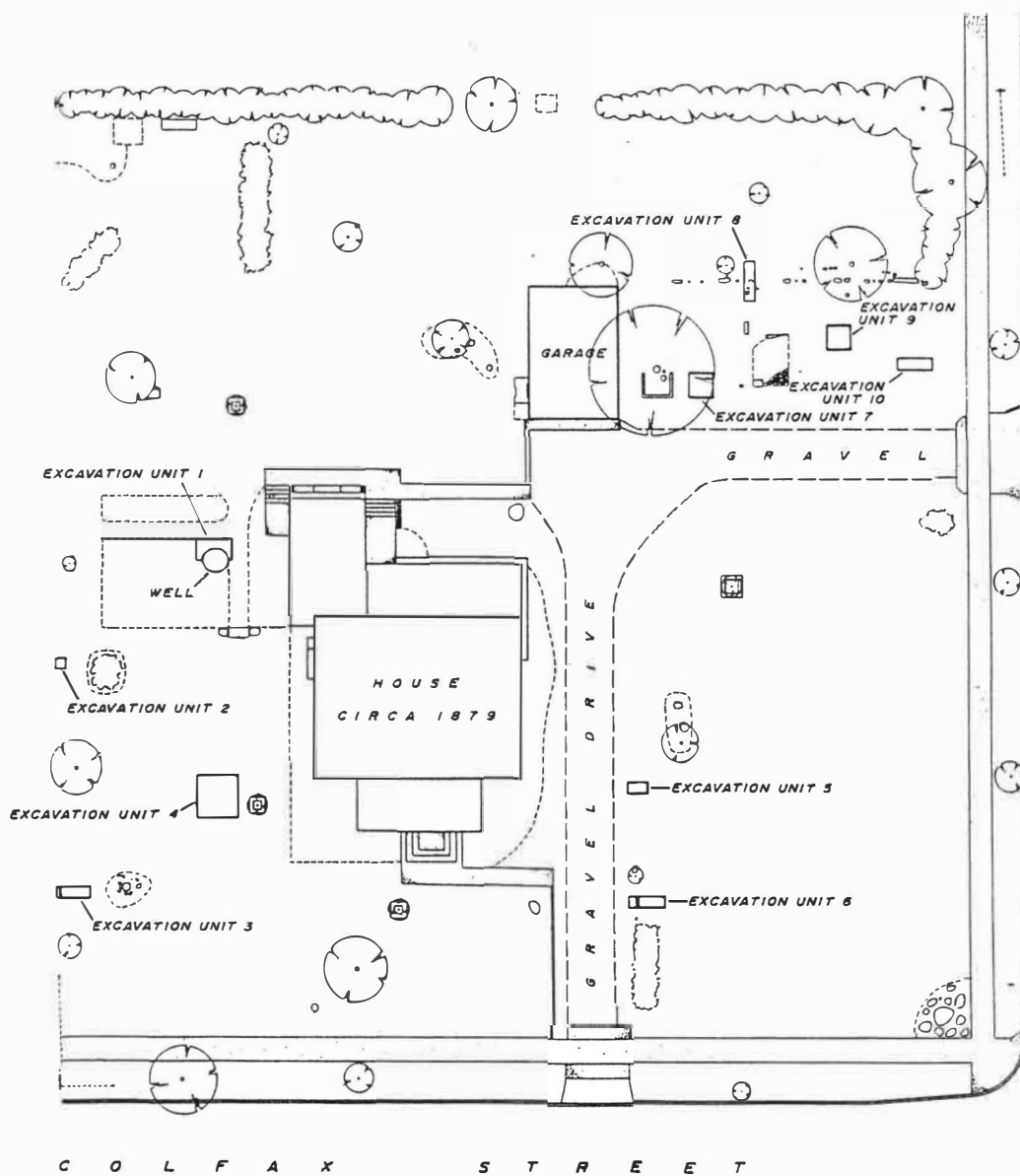


Figure 2. Map of the Woodhams-Lyden Site, 20AE852. Courtesy of Gordon Jones Engineering, Kalamazoo, Michigan.

including: (a) an understanding of land use in the grassy area, (b) the dimensions of the foundations without intrusive excavation, and (c) other possible locations for the privy. The examination of the landscape was also somewhat dictated by the rain, which constrained data collection.

This remote sensing technique proved to be inappropriate for the purposes of this study. the antenna created significant feedback within the first 50 to 100 cm of the ground surface (William Sauck, personal communication, 1994), which was precisely the depth about which I was interested in learning more. Unfortunately, the radar read only "noise" at that depth and no additional subsurface features were located.

### Subsurface Investigations

I initiated archaeological investigations during the Summer of 1994 over a seven-week period and returned to the field for one weekend in the fall with the assistance of many friends and colleagues from Western Michigan, Grand Valley State, and Indiana universities. We conducted archaeological investigations in several areas, notably along the western property line, the circular configuration of bricks in the garden, a stone wall feature along the driveway, and the foundations of the abandoned outbuilding. These features were selected because of their potential for assisting me in understanding how the landscape was constructed and has changed over time. Other historical archaeologists have also been successful in discerning social relations from similar features (e.g., see Ferguson 1992;



Garman and Hood 1990; White and Kardulias 1989).

Standard procedures were used in the archaeological investigations at the site. the sod was carefully removed and rolled up from each excavation unit in an attempt to preserve the manicured lawn as much as possible. All soils were removed via troweling and/or shovel skimming and screened through 1/4" mesh. Likewise, all units were excavated in arbitrary ten-centimeter levels. The excavation was recorded as each level progressed via plan view mapping and a narrative account. Two adjacent walls of each unit were also profiled prior to backfilling. All deviations from these procedures will be noted in the text.

#### Circular Configuration of Bricks

Subsurface investigations at the property began with the excavation of the circular configuration of bricks first noted by the current landowner in 1992. She excavated the upper 12-18" in an attempt to determine what the feature may have been (Anita Lyden, personal communication, 1994) and collected a range of materials (see Appendix C, FS#1). The feature was slightly oval in its construction; exterior dimensions measured 89 x 95 cm. A 1 x 1.5 meter unit (Well, Feature 1) was situated to cross-section the north half of the feature (see Figure 2, Excavation Unit 1). The exterior was excavated first. Gardening activities disturbed the upper 20 to 30 centimeters of soil below the ground surface. Artifacts were moderately dense and included broken glass, slag, corroded tin and nails, building materials (e.g., shingle fragments), and animal bone (see

Appendix C, FS# 14, 15, 16, and 17). The construction suggested that this feature served as a recharge basin or dry well to receive the "gray water" generated from laundering, bathing, and doing dishes inside the kitchen. The basin would have provided a temporary catchment to facilitate the seeping of the water back into the ground.

Excavation revealed an expanding rim of bricks secured together with mortar. However, the bricks did not extend beyond the three tier. At 25 cm below the ground surface, the brick casing ceased abruptly with only a thin cement wall (2.5 cm) remaining. At 40 cm below the ground surface, just as the B-horizon soils were becoming visible in plan view, investigation of the exterior was discontinued because of concern for the stability of the feature. We used small logs from the homeowners' wood pile to support the brick casing while we continued excavation.

Investigation of the feature was then focused on the interior of the brick casing. We attempted to cross-section the deposits by excavating the north half of the feature's interior, which was within the unit proper. We had originally hoped that the deposits on the southern half of the feature could be left in tact for stratigraphic purposes. However, the instability of the soil made this impossible.

The soil matrix was very dense (10YR2/1) and highly organic. The artifact deposits were very dense (see Table 1) and included construction materials, fruit jars and medicine bottles, plain and decorated ceramics, butchered animal bones, nails, buckets, and clothespins just to name a few. The quantity of corroded,

Table 1

Summary of Artifacts Recovered From Feature 1  
Woodhams-Lyden Site, 20AE852

Quantity	Description
54	Clear glass - decorative
669	Clear glass - curved
115	Clear glass - flat
102	Clear glass - bottle/jar
16	White glass- decorative
24	White glass - curved
40	White glass - bottle/jar
2	White glass - polychromatic design
1	White glass - frosted
35	Blue-green glass- curved
39	Blue-green glass - flat
119	Blue-green glass - bottle/jar
4	Brown glass - bottle/jar
134	Whiteware - plain
21	Whiteware - polychromatic design
69	Whiteware - monochromatic design
2	Porcelain
46	Metal - nails
23	Metal - cans/buckets
1	Metal - buckle
2	Metal - cutlery
8	Metal - canning lid
36	Metal - other
756	Metal - unidentified
25	Concrete fragments
39	Brick fragments
166	Natural/Geological
41	Terra Cotta fragments
27	Rubber seal fragments
102	Animal bones
9	Botanical
1	Faunal
10	Crockery Fragments
20	Clear plastic - sheet
22	Clear plastic - cup

Table 1--Continued

Quantity	Description
1	Coal slag
2	Clinker
1	Ceramic pipe stem
2	Asbestos Wallboard
2	Electrical
2	Batteries
3	Unidentified

unidentifiable metal was such that not all of these materials were collected for further analysis in the laboratory. However, care was taken to retain items which were potentially diagnostic, and samples were taken of the unidentifiable artifacts for possible raw material identification. The deposits appear to be stratified based in part on the distribution of ceramic artifacts. The ceramics from the feature are clustered together such that all pieces of a broken plate or teacup were recovered from the same level or possibly two adjacent levels. However, glass bottles with molded bodies and hand-blown necks from the nineteenth century appear in all levels in nearly equal quantities. Analysis of these two artifact classes suggests that deposition took place over a relatively short period of time. Secondary deposition is also possible. Refuse may have been taken from another disposal area on the property and used to fill in the feature.

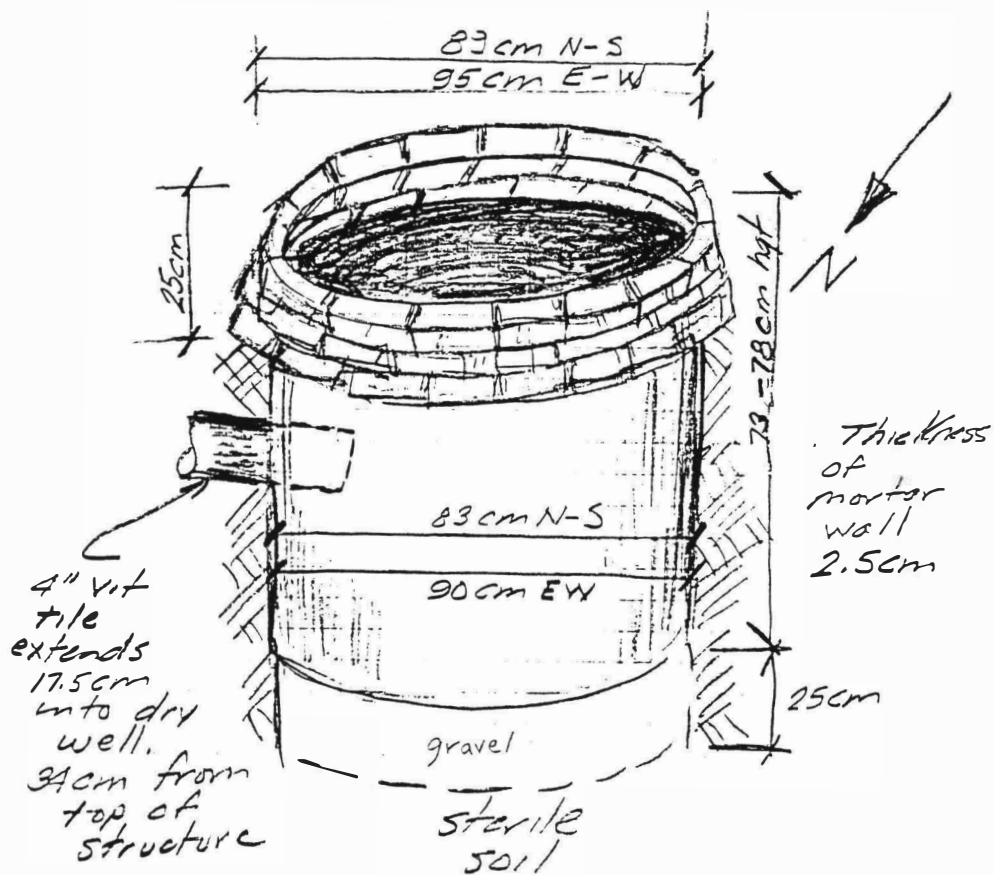
At 60 cm below the ground surface, the soil profile collapsed and was removed before excavation proceeded. Investigation revealed that the interior of the rim of bricks was sealed with a thin cement coating. Below the three tiers of

bricks, only this thin coating remained. It appears that the hole was dug and then a layer of cement was smeared along the inside to maintain the sidewalls and prevent them from collapsing. At 34 cm, a clay tile pipe projects into the basin at the base of the brick casing from the direction of the house. At 85 cm below ground surface, the artifact deposits ceased abruptly as did the cement sealant. Below this was a 25 cm layer of gravel underlain by undisturbed soils (see Figure 3). The feature was excavated to a total depth of 112 cm below datum. The feature remained roughly circular in shape for the entire depth.

Cement was first successfully used in the early 1880s (Peter Schmitt, personal communication, 1994) which is consistent with the hypothesis that the construction of the recharge basin is contemporaneous with the construction of the house, which was erected in 1879. Likewise, no artifacts were recovered from the feature which date prior to 1880, suggesting a post-1880 construction date. A village sewer system was established circa 1915 (Sandy Stamm, personal communication, 1995), at which time the basin was probably abandoned.

### Linear Cobble Stone Feature

Along the western property line, several large cobbles were projecting through the grass. A 50 x 150 cm unit (Fence Unit 3.1) was opened in this area approximately 5 m from the public sidewalk along the southern edge of the property (see Figure 2, Excavation Unit 3). Excavation revealed that rather large, cut granite stones were intentionally placed in a linear fashion in order to



### DRY WELL STRUCTURE

7-28-94

John Weaver  
Gordon Jorci

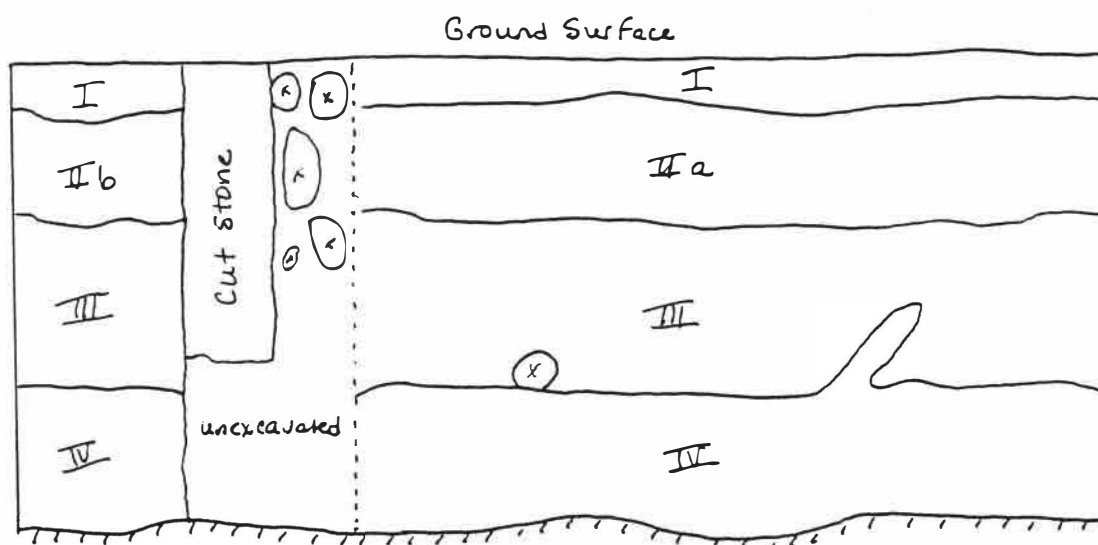
Figure 3. Sketch of Feature 1, 20AE852.

demarcate the western property line. These cut stones were supported by smaller cobbles. The tops of the granite stones were nearly flush with the current ground surface, whereas the supporting cobbles were below grade.

At approximately 6 cm below datum, at the base of the humus layer, there was a layer of coarse, loosely compacted gravel fill. Below this, at approximately 20 cm, a buried A-horizon is clearly visible (see Figure 4). It appears that at the time this stone wall feature was constructed a fill layer was lain down because the supporting cobbles are found within this soil layer. This fill layer appears to be the result of landscaping activities to level off an undulating ground surface.

A second and much smaller unit, 50 x 50 cm (Fence Unit 3.2) was placed further away from the street to determine if this stone wall continued north along the property line (see Figure 2, Excavation Unit 2). The loosely compacted gravel fill layer was not found, although all other aspects of the boundary marker's construction are consistent with what was seen in the first unit.

Very few artifacts were recovered during the excavation of these two units. None of the artifacts are clearly diagnostic and would allow for precise dating of the feature. The original parcel of land consisted of three lots, the third of which (Lot 169) was sold in 1959. Three years later, in 1962, the rest of the homelot (Lots 170 and 171) was sold (see Figure 5). Oral accounts suggest that the construction of the feature post-dates 1962 (Brown family, personal communication, 1995).

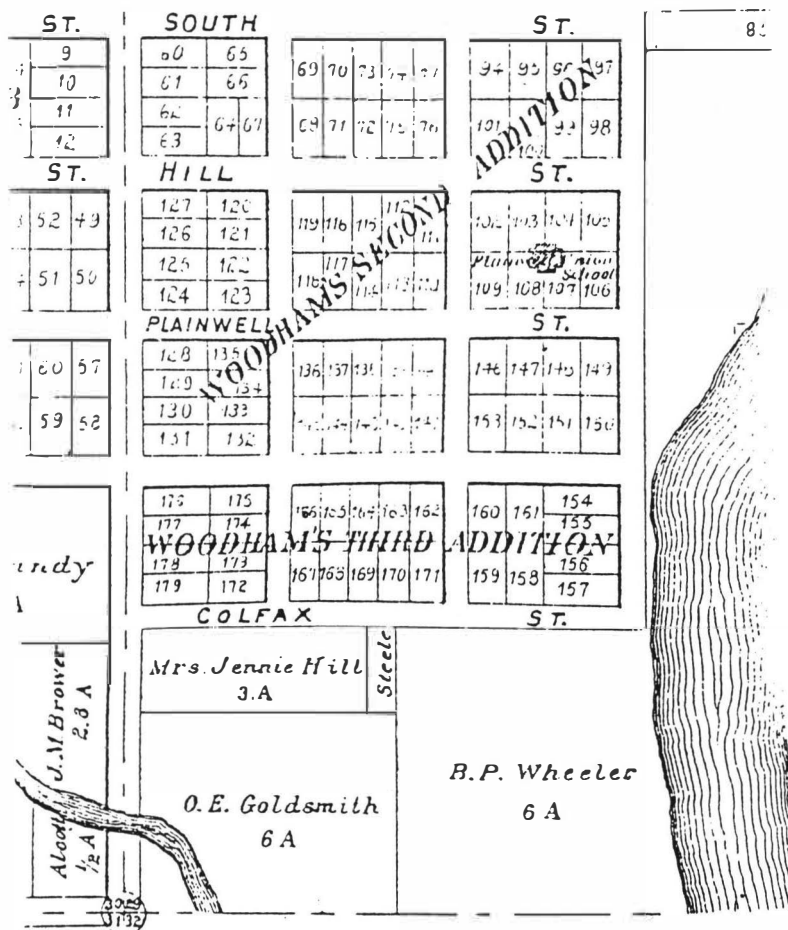


Legend. I = Humus layer, IIa = Fill layer, IIb = Leaching of IIa through stone feature, III = Buried A-Horizon, IV = B-Horizon, x = rock.

Scale: 50 x 150 cm.

Figure 4. Profile of North Wall of Fence Unit 3.1, 20AE852.



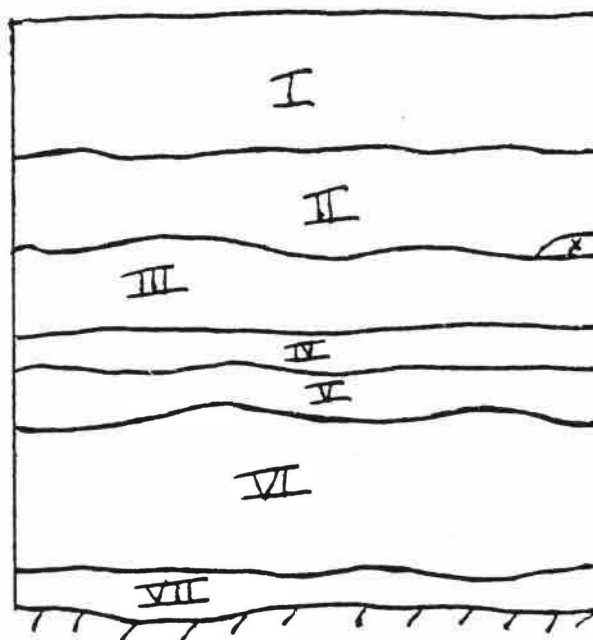


### Additional Linear Stone Feature

Partially submerged cobbles were also observed along the eastern edge of the driveway. A 50 x 50 cm unit (Fence Unit 3.3) was opened at approximately 5 m north of the public sidewalk along the southern edge of the property, roughly the same orientation and equal in size to the first unit opened along the western property line (see Figure 2, Excavation Unit 6). However, the construction of this stone feature was very different from that which was observed elsewhere on the property. These gravel cobbles were arranged in a single, rectangular layer along the edge of the drive. The cobbles appear to be delineating the edge of an earlier driveway surface. At approximately 25 cm below the current ground surface, there is a 4 cm thick layer of coal slag and ashes (Layer IV) which feathers out beneath the cobble stones (see Figure 6). Above this coal and slag is another driveway surface of sand and coarse gravel.

I suspect that landowners during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries used the residue from their coal burning stoves to fill in low or muddy spots in the driveway. However, the manner in which this coal and slag layer appeared in the excavation unit gives the impression that this was not just a muddy spot, but perhaps the entire driveway surface was covered with this material.

Another 50 x 50 cm unit (Fence 3.4) was opened along the driveway and further from the road in order to better understand the construction of the drive (see Figure 2, Excavation Unit 5). The coal and slag layer did indeed appear again. What is interesting to note, however, is that the sand and gravel surface



Legend. I = A-Horizon, II = Fill layer, III = Disturbed level of soils from Layers II and IV, IV = Previous driveway surface of coal slag and ashes, V = Disturbed level of soils from Layers IV and VII, Vb = Leaching from ashes, VI = Sandy subsoil, VIb = Silty subsoil, VII = B-Horizon.

Scale: 50 x 150 cm.

Figure 6. Profile of West Wall of Fence Unit 3.3, 20AE852.

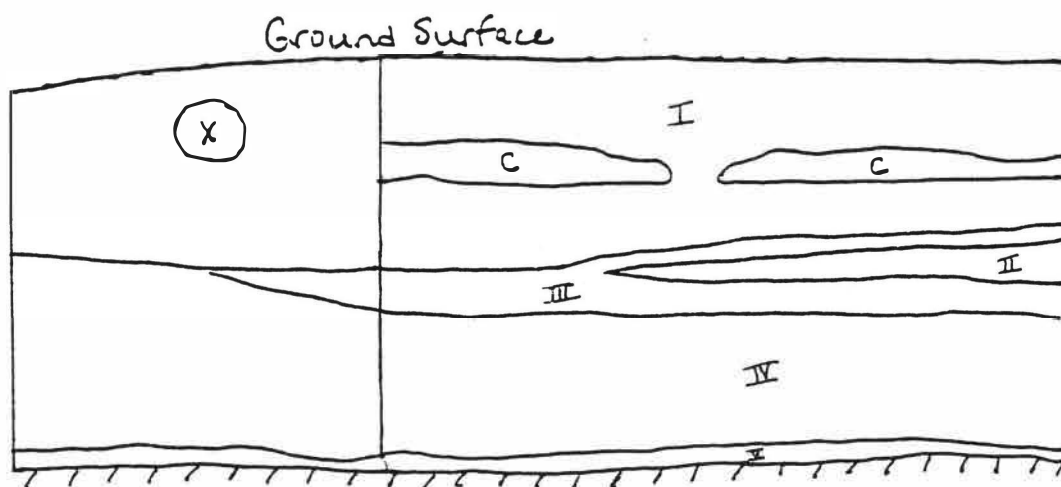
seen above the coal slag in the first unit did not appear. In its place was the edge of a concrete slab (see Figure 7). It appears that the concrete slab and sandy gravel driveway surface are contemporaneous, with concrete used to cover only a portion of the drive. This unit was excavated to a depth of 40 cm. However, B-horizon soils were not encountered.

### Outbuilding Foundations

During the reconnaissance survey of the property, I noted the foundations of an abandoned outbuilding in the northeast corner of the homelot. The foundation measures 6 x 14 meters (20 x 46 feet) and is divided into three roughly equal-sized compartments or bays. The abstract of title mentions a barn in the description of a transaction dating December 1908.

The size, location, and configuration of this foundation suggests that it once supported a barn or carriage house. There is a building supported by a similar foundation associated with another Italianate-style house in the neighborhood. The barn at this property has a dry stone foundation that supports a wooden sill and appears to be consistent with the configuration of stones seen in the foundation of the outbuilding at the homelot in my study. Photographic evidence later confirmed that the foundations indeed belonged to a barn (see Figure 8). A garage was eventually built closer to the house, west of the barn's location, when the structure deteriorated and needed to be razed.

One 2 x 2 meter, one 1 x 1 meter, and two 1 x 2 meter units were



Legend. I = A-Horizon, II = Pinkish clay ash, III = Coal slag and ashes,  
 IV = Dark brown silty loam, V = Silty subsoil, x = rock,  
 c = concrete. Scale: 50 x 100 cm.

Figure 7. Profile of West Wall of Fence Unit 3.4, 20AE852.

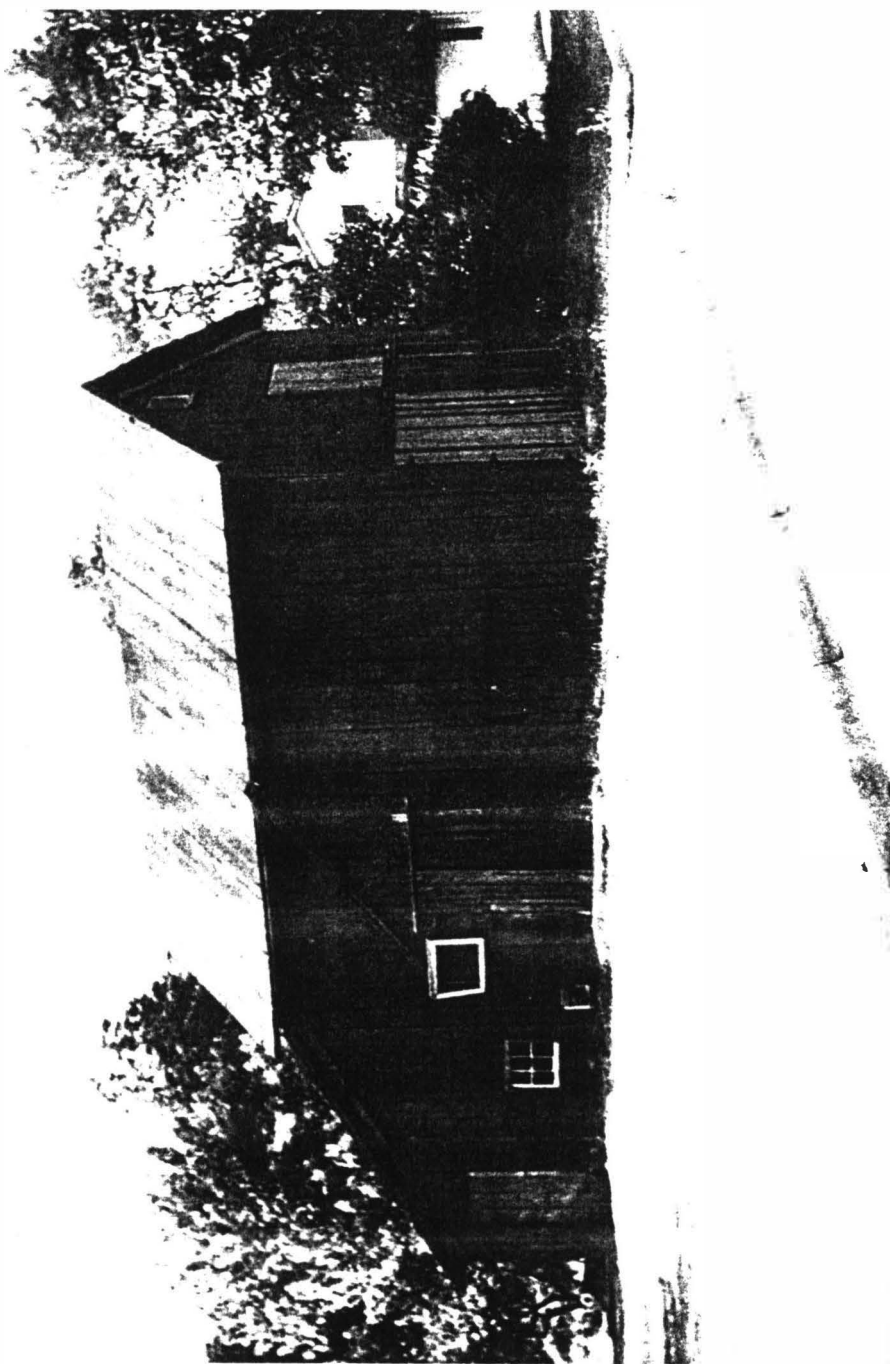


Figure 8. Photograph of Barn, Circa 1950.

excavated to examine the foundations of this outbuilding. The 2 x 2 meter unit (Barn Unit 4.3) was opened along the southern edge of the western-most bay (see Figure 2, Excavation Unit 7). At 10 cm below the ground surface, a concrete slab was encountered which covered the north half of the excavation unit. This area of the feature was excavated to 50 cm below datum. Artifacts recovered include nails, slag, bottle tops, and even a flake from stone tool manufacture (see Appendix C).

A 1 x 1 meter unit (Barn Unit 4.4) was opened along the western wall of the eastern-most bay (see Figure 2, Excavation Unit 9). Excavation revealed a section of dry stone foundation which has collapsed. Investigation of this unit terminated at 30 cm below datum even though B-horizon soils had not been encountered. Artifacts from this area of the barn feature include bone, glass, brick, nails, button fragments, and a glass egg used to encourage hens to lay eggs (see Appendix C). Oral accounts indicated that chickens had indeed been kept at the property (Brown family, personal communication, 1995) and the glass egg supports this report.

A 1 x 2 meter unit (Barn Unit 4.1) was excavated along the north wall of the barn at the junction of the western-most inside wall (see Figure 2, Excavation Unit 8). The dry stone foundation in the area was largely intact. Numerous nails (N=215) were recovered from the upper 20 cm of this unit, particularly from that area which would have been outside of the barn proper. This unit was excavated in 20 cm levels to a depth of 60 cm below datum, well into B-Horizon soils.

Other artifacts include ceramics, coal slag, brick fragments, glass, and metal (see Appendix C).

A second 1 x 2 meter unit (Barn Unit 4.2) was excavated along the eastern wall of the feature (see Figure 2, Excavation Unit 10). Again, the positioning of the unit allowed for the examination of the dry stone foundation, which was largely intact. The unit was excavated to a depth of 50 cm below datum and into the B-Horizon soils. Porcelain, nails, ceramics, brick fragments, glass, and a rodent skeleton were recovered during the excavation of this unit (see Appendix C).

### Above Ground Investigations

In addition to the archaeological features at the property, architectural changes to the house also occurred. According to oral accounts, a front porch was added to the house in the late 1930s by the new residents (Brown family, personal communication, 1995). In 1954, as attested by writing in the cement floor, a kitchen wing was added by the landowner. Architectural historian Peter Schmitt had, without knowledge of this inscribed date, estimated the date of construction to be in the 1950s (personal communication, 1994). The abstract of title indicates that the family that resided in the house at the time borrowed money from the bank in September of 1953 and may have used those funds for "home improvements" such as a new kitchen. The date may have been inscribed during that phase of construction the following year. The bedroom wing was made larger during the 1950s and a one stall garage was added a few years later in 1958



(Brown family, personal communication, 1995).

The house and surrounding landscape have changed considerably over the past 120 years (see Figures 9, 10, 11, and 12). Additions have been made to the house. The recharge basin was abandoned. A barn was erected and then razed. A new garage was built and the driveway surface was periodically refurbished. My analysis will demonstrate that these landscape changes were influenced by social relationships. Changes, as well as continuities, in class and gender relations are tied to the landscape.

In this chapter, I have outlined the historical and archaeological investigations which were conducted to reconstruct the landscape. I also introduced some of the ways in which the landscape has changed as well as ways in which it has remained the same. In the next chapter, I will discuss how the changing spatial organization of the property expresses class and gender relations.

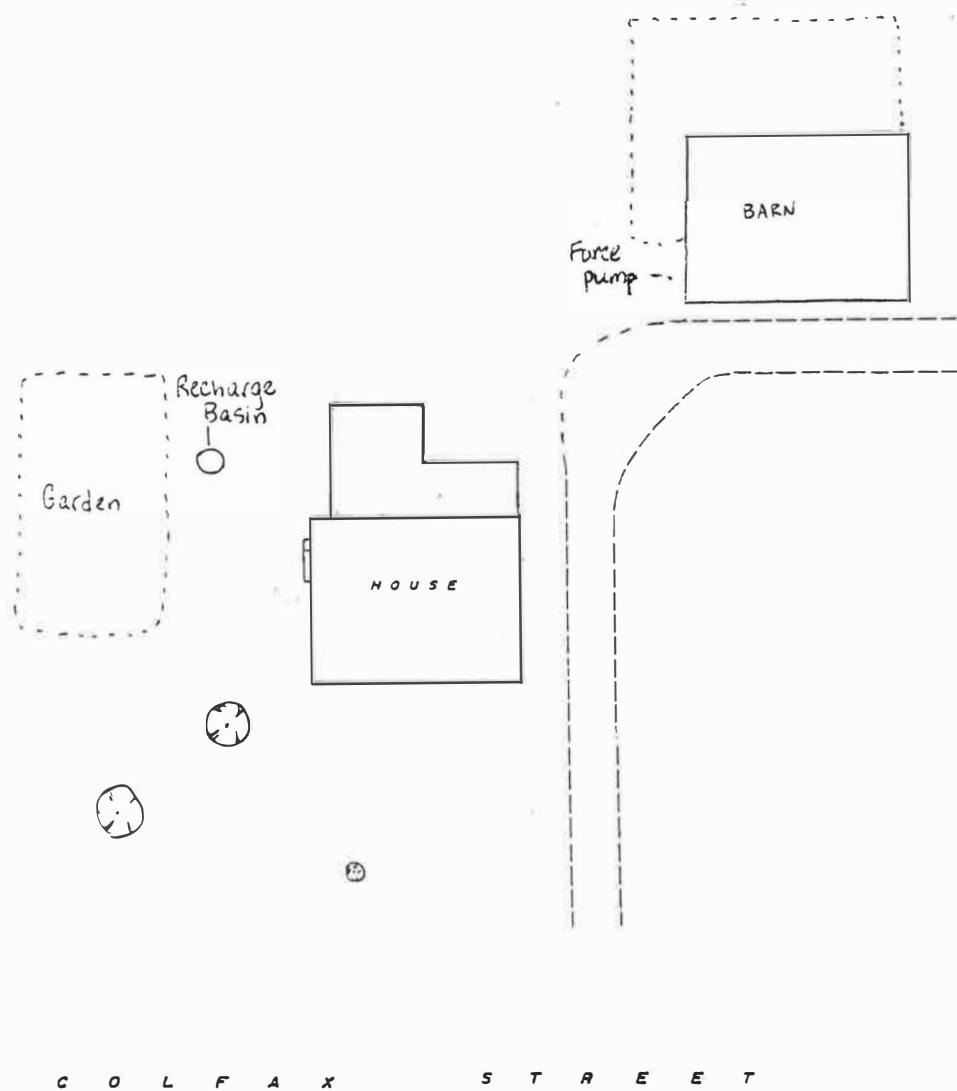


Figure 9. Proposed Map of the Homelot, Circa 1879.

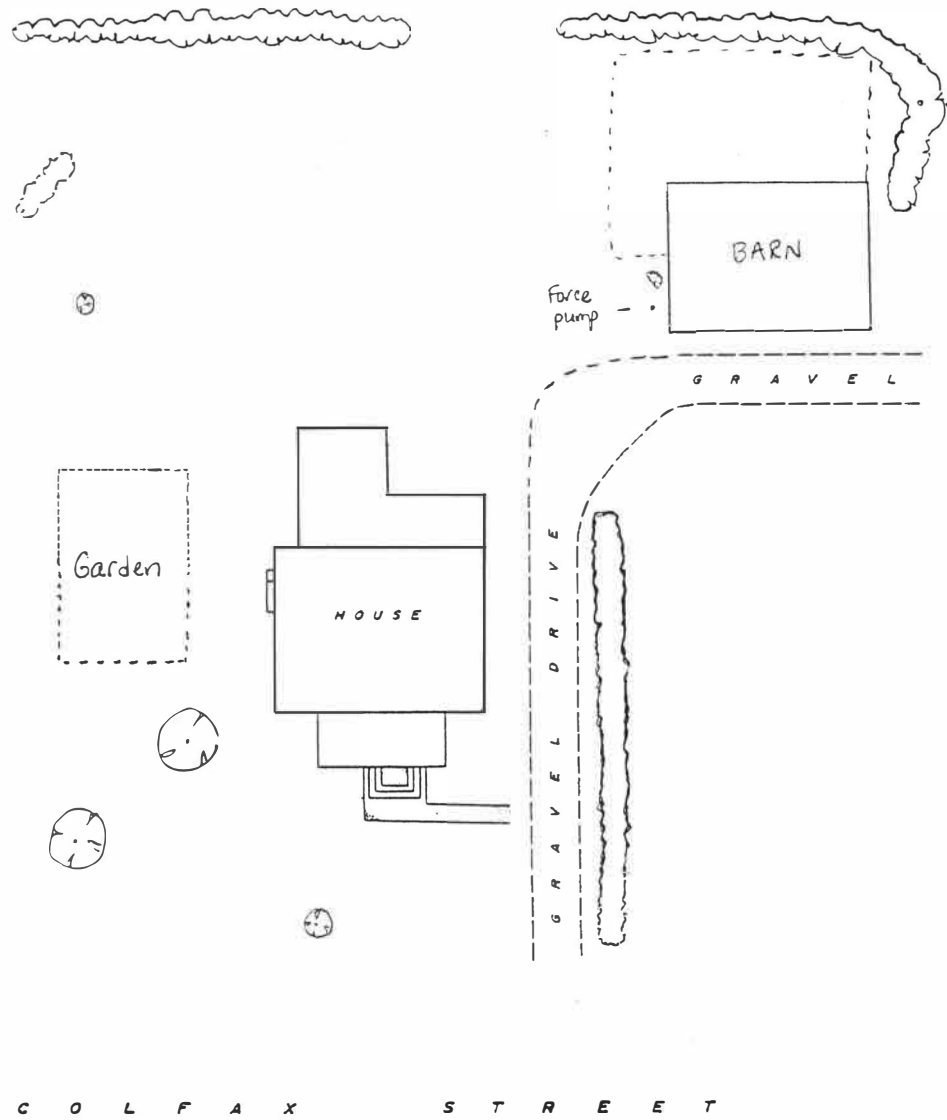


Figure 10. Proposed Map of the Homelot, Circa 1930.

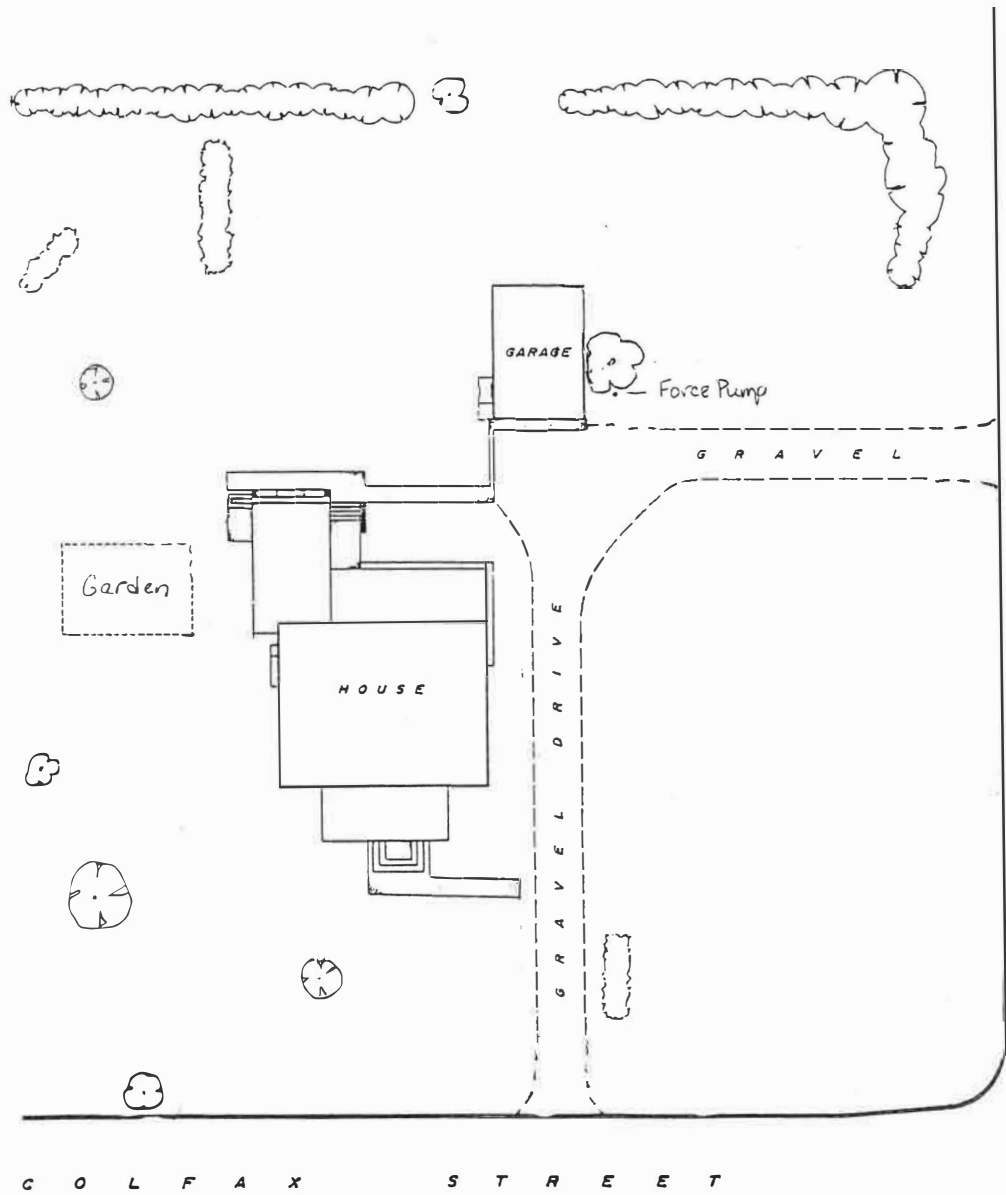


Figure 11. Proposed Map of the Homelot, Circa 1960.

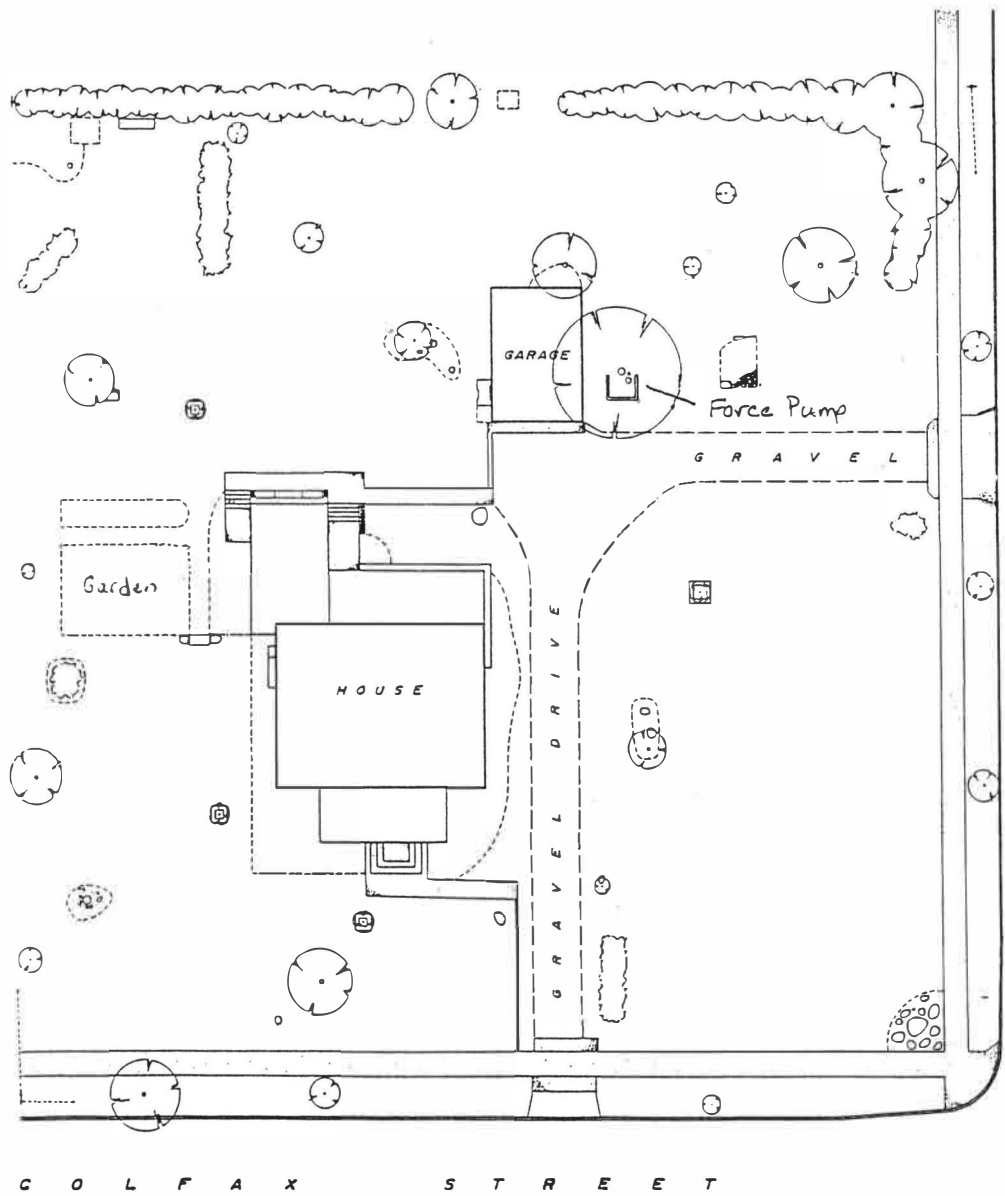


Figure 12. Homelot As It Appears Today, 1995.

## CHAPTER V

### CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN CLASS AND GENDER: THE VIEW FROM A PLAINWELL HOMELOT

In previous chapters, I have reviewed how other landscape archaeologists have examined the built environment. I now turn my attention to the residential property in Plainwell. I will discuss the organization and utilization of this landscape over the past 120 years and the social relations these landuse patterns express.

Significant changes have occurred at the level of the village, region, state, and nation during the history of our homelot in Plainwell. Since class and gender relations are expressed through the spatial organization of the built environment, it would be expected that the landscape would be modified in response to changes in these social relationships. However, contrary to my original thinking, the reconstruction of the landscape from the archaeological and historic records suggests tremendous continuity in the socioeconomic status of individual homeowners as well as consistency in gender relations.

For instance, industrialization created differential opportunities for the acquisition and accumulation of wealth. However, there is no discernable evidence that the families at the homelot shared in the wealth being generated by business and industry in Plainwell. The residents of this property appear to have

consistently belonged to a lower-middle class status group. The occupations of some of the former and current landowners include a steam-fitter for a local factory, a social worker, and a teacher.

As the economic conditions of life in Plainwell have changed since the late nineteenth century, so too have women's roles in society. However, the material record does not suggest tremendous change in relations between men and women. There are clearly gendered spaces present on the landscape, though many areas appear to have been used by both men and women, suggesting a complementary relationship which has been remarkably persistent over the last 120 years.

Continuity is also seen with regard to the homelot as an urban farmstead. Although Plainwell has become increasingly industrial and "urban" in the last twelve decades, many "rural" aspects of the homelot have remained well into the twentieth century. The barn is once such element which remained on the landscape until 1958, although its original function changed -- from agricultural to garage/storage -- over the years (Brown family, personal communication, 1995).

I would contend that all of these issues are closely related, such that a clear separation of socioeconomic status and gender relations is not possible. In a lower-middle income household, the survival of the family unit is dependent upon the labor of every member. In contrast, in the upper class, where financial resources are more abundant, it is not as essential for women to contribute to household production. This has implications for social relations. Women who are engaged in production are seen to have a higher status vis-a-vis men than women who do not.

Therefore, gender roles in lower income families are hierarchical, but complementary (Brydon and Chant 1989:151-152). Complementarity, as it is used here, indicates that men and women were both engaged in productive labor.

Lower socioeconomic status lends itself to increased dependence upon women for household production. This domestic production, as Stewart-Abernathy (1992) has noted, can include the raising of chickens and tending of vegetable gardens and fruit trees. The persistence of rural activities at the homelot is directly related to the socioeconomic status of the families who reside there.

The dynamics expressed in the built environment include: (a) the lower-middle class status of the family, (b) the contribution of women to household production, and (c) the persistence of rural activities in a nucleated settlement. The material and historic evidence presented in this chapter suggest continuity in these social relations.

### Socioeconomic Status

A number of sources were critically analyzed in order to understand the socioeconomic standing of residents at the property in Plainwell. Examination of architectural elements, the abstract of title, newspaper accounts, and oral histories all contributed to my understanding of the financial resources available to individual residents and the choices they made in their expenditures at the property to communicate social messages.

The Italianate-style home, built in 1879, is situated on the periphery of the



village of Plainwell. The structure does not possess the elements which would characterized a middle or upper class, single family dwelling of the late nineteenth century such as a fireplace, a tall floor-to-ceiling height ratio, and decorative exterior brackets and moldings (see Figure 13).

The Italianate-style house, along with Gothic Revival, represents a shift from Classical to Romantic architectural styles in mid- to late nineteenth-century America. This shift is associated with the crusade of housing reformers to create a proper domestic residence which reflected the changing attitudes of this era toward nature, religion, technology, and family (Clark 1988:536). For example, there was an increased focus on children within the family. The environment which surrounded an individual was believed to have a crucial impact on shaping of a child's personality. Housing reformers were certain that the "morals, civilization, and refinement of the nation . . . depended on the construction of a proper domestic residence" (Clark 1988:539). The home became an important locus for socializing children and reproducing social relationships.

Historian John Higham (1969) saw this movement as a reaction against the hectic economic growth and rapid mobility that were fueled by the expansion of cities, westward movement, and the growth of industrialization. As a result, and in an attempt to settle a highly mobile population, housing reformers encouraged a deeper commitment to a dwelling. Houses became important because they rooted the individual to the land. Soon the home became "an island of stability in an increasingly restless society" (Clark 1988:538). The fireplace was

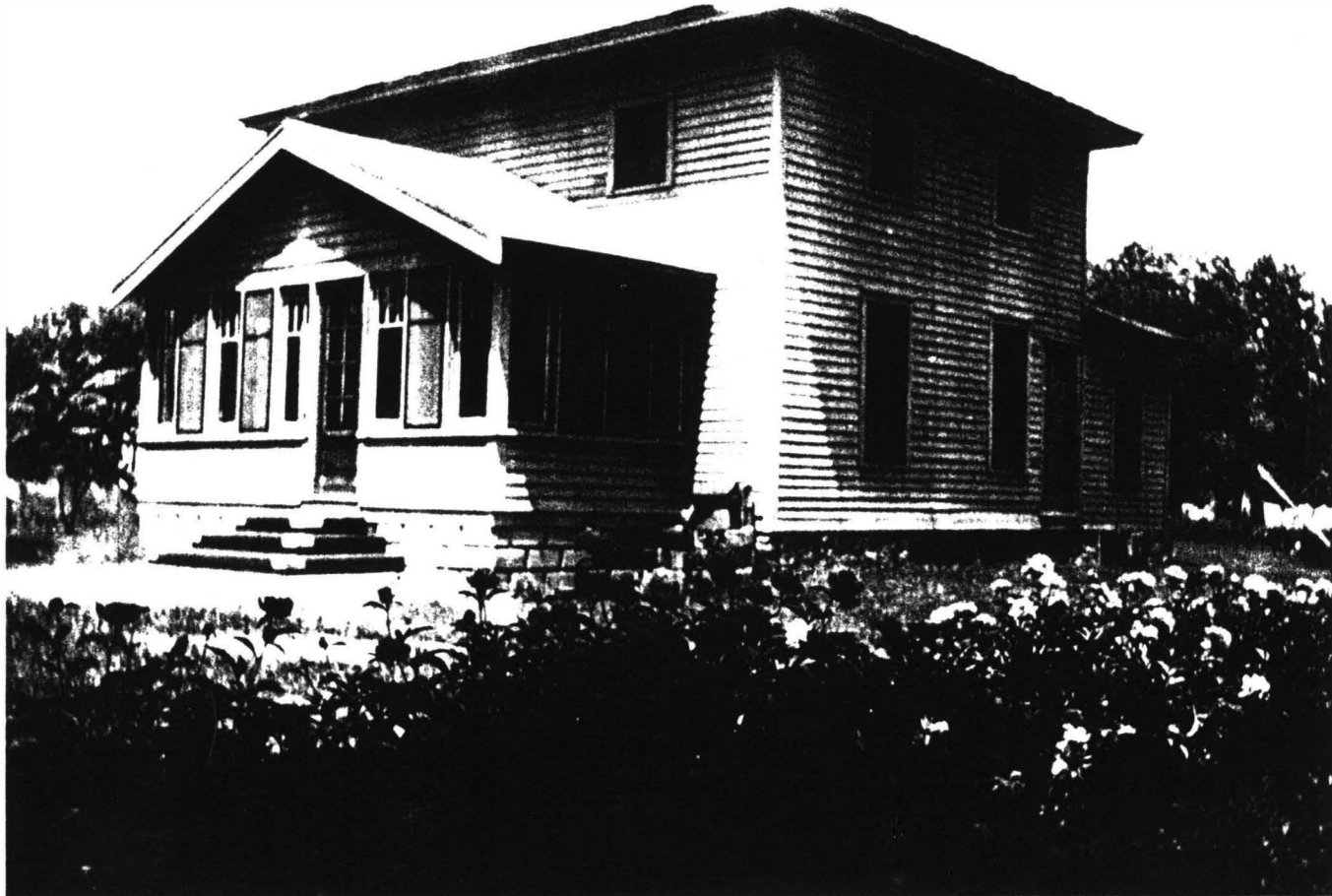


Figure 13. Photograph of the House, Circa 1938.

a focal point of this island and important in the crusade to moralize and civilize the American public. The hearth and fireside were reintroduced into domestic architecture after an absence during the Classical period (Peter Schmitt, personal communication, 1995). Henry Hudson Holly (1878), Andrew Jackson Downing (1850), and other housing reformers were instrumental in the spread of ideal architectural forms through publication of building guide books. These works "codified the aesthetic theory of the new (domestic reform) movement and provided examples of the different kinds of revival houses that could be built" (Clark 1988:536).

Holly was a strong advocate for the reintroduction into the home. "To speak of firesides seems absurd in these days of furnaces. If we have a fireplace at all, it seldom has a fire in it, and is frequently put up as an unmeaning ornament, without even possessing a flue. It is hoped, however, that the furnace may soon be a thing of the past, and the cheerful and cheering fire may again illuminate the hearth around which, literally, we may form our social circle" (Holly 1878:191). The gathering of the household members around the fire, particularly on cold winter evenings, was a key element in the concept of family during the late nineteenth century. Pictorial and verbal images of the home stressed family unity and invariably depicted activity at fireside. Parents were encouraged to use this time to "weld children's affection to the domestic hearth . . . (through) music and storytelling in addition to reading aloud selections from the Bible, poetry or fiction" (Nylander 1993:239). Housing reformers made

the fireplace a symbol of moral uprightness and civility.

Italianate-style houses are also characterized by a tall floor-to-ceiling height ratio as well as elaborate interior and exterior ornamentation. Photographic evidence suggests that the house did not possess these elements even prior to the placement of aluminum siding. The house under investigation here possesses the classic cube shape of the Italianate-style, yet lacks the essential elements of height, ornamentation, and fireplace. The absence of height and ornamentation would have been visible from the street, while the absence of the fireplace would not have been. The lack of these characteristic features appears to indicate that the builders of the home either did not possess the economic means necessary or the desire to create a truly "proper domestic residence." There are at least four other neighborhood houses that are also modes versions of the Italianate-style, suggesting that this area of town was of homogenous socioeconomic standing. There are additional Italianate-style houses in other areas of Plainwell. These homes, however, possess all of the elements deemed necessary for a proper home -- notably two on West Bridge street -- and are part of the upper class neighborhood in the village.

The property was originally owned by Joseph W. Hicks, a wealthy bank president. However, tax assessment rolls indicate that for 1878 and 1879, the property taxes were paid by H. Dunhams. It appears that Hicks leased or rented the property to Dunhams, but it remains unclear which of these men actually built the house. The house was likely built by the wealthy banker for rental to a family

of more modest economic means. Regardless, the emulation of some elements of the Italianate-style sends a clear social message that the residents of the property were upright citizens, despite their socioeconomic status.

Examination of the abstract of title was the first step in learning about the socioeconomic status of individual property owners. From this listing of names, I examined tax records, land deeds, and newspaper accounts for additional information. These sources indicate that the house in Plainwell was probably consistently owned and/or occupied by families of modest economic means. Furthermore, there is reason to believe that there are other periods during which the house functioned as rental property. During the early twentieth century, the residence was owned by two other individuals who may have rented the property to families who were unable or chose not to purchase their home. Ira D. Middaugh was a bachelor who owned the parcels from 1908 to 1913 at which time he sold the land to Albert H. Jackson who retained possession until 1935. According to The Plainwell Enterprise, both of these men were involved in multiple real estate sales during this time. The property appears to have served as a financial investment rather than a primary residence for these individuals.

Since the late 1930s, the house has been owner occupied. The Gerald Brown family resided at the homelot for twenty-five years until 1962, the longest occupation by a homeowner in the property's history. Mrs. Brown and her daughters characterized the neighborhood as being lower-middle class (personal communication, 1995).

This characterization is consistent with the landscape. There are no alterations which would indicate a conspicuous display of wealth. The driveway, for example, was covered with coal slag during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This material was readily available in great quantity from the coal burning stove within the house. During the twentieth century, the surface of the drive was covered with gravel and sand -- relatively inexpensive and widely available materials. If the landowners had been of more substantial financial means, they might have chosen another material such as crushed stone rather than slag or gravel. It seems clear, particularly in light of other material evidence at the property, that crushed stone or other material was not chosen for the driveway, because they were simply beyond the economic means of the homeowner. Gravel driveways predominate in this lower-middle class neighborhood. More elaborate brick or asphalt drives are found primarily in the upper class West Bridge street area.

When I extend my analysis to the present, it is interesting to note how the past constrains current activities. It is often too difficult or too costly to make major changes to the landscape and, therefore, landowners "are more likely to tinker with the homelot than to radically alter it" (Paynter 1987:10). This was clearly demonstrated when the current landowners brought in several loads of gravel to refurbish the existing driveway.

The barn is another landscape feature which indicates lower socioeconomic status. Oral history confirms that the barn was indeed utilized for chickens raised

for household consumption as well as for limited sale to the neighbors (Brown family, personal communication, 1995). The need for food production at the household level is consistent with the characterization of a lower-middle class home. Raising chickens or other livestock for food was more cost effective for the residents than buying eggs and poultry elsewhere.

Structural changes to the house are also modest and consistent with a lower-middle class neighborhood. Oral accounts indicate that the front porch was added to the house circa 1937 (Brown family, personal communication, 1995). Interestingly, the materials used for this addition imply an earlier date of construction. The foundation of the porch is made of beveled cement blocks. The windows are three vertical panes of glass in the top sash over a single pane in the lower sash. Both of these architectural features seem to indicate construction of the porch between 1910 and 1920. The lumber, windows, and concrete blocks may have been recycled from another house, making the addition of a porch more cost effective than building with new materials. Mrs. Brown also noted that construction on the house was performed by her husband, Gerald (personal communication, 1995). New construction with old materials by a non-professional are both consistent with choices made by lower-middle class homeowners.

The material evidence at this residential homelot indicates that the house was continuously owned and/or occupied by working class families. The residents of the property made their own modest alterations to the landscape and used inexpensive or recycled materials for these changes. Material evidence (e.g., the

presence of the barn) as well as oral accounts suggest that families also engaged in subsistence farming to meet their nutritional needs. The continuity seen at the homelot not only encompasses the economic standing of the residents, but is also reinforced by the social roles of men and women.

### Gender Roles and Status

Cross-cultural evidence has shown that the social roles of men and women are often defined in relationship not only to one another, but to productive and reproductive activities as well (see Brydon and Chant 1989). For example, women who work outside the home have a more active role in family decision making than women who do not. Individual status is also defined by a woman's role in production and reproduction in society.

Ester Boserup (1970) was pivotal in recognizing that women's status in society is linked to their productive roles. Boserup concluded that women's status is higher where their involvement in production is greater and that with economic development women become separated from production. Consequently, their status declines. Thus, where shifting cultivation is the practice, women are intensely involved in agricultural activity and have a higher status.

A classic example comes from India. In northern India, where men dominate plow agriculture, women are excluded from critical aspects of production and, therefore, women's status is lower than in other parts of Asia. In southeast Asia, both men and women are actively engaged in growing irrigated rice. The



increased participation of women in these productive activities has resulted in women having "relatively equal status to men" (Brydon and Chant 1989:72; see also Whyte and Whyte 1978). Carol Ember (1983) links low status for women to increased physical maintenance of a home. Ember contends that "as women are more and more preoccupied in the domestic sphere, . . . men consolidate their relationships with others in society and with those outside the society, and women's overall status declines" (1983:304).

Defining production and reproduction can be challenging. Lynne Brydon (1989) observed that designating productive labor as remunerated work is hardly satisfactory. Many activities, such as agriculture, are not remunerated, but certainly do contribute to production. Therefore, Brydon encourages scholars to "include subsistence production in 'work,' and recognize too, that in many cases, what is usually regarded as reproductive labor -- cooking, cleaning, and child care, water and fuel collection -- can have value in a productive sense" (Brydon and Chant 1989:70). For example, Bangladeshi women do not work in the agricultural fields, yet they play an integral role in food production. In rice cultivation, the staple crop in Bangladesh, women are responsible for the preparation, storage, and germination of the seeds (see Abdullah and Zeidenstein 1982).

In America, architecture is instrumental in creating and maintaining status distinctions by gender (Spain 1992). Housing reformers believed that Romantic architecture created the home as a safe haven for families. However, it simultaneously designated a space for women. Particularly during the nineteenth

and through the early twentieth centuries, middle class women worked primarily within the home, while their husbands were employed outside of it, in the public sector (Lerner 1994:19). Interestingly, Newland notes that "the family with a breadwinning father and a mother who stays home to run the household and raise the children has [in the twentieth century] been seen as a 'normal' family, particularly for the middle classes and those who aspire to middle class status" (1980:5).

The Annual Report of Inspection of Factories in Michigan states that in 1895, there were no women working in factories in Plainwell (1896:52-53). However, for the state of Michigan overall, the Annual Report shows that the factory labor force was composed of 14.7% women. This statistic includes large metropolitan and industrial areas such as Detroit and Grand Rapids. Cities such as these offered more employment opportunities for women (Bailey and Kennedy 1983:715). Regardless, the majority of women were homemakers and, therefore, associated with interior, or private space, while men were affiliated with exterior, or public space. Michelle Rosaldo (1974) was the first to focus on the separation of domestic and public domains and argued that rigid distinctions of this nature devalued and disempowered private spheres and the women with whom they were associated.

Interestingly, although public and private aspects of household space became increasingly separated during the nineteenth century, an absolute division does not exist. "Public space was not wholly public for it also contained a private

component; (while) private space was not wholly private for it also contained a public component. Within the context of the community, household space was private. (Yet) within the context of the house, some spatial areas were more private than others" (Yentsch 1991:205).

The organization of the house became associated with separate private and public spaces that were linked to gender but not exclusively controlled by either sex. This trend began with Georgian-style domestic architecture in the early eighteenth century. For example, during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the parlor was used for entertaining (male/public) and was, therefore, placed at the front of the house. However, women's social gatherings, such as teas and clubs, as well as marriages and baptisms might also be held in the parlor (Nylander 1994:241). Thus, women's social functions illustrate how the separation of masculine and feminine (and hence public and private) space is not always rigid. The parlor served both as a masculine and public space and was a logical location for these events.

The association of male and female roles with public and private aspects of the home was important in reproducing social relationships. The family and home are primarily environments in which socialization of children occurs. However, social affairs and events did not have to occur everyday in order to codify household spaces. For instance, after a dinner party, it was not uncommon for the men to remove themselves to one area of the house perhaps to smoke cigars and discuss politics, the economy, and world affairs. Women were likely to gather to

talk about children, recipes, illness, and relatives (Spain 1992:xiii). Upper class houses were designed to incorporate these gendered spaces. Twenty out of 22 floor plans in Holly's building guide book Modern Dwellings have a parlor. Thirteen of these designs possess both a parlor and a library; three also have billiard rooms. There were clearly distinct spaces and places within the home for men and women to socialize, both separately and together. This spatial segregation socialized children in ways which reproduced lower status for women.

Houses built for families of more modest economic means, like the house in Plainwell, are generally scaled down in size and, therefore, possess fewer specialized rooms. More simplified floor plans reduce gender segregation by combining single-purpose, gender-specific spaces into multipurpose, sexually-integrated rooms within the home, such as the living room (Spain 1992:127). This sexual integration of many household spaces, notably at the house in Plainwell, is consistent with the complementary nature of gender relations at the property.

Gender specific, as well as sexually integrated, spaces exist beyond the walls of a domestic residence into the outdoor areas of the homelot. The barn at the Plainwell property is one such sexually-integrated landscape feature and was used by both men and women for activities related to domestic production. In characterizing the division of labor on an urban farmstead during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Stewart-Abernathy (1992) noted that men and teenage boys were largely responsible for the care of the hogs, mules, and horses as well as tending to the grain, hay, and firewood. Meanwhile, women and

teenage girls were charged with the chickens, vegetable gardens, and fruit. In this way, all family members contributed to household production. Again, as Brydon and Chant (1989) have noted this labor arrangement was hierarchical, yet complementary and is observable in sexually-integrated landuse patterns.

Like the house and barn, the garden is also sexually-integrated. Stewart-Abernathy (1992) observed that women took care of the vegetable gardens and fruit trees in addition to raising chickens. I would argue, however, that the garden was not wholly a feminine space. According to oral accounts, during the 1930s, 40s, and 50s, gardening activities at the property in Plainwell were undertaken primarily by the man of the house. However, women and children assisted in the growing and processing of produce. Likewise, in the recent decade, the garden has become predominately the activity of the female landowner, but, again, her husband and children are not expressly prohibited from gardening activities.

The sharing of landscape spaces is an expression of the complementary nature of gender relations at the property and consistent with lower middle class productive needs. Even the location of the force pump -- in proximity to both male and female spaces -- suggests egalitarian-like relationships between men and women (Michael Nassaney, personal communication, 1995). These relations are closely linked to broader economic issues, which have a strong gender component.

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, women contributed to household production within the house proper and the surrounding environment by raising children, maintaining the home, and tending to fruits,

vegetables, and chickens for consumption and limited market distribution.

However, the manner in which women contributed to the household changed during the mid-twentieth century. According to Bureau of Labor statistics, only 1.4% of women in Michigan were engaged in the labor force in 1890 (see Table 2). By 1920, that number had nearly quadrupled to 5.2%. In another thirty years, by 1950, women involved in the state's labor force had risen to 33.9%.

Table 2

Women in the Work Force: 1890-1950  
From Bureau of Labor Statistics

Year	Number	Percentage
1890	1,936,220	1.4
1920	3,700,000	5.2
1950	6,400,000	33.9

The imposed domesticity of the 1950s -- the "June Cleaver" image of America -- masked the reality of the roles women were playing in society. This era was definitely one of national economic plenty. However, "behind the image of working-class prosperity lay the reality that working-class families needed more than one paycheck" (Kessler-Harris and Sacks 1987:73). Moreover, inflation decreased the value of the dollar and prices for goods and services skyrocketed (Bailey and Kennedy 1983:929). The lower classes, which were already excluded from sharing in America's wealth, were plunged deeper into poverty. As a result,

increasing numbers of poorer women entered the work force. It had become exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, for low income families to survive on a single salary (Newland 1980:16). The contribution of women to household production began to include wage earnings in the 1950s and 60s.

Historical documentation and oral accounts indicate continuity in gender relations with regard to these economic challenges. Initially, the roles of men and women in the lower-middle class family complemented one another nicely. The man divided his time working in the public sector as well as engaging in subsistence activities at the property (e.g., managing livestock). Meanwhile, women maintained the household and contributed to the family coffers through activities such as selling eggs to the neighbors. This arrangement was financially necessary and reinforced gender complementarity.

It is important to note that the seemingly egalitarian nature of gender relations seen in lower-middle class families is not applicable to all socioeconomic categories. The dynamics of relationships between husbands and wives varies according to a multitude of circumstances. For instance, upper-middle class and upper class households can be strongly divided along lines of gender, where the man is the "breadwinner" and the woman is the "housewife." It is also important to note that class can influence gender relations under different historical conditions.

Through changing economic conditions and its effects on women specifically, complementary gender relations at the homelot in Plainwell have been maintained. As women have become employed outside the home, the

responsibilities for financial support and physical maintenance of the family have been shared more equally. The tasks of caring for children, mowing the lawn, and preparing meals are shared by both men and women. This consolidation of family responsibilities is expressed in the sexually-integrated landscape areas where these activities take place as well as in the lack of obviously segregated space.

The house at this property shows that male and female spaces in lower-middle class, late nineteenth and early twentieth century, rural America were integrated. The division of public and private spheres is an idealized upper class vision which is not reflected in the built environment of the homelot under examination here. Lower-middle class women are active producers in the domestic economy and therefore have a more complementary relationship with their male counterparts than is revealed in families of greater economic means.

#### Persistence and Decline of the Urban Farmstead

Although the homelot in Plainwell is located in a nucleated, "urban" setting, there are many "rural" activities taking place there. The property in Plainwell may be an example of an "urban farmstead" as defined by Stewart-Abernathy (1986:6). The residents of the property, certainly since the 1930s, grew their own vegetables in a garden and fruit in a small orchard. There were chickens which were raised for meat as well as for their eggs. A deep well was driven for a force pump from which water was used for both human and animals. Similarly, organic and inorganic waste was disposed of via composting and dumping along the



Kalamazoo River a block and a half away. Moreover, all of these activities were taking place in addition to economic pursuits outside the home which provided for the families' livelihood.

However, I contend that changes in the landscape are more than mere reactions to infilling, the arrival of municipal services, zoning restrictions, transportation improvements, and innovations in food technology. Rather, the persistence or rural activities on the urban farmstead, as well as the eventual abandonment of many of those elements, are also tied to broader social, economic, and political issues and influenced by class and gender.

One of the factors which Stewart-Abernathy (1986) believes can account for abandonment of farmstead elements on the urban landscape is infilling. Infilling is the process by which larger land holdings are divided into smaller parcels to permit the building of more houses. This process is influenced by class and gender (e.g., does not occur in elite neighborhoods). The original homelot consisted of three parcels, lots 169, 170, and 171 (again, see Figure 5). In 1959, the western lot (169) was sold. The decision of the homeowner to sell a parcel of land is more complicated than the simple desire to permit the building of additional homes in the neighborhood. Mr. Brown died on December 30th, 1957. Mrs. Brown sold the parcel a year and a half on June 26, 1959. Mrs. Brown (personal communication, 1995) stated that she sold the lot "because she no longer needed all that land." Mrs. Brown's requirements of the land had changed dramatically since first moving to the property in the late 1930s with her young

family. Her children had grown and moved out on their own. She was also now a widow. In other words, women and families go through life-cycles. Their needs change. Additionally, as a widow, Mrs. Brown had more control of decision-making, but was possibly less well off financially.

Although it is not known for certain, given her personal circumstances, there may have also been a financial consideration for selling part of the property. As an older woman and a widow from a lower middle income family, her financial resources may have been limited. Selling part of the homelot would have been a logical means for generating additional income. Only Mrs. Brown knows which factors she consciously considered when she chose to sell lot 169. However, this decision was clearly more than a matter of neighborhood development. Rather, it was linked to social and, perhaps, economic issues. Class and gender (e.g., her status as a widow of lower income) considerations were not without influence.

The development of municipal services is another reason for the abandonment of rural elements on an urban farmstead. It is important to note that the arrival of city water and/or sewer does not necessarily result in the immediate abandonment of landscape features. For example, according to the Superintendent of Public Works Tom Seymour and local historian Sandy Stamm, municipal water arrived in Plainwell circa 1915. However, the force pump by the barn at our property, as an example, continued to be used as an outdoor source of drinking water into the 1960s, more than forty-five years after the arrival of city water (Brown family, personal communication, 1995).

While contemplating how the arrival of municipal services led to the abandonment of landscape features at this property, a curious contradiction arose. One aspect of wastewater disposal and sanitation at the homelot has not been reconciled. An archaeological feature was excavated in the area of the present day garden. This feature was identified, based on its construction, as a recharge basin. However, the Brown family, indicates that there was a cistern located west of the house, which the family filled in shortly after moving to the property in the late 1930s (personal communication, 1995).

There is no indication that the function of the excavated recharge basin was changed to that of a cistern at some point in its history. A cistern is designed to contain water while a recharge basin is by definition used to dispel water. It does not seem possible that the feature excavated could in any way be used in the former manner. The cement sealant was clearly discontinued at 85 cm below the ground surface. Below this was a shallow layer of gravel which would have facilitated the seeping of the water back into the ground.

This is not to suggest that a cistern did not exist on the property. The verbal description given by the family of the cistern's location is not entirely consistent with the location of the known archaeological feature. It is certainly possible that both a recharge basin and cistern were in existence on the property. The material evidence recovered from the recharge basin indicates that it was abandoned shortly after the arrival of municipal water (circa 1915). None of the artifacts date later than circa 1920. The cistern, however, if indeed an

archaeological feature separate from the recharge basin, was not abandoned and filled in until the late 1930s (Brown family, personal communication, 1995).

The abandonment of farmstead elements can also be attributed to zoning. For example, the Brown family kept chickens at the property for poultry and egg production until the early 1940s. The decision to keep or not keep chickens may have been only marginally related to compliance with local ordinances. The 1930s represents the era of the Great Depression, a national economic crisis that only exacerbated the family's financial situation. Mrs. Brown could not recall the exact reasons for no longer keeping chickens at the property (personal communication, 1995). However, I contend that by the end of the Depression, it may have been less essential for the family to maintain chickens. It is also possible that livestock ordinances were suspended during the time of economic crisis. Then, once national financial security was restored, local ordinances were again enforced.

Stewart-Abernathy (1986) noted that transportation improvements resulted in the elimination of the horse and other associated landscape features (e.g., barn, corn crib, grain storage) or led to architectural changes to buildings. Again, it is important to note that these responses do not necessarily occur immediately. For example, horses were no longer kept at the property after 1935, yet the barn at the Plainwell homelot persisted until 1958, at which time it was razed due to its deteriorating condition (Brown family, personal communication, 1995). For many years, the barn functioned primarily as a garage and for storage. It wasn't until after the barn was demolished that a garage was built at the property.

The last factor to which landscape changes on an urban farmstead can be attributed concerns innovations in food technology. Stewart-Abernathy (1986) predicts that improvements in the transportation, storage, and packaging of food goods will directly affect, and often replace, food production on an urban farmstead. Although this is a logical supposition, it is not consistent with what I observed at the Plainwell property. According to local accounts, a rather significant garden has been in the same location, west of the house outside the kitchen, for at least sixty years.

The decision to maintain a garden often informs about more than merely food production. There are social, political, and economic considerations for maintaining landscape features, including vegetable gardens. Granted, the families that resided at the property have generally belonged to a lower-middle income category. It is certainly reasonable that these families kept a garden to supplement the family diet. I would argue, however, that there are additional reasons for doing so. During the World Wars, the United States was responsible for producing enough food to feed not only American citizens but the citizens of allied countries as well. Patriots planted "Victory Gardens" in backyards and vacant lots to aid in this effort (Bailey and Kennedy 1983:672, 798). Gardens can be planted for other reasons. Individuals may enjoy gardening as a hobby or as part of the back to nature movement which advocates home-grown, healthy, organic vegetables. Stewart-Abernathy (1986:14) noted that "the late 20th-century suburban house, with its carport and driveway, dog house, barbeque grill, and garden of tomatoes

and herbs contains meaning still, because those features represent attempts at individual responsibility in the midst of the anonymity of modern life." A vegetable garden can be a locus of food production, yet it can also communicate important social messages by indicating economic hardship, signifying the patriotism of the family and its dedication to a larger political cause, or demonstrating the personal responsibility of the homeowner.

Changes in the landscape are more than merely adaptive responses to a dynamic world. The form they take is closely tied to social, political, and economic issues at multiple scales from the homelot to the region and even the nation. The landscape is not static, but actively embodies and expresses social relationships.

## CHAPTER IV

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Social relations can be discerned through examination of the built environment. I have demonstrated that modifications to the landscape, as well as periods of stasis, can be read as texts and can inform us about class status and gender roles. Although significant changes have occurred at the level of the village, region, state, and nation during the past 12 decades, socioeconomic and gender relations at a homelot in Plainwell have been remarkably consistent during this time.

The material and documentary evidence at the residential homelot under investigation indicates that the property was consistently owned and/or occupied by families of modest economic means. The Italianate-style house does not possess the characteristics expected for a middle or upper class, single family home. It lacks a fireplace, a tall floor-to-ceiling height ratio, and decorative exterior brackets. In addition, only minor alterations have been made on the landscape and inexpensive or recycled materials were used (e.g., the porch). Equally important is the presence of a barn which, supplemented with oral histories, indicates that food was produced at the property for household consumption and limited market sale.

Business and industry in Plainwell created differential opportunities for the acquisition and accumulation of wealth. The homelot does not appear to have been occupied by individuals who share in this affluence. Rather, the property was home to people who earned their living as factory workers, teachers, social workers, and the like.

Gender relations have also remained virtually unchanged at this property. From the time of its construction in 1879, the house and surrounding yards have not been strongly segregated along gender lines. Men and women shared landscape spaces and the activities which took place there. The complementary relationship of men and women at the homelot is encoded in the built environment. In this case, there is a paucity of clearly gendered activity areas.

The dependence upon women for household production is positively correlated with socioeconomic status. In a lower-middle income family, the household relies on the labor of every member for its survival and maintenance. This contrasts sharply with upper class families for whom financial resources are abundant and, therefore, do not require women to contribute to the domestic economy. These circumstances have implications for social relations. Women who work outside the home, or contribute economically in some way, have a higher status vis-a-vis men than their female counterparts who do not.

I have demonstrated that issues of socioeconomic status and gender roles are closely tied to rural elements on this urban farmstead. Changes as well as periods of stasis at this property represent more than merely reactions to infilling,



the arrival of municipal services, zoning restrictions, improved transportation networks, and advancements in food technology. The continued use of landscape features, such as the garden and barn, is an expression of broader social, political, and economic issues. Elements of the built environment were essential tools that enabled a family of modest economic means to supplement their income and reduce expenditures on basic necessities, such as food.

The manner in which the landscape is organized communicates and reinforces messages about these social dynamics. This residential homelot in Plainwell provides insights into how its residents viewed and created their world as well as interacted with it. The material and documentary evidence from this property shows that male and female spaces in lower-middle class families during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in the rural Midwest were not segregated. Rather, these landscapes express the integrated, complementary nature of class and gender relations.

In conducting this study, there were two aspects which were somewhat problematic -- remote sensing and documentary research. From my experience with this project, I will manage these areas differently in future archaeological and historical investigations. First, none of the remote sensing techniques employed in this study for locating archaeological features was particularly fruitful. For future research in historical archaeology, I will rely upon the documentary research to guide the excavation. I will also explore the utility of additional remote sensing techniques not used in this study. Secondly, I would organize the examination of

the historical record differently. A more thorough, more focused search of the documents would have reduced the number of excavation units needed in this investigation. For example, four units were excavated in and around the foundations of the abandoned outbuilding. Several months after the completion of the fieldwork, photographs confirmed the presence of a barn in that location during the early to mid-twentieth century. A more comprehensive document search prior to field investigations would have reduced the number of units devoted to this feature. Moreover, additional time and energy could have been spent identifying other features on the landscape. In future archaeological and historical studies, I will approach these aspects of research differently.

I utilized a political-economic approach to my study of class and gender relations at a nineteenth-century residential homelot in the Midwest. However, this theoretical framework is useful in other socio-historical contexts as well. Reading the cultural landscape as a text can not only enhance our knowledge of the emergence of capitalism, but can also inform our understanding of less mainstream aspects of American society (e.g., the Shakers). Moreover, landscape archaeology can be used to examine social relations at a multitude of scales. Although my analysis here has been confined to the level of an individual residence, other spatial contexts -- such as at the village, region or nation -- can also be informative. Having investigated a residential property in Midwestern, capitalist America, I will now turn my attention to cultural landscapes in other socio-historic settings.

My examination of a homelot in Plainwell as part of the Southwestern Michigan Landscape Project is only a beginning. Other residential properties in various spatial and temporal contexts are currently under investigation. This research will contribute to a growing body of literature concerned with the material manifestations of class and gender. By examining changes and continuities in social relations in Michigan, we can better understand the social meaning of spatial organization in the Midwest overall.

## Appendix A

### Excavation Unit Summary: Guide to Figure 2

## EXCAVATION UNIT SUMMARY: GUIDE TO FIGURE 2

Excavation Unit 1 = Well F1

Excavation Unit 2 = Fence F2, Unit 2

Excavation Unit 3 = Fence F2, Unit 1

Excavation Unit 4 = Tree F3

Excavation Unit 5 = Fence F2, Unit 4

Excavation Unit 6 = Fence F2, Unit 3

Excavation Unit 7 = Barn F4, Unit 3

Excavation Unit 8 = Barn F4, Unit 1

Excavation Unit 9 = Barn F4, Unit 4

Excavation Unit 10 = Barn F4, Unit 2

Appendix B  
Accession Numbers

FS#	FEATURE	LOCATION	LVL	DEPTH
1	Unprovenienced	Surface		Surface
2	Garden D	Surface		Surface
3	Garden A	Surface		Surface
4	Garden E	Surface		Surface
5	Garden B	Surface		Surface
6	Test Pit	25cm E of Well		Blw Sod
7	Garden C	Surface		Surface
8	Well F1	N1/2 Interior	3	20-30cm
9	Well F1	N1/2 Interior	1	0-10cm
10	Well F1	N1/2 Interior	4	30-40cm
11	Well F1	N1/2 Interior	2	10-20cm
12	Fence F2	Unit 1	4	30-40cm
13	Fence F2	Unit 1	2	10-20cm
14	Well F1	N1/2 Exterior	4	30-40cm
15	Well F1	N1/2 Exterior	3	20-30cm
16	Well F1	N1/2 Exterior	2	10-20cm
17	Well F1	N1/2 Exterior	1	0-10cm
18	Fence F2	Unit 1	5	40-50cm
19	Fence F2	Unit 1	3	20-30cm
20	Well F1	N1/2 Interior	5	40-50cm
21	Well F1	N1/2 Interior	6	50-60cm
22	Well F1	S1/2 Interior	6	50-60cm
23	Well F1	S1/2 Interior	5	40-50cm
24	Well F1	S1/2 Interior	4	30-40cm
25	Well F1	S1/2 Interior	3	20-30cm
26	Well F1	S1/2 Interior	2	10-20cm
27	Well F1	S1/2 Interior	1	0-10cm
28	Well F1	Clean-up		0-60cm
29	Tree F3	South of Well	1	0-10cm
30	Tree F3	South of Well	2	10-20cm
31	Tree F3	South of Well	3	20-30cm
32	Well F1	Interior	8	70-80cm
33	Barn F4	Unit 2	2	10-20cm
34	Barn F4	Unit 1	2	20-40cm
35	Barn F4	Unit 1	1	0-20cm
36	Well F1	Interior	7	60-70cm
37	Barn F4	Unit 2	1	0-10cm
38	Barn F4	Unit 2	2	20-30cm
39	Barn F4	Unit 2	4	40-60cm
40	Barn F4	Unit 2	3	30-40cm
41	Barn F4	Unit 2		From Sod
42	Barn F4	Unit 1	2	20-40cm

FS#	FEATURE	LOCATION	L.VL	DEPTH
43	Barn F4	Unit 2	2	10-20cm
44	Fence F2	Unit 3	2	10-20cm
45	Fence F2	Unit 3	3	20-30cm
46	Fence F2	Unit 3	1	0-10cm
47	Fence F2	Unit 2	4	30-40cm
48	Fence F2	Unit 2	1	0-10cm
49	Fence F2	Unit 2	3	20-30cm
50	Fence F2	Unit 2	2	10-20cm
51	Well F1	Interior	9	80-90cm
52	Well F1	N1/2 Int.-Plan View	5	40-50cm
53	Fence F2	Unit 4	1	0-10cm
54	Barn F4	Unit 3	1	0-10cm
55	Barn F4	Unit 4	1	0-10cm
56	Barn F4	Unit 3	2	15-25cm
57	Barn F4	Unit 4	2	10-20cm
58	Barn F4	Unit 3	3	25-35cm
59	Barn F4	Unit 4	1	0-10cm
60	Barn F4	Unit 3	4	30-40cm
61	Barn F4	Cement sample		5cm
62	Fence F2	Unit 4	2	10-20cm
63	Fence F2	Unit 4	4	30-40cm
64	Fence F2	Unit 4	3	20-30cm
65	Barn F4	Unit 4	3	20-30cm



Appendix C  
Artifact Inventory

## ARTIFACT INVENTORY

## WOODHAMS-LYDEN SITE 20AE852 PLAINWELL, MICHIGAN

#	AREA	STRATUM	DEPTH	QTY	DESCRIPTION
1	Unproven.	Surface	0cmBD	4	Terra Cotta Pottery
1	Unproven.	Surface	0cmBD	8	Faunal
1	Unproven.	Surface	0cmBD	1	Plastic Straw
1	Unproven.	Surface	0cmBD	2	Sheet of plastic clear
1	Unproven.	Surface	0cmBD	1	Clinker
1	Unproven.	Surface	0cmBD	1	Frosted glass-pink
1	Unproven.	Surface	0cmBD	3	Shale/slate frags.
1	Unproven.	Surface	0cmBD	1	Asbestos Wlbrd-str
1	Unproven.	Surface	0cmBD	1	Clouded glass-lt blue
1	Unproven.	Surface	0cmBD	1	Shingle-grn & white
1	Unproven.	Surface	0cmBD	12	Clear glass-flat
1	Unproven.	Surface	0cmBD	39	Clear glass-curved
1	Unproven.	Surface	0cmBD	21	Clear glass-dec
1	Unproven.	Surface	0cmBD	32	Clear glass-b/j
1	Unproven.	Surface	0cmBD	11	Blue-green gl-flat
1	Unproven.	Surface	0cmBD	32	Blue-green gl-b/j
1	Unproven.	Surface	0cmBD	5	White glass-curved
1	Unproven.	Surface	0cmBD	4	White glass-dec
1	Unproven.	Surface	0cmBD	2	White glass-b/j
1	Unproven.	Surface	0cmBD	2	Metal-canning lids
1	Unproven.	Surface	0cmBD	5	Metal-nails
1	Unproven.	Surface	0cmBD	1	Metal-buckles
1	Unproven.	Surface	0cmBD	3	Metal-other
1	Unproven.	Surface	0cmBD	11	Metal-unidentified
1	Unproven.	Surface	0cmBD	43	Whiteware-plain
1	Unproven.	Surface	0cmBD	3	Whiteware-embossed
1	Unproven.	Surface	0cmBD	21	Whiteware-mono
1	Unproven.	Surface	0cmBD	14	Whiteware-poly
1	Unproven.	Surface	0cmBD	1	Porcelain
2	Garden D	Surface	0cmBD	1	Faunal
2	Garden D	Surface	0cmBD	1	White glass-curved
2	Garden D	Surface	0cmBD	5	Whiteware-plain
2	Garden D	Surface	0cmBD	1	Slag fragments
2	Garden D	Surface	0cmBD	2	Brick fragments
2	Garden D	Surface	0cmBD	2	Clear glass-b/j
2	Garden D	Surface	0cmBD	1	Clear glass-curved
2	Garden D	Surface	0cmBD	1	Clear glass-flat

#	AREA	STRATUM	DEPTH	QTY	DESCRIPTION
3	Garden A	Surface	0cmBD	2	Faunal
3	Garden A	Surface	0cmBD	1	Metal-buckle
3	Garden A	Surface	0cmBD	3	Whiteware-plain
3	Garden A	Surface	0cmBD	2	White glass-curved
3	Garden A	Surface	0cmBD	1	White glass-b/j
3	Garden A	Surface	0cmBD	3	Clear glass-flat
3	Garden A	Surface	0cmBD	2	Clear glass-dec
3	Garden A	Surface	0cmBD	2	Clear glass-b/j
3	Garden A	Surface	0cmBD	1	Blue-green glass-b/j
4	Garden E	Surface	0cmBD	1	Clear glass-flat
5	Garden B	Surface	0cmBD	1	Botanical
6	Test Pit	25x25cm	0-10cm	1	Clear glass-curved
6	Test Pit	25x25cm	0-10cm	1	White glass-curved
7	Garden C	Surface	0cmBD	1	Metal-other
7	Garden C	Surface	0cmBD	1	Metal-nails
7	Garden C	Surface	0cmBD	2	Natural
7	Garden C	Surface	0cmBD	2	Brick Fragments
7	Garden C	Surface	0cmBD	1	Clear glass-flat
7	Garden C	Surface	0cmBD	2	Clear glass-curved
7	Garden C	Surface	0cmBD	1	Clouded glass-lt blue
7	Garden C	Surface	0cmBD	5	Whiteware-plain
8	Well-F1(N)	Level 3	20-30cmBD	14	Concrete
8	Well-F1(N)	Level 3	20-30cmBD	7	Brick
8	Well-F1(N)	Level 3	20-30cmBD	40	Natural
8	Well-F1(N)	Level 3	20-30cmBD	10	Terra Cotta pottery
8	Well-F1(N)	Level 3	20-30cmBD	19	Rubber seal
8	Well-F1(N)	Level 3	20-30cmBD	37	Faunal
8	Well-F1(N)	Level 3	20-30cmBD	5	Clear glass-dec
8	Well-F1(N)	Level 3	20-30cmBD	107	Clear glass-curved
8	Well-F1(N)	Level 3	20-30cmBD	21	Clear glass-flat
8	Well-F1(N)	Level 3	20-30cmBD	9	Clear glass-b/j
8	Well-F1(N)	Level 3	20-30cmBD	2	White glass-dec
8	Well-F1(N)	Level 3	20-30cmBD	3	White glass-curved
8	Well-F1(N)	Level 3	20-30cmBD	24	Whiteware-plain
8	Well-F1(N)	Level 3	20-30cmBD	2	Whiteware-poly
8	Well-F1(N)	Level 3	20-30cmBD	7	Whiteware-mono
8	Well-F1(N)	Level 3	20-30cmBD	1	Porcelain
8	Well-F1(N)	Level 3	20-30cmBD	1	Metal-other

#	AREA	STRATUM	DEPTH	QTY	DESCRIPTION
8	Well-F1(N)	Level 3	20-30cmBD	312	Metal-unidentified
8	Well-F1(N)	Level 3	20-30cmBD	3	Metal-nails
8	Well-F1(N)	Level 3	20-30cmBD	8	Blue-green glass-b/j
8	Well-F1(N)	Level 3	20-30cmBD	4	Blue-green glass-curved
8	Well-F1(N)	Level 3	20-30cmBD	1	Blue-green glass-flat
8	Well-F1(N)	Level 3	20-30cmBD	3	Botanical
8	Well-F1(N)	Level 3	20-30cmBD	1	Faunal
9	Well-F1(N)	Level 1	1-10cmBD	9	Natural
9	Well-F1(N)	Level 1	1-10cmBD	1	Blue-green glass-flat
9	Well-F1(N)	Level 1	1-10cmBD	2	Clear glass-curved
9	Well-F1(N)	Level 1	1-10cmBD	2	Whiteware-mono
9	Well-F1(N)	Level 1	1-10cmBD	1	Crockery
9	Well-F1(N)	Level 1	1-10cmBD	1	Faunal
9	Well-F1(N)	Level 1	1-10cmBD	1	Clear plastic-sheet
9	Well-F1(N)	Level 1	1-10cmBD	1	Clear plastic-cup
9	Well-F1(N)	Level 1	1-10cmBD	12	Slag
9	Well-F1(N)	Level 1	1-10cmBD	1	Clinker
10	Well-F1(N)	Level 4	30-40cmBD	8	Clear glass-b/j
10	Well-F1(N)	Level 4	30-40cmBD	1	Clear glass-dec
10	Well-F1(N)	Level 4	30-40cmBD	56	Clear glass-curved
10	Well-F1(N)	Level 4	30-40cmBD	6	Clear glass-flat
10	Well-F1(N)	Level 4	30-40cmBD	3	Metal-nails
10	Well-F1(N)	Level 4	30-40cmBD	156	Metal-unidentified
10	Well-F1(N)	Level 4	30-40cmBD	3	Faunal
10	Well-F1(N)	Level 4	30-40cmBD	11	Blue-green glass-b/j
10	Well-F1(N)	Level 4	30-40cmBD	1	Brick
10	Well-F1(N)	Level 4	30-40cmBD	2	Concrete
10	Well-F1(N)	Level 4	30-40cmBD	12	Whiteware-plain
10	Well-F1(N)	Level 4	30-40cmBD	6	Whiteware-mono
10	Well-F1(N)	Level 4	30-40cmBD	2	White glass-curved
10	Well-F1(N)	Level 4	30-40cmBD	1	White glass-b/j
10	Well-F1(N)	Level 4	30-40cmBD	6	Terra Cotta pottery
10	Well-F1(N)	Level 4	30-40cmBD	22	Natural
11	Well-F1(N)	Level 2	10-20cmBD	10	Metal-other
11	Well-F1(N)	Level 2	10-20cmBD	56	Metal-unidentified
11	Well-F1(N)	Level 2	10-20cmBD	9	Metal-nails
11	Well-F1(N)	Level 2	10-20cmBD	1	Metal-buckle
11	Well-F1(N)	Level 2	10-20cmBD	12	Faunal
11	Well-F1(N)	Level 2	10-20cmBD	44	Natural
11	Well-F1(N)	Level 2	10-20cmBD	23	Bricks

#	AREA	STRATUM	DEPTH	QTY	DESCRIPTION
11	Well-F1(N)	Level 2	10-20cmBD	3	Clinker
11	Well-F1(N)	Level 2	10-20cmBD	2	White glass-dec
11	Well-F1(N)	Level 2	10-20cmBD	6	White glass-curved
11	Well-F1(N)	Level 2	10-20cmBD	3	White glass-b/j
11	Well-F1(N)	Level 2	10-20cmBD	2	White glass-poly
11	Well-F1(N)	Level 2	10-20cmBD	13	Whiteware-plain
11	Well-F1(N)	Level 2	10-20cmBD	1	Whiteware-mono
11	Well-F1(N)	Level 2	10-20cmBD	2	Whiteware-poly
11	Well-F1(N)	Level 2	10-20cmBD	3	Crockery
11	Well-F1(N)	Level 2	10-20cmBD	9	Clear glass-flat
11	Well-F1(N)	Level 2	10-20cmBD	9	Clear glass-curved
11	Well-F1(N)	Level 2	10-20cmBD	13	Clear glass-b/j
11	Well-F1(N)	Level 2	10-20cmBD	1	Clear glass-dec
11	Well-F1(N)	Level 2	10-20cmBD	3	Blue-green glass-b/j
11	Well-F1(N)	Level 2	10-20cmBD	2	Blue-green glass-curved
11	Well-F1(N)	Level 2	10-20cmBD	1	Clear plastic-sheet
11	Well-F1(N)	Level 2	10-20cmBD	7	Terra Cotta pottery
12	Fence-F2.1	Level 4	30-40cmBD	10	Slag fragment
12	Fence-F2.1	Level 4	30-40cmBD	3	Clinker
12	Fence-F2.1	Level 4	30-40cmBD	3	Metal-nails
12	Fence-F2.1	Level 4	30-40cmBD	1	Natural
12	Fence-F2.1	Level 4	30-40cmBD	2	Concrete
12	Fence-F2.1	Level 4	30-40cmBD	2	Brick
12	Fence-F2.1	Level 4	30-40cmBD	1	Whiteware-plain
12	Fence-F2.1	Level 4	30-40cmBD	1	Clear glass-curved
12	Fence-F2.1	Level 4	30-40cmBD	1	Clear glass-dec
12	Fence-F2.1	Level 4	30-40cmBD	1	Clear glass-flat
13	Fence-F2.1	Level 2	10-20cmBD	1	Concrete
13	Fence-F2.1	Level 2	10-20cmBD	2	Brick
13	Fence-F2.1	Level 2	10-20cmBD	2	Metal-nails
14	Well-F1(N)	Level 4	30-40cmBD	22	Whiteware-plain
14	Well-F1(N)	Level 4	30-40cmBD	2	Whiteware-mono
14	Well-F1(N)	Level 4	30-40cmBD	73	Slag
14	Well-F1(N)	Level 4	30-40cmBD	97	Clinker
14	Well-F1(N)	Level 4	30-40cmBD	4	Metal-nails
14	Well-F1(N)	Level 4	30-40cmBD	13	Metal-unidentified
14	Well-F1(N)	Level 4	30-40cmBD	1	Blue-green glass-b/j
14	Well-F1(N)	Level 4	30-40cmBD	5	Faunal
14	Well-F1(N)	Level 4	30-40cmBD	1	Pink frosted glass-curved
14	Well-F1(N)	Level 4	30-40cmBD	7	Clear glass-curved

#	AREA	STRATUM	DEPTH	QTY	DESCRIPTION
14	Well-F1(N)	Level 4	30-40cmBD	3	Clear glass-dec
15	Well-F1(N)	Level 3	20-30cmBD	43	Slag
15	Well-F1(N)	Level 3	20-30cmBD	173	Metal-unidentified
15	Well-F1(N)	Level 3	20-30cmBD	16	Metal-nails
15	Well-F1(N)	Level 3	20-30cmBD	6	Metal-other
15	Well-F1(N)	Level 3	20-30cmBD	1	Metal-buckle
15	Well-F1(N)	Level 3	20-30cmBD	97	Clinkers
15	Well-F1(N)	Level 3	20-30cmBD	173	Natural
15	Well-F1(N)	Level 3	20-30cmBD	17	Faunal
15	Well-F1(N)	Level 3	20-30cmBD	1	Button
15	Well-F1(N)	Level 3	20-30cmBD	5	Pink frosted glass-curved
15	Well-F1(N)	Level 3	20-30cmBD	1	Botanical
15	Well-F1(N)	Level 3	20-30cmBD	2	Whiteware-mono
15	Well-F1(N)	Level 3	20-30cmBD	9	Whiteware-plain
15	Well-F1(N)	Level 3	20-30cmBD	2	Blue-green glass-b/j
15	Well-F1(N)	Level 3	20-30cmBD	8	White glass-dec
15	Well-F1(N)	Level 3	20-30cmBD	1	Crockery
15	Well-F1(N)	Level 3	20-30cmBD	1	Unidentified
15	Well-F1(N)	Level 3	20-30cmBD	29	Clear glass-curved
15	Well-F1(N)	Level 3	20-30cmBD	1	Clear glass-b/j
16	Well-F1(N)	Level 2	10-20cmBD	22	Metal-nails
16	Well-F1(N)	Level 2	10-20cmBD	5	Metal-other
16	Well-F1(N)	Level 2	10-20cmBD	1	Metal-buckle
16	Well-F1(N)	Level 2	10-20cmBD	1	Clay marble
16	Well-F1(N)	Level 2	10-20cmBD	1	Brown glass-b/j
16	Well-F1(N)	Level 2	10-20cmBD	54	Clear glass-curved
16	Well-F1(N)	Level 2	10-20cmBD	10	Clear glass-dec
16	Well-F1(N)	Level 2	10-20cmBD	4	Clear glass-b/j
16	Well-F1(N)	Level 2	10-20cmBD	6	Faunal
16	Well-F1(N)	Level 2	10-20cmBD	5	Crockery
16	Well-F1(N)	Level 2	10-20cmBD	83	Natural
16	Well-F1(N)	Level 2	10-20cmBD	22	Whiteware-plain
16	Well-F1(N)	Level 2	10-20cmBD	3	Whiteware-mon
16	Well-F1(N)	Level 2	10-20cmBD	1	Whiteware-poly
16	Well-F1(N)	Level 2	10-20cmBD	3	Brick
16	Well-F1(N)	Level 2	10-20cmBD	1	White glass-curved
16	Well-F1(N)	Level 2	10-20cmBD	6	Pink frosted glass-dec
16	Well-F1(N)	Level 2	10-20cmBD	23	Concrete
16	Well-F1(N)	Level 2	10-20cmBD	1	Vinyl LP Record
16	Well-F1(N)	Level 2	10-20cmBD	10	Blue-green glass-b/j
16	Well-F1(N)	Level 2	10-20cmBD	54	Clinkers

#	AREA	STRATUM	DEPTH	QTY	DESCRIPTION
17	Well-F1(N)	Level 1	0-10cmBD	15	Botanical
17	Well-F1(N)	Level 1	0-10cmBD	2	Faunal
17	Well-F1(N)	Level 1	0-10cmBD	4	Metal-nails
17	Well-F1(N)	Level 1	0-10cmBD	1	Metal-other
17	Well-F1(N)	Level 1	0-10cmBD	1	Metal-unidentified
17	Well-F1(N)	Level 1	0-10cmBD	2	Clear plastic bag
17	Well-F1(N)	Level 1	0-10cmBD	1	Plastic-clothespin
17	Well-F1(N)	Level 1	0-10cmBD	1	Plastic-other
17	Well-F1(N)	Level 1	0-10cmBD	1	Terra Cotta pottery
17	Well-F1(N)	Level 1	0-10cmBD	1	White glass-curved
17	Well-F1(N)	Level 1	0-10cmBD	4	White glass-flat
17	Well-F1(N)	Level 1	0-10cmBD	2	Whiteware-mono
17	Well-F1(N)	Level 1	0-10cmBD	1	Whiteware-poly
17	Well-F1(N)	Level 1	0-10cmBD	4	Blue-green glass-curved
17	Well-F1(N)	Level 1	0-10cmBD	1	Blue-green glass-poly
17	Well-F1(N)	Level 1	0-10cmBD	3	Clear glass-b/j
17	Well-F1(N)	Level 1	0-10cmBD	4	Clear glass-curved
17	Well-F1(N)	Level 1	0-10cmBD	20	Brick
17	Well-F1(N)	Level 1	0-10cmBD	5	Concrete
17	Well-F1(N)	Level 1	0-10cmBD	7	Clinker
17	Well-F1(N)	Level 1	0-10cmBD	20	Natural
18	Fence-F2.1	Level 5	40-50cmBD	1	Whiteware-plain
19	Fence-F2.1	Level 3	20-30cmBD	1	Clinker
19	Fence-F2.1	Level 3	20-30cmBD	1	Concrete
20	Well-F1(N)	Level 5	40-50cmBD	2	Metal-can/bucket
20	Well-F1(N)	Level 5	40-50cmBD	88	Metal-unidentified
20	Well-F1(N)	Level 5	40-50cmBD	2	Concrete
20	Well-F1(N)	Level 5	40-50cmBD	13	Natural
20	Well-F1(N)	Level 5	40-50cmBD	1	Clinker
20	Well-F1(N)	Level 5	40-50cmBD	2	Blue-green glass-curved
20	Well-F1(N)	Level 5	40-50cmBD	5	Whiteware-plain
20	Well-F1(N)	Level 5	40-50cmBD	3	Whiteware-mono
20	Well-F1(N)	Level 5	40-50cmBD	40	Clear glass-curved
20	Well-F1(N)	Level 5	40-50cmBD	1	Clear glass-dec
20	Well-F1(N)	Level 5	40-50cmBD	3	Clear glass-b/j
20	Well-F1(N)	Level 5	40-50cmBD	2	White glass-curved
20	Well-F1(N)	Level 5	40-50cmBD	3	Plastic-clear
20	Well-F1(N)	Level 5	40-50cmBD	2	Terra Cotta pottery
20	Well-F1(N)	Level 5	40-50cmBD	2	Faunal
20	Well-F1(N)	Level 5	40-50cmBD	2	Bricks

#	AREA	STRATUM	DEPTH	QTY	DESCRIPTION
21	Well-F1 (N)	Level 6	50-60cmBD	1	Ceramic pipe stem
21	Well-F1 (N)	Level 6	50-60cmBD	18	Metal-unidentified
21	Well-F1 (N)	Level 6	50-60cmBD	1	Metal-nail
21	Well-F1 (N)	Level 6	50-60cmBD	8	Clinkers
21	Well-F1 (N)	Level 6	50-60cmBD	3	Slag
21	Well-F1 (N)	Level 6	50-60cmBD	5	Terra Cotta pottery
21	Well-F1 (N)	Level 6	50-60cmBD	1	Whiteware-plain
21	Well-F1 (N)	Level 6	50-60cmBD	1	Crockery
21	Well-F1 (N)	Level 6	50-60cmBD	23	Clear glass-curved
21	Well-F1 (N)	Level 6	50-60cmBD	2	Blue-green glass-curved
22	Well-F1 (S)	Level 6	50-60cmBD	1	Terra Cotta pottery
22	Well-F1 (S)	Level 6	50-60cmBD	1	Slag
22	Well-F1 (S)	Level 6	50-60cmBD	9	Metal-unidentified
22	Well-F1 (S)	Level 6	50-60cmBD	2	Metal-nails
22	Well-F1 (S)	Level 6	50-60cmBD	5	Whiteware-plain
22	Well-F1 (S)	Level 6	50-60cmBD	1	Crockery
22	Well-F1 (S)	Level 6	50-60cmBD	2	Blue-green glass-curved
22	Well-F1 (S)	Level 6	50-60cmBD	2	Blue-green glass-b/j
22	Well-F1 (S)	Level 6	50-60cmBD	5	Clear glass-curved
22	Well-F1 (S)	Level 6	50-60cmBD	1	Blue glass-curved
23	Well-F1 (S)	Level 5	40-50cmBD	27	Metal-unidentified
23	Well-F1 (S)	Level 5	40-50cmBD	1	Metal-nails
23	Well-F1 (S)	Level 5	40-50cmBD	2	Faunal
23	Well-F1 (S)	Level 5	40-50cmBD	3	Concrete
23	Well-F1 (S)	Level 5	40-50cmBD	3	Natural
23	Well-F1 (S)	Level 5	40-50cmBD	1	Slag
23	Well-F1 (S)	Level 5	40-50cmBD	1	Crockery
23	Well-F1 (S)	Level 5	40-50cmBD	1	Whiteware-mono
23	Well-F1 (S)	Level 5	40-50cmBD	1	Blue-green glass-b/j
23	Well-F1 (S)	Level 5	40-50cmBD	2	Blue-green glass-curved
23	Well-F1 (S)	Level 5	40-50cmBD	8	Clear glass-curved
24	Well-F1 (S)	Level 4	30-40cmBD	1	Clear glass-dec
24	Well-F1 (S)	Level 4	30-40cmBD	2	Clear glass-flat
24	Well-F1 (S)	Level 4	30-40cmBD	1	Clear glass-b/j
24	Well-F1 (S)	Level 4	30-40cmBD	23	Clear glass-curved
24	Well-F1 (S)	Level 4	30-40cmBD	1	Concrete
24	Well-F1 (S)	Level 4	30-40cmBD	8	Faunal
24	Well-F1 (S)	Level 4	30-40cmBD	1	Brown glass-b/j
24	Well-F1 (S)	Level 4	30-40cmBD	4	Blue-green glass-b/j
24	Well-F1 (S)	Level 4	30-40cmBD	2	Blue-green glass-curved



#	AREA	STRATUM	DEPTH	QTY	DESCRIPTION
24	Well-F1 (S)	Level 4	30-40cmBD	4	Rubber seals
24	Well-F1 (S)	Level 4	30-40cmBD	8	Natural
24	Well-F1 (S)	Level 4	30-40cmBD	1	White glass-b/j
24	Well-F1 (S)	Level 4	30-40cmBD	2	White glass-curved
24	Well-F1 (S)	Level 4	30-40cmBD	2	Metal-nails
24	Well-F1 (S)	Level 4	30-40cmBD	4	Metal-can/bucket
24	Well-F1 (S)	Level 4	30-40cmBD	12	Metal-unidentified
24	Well-F1 (S)	Level 4	30-40cmBD	26	Whiteware-plain
24	Well-F1 (S)	Level 4	30-40cmBD	1	Whiteware-poly
24	Well-F1 (S)	Level 4	30-40cmBD	13	Whiteware-mono
24	Well-F1 (S)	Level 4	30-40cmBD	2	Crockery
25	Well-F1 (S)	Level 3	20-30cmBD	4	Rubber seal
25	Well-F1 (S)	Level 3	20-30cmBD	2	Faunal
25	Well-F1 (S)	Level 3	20-30cmBD	2	Metal-other
25	Well-F1 (S)	Level 3	20-30cmBD	12	Metal-unidentified
25	Well-F1 (S)	Level 3	20-30cmBD	3	Metal-nails
25	Well-F1 (S)	Level 3	20-30cmBD	1	Metal-cutlery
25	Well-F1 (S)	Level 3	20-30cmBD	5	Clinker
25	Well-F1 (S)	Level 3	20-30cmBD	1	Crockery
25	Well-F1 (S)	Level 3	20-30cmBD	33	Clear glass-curved
25	Well-F1 (S)	Level 3	20-30cmBD	4	Clear glass-b/j
25	Well-F1 (S)	Level 3	20-30cmBD	15	Clear glass-flat
25	Well-F1 (S)	Level 3	20-30cmBD	18	Blue-green glass-b/j
25	Well-F1 (S)	Level 3	20-30cmBD	1	Concrete
25	Well-F1 (S)	Level 3	20-30cmBD	3	Brick
25	Well-F1 (S)	Level 3	20-30cmBD	8	Natural
25	Well-F1 (S)	Level 3	20-30cmBD	2	White glass-curved
25	Well-F1 (S)	Level 3	20-30cmBD	12	Whiteware-plain
25	Well-F1 (S)	Level 3	20-30cmBD	5	Whiteware-mono
25	Well-F1 (S)	Level 3	20-30cmBD	1	Whiteware-poly
26	Well-F1 (S)	Level 2	10-20cm BD	6	Blue-green glass-curved
26	Well-F1 (S)	Level 2	10-20cm BD	1	Blue-green glass-flat
26	Well-F1 (S)	Level 2	10-20cm BD	4	Blue-green glass-b/j
26	Well-F1 (S)	Level 2	10-20cm BD	2	Clear glass-dec
26	Well-F1 (S)	Level 2	10-20cm BD	15	Clear glass- curved
26	Well-F1 (S)	Level 2	10-20cm BD	1	Clear glass-flat
26	Well-F1 (S)	Level 2	10-20cm BD	4	Clear glass-b/j
26	Well-F1 (S)	Level 2	10-20cm BD	13	Metal-nails
26	Well-F1 (S)	Level 2	10-20cm BD	2	Metal-other
26	Well-F1 (S)	Level 2	10-20cm BD	21	Metal-unidentified
26	Well-F1 (S)	Level 2	10-20cm BD	2	Asbestos Wallboard

#	AREA	STRATUM	DEPTH	QTY	DESCRIPTION
26	Well-F1 (S)	Level 2	10-20cm BD	1	Terra Cotta pottery
26	Well-F1 (S)	Level 2	10-20cm BD	6	Natural
26	Well-F1 (S)	Level 2	10-20cm BD	1	Faunal
26	Well-F1 (S)	Level 2	10-20cm BD	1	Brown glass-b/j
26	Well-F1 (S)	Level 2	10-20cm BD	4	Whiteware-plain
26	Well-F1 (S)	Level 2	10-20cm BD	3	Whiteware-mono
26	Well-F1 (S)	Level 2	10-20cm BD	1	White glass-curved
27	Well-F1 (S)	Level 1	0-10cmBD	1	Clear plastic-sheet
27	Well-F1 (S)	Level 1	0-10cmBD	3	Botanical
27	Well-F1 (S)	Level 1	0-10cmBD	1	Blue-green glass-flat
27	Well-F1 (S)	Level 1	0-10cmBD	4	Blue-green glass-curved
27	Well-F1 (S)	Level 1	0-10cmBD	7	Metal-unidentified
27	Well-F1 (S)	Level 1	0-10cmBD	1	Concrete
27	Well-F1 (S)	Level 1	0-10cmBD	6	Natural
27	Well-F1 (S)	Level 1	0-10cmBD	3	Clear glass-b/j
27	Well-F1 (S)	Level 1	0-10cmBD	1	Clear glass-dec
27	Well-F1 (S)	Level 1	0-10cmBD	1	White glass-curved
27	Well-F1 (S)	Level 1	0-10cmBD	1	Whiteware-mono
28	Well-F1	Fr Collapse	1-60cmBD	2	Blue-green glass-flat
28	Well-F1	Fr Collapse	1-60cmBD	1	Blue-green glass-b/j
28	Well-F1	Fr Collapse	1-60cmBD	2	Brick
28	Well-F1	Fr Collapse	1-60cmBD	5	Natural
28	Well-F1	Fr Collapse	1-60cmBD	2	Whiteware-plain
28	Well-F1	Fr Collapse	1-60cmBD	1	Whiteware-mono
28	Well-F1	Fr Collapse	1-60cmBD	1	Whiteware-poly
28	Well-F1	Fr Collapse	1-60cmBD	1	White glass-curved
28	Well-F1	Fr Collapse	1-60cmBD	4	Rubber seals
28	Well-F1	Fr Collapse	1-60cmBD	1	Metal-nails
28	Well-F1	Fr Collapse	1-60cmBD	1	Metal-cutlery
28	Well-F1	Fr Collapse	1-60cmBD	7	Metal-unidentified
28	Well-F1	Fr Collapse	1-60cmBD	1	Concrete
28	Well-F1	Fr Collapse	1-60cmBD	1	Clear plastic-sheet
28	Well-F1	Fr Collapse	1-60cmBD	13	Clear glass-curved
28	Well-F1	Fr Collapse	1-60cmBD	2	Clear glass-flat
28	Well-F1	Fr Collapse	1-60cmBD	2	Clear glass-b/j
28	Well-F1	Fr Collapse	1-60cmBD	1	Clinker
28	Well-F1	Fr Collapse	1-60cmBD	1	Terra Cotta pottery
28	Well-F1	Fr Collapse	1-60cmBD	1	Faunal
29	Stump-F3	Level 1	0-10cmBD	1	Fossil
29	Stump-F3	Level 1	0-10cmBD	2	Faunal

#	AREA	STRATUM	DEPTH	QTY	DESCRIPTION
29	Stump-F3	Level 1	0-10cmBD	2	Concrete
29	Stump-F3	Level 1	0-10cmBD	4	Slag
29	Stump-F3	Level 1	0-10cmBD	4	Natural
29	Stump-F3	Level 1	0-10cmBD	5	Brick
29	Stump-F3	Level 1	0-10cmBD	1	Colored glass marble
29	Stump-F3	Level 1	0-10cmBD	3	Asbestos Wallboard
29	Stump-F3	Level 1	0-10cmBD	1	Shingle green & white
29	Stump-F3	Level 1	0-10cmBD	1	Whiteware-plain
29	Stump-F3	Level 1	0-10cmBD	1	White glass-b/j
29	Stump-F3	Level 1	0-10cmBD	4	Metal-nails
29	Stump-F3	Level 1	0-10cmBD	2	Metal-other
30	Stump-F3	Level 2	10-20cmBD	1	Faunal
30	Stump-F3	Level 2	10-20cmBD	1	Clear glass-b/j
30	Stump-F3	Level 2	10-20cmBD	1	Clear glass-curved
30	Stump-F3	Level 2	10-20cmBD	5	Whiteware-plain
30	Stump-F3	Level 2	10-20cmBD	3	Whiteware-poly
30	Stump-F3	Level 2	10-20cmBD	9	Brick
30	Stump-F3	Level 2	10-20cmBD	1	Blue-green glass-curved
30	Stump-F3	Level 2	10-20cmBD	2	Concrete
30	Stump-F3	Level 2	10-20cmBD	3	Slag
31	Stump-F3	Level 3	20-30cmBD	3	Botanical
31	Stump-F3	Level 3	20-30cmBD	1	Concrete
31	Stump-F3	Level 3	20-30cmBD	1	Whiteware-plain
31	Stump-F3	Level 3	20-30cmBD	1	Whiteware-mono
31	Stump-F3	Level 3	20-30cmBD	1	Slag
31	Stump-F3	Level 3	20-30cmBD	3	Brick
32	Well-F1	Level 8	70-80cmBD	2	Metal-can/bucket
32	Well-F1	Level 8	70-80cmBD	6	Metal-other
32	Well-F1	Level 8	70-80cmBD	1	Metal-nail
32	Well-F1	Level 8	70-80cmBD	2	Metal-unidentified
32	Well-F1	Level 8	70-80cmBD	15	Faunal
32	Well-F1	Level 8	70-80cmBD	2	Unidentified
32	Well-F1	Level 8	70-80cmBD	28	Whiteware-plain
32	Well-F1	Level 8	70-80cmBD	24	Whiteware-mono
32	Well-F1	Level 8	70-80cmBD	14	Whiteware-poly
32	Well-F1	Level 8	70-80cmBD	5	Clear glass-flat
32	Well-F1	Level 8	70-80cmBD	16	Clear glass-b/j
32	Well-F1	Level 8	70-80cmBD	142	Clear glass-curved
32	Well-F1	Level 8	70-80cmBD	33	Clear glass-dec
32	Well-F1	Level 8	70-80cmBD	8	Blue-green glass-curved

#	AREA	STRATUM	DEPTH	QTY	DESCRIPTION
32	Well-F1	Level 8	70-80cmBD	14	Blue-green glass-b/j
32	Well-F1	Level 8	70-80cmBD	13	Blue-green glass-flat
32	Well-F1	Level 8	70-80cmBD	4	White glass-curved
32	Well-F1	Level 8	70-80cmBD	9	White glass-dec
33	Barn-F4.2	Level 2	10-20cmBD	14	Metal-other
33	Barn-F4.2	Level 2	10-20cmBD	3	Metal-buckets
33	Barn-F4.2	Level 2	10-20cmBD	292	Metal-nails
33	Barn-F4.2	Level 2	10-20cmBD	6	Metal-screws
33	Barn-F4.2	Level 2	10-20cmBD	1	Glass marble
33	Barn-F4.2	Level 2	10-20cmBD	1	Plastic button
33	Barn-F4.2	Level 2	10-20cmBD	1	Slag
33	Barn-F4.2	Level 2	10-20cmBD	6	Natural
33	Barn-F4.2	Level 2	10-20cmBD	101	Clear glass-flat
33	Barn-F4.2	Level 2	10-20cmBD	2	Clear glass-dec
33	Barn-F4.2	Level 2	10-20cmBD	8	Clear glass-b/j
33	Barn-F4.2	Level 2	10-20cmBD	4	Clear glass-curved
33	Barn-F4.2	Level 2	10-20cmBD	1	Penny 1945
33	Barn-F4.2	Level 2	10-20cmBD	82	Faunal
33	Barn-F4.2	Level 2	10-20cmBD	1	Blue glass tube
33	Barn-F4.2	Level 2	10-20cmBD	3	Whiteware-unglazed
33	Barn-F4.2	Level 2	10-20cmBD	1	Whiteware-embossed
33	Barn-F4.2	Level 2	10-20cmBD	8	Whiteware-plain
33	Barn-F4.2	Level 2	10-20cmBD	1	Whiteware-mono
33	Barn-F4.2	Level 2	10-20cmBD	5	Blue-green glass-curved
33	Barn-F4.2	Level 2	10-20cmBD	3	Brown glass-b/j
33	Barn-F4.2	Level 2	10-20cmBD	4	Shingle green & white
33	Barn-F4.2	Level 2	10-20cmBD	2	Concrete
33	Barn-F4.2	Level 2	10-20cmBD	8	Brick
34	Barn-F4.1	Level 2	20-40cmBD	16	Clinker
34	Barn-F4.1	Level 2	20-40cmBD	45	Slag
34	Barn-F4.1	Level 2	20-40cmBD	2	Blue-green glass-b/j
34	Barn-F4.1	Level 2	20-40cmBD	8	Blue-green glass-flat
34	Barn-F4.1	Level 2	20-40cmBD	6	Crockery
34	Barn-F4.1	Level 2	20-40cmBD	2	Natural
34	Barn-F4.1	Level 2	20-40cmBD	8	Brick
34	Barn-F4.1	Level 2	20-40cmBD	50	Metal-nails
34	Barn-F4.1	Level 2	20-40cmBD	1	Whiteware-poly
34	Barn-F4.1	Level 2	20-40cmBD	1	Unidentified
34	Barn-F4.1	Level 2	20-40cmBD	4	Faunal
34	Barn-F4.1	Level 2	20-40cmBD	12	Clear glass-flat
34	Barn-F4.1	Level 2	20-40cmBD	2	Clear glass-curved

#	AREA	STRATUM	DEPTH	QTY	DESCRIPTION
34	Barn-F4.1	Level 2	20-40cmBD	1	White glass-dec
35	Barn-F4.1	Level 1	0-20cmBD	1	Glass marble
35	Barn-F4.1	Level 1	0-20cmBD	5	Natural
35	Barn-F4.1	Level 1	0-20cmBD	4	Brown glass-curved
35	Barn-F4.1	Level 1	0-20cmBD	1	Brown glass-b/j
35	Barn-F4.1	Level 1	0-20cmBD	34	Faunal
35	Barn-F4.1	Level 1	0-20cmBD	3	Leather-unid
35	Barn-F4.1	Level 1	0-20cmBD	1	Unidentified
35	Barn-F4.1	Level 1	0-20cmBD	9	Asbestos Wallboard
35	Barn-F4.1	Level 1	0-20cmBD	1	Clear glass-curved
35	Barn-F4.1	Level 1	0-20cmBD	1	Clear glass-b/j
35	Barn-F4.1	Level 1	0-20cmBD	53	Clear glass-flat
35	Barn-F4.1	Level 1	0-20cmBD	1	White glass-dec
35	Barn-F4.1	Level 1	0-20cmBD	9	Brick
35	Barn-F4.1	Level 1	0-20cmBD	215	Metal-nails
35	Barn-F4.1	Level 1	0-20cmBD	9	Metal-other
35	Barn-F4.1	Level 1	0-20cmBD	1	Metal-buckle
35	Barn-F4.1	Level 1	0-20cmBD	2	Metal-can/bucket
35	Barn-F4.1	Level 1	0-20cmBD	1	Green glass-b/j
35	Barn-F4.1	Level 1	0-20cmBD	4	Concrete
35	Barn-F4.1	Level 1	0-20cmBD	1	Plastic
35	Barn-F4.1	Level 1	0-20cmBD	2	Slag
36	Well-F1	Level 7	60-70cmBD	1	Brick
36	Well-F1	Level 7	60-70cmBD	2	Slag
36	Well-F1	Level 7	60-70cmBD	2	Botanical
36	Well-F1	Level 7	60-70cmBD	3	Clinker
36	Well-F1	Level 7	60-70cmBD	3	Metal-can/bucket
36	Well-F1	Level 7	60-70cmBD	15	Metal-unidentified
36	Well-F1	Level 7	60-70cmBD	3	Metal-other
36	Well-F1	Level 7	60-70cmBD	3	Metal-nails
36	Well-F1	Level 7	60-70cmBD	1	Metal-canning lid
36	Well-F1	Level 7	60-70cmBD	2	White glass-curved
36	Well-F1	Level 7	60-70cmBD	1	White glass-b/j
36	Well-F1	Level 7	60-70cmBD	1	Electrical
36	Well-F1	Level 7	60-70cmBD	8	Terra Cotta pottery
36	Well-F1	Level 7	60-70cmBD	1	Blue-green glass-flat
36	Well-F1	Level 7	60-70cmBD	20	Blue-green glass-b/j
36	Well-F1	Level 7	60-70cmBD	110	Clear glass-curved
36	Well-F1	Level 7	60-70cmBD	6	Clear glass-dec
36	Well-F1	Level 7	60-70cmBD	3	Clear glass-b/j
36	Well-F1	Level 7	60-70cmBD	5	Clear glass-flat

#	AREA	STRATUM	DEPTH	QTY	DESCRIPTION
36	Well-F1	Level 7	60-70cmBD	12	Faunal
36	Well-F1	Level 7	60-70cmBD	2	Natural
36	Well-F1	Level 7	60-70cmBD	1	White frosted glass-dec
37	Barn-F4.2	Level 1	0-10cmBD	1	Ball point pen
37	Barn-F4.2	Level 1	0-10cmBD	6	Brick
37	Barn-F4.2	Level 1	0-10cmBD	1	Ceramic doll head
37	Barn-F4.2	Level 1	0-10cmBD	2	Porcelain
37	Barn-F4.2	Level 1	0-10cmBD	11	Metal-other
37	Barn-F4.2	Level 1	0-10cmBD	3	Metal-screws
37	Barn-F4.2	Level 1	0-10cmBD	1	Metal-buckle
37	Barn-F4.2	Level 1	0-10cmBD	129	Metal-nails
37	Barn-F4.2	Level 1	0-10cmBD	1	Metal-unidentified
37	Barn-F4.2	Level 1	0-10cmBD	2	Metal-collar buttons
37	Barn-F4.2	Level 1	0-10cmBD	1	Light bulb
37	Barn-F4.2	Level 1	0-10cmBD	2	Plastic buttons
37	Barn-F4.2	Level 1	0-10cmBD	1	Blue plastic-unid
37	Barn-F4.2	Level 1	0-10cmBD	1	Purple plastic-unid
37	Barn-F4.2	Level 1	0-10cmBD	1	Black plastic-unid
37	Barn-F4.2	Level 1	0-10cmBD	2	Clear glass-b/j
37	Barn-F4.2	Level 1	0-10cmBD	1	Clear glass-dec
37	Barn-F4.2	Level 1	0-10cmBD	159	Clear glass-flat
37	Barn-F4.2	Level 1	0-10cmBD	8	Clear glass-curved
37	Barn-F4.2	Level 1	0-10cmBD	11	Blue-green glass-curved
37	Barn-F4.2	Level 1	0-10cmBD	1	Ceramic pipe bowl
37	Barn-F4.2	Level 1	0-10cmBD	9	Slag
37	Barn-F4.2	Level 1	0-10cmBD	2	White glass-dec
37	Barn-F4.2	Level 1	0-10cmBD	2	White glass-curved
37	Barn-F4.2	Level 1	0-10cmBD	3	Whiteware-mono
37	Barn-F4.2	Level 1	0-10cmBD	1	Aluminum foil
37	Barn-F4.2	Level 1	0-10cmBD	2	Natural
37	Barn-F4.2	Level 1	0-10cmBD	1	Sheet plastic-clear
37	Barn-F4.2	Level 1	0-10cmBD	1	Penny 1957
37	Barn-F4.2	Level 1	0-10cmBD	5	Brown glass-curved
38	Barn-F4.2	Level 3	20-30cmBD	29	Slag
38	Barn-F4.2	Level 3	20-30cmBD	38	Faunal
38	Barn-F4.2	Level 3	20-30cmBD	1	Concrete
38	Barn-F4.2	Level 3	20-30cmBD	7	Clear glass-curved
38	Barn-F4.2	Level 3	20-30cmBD	8	Clear glass-b/j
38	Barn-F4.2	Level 3	20-30cmBD	8	Clear glass-flat
38	Barn-F4.2	Level 3	20-30cmBD	6	Natural
38	Barn-F4.2	Level 3	20-30cmBD	1	Whiteware-mono

#	AREA	STRATUM	DEPTH	QTY	DESCRIPTION
38	Barn-F4.2	Level 3	20-30cmBD	4	Whiteware-plain
38	Barn-F4.2	Level 3	20-30cmBD	7	Blue-green glass-curved
38	Barn-F4.2	Level 3	20-30cmBD	20	Metal-unidentified
38	Barn-F4.2	Level 3	20-30cmBD	79	Metal-nails
39	Barn-F4.1	Level 3	40-60cmBD	1	Slag
39	Barn-F4.1	Level 3	40-60cmBD	1	Concrete
39	Barn-F4.1	Level 3	40-60cmBD	3	Natural
39	Barn-F4.1	Level 3	40-60cmBD	1	Unidentified
40	Barn-F4.2	Level 4	30-40cmBD	2	Metal-nails
40	Barn-F4.2	Level 4	30-40cmBD	1	Slag
41	Barn-F4.2	From Sod	Surface	2	Whiteware-plain
41	Barn-F4.2	From Sod	Surface	1	Whiteware-mono
41	Barn-F4.2	From Sod	Surface	4	Clear glass-flat
41	Barn-F4.2	From Sod	Surface	1	Blue-green glass-curved
42	Barn-F4.1	Level 2	20-40cmBD	1	Clear glass-flat
42	Barn-F4.1	Level 2	20-40cmBD	2	Clear glass-curved
42	Barn-F4.1	Level 2	20-40cmBD	1	Faunal
42	Barn-F4.1	Level 2	20-40cmBD	5	Metal-nails
43	Barn-F4.2	Level 2	10-20cmBD	1	Metal-nail
44	Fence-F2.3	Level 2	10-20cmBD	2	Slag
44	Fence-F2.3	Level 2	10-20cmBD	3	Clear glass-flat
45	Fence-F2.3	Level 3	20-30cmBD	1	Faunal
45	Fence-F2.3	Level 3	20-30cmBD	1	Brick
45	Fence-F2.3	Level 3	20-30cmBD	1	Metal-nail
45	Fence-F2.3	Level 3	20-30cmBD	1	Metal-other
45	Fence-F2.3	Level 3	20-30cmBD	2	Clear glass-flat
45	Fence-F2.3	Level 3	20-30cmBD	1	Clear glass-curved
46	Fence-F2.3	Level 1	0-10cmBD	1	Asbestos Wallboard
46	Fence-F2.3	Level 1	0-10cmBD	1	Metal-other
46	Fence-F2.3	Level 1	0-10cmBD	1	Slag
47	Fence-F2.2	Level 4	30-40cmBD	1	Metal-nails
47	Fence-F2.2	Level 4	30-40cmBD	1	Whiteware-plain
47	Fence-F2.2	Level 4	30-40cmBD	1	Crockery

#	AREA	STRATUM	DEPTH	QTY	DESCRIPTION
48	Fence-F2.2	Level 1	0-10cmBD	1	Blue-green glass-b/j
48	Fence-F2.2	Level 1	0-10cmBD	2	Concrete
48	Fence-F2.2	Level 1	0-10cmBD	2	Natural
48	Fence-F2.2	Level 1	0-10cmBD	1	Whiteware-poly
49	Fence-F2.2	Level 3	20-30cmBD	1	Clinker
49	Fence-F2.2	Level 3	20-30cmBD	2	Clear glass-flat
49	Fence-F2.2	Level 3	20-30cmBD	1	Crockery
50	Fence-F2.2	Level 2	10-20cmBD	2	Clinker
50	Fence-F2.2	Level 2	10-20cmBD	2	Slag
50	Fence-F2.2	Level 2	10-20cmBD	3	Natural
50	Fence-F2.2	Level 2	10-20cmBD	1	Whiteware-plain
50	Fence-F2.2	Level 2	10-20cmBD	1	Clear glass-flat
51	Well-F1	Level 9	80-90cmBD	3	Faunal
51	Well-F1	Level 9	80-90cmBD	1	Botanical
51	Well-F1	Level 9	80-90cmBD	37	Clear glass-b/j
51	Well-F1	Level 9	80-90cmBD	3	Clear glass-dec
51	Well-F1	Level 9	80-90cmBD	79	Clear glass-curved
51	Well-F1	Level 9	80-90cmBD	49	Clear glass-flat
51	Well-F1	Level 9	80-90cmBD	33	Blue-green glass-b/j
51	Well-F1	Level 9	80-90cmBD	19	Blue-green glass-flat
51	Well-F1	Level 9	80-90cmBD	2	Batteries
51	Well-F1	Level 9	80-90cmBD	34	White glass-b/j
51	Well-F1	Level 9	80-90cmBD	3	White glass-dec
51	Well-F1	Level 9	80-90cmBD	1	Slag
51	Well-F1	Level 9	80-90cmBD	5	Metal-unidentified
51	Well-F1	Level 9	80-90cmBD	11	Metal-can/bucket
51	Well-F1	Level 9	80-90cmBD	7	Metal-canning lid
51	Well-F1	Level 9	80-90cmBD	3	Metal-nails
51	Well-F1	Level 9	80-90cmBD	12	Metal-other
51	Well-F1	Level 9	80-90cmBD	2	Brown glass-b/j
51	Well-F1	Level 9	80-90cmBD	2	Whiteware-plain
51	Well-F1	Level 9	80-90cmBD	3	Whiteware-mono
51	Well-F1	Level 9	80-90cmBD	1	Porcelain
52	Well-F1(N)	Level 5	40-50cmBD	9	Metal-unidentified
52	Well-F1(N)	Level 5	40-50cmBD	1	Metal-can/bucket
52	Well-F1(N)	Level 5	40-50cmBD	4	Clear glass-curved
53	Fence-F2.4	Level 1	0-10cmBD	2	Concrete
53	Fence-F2.4	Level 1	0-10cmBD	2	Clear glass-flat



#	AREA	STRATUM	DEPTH	QTY	DESCRIPTION
53	Fence-F2.4	Level 1	0-10cmBD	1	Clear glass-curved
53	Fence-F2.4	Level 1	0-10cmBD	14	Slag
53	Fence-F2.4	Level 1	0-10cmBD	3	Bricks
54	Barn-F4.3	Level 1	0-10cmBD	12	Concrete
54	Barn-F4.3	Level 1	0-10cmBD	5	Slag
54	Barn-F4.3	Level 1	0-10cmBD	3	Shingle green & white
54	Barn-F4.3	Level 1	0-10cmBD	6	Metal-nails
54	Barn-F4.3	Level 1	0-10cmBD	1	Metal-screw
54	Barn-F4.3	Level 1	0-10cmBD	2	Metal-other
54	Barn-F4.3	Level 1	0-10cmBD	1	Metal-pin
54	Barn-F4.3	Level 1	0-10cmBD	2	Faunal
54	Barn-F4.3	Level 1	0-10cmBD	2	Clear glass-flat
54	Barn-F4.3	Level 1	0-10cmBD	2	Brown glass-curved
54	Barn-F4.3	Level 1	0-10cmBD	1	Brown plastic-unid
55	Barn-F4.4	Level 1	0-10cmBD	35	Faunal
55	Barn-F4.4	Level 1	0-10cmBD	29	Slag
55	Barn-F4.4	Level 1	0-10cmBD	16	Concrete
55	Barn-F4.4	Level 1	0-10cmBD	44	Metal-nails
55	Barn-F4.4	Level 1	0-10cmBD	4	Metal-other
55	Barn-F4.4	Level 1	0-10cmBD	1	Metal-screw
55	Barn-F4.4	Level 1	0-10cmBD	2	Metal-unidentified
55	Barn-F4.4	Level 1	0-10cmBD	1	Metal-buckle
55	Barn-F4.4	Level 1	0-10cmBD	23	Clear glass-flat
55	Barn-F4.4	Level 1	0-10cmBD	6	Clear glass-curved
55	Barn-F4.4	Level 1	0-10cmBD	25	Brick
55	Barn-F4.4	Level 1	0-10cmBD	1	Chert fragments
55	Barn-F4.4	Level 1	0-10cmBD	15	Crockery-German
55	Barn-F4.4	Level 1	0-10cmBD	1	Whiteware-plain
55	Barn-F4.4	Level 1	0-10cmBD	1	Whiteware-ungl
55	Barn-F4.4	Level 1	0-10cmBD	1	Sheet clear plastic
55	Barn-F4.4	Level 1	0-10cmBD	1	Red glass-curved
55	Barn-F4.4	Level 1	0-10cmBD	1	Red glass-flat
55	Barn-F4.4	Level 1	0-10cmBD	19	Blue-green glass-curved
55	Barn-F4.4	Level 1	0-10cmBD	2	Blue-green glass-b/j
55	Barn-F4.4	Level 1	0-10cmBD	1	Shingle green & white
55	Barn-F4.4	Level 1	0-10cmBD	7	Clinker
56	Barn-F4.3	Level 2	10-20cmBD	7	Concrete
56	Barn-F4.3	Level 2	10-20cmBD	7	Metal-nails
56	Barn-F4.3	Level 2	10-20cmBD	1	Metal-other
56	Barn-F4.3	Level 2	10-20cmBD	1	Metal-screw

#	AREA	STRATUM	DEPTH	QTY	DESCRIPTION
56	Barn-F4.3	Level 2	10-20cmBD	1	Insulator
56	Barn-F4.3	Level 2	10-20cmBD	6	Slag
56	Barn-F4.3	Level 2	10-20cmBD	1	Chert flake
56	Barn-F4.3	Level 2	10-20cmBD	14	Clear glass-flat
56	Barn-F4.3	Level 2	10-20cmBD	6	Brick
56	Barn-F4.3	Level 2	10-20cmBD	1	Faunal
56	Barn-F4.3	Level 2	10-20cmBD	12	Natural
57	Barn-F4.4	Level 2	10-20cmBD	20	Faunal
57	Barn-F4.4	Level 2	10-20cmBD	1	Glass egg-white
57	Barn-F4.4	Level 2	10-20cmBD	1	Glass marble
57	Barn-F4.4	Level 2	10-20cmBD	9	Blue-green glass-b/j
57	Barn-F4.4	Level 2	10-20cmBD	56	Clear glass-flat
57	Barn-F4.4	Level 2	10-20cmBD	4	Clear glass-curved
57	Barn-F4.4	Level 2	10-20cmBD	3	Natural
57	Barn-F4.4	Level 2	10-20cmBD	1	Chert fragment
57	Barn-F4.4	Level 2	10-20cmBD	2	Insulators
57	Barn-F4.4	Level 2	10-20cmBD	1	Whiteware-plain
57	Barn-F4.4	Level 2	10-20cmBD	1	Glass button
57	Barn-F4.4	Level 2	10-20cmBD	1	White glass-plain
57	Barn-F4.4	Level 2	10-20cmBD	74	Metal-nails
57	Barn-F4.4	Level 2	10-20cmBD	1	Metal-screw
57	Barn-F4.4	Level 2	10-20cmBD	4	Metal-other
57	Barn-F4.4	Level 2	10-20cmBD	3	Clinker
57	Barn-F4.4	Level 2	10-20cmBD	9	Slag
57	Barn-F4.4	Level 2	10-20cmBD	1	Concrete
57	Barn-F4.4	Level 2	10-20cmBD	4	Bricks
57	Barn-F4.4	Level 2	10-20cmBD	5	Shingle green & white
57	Barn-F4.4	Level 2	10-20cmBD	1	Mill stone fragment
58	Barn-F4.3	Level 3	20-30cmBD	131	Slag
58	Barn-F4.3	Level 3	20-30cmBD	1	Clear glass-flat
58	Barn-F4.3	Level 3	20-30cmBD	1	Clear glass-b/j
58	Barn-F4.3	Level 3	20-30cmBD	4	Metal-nails
58	Barn-F4.3	Level 3	20-30cmBD	1	Metal-other
58	Barn-F4.3	Level 3	20-30cmBD	5	Concrete
58	Barn-F4.3	Level 3	20-30cmBD	7	Clinker
58	Barn-F4.3	Level 3	20-30cmBD	1	White glass-plain
59	Barn-F4.3	Lvl 1-Plan	10cmBD	5	Concrete
59	Barn-F4.3	Lvl 1-Plan	10cmBD	17	Brick
60	Barn-F4.3	Level 4	30-40cmBD	10	Concrete

#	AREA	STRATUM	DEPTH	QTY	DESCRIPTION
60	Barn-F4.3	Level 4	30-40cmBD	2	Metal-other
60	Barn-F4.3	Level 4	30-40cmBD	9	Metal-nails
60	Barn-F4.3	Level 4	30-40cmBD	1	Clear glass-flat
60	Barn-F4.3	Level 4	30-40cmBD	1	Clear glass-curved
60	Barn-F4.3	Level 4	30-40cmBD	46	Slag
60	Barn-F4.3	Level 4	30-40cmBD	6	Natural
60	Barn-F4.3	Level 4	30-40cmBD	20	Clinker
60	Barn-F4.3	Level 4	30-40cmBD	2	Brick
61	Barn-NWcrnr	Sample	Below Sod	2	Concrete
62	Fence-F3.4	Level 2	10-20cmBD	18	Concrete
62	Fence-F3.4	Level 2	10-20cmBD	4	Clear glass-flat
62	Fence-F3.4	Level 2	10-20cmBD	2	Clear glass-curved
62	Fence-F3.4	Level 2	10-20cmBD	2	Natural
62	Fence-F3.4	Level 2	10-20cmBD	148	Slag
62	Fence-F3.4	Level 2	10-20cmBD	1	Metal-nail
63	Fence-F3.4	Level 4	30-40cmBD	1	Brick
63	Fence-F3.4	Level 4	30-40cmBD	1	Clinker
64	Fence-F3.4	Level 3	30-40cmBD	4	Metal-nail
64	Fence-F3.4	Level 3	30-40cmBD	1	Whiteware-plain
64	Fence-F3.4	Level 3	30-40cmBD	17	Slag
65	Barn-F4.4	Level 3	20-30cmBD	13	Metal-other
65	Barn-F4.4	Level 3	20-30cmBD	49	Metal-nails
65	Barn-F4.4	Level 3	20-30cmBD	1	Metal-screw
65	Barn-F4.4	Level 3	20-30cmBD	1	Clinker
65	Barn-F4.4	Level 3	20-30cmBD	1	Leather fragment
65	Barn-F4.4	Level 3	20-30cmBD	20	Faunal
65	Barn-F4.4	Level 3	20-30cmBD	10	Slag
65	Barn-F4.4	Level 3	20-30cmBD	2	Natural
65	Barn-F4.4	Level 3	20-30cmBD	18	Shingle green & white
65	Barn-F4.4	Level 3	20-30cmBD	1	Blue glass-tube
65	Barn-F4.4	Level 3	20-30cmBD	1	Clear glass-b/j
65	Barn-F4.4	Level 3	20-30cmBD	20	Clear glass-flat
65	Barn-F4.4	Level 3	20-30cmBD	2	Clear glass-curved
65	Barn-F4.4	Level 3	20-30cmBD	9	Concrete

Total Artifacts in Assemblage

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