


5-2019

The Archaeology of Leetown Hamlet: Households and Consumer Behavior in the Arkansas Ozarks

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The Archaeology of Leetown Hamlet:
Households and Consumer Behavior in the Arkansas Ozarks

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts in Anthropology

by

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University of Arkansas
Bachelor of Science in Anthropology, 2015

May 2019
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This thesis is approved for recommendation to the Graduate Council.

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ABSTRACT

The hamlet of Leetown, located within Pea Ridge Military Park is the focus of this thesis. The Leetown hamlet played a role in the Battle of Pea Ridge and eventually disappeared before Pea Ridge National Military Park's establishment in the 1960s. Shortly after the establishment of the Park, archeological investigations began. The resulting archeological investigations from 1962 to 2017 provided a glimpse into the lives of the families of Leetown hamlet within the rural Ozarks. This is an archeological investigation that focuses on establishing the date and function of the buildings within the hamlet as well as the consumer and home dynamics of the both the Lee and Mayfield families of Leetown.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This project would not have been possible without the support of Pea Ridge National Military Park, the National Park Service, and their staff. I am also indebted to both the Arkansas Archeological Survey and the University of Arkansas, through whom I would not have had the opportunity to research such a historical place as Leetown. More specifically, I would like to thank the University of Arkansas 2017 summer field school students, Arkansas Archeological Survey staff, and other volunteers who helped with the excavations at Leetown as well as the student volunteers and interns who helped with the collection after excavations.

I also owe my thanks to both Mike Evans and Jared Pebworth for their aid in identifying and dating many of the artifacts that were recovered. In addition, I would like to thank my committee, Dr. Carl Drexler, Dr. Jodi Barnes, and Dr. George Sabo III for their direction and helpful feedback regarding this project.

Finally, I would also like to thank the late Dr. Jamie Brandon. It goes without saying that without his guidance from day one as junior in college I would not have been able to see my dreams become reality. Dr. Brandon open my eyes to a world of possibilities that I never imagined and showed me the way. His guidance into graduate school and through this project were fundamental for my academic development within Archaeology and his mentorship will always be remembered.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my family, Allen Jackson Jones Jr. and Deborah Jones, who have projected positivity and support, but most importantly patience and love throughout this process.

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The Archaeology of Leetown Hamlet: Households and Consumer Behavior in the Arkansas Ozarks

INTRODUCTION

This thesis focuses on Leetown, a mid-nineteenth to mid-twentieth century hamlet found within Pea Ridge National Military Park. The park marks this hamlet's location with a simple sign, but no standing structures remain. The Leetown area played a role in the Battle of Pea Ridge but disappeared before the establishment of the park in the 1960s. Archaeological investigations began shortly after the establishment of the park and work in the vicinity of Leetown since then gives a glimpse into the lives of the people who lived in this tiny hamlet within the rural Ozarks. This is an archaeological investigation that focuses on establishing the date and function of the buildings of Leetown hamlet and the consumer and home dynamics of the Lee and Mayfield families that lived at Leetown.

This thesis asks two thematic questions about the Leetown hamlet, specifically of the lifeways of Post-Civil War residents of the Ozarks. First, based upon the original comparisons of the inconsistent placement of the buildings of Leetown, as indicated from the historic and archaeological record, as well as excavations conducted in the 2017 University of Arkansas summer field school, where are the buildings of Leetown located and what were they? Historical sources indicate that within Leetown there were several farmsteads as well as a church, two stores, a blacksmith shop, and a Masonic lodge. But were there other buildings? Second, what can the assemblage collected tell us about the Lee and Mayfield families? Do the different excavation areas, suggest that there are different occupations and users of the area during different time periods? Can we tell if there are other families beyond the Lees and Mayfields? What does their assemblage ultimately reveal?

These questions are addressed within this thesis in two stages. The first stage is to address the placement of houses, buildings, and structures. The material culture and their relationship(s) to the four areas excavated during the field school at Leetown were studied and evaluated using household/homestead archaeology theory. The goal here is to evaluate the material culture in comparison to other rural households in the region and to ultimately place the areas excavated into the overall landscape of the Leetown hamlet. Beyond establishing the placement of houses and other structures, the second part of this thesis applies two main theoretical approaches to understanding both the Lee and Mayfield families' household dynamics. By using a combination of household and homestead archaeological theory as well as consumerism theory, new insight into the families' history at Leetown can be uncovered and given perspective. From this, their livelihoods may be compared to other rural families during the periods when they lived at Leetown; the Lee's from the mid-1850s to 1858 and the Mayfield's from 1860 to 1963.

Beyond this introduction, Chapter 2 outlines the history prior to and the events of the Battle of Pea Ridge and of Benton County. Additionally, this chapter brings to focus the Lee and Mayfield families, their history and role from the establishment of Leetown hamlet until it disappears from the landscape. To help depict these families in the Leetown landscape, a combination of historical sources and documents were used. Sources such as genealogy and probate records, deed and land records from the Bureau of Land Management, as well as photographs and newspaper articles helped to reveal the identity of Leetown and its families that lived there.

Chapter 3 provides a discussion of previous archaeological research conducted within Pea Ridge National Military Park, much of which was focused upon Leetown hamlet. These excavations started as early as 1965, just a few years after the establishment of the national park.

Through the last fifty years there have been an array of surveys, excavations and other methods of archaeological study that have continued beyond the scope of this thesis. This addresses the archaeological excavations which are the focus of this thesis. These excavations were conducted through the University of Arkansas Summer 2017 field school session. While there have been excavations completed since this field school, this 2017 data set is the main reference for this thesis.

Chapter 4 considers the theoretical framework needed to study Leetown and the material culture left behind. Households and homestead theory as well as consumerism theory were used for this task. Chapter 5 addresses questions that have arisen from previous work at the Leetown hamlet site within the park. The research questions presented in this introduction were addressed through a discussion of four different areas or loci identified previously and consequently excavated, including Feature 2; the cellar.

In chapter 6, the analyses of the collection from the Leetown excavations were used to answer these research questions and then discuss how they relate to the lives of the Lee and Mayfield families. Then the chapter concludes with this study and identifies some future directions for research within household and consumerism archaeology of the Ozarks.

OF LEES AND MAYFIELDS – BACKGROUND AND HISTORY

Before the Civil War, Arkansas was still a young frontier state. With statehood in 1836, only occurring 25 years previously, Arkansas was still developing and growing when the Civil War began. Arkansas in 1860 had been a part of the fastest growing economic region in the country (DeBlack 2003: xiii). Many Arkansans, especially in the North and West regions of the state, were involved in subsistence agriculture. Meanwhile, the southern and eastern river valley lowland regions relied upon a slave-based plantation-style system of agriculture (DeBlack 2003:1). The factor that drove southern agriculture from subsistence to plantation and slave-based agriculture was cotton (DeBlack 2003:1). In Arkansas, from 1840 to 1850, cotton production had grown from 6 million pounds to over 26 million pounds. This was in conjunction with the slave population increasing by 1860 to approximately 110,000 slaves (Taylor 1958). While the agricultural system in Arkansas was evolving, so were other forms of industry. In terms of real estate as well as personal wealth per capita, Arkansas ranked 16th out of the nation's 33 states at this time (DeBlack 2003:3). This momentum would be squashed by the Civil War.

After Abraham Lincoln was elected president, the Southern landscape, including Arkansas, began to change. While seven other states in the South adopted a provisional constitution for the Confederate States of America and Montgomery, Alabama became the temporary capital, Arkansans debated about whether or not to secede (Stamp 1943). While tensions began to rise, rumors spread claiming that the Federal Government intended to reinforce the troops at the Little Rock Arsenal. Due to these rumors, state secessionists forces began to call for the seizure of the facility. On February 8th, 1861, Arkansas's volunteer militia took control of the arsenal and other batteries were set up in Helena and Pine Bluff to prevent the reinforcement of Federal Military Posts (Hsu 2018). Due to both the concerns and conflict brewing within the

Arkansas population, the secession movement gained momentum. Through careful deliberation over the course of a couple of months, on February 18th, 1861, Arkansans voted to call a secession convention.

In March, the first Convention of Secession was convened and was in session for almost three weeks. The convention voted down secession, which indicated that Arkansas would only secede if the Federal government decided to make war against the Confederate States (DeBlack 2018). In April 1861, Arkansas was forced to shift position. Confederate forces in Charleston, South Carolina, opened fire on the Federal garrison at Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor on April 12th (DeBlack 2018). President Lincoln then called for troops to suppress the rebellion, which included 780 Arkansas men. Considering that Arkansas men were involved in this conflict, the state was forced to choose a side (DeBlack 2018). On May 6th, the Secession Convention reassembled in Little Rock. Overwhelmingly, the delegates voted for secession, with only one no vote. While Arkansans were still divided, the state had made its decision. Arkansas declared secession from the United States the same day and was accepted into the Confederacy two weeks later (Knight 2012:16). Arkansas would supply troops to help in the war effort but, would avoid fighting within the state until 1862. The Battle of Pea Ridge would change the civil war landscape in Arkansas for the rest of the war.

Leetown Prior to the Battle of Pea Ridge

The establishment of Leetown hamlet occurred prior to the Civil War with the Lee family. John W. Lee and his family's historical narrative begins in Kentucky in the early 1800s. John Wesley Lee was born in 1810 in Butler County, Kentucky. He was still living in Butler County when he married Nancy Shelton, also from Kentucky, in 1831 (Kentucky, County Marriages, 1797-1954). Five of John and Nancy's seven children: Jessie Vincent, Martha Ann,

Almira J., and George Sylvester “Sill”, were born in Kentucky between 1832 and 1840 (United States Census, 1850).

By 1844, John W. Lee and family were living in Benton County, Missouri. Their sixth child, Mary Elizabeth was born in 1843. Sadly, Nancy died in 1844 (approx.) shortly after the birth of their last child, Antha. The next year, on July 2nd, 1845. John married Martha Shelton, Nancy’s sister in Benton County, Missouri (Missouri, County Marriage, Naturalization, and Court Records, 1800-1991). The Lee family was still in Missouri in 1850, having moved south into Greene County (United States Census, Missouri, 1850).

Between the 1850 and 1860 Censuses, the Lee family moved from Greene County, Missouri to Benton County, Arkansas, around the time that Leetown was established. They obtained land in Benton County, in the vicinity of Leetown from Abednigo Shelton and Elizabeth (Doolin) Shelton, Martha’s father and step-mother who purchased the land in 1840. The one hundred and fifty dollars paid by the Lees set aside approximately 120 acres (Castleman 2008). Figure 1 shows a General Land Office record, from the U.S. Department of the Interior: Bureau of Land Management, which indicates that John W. Lee paid for his tract of land in 1854 as documented by the Fayetteville Land Office.

John W. Lee paid for the land in full in accordance with The Land Act of 1820 for, “the South East quarter, of the North East quarter, and the North half of the South East quarter, or Section thirty four, in ... twenty one North, of Range twenty nine West, in the District of Lands, subject to sale, at Fayetteville, Arkansas containing one-hundred and twenty acres” (Bureau of Land Management, General Land Office Records).

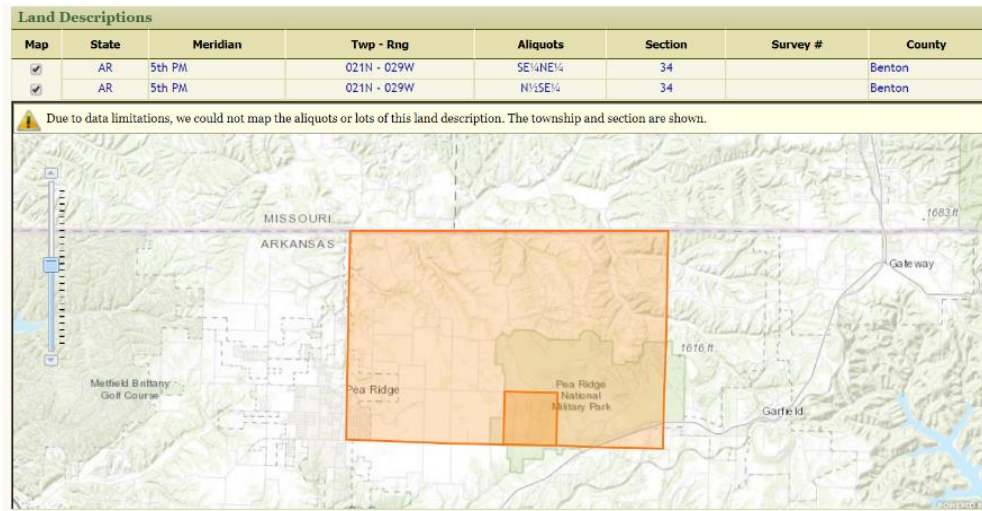


Figure 1: Land Record- John W. Lee, Nov. 15th, 1854 (120 acres)

Beyond the initial survey land details, not much has been documented in terms of the hamlet of Leetown itself. However, Lois Snelling published a history of the site in the Benton County Pioneer (as cited in Castleman 2008). Snelling wrote that John W. Lee built a two-story house with five or six rooms for his large family as well as a store which he operated. Besides these two buildings, there were other residences as well as second store, a blacksmith shop, a tannery on Lee Creek, a church, and a school (Snelling as cited in Castleman 2008).

Additionally, a Masonic Lodge hall was built in 1857 after the Lee family sold a half acre of land to the Pea Ridge Lodge Masonic Lodge #119 (Castleman 2008).

The year 1857 is also an important year for the Lee family. John W. Lee had been having an affair with a widow named Hannah Freeman and their first child, Dilla was born (United States Census, Texas, 1860). Martha Shelton divorced John W. Lee in 1859 on grounds of adultery, the same year that John and Hannah's second child Nancy was born. John Wesley, Hannah, and their two children soon moved to Texas, arriving around 1860 (United States Census, Texas, 1860). Unfortunately, it is not known if or when they were married. We know

that they were living in Texas in 1861 because their next child, William Franklin was born that year. John W. Lee had one more child with Hannah in 1864, named Mahala (United States Census, Texas, 1870). While not conclusive, about thirty to forty years later John Wesley Lee died and was either buried in Grayson County, Texas in 1894 or Hickory County, Missouri in 1904 (John Wesley Lee, FamilySearch).

It must have been a challenging time for the Lee family that had been left behind by John in Arkansas. Even before John W. left Arkansas, in September of 1858, Martha (Shelton) Lee and step-son George S. Lee sold the family home in Leetown to Stanbury H. Mayfield. With the selling of their Leetown home, the Lee family left and the Mayfields moved in and were the last family to live in the house. But there is a bit more to the Lee family story. About three years later, George “Sill” Lee enlisted in the Confederate Army. George is listed in the Confederate Pension records as belonging to the 22nd Arkansas Infantry Regiment. While George Lee probably did not fight in the Battle of Pea



Figure 2: Will Mayfield House - 1913 (Pea Ridge National Military Park 2014)



Figure 3: young George "Sill" Lee (Castleman 2004)

Ridge, there is limited information about his military history post Battle of Pea Ridge. What is known is that George Lee came back from the war, by 1870 as indicated by the 1870 Arkansas census, where he is said to be back with his family (United States Census, Arkansas 1870).

The War Comes to Arkansas: The Battle of Pea Ridge

“Somehow, few men realized the full value of the victories of Pea Ridge, Donelson, and Shiloh. Though not conclusive, they gave the keynote to all subsequent events of the war. They encouraged us and discouraged our too sanguine opponents, thereby leading to all our Western successes which were conclusive of the final result. The more you study the Civil War, the more you will discover that the Northwestern States ‘saved the Union’.”

- General Sherman (Dodge, *Fiftieth Anniversary*, 63 – 64)

Knowing the families of Leetown’s place in this narrative, helps to set the stage for the Battle of Pea Ridge. The battle occurred due to the Union’s General Samuel R. Curtis and Confederate Major Earl Van Dorn’s efforts to secure control of St. Louis (Shea 1994: 21-22). By the end of 1861, the struggle for Missouri was in a stalemate. Union forces firmly held St. Louis all the while maintaining a semblance of control of the Missouri River Valley. However, the Missouri State Guard defiantly “stood its ground near Springfield in the southwest corner of the state” (Shea and Hess 1992:1). The developments that would take place in Arkansas in March of 1862, “would put thousands of men in motion and shatter the stalemate” (Shea and Hess 1992:1). Not only would this determine Missouri’s fate during the war; but it would also change the course of the war in the Trans-Mississippi region (Shea and Hess 1992:1).

The Civil War came to Northwest Arkansas in the early spring of 1862. On the night of March 6, Major General Earl Van Dorn set out to outflank the Union position near Pea Ridge, dividing his army into two columns. Learning of Van Dorn’s plan, while Van Dorn’s troops were

taking shelter in Fayetteville March 5th, the Union troops kept a defensive position to meet the advance on March 7th (Shea 1994:29). Around noon on March 7th, the Battle of Pea Ridge essentially became two separate battles fought two miles apart. One battle took place at the Elkhorn Tavern and the other north of the Leetown hamlet (Knight 2012: 73). The part of the battle that takes place north of the Leetown hamlet results in the deaths of both Confederate Brigadier General Ben McCulloch and Brigadier General James McQueen McIntosh and the capture of their ranking colonel; which put a halt to the Confederate attack, as their top three commanders were out of action (Shea and Hess 1992).

Van Dorn then led a second column to meet the Union troops in the Elkhorn Tavern and Tanyard area. By nightfall, the Confederates controlled Elkhorn Tavern and Telegraph Road. The next day, March 8th, after regrouping and consolidating his army, Major General Samuel R. Curtis, counterattacked near the tavern and slowly forced the Confederates back.

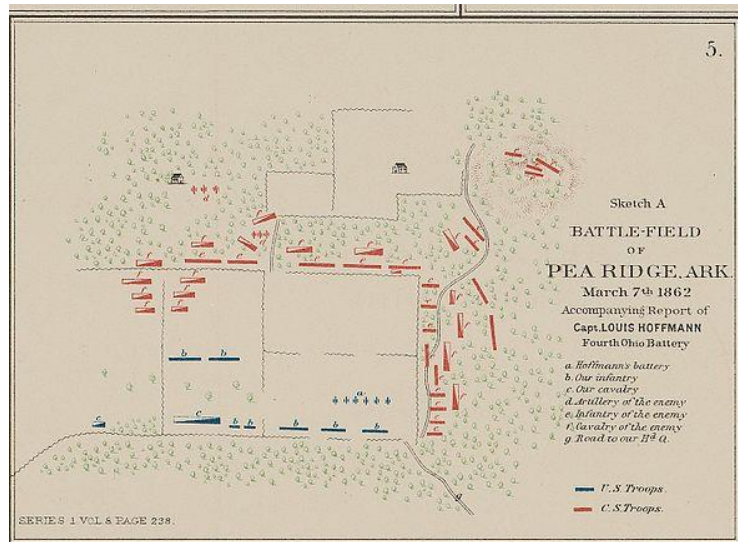


Figure 4: March 7th, 1862 (United States War Department)

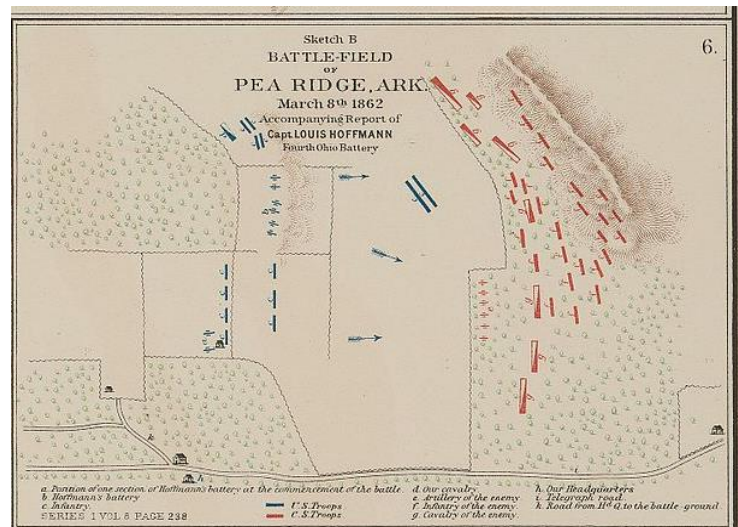


Figure 5: March 8th, 1862 (United States War Department)

Running short of ammunition, Van Dorn abandoned the battlefield. As a result, the Union won the Battle of Pea Ridge and would control Missouri for the remainder of the war.

Knowing the course of the battle, how was Leetown affected? Most of the battle does not take place in the hamlet itself, but in the adjoining woods. Leetown was described as being surrounded by “level fields and prairies enclosed by thickets of scrubby timber and dense brush”

(Shea and Hess 1992:314). This plant life greatly reduced visibility, which in turn disrupted formations and caused opposing forces to engage at close range with “brief but frenetic exchanges of gunfire” (Shea and Hess 1992:314). The thick vegetation ultimately



Figure 6: Leetown detail from a map produced by Private Charles S. Squires, Company C, 37th Illinois Infantry.

hindered gunfire on both sides. It was said that “The side that could maintain cohesion longer than the other not only won the contest but also lost fewer men” (Ross Family Papers as cited in Shea and Hess 1992:314). While the Federal guns helped to drive the Confederate troops out of the timbered area, it did not play as significant of a role in the battle in comparison to the fighting east of Leetown road (Shea and Hess 1992: 315).

Most of the fighting around Leetown took place north of the hamlet, but this does not mean that the site had no role in the battle. Period accounts state that Leetown was used as a field hospital during the battle. Veterans of the 36th Illinois described Leetown as a “hamlet of a

dozen houses crowning the ridge, near the western extremity of the corn fields.” with “yellow hospital flags, fluttering from the gables of every house.” (Lyman and Haigh 1876:142).

Leetown was permanently changed by the battle. The site was largely abandoned by war’s end, though this could have been a result of several events. It could have been the result of the battle itself or may have been attributed to bushwhackers after the war, or it ultimately could have been an overall deterioration of the hamlet itself. Whatever the case may be, Leetown was permanently changed by the battle. The historical record indicates that most of Leetown is gone by the late nineteenth century. By then only two households remain and both of those belonged to the same family, the Mayfields. The known family history of the Mayfields within the historical record is even more limited than the Lee family’s. While their history is limited, the family’s history and their connection to Leetown is important to discuss.

Stanbury H. Mayfield was born in Hickman, Tennessee in 1825 (Stanbury H. Mayfield, Find A Grave). Stanbury Mayfield then was married to Martha Rice in 1857 in McMinn

Tennessee (Tennessee State Marriage Index, 1780-2002). The records of their children are not as reliable. For instance, the number of children born into the family is up for debate. The names of the Mayfield children that seem consistent are William Pearson, Nora L, Stanwix C., Lizzie T, James



Figure 7: Lee-Mayfield House (Pea Ridge National Military Park 2014)

Leland, and Clement Haley. While most of the children are consistently identified, their birth locations and dates are also up for debate. While one Arkansas census in 1900 says all the

children were born in Tennessee, the other Arkansas census in 1880 says the children were all born in Arkansas (United States Census, Arkansas, 1900; United States Census, Arkansas, 1880). Considering that the main house belonging originally to John W. Lee, was sold by George Sill to Stanbury H. Mayfield in 1858, and that all of the Mayfield children were born after Stanbury bought the Lee house in 1858, they were mostly likely all born in Arkansas. In addition to the family history, Stanbury's profession is also documented in the census. While not indicated throughout all of the censuses he was listed upon, Stanbury Mayfield's profession was listed as farmer (United States Census, Arkansas, 1880). Beyond these details, there is little else that is known about the Mayfield family that replaces the Lee's within the hamlet.

The history of post-Civil War Arkansas and Ozarks can provide some historical context for how this family likely lived. Arkansas, after the Civil War period, faced great challenges. Following Reconstruction, Arkansas underwent changes similarly to other places throughout the United States. This era would be known as the Gilded Age (Moneyhon 2018). Much of these changes were due to the creation of a mass market and economic growth on a national level (Moneyhon 2018). Due largely to the economic developments, many would move from the rural areas into the cities which would transform and create new cultural and social dynamics (Moneyhon 2018). While this was wildly advantageous for some during the period, the results of market and economic change would place many Arkansans at a disadvantage. This transition would disrupt the traditional economics and societal norms, especially for the farmers and other labor workers and placed many of them in poverty (Moneyhon 2018). However, those living in mountain isolation, like the Ozarks, old traditions and lifeways persisted (Moneyhon 2018).

When Arkansas transitioned into the 20th century, new opportunities and challenges would arise. Amongst the challenges included the state's resistance to progressivism as well as

race riots, severed economic problems, and natural disasters (Whayne 2018). While facing these issues, Arkansas was also attempting to modernize both its school systems and roads as well as expand manufacturing as well as attempting to accommodate the state's transition to urbanization (Whayne 2018). However, despite all the efforts towards advancement, most Arkansans were living in rural areas, many of whom maintained conservative views (Whayne 2018). The dichotomy between the state's need for modernization and the maintaining of rural Arkansans lifeways and cultural tradition throughout this era prohibited any meaningful change (Whayne 2018).

The problems that came with the state's economic problems and tumultuous racial history contributed to Arkansas's public image. This is especially evident with the Ozarks image; that of the hillbilly. Wildly successful radio programs in the 1930s would take characterizations of the Ozarks and its people - the ignorant mountain folk - to the national level (Whayne 2018). The "backwoods" portrayal of the Ozark way of life left a larger imprint in popular culture than the development of the rest of the region's forward-thinking mentality during the 1800s (Blevins 2018: 85). As Brooks Blevins describes in *A History of the Ozarks: The Old Ozarks:*

"The squatter and backwoods hunter-herder represented only a temporary stage in the development of society in the Ozark uplift, but their seemingly barbaric and retrograde lifestyle captured the attentions of travelers more so than did the practices and homesteads more progressive settlers. The result was a collection of stories of the proto-hillbillies of the Ozarks, some of the earliest depictions of characters and families that later generations would recognize as symbolic of regional backwardness and deviance. These accounts of ignorance, sloth, and slovenliness in the backcountry, regardless of their applicability to only a fleeting, increasingly marginalized kind of settler, were integral to the developing image of the Ozarks, an image that has played an outsized role in the history of the region" (Blevins 2018:82).

While the hillbilly characterization of the Ozarks was of the majority, there were still positive reflections upon the Ozarks during this period. John Gould Fletcher, a poet, would write

an account in 1935 about a visit he made to Arkansas and the folk music he encountered there (Whayne 2018). Fletcher's account inspired others to record folk music and store these songs with the Library of Congress and would help to create a new appreciation of Arkansas folk culture (Whayne 2018). Vance Randolph would visit the Ozarks shortly after. Additionally, Fletcher wrote an ode to celebrate Arkansas's centennial in 1936 (Whayne 2018). Due to the resurgence of appreciation of Arkansas folk culture the Ozarks began to embrace its rustic image (Whayne 2018).

The history of the post- Civil War Ozarks provides a way to consider the Mayfield family way of life during this period. While little is known of the Mayfield family history at Leetown, there is a limited history to consider. The Lee/Mayfield house remained in the Mayfield family for a century and was property of William Pearson Mayfield prior to its acquisition and demolition, during the foundation of the park. Another home stood across the hollow to the west and was eventually occupied by Standwix Mayfield, by whose name it is remembered. These two Mayfield homes are the only part of Leetown to survive into the twentieth century. The Standwix Mayfield home burned in the nineteen teens, and then the Lee/Mayfield home was torn down shortly after the founding of Pea Ridge National Military Park (Herrmann 2004). This is where the historical documentation of Leetown ends and the archaeology begins. The archaeological excavations at Leetown lend more to the history of this Ozark hamlet and give a glimpse into the lives of the Mayfield family who lived there until the end of Leetown's occupation.

PREVIOUS ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS

Rex Wilson an archeologist with the National Park Service, visited Leetown in 1965. The purpose of his visit was to locate physical evidence associated with the Leetown settlement, specifically related to the Battle of Pea Ridge (Wilson 1965). This would have included concentrations of architectural materials as well as the locations and “character” of the houses (Wilson 1965). The survey design that Wilson created was based on property records and historian Edwin Bearss’ 1965 report (Wilson 1965).

Bearss’ report included references to all known and available documents as well as interviews conducted in the area (Bearss 1965). The archeological excavations that followed consisted of parallel trenches which were 2 feet wide by 100 feet long. The trenches were placed to cover the

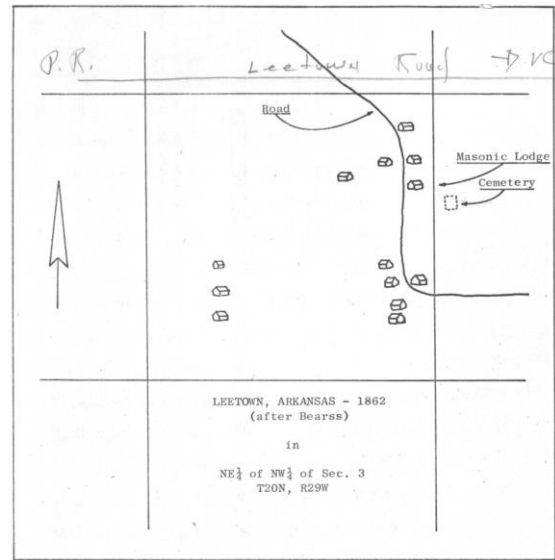


Figure 8: Rex Wilson's Map of Leetown (In Wilson 1965: Figure 1)

proposed location of the Masonic Lodge building, the site of Leetown Cemetery, and the location of the house, all of which were recorded by Bearss in 1965. Wilson’s trench excavations focused primarily on the location of a Masonic Lodge.

Reportedly, the Masonic Lodge was in the northeast corner of the lot, which

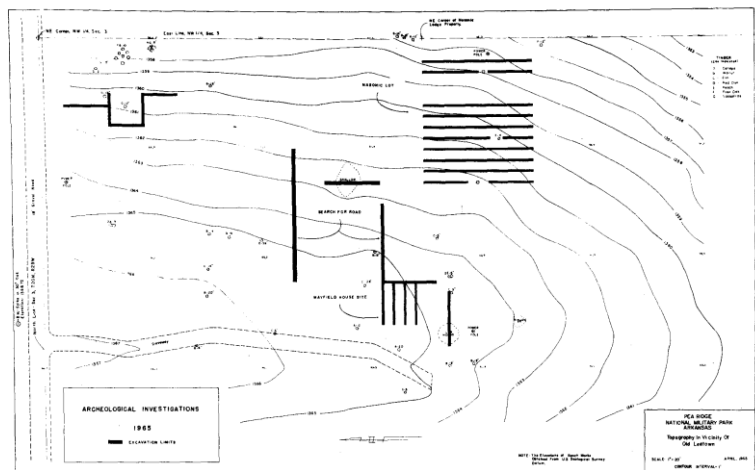


Figure 9: Archeological Investigations at Leetown 1965 (Wilson 1965: Figure 2)

was owned by the Masons (Jones 2018). While Wilson found evidence of 16 graves in the Leetown cemetery; he did not however find the remains of any Leetown structures (Herrmann 2004).

Dr. Douglas Scott and William Volf of the National Park Service’s Midwest Archeological Center (MWAC) and Dr. Marvin Kay of the University of Arkansas Department of Anthropology, directed archeological surveys at Pea Ridge National Military Park during the early 2000s (Carlson-Drexler et al. 2008; Jones 2018). In 2003,

William Volf directed an electric resistance survey of an 80x20 meter area of Leetown to relocate some of the structures in the vicinity (Volf 2003). The results of this electric resistance survey were not conclusive and needed further investigation (Herrmann 2004). Investigations continued with Jason Herrmann, who was a graduate student with the University of Arkansas during this period. This thesis entitled, “Interpreting Leetown through the Integration of Aerial and Ground-Based Remote Sensing Techniques” used remote sensing to produce a map of anomalies with possible interpretations

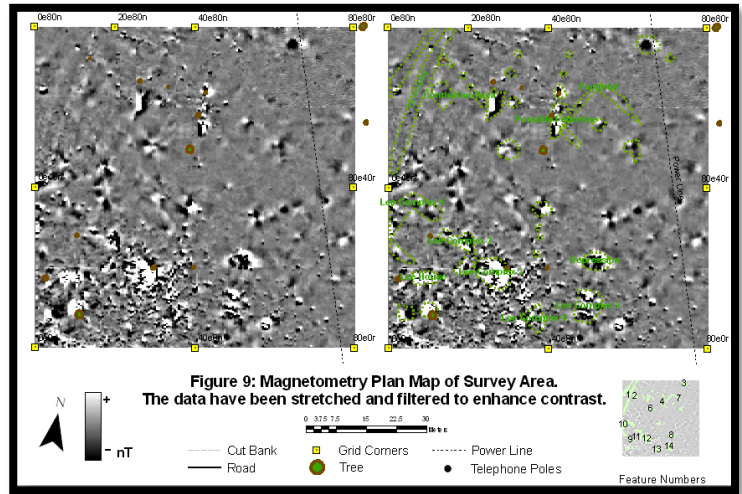


Figure 10: Magnetometry Plan Map (Found in Herrmann 2004:39)

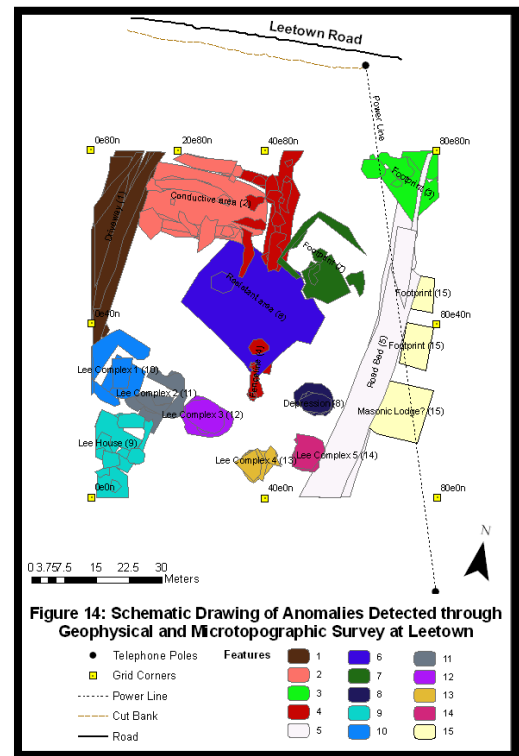


Figure 11: Drawing of Anomalies (Found within Herrmann 2004: 47)

for Leetown (Herrmann 2004). Due to the lack of excavations, Herrmann’s ideas remained untested. That is, until the Field School excavations in the summer of 2017.

Leetown Field School

The archaeological research conducted at Leetown in 2017 was a cooperative effort between the University of Arkansas, the Arkansas Archeological Survey, the National Park Service’s Midwest Archeological Center and Pea Ridge National Military Park which was organized under the federal Cooperative Ecosystem Studies Units (CESU) program (Lockhart and Brandon 2017). Geophysical surveys and excavations were conducted with the goal of identifying what buildings and roads were in the hamlet during the occupation of the Leetown (Jones 2018). The University of Arkansas’s 2017 summer field school was held at Leetown, from May 30th to June 30th. Dr. Jamie Brandon and Dr. Carl Drexler directed these excavations, training undergraduate and graduate students, -with the assistance of Arkansas Archeological Survey staff, and several volunteers (Jones

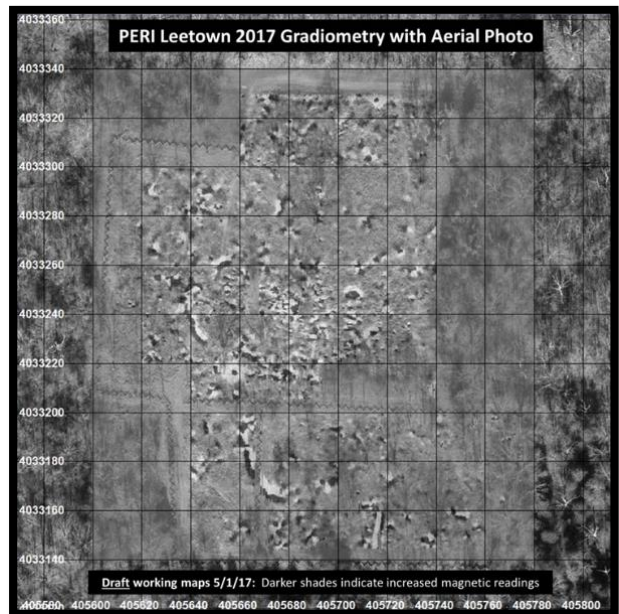


Figure 12: Full Coverage gradiometry for Leetown open areas. (Photo in Lockhart and Brandon 2017:7)

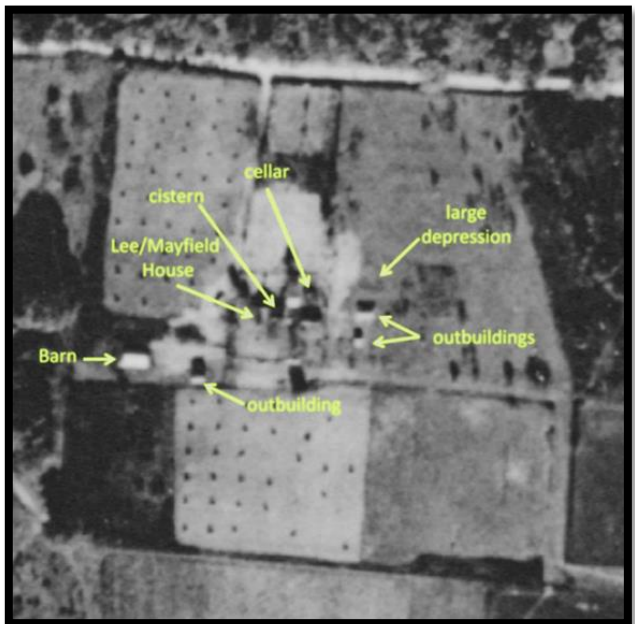


Figure 13: Dr. Jami Lockhart's rendering of the 1941 aerial photo of Leetown with a GIS data layer. Used to pinpoint the location of features for testing. (Photo in Lockhart and Brandon 2017:4)

2018). During this project, students excavated thirteen 2 x 2-meter test units, which were placed based on Dr. Jami Lockhart's remote sensing surveys as well as topography (done earlier that year), aerial images, and historical photos. From these excavations, four main structures and/or activity areas were discovered. These activity areas are referred to as Loci 1 through 4 (Jones 2018).

Test units 1 and 2, which were part of Locus 1, were placed to investigate Jason Herrmann's anomalies and looked for a possible road. Initially, while Locus 1 did not provide a substantial number of artifacts, these excavations helped to show that there may be an association with a Civil War period occupation in the area (Lockhart and Brandon 2017). Locus 2, which held

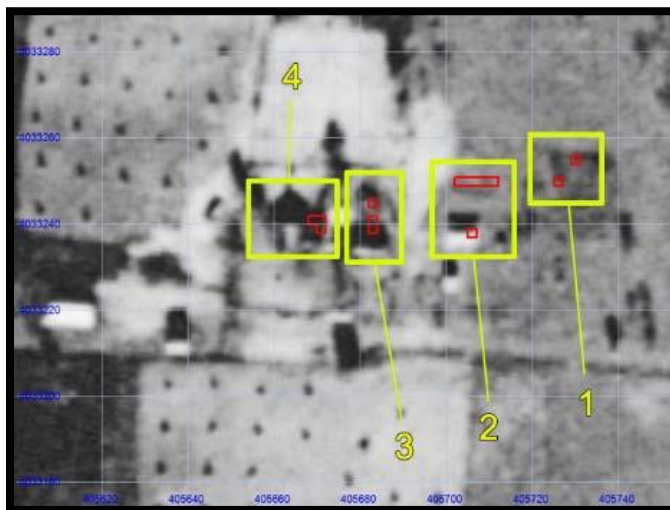


Figure 14: Field School 2017 excavation units plotted on the georeferenced 1941 aerial photo. (Photo in Lockhart and Brandon 2017:9)

test units 3 through 7, were placed in a depression, resembling a trench west of Locus 1, though Test Unit 6 was not excavated due to time constraints. Together, these units formed a 2 x 10-meter trench running east to west, placed to help the archaeologists determine the area's original function (Jones 2018).

Looking deeper within Locus 2, Test Units 4 and 5 both contained a thick deposit of charcoal and ash as well as large quantities of wire and cut nails. The preliminary interpretation of these test units in relation to the others in the trench indicate that the area may have been used to dispose of a building constructed in the nineteenth century and remodeled in the twentieth



Figure 15: Test Unit 4 showing a charcoal/burn layer plus the midden underneath in profile. (Photo in Lockhart and Brandon 2017:11)

century (Lockhart and Brandon 2017). The original use and purpose of the depression is unknown (Lockhart and Brandon 2017). Test Unit 11 was added to Locus 2 and was placed south of the trench to investigate a structure shown on a historic aerial photograph. Preliminary interpretations determined that the unit met up with the edge of a structure that may date to the early twentieth century (Jones 2018). Based on these findings, there does not appear to be an association between the depression and the Civil War period (Lockhart and Brandon 2017).

Test Units 8, 9, and 10 constitute Locus 3 of excavations which were placed in the backyard of the Lee/Mayfield house. These excavations found the remains of what may be a detached kitchen and could be the oldest part of Leetown, even possibly playing a role during the battle (Jones 2018). Excavators uncovered a structural pier in the



Figure 16: Test Unit 9 showing the entrance to the cellar feature. (Photo in Lockhart and Brandon 2017)

northern wall of Test Unit 8. In addition to this feature, the test unit contained faunal remains and other artifacts from the middle of the nineteenth century. Based upon these findings, Test Units 9

and 10 were then excavated (Jones 2018). These Test Units contained Feature 2, a large cellar which was probably constructed in the 1800s. The upper portion of the cellar's fill was made of trash, dating anywhere between the 1940s and 1960s. Below this were other artifacts including intact bottles, tin cans, and other artifacts



Figure 17: Test Unit 10 which shows the northern wall of the cellar feature. (Photo by Author)

which dated between the 1930s and 1950s. When the excavations reached the base of the cellar, the layer connecting to the subsoil revealed nineteenth century artifacts. These artifacts could have potentially dated the cellar to the establishment of Leetown (Lockhart and Brandon 2017).

The last three Test Units: 12, 13, and 14 were designated as Locus 4, and were placed east of Locus 3. The placement of these units was based on the combination of aerial photographs and other historical photographs along with resistivity data to confirm the landscape of the Lee/Mayfield family homestead, which could have been the epicenter of the nineteenth-century Leetown hamlet. Test Units 12 and 13 found the remains of a concrete box. While not excavated completely, Test Unit 14, in the northeastern corner, was able to pinpoint the location of a cistern or well (Lockhart and Brandon 2017).

HOUSEHOLDS AND CONSUMERISM THEORY

While some aspects of Leetown's identity has been recorded within the historical record, there are parts of its past that are relatively unknown. Themes that could be explored include Leetown's physical presence in time by the study of the structures may have been there during its occupation. Through various theories, this discussion will explore the identity of both the Lee and Mayfield families that we know lived there between the 1840s and 1960s. The Lee family lived at Leetown from the mid-1840s to 1858 and the Mayfield's from the 1860s until the demolition of the last house in 1963.

This can be accomplished by connecting the material style of the late 1800s to 1900s artifacts that were found within Feature 2- the cellar of the detached kitchen- to the family(s) that lived there during this period. Looking at these connections through a lens of household-homestead as well as consumerism theory helps to interpret the data excavated during this field school and its connections to the family through space and time. Through this theoretical review and comparative studies of households during this period of history in the United States, this discussion helps give an interpretation of the late 1800s to early 1900s occupation of Leetown.

Based on what has been found during the field school plus the historical records, the artifact density is mainly reflective of periods following the Civil War. The artifact concentration is found within a household setting in a homestead type of landscape. Therefore, I will approach this research with a theoretical framework, focusing primarily on household and homestead archaeology while keeping consumerism as a theme. There are various pertinent questions within this household archaeology discussion that may be explored. For instance, how do anthropologists and archaeologists discuss household archaeology? What kinds of approaches

do these scholars use as well as what are the key issues up for debate? How do they categorize household site types and artifact data discovered?

What is Household Archaeology?

Household archaeology focuses on the household mainly as a social unit. One way to look at houses and households is to consider functionality and structure, as well as the theoretical social structure. James Deetz briefly discusses the idea of the house in his work, *In Small Things Forgotten: An Archaeology of Early American Life*. Deetz emphasizes the importance of structure; pointing out that not only is it a shelter from the elements as what is required for basic human existence but, it also forms the basic social unit of the family (Deetz 1977:125-126). The architectural form of the house is also important, according to Deetz, because it can display the needs and mindset of those who built it as well as the house being able to shape and/or direct their behavior (Deetz 1977:126). While this may be a very functionalistic perspective, it does provide a way to think about houses and households.

Archaeologists consistently define households as the most basic social or socio-economic unit (Franklin 2004; Yanagiasako 1979; Allison 1991:1). As Maria Franklin states in the foreword of *Household Chores and Household Choices: Theorizing the Domestic Sphere in Historical Archaeology* (Brandon and Barile 2004), this basic social unit may be the best available information within the archaeological record to study social processes. Franklin emphasizes that the household is both a “microcosm of society” as well as an “active agent instituting change within that society” (Franklin 2004). Analyzing the archaeological record from a household archaeological perspective may, therefore, be the closest archaeologists come to comprehending past individual experiences and the intricate details of their lives (Franklin 2004).

Considering that household archaeology has an emphasis on both the social and functional aspects of the household, this field of research mainly focuses upon defining households and domestic groups. Archaeologists like to redefine and challenge the ideas that have been established about households in the past, and because the social aspect is so critical, they also try to establish what social implications come from their analyses.

History of Household Archaeology

Households as a research topic, came into archaeology around the 1970s and 1980s towards the end of the Processual Movement. The term was first used by Wilk and Rathje in their 1982 work, "Household Archaeology". Archaeological interest in households and domestic relations evolved through attempts to develop cross-cultural approaches with cultural anthropology (Hendon 1996:45). Households during this period were viewed as "basic building blocks" for larger social formations, especially when observational links were made between societies and their economic and ecological processes. During this period, households were even alluded to being "windows on evolutionary change" (as cited in Pluckhahn 2010:333).

After the 1980s, there was a shift in theoretical orientation, like most theory from the period, from Processual to Postprocessual. Specifically, this is a transition from a functional and descriptive type of study of the household to "more nuanced and interpretive studies that seek to understand people, practices, and meaning in the past" (Robin 2003:308). Moreover, the household had become a major platform for considering topics such as gender, ethnicity and identity in the archaeological record (Pluckhahn 2010:333). While this transition is apparent in the literature, there are still reminiscences of the Processual Movement in more recent literatures.

Houses, Households, Homesteads: A Theoretical Approach

Modern household archaeology can be approached theoretically in several ways. These approaches can range from the functionality of a household to the ethnography of a household, or a mixture of both. One theoretical approach to households is explored by Penelope M. Allison in “The Archaeology of Household Activities”. Allison states that household studies are not distinctively an archaeological phenomenon, but rather these studies are ethnographic. While the physical remains of houses and domestic artifacts can be excavated, the household’s family structure and social dynamics cannot (Allison 1999:2).

Julia Hendon argues that household archaeology is not only a study of activities of the household, but also a study on the “idea” of the household itself (Hendon, 1996:46). Hendon refers to the “practice of the household” being critical to understanding household dynamics (Hendon 1996:46). Practice of the household is referring to, in her case, what people do as members of a domestic group and the meaning assigned to their actions (Hendon 1996:46). Household practice is also a theoretical focus for Mary Beaudry, as she applies it not only towards households, but in general to historical archaeology as a discipline (Beaudry 2004).

Household archaeology can also provide a mid-level theory between artifacts and the grand narrative, and/or between people and processes (as cited in Pluckhahn 2010:332) or even a “middle scale” between the household and the world system (Voss 2008:37). The household also provides an alternative focus to traditional archaeology (i.e. the study of elites, monumental architecture, and prestige-goods exchange); instead, the study of the common individual is viewed to be just as important (as cited in Pluckhahn 2010:333). This plays a crucial role in the study of hierarchal status in households.

Knowing the general range of theoretical approaches to household archaeology, specific ideas and concepts within household archaeology can be explored in depth. Within this, there are four subtopics to explore: defining households, household activities, domestic groups and spaces, and the applications of gender, race, and class.

Defining Households

Archaeologists have defined households in various ways. Some scholars identify the basic definition of a household. Richard Blanton for instance defines the household as “a group of people coresiding in a dwelling or residential compound, and who, to some degree, share householding activities and decision making” (Blanton 1994:5). Donald Bender takes a different stance. Bender in his 1967 work, “A Refinement of the Concept of Household: Families, Co-Residence, and Domestic Functions”, makes a point to separate the definitions of family and household by relating that they are both “logically distinct” and “empirically different”, meaning that family is associated with kinship while households are more associated with residence (Bender 1967). Bender argues that while the concept of the household has been distinguished from the concept of family, the “household” is still “burdened” by the inclusion of two social phenomena: co-residence and domestic functions (Bender 1967). This structural perspective on the household vs. the family is addressed differently in Hammel and Laslett’s 1974 work, “Comparing Household Structure over Time and between Cultures” as explored in the Domestic Groups and Spaces section.

Defining Household Activities

Meanwhile other scholars discuss the definition of a household further by focusing on its functional elements and activities. Wilk and Rathje define households as having three main elements: “the social, the material, and the behavioral” (Wilk and Rathje 1982). Netting and

Wilk (1984:7) focus on concepts of household activities to help define households. They define five categories of household activity which include production, distribution, transmission, reproduction, and co-residence. First, with production, the intensity of production could potentially affect the size of the household (Netting and Wilk 1984:7). Another concept, distribution, directly involves transactions between households. At larger levels this could involve the pooling of resources to compensate for “diverse, seasonal, variable, or unpredictable” incomes (Netting and Wilk 1984:9). The third concept, transmission, directly refers to intergenerational transmission of property within households. Transmission translates through a connection between socio-economic status and household size indicating that, “wealth and prestige attract and hold the members of larger households while the poor can usually sustain only smaller groups of co-residents” (Netting 1982, as cited in Netting and Wilk 1984:13). Here, co-residence is referred to as household members sharing living space, where the physical confines and availability as well as the condition and composition of the household are factors (Netting and Wilk 1984:13).

Domestic Groups and Spaces

Archaeologists have approached the topic of domestic groups and spaces from different perspectives. Sylvia Yanagisako explores the meaning of the word “domestic” through its functions as well as its social symbolism while E. A. Hammel and Paul Laslett develop a methodological framework for defining domestic groups and spaces. Julia A. Hendon addresses domestic groups and the domestic space through a perspective focused on gender, race, and class (Hammel and Laslett 1974; Hendon 1996).

Yanagisako explores the meaning of the word “domestic” by first providing two sets of functional activities which are integral for its meaning; one being food production and

consumption and the other is social reproduction, i.e. child-bearing and rearing (as cited in Galindo 2004:182). Additionally, she suggests that there are three variables that are the basis for variations in domestic organizations. First, as domestic groups move through developmental cycles in society, there will be changes in demographic structure. Additionally, as the size and composition of eligible producers in domestic group change, there will also be an impact on the economy of the household. Finally, stratification is a factor that plays into society through oscillations in size and wealth, as well as social mobility and the kin ties which bind households together in different strata (as cited in Galindo 2004:182).

Yanagisako also places importance upon studying kinship as a symbolic system. This system is representative of meanings that can be attributed to “the relationships and actions of kinsmen are drawn from a range of cultural domains, including religion, nationality, ethnicity, gender, and folk concepts of the person” (Yanagisako 1979:193). This system approach, according to Yanagisako, helps in two ways. First, to create a better understanding of the range of diversity that is present in both family and kinship organizations within a society and second, potentially aiding the study of inequality through political and economic societal processes within domestic organization (Yanagisako 1979:196).

Hammel and Laslett in their 1974 work entitled, “Comparing Household Structure over Time and between Cultures”, look at domestic groups and the possible periphery in their approach to households. Initially, they define domestic groups as consisting or formerly consisted of those who share the same physical space for the purposes of eating, sleeping and taking rest and leisure, growth and development, child rearing, and procreating (Hammel and Laslett 1974:77). Because the historical record leaves great uncertainty at times about the precise boundaries of the group spatially as well as the inventory of activities within that group,

assumptions were made to study the domestic space with these records (Hammel and Laslett 1974:77). Due to this, they specifically focus on the “coresident domestic group”.

Within co-resident domestic groups, Hammel and Laslett concentrate on what makes up a membership in domestic groups. One criterion within this analysis was location. They ultimately frame location into a functional design, meaning that the functions of the domestic groups consist of a peak of interrelated activities at the core of the group, and then a lessening of concentration and interconnectedness towards the periphery or boundary (Hammel and Laslett 1974:77). This outer boundary consists of semi-permanent residents. Defined as “inmates”, these semi-permanent residents can be visitors, guests of the family, or lodgers and boarders which belong to what is called the “houseful”, but not the household itself (Hammel and Laslett 1974:77-78). This structure to domestic groups places a priority of inclusion on kin and affines. However, just because the domestic group may have kin, they may not actually belong to the household. For instance, those not of the household could be young adults leaving the home or other kin that are living nearby (Hammel and Laslett 1974:78).

To systematically study these ideas, Hammel and Laslett mention three versions of transcripts to analyze: plain language, pictorial or ideographic, and coded versions for computer handling (Hammel and Laslett 1974:79). The categories that are established included solitaries, no family, simple family households, extended family households, multiple family households, and incompletely classifiable households (Hammel and Laslett 1974:96). One category they define is the “single family”, which could be either the “nuclear family”, the “elementary family”, the “conjugal family” or the “biological family”. The single family would also consist of married couples, or married couples with a child or children, or a widowed person with a child or children (Hammel and Laslett 1974:92).

When analyzing the idea of the single family at a deeper level, the “Conjugal Family Unit” or CFU becomes an important idea. CFU is used to describe possible group structures which could include “deserted women with children or women with children in a society with duolocal residence, or strong patterns of legitimately absent husbands” (Hammel and Laslett 1974:92). Another term that applies within the study of the single family is the extended family household. The extended family household is defined as a combination of the Conjugal Family Unit with the addition of one or more relatives that are not offspring (Hammel and Laslett 1974:92).

Julia Hendon in, “Archaeological Approaches to the Organization of Domestic Labor: Household Practice and Domestic Relations”, approaches this slightly different. While Hammel and Laslett discuss gender within their work, Hendon makes it a primary focus, studying gender as well as specific gender roles in household production and craft specialization. She argues that by focusing on women’s action in household production it creates a clearer understanding of the domestic group’s complex functionality (Hendon 1996:55).

Consumerism

Beyond the approach of studying households, considering household possessions and consumer culture is also important for the overall understanding of the Lee/Mayfield household. The study of consumer goods and materials found within a household context of an archaeological site can provide useful information about the people who lived or utilized a space in the past. This archaeological information provides a perception of the lifestyles, social status, and other aspects of the people living within the household.

Terms such as consumerism, consumption, and materialism are used to describe objects and their role within society, especially within the context of the modern world (Martin

1993:142). Material culture studies consider the way that people, “live their lives through, by, around, in spite of, in pursuit of, in denial of, and because of the material world” (Martin 1996:5). This helps to connect the notion that artifacts are essential to cultural behavior considering that people use such objects to create and learn as well as mediate social interactions and relations (Martin 1996:5). However, this is only scratching the surface; objects or artifacts can be considered more complex as they can take on an individual, social, and/or cultural meaning (Martin 1996:5-6).

Context in this instance is important. The context of objects can be physical, analytical, and methodological (Martin 1996:6). Physical context refers to where objects and artifacts are found, such as artifacts *in situ*. Analytical context, in comparison, refers to objects placed in multiple cultural contexts of analysis. Beyond these contexts, methodological context connects the objects or artifacts to the scholar and help to shape narratives in question. This multifaceted approach can be helpful for the utilization of both artifact and documentary data across different academic disciplines, such as historic archaeology (Martin 1996:6).

The approach to studying objects and consumerism has transformed theoretically from what is studied: the description and initial analysis of artifacts, to how it is studied: the consideration of historical context as well as culture change through time (Martin 1996:7). Previously, social theorists mostly failed to find the importance of material culture studies and mainly viewed this as a derivative academic pursuit (Leone 1995). This was mainly due to archaeologists using artifacts in combination of the anthropological theory of the time to reconstruct past social life models that were often of a smaller scale compared to what social theorists were studying (Leone 1995). These ideas changed with postmodernism. Social theorists since have attempted to connect material culture with broader contexts (Leone 1995).

Consumer behaviors can also reflect who people wish or want to be (Mullins 2001:2). Thus, self-expression is a key factor in consumerism behaviors. Self-expression through consumerism can also be studied through and along-side gender and gender roles in the archaeological record. In this vein, archaeologists, but especially historical archaeologists prefer to propose variety of interpretations and possible conclusions about groups they are studying.

Potential Applications to Leetown

Household archaeology theory as well as consumerism theory has definite archaeological implications to the research about Leetown. Considering that the primary goal is to explore the identity of the Lee/Mayfield families, material culture and historical records become crucial. Therefore, some of the most applicable theoretical themes are related to domestic groups and spaces. Domestic groups and spaces are particularly important because of both the methodological possibilities as well as how gender, race, and class are approached. Additionally, applying rural and Ozark household ideas to this theoretical framework would help to bring it back into a regional focus. The trends of 19th century Ozark Architecture should be considered.

The architectural traditions of the Upland South and Ozark folk areas are taken from the Middle Atlantic material culture; a German and English blend of construction styles. These styles are defined by the basic unit of a sing pen structure (Herrmann 2004:18, Glassie 1968). Many Ozark homes built during the mid-nineteenth century used a combination of a balloon frame and log construction techniques (Herrmann 2004:18). But most Ozark rural homes were built using log construction, most of which were built from wood due to its low cost, availability, and the ease of manipulability (Herrmann 2004:19). Stone houses on the other hand were rare and brick houses were reserved for the most affluent of families (Herrmann 2004:19). The

iterations of traditional Ozark log type houses such as the single pen, the double pen, saddlebag, central hall cottage, the dogtrot, and the I-house are based upon the single pen type (Sizemore 1994). Other characteristics that are particular to the Upland South and Ozark architecture formations are a one-room deep floor plan with features such as gable-end roofs and exterior gable-end chimneys (Herrmann 2004:19).

While this Ozark architecture is important to consider within the context of Leetown, the archaeological excavations do not provide the information needed to establish a structural interpretation of the Lee/Mayfield house. Considering that only the outer boundary of the Lee/Mayfield house was found with features such as the cellar (Feature 2) of Locus 3 and the discovery of the cistern in Locus 4, other parts of this homestead can be interpreted to an extent from these 2017 excavations. In particular, the trash fill from the cellar in Locus 3 can provide details about the Mayfield household and their consumerism practices that cannot be observed directly otherwise through the 2017 excavations. Therefore, an investigation of the household in terms of its social groups and members through the use of historical records as well as the analysis of artifacts they left behind, may lend a perspective to the familial dynamics of the Mayfields.

When considering the household structure in terms of social groups, from the historical record, the Mayfield family was primarily living in or near the main Lee/Mayfield house (United States Census, Arkansas, 1860). Additionally, there is no indication that the family had anyone else living with them, other than immediate family. Using the historical record of the Mayfield family along with the interpretations from the artifact analysis within the next chapter, a better understanding of the lives of the Mayfield family can be obtained.

ARTIFACT ANALYSIS OF THE 2017 LEETOWN EXCAVATIONS

Based upon the previous excavations, while there were good indications as to where certain buildings were located within Leetown, more clarification on the location of the road as well as other living quarters were needed. The artifacts found during the Leetown field school excavations in 2017, based upon the historical record, most likely belonged to the Mayfield family. The data analysis that follows will help to address questions about the composition of the Mayfield family household along with their consumerism practices.

After the field school at Leetown, the artifacts were taken to the Arkansas Archeological Survey and then were washed and processed. The artifacts were organized and cataloged through an excel sheet modeled after the DELOS Artifact Inventory System, a classification of artifacts developed for the Arkansas Archeological Survey, as requested by Dr. Jamie Brandon. The artifacts were then separated into categories based on material type using the following log sequence number or LSN categories: 1 - Architecture, 2 - Household, 3 - Flora/Fauna, 4 - Personal, and 5 - Miscellaneous. Considering the large number of artifacts that the excavations generated there were four main material types considered. These materials were glass, ceramics, nails, personal items, and other diagnostic artifacts.

For the glass, the primary division was made between intact and partially intact vessels as distinguished from glass fragments. When considering the intact and partially intact vessels, the color and design were observed and documented. For glass fragments, the color and the distinction of rim, body, or base were considered along with markings and design. Then the function of these fragments and vessels were determined. Function varied from vessels and other household glass items to window glass. For ceramics, the first consideration was ceramic types, breaking the types down between whiteware, ironstone, pearlware, porcelain, stoneware, and

earthenware. Makers marks and other identifiable features or markers were documented. If function could be established, that was documented as well. For nails, the main documented difference was between cut and wire nails. Beyond the initial distinction between these two types of nails, the size and types of wire nails excavated was another consideration. Among the types of wire nails found were roofing, flooring, and finishing nails. While not a significant percentage, some screws were found as well. After the analysis of glass, ceramic, and nail artifacts other personal and/or diagnostic artifacts found throughout the site were analyzed. In order to deduce the context of this excavation collection, like the excavations themselves, the artifacts were organized by loci: Locus 1 (test unit 1 & 2), Locus 2 (test units 3, 4, 5, 7, 11), Locus 3 (8, 9, 10), Locus 4 (12, 13, 14).

Locus 1

Locus 1 was placed to investigate Jason Herrmann's anomalies and looked for a possible road that would have run through Leetown. From the preliminary excavations, Locus 1 showed that there could be a Civil War period occupation in this portion of the site (Lockhart and Brandon 2017).

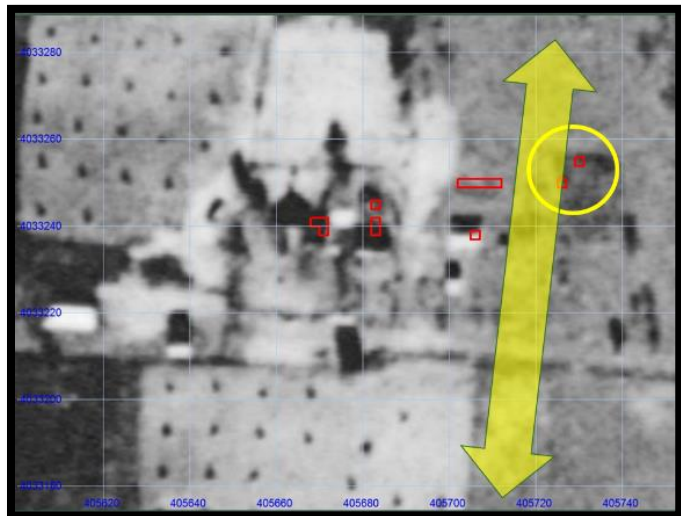


Figure 18: Locus 1 layered onto 1941 aerial photograph of Leetown.

Within the small collection of glass there was an almost even distribution of clear, aqua, and amethyst glass with some green glass in terms of both weight and count. The ceramics from this locus contained only whiteware found with various decorative styles such as gilded rims,

painted floral whiteware, spatter ware and several variant blue decorated samples. In addition to the slim collection of glass and ceramic, there was a small sample of wire nails and no cut nails. In addition to the nails, a modern cartridge casing base and a few unidentifiable metal fragments were found. What can be concluded from the data analysis of Locus 1 is that while there could have been association to the Civil War occupation of Leetown, the artifacts recovered do not conclusively corroborate the preliminary conclusions made back in 2017.

Locus 2

Locus 2 was one of the largest collection areas excavated by the Leetown 2017 field school. This locus was the trench area that Rex Wilson initially excavated in 1965. This trench was used to create a long profile (2m x 12m) to help determine the pits' original function. The preliminary interpretation of these test units in relation to the others in the trench indicated that the area may have been used to dispose of a nineteenth century building with twentieth century additions. Outside of the trench, Test Unit 11 was placed to adjoin the edge of a probable 20th century structure. However, based upon the initial findings, this unit did not connect to either the trench depression or to Leetown during its occupation during the Civil War period. When analyzed in the lab, the artifact assemblage of Locus 2 revealed intriguing results.

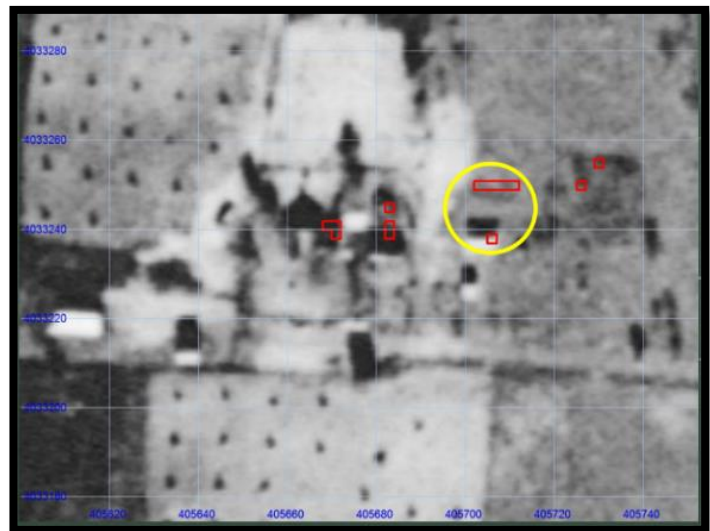


Figure 19: Locus 2 layered onto the 1941 aerial photograph of Leetown.

Glass

The assemblage of glass revealed that melted or burned glass of variant color was the most abundant at 52.68% in overall weight and 57.51% in count. In terms of color, aqua was the most abundant with 17.93% of the overall weight of the glass assemblage and 14.38% in count. Other glass components of this sample included amethyst, green, cobalt blue, brown colored glass

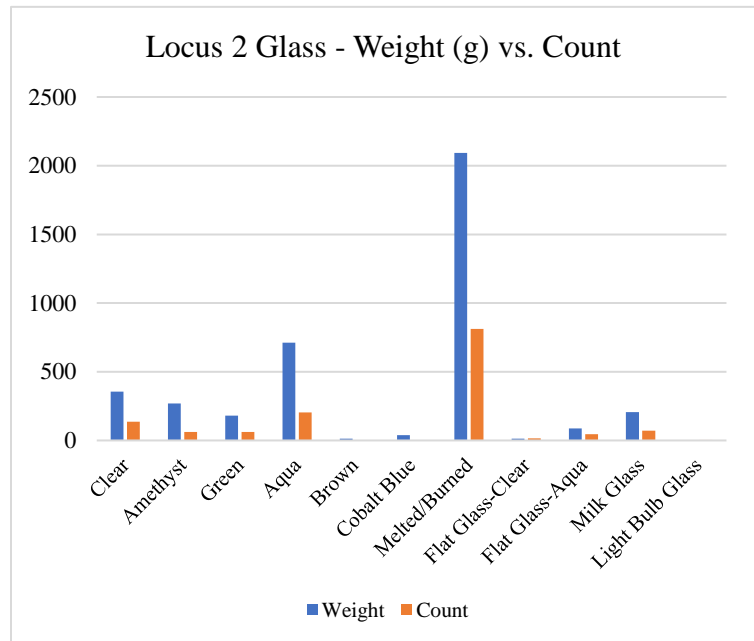


Figure 20: Bar graph of Locus 2 glass assemblage of weight in grams and count (organized by color and form).

fragments along with milk glass fragments. Other types of glass included lightbulb and flat glass that may have been architectural. Due to the large amount of melted or burned glass, this helps to confirm that the structure that may have been in the area was burned and placed into the ground depression.

Ceramics

The types of ceramics found in this locus were all historic period and were split into four groups whiteware, ironstone, stoneware, and porcelain. While stoneware was dominant within the sample in terms of weight in grams

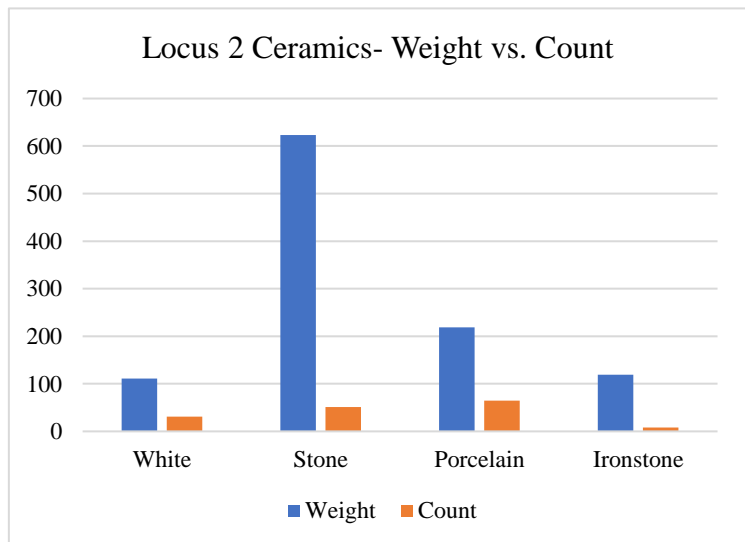


Figure 21: Bar graph of Locus 2 ceramic assemblage of weight in grams and count (organized by type).

(58%), there are slightly more porcelain fragments within the sample (Porcelain - 42%, Stoneware - 33%).

Nails

While the glass and ceramic assemblage was numerous in both weight and count, the nails found in Locus 2 were well beyond either assemblage in terms of both weight (g) and count. Surprisingly, the total nail assemblage count, including both intact nails and fragments, was 13,429 with a total weight of 19,640.40 grams. Of this composition the wire nails greatly outnumbered the cut nails in both weight (88%) and count (93.17%). Additionally, other metal type artifacts found within this assemblage included screws, bolts, door hinges, window pullies, as well as can fragments and other generic metal fragments. In addition to the glass, ceramic, nails, and other metal artifacts found in Locus 2 there were also personal artifacts found within the assemblage. Some of these artifacts included a variety of buttons of different material compositions, a plastic bead, toothpaste tubes, and writing slate.

For Locus 2, some conclusions can be made about the artifact assemblage. The area of ground depression was burned to some extent due to the large amount of melted and/or burned glass fragments found within this area. Additionally, architectural artifacts such as the flat glass, light bulb glass, window pullies, screws, bolts, door hinges, and numerous nails found in this area help to confirm that the area was near the location of a structure of some kind. Whether this is another house or outbuilding is still questioned. This mostly likely confirms the location of a structure/building that was demolished and burned in that area.

Locus 3

Locus 3, as stated previously, was placed in the vicinity of Lee/Mayfield house backyard. The field school excavations uncovered the remains of a detached kitchen, including the cellar referred to as Feature 2 (parts of Test Units 9 and 10). The rest of the Locus 3 artifact assemblage was analyzed first, before Feature 2.

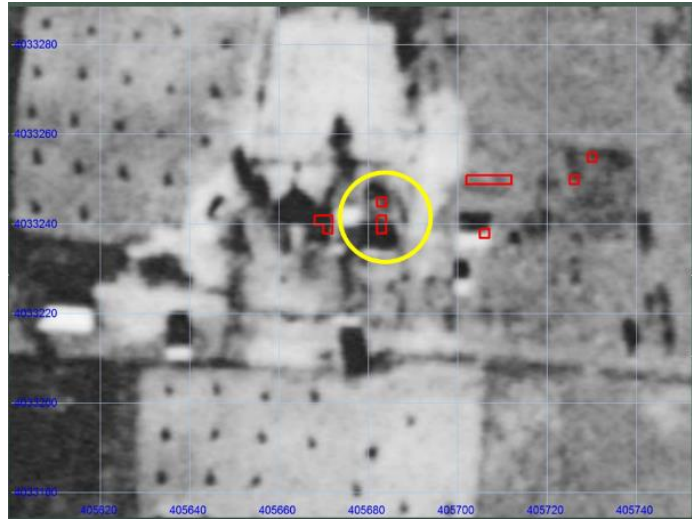


Figure 22: Locus 3 layered on 1941 aerial photograph of Leetown.

Glass

The assemblage of glass from outside the feature revealed that while there was a presence of melted or burned glass again in this locus, clear glass was the most abundant at 48.78% in overall weight and 44.63% in count. Additionally, other colors that were represented in the assemblage were amethyst, aqua, light blue, blue, cobalt blue, brown, green, olive green, and yellow. From these, brown and aqua glass fragments accounted for another 18.22% of the assemblage in weight and 20.16% in count.

In addition to this array of colorful glass fragments, while there are not as many found within Locus 3 outside Feature 2, there were still 14 intact bottles. This assemblage included clear, brown, green bottles. Some of these bottles were dish soap, Purex/Clorox, “Ball” jar, Vitalis hair tonic, a mustard jar, and even a St. Josephs Aspirin bottle. Also, milk glass, partially from canning jar liners, and lightbulb fragments were found in this locus as well. While not as predominant in the locus, melted and/or burned glass fragments accounted for 6.11% of the

overall assemblage weight and 6.98% in count. Additionally, flat glass which may be architectural in this locus as well accounted for 3.49% of the assemblage weight and 10.86% in count.

Ceramics

The types of ceramics found in Locus 3 included whiteware, ironstone, pearlware, porcelain, stoneware, and earthenware. Within this assemblage whiteware and stoneware were the most dominant in weight and count. If the consideration is made that ironstone and pearlware could be classified under whiteware as well, whiteware is more abundant in this locus than stoneware. Specifically, whiteware accounts for 53.41% of the assemblage in weight and 81.62% in count, while stoneware is the next most abundant ceramic type in locus 3 at 39.98% in weight and 13.08% in count. The rest of the assemblage outside of Feature 2 is a small amount of porcelain and earthenware.

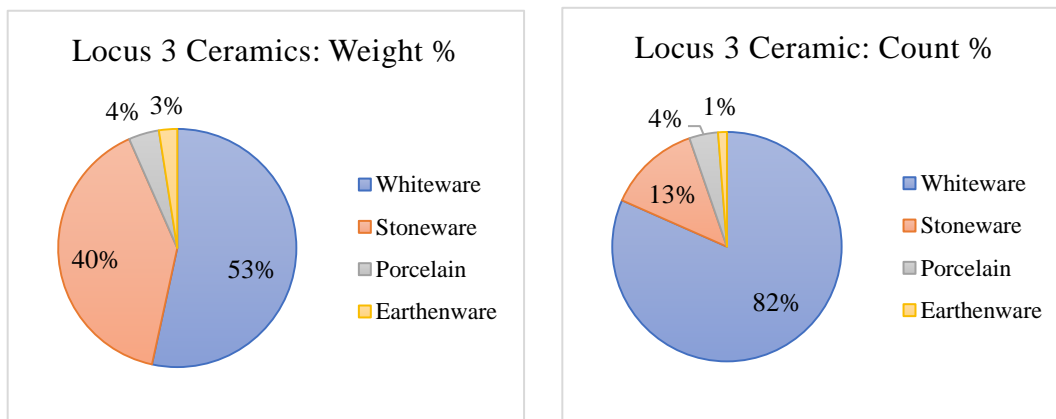


Figure 23: Pie chart of Locus 3 ceramic assemblage percentage by weight (grams) and by count (organized by type).

Nails

While there were not as many nails in Locus 3 (1755) compared to Locus 2 (13,429). Wire nail types in this locus still account for the majority found during these excavations. The

wire nail assemblage accounted for 71.09% of the weight and 75.04% of the count total within this locus. Before conclusions could be made about Locus 3, Feature 2 was analyzed.

Feature 2

Feature 2, the cellar, was identified within Test Units 9 and 10. The two field serial numbers, or “FSNs,” (DELOS) were FSN 28 and 32. FSN 28 was within Test Unit 9 while FSN 32 was within Test Unit 10. As the preliminary results indicated, this nineteenth century cellar was evidently filled in different phases (Lockhart and Brandon 2017). The first compositional layer of the cellar contained various artifacts dating between the 1940s and 1960s. The second layer held artifacts dating from the 1930s and 1950s. The bottom layer of the excavation which connected to the subsoil revealed earlier, nineteenth century artifacts.

Glass

The glass assemblage revealed that Feature 2 had large percentages of clear and flat glass compared to the rest of the assemblage; clear glass making up 40.28% of the weight and 53.17% in count and the flat glass making up 15.38% of the weight and 25% of the count within the assemblage. Glass vessels also made up a significant part of the assemblage; there were 43 vessels making up 30.99% of the weight. Other glass colors that made up this assemblage were aqua, green, blue, and brown. Feature 2 also held some milk glass and lightbulb glass.

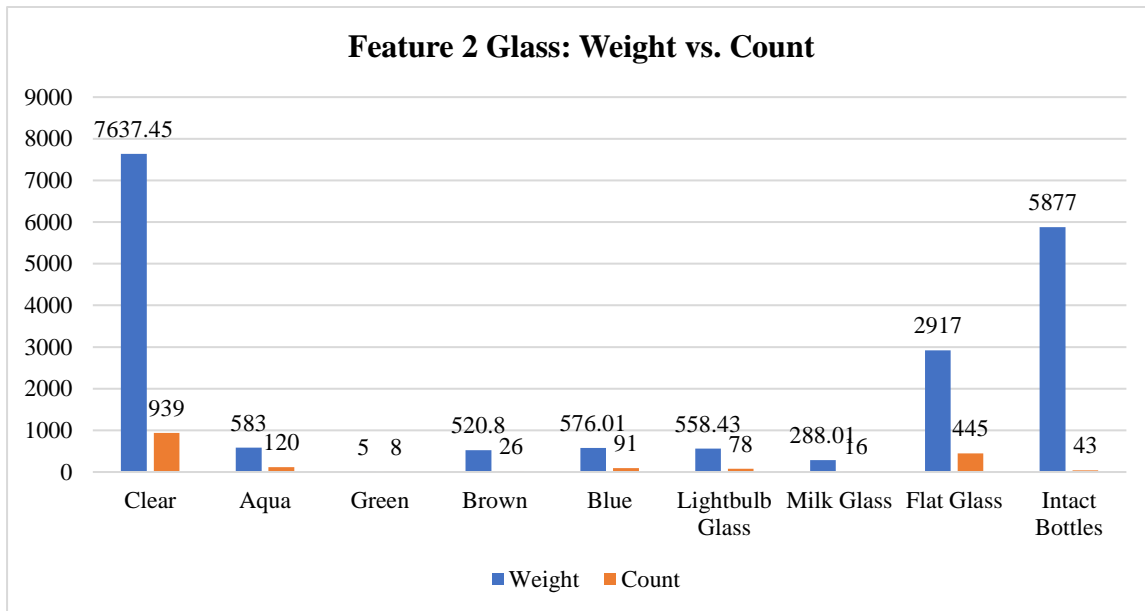


Figure 24: Bar graph of Feature 2 (Locus 3) glass weight in grams and count (organized by color and form).

Intact Vessels

Within Feature 2, there were 43 total intact vessels. Test Unit 9 held 13 vessels; mostly bottles of which there was a mix of blue, brown, and clear. Among the variety of intact bottle types there were a Log Cabin Syrup bottle, Speas Co. Apple Cider Salad Vinegar dressing, bleach bottles, ketchup bottles (one of which was manufactured by the Foster-Forbes Glass Company in 1929), ASTRING-O-SOL concentrated mouthwash, McCormick & Company extract bottle brown (vanilla), and Vicks VapoRub as well as various other vessels (Society for Historical Archaeology, Bottle Dating).

Within Test Unit 10, there was brown and clear bottles along with other vessel types. Among this sample there were bottles for Vitalis hair tonic, RC cola, Jeris hair tonic, Listerine mouthwash, mercurochrome antiseptic, Vicks VA-TRO-NOL nasal drops, and one hair tonic and one perfume of unknown brands, along with a glass cup/tumbler and a jar that once contain some

kind of spread. Excavators recovered several other bottles whose original functions await determination (Society for Historical Archaeology, Bottle Dating).

Ceramics and Nails, and Other artifacts

For ceramics, Feature 2, like most of the assemblage, contained primarily whiteware, but also included some pearlware, stoneware, and earthenware. Also, like Locus 2 and the rest of Locus 3, wire nails made up 71.09% of the weight and 75.04% of the overall count within the assemblage. In addition to the nails, other metal artifacts that made up the Feature 2 assemblage included barbed wire and other wire fragments along with numerous can fragments.

Personal/Diagnostic Artifacts

A discussion of personal items and other diagnostic artifacts from Locus 3 and the cellar within Feature 2, can shed further light on the occupation of this locus area. Some of the oldest artifacts found were a Civil War Union button and a late Victorian era chandelier (found towards the bottom of the cellar deposit). More recent finds included utilitarian items such as batteries, primarily D cells, battery cores, and spark plugs. One spark plug was an AC 43-5 Coralox, used in the 1953-1954 Chevrolet Corvette (AutoPartsObsolete.com). Children's toys, jewelry, and other personal items were also found in this area including some other artifacts that date between the 1930s and 1960s. These include a Sky King Decoder Ring from 1949 and a souvenir coin from the 1939 Golden Gate International Exposition. Also, there were 16 overall buttons and 20 intact and partially intact overall bibs. The overall mostly belonging to the Big Smith brand found within this deposit.

One artifact found in this cellar deposit, a gas card from the Lion Oil company, gives us a late date for the final stages of the Leetown occupation. As depicted in Figure 26, this card has "Lion Oil Company" printed on the front. In Figure 27, the back of the card displays a partial

emblem of Monsanto. According to Lion Oil Company's history, Lion Oil merged with Monsanto Chemical Co. in 1955 (Bridges 2012). Additionally, on the back of the card, there is a Pure Oil Company logo. Pure Oil Company exists until 1965, when it is acquired by Union Oil Company of California. This tells us that the detached kitchen that once stood over Feature 2 was still standing, or filled, in the 1955-1965 period. Based on the acquisition of Lion Oil by Monsanto in 1955 and Pure Oil being acquired by Union Oil Company in 1965, the cellar could not have been filled before 1955. It probably was filled before 1965, however, because Pea Ridge National Military Park demolishes the Lee/Mayfield house in 1963. This historic and archaeological information about Lion Oil Company ultimately points to the idea that the detached kitchen could have been there at the time of the demolition.

Some conclusions can be made about the artifact assemblage of Feature 2 and, more generally, Locus 3. The assemblage has a variety of household items that display several themes that can apply to the Lee/Mayfield household. One theme is children's consumerism through the presence of toys, trinkets and other children's possessions. Another theme within this cellar deposit that appeared was of food consumerism, which was represented by the variety of condiment jars, syrup and salad dressing bottles. Additionally, there were a small amount of animal bones found in this area. Health and hygiene were yet another theme present in the



Figure 25: Photo of the Lion Oil Company Card artifact, front side (2017-380-28-4-5).



Figure 26: Photo of the Lion Oil Company Card artifact, back side (2017-380-28-4-5).

assemblage. An assemblage of health products within the deposit included dental wash and toothpaste along with milk of magnesia, aspirin, mercurochrome, and Vicks products. Other hygienic products as represented through vessel types included perfume, hair tonics and cold cream. Cleanliness seemed to be another theme in this assemblage due to the amount of Purex and Clorox brown bottle and bottle fragments found within Feature 2, which will be explored further in the following chapter.

Locus 4

Locus 4 was placed east of Locus 3, based on the combination of historical photographs and resistivity data to confirm the location and composition of the Lee/Mayfield homestead.

Glass, Ceramics, and Nails

Within Locus 4, clear and aqua made up a significant portion of the assemblage. Other glass colors and types found within this locus included amethyst, green, olive green, brown, blue, yellow and milk glass. In Locus 4 there was also some flat glass and lightbulb glass. Ceramics found within locus 4 included whiteware, pearlware, yellow ware, ironstone, stoneware, porcelain, and earthenware. Whiteware at 43% and stoneware at 35% constituted the majority of the ceramic

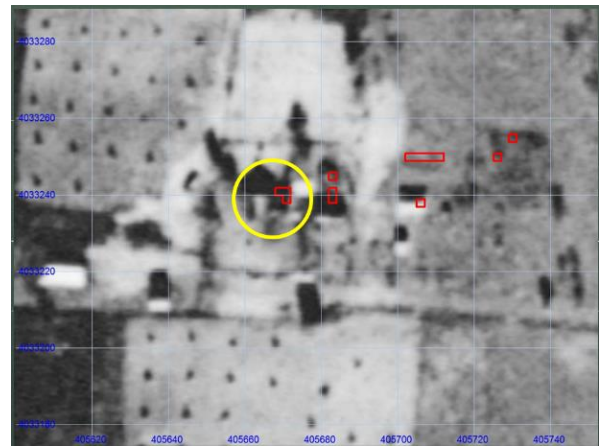


Figure 27: Locus 4 layered on 1941 aerial photograph of Leetown.

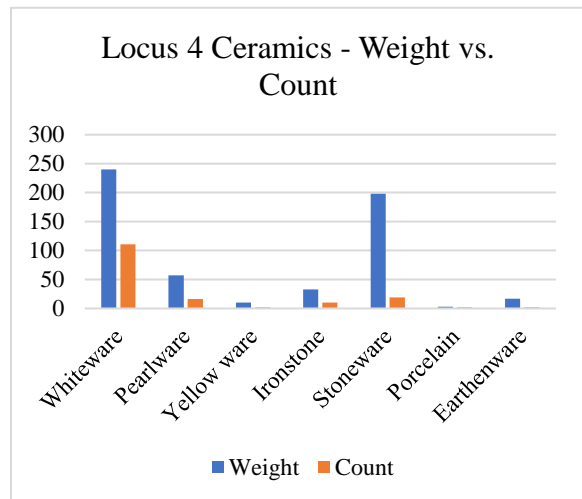


Figure 28: Bar graph of Locus 4 ceramic assemblage of weight in grams versus count (organized by type).

assemblage. The Locus 4 nail assemblage, as with Locus 2 and 3, had mostly wire nails. However, the proportion between wire and cut nails is not as drastic as other loci. There was an approximate difference of 70% wire and 30% cut nails. The analysis of Locus 4 helps to establish that this area was located on the boundary of the Lee/Mayfield house based upon the artifacts that were found as well as the remains of a concrete box and the cistern.

In summary, the four loci from the 2017 Leetown excavations help to establish new information about the Leetown area and the Mayfield family that lived in the area. For Locus 1, despite preliminary observations, archaeological excavations did not provide a civil war context to the area nor was there any evidence found that a road went through the area in question. Within Locus 2, archaeological excavations found large amounts of melted and/or burned glass fragments along with architectural artifacts such as the flat glass, light bulb glass, window pullies, screws, bolts, door hinges, and many wire and cut nails. The excavations within Locus 2 helped to establish that the ground depression was near the location of a building, mostly likely confirming the location of demolition and burning of a building in that area. For Locus 3 and Feature 2 (the cellar), archaeological excavations uncovered many household items including children's toys along with kitchen/food items, medicine, health, and hygiene products. Finally, within Locus 4, archaeological excavations helped to establish that this area was likely the boundary of the Lee/Mayfield house.

With the results of the field school provided, comparing the archaeological findings of Leetown to other archaeological assemblages from homesteads/farmstead sites can provide a more meaningful context to the Lee/Mayfield homestead and to households in the Ozarks at large. In the next chapter, 3 homesteads/farmsteads including the postbellum Van Winkle house at Van Winkle's Mill and the Moser farmstead within the Ozarks, along with the Taylor house of

Hollywood Plantation in southeastern Arkansas will be compared with Leetown to discuss a greater context of this small hamlet in the Ozarks.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

John W. Lee built his family home and established Leetown sometime between the 1840s and 1850s. From its composition, Leetown was a settlement of approximately twelve 1½ story log and frame buildings standing in an area that was carved out of the blackjack oak and scrub forest (Bearss 1965, GLO survey). The log buildings in this area were mostly less than 20 feet long on each side; this length would be determined by the constraints of both the materials and how they were manipulated (Sizemore 1994). Also, most of the houses may have had outbuildings and were probably surrounded by split rail fences (Herrmann 2004:17). The hamlet's buildings were centered on a road which came down northward and then curved east toward Elkhorn Tavern (Herrmann 2004:17).

The Lee/Mayfield house, the focus of the 2017 field school excavations, occupied by the Lee family was eventually sold to the Mayfields a few years before the Battle of Pea Ridge. The battle in 1862 would alter Leetown permanently, leaving Leetown mostly deserted except for the Mayfield family. They would continue to live in the area until the establishment of Pea Ridge National Military Park. While there was archaeological research conducted at Leetown previously, the University of Arkansas 2017 summer field school helped to recover and document the artifacts excavated from Leetown.

Each locus area that was excavated during the 2017 field school provided contextual information about the site and has helped to establish the household and consumer habits of the Lee and Mayfield families. While both families lived in this area, the artifact assemblage, much of which was from the late 1800s to mid-1900s, suggests that the material remains found at Leetown mainly belonged to the Mayfields. While all four loci areas provide archaeological data,

Loci 2 and 3 provide more archaeological data and context for both the cellar of the detached kitchen as well as the main house structure to contextualize through a material culture and consumerism framework.

The assemblage from Locus 2, for instance, provides an understanding of the ground depression area, in particular how the area was used. This is evident from the nail assemblage found within the four test units placed in this locus. Test Units 4 and 5, as mentioned previously, had a burn layer found in profile along with a large assemblage of glass and nails. This area was thought to have been used to burn and collapse a structure. The glass assemblage was composed of over 50 percent burned glass. The nail assemblage was composed primarily of wire nails at 88% (12513), while the cut nails represented 12% (916). The type of wire nails found within this assemblage included roofing, flooring, and finishing nails along with other varieties of nail sizes and types. These percentages represent the possibility that the building that was burned and collapsed into the depression in Locus 2 was originally built with cut nails; but, maintained and modified with the use of wire nails. Beyond this possibility, at minimum, the building was probably built in the late 1800s to early 1900s.

The excavations within Locus 3, representing the area just outside of the main house, provides a context for the cellar of the detached kitchen (Feature 2) for both the structure and artifact assemblage. While not officially confirmed, the cellar was most likely a part of the detached kitchen of the main house. The context of the cellars use history is limited, but the terminal use was for the depositing of excess goods or trash fill. The cellar was likely filled shortly before the establishment of the Park. This is indicated by one artifact, the Lion Oil Co. gas card. As mentioned in Chapter 5, the Lion Oil card, based upon the emblems, dates the filling of the cellar after 1955. This cellar fill from this feature also provides a wealth of

information about the Mayfield family, especially that of their consumerism practices. Their socioeconomic status can be discussed by considering the archaeological assemblage of glass and ceramics, as well as their food and hygiene products, and other personal items.

Archaeological studies have suggested that there is not a simple correlation between the ceramic assemblage value and the socioeconomic affiliation of the individuals or their households (Klein 1991). Instead, factors such as the household structure, size, and life cycle along with its income strategies and external economic conditions all play a role in the value of a given ceramic assemblage (as cited in Klein 1991:83). Additionally, while the quality of foods and textiles can vary with the household's socioeconomic position over time, ceramics may not (Klein 1991:83-84). Therefore, using the ceramics, along with the food, health, and hygiene products and other personal items provides a more rounded perspective of the socioeconomic status and consumer practices of the Mayfields.

Various intact vessels and vessel fragments, (mostly jars and bottles), were found throughout Locus 3 and Feature 2, which demonstrate various elements of the Mayfield's family consumerism practices and lifestyles. While there were a variety of vessels and products, the three main themes of consumerism that are displayed are that of food, health, and hygiene. The food product vessel types mostly consisted of condiments such as ketchup, mustard, salad dressing, syrup, and extract. Health and hygiene product vessel types varied from cleaning supplies to medicine and cosmetic items. Of the cleaning items, the majority were represented as brown glass bottles and bottle fragments of Purex and Clorox. Medicines and other medical supplies within the artifact assemblage included St. Joseph's Aspirin, Milk of Magnesia, Mercurochrome, Johnson and Johnson first aid bandage tape, Listerine, a variety of toothpastes and dental creams, and Vicks VapoRub and Vicks nasal drops. These items indicate that the

Mayfield family is participating in both hygiene practices as well as self-medicating at home. Cosmetic items were also well represented within the assemblage, some of which included cold cream jars and jar fragments, makeup in the form of foundation and lipstick, perfume, as well as hair tonics and lotions which also indicates their participation in cosmetic consumerism and the care family members took in portraying their outward appearance.

In terms of personal goods, there were a variety of adults' and children's items, thus displaying a familial household. Toy rings, plastic charms, and a bracelet along with marbles and other children's trinkets and charms were found. Other Arkansas homesteads such as the Van Winkle postbellum house and the Moser site both within Benton County, along with the Taylor house within Hollywood Plantation in Drew County also discuss children's toys and what can be said from their presence within these households.

For instance, with the postbellum Van Winkle house, the toys that were recovered from archaeological excavations included porcelain doll parts, 2 clay marbles, 2 black child-sized hard-rubber rings, fragments of alphabet plates, and a cast-iron pistol fragment (Brandon 2013:44). The Moser site's cellar assemblage, also found in the Ozarks, had children's items including 6 marbles, 3 porcelain doll parts, and other metal toys. (Stewart-Abernathy 1986:66-67). The metal toys included 2 iron-spoked wheels from a wheeled toy and a complete metal reed plate from a harmonica (Stewart-Abernathy 1986:67). Additionally, in the cistern at the Moser site, a fragment of the lower bust of a porcelain doll head was found (Stewart-Abernathy 1986:104). The Taylor house also had an assortment of children's toys including clay and glass marbles, a porcelain doll head, a doll arm, and a cast iron bird whistle (Barnes 2015:21). Considering that these households along with the Lee/Mayfield house had a variety of children's toys found in the excavations, the presences of these children's toys could, within a postbellum

context, be considered an indication of upward mobility, or the dreams of possible upward mobility (Wilkie 2000; Brandon 2016:44, 2004b; Mullins 2011).

Besides the children's items, the adult personal item distribution varied greatly. For instance, clothing accessories included buttons, snaps, bibs, and other fasteners. Most of the buttons were either plastic or brass/metal buttons and snaps along with several overall buttons. Considering that there is a lack of formal wear and accessories found in this assemblage in comparison to the 16 overall buttons and 20 intact and partially intact overall bibs at Leetown, this artifact assemblage points to both the families fashion choices and labor practices.

The fashion choices of the family indicate a connection between fashion and function. Ann R. Hemken in her 1993 Master's thesis entitled, "The development and use of bib overalls in the United States, 1856-1945", describes that overalls were first manufactured for intended uses within various labor operations. These uses crossed over into several industries including agriculture (Hemken 1993). This notion certainly applies to Leetown. Previously, Leetown had been described as a hamlet which crowned the ridge near the western edge of the corn fields (Lyman and Haigh 1876:142). Even though the hardships of the Civil War had stripped many family farms of livestock, crops, implements, and money, the subsistence agriculture in this region survived (Blevins 2002). Considering that Leetown was a part this region in Arkansas, which was involved in subsistence agriculture, the families living within this hamlet likely participated in agricultural traditions well into the 20th century.

The ceramic assemblage, the food, health, and hygiene vessels and bottles, along with personal goods found within the excavations at Leetown display an interesting context of the Mayfield household in relation to the Arkansas Ozarks. A household that doesn't represent the mythos and stereotypes that define the Arkansas Ozarks to the rest of the world.

As evident by the observations of Leetown's agricultural landscape and the artifact assemblage found during the excavations in 2017, the story of Leetown challenges the Ozark mythos. In particular, Leetown challenges the notions of the isolated Ozarker mentality. The families of Leetown participated in consumerism practices. Their consumerism practices in regard to personal possessions - especially that of the children's toys - along with their cosmetic goods show a preference in displaying their upward socioeconomic mobility; whether a reality or a dream. Additionally, based upon the variety of consumer goods manufactured from other parts of the country, the Mayfield family was interacting beyond the Ozark periphery. The archaeology and history of Leetown and its families, in contradiction to the Ozark hillbilly narrative, can give a perspective on other rural homes throughout the Ozarks.

The University of Arkansas summer 2017 field school excavations helped to expand upon the knowledge of Leetown, especially about the Lee and Mayfield families. These excavations undeniably add another dimension to our understanding of Pea Ridge National Military Park and the people that once lived there. This also adds to the ever-growing archaeology and history of the Ozarks region. Additional artifact analysis on the 2018 Leetown excavations conducted by the Arkansas Archeological Society during their annual dig will help to expand upon our current understanding of Leetown as well as answer future questions about this tiny hamlet that existed from the 1840s to the 1960s.

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