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"She of Gentle Manners": An Examination of the Widow Pomeroy's Table and Tea Wares and the Emerging Domestic Sphere in Kinderhook, New York

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“SHE OF GENTLE MANNERS”: AN EXAMINATION OF THE WIDOW POMEROY’S
TABLE AND TEA WARES AND THE EMERGING DOMESTIC SPHERE IN
KINDERHOOK, NEW YORK

A Thesis Presented

by

MEGAN E. SULLIVAN

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies,
University of Massachusetts, Boston,
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

December 2012

Historical Archaeology Program

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“SHE OF GENTLE MANNERS”: AN EXAMINATION OF THE WIDOW
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ABSTRACT

“SHE OF GENTLE MANNERS”: AN EXAMINATION OF THE WIDOW
POMEROY’S TABLE AND TEA WARES AND THE EMERGING DOMESTIC
SPHERE IN KINDERHOOK, NEW YORK

December 2012

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Following the American Revolution, the new gender ideologies of Republican Motherhood and the Cult of Domesticity gained in popularity that associated men with the public sphere and relegated women to the private domestic sphere. Women were now tasked with the important job of raising the future citizens of the fledgling Republic. The quality of family and home life took on extra importance, and the elaboration of meals and the ceramics used in these rituals changed accordingly. This thesis analyzes the table and tea wares from an archaeological assemblage located in upstate New York that dates to the turn of the 19th century. Based on dates derived from analysis, the archaeological assemblage was attributed to the Pomeroy family. A widow-headed household, the table and tea wares during this time period allow an understanding of how Anna Pomeroy

participated in these changing gender roles and adapted to these new ideologies. Building on current theories in gender archaeology, this thesis discerns how Anna Pomeroy chose to represent herself in this new role based on her consumer choices. The table wares exhibit matched sets and elaboration of design and vessel function, all evidence of the increase of importance of the domestic realm. The tea wares contain high-end porcelains and matched sets, exhibiting how Anna used the ritual of taking tea to establish ties within the community while also putting on display her refinement of character. The practice of taking tea was often discounted as frivolous activity, but the relationships women established within these social gatherings allowed alliances to form that would have ramifications within the public sphere. In a society in which it was expected that widows remarry, Anna did not. Instead she chose to invest in the domestic visual display of the tea ceremony in order to exert her influence within community. Anna Pomeroy was able to use the accepted ideology of Republican Motherhood to negotiate her place in society and keep the independence that was afforded to her as a widow.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This thesis focuses on the emergence of new gender ideals following the American Revolution and how they were adapted in the rural town of Kinderhook, New York, by one household headed by widow Anna Pomeroy. The role of women in the household changed dramatically after the Revolutionary War, and archaeologists have been able to study these changes by looking at material culture. During the Revolution women were active participants in the quest for independence: they “boycotted imported goods, increased their workloads by supplying replacements for the boycotted goods, fed and clothed armies, ran farms and businesses while their husbands and fathers were away, and engaged in other efforts outside of the women’s previous domestic scope” (Rotman 2009: 17). The Revolution was heralded as a victory against oppression, and it was hard to justify the lack of rights women were granted within the new ideals of the Republic (Coontz 1988: 133). To explain this, two new ideologies gained momentum following the Revolutionary War in order to defend the placement of women within the home.

Republican Motherhood was an attempt to combine domesticity and politics: women could still play an active part in the new Republic but from within the confines of the domestic sphere (Rotman 2009: 170). Of the utmost importance to this new nation was that the next generation was raised to carry on the tradition, success, and ideals of the

Republic, and women were tasked with this job. It was stated that “the model republican women was a mother” (Rotman 2009: 16). The Cult of Domesticity followed Republican Motherhood, reaching its zenith in the 1830s, and focused on elevating (while at the same time limiting) woman’s status solely through the domestic sphere as it emphasized distinct spheres of interaction according to gender (Rotman 2009: 16). While the Cult of Domesticity has been credited with the segregation of public versus private spheres, in actuality there were already traces of it within Republican Motherhood. Although these two ideologies shared a basic premise, they were implemented differently. Each focused on separate male and female roles, but the separation was more ideological under Republican Motherhood, while the separation in the Cult of Domesticity was physical.

This new importance of family and home life manifested itself in the changing social value of meals, and women chose their ceramics in different and more elaborately decorated styles to express these new meanings (Wall 1994: 147). How ceramics were perceived and used allowed certain distinctions to be made and much thought was put into choosing table and tea ware sets (Goodwin 1999: 104). As a result, archaeologists have been able to use ceramics in order to discern the consumer choices women were making and how in turn they interacted within the accepted ideologies of the day (Rotman 2009: 89). Ceramics represented social status, economic prosperity, community and familial relations, availability, as well as a myriad of other meanings. An archaeological excavation conducted by the Cultural Resource Management firm Collamer and Associates in 1990 at the James Vanderpoel House of History in Kinderhook, New York, uncovered a historic midden deposited by the Pomeroy family at

the turn of the 19th century. This thesis analyzes the ceramics recovered from this archaeological deposit and discerns the social practices being followed within the Pomeroy family and how the household interacted within the dominant gender ideologies that were implemented following the Revolution.

A Loyalist family, the Pomeroy family moved from Canada to Kinderhook after the end of the Revolutionary War. Soon after settling there, Josiah Pomeroy contracted yellow fever and died in 1795, leaving his wife Anna in charge of the farm and their four children. Although it was expected at that time that widows would remarry, Anna did not, even though she lived for another 18 years. The assemblage found by Collamer and Associates was deposited during Anna's tenure as head of the household. The 3,511 ceramic sherds excavated and analyzed showcase a widow-headed household's consumer choices following the Revolution and during the emergence of Republican Motherhood in Kinderhook. This study allows a rare opportunity in which the individual responsible for the consumer choices contained in the assemblage is identified (Galke 2009: 30).

The adoption and implementation of these ideologies varied tremendously throughout the country based on a variety of social and economical factors (Rotman 2009:16). Republican Motherhood and the Cult of Domesticity were embraced with particular zeal in Kinderhook. The majority of local papers ardently pushed Republican Motherhood ideology and "built a series of pitfalls against the entry of women into the public sphere" (Brooke 2010: 261). Steps were taken "to limit rather than facilitate" the entry of women into public society (Brooke 2010: 261). In 1802, one local paper dedicated six months to a series entitled "Education" and appealed that "the fair

daughters of Columbia... co-operate in supporting and perpetuating the national independence” (Brooke 2010: 324). The paper, *Balance, and Columbian Repository*, insisted this series “was intended for the improvement equally of both sexes” (Brooke 2010: 343). Each installment would “contain strictures on female education and manners: the virtues and foibles of women will occasionally be pointed out, and their character scanned with a brother's eye” (Brooke 2010: 343). Another local paper warned women that “on the purity of their morals and the prudence of their conduct, the weal and permanence of their infant republic and the hopes of generations to come are essentially depending” (Brooke 2010: 342). Anna Pomeroy herself leaves evidence of just how important, at least outwardly, the appearances of manners were in Kinderhook: her own gravestone epitaph memorializes her as “she of gentle manners.”

However, these ideologies were rarely implemented in their purest form and often times blended together, with the individual picking and choosing which aspects to follow. In order to understand the complex social relations surrounding ceramic consumption patterns, a detailed examination of the household at the time of deposit must be made (Rotman 2009: 140). This thesis follows a new direction in gender archaeology by taking into account the lifecycle of a household as a contributing factor to the assemblage. The lifecycle of the family is an integral part in understanding the assemblage. Anna’s status as a widow at the time of the deposit influenced greatly her consumer choices.

This chapter concludes with a brief overview of the property on which the assemblage was deposited. Chapter Two recounts the history of the Pomeroy family as well as Kinderhook’s history. Chapter Three discusses the gender ideologies at play

during the late 18th early 19th -century as well as archaeological studies that have focused on analyzing household assemblages and ceramic consumption pattern change over time. Chapter Four focuses on how Kinderhook specifically was influenced by the gender ideologies following the Revolution. The Pomeroy household in Kinderhook following Josiah's death is focused on as well. Chapter Five reviews the methods and results of the Cultural Resource Management firm Collamer and Associates, who conducted the excavation, as well the methods I used in order to study the assemblage. Chapter Six focuses on the results uncovered from this analysis. By examining the table and tea wares from the Kinderhook assemblage, as well documentary research, and incorporating recent theory in gender archaeology, this thesis will show how Anna Pomeroy negotiated her identity during the changing social value of meals and elaboration of domestic life and was able to adapt these changes to her advantage.

Overview of Ownership of the Land

The Vanderpoel House of History is located in the upper Hudson Valley region in the village of Kinderhook, New York (Figure 1). The village was settled in roughly 1670, when a patent was granted to Jacob Jansen Flodder and Captain John Baker (Mesick-Cohen-Waite 1989: 3).

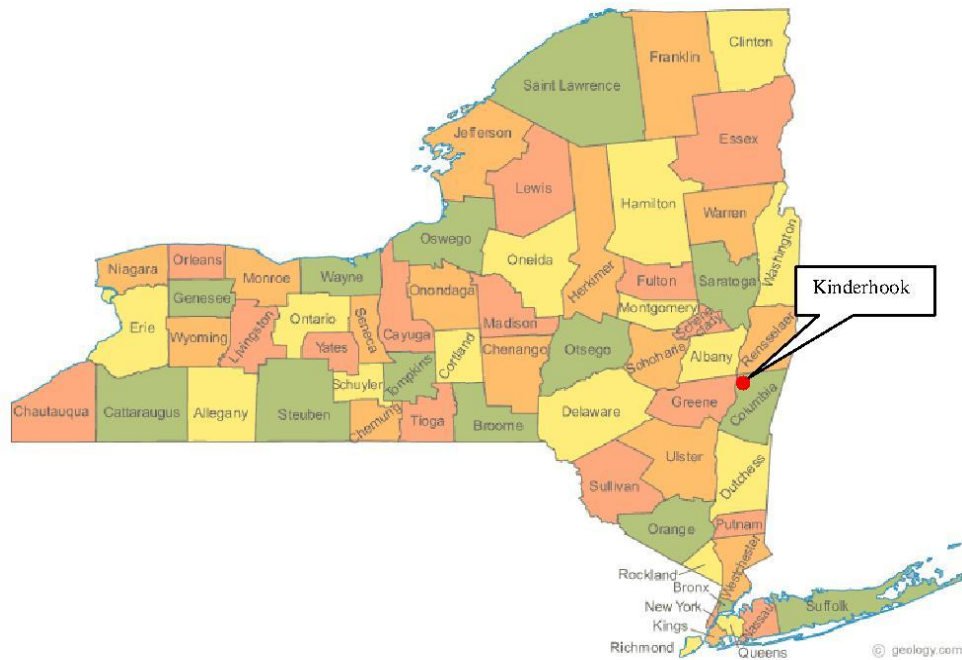


Figure 1. Map of Counties in New York State, showing the location of Kinderhook
(<http://geology.com/state-map/new-york.shtml>)

Originally named “Groote Stuck” (meaning “Good Piece” in Dutch), Kinderhook is located in Columbia County, a half hour south east of the New York state capital Albany. Columbia County was predominately a Dutch and German county during its early years, and boasted the largest Dutch and German population in all of New York State at the start of the 19th century (Brooke 2010: 131). Both the German and the Dutch were intensely protective of retaining their ethnic culture from being assimilated into the growing American culture and the communities of Columbia County fought hard to retain their old customs. While many of the Dutch Reformed Churches along the Hudson River incorporated English traditions, the churches in Columbia County did not (Brooke

2010: 135). Although the beginning of 19th century would bring assimilation to the strong Dutch and German heritage of Columbia County, the process would take decades (Brooke 2010: 135). Because of this community insulation, women in Columbia County never experienced the wave of domestic reform movements that overtook the rest of New York State in the coming decades (Brooke 2010: 381).

Although fiercely loyal to their heritage, the inhabitants of Kinderhook still thrived during the 18th and 19th centuries. Roads connected Kinderhook residents to the bustling cities of Albany, New York City, and Hudson, and the town itself was situated relatively close to the Massachusetts border. Kinderhook was also very close to the Hudson River, which served as the “commercial highway” during those times (Ellis 1878: 439). Kinderhook’s location brought in much commerce for the local inhabitants and allowed many to remain self sufficient and relatively isolated from the growing assimilation of American culture. Following the American Revolution, Kinderhook flourished even more and enjoyed a prosperity that lasted up till the Civil War (Collier 1914: 209).

Legend has two possible stories for the origins for how Kinderhook, which in Dutch means “Children’s Corner,” was named (Ellis 1878: 435). In one, Henry Hudson came across Indian children playing along the Hudson shore line and deemed it “Children’s Corner.” The other attributes the name to a Swede named Scherb who had such a large number of children that “Kinderhook” was used by Dutch traders as a means to designate the locality (Ellis 1878: 219). Today, Kinderhook remains a primarily

agricultural town and houses still remain that mirror the popular architectural style of Holland from the 18th century (Piwonka and Blackburn 1996: 19).

The original owners of the property that the Vanderpoel House is built on are unknown. The first mention of ownership appears in 1787 in a deed in which a Gosah

VanBuren sold the 9.3 acre parcel of land to Josiah Kinney (Mesick-Cohen-Waite 1989: 3). Josiah Kinney resided in Kinderhook for approximately 5 years, before selling the land to Dr. Josiah and Anna Pomeroy around 1792. No deed has been found detailing the purchase of the Van Buren-

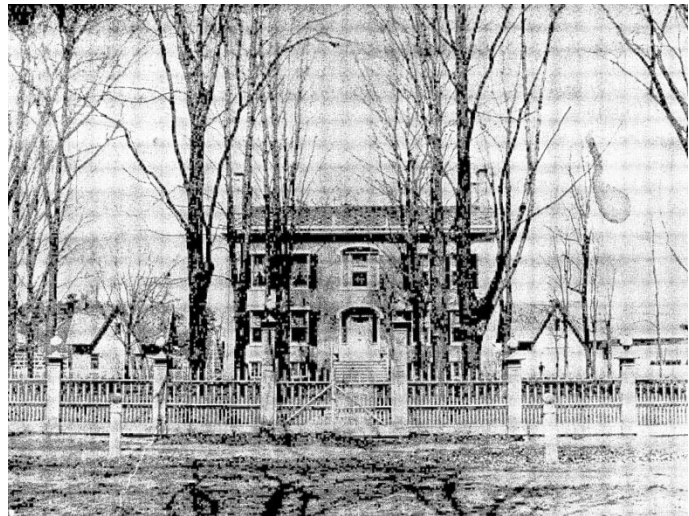


Figure 2. Earliest known picture of the Vanderpoel House, 1865 (Mesick-Cohen-Waite 1989: 35).

Kinney lot by the Pomeroy, but by 1792 the Pomeroy owned the land for it is listed under Josiah's name in a deed from that year. Although Josiah died within a couple of years of moving to Kinderhook, Anna remained on the property until her death in 1813. The land remained in the Pomeroy family possession till at least 1815, for it was still described as "the land of Mrs. Pomeroy" in a boundary description drawn up at the time (Toole et al. 1994: 11).

At some point after 1815, the land was sold to James and Anna Vanderpoel, although once again no deed has been found. The Vanderpoels demolished the dwelling that most likely had been there at least since 1787 and built the Federal style home that

still stands there to this day (Figure 2). The Vanderpoels remained at their new home for 13 years and then relocated to Albany in 1833. The land was bought briefly by Ashley Scovel, who resold it in 1835 to Mordecai Myers (Toole et al. 1994: 12). Six years later, the property was for sale again and Thomas Burt purchased it in 1842. The Burt's tenure was considerably longer than the previous tenants, with the family keeping ownership of the land for over 50 years. After the Burts sold it in 1895 to Lida Haines, another succession of owners followed until 1925, when the Daughters of Columbia County bought the home to turn into a "House of History" museum (Toole et al. 1994: 24).

While the Daughters of Columbia County had commendable motives, the Restoration Committee formed to "repair and remodel" the home to its original appearance had adverse effects (Mesick-Cohen-Waite 1989: 45). Many of the committee's ambitious plans, such as construction of an assembly hall and caretaker's house, were not realized. The attempt to uncover the original brick foundation was completed by sand blasting and resulted in numerous foundation problems (Mesick-Cohen-Waite 1989: 196). The house opened to the public in 1936, but because of these foundation problems, it has been shut down for periods of time. The Daughters of Columbia County evolved into the Columbia County Historical Society, and currently the house is the Vanderpoel House of History, a house museum that portrays life in early 19th century Kinderhook. The House is open for tours seasonally as well as hosts a range of rotating exhibits.

Recent Studies

The archaeological dig that unearthed the assemblage that this thesis is based on was conducted over a 2 week period in July of 1990. A new footing for the structure of the house as well as a new drainage system were needed owing to the damage caused in the 1930s by the restoration committee (Collamer and Associates 1991: 2). Before the work could be completed, Collamer and Associates was hired to conduct an archaeological excavation in the area that was to be disturbed. The excavation produced approximately 10,958 artifacts, with 3,511 ceramic sherds comprising 32% of the assemblage (Collamer and Associates 1991: 23). The assemblage also contained glass, bone, shell, and building debris as well as other miscellaneous artifacts. Based on dates derived from the assemblage, Collamer and Associates attributed the deposit to the Pomeroy household. The artifacts are currently housed in the Columbia County Historical Society. In 2009 more foundation and drainage repair was needed and another excavation was conducted by the Fiske Center for Archaeological Research. This excavation revealed several utility trenches as well as an intact historic yard surface and sheet midden (Beranek and Steinberg 2011: i). The excavation yielded 7474 artifacts which were attributed to the Pomeroy family as well. The majority of the assemblage was comprised of ceramics, glass, building debris, as well as a variety of other household artifacts (Beranek and Steinberg 2011:13). The assemblage is now housed at the Columbia County Historical Society.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORY OF THE POMEROY FAMILY AND KINDERHOOK VILLAGE

Dr. Josiah and Anna Pomeroy arrived in Kinderhook, New York, sometime between 1790 and 1792 (Toole et al. 1994: 10). The exact date is not known, but the Pomeroy family is absent from the 1790 Kinderhook census. Josiah is mentioned two years later on another deed between two other Kinderhook inhabitants: “the East line of the lot of the said Doctor Josiah Pomeroy as the farm was released to him by John Kinney” (Toole et al. 1994: 10). Only scattered information survives regarding the Pomeroy family prior to their residing in Kinderhook. The difficulty in tracing the Pomeroy family is compounded by the fact that another Josiah Pomeroy was born in a neighboring town and within three weeks of the Dr. Josiah Pomeroy who resided in Kinderhook. As a result, their histories have often been combined (Pomeroy 1922: 56). Dr. Josiah Pomeroy has been credited with having three wives (although two were in actuality that of the other Josiah Pomeroy) and seventeen children (although ten belonged to the other Josiah Pomeroy). The merging of histories of the two Josiah Pomeroy families made it more difficult to track the Pomeroy family effectively.

Tracking Anna Pomeroy also has its share of problems. Women do not often appear in the written record and Anna's name switches interchangeably from Anna to

Ann. It is believed that Anna was her given name, because it was her mother's name as well. Anna herself in at least one account is listed as the wife of the other Josiah Pomeroy (Temple and Crafts 1899: 246). This account also claimed she died in 1839 at age 83 in Whately, Massachusetts (Temple and Crafts 1899: 246).

The Josiah Pomeroy that would come to reside in Kinderhook was born in 1743 in Deerfield, Massachusetts, to parents Josiah and Lydia Pomeroy (Pomeroy 1922: 56). Josiah's family was relatively well off, and in 1762 Josiah graduated from Yale University as a physician. Anna Pomeroy was born less than 20 miles away in the neighboring town of Hatfield, Massachusetts around 1749 to Elisha and Anna Allis (Ashley et al. 2007: 319).

How or when Josiah and Anna met is not known. A journal reveals that Anna was at least acquainted with Josiah's cousin, Elihu Ashley, by 1773. Ashley kept a journal from 1773 to 1775 in which he detailed his time in Hatfield, Massachusetts. Besides being Josiah's first cousin, Ashley also became very close to Anna's younger brother, Elisha Jr. Anna would have at least heard of Josiah, if not met him, by June of 1773. Employing Anna's nickname of Nanny, Ashley recounts of spending "the afternoon with [Nanny] in conversation of [Dr. Josiah] Pomeroy" (Ashley et al. 2007: 60). Anna seems to have possessed a sense of humor, for Ashley notes that he "made her laugh very finely" (Ashley et al. 2007: 60). Since Anna seems to have found the conversation very amusing, one would hope that Ashley was not regaling her with stories that disparaged her future husband. Ashley stayed with his sister Dolly during his trips to Hatfield, and Anna most likely was visiting her and not Ashley himself. Each of Ashley's entries about

Anna has him “finding” her once he had returned home (Ashley et al. 2007: 60). Anna stayed at Dolly's till 9 o'clock the first night and ten o'clock the second night and Ashley “waited upon her home” each night (Ashley et al. 2007: 60). The second night he “kissed her and bid her good nigh” (Ashley et al. 2007: 62). Since Ashley does not bother to edit trysts with other young women throughout his journal, Ashley and Anna were most likely purely platonic friends. With Ashley being close enough to employ Anna's nickname of Nanny, as well as the close relationship with her younger brother, perhaps Anna and Josiah met through Ashley. Anna and her brother's relationship with Ashley also suggest that the Allis family was at least moderately well off. Ashley was related to Col. Israel Williams, the “monarch of Hampshire county” and also one of the “River gods”, elite families nicknamed for their homes along the Connecticut River (Ashley, Miller, and Riggs 2007; xi). Ashley was described as “a bit of a snob who loved to mingle with important people” (Ashley, Miller, and Riggs 2007: xi).

However Anna and Josiah met, they were married a year following Ashley's journal entries and relocated to Keene, New Hampshire, by 1774. In 1776 Keene, as well as the surrounding towns, suffered a small pox outbreak. Private hospitals were set up by resident physicians, including Dr. Pomeroy, to help control the outbreak. While in previous years, the mortality rate remained relatively low, 1776 saw a jump in deaths and the new process of inoculation was blamed. A town meeting was held in November, and the inhabitants of Keene passed resolutions and strictly regulated the governance of hospitals in town:

whereas Sundry persons has set up houses in this town for the purpose of inoculating for the Small Pox by which means the small pox has been spread and still continues to spread in this and other towns, to the great detrement of the publick good- and a number of useful members of society have lost their lives there by and the prosecution of mens necessary callings rendered dangerous- and the repeated endeavour of the towns to lay persons concerned under proper restrictions and regulations have been ineffectual we therefore your petitioners humbly pray that you would in your wisdom so interpose by your authority that a speedy and an effectual stop may be put there to for the present- as your Petitioners in duty shall ever pray [Griffen et al. 1904: 214].

It seems a compromise was reached a couple of months later; a “pest house” was built in a secluded spot and became known as a “pock pasture” for the inoculation of small pox. Josiah Pomeroy is listed as the presiding physician (Griffen et al. 1904: 25).

The same year, Josiah Pomeroy again found himself singled out for refusing to sign the Association Test. Almost a year had passed since the battles of Concord and Lexington, and it was becoming apparent that the Colonies were embroiled in a war with Great Britain. It was also apparent that not all colonists shared the same sentiment in regards to independence. With the possibility of internal strife a very real threat, steps were taken to identify those who would remain loyal to the Crown and to undermine any influence or power these individuals wielded. The Association Test was written by the Provincial Congress and sent to all towns of New Hampshire in April of 1776. The strongly worded language did not leave room for doubt that those siding with the King were deemed enemies and would suffer consequences:

Resolved, That it be recommend to the several assemblies, Conventions and Counsels, or Committees of Safety of the United Colonies, immediately to cause all persons to be disarmed within their respective colonies who are notoriously disaffected to the cause of America or who have not associated, and refuse to

associate, to defend by arms the United Colonies, against the hostile attempts of the British fleets and armies [Griffen et al. 1904: 204].

It is unclear how seriously Josiah took this new republic and if he understood how deep the ramifications would be for refusing to sign the document. Toole mentions in the *Historic Landscape Report* that Josiah originally belonged to the Minute Men for a brief time but no source was cited and this cannot be verified (Toole et al. 1994: 16). The closest found in regards to Josiah's military involvement comes from a list compiled in 1773 of those in the Keene militia. Josiah is listed on the "alarm list," for those who are "older and not fully able bodied men" (Griffen et al. 1904: 161). Josiah was only 30 when the list was compiled so perhaps an old injury or ailment was the cause of his placement on the alarm list. Regardless of Pomeroy's ultimate beliefs, he would have to have been naïve to think there would be no repercussions for his refusal to sign the document. The document stated right at the beginning that those who refused to sign would be reported:

In order to carry the underwritten resolve, of the honorable congress into execution, you are requested to desire all males above twenty one years of age (Lunaticks, Idiots, and Negroes excepted) to sign the Declaration on this paper; and when so done to make return hereof, together with the name or names of all who shall refuse to sign the same, to the General Assembly or Committee of Safety to this Colony [Griffen et al. 1904: 204].

Perhaps Josiah felt that he would be protected based on his status; the Keene Loyalists were the rich and most successful men of the town. Josiah may have felt his connections would keep him safe. Pomeroy's refusal to sign put him in the minority though; out of 116 inhabitants, only 13, including Pomeroy, opted out. In all of New Hampshire, with a population hovering around 80,000 at the time, only 773 people

refused to sign the Association Test (Griffen et al. 1904: 205). Josiah may have also refused to sign for he felt that it was impossible for the Patriots to succeed. Loyalists of Keene argued that it was a matter of “prudence and policy” and that it was their duty to stand by the royal government (Griffen et al. 1904: 176).

While Josiah chose to align with the Loyalist side, it is not known if Anna shared his sentiments. Her father had served as Captain during the French and Indian War and growing up, Anna may have heard stories regarding some of his experiences from the War. Elihu Ashley recounts in his journal many times the popular past time in Hatfield of being regaled with stories from the War; “... soon the Colonel began to tell stories that were very agreeable respecting the last war, and the time passed very agreeably” (Ashley et al. 2007: 62). Anna’s stepbrother at least sided with the British; he joined the British army in Boston and was banished in 1778 by the General Court (Ashley et al. 2007: 343). If Anna had Loyalist sympathies, she may have helped influence Josiah in refusing to sign the Association Test. It would not be unheard of that women influenced their husband’s political decisions. Peter Van Alstine, a Kinderhook resident, was rumored to have been influenced by his wife’s Loyalist sympathies and suffered greatly for it, losing his house and 600 acre farm as well as being imprisoned (Collier 1914: 182).

Although women were excluded from participating publicly, this did not stop them from forming strong opinions regarding politics. A letter regarding the rejection of a marriage proposal from another neighboring town in Columbia County highlights this:

Her sole and conclusive objection was your Politics!! Your Whig Principles, and fixt adherence to Whig Men Measures formed the only bar of that Party's declining the connexion contemplated!!... I should never think that her bigotry

and fanaticism should extend so far, tho' I know that she was a violent Briton... Let her go, in God's name- tis all most probably for the best- I should be sorry to see any friend tied to any woman, ever so rich or so fair, even a sister, who would carry her weakness, or folly or Tyrant principles to such a ridiculous length [Brooke 2010: 347].

Likewise Catherine Kittle of Kinderhook petitioned the Council of Safety for her husband's lands following the Revolution because she did not believe in his political stance. In the affidavits she submitted, one witness noted:

that the latter End of last summer or the beginning of the fall, he has worked at his Trade near his House at a Time when the said Andries Kittle had absconded from home and secreted himself in the woods. That the said Catharine informed this deponent that she was much against her Husband's conduct and had repeatedly asked him to return and surrender himself, but that he would not. She at the same time expressed great resentment against the behaviour of her Husband. That She appeared to this deponent well attached to the liberties of America [Collier 1914: 174].

As Catherine and the un-named woman of the frustrated suitor's affections exhibit, even though shunned by the political world, this did not stop women from forming opinions or even participating in government proceedings, regardless of the limitations placed on their gender.

Regardless of how Josiah and Anna viewed their situation, their land was confiscated within the next year and they fled to Montreal, although the exact date is not known. In 1778, the New Hampshire legislature passed an act that confiscated the property of “certain prominent and obnoxious Tories,” with Josiah Pomeroy among those listed (Griffin et al. 1904: 237). Pomeroy's estate for a time was passed on to an ex-Patriot soldier who came to Keene soon after the Pomeroy's left. In 1779, for a small rental fee, the Courts granted General James Reed, “an aged blind man” the “use and

improvement of a certain house and about twenty-five acres of land adjoining Keene, being the confiscated estate of Dr. Josiah Pomeroy, an absentee, until further ordered of this Court, and that he enter into possession as soon as the present Lease expires” (Griffin et al. 1904: 240). In 1780, lawyer Daniel Newcomb was appointed administrator of the Pomeroy estate and instructed to disperse the estate as one would that of a deceased person. Pomeroy's estate appears on New Hampshire town records during the years 1781-1785, in which the residents of Keene petitioned to be reimbursed for the taxes taken in regard to that estate (Batchellor 1891: 173).

While many accounts (Griffen et al. 1904, Pomeroy 1922, Toole et al. 1994) have the Pomeroy's fleeing to Canada following the confiscation of their lands, it appears they did not go there directly. *The annals of Newtown, in Queens county, New York* published in 1852, places Josiah Pomeroy there around 1780; “Of the loyal refugees who took shelter in Newtown, it is but justice to say that some were most worthy men. Of this number was.... Dr. Josiah Pomeroy, a proscribed refugee from Hatfield, Mass. also came to Newtown, and followed his profession of medicine” (Riker 1852: 212). There might be some concern that perhaps this could be the other Josiah Pomeroy since they have this Dr. Pomeroy hailing from Hatfield. However Anna was from Hatfield and this could have caused a simple mix up. In any event, it was the correct Josiah Pomeroy for baptism records of their daughter Harriet are found in a Newtown church dated May 20, 1781 (Ladd 1914: 296).

Not too much has been found relating to their years following their exile to Canada. Certain accounts (Toole 1994, Pomeroy 1922) state Josiah was a surgeon in the

British army, but no sources are cited and this cannot be verified. In 1789, the Pomeroy family appeared in the register of the Christ Church in Montreal for the baptism of their daughter Sophia (Pomeroy 1922: 56). The same year Josiah added his name to a letter in which the Christ Church welcomed the Bishop to Montreal; "To the Right Reverend Father in God, Charles, Nova Scotia, &c., &c.: "The Rector, Church Wardens, and Protestant inhabitants of the city of Montreal, beg leave to congratulate you on your safe arrival in Canada, where their wishes invited you, and where your presence fills every heart well affected to the Church and State with joy and comfort" (Stuart 1893: 66).

The next time the Pomeroy family emerge in the written record is in the 1792 deed between Frederick Young and Stephen Van Dyck that places them in Kinderhook. It is not known what prompted the Pomeroy family to return to the States following the Revolutionary War or why they choose Kinderhook specifically. One possible explanation is that the Pomeroy family already had relatives residing in Kinderhook. There is a Timothy Pomeroy that appears in the 1790 census but no definitive relationship can be established.

There is also the possibility that while in Montreal, the Pomeroy family came into contact with the many Kinderhook Loyalists who were exiled there. At the start of the war, the village had been sympathetic to the Loyalist cause. As one contemporary disparagingly noted following the battles of Lexington and Concord, Loyalists "fled to Kinderhook, the place of Tories" (Collier 1914: 170). The Reverend Thomas Allen, an ardent patriot, came and spoke in Kinderhook in 1775, which he noted was "to the delight of the patriots and the vehement displeasure of their opponents... The spirit of Liberty

runs high in Albany... I have exerted myself to spread the same sprit... which has of late taken a surprising effect. The poor Tories at Kinderhook are mortified and grieved and are wheeling about and beginning to take the quick step” (Collier 1914: 170).

The bloodshed at Concord and Lexington was a turning point in the power the Kinderhook Loyalists had enjoyed. Those sympathetic to the Patriot cause in Kinderhook appealed to the Albany County Committee for outside help in loosening the power of the prominent Loyalists. Outside assistance was granted, with one prominent Kinderhook Loyalist bemoaning how “bodies of armed men from Claverack and Kings District and Massachusetts Bay had invaded the District [Kinderhook] and... had disarmed, dragooned, and ill treated the inhabitants” (Brooke 2019: 37). In 1778, the creation of “Commissioners for Detecting and Defeating Conspiracies” only added to Kinderhook Loyalist woes. The committee enjoyed free reign during these turbulent times and one of their first acts was to send militia to Kinderhook and arrest seventeen men on suspicion for Loyalist sympathies (Collier 1914: 178). Only months later, Kinderhook Loyalists found themselves again rounded up that summer with the passing of A Banishing Act (Brooke 2010: 38). While many had taken an oath stating that neither directly nor indirectly would they do anything inimical to the American cause, they would not take the oath of allegiance to the Free and Independent State of New York (Collier 1914: 177). The Commission acted quickly and severely; the Kinderhook Loyalists found themselves either imprisoned or banished to behind British lines (Collier 1914: 177).

However, not even three years later, Kinderhook's assembly passed legislation that nullified the acts of the Conspiracy Commission followed by a bill a year later that

established a process to restore rights to the Loyalists (Brooke 2010: 41). The passage of the Supplemental Act in 1786 restored Loyalists to all their “rights, privileges, and immunities as citizens of this State, from and after such time as the said persons respectively shall in any court of this State, take the oath of abjuration and allegiance prescribed by law” (Collier 1914: 180). Peter Van Shaack, one of Kinderhook's most notorious Loyalists, was restored to all the civil privileges he had lost within 10 months of returning from exile in England. Another, John D. Goes, was reappointed to his post of lieutenant in the militia by 1786. Many of the Loyalists that fled to Montreal returned to Kinderhook within a couple of years of the War's conclusion. The passage of the Supplemental Act of 1786 exhibited the support the Tories of Kinderhook enjoyed. The Pomeroy's might have chosen Kinderhook for it was sympathetic to the returning Loyalists, and they already had known acquaintances there.

Assuming that the Pomeroy's had come into contact with any of the Kinderhook Loyalists during their exile in Montreal, they may have been swayed by the stories they heard regarding the standard of living in Kinderhook during the late 18th century. By all accounts, Kinderhook was a desirable place to live, with its inhabitants enjoying much prosperity (Ellis 1878: 12). Indeed, as Abraham Lott worked his way through the upper Hudson Valley in 1774 during a patent dispute, he was “rather apprehensive as regards the future of Kinderhook because of such expensive tastes” (Collier 1914: 160). These claims are further backed up from a letter written by an imprisoned German soldier in 1777:

On the 22d, (Oct.) our march was almost entirely through woods in which we came across every little while miserable dwellings. Finally after going twelve miles we came to a plain lying between several hills where the borough of Kinderhook (consisting of about seventy straggling houses) is situated. The most prominent house in the village belonged to a man named Van Schaaken. It was built of stone and three stories high. This man showed us many little attentions and was a kind friend to us. The rest of the people, who were also Dutch by birth, were also kind. They had but one fault—that is they were selfish, and were as fond of money as a Jew. Every article they sold us was terribly dear. Most of the houses were very well built and nicely furnished inside. The inhabitants in general lived well. Their breakfast consisted of milk, tea, roast meat, baked apples and all kinds of rich butter cakes. We could have made ourselves comfortable enough with tea if we had only had enough of it. Those people who were in comparatively easy circumstances had gilt frames around their mirrors and very good pendulum clocks. Similar household furniture can be found only along the road to Boston. As all the barns of the farmers were full of grain we had to camp out in a neighboring wood [Collier 1914: 189].

Following the Revolution, Kinderhook flourished even more and enjoyed a prosperity that lasted up until the Civil War (Collier 1914: 209). The first known census of Kinderhook was in 1714 and revealed a population of 293, of whom thirty-two were slaves. Following the Revolution, the 1790 census showed the total population had increased dramatically, with a total population at 4461 that included 638 slaves (New York State 1790 Census). There are also claims that many of the British soldiers who had been captured following the battle of Saratoga and led through Kinderhook were so charmed by Kinderhook that they deserted to make their home there (Collier 1914: 182).

An article written in 1802 entitled “The Natural History of Kinderhook” boasts the benefits of being a resident of Kinderhook:

The good state of health of which the people of Kinderhook enjoy, with the many instances of individuals arriving to a great age evinces that the air is very pure and salubrious. It has never been subject to any generally fatal sicknesses, and, compared to the population of other towns, there are fewer deaths than in any

other settlement in the State. Many die from mere old age free from the oppressions of diseases. Issac Vosburgh of this place was 105 years old before he died. Eliza Vosburgh was 93. Another woman of the same name was 95, with three brothers each above 90. Mrs. Pruyne is 84 and quite healthy. A slave of Mr. Van Alen's called Kate, is 100 and a black man of Mr. Vosburgh's is of the same age, both active and performing manual labor [Collier 1914: 27].

Unfortunately (and ironically given the town's reputation for longevity) only a few years after relocating to Kinderhook, Josiah died on August 1, 1795 at age 52. Anna was named administrator of his estate in 1798 (Toole et al. 1994: 18). Anna lived another 18 years after Josiah's death, dying on January 6, 1813. While Josiah's gravestone is still unaccounted for, Anna's has been re-used in a footpath at another house in Kinderhook village. Her son, Josiah, was appointed as administrator of her estate. The Columbia County surrogate judge who presided over the case was James Vanderpoel, who later purchased the land from her heirs within the next couple of years.

CHAPTER 3

GENDER IDEOLOGIES AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDIES OF CERAMIC CONSUMPTION PATTERNS

Gender ideologies sought to dictate how women conducted themselves not only within society but within their home as well. The furnishing of homes, ceramics, and even how space was utilized all represented gender ideals. This chapter discusses the dominant gender ideologies of the time period and how gender in archaeology has been studied. The usefulness of the “separate sphere” dichotomy in understanding gender roles is also discussed. Archaeological studies such as Wall (1994) and Rotman (2009) that have utilized gender ideologies in order to understand ceramic consumption patterns of households are also focused on. The argument that ideologies are only one part in understanding ceramic usage is also explored. The assertion that focusing on women in the domestic sphere makes any study already biased is examined as well. The chapter ends with recent gender archaeology case studies and how this thesis will incorporate these findings and build on them.

Gender Ideologies Following the Revolution

The belief that the domestic sphere was the proper place for women was pushed in the last decade of the 18th century in “novels and portraits, sermons and newspapers,

even in house plans and styles” (Rotman 2009: 16). The domestic sphere gained “unprecedented significance” under Republican Motherhood (Rotman 2009: 18). Gender separation was already being practiced before the emergence of the Cult of Domesticity but these ideals were embraced in the national culture with “particular zeal” by the mid-century (Rotman 2009: 20). This zeal is in fact what named this ideology; it was implemented so readily that it was referred to as a “cult” (Rotman 2009: 20). This ideology focused on elevating (while at the same time limiting) woman’s status solely through the domestic sphere and emphasized distinct separate spheres of interaction according to gender (Rotman 2009: 16). Women were held to exalted positions; it “elaborated women's position within the private sphere and celebrated qualities such as piety, purity, submissiveness, and domesticity” (Rotman 2009: 20).

For a time, little thought was given to how women contributed to the division of separate spheres (Nelson 2006: 7). The rise of feminist archaeology in the 1980s sought to rectify this and argued that the terminology of “separate spheres” is misleading: rather than the rigid dichotomies that Republican Motherhood and the Cult of Domesticity promoted, gender relations were in actuality much more complex. Owing to this, archaeologists have found women who, among other things, managed plantations, operated businesses or shops, held public positions in the European fur trade, and founded and led utopian communes (Spencer Wood 2006: 67). The rigid gender lines that followed the American Revolution only existed in idealized form and have led to much confusion as well as simplification of gender relations. Women contributed to society and were just as much active social agents as men and it was simplistic to view gender roles

within the either/ or dichotomy of public versus private spheres (Spencer Wood 2006: 66).

While Republican Motherhood and the Cult of Domesticity were the dominant ideologies following the Revolution, there were more than these two ideologies operating during these time periods: Equal Rights Feminism, Domestic Reform, Feminine mystique, and perhaps others that have yet to be defined (Rotman 2009: 1). While Republican Motherhood and the Cult of Domesticity focused on elevating women through the domestic sphere, equal rights feminism rallied against the belief that the home was the proper place for women and used the political arena as a way to combat this. Likewise, domestic reform fought to improve life within the domestic sphere and also allow more freedom for women within the public sphere. Feminine mystique emerged in the early 20th century, replacing cult of domesticity. Rather than equal rights feminism and domestic reform, this ideology pushed for women's inclusion back into the domestic sphere (Rotman 2009: 16) Although these ideologies are separate from one another, how they were implemented varied greatly; individuals picked and chose what elements to use and blended ideologies together. Rotman uses the effective image of a kaleidoscope as an illustration to understand the implementation of these ideals: their distinctions were often blurred in the actual lived experiences of individuals "producing a kaleidoscopic spectrum of understandings, interpretations, and implementations of gendered roles and relations" (Rotman 2009: 16).

Archaeological Studies of Household Assemblages

Because women's work was considered "invisible" and therefore to have little impact on society, early archaeological theories had women submitting passively to the confines of the private sphere of domestic life (Spencer Wood 2006: 62). Diana diZerega Wall's 1994 study sought to disprove this patriarchal gender ideology in which women were merely passive players subjected to only influencing domestic realms. By studying ceramics from 11 household assemblages from late 18th and early 19th century Manhattan, Wall found that women were in fact much more active participants in the negotiation of the new gender roles (Wall 1994: 163). This study applies Wall's decorative categories of analysis to the Kinderhook assemblage to understand how Anna Pomeroy adapted to the new gender ideologies at play in Kinderhook following the Revolution.

Women's association with the domestic sphere have "long allowed them social agency" in choosing their ceramics (Spencer Wood 2006: 68) and because of this, ceramics are often utilized to study women because of the meaning they carried in the social practices in which they were used. Wall argued that studying table and tea wares based on decoration and function allows archaeologists to study the nature and timing of the elaboration of domestic life (Wall 1994: 149). In order to see these changes archaeologically, Wall divided the table and tea wares into four broad categories based on decoration: minimally decorated all white neoclassical vessels (which may or may not have molded decoration at the rim), neoclassical shell edged wares (which are decorated with molded rims painted in either blue or green), wares that are decorated with romantic

Chinese landscapes, and wares decorated with neoclassical and romantic floral motifs (Wall 1994: 139).

By analyzing the table and tea wares following the American Revolution and up until the codification of the Cult of Domesticity in the 1830s, Wall discovered that the changes in popularity of decoration corresponded with the emerging gender ideologies of the time period. From 1790 to 1830 the change in table and tea wares designs and function changed dramatically. The late 18th -century assemblages were found to favor the plain white designs, with little to no decoration. Around the turn of the 19th -century, Wall found that household assemblages began to favor the blue and green shell edge design for table wares while tea wares were equally divided between the floral and Chinese patterns. In the last set of households dating from the 1820s, table wares were elaborately decorated in Chinese patterns with tea wares dominated by floral and neo classical designs (Wall 1994: 142). Wall also found much more elaborate and specialized vessels in these later assemblages.

Wall argues that the changing decoration of table and tea wares is linked to the new social meaning these ceramics acquired. Prior to 1780, the focus was on the food and not on the vessels. Serving dishes were often left uncovered so the food itself was visible (Wall 1994: 117). This new importance of family and home life after the Revolution caused meals to become highly ordered and specialized, with the table settings becoming more elaborate (Wall 1994: 125). Wall also argues that the standardization of wares that appears in the archaeological assemblages from these time periods represented unity of the family at these meals (Wall 1994: 144). Matched sets were not common before the

18th century: now with the added importance in home life of raising the future generations of the Republic, standardization was meant as a visual representation of the unity shared by the family. While table wares exhibited standardization of design, it is important to note that tea wares did not. Wall argues that the diversity of tea wares stems from the different messages conveyed in these two arenas. While the lady of the house used standardization at family meals to emphasize the importance of community values of the family, she did not care to stress communal meanings to outside visitors (Wall 1994: 147). The ritual of tea focused more on forging alliances within the community and expressing social status. Consequently, table and tea wares represent very different domestic worlds for how the family chose to express itself (Rotman 2009: 139).

The publication of *American Cookery*, heralded as the first American cookbook coincided with these new ideologies and helped push woman's transition into domesticity. Wall points to the elaboration of cookbooks as an indicator of the elaboration of domesticity. *American Cookery* contained 46 pages when published in 1796, while Lydia Child's cookbook over 20 years later almost doubled in size with 95 pages (Wall 1994: 112). These "how to" books for housewives contained moral instructions as well. *American Cookery* stressed the importance of character noting that, "therefore every action, every word, every thought, be regulated by the strictest purity and that every movement meet the approbation of the good and the wise" (Simmons 1996: 4). *American Cookery* was advertised in the *Albany Gazette* October, 31, 1796 (Simmon 1996: IV). Living less than 25 miles from Albany, Anna Pomeroy may have owned a copy or at least had come into contact with *American Cookery* given its

prominence. Future editions of *American Cookery* were published until 1829 when Lydia Child's cookbook supplanted it. *American Cookery* may have even originated in the Hudson River Valley area. While some argue that *American Cookery* was published in New England, more detailed analysis suggests that it originated from the Hudson Valley Region because of Dutch words sprinkled throughout (Simmons 1996: XI).

By using archaeological, architectural, and documentary evidence, Wall was able to refute the androcentric notion that women were merely passive players in the changing gender ideals following the Revolution. Wall's groundbreaking study of gender ideologies at work in 19th-century Manhattan households is over twenty years old but still a viable base for archaeological studies. As recently as 2009, Deborah Rotman based her analysis of ceramics in Deerfield, MA, on Wall's criteria as way to understand how ceramics were used to construct domestic worlds during the 19th century (Rotman 2009: 139). Rotman argued that applying Wall's descriptive categories to the families of Deerfield was not using these middle class women from New York "as a yardstick by which all aspects of domesticity and associated behaviors are measured" (Rotman 2009: 61). Instead, Wall's study highlighted how the popular decorative motifs of table and tea wares following the Revolution corresponded with the changing domestic sphere and new gender ideals. By focusing on the accepted ideologies of the time period, Wall was able to tell what elements of gender were contested and how these disagreements were negotiated and manifested themselves in the archaeological record.

Rotman studied six household assemblages from Deerfield, Massachusetts, temporally spread from 1750-1904. The ceramics were divided into four decorative

categories based on Wall's model although, like this thesis, Rotman included the category of "other" for design as well as vessel function. Although Wall's model only focused on assemblages dating up to the mid-19th century, Rotman argued that it was still applicable to later deposits for "there was significant continuity between the mid- 19th century and the turn of the 20th century with regard to preferred decorated motifs for ceramic tea and table wares" (Rotman 2009: 145). Out of the six families, Rotman found that only two of them conformed to Wall's expectations.

Rotman built on Wall's analysis by focusing on the lifecycles of the households as well as Deerfield's history and was able to uncover choices these families made regarding the prominent gender ideologies of the day. For example, the lack of decorated table wares from one family did not solely represent a rejection of the gender ideals; rather the household contained many young children and this in turn affected how the family represented themselves to the community (Rotman 2006: 140). The family may not have been able to afford expensive table and tea wares. Rather, they chose to invest in their house, the most visual means of presenting themselves to their community. The internal and external factors each family faced affected consumption patterns and Rotman's consideration of the lifecycle of the household exhibited the importance of utilizing multiple interpretations of data when studying assemblages.

While it has been readily agreed that ceramic consumption changed over time, the actual catalyst for these changes has been debated. While Wall's study equates it to the role of women shifting in the household and studies the ideologies at play, George Miller argues that in fact it was oversupply and falling prices that instead drove the change in

consumption patterns in households (Miller and Earls 2008: 67). With deflation and price cutting beginning in 1815 and leading up to the American Civil War, steps were taken to reduce production costs. Consequently, ceramics were purchased based on the now supply driven market and the economical situations of the time (Miller and Earl 2008: 102). Miller argues that “those trying to describe changing consumption patterns in terms of the fashion system, social emulation, or changing roles of women as consumers without taking into consideration the role of falling prices and the changing nature of the ceramics will come up short in their understanding of the process” (Miller and Earl 2008: 102).

Miller’s argument exhibits how a working knowledge of economic as well as social history is important to understand the changes in ceramic consumption patterns. Utilizing different approaches to understand data sets allows different perspectives that may have been overlooked. Consumer choices were based on a variety of deciding factors, social as well as economic. Two recent gender archaeological studies (Hodge 2009, Galke 2009) highlight another avenue that archaeology has begun to explore. By taking into account the lifecycle of a household at the time of deposit, Hodge and Galke each found it affected the interpretation of artifacts. Both studies dealt with assemblages in which a widow was the head of the household. The meanings conveyed through the material culture differed when considered from an age perspective. What a widow viewed as important differed from that of a household of a young family. It was also discovered that older women who never married had different material culture patterns

than women who did (Galke 2009: 42). The acknowledgment that age as well effects deposits has opened up new avenues of interpretations about assemblages.

The practice of focusing on women in the domestic sphere however poses a problem for archaeologists, for it suggests an acceptance of the notion that women contributed only within the domestic sphere. In reality however, women exercised their influence in a variety of ways in the public sphere as well. Yet, it cannot be denied that by studying the domestic sphere, archaeologists gain access to artifacts women used and interacted with over the course of their daily duties (Sorensen 2006: 109). Household assemblages allow a way to view domestic choices women were making in their allotted “sphere” and social domain. While household assemblages can be utilized to study gender relations, caution must be exercised to make sure that women are not viewed only through a domestic lens (Voss 2006: 112).

The choices women made in the domestic sphere could have ramifications within the public sphere as well. The practice of taking tea had been stereotyped as a frivolous activity, where women wiled away the afternoon in gossip (Goodwin 1999: 180). The fact that women forged alliances from the tea table that influenced communal relations was ignored. Women could also exert their influence through their husbands; Goodwin calls this position the informal advocate. She points to a correspondence between Mr. Joseph Denham and Mrs. Mary Earle, in which he approaches the wife of one of his financiers to “stimulate him [her husband] to give me an answer as quickly as possible” (Goodwin 1999: 192). A short time later Denham was able to do his business venture and perhaps because he chose to appeal to Mary Earle and not her husband directly. James

Vanderpoel himself leaves evidence of a woman exerting her influence within the public sphere. In correspondence between Vanderpoel and his close friend Martin Van Buren, who at the time was the Vice President of the United States, Vanderpoel readily admits he is asking a favor for a woman who had approached him:

woman, dear woman, the object of all our wishes and joys... impelled me to overcome every obstacle and to yield to-, to- gallantry?... Did lovely women ever plead in vain! I know you will say that this is strange language from a Judge to a V.P.- I can't help it- It comes from the heart... and with all your caution, kindness, and discretion I hope you will... pardon a little enthusiasm in me, who am still on the hey dey of youth and feeling... Her maternal affection heightend the rich vermilion of her cheeks- I know what it all meant, I could stand it no longer- I said within myself let policy diplomacy go to the devil- hand to the art the matter that, I told her- now you know it all- and if you can resist the appeal, you are made of different stuff from what I supposed [Mesick-Cohen-Waite 1989: 15].

Recent Studies in Gender Archaeology

While feminist archaeology was the first to focus and protest about the andocentric formulas in gender archaeology, obviously all who study gender do not identify themselves or their work as a feminist (Voss 2006: 109). Recent works have argued that gender should be defined as a social construct rather than biological sex (Voss 2006, Spencer Wood 2006, Rotman 2009). The recent directions have focused more on gender as a social construct as well as the relationship between the sexes, not an either/ or dichotomy. Doing so would allow both men and women to be included and allow insight into individual choices as well as the accepted societal practices of the time (Voss 2006: 107). By focusing on gender relations rather than biological sex, archaeologists will be able to better understand the group dynamics of a culture (Rotman 2009: 12).

While there have been a few studies that focus on how masculinity is reproduced through material culture (Silliman 2001, Harrison 2002), there is much more potential left to be harnessed (Voss 2006: 120). Many studies have dealt with women during the emerging separate spheres ideology, yet the gendered ideals of masculinity from this time period have not been explored (Voss 2009: 114). This is surprising for gender studies have been particularly useful in studying the gendered relations following the American Revolution (Voss 2006: 123). Besides masculinity, recent works have argued that that sexuality should be considered when studying sites. Voss points to her research on Spanish-colonial California and how priests used architecture to limit privacy as a way to combat the growing population of the Natives at the mission (Voss 2006: 121). Age is another important factor that is gaining attention as of late, and as this thesis exhibits, is an important contribution to understanding the gender dynamics of a site. Voss finds however that “surprisingly, historical archaeologists have rarely addressed age as a specific aspect of gender identities” (Voss 2006: 120).

These new approaches in archaeology to study gender roles highlight the importance of bringing many different perspectives to an assemblage. It is much more complex than the previous theories of dividing gender roles into binaries of male/ female or public/ private. Daily life obviously varied depending on the individual and unique life circumstances. Life does not occur in a vacuum and a multitude of factors influenced how an individual chose to incorporate the societal beliefs into his or her unique lifestyle (Nickolai 2003: 70). By relying on the separate spheres dichotomy, the complexities of dynamic social relations are missed (Rotman 2009: 181).

Based on recent works (Rotman 2009, Hodge 2009, Galke 2009, Spencer Wood 2006), it is clear that any study involving gender needs to take into account the individual lifecycle of the family at the time of the deposit, the cultural norms in where the household is based, and documentary evidence. Although a household assemblage, this study does not limit Anna to the domestic sphere. A variety of factors, both public and private, influenced her consumer choices. For this analysis, multiple works of the evolution of gender archaeology (Spencer Wood 2006, Nelson 2006, Hodder 2005, Goodwin 1999, Miller 1991) as well as the current theories (Voss 2006, Rotman 2009, Miller 2008, Galke 2009, Kirk 2003, Hendon 2006) of today were studied in order to gain an understanding of the various ways to interpret an assemblage. Historical accounts were also helpful in understanding what life was like in Kinderhook during the Pomeroy's tenure. Primary documentation was turned to as well when possible: census records, marriage and baptismal records, town records, newspapers, Elihu Ashley's journal, and Anna Pomeroy's probate all allowed a glimpse into what life was like for the Pomeroy family. By building on recent approaches in gender archaeology as well as the primary and secondary written record, this thesis was able to discern the consumer choices Anna Pomeroy made and how she adapted the new gender ideologies that emerged following the American Revolution.

CHAPTER 4

GENDER IDEOLOGIES AND ANNA POMEROY IN KINDERHOOK FOLLOWING THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The segregation of the sexes and importance of the domestic sphere that arose from Republican Motherhood and the Cult of Domesticity in America were regarded with skepticism and surprise by outside visitors. A traveler from England remarked:

In America, with the exception of dancing which is almost wholly confined to the unmarried of both sexes, all the enjoyments of the men are found in the absence of the women... all in large parties but all without women. Were it not that such is the custom, it is impossible but that they would have ingenuity enough to find some expedient for sparing the wives and daughters of the opulent the sordid offices of household drudgery which they almost all perform in their families.... Even in the slave states,....still the very highest occupy themselves in their household concerns, in a manner that precludes the possibility of their becoming elegant and enlightened companions... I met with some exceptions to this: but speaking of the county generally, it is unquestionable true [Trollope 1832: 118].

While Republican Motherhood and the Cult of Domesticity rose in popularity in America, in England the popular form of dining consisted of having all the dishes set on a sideboard rather than on a table and rather than the dishes being the focal point, it was on a center piece (Wall 1994: 121). The structure of the meal also allowed the mistress of the house to socialize rather than focus on the domestic duties. This form of dining was considered more lenient in the social mingling of the sexes and “this pattern violated the

structural opposition of man's sphere and woman's sphere in the United States" (Wall 1994: 122).

Republican Motherhood and the Cult of Domesticity were embraced with particular zeal in Kinderhook. Local papers make clear their opinion of women in the new Republic. The Hudson *Balance, and Columbian Repository* did not mince words in regards of what the proper place of women would be in the new Republic: "women of a domestic turn who have no ambition to shine in crowds... The Daughters of Columbia must govern their passions.... A turbulent, passionate woman, while she renders herself disgusting to all around her, is usually the wretched victim of her own impotent fretfulness and rage but a sedate and quiet mind possesses peace and conciliates favour" (Brooke 2010: 343).

Examples were made of women who did not conform to their new role. In 1802, a Quaker woman Hannah Barnard from the neighboring town of Hudson was expelled from the Monthly Meeting of Friends. Hannah was warned to stop "attempting anything in a public manner at present" (Brooke 2010: 344). Hannah Barnard fought the charges, refusing to be "bound from a faithful declaration of my sentiments, either in a public or private manner" (Brooke 2010: 344). She found herself in the minority however for the membership of the Monthly Meeting of Friends encompassed about a third of the city's households (Brooke 2010: 343). Hannah's experience reveals the hypocrisy of women's new place in the Republic; charged with bringing up the next generation for continued success in the new Republic, they themselves however had little say publicly. Columbia County newspapers such as the *Balance* and *Wasp*, continually used their editorial

position during this time to attempt to influence gender roles and to maintain what they perceived as the accepted boundaries of the time period. The public notice that the *Balance and Columbian Repository* brought to women such as Hannah Barnard who challenged these notions worked as a shaming system and attempted to intimidate women from questioning their place in society. Women were to focus on being only housewives and mothers and nothing else. The public shaming of Hannah Barnard by the local newspapers served as an intimidation to other woman who were unhappy in their allotted sphere and questioned their place. The descriptive terms these papers employed worked further to demean women who were, as the *Balance* phrased it “ever prating about her rights and the dignity of her sex” (Brooke 2010: 350).

Local papers also attacked “genteel” female education and the “radical understanding of the rights of woman” and would gleefully detail the “domestic failings and sexual downfall” of any woman who did not conform to the new ideologies (Brooke 2010: 348). At the start of the 19th century, most of rhetoric against women was confined to Federalist papers but soon other papers followed suit. The Hudson *Bee* published an essay on the “Rights of Woman” in 1802 but the by the following year subscribed to the ideology of separate spheres. Concerning the formation of a benevolent society in Albany, the editors of the *Bee* remarked: “Though we exclude the softer sex from affairs of state and the enterprises of war, we cannot deny them the luxury of doing good in a humbler sphere” (Brooke 2010: 348). The local papers made clear that while women may conduct themselves within the domestic sphere, their opinions or influence were not needed nor wanted within the public sphere.

The one local paper that did not strike such a harsh and rigid tone in detailing the proper place for women was the Stoddard's *Gazette*. The paper attempted to give a more unbiased viewpoint to stories that other papers misconstrued to further their ideologies. Mary Wollstonecraft, an ardent British feminist and author of *A Vindication of the Rights of Women*, passed away in 1792 and the local papers were quick to blame her refusal to accept women's proper place as the cause of her downfall (Brooke 2010: 348). The *Gazette* however republished a two page defense of her religious beliefs that showed "careful consideration of her published writings" (Brooke 2010: 348). While other papers in the area rejoiced in tearing apart her domestic failings, Stoddard offered a different view to consider. Stoddard also encouraged women to submit their literary attempts: the creation of "The Bouquet" was a section in the paper dedicated to "poetry, polite commentary, and sentimental literature" (Brooke 2010: 349). Stoddard wanted "to attract the attention of the fair" and asked for "assistance, from the pen of many ingenious female." Although limited, the *Gazette* attempted to give another perspective of women and allowed a way women could participate and communicate in the public sphere where their viewpoints were otherwise shunned by the other newspapers.

While women saw their power shrink within the public sphere, in the domestic sphere, at least symbolically, it grew (Rotman 2009: 19). Although women were not allowed into politics, starting in 1801, women were often recognized in toasts celebrating American Independence. Brooke (2010: 347) found that the homage paid to the "daughters of Columbia" and the "American Fair" focused less on praising women and more as another reminder of their proper place in the new Republic. In 1803, the

Mechanics Society toasted that the women of Columbia County “would never become the mothers of bad citizens.” The Federalists followed suit in 1804, hoping that women would keep their “smile of approbation for the brave, and their hearts for the virtuous.” The Hudson Volunteers in 1807 hoped that “a green coat and an honest heart would ever find favor in their eyes.” The Republicans in 1811, toasted that “that all charms that nature hath bestowed on their form, be heroically withheld from every base designing knave that dares oppose his country's rights” (Brooke 2010: 347). The toasts expounded the core beliefs of Republican Motherhood and the Cult of Domesticity: how women conducted themselves had direct link to whether or not the new Nation would succeed.

Even though the local papers stridently pushed a Republican Motherhood and Cult of Domesticity ideology, this does not mean that in actuality these ideologies were accepted and practiced. Documents from the time period are not free from gender bias and the authors would have been influenced by the opinions of their time period or had an agenda to push (Voss 2006: 109). Harry Crosswell, the editor of the *Bee* and who was responsible for much of the vitriol aimed at women, was tried for libel for smearing a candidate during the 1804 election (Piwonka and Blackburn 1996: 64). His guilty verdict exemplifies how not everyone agreed with the sentiments being conveyed in the papers.

Although the literature of the early Republic often played to the stereotypical belief that women were weak (Brooke 2010: 379), women did not meekly accept these new polarizing roles. Although one local paper pushed that, “no ornament is so beautiful in a woman as that of a truly meek and quiet spirit. Women would do best if they emulated the ancient Romans, who deified silence and adored it as a goddess” (Brooke

2010: 343), a letter from the time period exhibits another example of gender relations that was much less rigid:

...Another lion is Lovers' Leap which is beyond the fine gardens, of Mr. S. at a convenient distance from the village, and a favorite ramble. It is resorted to almost daily by the lads and lassies, and who can tell how many mutual vows have been uttered there during the long summer! Taking into consideration the beauty of the scenery, the charm of the season and the proprieties of the time and place, it must be exceedingly difficult for any sensitive maiden to say "no." Then there is "Lovers' Grove" too, equally fascinating. But do not think that all parties to these hallowed spots are or must necessarily become sentimental. No indeed! I have heard, and that recently, of their sanctity being profaned by a regular pitched-battle, wherein apples served for cannon balls and merry laughter, loud and musical, in lieu of trumpets. Yet after all, as Mischief and Love go hand in hand" [Collier 1914: 239].

How these ideologies were eventually adapted and implemented depended on a variety of social and economic factors. For Anna, Josiah's death soon after relocating to Kinderhook brought her out into the public sphere: she was listed as the administrator of Josiah's estate. She owned slaves, ran the household as well as the farm, and owned real estate. As a widow, Anna would have been able to more easily cross gender boundary lines than what was considered socially acceptable for married women. Josiah's death allowed Anna "one avenue to civil visibility lost in the feme covert status of married women" (Brooke 2010: 135).

It was expected a widow would remarry for it was often times the only way a widow could ensure economic security for her household (Galke 2009: 31). Anna lived another 18 years after Josiah's death and chose not to remarry even though she would have had the opportunity: the 1800 census shows a higher proportion of free white males 45 and older living in Kinderhook than free white females over 45 years of age (New

York 1800 Census). Josiah may have left her a “nest egg,” and she may not want to have given up the economic and legal control she now possessed (Goodwin 1999: 171). Anna may have also been able to depend on some support from her connections to the River Gods such as Josiah’s first cousin Elihu Ashley in Deerfield, Massachusetts.

After Josiah’s death, the Pomeroy household consisted of Anna, daughters Nancy, Harriet and Sophia, and son Josiah Jr. The Pomeroy household also included at least one slave, with Phillis de Slavin listed as the slave of Anna Pomeroy in marriage records of the Dutch Reformed Church from 1796 (Vosburg 1921: 81). Nancy moved out of the household only 4 months after Josiah’s died upon her marriage to Cornelius Silvester (Vosburg 1921: 124). The Pomeroy household then remained with 3 children under the roof till at least 1803, when Harriet married Alpheus Webber (Vosburg 1921: 134). Although Josiah Jr. did not marry until 1814, he had moved out of the household by 1809: he is listed separately on a tax assessment of that year (Collier 1914: 245). The 1810 census names Anna as head of the household with a woman between the ages of 16 and 26 (most likely her daughter Sophia who would have been 19), and two other women who were listed as slaves.

Before Josiah’s death, he made some damning accusations against powerful people in the new Republic. In an affidavit dated April 20, 1792, Josiah swears that while a resident of Montreal in 1789, he learned of "an association formed by inhabitants of Canada and citizens of the State of New York to purchase and connect to the British territory unappropriated land of the State from 80 or 90 miles above Montreal westward to Lake Ontario" (Dill 1990: C2). This affidavit coincided with an election year and only

3 months earlier Gov. Clinton of New York had come under fire with what because known as “Macomb's Purchase.” Alexander Macomb was a close friend of Gov. Clinton and between 1786 and 1791, he bought more than 4.5 million acres of state and federal lands. On top of all this, he acquired 640,000 acres on the South bank of St. Lawrence River. Under these acquisitions, Macomb owned 12 percent of New York State's surface (Dill 1990: C1).

Josiah's affidavit offers an interesting spin to these purchases. It is possible that the Macomb Purchase was the purchase of land that Josiah alluded to. It seems surprising that Josiah would make this claim, whether true or not. For the last decade he had moved his growing family across the country, his lands taken and sold without any compensation, and all for his Loyalist sympathies. Now, within two years of returning to America, Josiah seems to have revoked his former alliances and was loyal to the new Republic. Regardless of his motives, this claim would have surely made life a little uncomfortable for the Pomeroy family within their new community. There was already tension within Kinderhook following the Revolution between the Loyalist Dutch and Anglo Americans (Piwonka and Blackburn 1996: 71) and the Van Schaack family, one of Kinderhook's most powerful Loyalists, were the Pomeroy's neighbors. Social relations may have been strained, and it was left to Anna following Josiah's death to not alienate her new neighbors and attempt to establish relations within the community.

When Josiah died, he left Anna in charge of a “dwelling house, store house, barn, out house, and lot of land comprising 9.3 acres” (Toole et al. 1994: 9). Anna's probate (Appendix 1) details a self sufficient household, suggesting she may have continued

running the house farm on her own. Items such as a shovel, tongs, and pail are listed in the probate (Hudson County Clerk's Office, 1813, Anna Pomeroy's Probate). A wheel barrow was one of the most expensive items listed on the probate inventory, listed at \$5.25. It would have had to have been an important staple to the household to justify its price. The probate also lists ownership of a cow as well as 7 bushels of rye, 3 bushels of wheat, and 6 bushels of potatoes (Hudson County Clerk's Office, 1813, Anna Pomeroy's Probate). An analysis of the faunal remains by Collamer and Associates suggested that the Pomeroy's were butchering their own animals further suggesting that Anna continued running the farm, at least at a small scale, after Josiah died (Collamer and Associates 1990: 34).

For Anna to continue running the farm would certainly have made sense. The soil in Kinderhook was "originally very fertile and still bountifully productive when properly cultivated" (Collier 1914: 23). Kinderhook during the early 19th century had:

four general stores and did good business with the farming people in the vicinity... the excellent soil... and accessibility to the New York markets were all in their favor. For years sloops had plied between Stuyvesant and New York... All kinds of farm products could thus be cheaply placed in the great mart and no competition could greatly affect the traffic [Collier 1914: 490].

The amount of land Anna owned was "more than adequate for supplying a household" (Tool et al. 1994: 16). As a widow, Anna would not have had the social stigma most women were viewed with for venturing out into the working world (Goodwin 1999: 174). Anna would have been able to more easily cross the boundary lines for what was considered socially acceptable and been able to capitalize on her

farm's location in vicinity to the trade routes on the Hudson as well as marketing her produce to the four general stores in the village. Kinderhook had ties to many trade routes, not the least, to the state capital Albany. By the end of the 18th century, Albany had become a major player in trading with easy access to New York City as well as "the entire Eastern seaboard, and even Europe and Asia via the Hudson River and Atlantic Ocean" (Kirk 2003: 55). Often times communities overlooked what was proper if it benefited the town: the community did not want to be burdened with supporting a widow and family. Anna's residing in Kinderhook may have also made the transition into the public sphere easier than her urban counterparts: urban women were less likely to work than women in rural communities (Rotman 2009: 36).

Kinderhook experienced a boom after the Revolution and the thriving economy influenced how Anna was able to construct her social identity. In 1813, the year of Anna's death, the town population was at 3709. The same year Spafford's *Gazetteer* described:

Kinderhook creek, including Stockport, as one of the best in the United States for the abundance of fine sites for mills, another Brandywine. The cotton factory at Columbiaville is noted as employing 1500 spindles and as having manufactured 55,000 pounds of cotton wool in 1812. Along the creek were two paper-mills which made 3583 reams of paper and 127 gross of press-paper. There were also two fulling-mills and four carding machines, ten gristmills besides sawmills and a plaster-mill. There were twelve schools, one at Kinderhook and another at the Landing, both very large [Collier 1914: 205].

Of the village of Kinderhook itself: "Here are twenty or thirty dwellings, several of which, in the style of country seats are very elegant, several stores, shops &c., a church and an academy" (Collier 1914: 205).

CHAPTER 5

ARCHAEOLOGY AT THE VANDERPOEL HOUSE

An archaeological excavation at the Vanderpoel House was conducted over three weeks in July of 1990. A study of the structure of the house in 1989 by Mesick-Cohen-Waite Architects revealed structural problems caused by poor drainage located in the southwest corner of the house. It was decided that the house structure needed stabilization and restoration and that “deep excavation to repair the footing and replace the drainage system was imperative” (Collamer and Associates 1991: 2). To avoid the loss of potential historical artifacts, the Columbia County Historical Society hired the Cultural Resource Management firm of Collamer and Associates to conduct a Stage 2 archaeological investigation. Their main objectives were “recovery of artifacts which might shed light upon the lifestyle of prior inhabitants of the structure and identifying the location of footings or piers which would indicate the size and location of the original rear porch which had been removed a number of years earlier” (Collamer and Associates 1991: 2). Donald Ekola, the head of the Columbia County Historical Society, and William Palmer, associated with the architectural firm Mesick-Cohen-Waite, dictated the size and orientation of the excavation. Two 10x10 foot squares as well as 8 shovel test pits located

up to 100 feet from the house were agreed upon (Figure 3). Collamer and Associates also attempted to find the remnants of the original back porch by trenching along the porch outline.

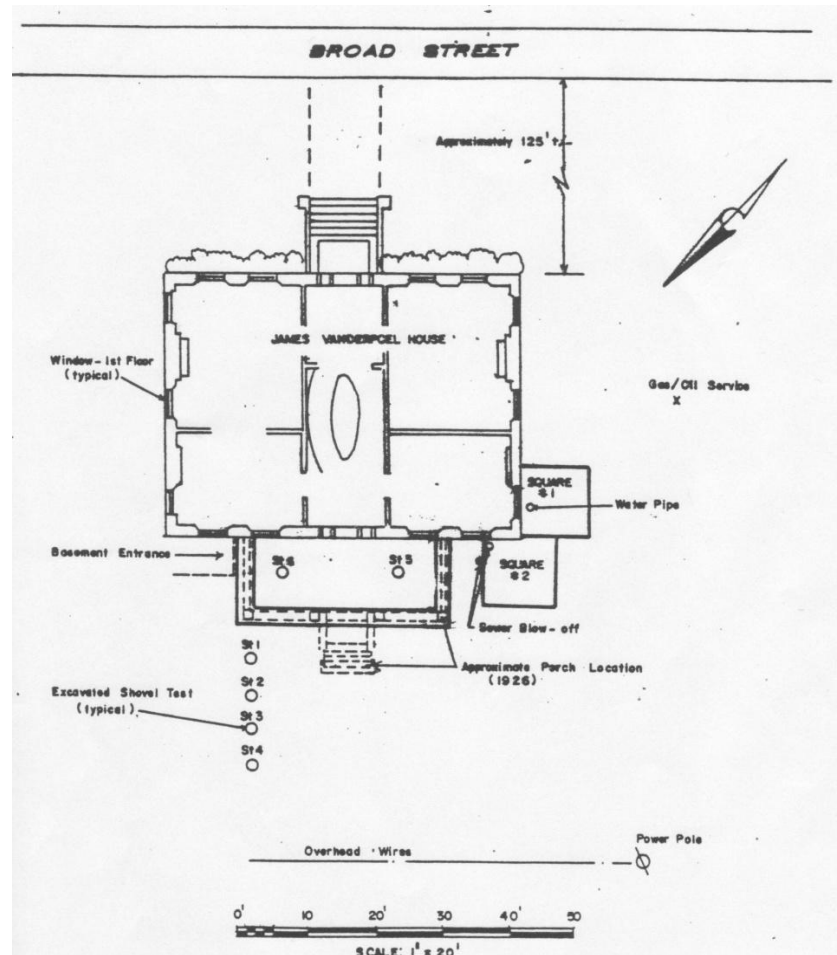


Figure 3. Map showing the excavations by Collamer and Associates (Collamer and Associates 1991: F-1).

The size of the two 10x10 foot squares was intended to “include maximum coverage” of the area (Figure 4) (Collamer and Associates 1991: 2). Each square was then divided into quadrants, with each quadrant excavated at the same level. Features and in situ artifacts were documented in photographs and on measured floor plans of the

square (Collamer and Associates 1991: 6). Collamer and Associates based their measurements in feet and 10ths of feet, as dictated by the Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation. Features that could be identified were pedestalled and cross sectioned in order to tell size, shape, and vertical limits. Soil samples were also taken from all stratigraphic horizons and features to be identified according to type and color (Collamer and Associates 1991: 7). All artifacts recovered were bagged and labeled with the project name, date, square number, quadrant provenience, depth of

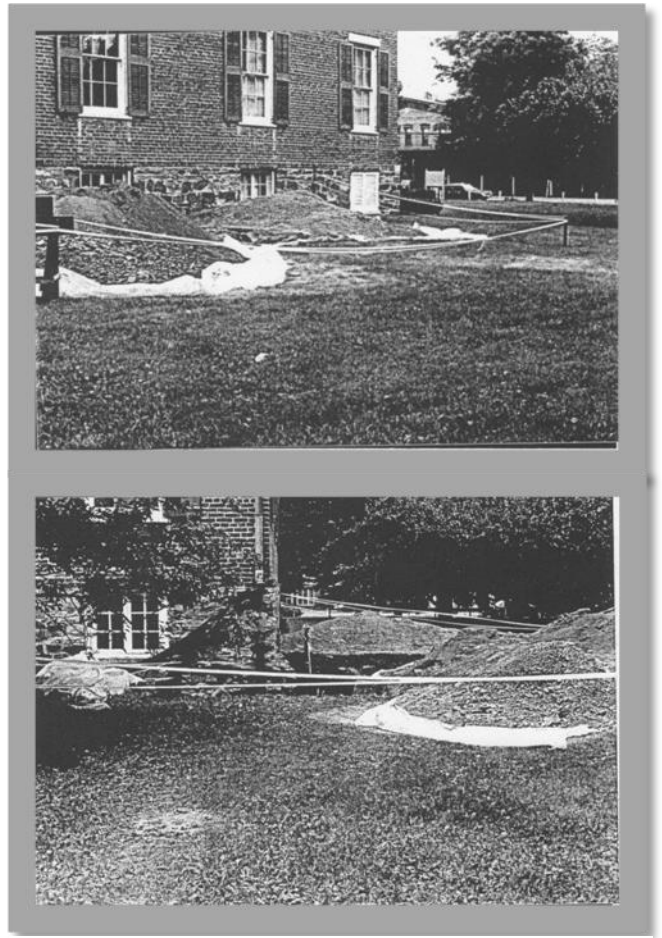


Figure 4. Photograph of excavation units from the 1990 dig (Collamer and Associates 1991: A-3).

recovery, field description, and initials of the excavator. The shovel test pits were conducted within 100 feet of the house and examined to “assist in the determination of the limits of the existing ground disturbance, document the natural stratigraphy of the site area, and aid in the location of the original porch foundation remains” (Collamer and Associates 1991: 7). Square number one was oriented to the north wall of the house and six features were identified. Feature 3 was identified as a historic midden, and Collamer and Associates attributed all artifacts found within the two squares to this midden. It was located primarily in the northwest and southwest quadrants of the square. A distinctive

outline for the midden could not be identified until 1.7 feet DBD (depth below datum) and extended to a depth of 3.0 feet DBD. The midden however had been disturbed in 1930 by Feature one, the installation of a water spigot and associated trench. Because of this, the midden had “lost its integrity” (Collamer and Associates 1991: 12). The historic midden predates Feature 4, a linear array of stones that ran parallel to the house foundation and extended east to west across the center of the excavated square. Feature 4 transects the historic midden at 1.5 feet DBD and overlays cultural material found within the midden. Feature 2 consists of two insulated electrical conduits and their associated trenches, and no artifacts were associated with this trench. Feature 5 was an animal burrow, while Feature 6 comprised two ½ inch copper pipe gas mains (Figure 5). Square two was located west of the foundation. The east wall of the excavation was the house foundation wall. Five features were identified in this square although they were deemed generally shallow and close to the surface. Also the soils on this side of the house had been disturbed by the construction of a sewer drain, electrical conduits, and a sewer “blow off.” Feature 7 was identified as a brick drain and Feature 8 was a trench associated with the sewer “blow off.” Feature 9 was a downspout drain constructed in 1937 during basement work in the house. Feature 10 comprised the remains of a drain barrel with a variety of water worn cobbles. This feature post-dated Feature 11, which was identified as a scattered midden.

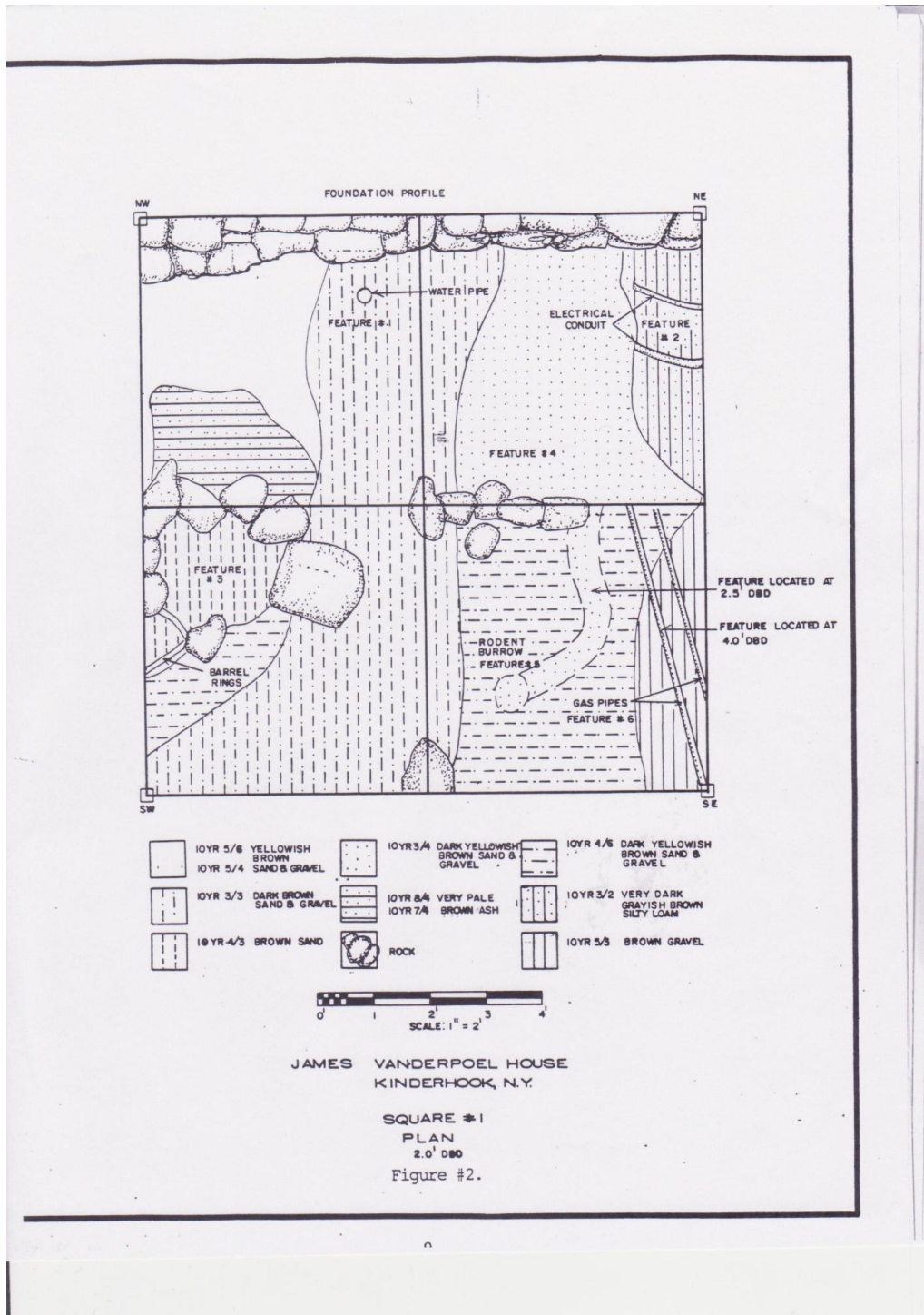


Figure 5. Foundation plan of square 1 (Collamer and Associates 1991: 9).

Feature 11 was identified primarily within the southwest and southeast quadrants of the square and remained undefined until 2.5 feet DBD (Figure 6). It was found to have been disturbed by later construction activities (Collamer and Associates 1991: 20).

Collamer and Associates unearthed over 11,000 artifacts over the course of the three-week excavation. The majority of artifacts found were ceramics, glass, bone, shell, and building debris. All artifacts were washed, analyzed and cataloged at Collamer and Associates' laboratory in Albany, New York. Besides the ceramic dishes themselves, 136 kaolin pipe stem and bowl fragments were found, making up 3.9 % of the total ceramic material contained in the assemblage (Collamer and Associates 1991: 24). The assemblage also contained 2,440 glass pieces that included bottle, window, and glass fragments from vessels (Collamer and Associates 1991: 25). Numerous items of building debris were present as well, including bricks, mortar, and nails. Collamer and Associates found that square cut nails were "four times more prevalent" in the assemblage than the more modern round nails (Collamer and Associates 1991: 28).

Many of the 3,511 ceramic sherds found were deemed fragmentary, and therefore only a general analysis of ceramics was conducted. Since Collamer and Associates attributed all ceramics to the midden, the dates they derived from the materials represented terminus post quem dates only. Since the deposits had been disturbed, only a "generalized date" was derived from the ceramic collection (Collamer and Associates 1991: 25).

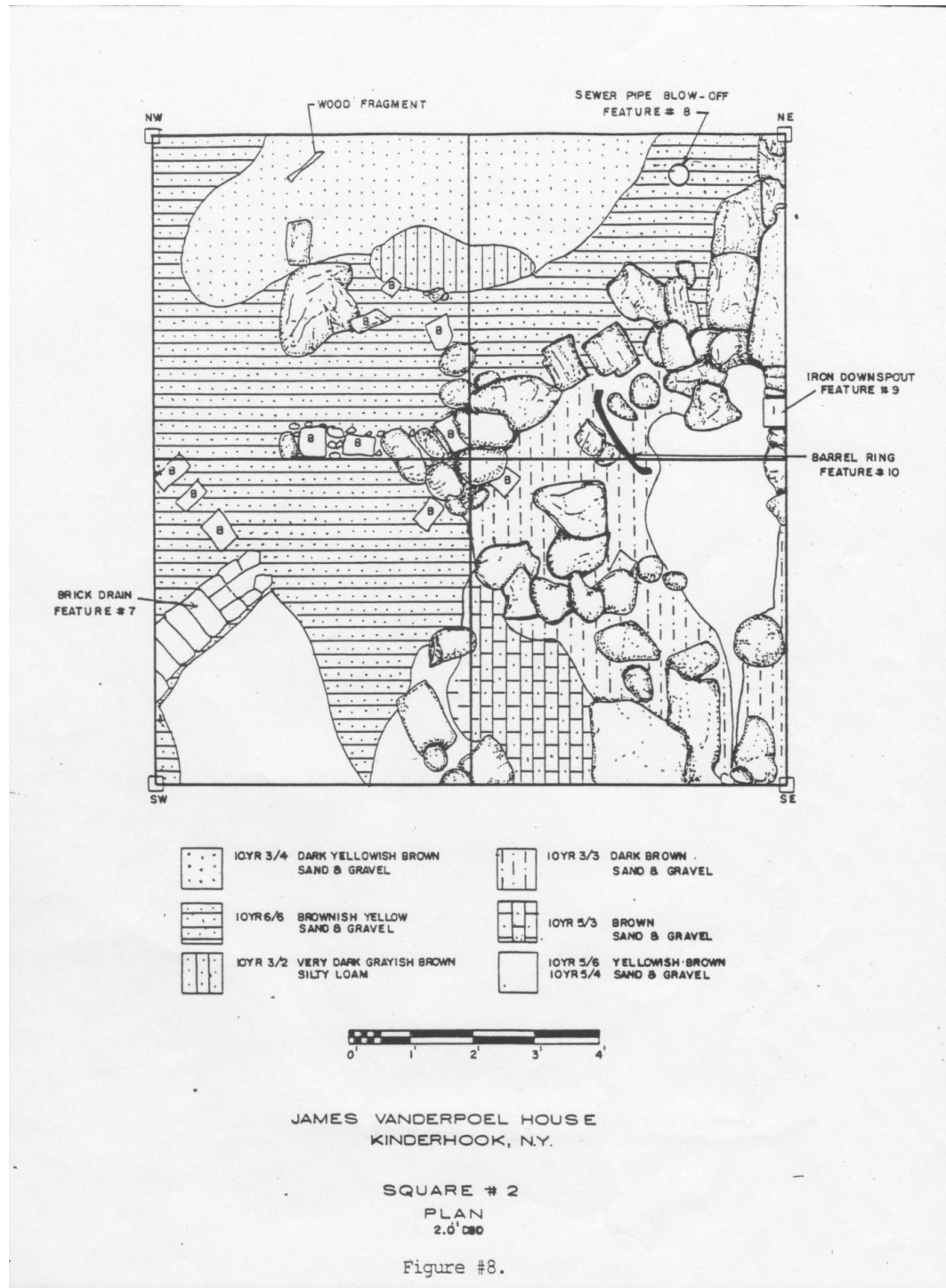


Figure 6. Foundation plan of square 2, at 2 feet (Collamer and Associates 1991: 15).

The breakdown by Collamer and Associates of the ceramics is represented in Table 1. Based on dates derived from the ceramics, Collamer and Associates dated the midden between the late 18th and early 19th century. This date was also backed up by the bore diameters of the pipe stem fragments and recovered glass styles. The lack of stratification in the midden suggested that the deposit was from a single occupation and most likely originated from the Pomeroy household (Collamer and Associates 1991: 34).

PEARLWARE	20.4 %
CREAMWARE	57.6 %
PORCELAIN	4.2 %
EARTHENWARE	4.9 %
REDWARE	5.1 %
MISCELLANEOUS	.05-1.0 %

Table 1. Collamer and Associates ceramic percentages.

Collamer and Associates found that the lack of a significant number of porcelains and decorated pearlwares signified that this was a “frugal” household (Collamer and Associates 1991: 34). Despite the intrusions from the utilities, Collamer and Associates deemed that the site had been “disturbed little by subsequent activities and would therefore contain a high potential for any archaeological cultural resources in or adjacent to the structure” (Collamer and Associates 1991: 35).

Collamer and Associates admits that the research design and methodology were limited in scope since they were restricted to areas to be impacted by the construction. The biggest problem that emerges under closer examination is the generality of the report; certain descriptions are rather vague and it is therefore difficult to understand the

layout of features and basis of conclusions. The reasoning behind the attribution of the majority artifacts within the two 10x10 foot squares to the historic midden is not clear. Also, due to certain wording, it is not clear if Collamer and Associates attributed the majority of the assemblage to the historic midden of Feature 3, the scattered midden of Feature 11, or both. The report goes out of its way to mention that the soil compositions surrounding both features are 10 YR 7/4 to 8/4 (pale brown), yet whether or not the soil was located within the midden itself is unclear. For Feature 3, the 10 YR 7/4 to 8/4 is located “north of the rocks.” On the foundation plan however, the soil composition of the midden is labeled a 10 YR 4/3 (brown sand) with the 10 YR 7/4 to 8/4 outside of it.

Feature 11 is even more ambiguous. In the actual write up of the report, Feature 11 is said to contain the same pale brown 10 YR 7/4 to 8/4 “south of Feature 10 within the midden area”. The location of Feature 11 cannot be discerned however for it is not represented on the foundation plan of Square 2 even though the other four features are marked. The pale brown 10 YR 7/4 to 8/4 is also not found on the map. The assumption must be made that the soil marked on Square 2 as pale brown 10 YR 8/4 to 7/4 is representative of Feature 11 even though not acknowledged as such on the plan (Figure 7). Regardless, why Collamer and Associates drew attention to this the pale brown soil composition is unclear. One possibility is they were implying that Feature 3 and Feature 11 were originally the same feature but somehow separated. If that was the case, however it would not make sense to specifically label Feature 11 as a distinct separate feature.

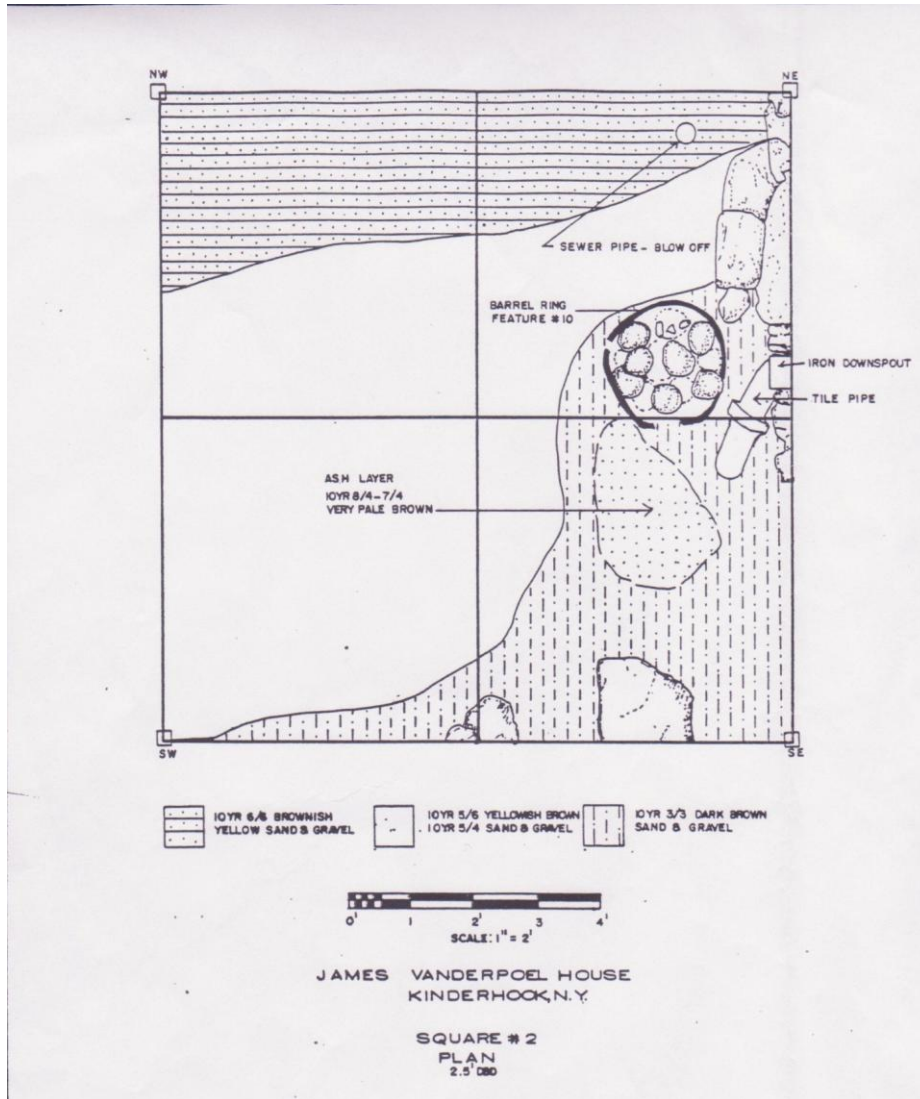


Figure 7. Foundation plan of square 2, at 2.5 feet (Collamer and Associates 1991: 21).

Also, the distance between Feature 3 and Feature 11 (if it was properly identified on the foundation plan) makes this theory highly unlikely. Also, as mentioned above, the soil composition found in Feature 3 was 10 YR 4/3, not 10YR 7/4 to 8/4. The lack of concrete identification of Feature 11 on the foundation plans makes analysis of the relationship with the other features difficult to identify, compare, and analyze.

Collamer and Associates' reasoning for linking the majority of the assemblage to one deposit is vague. The report states that "although the midden areas were not defined until a depth of at least 1.7 feet, the majority of the cultural material is believed to have been originally deposited within these areas" (Collamer and Associates 1991: 35). This theory seems to have been based on crossmendable pieces of kaolin pipe stem found in each square. However, Collamer and Associates were general in this description too, and did not list which pieces of pipe stem cross mend. Regardless, attributing all artifacts from within both squares is a very big assumption to make, at least based on what is in the site report. The report also gives conflicting accounts of the disturbance of the site. On one page the report says the ground was "disturbed little by subsequent activities and would therefore contain a high potential for any cultural resources in or adjacent to the structure" (Collamer and Associates 1999: 35). However, the report later states that, "subsequent construction activities for the placement of the electrical conduits, gas main, water line and sewer systems appear to have intruded and disturbed these deposits. At the time of the intrusion modern materials were often intermixed within the backfill and appear temporal with the earlier dated artifacts" (Collamer and Associates 1991: 22). Collamer and Associates also noted that backfill found in the utility trenches was brought in from other locations so the possibility exists that some of the ceramics were not even owned by the Pomeroy's (Collamer and Associates 1991: 3).

Despite many shortcomings, the present study did find evidence that Collamer and Associates correctly concluded that at least part of the assemblage had originally been deposited together. The multiple intrusions however, as well as the presence of outside fill, make accurate dating difficult. Based on the ceramics, pipe stem bore diameter, and glass markings Collamer and Associates dated the assemblage between the late 18th and early 19th century. However, the report did leave out of the analysis one important artifact found during excavation. Whiteware was not included in the percentages of total number of ceramic sherds found. Out of the 3511 sherds, whiteware compromised 122 of them, 0.03%. While a small factor of the assemblage, nine other ware types were included in Collamer's analysis that made up an even smaller percentage. Collamer and Associates do list whiteware under Appendix B in the artifact catalog but nowhere in the actual report is it mentioned or factored into the analysis. Since whiteware did not make an appearance in the United States till 1820, perhaps the whiteware was deemed to have been part of the assemblage that did not originate in the midden and was therefore not included. No reasoning is listed in the report however. Before I could catalog the Kinderhook assemblage under Wall's categories based on decoration, a general analysis of the entire 3,511 ceramic sherds was undertaken. Collamer and Associates' analysis of ceramics was general, with ware type listed and at times the decorative style. Care still had to be taken though for numerous ceramics were found to misidentified. For this thesis, ware, ware type, number of sherds, decoration, color, vessel type, part, and function were assessed. Pictures were taken and cataloged of every ceramic that had decoration. When sherds were discovered to share the same

attributes, crossmending was attempted. If the sherds were too small to make a positive identification of vessel function, they were cataloged under the more general descriptive terms of hollowware or flatware. Rim and base diameter were taken when applicable as well.

After the general analysis of the ceramic collection was taken, a minimum vessel count (MVC) of the sherds was tabulated based again on ware, decorative type, color, function, and when applicable, rim and base diameter. As in Wall's study, only ceramics that were deemed table or tea wares were included in the MVC. Kitchenware or utilitarian wares were not included in Wall's study, so while I cataloged and included them in the general analysis of the deposit, I did not include them in the minimum vessel count. The deposit did contain a great number of kitchen and utilitarian wares however, and perhaps another archaeological study based on these wares, similar to Yentsch's (1991) color coded study, would add further understanding of gender relations within the household. This analysis also did not incorporate slipwares found in the assemblage; the common decoration was combed slipware and slip dots and based on their sizes, the vessels would have been for utilitarian use. The collection also contained 16 tinglazed sherds, but it could not be decided with certainty if they were utilized as kitchen or table wares and they were therefore not factored into the MVC. The lack of decoration as well as the size of the sherds suggested a more functional use. The only exception to this is vessel 111; the size and elaboration of design of the tin glazed pieces lend themselves to table ware rather than kitchenware (Figure 8). Manufacture dates of the ceramics were derived from Digital Archaeology Archive of Comparative Slavery (DAACS) when

possible (www.daacs.org). If not represented on DAACS, the database of Historical Archaeology at the Florida Museum of Natural History was utilized (www.flmnh.ufl.edu). The fragmentary nature of many of the sherds from the assemblage led to concerns that the same vessel could be represented more than once in the Minimum Vessel Count. To avoid this, the majority of body sherds were excluded from the analysis because of the impossibility of telling whether they all came from the same vessels. The minimum vessel count was based on distinctive rim sherds. A body sherd was only included if its



Figure 8. Picture of vessel number 111.

characteristics were unique enough to stand on its own. For example vessel 111 was tin glazed with a specific design that made it possible to distinguish if sherds from the same vessel had already been counted. Many body sherds were therefore not included under Wall's categories. For

example, many types of porcelain had to be excluded from the MVC for the possibility of already having another sherd representing it as a vessel. Even so, the MVC still contained 114 vessels (Table Two). Five of these vessels were not considered in Wall's breakdown of decorative categories, because the emphasis is on the decoration of the vessel and not on the vessel itself; vessel 87 and 101 were tops to tea pots, vessel 100 was a tea pot spout, vessel 63 was a ceramic spoon, and vessel 15 was a sugar castor. These vessels were however utilized in the general analysis of the site and taken into consideration in regards to their relation to the tea ceremony.

VESSEL NUMBER	WARE TYPE	DECORATION STYLE	FORM/FUNCTION	DATE RANGE	MATCHED SET?
1	Creamware	Other	Holloware/ Indeterminate	1765-1815	No
2	Creamware	Minimally Decorated	Teaware/Teacup	1762-1820	No
3	Pearlware	Minimally Decorated	Teaware/ Tea Bowls	1775-1820	No
4	Pearlware	Minimally Decorated	Tableware/ Large Bowl	1775-1820	No
5	Pearlware	Shell-edged	Tableware/Plate	1775-1830	No
6	Pearlware	Other	Tableware/Bowl	1795-1830	No
7	Whiteware	Floral/Neoclassical	Tableware/Bowl	1828-2000	No
8	Pearlware	Floral/Neoclassical	Holloware/Teaware	1795-1830	Yes: Vessel 9
9	Pearlware	Floral/Neoclassical	Holloware/Teaware	1795-1830	Yes: Vessel 8
10	Creamware	Minimally Decorated	Tableware/Plate	1770-1823	Yes: Vessel 2
11	Creamware	Minimally Decorated	Tableware/Bowl	1762-1820	No
12	Pearlware	Other	Tableware/Bowl	1795-1830	No
13	Pearlware	Shell-edged	Tableware/Plate	1775-1830	No
14	Pearlware	Floral/Neoclassical	Teaware/Teacup	1795-1830	No
15	Pearlware	Floral/Neoclassical	Teaware/ Sugar Caster	1795-1830	No
16	Pearlware	Floral/Neoclassical	Tableware/Small Bowl	1795-1830	No
17	Pearlware	Chinese	Teaware/Tea Bowl	1775-1820	No
18	Pearlware	Floral/Neoclassical	Tableware/Bowl	1795-1830	Yes:

					Vessel 26
19	Pearlware	Shell-edged	Tableware/Plate	1775-1830	No
20	Pearlware	Floral/Neoclassical	Teaware/Tea Bowl	1795-1830	No
21	Pearlware	Shell-edged	Tableware/Plate/ Platter	1775-1830	No
22	Tin-Glazed	Minimally Decorated	Teaware/Teacup	1600-1802	No
23	Creamware	Minimally Decorated	Tableware/Flatware	1762-1820	No
24	Creamware	Floral/Neoclassical	Teaware/Teacup/ Tea Bowl	1765-1815	No
25	Pearlware	Shell-edged	Tableware/Plate	1775-1830	No
26	Pearlware	Other	Teaware/Teacup/ Tea Bowl	1775-1820	No
27	Creamware	Other	Indeterminate/ holloware	1762-1780	No
28	Whiteware	Minimally Decorated	Tableware/Plate/ Platter	1820- present	No
29	Pearlware	Minimally Decorated	Teaware/Teacup/ Tea Bowl	1775-1820	No
30	Pearlware	Other	Indeterminate/ holloware	1775-1820	No
31	Porcelain	Floral/Neoclassical	Teaware/Teacup	1660-1810	No
32	Porcelain	Chinese	Teaware/Saucer	1660-1860	Yes: Vessels 52, 53, 67
33	Pearlware	Floral/Neoclassical	Tableware/Plate/ Platter	1795-1830	No
34	Porcelain	Minimally Decorated	Tableware/Bowl	1660-1810	No
35	Porcelain	Floral/Neoclassical	Teaware/Teacup/ Tea Bowl	1660-1810	No
36	Porcelain	Other	Teaware/Teacup/ Tea Bowl	1660-1810	No
37	Stoneware	Minimally Decorated	Tableware/Platter	1720-1805	No
38	Porcelain	Minimally Decorated	Teaware/Teacup/ Tea Bowl	1660-1860	No
39	Porcelain	Floral/Neoclassical	Teaware/Teacup/ Tea Bowl	1745-1800	No
40	Porcelain	Floral/Neoclassical	Teaware	1660-1860	No
41	Porcelain	Minimally Decorated	Teaware/Teacup	1660-1860	No
42	Porcelain	Other	Teaware/Teacup/ Tea Bowl	1660-1810	No
43	Porcelain	Chinese	Teaware	1660-1810	No
44	Porcelain	Floral/Neoclassical	Indeterminate/ holloware	1660-1810	Yes: Vessel 68
45	Porcelain	Minimally Decorated	Indeterminate/	1660-1860	No

			holloware		
46	Pearlware	Floral/Neoclassical	Teaware/Teacup/ Tea Bowl	1795-1830	No
47	Porcelain	Floral/Neoclassical	Teaware/Teacup/ Tea Bowl	1660-1860	No
48	Creamware	Other	Tableware/Bowl	1765-1815	No
49	Creamware	Minimally Decorated	Teaware/Coffee Pot/Chocolate Pot	1762-1820	No
50	Porcelain	Chinese	Teaware/Tea Bowl	1660-1860	No
51	Pearlware	Minimally Decorated	Indeterminate/ holloware	1775-1820	No
52	Porcelain	Chinese	Teaware/Teacup	1660-1860	Yes: Vessels 32, 53, 67
53	Porcelain	Chinese	Teaware/Saucer	1660-1860	Yes: Vessels 32, 53,67
54	Creamware	Minimally Decorated	Tableware/Platter	1762-1820	No
55	Porcelain	Minimally Decorated	Tableware	1660-1860	No
56	Pearlware	Other	Tableware	1795-1830	No
57	Creamware	Minimally Decorated	Teaware/Teacup	1765-1815	No
58	Creamware	Shell-edged	Tableware	1762-1820	No
59	Pearlware	Other	Teaware/Teacup	1775-1820	No
60	Pearlware	Minimally Decorated	Teaware/Teacup/ Tea Bowl	1775-1820	No
61	Pearlware	Other	Teaware	1775-1820	Yes: Vessel 98
62	Porcelain	Minimally Decorated	Teaware/Teacup	1660-1810	Yes: Vessel 90
63	Porcelain	Minimally Decorated	Teaware/Ladle Spoon for Sugar	1660-1860	No
64	Creamware	Minimally Decorated	Tableware/Plate	1762-1820	No
65	Creamware	Shell-edged	Tableware/Flatware	1762-1820	No
66	Creamware	Minimally Decorated	Teaware/Teapot/ Creamer	1762-1820	No
67	Porcelain	Chinese	Teaware/Teacup/ Tea Bowl	1660-1860	Yes: Vessels 32, 52, 53
68	Porcelain	Floral/Neoclassical	Teaware/Teacup/ Tea Bowl	1660-1810	Yes: Vessel 44
69	Pearlware	Other	Tableware/Bowl	1775-1820	No
70	Creamware	Minimally Decorated	Tableware/Plate	1770-1825	No
71	Creamware	Minimally Decorated	Tableware/Large Platter	1762-1820	No
72	Pearlware	Shell-edged	Tableware/Plate	1775-1830	No
73	Pearlware	Other	Indeterminate/	1795-1830	No

			holloware		
74	Pearlware	Other	Tableware/Bowl	1795-1830	No
75	Creamware	Minimally Decorated	Tableware/Small Plate	1762-1820	No
76	Creamware	Minimally Decorated	Tableware/Plate/ Platter	1770-1825	No
77	Creamware	Floral/Neoclassical	Teaware	1795-1815	Yes: Vessel 91
78	Porcelain	Minimally Decorated	Teaware/Saucer	1660-1860	No
79	Pearlware	Floral/Neoclassical	Tableware	1795-1830	No
80	Creamware	Minimally Decorated	Tableware/Plate/ Platter	1770-1825	No
81	Porcelain	Floral/Neoclassical	Teaware/Tea Bowl	1745-1800	No
82	Creamware	Minimally Decorated	Tableware/Plate/ Platter	1762-1820	No
83	Creamware	Minimally Decorated	Tableware/Plate/ Platter	1770-1825	No
84	Pearlware	Floral/Neoclassical	Tableware/Bowl/ Supper Plate	1775-1820	No
85	Whiteware	Other	Indeterminate/ holloware	1828-2000	No
86	Pearlware	Floral/Neoclassical	Indeterminate/ holloware	1775-1820	No
87	Creamware	Minimally Decorated	Teaware/Teapot Cover	1762-1820	No
88	Pearlware	Floral/Neoclassical	Tableware/Plate	1775-1820	No
89	Pearlware	Shell-edged	Tableware/Plate	1775-1830	No
90	Porcelain	Minimally Decorated	Teaware/Teacup	1660-1860	Yes: Vessel 62
91	Creamware	Floral/Neoclassical	Teaware/Teacup	1795-1815	Yes: Vessel 77
92	Whiteware	Floral/Neoclassical	Indeterminate/ flatware	1820-2000	No
93	Pearlware	Shell-edged	Tableware/Plate	1775-1830	No
94	Creamware	Minimally Decorated	Tableware/Plate	1762-1820	No
95	Creamware	Minimally Decorated	Tableware/Plate	1762-1820	No
96	Creamware	Minimally Decorated	Tableware/Plate	1770-1825	No
97	Pearlware	Shell-edged	Tableware/Plate	1775-1830	No
98	Pearlware	Other	Teaware/Teacup/ Tea Bowl	1775-1820	Yes: Vessel 61
99	Pearlware	Floral/Neoclassical	Teaware	1775-1820	No
100	Creamware	Minimally Decorated	Teaware	1762-1820	No
101	Creamware	Other	Teaware/Teapot	1762-1820	No

102	Porcelain	Chinese	Teaware	1660-1860	No
103	Porcelain	Chinese	Indeterminate/ holloware	1660-1860	No
104	Creamware	Floral/Neoclassical	Teaware	1765-1815	No
105	Porcelain	Other	Teaware/Teacup	1660-1860	No
106	Porcelain	Other	Teaware	1660-1860	No
107	Creamware	Minimally Decorated	Tableware/Plate	1762-1820	No
108	Porcelain	Floral/Neoclassical	Tableware/Bowl	1660-1860	No
109	Porcelain	Other	Teaware/Teacup	1660-1860	No
110	Porcelain	Other	Indeterminate/ holloware	1660-1860	No
111	Tin-Glazed	Floral/Neoclassical	Tableware/ holloware	1600-1802	No
112	Pearlware	Floral/Neoclassical	Tableware/plate	1795-1830	No
113	Pearlware	Floral/Neoclassical	Tableware/plate/ platter	1795-1830	Yes: Vessel 114
114	Pearlware	Floral/Neoclassical	Tableware/plate/ platter	1795-1830	Yes: Vessel 113

Table 2: Minimum vessel count.

Once a minimum vessel count had been established, these vessels were analyzed following Wall's methods. Vessels were cataloged either as table ware or tea ware but, as Rotman did, I also added a third category under “other” to Wall's study when vessels could not be identified by their function. This allowed vessels that could only be identified as hollow ware or flat ware into the study so no more potential vessels were lost from the analysis. The table and tea wares were analyzed under four broad categories based on decoration: minimally decorated neoclassical vessels (which may or may not have molded decoration at the rim), neoclassical shell edged wares (which are decorated with molded rims painted in either blue or green), wares that are decorated with romantic Chinese landscapes, and wares decorated with neoclassical and romantic floral motifs. Again like Rotman, I added on an “other” category in order to avoid excluding more vessels from the analysis. Adding this extra category was particularly important for the

analysis of the tea wares. The fragmentary nature of many of the tea ware sherds often made it impossible to tell what design was below the rim. Particular attention was paid to the tea wares to attempt to combat this but 25 tea wares were still cataloged under “other. When possible, pieces were cross-mended, in an effort to support Collamer and Associates’ hypothesis that this was one deposit spread out. With the collection containing over three thousand ceramic sherds and many fragmentary in nature, particular

attention could not be paid to each and every sherd. However, certain sherds that contained unique decorations or characteristics were able to be crossmended. Pieces that did not cross

mend but shared certain characteristics

were included as one vessel. For example, two rims from a red ware utilitarian vessel were deemed to be from the same vessel based on decoration, size, and ware type (Figure 9). Also, the shell-edged vessels that were identified in the assemblage were compared and linked to a particular vessel based on the color of the glaze, length of lines in the



Figure 9. Picture of two redware rims, attributed to the same vessel.

shell edged pattern, the curvature of the bumps and steepness of the valley. If the design was similar but the rim diameter or size of design varied, it was made a matching set. For example, while vessels 77 and 91 both shared the ware type and decoration, vessel 77 had molded dots at the rim while vessel 91 did not. The wavy lines on vessel 77 also were longer, suggesting the vessel was a larger vessel than vessel 91 (Figure 10). Two Chinese porcelain tea wares were also deemed part of a matched set for the similarity in design but difference in sizes, suggesting their association with different sized vessels (Figure 11).



Figure 10. Example of matched vessel set.



Figure 11. Example of matched porcelain vessel set.

According to Wall's study, if the Pomeroy household was experiencing the elaboration of domestic life and the changing social value of meals based on the new gender ideals as found in Manhattan, this deposit should contain matched sets of table wares, diversity of patterns in tea wares, specialized serving pieces and the elaborate decorative patterns that became popular with the rise of Cult of Domesticity (Wall 1994: 153). Building on Wall (1994) and Rotman's (2009) studies this thesis will look for elaboration of vessel design and function as well as deviations from the expected pattern. The impact of how the lifecycle of the Pomeroy family affected the deposit will also be considered.

CHAPTER 6

ANALYSIS

This chapter begins with further review of Collamer and Associates' dating techniques of the Kinderhook assemblage as well as evidence I uncovered over the course of analysis that further strengthened the assertion of a Pomeroy family single deposit. Other dating techniques I employed during analysis are discussed as well. The assemblage itself is discussed in more detail, including a table that outlines sherds attributed to the same vessel as well as tables of the Kinderhook assemblage cataloged under Wall's decorative categories. The life cycle of the Pomeroy household at the time of the deposit is considered and how this in turn affected the assemblage. Further analysis of Anna's probate as well as the architectural history of early 19th century Kinderhook are discussed in order to understand the space Anna entertained in. Christina Hodge's 2009 analysis of the widow Elizabeth Pratt and Laura Galke's 2009 study of the widow Mary Ball Washington are discussed. The ways in which the Kinderhook assemblage mirrors as well as deviates from Wall's New York City assemblages are examined. Factors other than gender ideologies are considered that would have also affected Anna's consumer choices. Finally, possible future studies of the property are discussed.

Results of Analysis

As mentioned in the analysis of Collamer and Associates' methods, the collection did contain whiteware. Three black transfer print vessels were included in the minimum vessel count, which puts the terminus post quem (the date after which) of the deposit at 1820. The appearance of whiteware caused some uncertainty at first when attempting to decide to whom to attribute the midden. However after further analysis, it was discovered that this is the only evidence of later 19th-century ceramics in the MVC as well as the ceramic assemblage as a whole and only comprises 0.03% of the ceramics. This suggests a single deposit dated during the Pomeroy occupation that was disturbed and as a result contains a small percentage of later artifacts intermixed.

Analysis of the general ceramic assemblage itself lends credence to Collamer and Associates' hypothesis that the bulk of the assemblage was originally a single deposit as well (Collamer and Associates 1991: 18). The majority of ceramics most likely were part of Feature 3, which Collamer and Associates deemed a midden that was disturbed and redistributed across the two squares during the restoration project of the 1930s. A water service line, electrical conduits, and pipes for a gas main were installed during this time period cutting, through the midden and both squares (Collamer and Associates 1990: 13). Although the stratigraphy of the site has been disturbed, the layout of other features as well as the artifacts themselves helps identify the time of deposition. Collamer and Associates noted that Feature 7, a brick drain, and Feature 10, a drain barrel, were most

likely attempts to fix early drainage problems that emerged after the construction of the Vanderpoel house in the 1820s (Collamer and Associates 1990: 20). Collamer and Associates also made the interesting observation that the bricks in the drain share the same measurement variations in size as the bricks used in the construction of the Vanderpoel house. Both these features post date the scattered midden in Square 2. Utilizing the same bricks from the house's foundation suggests that the drain and drain barrel were installed during the early years of the Vanderpoel occupation and thereby after Feature 3, the midden, was formed. Feature 4, a linear trend of rocks, was found to post date both the scattered midden in Square 2 and as well as the midden in Square 1.

Based on their location, Collamer and Associates hypothesized that these stones represented a walkway or midden covering (Collamer and Associates 1990: 13).

The analysis

completed for this thesis in regards to the general

ceramic assemblage revealed that both squares contain numerous sherds that either directly cross mended or were attributed to the same vessel based on ware type, decoration style, or size. A piece of 19th-century blue, transfer-printed pearlware was



Figure 12. Redware from the two excavation squares that cross mends.

found just below ground surface while another sherd from the same vessel was found almost two feet deeper. Two sherds from either a figurine or part of a decorative vessel cross mend even though found in different layers. The most significant confirmation of the single deposit comes from two pieces from a red ware pie plate located in Square 1, NW corner, at 1.5-2.0 feet and Square 2, SE corner, at 0.5-1.0 feet that crossmend (Figure 12). Table 3 compiles the complete list of ceramics associated with one another spread throughout the deposit.

OLD CATALOG NUMBER	VESSEL NUMBER	WARE TYPE	PROVENIENCE
380	3	Pearlware	Sq. 1 SW 1.0-1.5'
314	3	Pearlware	Sq. 1 SE 1.0-1.5'
OLD CATALOG NUMBER	VESSEL NUMBER	WARE TYPE	PROVENIENCE
380	4	Pearlware	Sq. 1 SW 1.0-1.5'
1479	4	Pearlware	Sq. 2 SW 1.5-2.0'
OLD CATALOG NUMBER	VESSEL NUMBER	WARE TYPE	PROVENIENCE
382	5	Pearlware	Sq. 1 SW 1.0-1.5'
705	5	Pearlware	Sq. 1 NE 2.5-3.0
217	5	Pearlware	Sq. 1 NE 0.5-1.0
OLD CATALOG NUMBER	VESSEL NUMBER	WARE TYPE	PROVENIENCE
611	13	Pearlware	Sq. 1 NE 2.0-2.5'
930	13	Pearlware	Sq. 2 NW 0.5-1.0'
OLD CATALOG NUMBER	VESSEL NUMBER	WARE TYPE	PROVENIENCE
471	16	Pearlware	Sq. 1 SE 1.5-2.0
475	16	Pearlware	Sq. 1 SE 1.5-2.0'
744	16	Pearlware	Sq. 1 SW 2.5-3.0
OLD CATALOG NUMBER	VESSEL NUMBER	WARE TYPE	PROVENIENCE
475	17	Pearlware	Sq. 1 SE 1.5-2.0'
511	17	Pearlware	Sq. 1 SW 1.5-2.0'
148	17	Pearlware	Sq. 1 SW 0.0-0.5'
OLD CATALOG NUMBER	VESSEL NUMBER	WARE TYPE	PROVENIENCE

511	18	Pearlware	Sq. 1 SW 1.5-2.0'
148	18	Pearlware	Sq. 1 SW 0.0-0.5'
OLD CATALOG NUMBER	VESSEL NUMBER	WARE TYPE	PROVENIENCE
512	19	Pearlware	Sq. 1 SW 1.5-2.0'
315	19	Pearlware	Sq. 1 SE 1.0-1.5'
809	19	Pearlware	Sq. 2 NE 0.0-0.5'
OLD CATALOG NUMBER	VESSEL NUMBER	WARE TYPE	PROVENIENCE
514	21	Pearlware	Sq. 1 SW 1.5-2.0'
248	21	Pearlware	Sq. 1 NW 1.0-1.5'
OLD CATALOG NUMBER	VESSEL NUMBER	WARE TYPE	PROVENIENCE
12	25	Pearlware	Sq. 1 NW 0.0-0.5'
1062	25	Pearlware	Sq. 2 NW 1.0-1.5'
OLD CATALOG NUMBER	VESSEL NUMBER	WARE TYPE	PROVENIENCE
148	30	Pearlware	Sq. 1 SW 0.0-0.5'
312	30	Pearlware	Sq. 1 SE 1.0-1.5'
OLD CATALOG NUMBER	VESSEL NUMBER	WARE TYPE	PROVENIENCE
308	34	Porcelain	Sq. 1 SE 1.0-1.5'
622	34	Porcelain	Sq. 1 SE 2.0-2.5'
OLD CATALOG NUMBER	VESSEL NUMBER	WARE TYPE	PROVENIENCE
309	35	Porcelain	Sq. 1 SE 1.0-1.5
383	35	Porcelain	Sq.1 SW 1.0-1.5'
OLD CATALOG NUMBER	VESSEL NUMBER	WARE TYPE	PROVENIENCE
1287	43	Porcelain	Sq. 2 NW 1.5-2.0'
1491	43	Porcelain	Sq. 2 SW 1.5-2.0'
OLD CATALOG NUMBER	VESSEL NUMBER	WARE TYPE	PROVENIENCE
408	44	Porcelain	Sq. 1 NW 1.5-2.0'
409	44	Porcelain	Sq. 1 NW 1.5-2.0'
OLD CATALOG NUMBER	VESSEL NUMBER	WARE TYPE	PROVENIENCE
622	47	Porcelain	Sq. 1 SE 2.0-2.5'
1663	47	Porcelain	Sq. 2 SW 2.0-2.5'
OLD CATALOG NUMBER	VESSEL NUMBER	WARE TYPE	PROVENIENCE
704	54	Creamware	Sq. 1 NE 2.5-3.0'
374	54	Creamware	Sq. 1 SW 1.0-1.5'

OLD CATALOG NUMBER	VESSEL NUMBER	WARE TYPE	PROVENIENCE
297	58	Creamware	Sq. 1 SE 1.0-1.5'
1066	58	Creamware	Sq. 2 NW 1.0-1.5'
OLD CATALOG NUMBER	VESSEL NUMBER	WARE TYPE	PROVENIENCE
312	60	Pearlware	Sq. 1 SE 1.0-1.5'
216	60	Pearlware	Sq. 1 NE 0.5-1.0'
843	60	Pearlware	Sq. 2 SE 0.0-0.5'
OLD CATALOG NUMBER	VESSEL NUMBER	WARE TYPE	PROVENIENCE
856	64	Creamware	Sq. 2 SE 0.0-0.5'
1070	64	Creamware	Sq. 2 NW 1.0-1.5'
1378	64	Creamware	Sq. 2 SE 1.5-2.0'
OLD CATALOG NUMBER	VESSEL NUMBER	WARE TYPE	PROVENIENCE
935	70	Creamware	Sq. 2 NW 0.5-1.0'
1268	70	Creamware	Sq. 2 NW 1.5-2.0'
OLD CATALOG NUMBER	VESSEL NUMBER	WARE TYPE	PROVENIENCE
1063	74	Pearlware	Sq. 2 NW 1.0-1.5'
1285	74	Pearlware	Sq. 2 NW 1.5-2.0'
1286	74	Pearlware	Sq. 2 NW 1.5-2.0'
1487	74	Pearlware	Sq. 2 SW 1.5-2.0'
OLD CATALOG NUMBER	VESSEL NUMBER	WARE TYPE	PROVENIENCE
1184	77	Creamware	Sq. 2 SE 1.0-1.5'
1296	77	Creamware	Sq. 2 NW 1.5-2.0'
1558	77	Creamware	Sq. 2 NW 2.0-2.5'
1781	77	Creamware	
OLD CATALOG NUMBER	VESSEL NUMBER	WARE TYPE	PROVENIENCE
1123	80	Creamware	Sq. 2 NE 1.0-1.5'
1185	80	Creamware	Sq. 2 SE 1.0-1.5'
1652	80	Creamware	Sq. 2 SW 2.0-2.5'
OLD CATALOG NUMBER	VESSEL NUMBER	WARE TYPE	PROVENIENCE
1178	81	Porcelain	Sq.2 SE 1.0-1.5'
1179	81	Porcelain	Sq. 2 SE 1.0-1.5'
OLD CATALOG NUMBER	VESSEL NUMBER	WARE TYPE	PROVENIENCE
1188	84	Pearlware	Sq. 2 SE 1.0-1.5'
1280	84	Pearlware	Sq. 2 NW 1.5-2.0'

OLD CATALOG NUMBER	VESSEL NUMBER	WARE TYPE	PROVENIENCE
1237	87	Creamware	Sq. 2 SW 1.0-1.5'
1466	87	Creamware	Sq. 2 SW 1.5-2.0'
1470	87	Creamware	Sq. 2 SW 1.5-2.0'
1619	87	Creamware	Sq. 2 SE 2.0-2.5'
OLD CATALOG NUMBER	VESSEL NUMBER	WARE TYPE	PROVENIENCE
1296	91	Creamware	Sq. 2 NW 1.5-2.0'
1070	91	Creamware	Sq. 2 NW 1.0-1.5'
1558	91	Creamware	Sq. 2 NW 2.0-2.5'
1653	91	Creamware	Sq. 2 SW 2.0-2.5'
OLD CATALOG NUMBER	VESSEL NUMBER	WARE TYPE	PROVENIENCE
1488	101	Creamware	Sq. 2 SW 1.5-2.0'
1619	101	Creamware	Sq. 2 SE 2.0-2.5'
1652	101	Creamware	Sq. 2 SW 2.0-2.5'
OLD CATALOG NUMBER	VESSEL NUMBER	WARE TYPE	PROVENIENCE
1491	102	Porcelain	Sq. 2 SW 1.5-2.0'
1663	102	Porcelain	Sq. 2 SW 2.0-2.5'
1783	102	Porcelain	
OLD CATALOG NUMBER	VESSEL NUMBER	WARE TYPE	PROVENIENCE
1620	106	Porcelain	Sq. 2 SE 2.0-2.5'
1663	106	Porcelain	Sq. 2 SW 2.0-2.5'
OLD CATALOG NUMBER	VESSEL NUMBER	WARE TYPE	PROVENIENCE
1652	107	Creamware	Sq. 2 SW 2.0-2.5'
1468	107	Creamware	Sq. 2 SW 1.5-2.0'
OLD CATALOG NUMBER	VESSEL NUMBER	WARE TYPE	PROVENIENCE
1664	108	Porcelain	Sq. 2 SW 2.0-2.5'
1716	108	Porcelain	Sq. 2 SE 1.0-1.5'

Table 3. Ceramic sherds spread out across the deposit that are attributed to the same vessel.

Once the general analysis was complete, the Minimum Vessel Count was tabulated as represented in Table 3. Using Wall's methods and focusing on vessels and

not individual raw sherd counts highlight how different methods and interpretations can bring another perspective to an assemblage. By paying attention to the variety of decorative motifs in the MVC, this thesis found that the assemblage was not dominated by creamwares and lacking in porcelains and decorated pearlwares, as Collamer and Associates asserted.

Rather, out of the 114 vessels identified, pearlware compromised the highest percentage of the assemblage at 37%. Porcelain followed at 29% with creamware almost identical at 28%. Whiteware represented 4% of the assemblage, with tin glazed and stoneware both equaling 1%. Tea ware made up more than half the assemblage with 52 vessels, while 50 table wares were identified. Twelve vessels whose function could not be determined were identified as either hollow ware or flatware. The table wares were mostly comprised of pearlware, with 24 vessels, and creamware, with 19 vessels, while porcelain dominated the tea wares with 26 vessels. Table 4 represents the MVC cataloged by ware type and function.

WARE TYPE	TABLEWARE	TEAWARE	OTHER
PEARLWARE	24	14	4
CREAMWARE	19	11	2
PORCELAIN	3	26	4
OTHER	4	1	2

Table 4. Kinderhook assemblage according to ware type and function.

A mean ceramic date (MCD) of 1789 was tabulated from the minimum vessel count, associating the collection most likely with the Pomeroy household. Although the general ceramic assemblage was not factored into the mean ceramic date, the presence of clouded creamware, tin glazed, and “combed” slip wares as well as the lack of yellow wares help support a late 18th-century deposit. While this study only focused on ceramics from the assemblage, Collamer and Associates conducted a mean pipe stem bore diameter date, placing the deposit around 1750-



Figure 13. Examples from the collection that have popular late 18th- century rim designs.

1800. A glass analysis was also conducted and dated the deposit between 1790 and 1820 (Collamer and Associates 1990: 24). While the dates are general, they help further cement the association between the Pomeroy household and the deposit.

The style of porcelains found in the assemblage offers strong evidence of a Pomeroy-era deposit as well. The collection includes many styles popular at the end of the 18th century (Figure 13). The “dogtooth” motif is represented in the collection which

appeared on porcelain from 1765 to 1797 (Madsen and White 2011: 117). This motif peaked in popularity between 1788 and 1795. The same motif as well as handpainted, over glaze, iron red was also found in an archaeological assemblage on tea bowls and saucers from another doctor's household in Williamsburg, VA and dated to 1782 to 1793 (Madsen and White 2011: 118). Another popular motif that is represented in the assemblage is a thin blue band with stars that dates between 1785 and 1805 (Madsen and White 2011: 118). The half circle and dot pattern produced between 1780 and 1800 also makes an appearance in the collection (Madsen and White 2011: 119). The blue trellis design, often found on most 18th-century sites that contain a fair amount of Chinese porcelains is also represented in the assemblage (Madsen and White 2011: 73). Although the production range itself is rather long, it was most popular between 1715 and 1790. The design motif is often found on porcelains, but the Kinderhook assemblage also has some hand painted pearlwares in the blue trellis design as well. At Thomas Jefferson's Monticello, two assemblages that were found to contain the blue trellis design were given a MCD between 1781 to 1794 and 1788, both very close to the this assemblage's MCD (Madsen and White 2011: 85).

The amount of shell-edge ware found in the assemblage also helps date the deposit to the Pomeroy household. Anna Pomeroy was living in Kinderhook while shell-edged was at the height of fashion, comprising over 60% of the New York City assemblages (Wall 1994: 142). By the time the Vanderpoels moved onto this property, shell-edged had made a spectacular down fall in popularity, comprising only less than 10% of the New York City assemblages (Wall 1994: 142).

The Kinderhook collection was split almost evenly between minimally decorated wares comprising 24 vessels while decorated vessels comprised 23. Shell-edge was the highest represented in decoration with 13 vessels followed by 9 floral table wares. While Wall had found in the Manhattan assemblages that Chinese landscapes were always more preferred than floral designs, the assemblage in Kinderhook contained more floral table ware. This could be indicative of the time of deposit too. While shell-edged dominated Wall's assemblages at 60 % in 1805, Chinese landscapes were 25% while floral was at less than 1%. Twenty years later, Chinese landscape had replaced shell-edge, and now comprised a little above 70% of household assemblages, while floral had only gone up to 5% (Wall 1994: 142). The high percentage of shell-edged along with the low percentage of Chinese patterns, further helps assert the assemblage was deposited around the beginning of the 19th century. Table Five contains the Kinderhook assemblage categorized by function and separated into Wall's decorative categories.

	Tableware	Percentage
Minimally decorated	22	47%
Shell-edged	13	28%
Floral/Neoclassical	9	19%
Chinese	1	2%
Other	2	4%

	Teaware	Percentage
Minimally decorated	0	0
Shell-edged	0	0
Floral/Neoclassical	18	35%
Chinese	8	16%
Other	25	49%

	Other	Percentage
Minimally decorated	2	18%
Shell-edged	0	0
Floral/Neoclassical	5	45%
Chinese	0	0
Other	4	36%

Table 5. Summary of ceramics categorized by Wall's model.

According to Wall's study, matched table wares should also be present in the assemblage. Wall argues that this was evidence of the changing roles of women and the family itself following the Revolution. With much more emphasis on the importance of family, the matched sets were to “emphasize the community of a group, rather than the differences among its individual members” (Wall 1994: 144). The evidence of families owning more than one set of table wares also highlighted how certain meals were now “ranked” with each meal differentiated by what table ware was used. The Kinderhook assemblage mirrored the assemblages from Wall's middle group circa 1805 (Wall 1994: 145). Assemblages from Wall's middle groups as well as the Kinderhook assemblage both contained matched pieces found in the royal rim pattern as well as shell edged. While both also contained evidence of floral and Chinese pattern table ware, it was

relatively small in comparison to the shell edged and minimally decorated. The Kinderhook assemblage included seven creamwares with the royal rim design, five green shell edged pearlware, four molded rim creamware, three blue shell edged pearlwares, two green shell edged creamware, two shell edged designs without any glaze, and two plain creamwares. The wares represented are indicative of meals becoming more ritualized as women's role in the household changed. The elaboration of design on the table ware showcases how ceramics were used in conveying social meanings rather than the food. The elaboration of vessels as well was also apparent with the collection containing at least four creamware royal rim platters. The possibility exists that there were at least nine more but due to the fragmentary nature of the sherds, it was not possible to tell with certainty if the sherds were from plates or platters. Using Wall's categories to examine the decoration of the vessels contained in the assemblage revealed the Pomeroy household favored elaboration of design and vessel function, all indicative of the increased importance of the domestic realm in Wall's model.

The tea wares as well exhibit Anna patronizing the popular decorations of the time period that corresponded with the changing gender ideals. Wall argues that prior to the Revolution, the popular style of tea wares was evenly divided between floral patterns and Chinese landscapes. However, by 1805, floral patterns represented almost 50% of the New York City assemblages while the Chinese landscapes were only a little above 20%. By 1820, the gap had grown even more with floral decoration comprising almost 60% of the assemblages while Chinese landscapes dropped to 19%. The assemblage in Kinderhook mirrors the popularity of floral patterns over the Chinese patterns with 18

floral vessels represented in comparison to the only 8 Chinese designs. As mentioned in the methods section however, due to the fragmentary nature of some of the sherds, it was impossible to tell what decoration was represented for many of the tea wares. It is unfortunate that so many of the tea wares had to be cataloged under “other” for their numbers may have influenced the interpretation. It is recognized that not being able to utilize all these designs could impact the results.

The tea wares from the Kinderhook assemblage did differ from Wall’s study however in regards to matched sets. Wall had found that tea wares, unlike the table wares, did not exhibit matched sets because the “hostess... did not care to stress the communal values shared by household members and their guests” (Wall 1994: 147). Wall (1994) and Rotman (2009) each argued that this was due to the separate arenas table and tea wares were used in. These meals represented a different social experience and as such different messages were conveyed. Meals, especially dinner, were viewed as being time for familial relations. Tea was associated within the public sphere while meals were more private. The Kinderhook assemblage however surprisingly contains 6 matched tea wares sets: one set in Chinese pattern, two sets in floral, and 3 other matched sets in the “other” category. The tea wares were also almost all porcelains.

The Assemblage as a Reflection of the Pomeroy Family Lifecycle

The number of porcelain tea wares in the collection offers an interesting interpretation of life at the Pomeroy house. During the late 18th and early 19th century, the relative cost of blue underglaze decorated Chinese porcelains (such as vessels 32, 52, 53,

and 67) was estimated at “three times the value of the same vessel form made in creamware” (Wall 1994: 197). The over-glaze decorated porcelains (such as vessels 34, 35, and 36) were even more costly and could be “conservatively estimated at a value of approximately at 1.5 times of the blue underglaze decorated porcelains” (Wall 1994: 197).

With the collection containing such high end wares, it suggests the possibility that the affluent Vanderpoel household rather than the Pomeroy homestead are responsible for the deposit. However, the architecture of the Vanderpoel house helps provide evidence that this was a Pomeroy assemblage. The amount of detail and refinement that the Vanderpoels put into the construction of their new home, as well as the position James Vanderpoel held in society, make it highly unlikely that Anna Vanderpoel would have entertained with dishes 20 years out of fashion. The Vanderpoel family was an important political family in 19th-century Kinderhook and their home exhibits the care the family took in presenting their status. The most obvious choice in how the Vanderpoels differentiated themselves from the previous land owners is the construction of a new house. Although deeds show that the Pomeroy's house was located in almost the same exact location as the Vanderpoel house that still stands there to this day, they were most likely not the same residences. One reason is that Federal Style architectural features place the current house at a later date than the Pomeroy's residence (Toole et al. 1994: 17). Also, Anna Pomeroy's probate that suggests only two rooms within the home were heated: the kitchen that contained a fireplace and another room with a Franklin stove. The Vanderpoel house however boasts 8 heated rooms with a fireplace in each of the main 8

rooms (Toole et al. 1994: 17). Rather than building a new house, the Pomeroy's most likely moved into the house that was already on the property constructed by one of the previous owners, Van Buren or Kinney. This is further evidenced by both the Pomeroy and Van Buren- Kinney house sharing the same description on deeds: a “dwelling house, store house, and barn” (Toole and Piwonka 1994: 15).

Since the Pomeroy house probably dates to the Van Buren- Kinney time period, it most likely resembled houses that were common in the mid to late 18th century. Kinderhook's population was predominately Dutch up till the mid-18th century when the town experienced an influx of English, Irish, and Scottish immigrants (Piwonka and Blackburn 1996: 38). The new cultures brought new ideas and between 1760 and 1790, the Dutch in Kinderhook incorporated the architectural style of the gambrel roof house, which were homes primarily “with a central hall and one or two rooms on either side” (Piwonka and Blackburn 1996: 38). Evidence of Anna's house containing only two heated rooms helps further the hypothesis of the Pomeroy home being this architectural style. Anna's probate unfortunately does not offer much more clues to how Anna created her living space. Many of the items are utilitarian, such as 2 blankets, a green quilt, woolen sheets, and a leach tub. Anna owned three tables and most likely entertained at the most expensive one, valued at 1.12. The high end porcelains Anna entertained with show Anna's desire to impress, and could explain her ownership of a carpet valued at 6.50, one of the most expensive items listed on the probate. With such a small space to entertain in, Anna used the high end tea wares and expensive carpet as a way to showcase her status and refinement.

While ceramics are listed on the probate, the majority are only under the general term of “crockery.” A couple of stone pots, one bowl and salt, another bowl, and stone ware are mentioned specifically. Two kettles are mentioned as well. Not all terms on the probate could be deciphered, so it is possible that other ceramics are listed. Also, three months passed between Anna’s death and the taking of her probate so it is possible that her children had already taken some things from the home. The total value of ceramics was \$5.89, with only the carpet, two beds, a bed stand and curtains being the higher priced household items on the probate.

The probate mentions that Anna also owned 7 pewter plates as well as two pewter platters. Pewter in the late 18th century was common and often dominated the assemblages of small planters and tenant farmers (Beaudry 1993: 74). Pewter was often times utilized in the kitchen, in the private domestic sphere (Galke 2009: 36). The Pomeroy's ownership of both pewter and ceramic table wares, as well as a variation in ceramic designs, suggests the Pomeroy household had experienced an elaboration of meals; owning contrasting sets symbolized meals had now been designated with specific meanings. Whereas the pewter could be utilized in the everyday meals, dishes such as the shell-edge or floral motifs would have been used in different settings to symbolize the new importance brought to these meals.

It is interesting to note that Anna's ownership of 7 pewter plates at the time of her death is the exact number of people in her extended family. While only the youngest daughter still lived at home, there were enough settings for her other two married daughters and their husbands as well as Josiah Jr. who had not married yet. The Pomeroy

family may have regularly converged at Anna's house for meals. Indeed, Anna's daughter Harriet and her family resided on a house located at the northwest boundary of the Pomeroy property (Toole et al. 1994: 18).

At first glance, it may seem surprising that a "modest household of a widow" would contain a large amount of high end tea wares (Toole et al. 1994: 8). However, monetary value is relative and other factors such as location and temporal contexts must be taken into account (White 2005: 27). When Anna's income is compared to that of other residents of the village, it can be seen that her household was relatively wealthy. In an Assessment Roll of Real and Personal Estates of the town of Kinderhook in 1809, out of over 550 households, Anna's net worth was higher than approximately 67% of households (Collier 1914: 245). It is unfortunate that we know nothing specific about how Anna supported herself after Josiah's passing in 1795.

Comparisons of Other Widow Assemblages to the Kinderhook Assemblage

Anna's probate and the archaeological assemblage share many intriguing similarities with that of another widow from 18th century New England. The widow Pratt resided in Newport, Rhode Island during the mid 18th -century (Hodge 2009: 189). An archaeological excavation conducted between 2000 and 2004 revealed a privy and sheet midden dating between 1720- 1750. Over 8,000 artifacts were found in widow Pratt's household assemblage. Like Anna Pomeroy, widow Pratt's probate also contained pewter plates and platters (Hodge 2009: 195). Matched sets were not represented in the table wares but this may reflect the fact that individual settings were still relatively new in the

mid 18th century. Most interestingly, the widow Pratt’s assemblage also was dominated by porcelain tea wares. Tea wares would have been an important investment for a widow of limited means; “for respectable women of moderate circumstances, made vulnerable by their feme sole status, teas and its equipage were a sensible social investment” (Hodge 2009: 199). The widow Pratt was able to use tea as a social practice in order to engage and establish ties within the community. Because of her “feme sole” status it was important to forge bonds within the community and the ritual of tea allowed her this access (Hodge 2009: 199).

Table six contains the percentage of tea cup/ bowls cataloged by ware type found in the Pomeroy assemblage and the Pratt assemblage. Although there are 51 tea ware vessels in the Kinderhook assemblage, only the 33 tea cup/ bowl vessels were used in order to compare to Hodge’s results that had been cataloged by function. For Elizabeth Pratt, 24 vessels were identified with 16 comprising the tea cup/ bowls. As the following table exhibit, porcelain dominated both widow’s tea ware assemblages.

WARE TYPE	Anna Pomeroy	Percentage Total
Pearlware	10	30%
Creamware	4	12%
Porcelain	18	55%
Tin glazed	1	3%

WARE TYPE	Widow Pratt	Percentage Total
Porcelain	11	69%
Tin glazed	2	12%
White Salt Glazed	3	19%

Table 6. Tea cup/bowls, separated by ware type.

For the Widow Pratt, tea was used to “engender intimacy and trust... to facilitate her business ventures” (Hodge 2009: 199). Anna too had a reason to cultivate these traits; she was left with three single daughters and the running of a 9-acre farm after her husband died. Josiah’s affidavit in 1792 may also have adversely affected relations in the village with the prominent Loyalists, and Anna was left to establish communal ties within the village. Participating in the social ritual of tea allowed Anna to forge alliances while at the same time, staying abreast of social happenings. While the art of taking tea at times was stigmatized as merely gossip and idle time for women, it was in fact a place where women could learn valuable details and act accordingly (Goodwin 1999: 174). The matched sets contained in the assemblage could indicate Anna’s desire to establish a connection within the community rather than assert her social superiority through her fashionable high end wares. Engaging in these tea rituals offered Anna a chance to foster relationships within the community as well as search for suitable husbands for her three daughters.

Table and tea wares helped construct the new domestic sphere; they represented social status, economic prosperity, community and familial relations and many other individually constructed meanings. To Anna Pomeroy, like the widow Pratt, these ceramics represented a means for visual representation of her character. By using the high end shell-edged table wares and porcelains, Anna was able to convey a sense of refinement and status, regardless of the fact that she was a widow. Her children's spouses are proof that she succeeded in making a favorable impression within the community. Nancy's marriage was most likely the most successful: Cornelius Silvester was the only son of prominent attorney Francis Silvester, who has a street that runs through the village named after him. Less can be found in regards to Harriet's husband, Alpheus, and Sophia's husband John Denny. Josiah Jr.'s bride however was related to the Crocker family, one of the wealthiest families listed on the 1809 Tax Assessment (Collier 1914: 170). By investing in porcelain tea wares, Anna was able to give her children the opportunity to learn and practice the proper skills that would help them attain an upward trajectory within Kinderhook's society (Galke 2009: 29).

Laura Galke's 2009 analysis of the widow Mary Ball Washington's household assemblage revealed Mary as well taught her children how to conduct themselves in the ritualistic arena of the tea ceremony in order to further the family's ambitions (Galke 2009: 29). Galke argues that the amount of high end tea wares deposited on Ferry Farm during the mid-18th century, showcase how Mary Ball Washington used the tea ceremony to teach her children the accepted manners in this social setting, allowing them to impress and advance in society. The assemblage contained seven different style tea pots,

indicative that Mary Washington, like Anna Pomeroy, continually invested in tea wares in order to remain current with the most popular styles of the time period. By doing so allowed Mary to showcase her high status to the community (Galke 2009: 37). Galke argues that Mary's choice to invest in tea wares highlighted her family's "exceptional taste and sophistication to the Virginia planter-class audience who visited their home on business or social occasions" (Galke 2009: 33).

Other than the tea wares, the most expensive household item Anna invested in was apparently a bed. That Anna chose to invest in porcelain tea wares over expensive furnishing is revealing. The taking of tea is not just a social gathering but also an indication of good manners and class (Voss 2006, Hodge 2009, Galke 2009). Merely owning these porcelain tea wares was not enough. The hostess also needed to know how to utilize the various wares that were included in the ritual. Tea ware sets included a variety of different vessels, not only the cups and saucers, but also the tea pot, a cream pot, sugar tongs, sugar bowls, small plates, and other pieces. The hostess would have to also exhibit knowledge of the correct way to utilize all this. Goodwin points to the late



Figure 14. Porcelain tea cup.



Figure 15. Porcelain tea wares.

18th century and the emergence of Republican Motherhood as a time when there was a rise in formality and the process of taking tea allowed an opportunity to impress with manners (Goodwin 1999: 120). By taking part in the tea ritual, Anna put her manners and refinement of character on display to be judged.

Tea had the luxury of being able to be served in almost anything. All that was needed for the making of tea were coarse earthenwares. During the late 18th century, when the taking of tea became very popular in America, manufacturers produced more affordable wares in order to allow all to participate (Galke 2009: 36). Yet Anna chose to serve her tea not in less expensive earthenwares but in porcelain (Figures 14 and 15). By choosing to serve tea this way, Anna elevated the taking of tea to another level (Goodwin 1999: 123). Anna owning so many porcelain tea cups as well as accessories needed for tea is significant; it shows she was partaking in the tea ritual. Besides the many porcelain tea wares, the minimum vessel count included two creamware tea pot tops, one with a decorative floral design (Figure 16). The same decoration appears from a tea pot dating to 1770 (Figure 17). The probate also contained two tins, which was a popular way of



Figure 16. Decorated tea pot top.

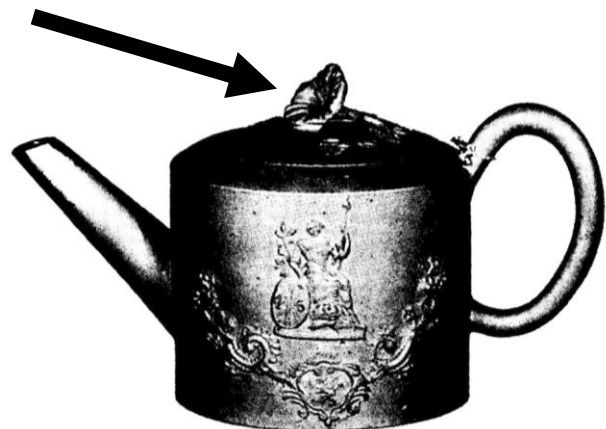


Figure 17. Picture of similar tea pot top from Ivor Noel Hume's *Artifacts of Colonial America* (Hume 1969: 121).

storing tea.

Besides Anna's participation in the social rituals of the tea ceremony, there is evidence that at least her youngest daughter Sophia did needlework and one would assume it was learned from her mother and sisters. A mourning portrait still exists housed in the Columbia County Historical Society that Sophia did following her father's death (Figure 18). Displaying this talent showcased that Sophia was a "woman of leisure," who had the time to invest in learning such skills (Galke 2009: 38). Needlework also went along with the tea ceremony as another visual public display of refinement. Indeed, a woman could practice her needlework during the socialization of the tea ceremony, which allowed her to "affect alluring postures, attracting attention to her work, her skills,

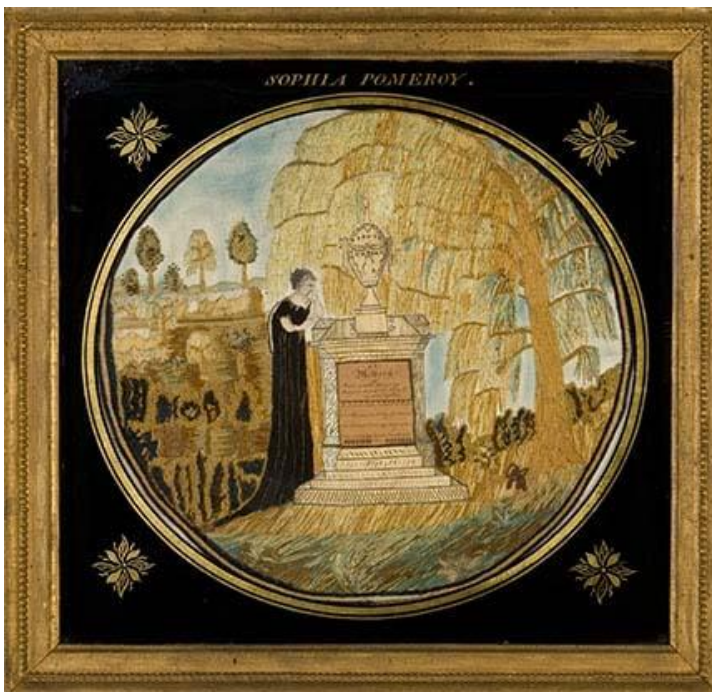


Figure 18. Josiah Pomeroy's Mourning Portrait by daughter Sophia (Shewchuk 2008: 28).

and manifesting her refinement in the exhibition of herself" (Galke 2009: 39).

Anna's children themselves leave evidence that she recognized the importance of manners. Her gravestone states she had "amiable manners, gentle deportment" and "filial affection and humble piety" and was "beloved and

respected by all." The mention of her manners on her gravestone is rather odd; I have

found no other gravestones in Kinderhook from this time period that mention manners. The gravestone was commissioned by her son, Josiah Jr., and this would seem to suggest that, at least to him, the outward appearance of manners was very important. It would also seem she had a close relationship with her children; the inscription on her gravestone is longer than most and goes into great detail for their “honored mother” who “was dear and precious to her relatives.” Another observation that could be revealing is that while many gravestones in Kinderhook cemetery only say “Wife of” when describing women, there is no mention of Anna being a wife or even an affiliation to Josiah Sr. in general. Perhaps this could suggest that she had made her own identity outside of simply being a widow.

Conclusions

The assemblage in Kinderhook follows Wall’s expected pattern in the elaboration of design and standardization of ceramics following the Revolutionary War. While minimally decorated vessels are represented, Anna’s ownership of 13 shell-edge table wares as well as 9 floral table wares is indicative that she had begun to use vessels that favored more elaborate designs. Food was no longer the focus of the meal and Anna’s ceramic choices exhibit that the wares themselves had gained in importance and became the focal point. The presence of four matched sets of table ware in the Kinderhook assemblage also conforms to what Wall found in the New York City assemblages. Matched sets were not popular until the end of the 18th century with the added importance of home life following the end of the American Revolution. Women were to ensure the

success of the new Republic by instilling future generations with good morals and values. This new emphasis on family and home life manifested itself in the standardization of table wares as a way to visually represent the unity within the family. Anna's ownership of matched sets is indicative of the changing meaning of meals as well as women's role in the household.

At first glance, Anna's choice of tea wares matches Wall's results as well. The tea wares in the Kinderhook assemblage exhibit that not only did Anna choose to keep up with the changing popular decorative styles but also was financially able to do so. However, while Wall found that the women of New York did not use matched sets within their tea wares, the Kinderhook assemblage contained six matched sets. Wall equates the absence of matched set in tea ware with the different social arena tea was used in. While table wares contained matched set to represent unity within the family, the hostess did not care to establish the same communal feeling with outside guests. While Anna entertained with the latest decorative styles, her ownership of matching tea wares suggests that rather than assert her social superiority, of more concern to her was to convey a sense of camaraderie with her guests. Anna's desire to create a community bond could arise from being left widowed within two years of moving to a new community and after her husband had made accusations against some powerful Loyalists. Left with four children, three of them daughters, and ownership of a farm, Anna may have used the social ritual of taking tea as a way to form connections and establish bonds within the community.

By following some of the most recent theories in gender archaeology, it was possible to understand Anna Pomeroy's consumer choices in the context in which they

were made. As a widow with four children, Anna invested in consumer choices that were beneficial for her as well as her children in presenting the family to the community. By choosing to invest in the visual aspects of the tea ceremony, Anna was able exert her influence within the accepted bounds of Republican Motherhood. The deviations from Wall's pattern also highlight how Anna herself chose to incorporate certain aspects of the dominant gender ideologies based on her individual circumstances. The lifecycle of the Pomeroy household affected how Anna chose to represent her family to the outside community.

While Wall's model is useful in understanding the meanings behind consumer choices, the gender ideologies at play during this time period were not the only deciding factors on how women choose to represent themselves and their household. As Miller rightly argued, economy as well influenced household consumer consumption patterns (Miller and Earls 2008: 67). Only 8 miles from Kinderhook, the city of Hudson was a thriving town at the center of commerce of Columbia County. Stuyvesant Landing as well was only a couple of miles away and allowed Kinderhook access to the Hudson River trade and commerce as well as connecting it to such cities as New York. Because of the mass influx of goods, residents of Columbia County and the surrounding counties had access to a variety of things at relatively lower cost than others in New York State (Kirk 2003: 55), and this could be part of the reason Anna could afford so many high end tea wares. As Baker argued, "patterns of consumption are strongly impacted by availability and, more significantly upon cost" (Baker 1999: 232). The time period also affected the availability of ceramics. Only ten years later, Anna's ceramic consumption

patterns may have been different. The price crash following the war of 1812 had adverse affect with ceramic pricing, with ceramics dropping in cost. Any assemblage deposited after the fact would have been influenced by this.

The strong Dutch presence in Kinderhook as well influenced what role Anna played in society and how she chose to represent herself. While the 19th century brought domestic reform movements to New York State, Anna would not have experienced these movements due to the culture climate of Kinderhook. The Germans and Dutch were known for their insularity, particularly the women, and the relative isolation of Columbia County made it possible for these inhabitants to retain a fixture of their old culture (Brooke 2010: 133). Columbia County boasted the largest Dutch and German population of New York State while Anna resided there and this would have made it much harder for her to break out of the rigid gender roles of the time period (Brooke 2010: 131).

As this thesis has shown, the lifecycle of a household, as well as a variety of other factors, affect the archaeological assemblage. Household deposits should not be viewed solely through a domestic lens for how people choose to represent themselves through material culture has as much to do with outside forces as well as individual circumstances.

While this thesis focused on the Pomeroy household in regards to the changing gender roles at the turn of the 19th century, the site still has potentially much more to offer. A 2009 excavation conducted at the Vanderpoel house unearthed more ceramics attributed to the Pomeroy's (Beranek and Steinberg 2011: i). While outside the scope of this thesis, a future study in comparison between the two assemblages could be revealing.

The 1990 assemblage also contains a large amount of glass as well as pipe stems. Analysis of these artifacts could help support the ceramic chronology as well as provide further insight into the Pomeroy household. Little is known of Harriet Pomeroy and her family, who continued to reside on the boundary of Anna's land. It is not known what the relationship was in regards to their contribution to the farmstead. An excavation at Harriet's homestead would offer a more comparative study of the Pomeroy household. If any deposits could be found associated with the Vanderpoel family, it would allow an interesting comparison of the differentiation of lifecycles as well as the changing of gender roles. Wall acknowledges that different households would assign different meanings to artifacts (Wall 1994: 147) and although Anna Pomeroy and Anna Vanderpoel lived on the same property separated only by 10 years, their experiences would have varied greatly. Anna Vanderpoel would have lived in Kinderhook as the Cult of Domesticity reached its peak. While James Vanderpoel's probate suggests that financially Anna Vanderpoel was better off than Anna Pomeroy, it was Anna Pomeroy who was able to resist the decline of her status outside the household. For wealthy families, the "household became less a center of production and more of a locus of social reproduction" (Rotman 2009: 110). With her husband's death, Anna became responsible for the productive activities of owning a farm as well as raising a family and did not have to adhere to the rigid ideals pushed by Republican Motherhood and Cult of Domesticity. As head of the household, Anna Pomeroy remained involved in the activities of the home and as a result would not "experience a decline in status" (Rotman 2009: 110).

By using Wall's decorative categories to understand ceramic usage in regards to the changing ideologies, this thesis was able to discern how Anna adopted to the new gender ideologies of the day. This thesis was also able to refute the notion that Anna's household was a struggling, modest household: rather, Anna owned high end wares and kept up with the fashionable styles. The lifecycle of the household played a very important role in how Anna chose her ceramics. Anna's ceramic choices were affected by her position as a widow in a new community. The analysis of a widow-headed household assemblage highlights how the incorporation of age brings more avenues of study within gender archaeology. Anna Pomeroy was able to use the power afforded to her within the domestic sphere in order to remain "committed to widowhood" (Galke 2009: 33) Widows exercised more control than their married counterparts and often times this was the catalyst behind their choice to remain unmarried. During a time when the local papers of Columbia County announced that woman were best when they "deified silence, and adored it as a goddess" (Brooke 2010: 343), Anna did not follow the expected norm to remarry and instead carved out her own identity by adapting the ideologies pushed at the time to her benefit. By building on new approaches in which to study gender roles archaeologically, Anna's struggle for identity and control in these changing times can be recognized.

APPENDIX A

ANNA POMEROY'S PROBATE

An inventory of the [illegible] goods, [Chattels] of Creditor of Anna Pomeroy deceased late of the town of Kinderhook in the county of Columbia taken the 23rd of March 1813 in the presense of Benjamin Hilton and Leonard Norton being two the freeholders of the said town.

3 Bushel Rye.....	\$3.37
1 Wheel Barrow.....	5.25
1 [pr] [Hand] Irons.....	2.00
1 Grid Iron.....	.80
1 [pr] shovels and tongs.....	2.25
1 Bell Metal Morter.....	3.25
1 Lott Tin.....	.82
1 Lott Tin.....	.50
1 [pr] of Stilyerds.....	1.00
1 fork and candlestick.....	.48
1 Bake pan.....	.62
1 [Spider].....	.39
1 Lott sundries.....	.75
1 [Glass] frame.....	.32
1 Woolen Sheet.....	1.50
1 Bowl.....	.37 ½
1 Lott Sundries.....	.58
1 Blanket.....	1.31
1 Lott Sundries.....	1.19
1 Wool [illegible].....	.22
2 Bottles.....	.25
1 Quilt.....	1.69
1 Blanket.....	2.88
1 Blanket.....	2.00
4 Bottles.....	3.00
1 Lott [illegible].....	.59
1 Cow Bell.....	.62
2 pewter [basom].....	.81

3 Wedges and 2 rings.....	1.44
1 Lott wooden [illegible]26
1 Table.....	.76
1 [Spuy].....	5.31
1 Green Quilt.....	2.94
1 Lott stone ware.....	.66
1 Wool [bard].....	.22
1 carpet.....	6.50
1 bowl.....	.34
1 iron pot and cover.....	3.44
1 Lott Crockery.....	37 ½
Pot hooks and [trammels]87 ½
1 pail.....	.62 ½
1 quilt.....	2.44
1 iron kettle69
Stone pots.....	.63
1 table.....	.25
1 Wool [bard].....	.26
2 Benches.....	.19
1 Bureau.....	3.37
1 Tub.....	.25
Sundries.....	.12 ½
1 Leach Tub.....	.31
2 Bottles.....	.12 ½
1 Table.....	1.12
Crockery.....	1.25
Crockery.....	.45
Sundries.....	.40
1 Bowl and salt.....	1.62
1 bowl.....	.31
1 Lott hopps.....	.12 ½
2 Woolen Sheets.....	3.87 ½
7 pewter plates.....	2.76
2 pewter platters.....	2.00
1 Iron Pot.....	1.00
1 [illegible] kettle.....	3.00
1 [Buck] [illegible].....	.31
1 [illegible].....	1.00
1 bed.....	13.50
1 bed.....	16.00
1 bed stand and curtains.....	6.25
1 Lott Crockery.....	.25
1 Franklin Stove.....	2.31

1 bag flower.....	1.94
1 Wheel and [illegible].....	.25
1 Saddle.....	.25
1 Wheel.....	.81
1 [illegible].....	1.88
1 trunnel bed.....	.25
1 [ash] tub.....	.20
4 Bushels of rye at 9/.....	4.50
3 23/60 bushels of wheat at 18/.....	7.81
6 bushels of potatoes at 3/.....	2.25
1 [illegible]	1.25
1 [wench]	90.00
1 cow	19.00

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