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## Exploring current approaches to status variability in the seventeenth century Chesapeake

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EXPLORING CURRENT APPROACHES TO STATUS VARIABILITY  
In the Seventeenth Century Chesapeake

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A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of Anthropology  
The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment  
Of the Requirements for the Degree of  
Master of Arts

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by

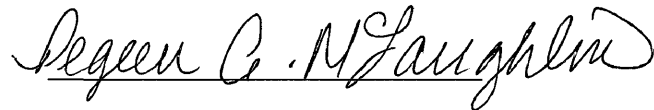
Pegeen A. McLaughlin

1996

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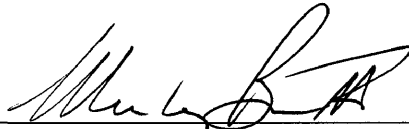


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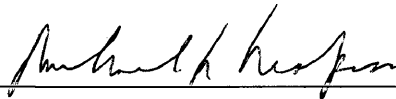
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## ABSTRACT

Determining the relative socio-economic status of seventeenth century sites is often more challenging than for later historical sites due to lack of certain documentation, particularly ceramic price guides. Scholars have defended and opposed the status sensitivity of a variety of indicators, including the quantity of artifacts, the quality of ceramics, the diversity of ceramic vessel types, the relative percentages of artifact groups, the architectural remains, and the presence or absence of “status markers.” The sampling of four late seventeenth century sites by Colonial Williamsburg’s Department of Archaeological research allowed for a unique opportunity to test the merits of these possible status indicators. By ranking the four sites on a socio-economic scale, and comparing the results, it was possible to determine which were reliable indicators of status and which were not.

**EXPLORING CURRENT APPROACHES TO STATUS VARIABILITY**  
**In the Seventeenth Century Chesapeake**



## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

Historical archaeologists have an advantage over their prehistoric colleagues in that documents such as probates, deeds, wills, and diaries are often available for particular sites, giving crucial information, particularly when used in conjunction with artifacts. Even if documents relating to the site in question are not available, historical archaeologists have other sources available to them, such as newspapers and contemporary writings, to aid them in determining what was going on in the region at a particular time. In the eighteenth century, industries began keeping detailed cost and inventory records, which can be effectively used to aid in archaeological and historical analysis. However, in the seventeenth century, primary sources such as these are far more scarce, making analysis using historical records far more problematic.

In the case of many Virginia counties, the county records such as deeds, wills, trusts, probates, and court records were sent to Richmond for safekeeping during the Civil War. When Richmond was burned in the War, the county records were destroyed. This makes interpreting individual sites in these “burned” counties extremely difficult. Often it is not known who owned the land, who lived on the property, what their occupation was, or what position in the social structure they held.

Archaeological excavation, although best used in conjunction with documents, can aid in answering questions even when documents are unavailable.

Unfortunately, due to cost and time considerations, many sites are merely sampled, resulting in the retrieval of minimal artifactual information. Often the information retrieved from sampling is not used to the fullest potential, and new methods are needed to elicit as much information as possible from sampled sites.

In the late 1980's, Colonial Williamsburg's Department of Archaeological research sampled three seventeenth century sites from James City County, a "burned" county. These sites were without the benefit of county documents, such as deeds, and because they date to the seventeenth century, information which began to be documented in the eighteenth century was not yet available. Only an estimated 1-2% of each site was excavated. The resulting small amount of artifacts retrieved was insufficient to draw any conclusions about the occupants of the sites: their occupation, wealth or position in society.

A fourth site from York County was sampled in 1992 by Colonial Williamsburg. A small percentage (1-2%) of a ravine filled with redeposited material was tested. The artifacts recovered were domestic refuse from the third quarter of the seventeenth century. Because the records from York County were not sent to Richmond for safekeeping, available documents show that the property was owned by a wealthy and influential man named

John Page. The archaeologist conducting the site concluded that the ravine contained material originating from the John Page household. Later excavations of Page household features recovered ceramics which cross-mended with the ravine, proving that the ravine artifacts were from the Page household.

The combination of materials from three sites where almost nothing is known, and from one site which is historically known to have been occupied by a very wealthy man, presented an interesting case to study. If the four assemblages are compared for levels of socio-economic status, the Page assemblage should end up the higher end of the scale, assuming that is improbable that all four sites were occupied by very wealthy people. Using Page as a sort of control case, it should be possible to rank the other three sites in comparison.

Colonial Williamsburg's Department of Archaeological Research further excavated the John Page house site in 1995. These more complete excavations confirmed what was determined earlier from historical documents and sampling, that John Page was certainly a very wealthy man who displayed his wealth and social aspirations through a large, cruciform shaped manor house.

The purpose of this study is to test criteria which are currently being used to determine status on seventeenth century sites. It would benefit researchers to know not only which criteria are legitimate indicators of status, but also which

factors are not accurate, and should not be used for this purpose. Along with other well-known and widely accepted techniques such as Miller's Ceramic Indexes for economic scaling (1991), and South's Artifact Pattern Recognition studies (1977), this study is methodological. South's studies are "methodological tools" to be "used to explore past behavior and beyond" (South, 1988:27). This study is one such tool. It's intention is to ascertain *how* to elicit status when sampling seventeenth century sites, further studies can then use this information to explain cultural processes.

Since 1977, when Stanley South first illustrated his Pattern Recognition studies, it has been one of the most applied methods in historical archaeology. Even if particular patterns are not being recognized, using South's artifact categories to quantify artifact assemblages is widespread. The use of percentages of, for example, domestic versus architectural artifacts based on the counts of sherds and fragments, is very common. The use of pattern and quantifying artifacts, however, are not fully sanctioned procedures. Charles Orser objected to the use of pattern analysis in plantation studies (1989). His two chief complaints with South's method was one, that it did not take into account the complexities of plantation systems, and two, that it was inherently synchronic, not demonstrating any change over time. Orser critiques the more general use of quantifying ubiquitous artifacts to elicit trends, asserting that artifact classes should be created which directly address the problems of plantation relations. "The key is not to determine the proportions of the same items at all sites; the key is to understand how these

artifacts were used in class formation, class struggle, alienation, and social change within the dominant mode of production” (Orser, 1989:37).

James Deetz, in his article on “Scientific Humanism and Humanistic Science” puts pattern studies on an extreme end opposite particularistic historical studies. Historians, he contends are concerned “that the many-splendored aspects of humankind cannot be reduced to predictability without doing violence to the complexities of the human experience, dehumanizing it and reducing it to columns and rows of numbers that become an end unto themselves” (Deetz, 1983:27). Pattern seekers are more concerned with the scientific aspects and the elucidation of laws:

To discover these laws we are told that we must be ever sensitive to the existence of pattern in the artifactual data and use the recurrence of this pattern from case to case to drive deeper to the underlying cause of its expression. Pattern recognition, of course, is dependent on quantification, so we must count (Deetz, 1983:27).

Deetz himself promotes the idea of using both the rich documentary record in conjunction with the less culturally biased artifacts, stating that patterns based exclusively on the relative frequencies of artifacts are superficial and are at risk of being distorted. But Deetz is basing his reasoning on historical archaeologists’ advantage of having intact sites, a variety of documentary sources, and other tangible objects that have not been broken into unrecognizable sherds, and he is being optimistic. Not all sites have these

advantages, and not all archaeologists have the resources to mount full scale excavations.

As stated, three of the sites analyzed in this studied are without the benefit of written records, and all four were only minimally sampled. To undertake a study such as this, one must be a positivist, and believe that there is something to be learned from the broken bits and pieces of refuse found in the ground. As Deetz himself says archaeologists should “put every bit of evidence into use” (1983:30). Despite the reservations some have of pattern analysis, it is still the most accepted methodology in historical archaeology analysis.

How to rank the four sites? What criteria should be used to place them in socio-economic order? Arguments have been made of the merits of various criteria for the purpose of determining status. No one method has ever been accepted by all as an infallible method of determining an assemblage’s position on the scale. Some methods, such as vessel form and function are not always possible to use, particularly on minimally sampled sites- the type of site being analyzed in this study. A review of the currently prescribed methods elicited no consensus: each criteria encountered received both recommendation and criticism. Thus it was concluded that each of the criteria options needed to be tested against one another in order to determine which were most accurate.

There are two questions to be answered: what criteria should be used to determine the difference in socio-economic status between the four sites and what is the status difference? The purpose of this study, then, is to answer both these questions in conjunction with one another. The artifact assemblages will supply the data against which the criteria will be tested, and the tests will help determine the socio-economic status of the sites. As a control against which all other conclusions will be compared is the known high socio-economic status of the John Page assemblage. It is hypothesized, first, that among the four sites the Page assemblage will rank high in socio-economic status and, second, the criteria which support this assumption, as well as do not contradict each other, will be deemed the most accurate methods for determining socio-economic status.

The study shall progress in this way. Chapter 2 is a discussion of previous research. A background of the social structure will be outlined, as well as some theoretical perspectives on the importance of material culture in determining social structure. Finally there will be a review of the previous methods of determining status in archaeological assemblages.

Chapter 3 is a description of the sites from which the assemblages were obtained. Their location, size, associated architectural features, and sampling method will be outlined.

Chapter 4 is where the six criteria for determining status, will be tested against the data from the four sites. The assemblages will be ranked independently according to each of the criteria.

Chapter 5 is the conclusion, at which time the two parts of the hypothesis will be answered. What is the relative socio-economic status of the four sites, and what criteria was used to determine this and is therefore felt to be most accurate.



## CHAPTER 2

### RESEARCH OVERVIEW

In order to analyze the materials from four seventeenth century sites and discuss how this relates to status, there are three things which must be considered. First, what is the historical context in which these artifacts were deposited. The answer to this is given to us succinctly by Edmund Morgan in his book American Slavery, American Freedom. Thankfully, Morgan also gives a very good understanding of the stratification of society throughout early Virginia history. This valuable information assists us in determining the relative status of the assemblages. The second thing to consider, before basing relative social structure strictly on the artifacts left in the ground, is the question: are these viable indicators of wealth and status? The World of Goods, by Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood is one source which confirms that material remains are indeed indicative of social stratification. Lastly, a review of other researchers' methods for using the artifacts to delineate status was performed in order to determine the most accepted or most often used methods.

#### Historical Context

In his landmark book, American Slavery-American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia, Edmund Morgan outlines how the tobacco trade

created the stratified caste-like society of colonial period Virginia, resulting in both the slave trade and, paradoxically, freedom. In his treatise, Morgan describes step by step how the colonies developed, including how the stratification of society changed over time.

In the second half of the seventeenth century, the time period concerned with in this paper, Morgan notes that a new social structure was emerging. At the bottom of the ranks was a small number of slaves, followed by a larger number of servants still working on their terms of indenture. Next up on the scale were the freedmen, who had finished their terms of servitude and were allowed to set up their own households. Second from the top of the ranks were those with established households with one or more servants, and finally the elite with most of the wealth, servants and government offices.

The successful planters gained their wealth by amassing large amounts of land and labor to control the tobacco market. Once they had established a certain level, they continued to enrich themselves by garnering various public offices for which they were paid outrageous sums of money in the form of salaries, taxes, levies and expenses, much of it paid for by the other planters. This resulted in the rich become richer and leaving little opportunity for the advancement of others (Morgan, 1975).

However, an increasing number of indentured servants finished out their terms and became free. They obtained cheap land which was a benefit of life

in Virginia, set up their own households, and begin planting for themselves. By dropping the tobacco prices, the increase in the number of small households directly threatened the prosperity of the wealthy planters and office holders. The rich combated the small planter in various ways, including extending terms of servitude and levying taxes, resulting in an increasingly poor and increasingly rebellious middle class. The eighteenth century saw a solution to the problem of rebellion with the dramatic increase in the numbers of slaves, whose terms of servitude would never run out, and a decrease in the number of servants capable of becoming free (Morgan, 1975).

Thus, in the second half of the seventeenth century, the social structure consisted of a class of servants and slaves incapable of owning property or land, underfed and underclothed; an elite class of very wealthy planters, holding lucrative government offices, and owning much land and many servants; and in between a class of struggling freedmen, some with small households and plots of land to grow tobacco. This description of early Virginia's social structure will help as an outline on which to organize the analysis of the sites.

### Previous Research

In The World of Goods, anthropologist Mary Douglas and economist Baron Isherwood discuss the role of goods as an indicator of culture and social structure. In their words, goods are the "visible part of culture." Goods,

or what historical archaeologists might term as “material culture” are used as communicators, carry social meaning and make and maintain social relationships, rather than used simply for subsistence and displays of competitiveness. According to Douglas and Isherwood no type of good carries more meaning than any other; types of goods carry equal meanings that are interdependent on each other. The value of the goods is agreed upon by all of the consumers.

Randall McGuire and Robert Paynter, in The Archaeology of Inequality, discussed that material culture was manipulated by the consumers to serve their own needs, and how the society itself leaves its mark on the material world. Their focus is on the power struggle played out and represented by material goods. The dominant class used the material world to create social inequality, while the subordinate classes used it as a means of resistance against the dominant class.

Anne Yentsh agrees that household goods symbolize and define the consumer’s position within the social structure (1991). Adams and Boling agree that with sufficient sample size, and a comparative regional database, artifacts can be used to determine status (1991).

These sources confirm that artifacts must be capable of denoting something about the social structure in which they were deposited. At the very least they should be capable of indicating a simple ranking of wealth.

Jay Custer conducted a methodological study to determine what the maximum percentage sample of the plowzone is necessary to obtain accurate results. His study suggests that 25% is the maximum sample necessary for plowzone layers, and he notes that others recommend as low as 10% as a maximum cut-off point. "Certainly, bigger samples are better...However, as the samples get bigger and bigger, the gains in efficiency are smaller and smaller" (Custer, 1992:276). The samples in this study are smaller, only 1-2%, but resources are not always available to sample any further. Moreover, if a 10-25% sample is the maximum necessary, than a sample of 1-2%, although small, cannot be considered insignificant.

### *Documentary Materials*

Many historical archaeologists believe that artifacts should not be used alone, that they should be studied in conjunction with documentary sources. Artifacts analyzed independently of documents, they reason, are without context. Beaudry et al particularly defend this position- that documentary sources are integral to the study of material culture (1991). This is certainly an agreeable argument, and when both documentary sources and material culture are available, they should be used together. However, in many cases documentary evidence relating to the site in question is unavailable. This is particularly true in certain Virginia counties where the county records were burned during the Civil War, after being sent to Richmond for safekeeping. Three of the four sites discussed in this thesis were located in James City County, a county where the documents were destroyed in the burning of

Richmond. In this case, most archaeologists will agree that it is better to use what information is available, in this case artifacts but not documents, rather than not using any information at all.

Using probate inventories is a prevalent method of determining status. Again, lack of documentary evidence for three of the four sites prohibits using probates to determine status in this case. Eric Ackerman (1991) developed a mathematical formula called the Economic Means Index to determine status using probate inventories and their information about land, bound labor, cattle and horses. James Horn (1988) used probate inventories to compare the quality of life of those who remained in England to those who emigrated to the Chesapeake. He noted that small and inexpensive items, such as knives and earthenware, appear more frequently on probates here than in England. He suggests that this probably demonstrates a dearth of goods in seventeenth century Chesapeake.

Possibly the best known study involving probate inventories is Lois Green Carr and Lorena Walsh's (1994) analysis of socio-economic status. They ranked probates by noting the presence or absence of thirteen specific high-status items, a method which could be utilized in artifact studies. A number of the items could be found on archaeological sites, but most are rarely or never found in the ground. The concept of counting the number of high status items present is valid if an unbiased, archaeologically based list were developed.

Status studies for late eighteenth and nineteenth century assemblages have an advantage in that ceramic types and decorative techniques are varied and well documented, including price information (O'Brien and Majewski, 1989; Burley, 1989; Miller, 1991). Because less is known about ceramic types in the seventeenth century, fewer studies of this type have been undertaken. Instead researchers have looked to a variety of other ways of gauging status. Some of which are applicable to all time periods, others are geared specifically to seventeenth century sites.

### *Vessel Shape*

Examining vessel shape has long been a preferred method for determining status, most notably by John Otto (1977) in his comparison of planters, overseers and slaves where he concluded that the wealthy planters ate from plates while the slaves ate from bowls. Pamela Cressey (1982) also used vessel lists in her discussion of the core-periphery model and its relation to status due to differential access to power. Anne Yentsch (1990) used vessels in her discussion of the changes of food use in the seventeenth century, and she even used them to determine gender (Yentsch, 1991). Andrew Edwards (1994, pers. comm.) has suggested that the presence of non-food related vessels may indicate higher status, because it shows they could afford more diverse and specialized items.

Unfortunately, due to the small sample size recovered from the sites in this study, cross-mend analyses with minimum vessel counts were not feasible.

However, the results of one study which included comparing vessel forms may be applicable to other artifact types. Merry Outlaw, Beverly Bogley and Alain Outlaw (1976) outlined four conclusions which were the result of their work comparing master and slave assemblages. They suggested that higher status assemblages should have higher quality wares than lower status assemblages, as well as a greater quantity of vessels, specialized vessels and more storage vessels. These basic precepts can be transferred to other artifact types: higher quality, greater quantity, and more specialization (interpreted here as a greater diversity of artifact types).

William Adams and Sarah Boling (1989) disagreed with the assertion of Outlaw et al that better quality ceramics should indicate higher status, concluding that there was little meaningful difference between ceramic types at different status assemblages. However, they agreed that the wealthy should have a greater variety of vessel forms. Adams' and Boling's study also examined Otto's assertion that proportionately slaves had more bowls and planters had more plates. They found that while some sites validated Otto's claim, other sites contradicted it. They concluded that while ceramics may be good indicators of status, other non-ceramic indicators such as architectural and faunal remains, may be equally as valid.

### *Architectural*

Lois Feister (1984) endorsed the use of architectural evidence to determine status. She found in her comparison of officers' and soldiers'



barracks that the quality of building materials was more indicative of status than other forms of material culture, which she found nearly identical between the two groups in her study.

### *Faunal Analysis*

After ceramics, faunal remains are the second most popular artifact type for determining status. Henry Miller's study of the slave assemblages at Pettis and Utopia is one example (1984). "Undesirable" cuts of meat, such as hooves, have been thought to indicate low status. Particular species also have been represented as indicating status. Andrew Edwards proposes in his master's thesis that pigs should be found on lower status sites, while Miller (1988) discovered that deer remains are more likely to be found on wealthy sites. Joanne Bowen (1992), however, cautions against studies of this kind, saying that faunal remains do not indicate status as clearly as was once thought. She states that it is impossible to analyze an assemblage for its status or ethnicity without fully understanding the local food procurement system and the relative availability of animals and meat cuts. Additionally the values that we currently place on certain meat cuts are not necessarily the same as those of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Bowen suggests that rather than base our interpretations of status on cuts of meat, which are dependent on the local market system and the preferences of the consumers, we should examine other factors such as spices, cooking techniques, variety of recipes and specialty foods. Of course, these factors can not be found archaeologically. In addition to these limitations, a faunal analysis is not

possible when sites have been sampled to the small degree that the sites in this study have.

### *Quality Vs. Quantity*

Two studies which began with overviews of previous research, particularly those focusing on probates, made more general statements regarding material culture in the seventeenth century. Barbara Little and Paul Shackel (1989) said of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, in particular, that there was little difference in the kinds of things owned by the wealthy and the poor; the wealthy just had more of everything. Barbara Carson (1984) felt that this common conclusion of being rich in the seventeenth century meant having more, not being different, was incorrect. Her own work led her to two observations; the first was the paucity of material goods in lower status households in the seventeenth century, and the second was the extent of improvement and change in quality and diversity in all wealth groups over the next fifty years. In her own experience, she found that being rich meant owning more *and* owning better.

### *Markers*

William Kelso does not believe quantity should be used, and takes a more qualitative approach. From his work on the seventeenth century Kingsmill Plantation, Kelso (1984) contended that the quality of materials is subjective. He believed that looking for the presence or absence of high status signal objects, regardless of their quantity, was essential. He

suggested that these signal objects, such as bottle seals and jewelry, are better indicators of status than broken ceramics. However, in the case of materials which are found on every site in large quantities, such as bone and nails, the relative quantities of these objects is also a valid indicator of status.

*Patterning: Percentage Relationships and Diversity*

Stanley South created a list of artifact classes and groups for his work on patterning (1977). Lesley Drucker (1981) used South's lists in his own research on socio-economic status. Based on the assumption that South's data came from medium to high status assemblages, Drucker hypothesized that there should be significant differences in the percentages of artifact types between the assemblages South uses and low status assemblages. It would not be applicable to use South's data as a comparative base for this study because the assemblages he uses date to the eighteenth century. It should be possible, however, to compare the sites in this study to each other by calculating the percentage relationships of artifact types based on South's classes.

In Dennis Pogue's synthesis of standard of living studies for the seventeenth century (1993), he accurately remarked that most studies of this kind are based on probate records, ceramic data, architectural remains or subsistence studies. Additionally, he noted that many researchers conclude that the wealthier simply have more of the same utilitarian goods than the poor have. Rather than focusing solely on ceramics in his own research, Pogue chose

twelve artifact types found regularly in the ground to use as an index to facilitate inter- site comparative analysis. For each of the sites the presence or absence of the twelve artifact types was noted without regard to quantity. By adding the total number of categories represented at each site, one could produce a comparative ordinal scale. After conducting this exercise for sites that spanned the seventeenth century, Pogue saw that no diachronic pattern emerged and concluded that the exercise was not successful.

From these attempts to define accurate ways of measuring the status of a site, six possible criteria were chosen because they were applicable to this study. They are percentage relationships of artifact types, architectural elements, quality of ceramic ware types, quantity of fragments, diversity of artifact types, and signal or marker objects. Each of the six methods will be used to rank the four assemblages, Page, Hornsby, Carter's Grove Site 10, and Bassett Hall Woods Site 21, on a socio-economic scale.

## CHAPTER 3

### ARCHAEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

Four sites, the Page Assemblage at Bruton Heights, the Hornsby Site, Site 10 at Carter's Grove, and Bassett Hall Woods Site 21, were chosen for comparison. See Figure 1 for a map of the site locations. The sites are contemporaneous, dating to the last quarter of the seventeenth century, and they are all located within or just outside the area known as Middle Plantation. Each site was sampled by Colonial Williamsburg's Department of Archaeological Research, under the directorship of Principle Investigator Marley Brown. This chapter will describe the results of the archaeological examinations of the sites, as well as the extant documentary evidence, if any. The method of sampling will be discussed for each site, including the percentage of each assemblage recovered, along with an examination of any inaccuracies in the sampling procedure.

#### *Bruton Heights*

The Bruton Heights complex is now the site of an abandoned school in the City of Williamsburg, and was once part of York County. York County did not ship its records to Richmond during the Civil War, and thus were not burned upon the taking of Richmond. Some surviving documents exist regarding the land purchasing, building and ownership of the seventeenth

FIGURE 1  
LOCATION OF SITES



century component known as the Page assemblage. Sources show that John Page, who moved from England to Virginia in 1650 at the age of twenty-three, purchased one hundred acres of this tract in 1655 and patented 280 acres in 1683. Although Page owned land elsewhere, this is where he built his manor house (Metz et al., 1997). John Page was trained as a lawyer and rose to become a very wealthy and influential citizen of Middle Plantation and York County. He served on the York County House of Burgesses, the Bruton Parish Vestry, and, most impressively, the Council of State. He was instrumental in getting the College of William and Mary built in Middle Plantation. He was also involved in the effort to move the state capitol from Jamestown to the new city of Williamsburg (Metz et al., 1997).

Excavations from 1995 located a large, cruciform shaped manor house with a full English basement, dated 1662, and bearing the initials of John Page and his wife Ann. Documents recorded a number of brick outbuildings attributed to John Page. A brick and tile kiln dating to the 1670's was also found on this property, suggesting the need for large amounts of brick and roofing tile, undoubtedly for the construction of the manor house and outbuildings.

The Bruton Heights High School was built in 1940 on the highest point of the terrace. The Page kitchen was partially destroyed by the construction of the school, while the cellar of the house was buried under the asphalt parking lot. Apparently, the sheet refuse relating to Page's occupation of the house was used to fill in a ravine to the northwest of the school building. Ceramic

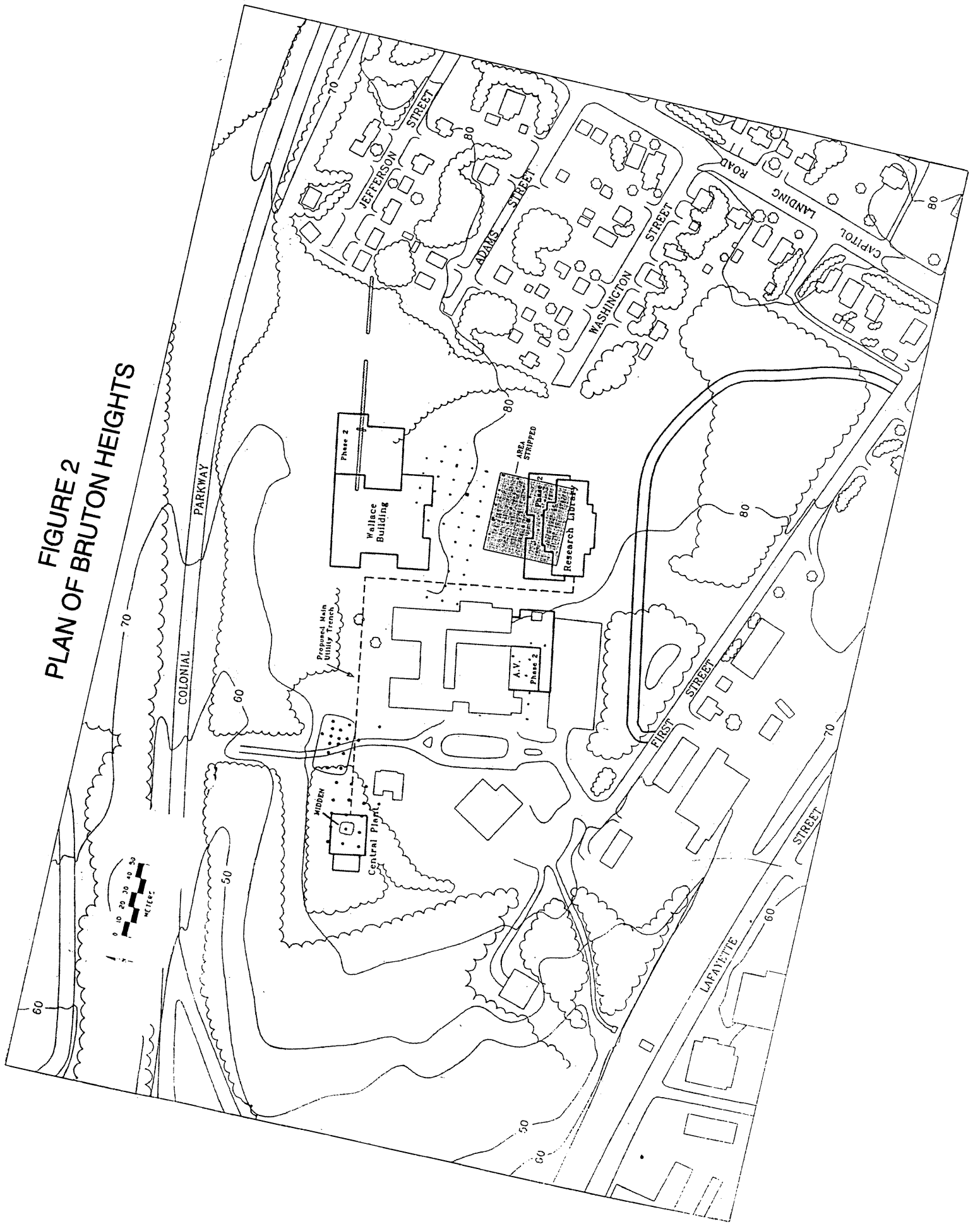
fragments from the ravine cross-mend with others from a Page related barrow pit behind the kitchen. (Metz et al., 1997).

Preliminary testing of the Bruton Heights property in 1992 located the ravine, but not the house or kitchen which were buried under the school and parking lot. The ravine was sampled, to recover artifacts relating to John Page as they were the only Page materials accessible. Since the ravine fill was the only Page material available when this study was originally conducted, the 1-2% sample of the ravine was taken to be equivalent to 1-2% of the Page assemblage. Later excavations uncovered more Page related artifacts, but no more sheet refuse was recovered. As a result, the data from Bruton Heights used in this study may represent *less than* one percent of the Page site. This is not as problematic to the study as one might think, since, as expected, the Page assemblage ranked as the highest in socio-economic status. Thus, if a complete 1-2% of the artifacts had been used in the analysis, the results would only have placed Page even further above the other sites' occupants.

The seventeenth century materials recovered from the ravine in 1992 were the basis for the analysis of John Page's relative socio-economic status. Indeed the impetus for this study based exclusively on recovered artifacts was the fact that no intact stratigraphy or features relating to his household were found at this time. Thirteen square-meter test units were placed within an approximately forty by twenty meter area, resulting in a 1.6 percent sample of the ravine. The test units were placed five meters apart in areas of high



FIGURE 2  
PLAN OF BRUTON HEIGHTS



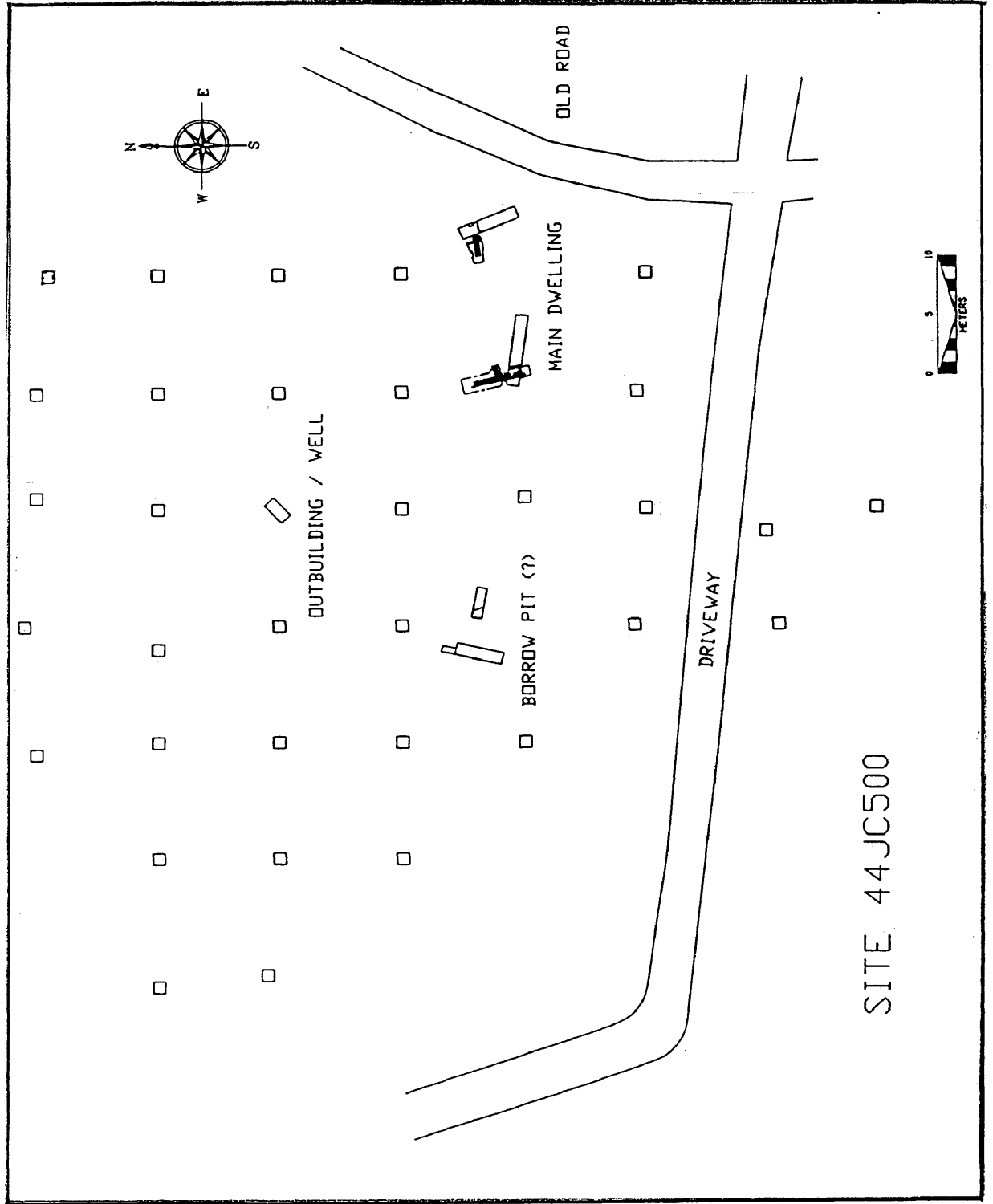
artifact concentration, and ten meters apart in other areas (Figure 2). The current topography also played a role in the placement of the test units (Metz et al., 1997).

### *The Hornsby Site*

The Hornsby Site is located in James City County, the records of which were destroyed by fire during the Civil War. Therefore, very little is known about the occupants of the Hornsby site. Richard Brewster was the last known owner of the land, holding eight hundred to one thousand acres in 1646. Unfortunately this is about thirty years before the date of the site (Muraca, nd).

The sampling, which was limited to test units and small trenches due to time and monetary constraints, concentrated in an area where the Phase I survey and Phase II testing found evidence of a large late seventeenth century plantation. In the Phase IIA, two portions of a foundation two bricks wide with seven courses of brick underground were located 12.5 meters (40 feet) apart. A foundation of this size suggests a substantial building. Also found were brick hearths, a root cellar, a trash pit, and possible outbuildings. Among the smaller features were post holes located adjacent to the building. It appears part of the building was of post construction, while the rest was supported on a brick foundation, an unusual arrangement (Muraca, nd). It may be that this is a rare example of the transition from the seventeenth century architectural style of earthfast buildings to the eighteenth century style of brick foundations.

FIGURE 3  
PLAN OF THE HORNSBY SITE



SITE 44JC500

All of the recovered artifacts date to the last quarter of the seventeenth century.

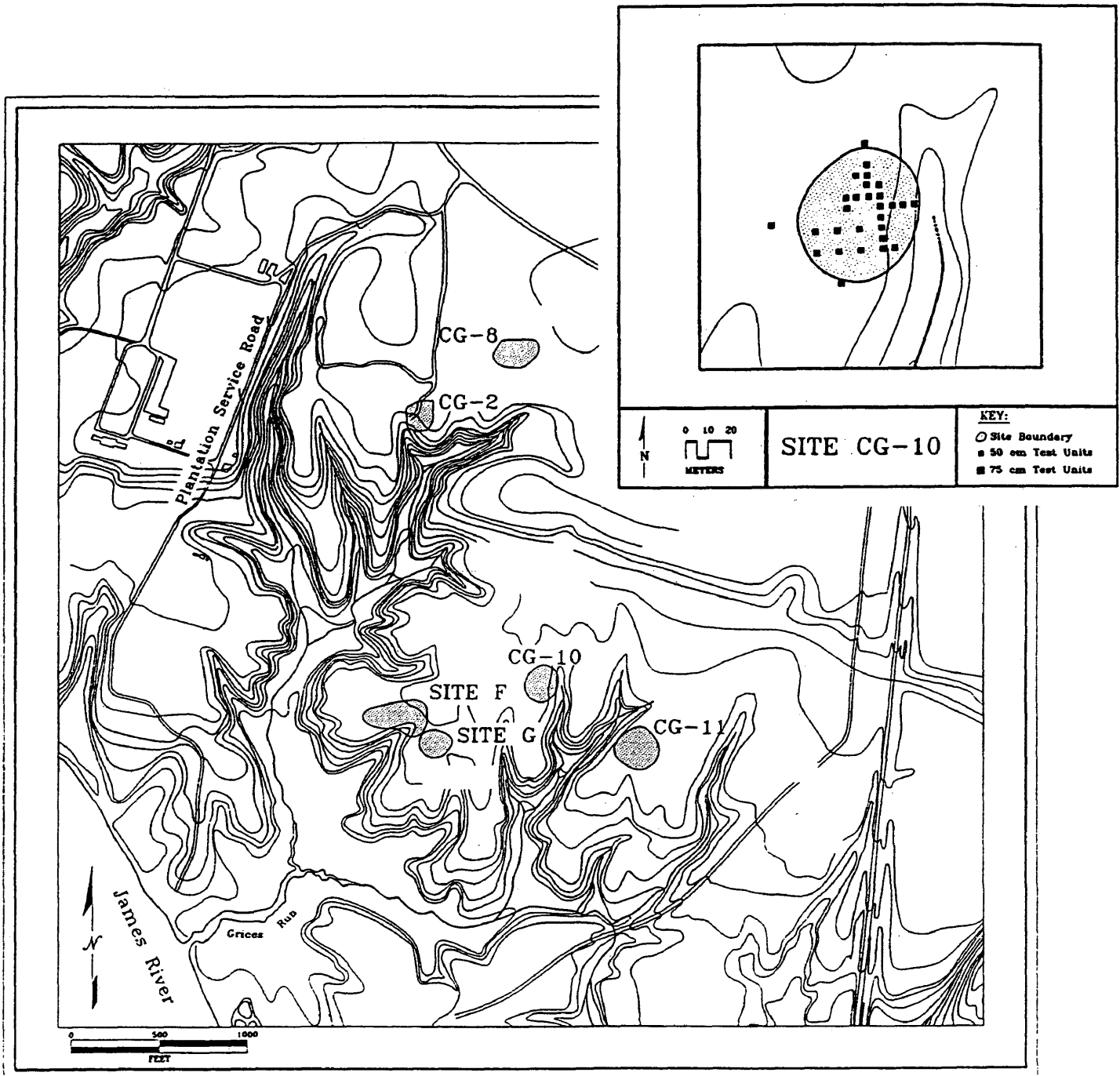
The sampling method employed at the Hornsby Site included regularly placed test units designed to define the limits of the site, locate activity areas, and collect an artifact sample for analysis. Small trenches were also placed in certain locations to emphasize archaeological evidence and limit destruction to trees. The thirty test units were seventy-five centimeters square, and were placed every ten meters (Figure 3). The seven trenches ranged in size from one by two square meters to one by six square meters (Muraca, nd).

Together the test units and trenches total 1.3 percent of the site area, which was approximately sixty meters square.

### *Carter's Grove*

The sampling of Site 10 at Carter's Grove, James City County, occurred during a Phase II. Test units uncovered five structural postholes and a trash deposit. Two of these post holes were repairs. The three distinct post holes were quite substantial, measuring nearly three feet on a side. A small ravine jutted up against one boundary. The site report recommends further work in the form of a Phase III excavation in order to better locate the site boundaries and identify remaining architectural features (Moody, 1992). For the moment the site is sitting in easement.

FIGURE 4  
 PLAN OF CARTER'S GROVE SITE 10

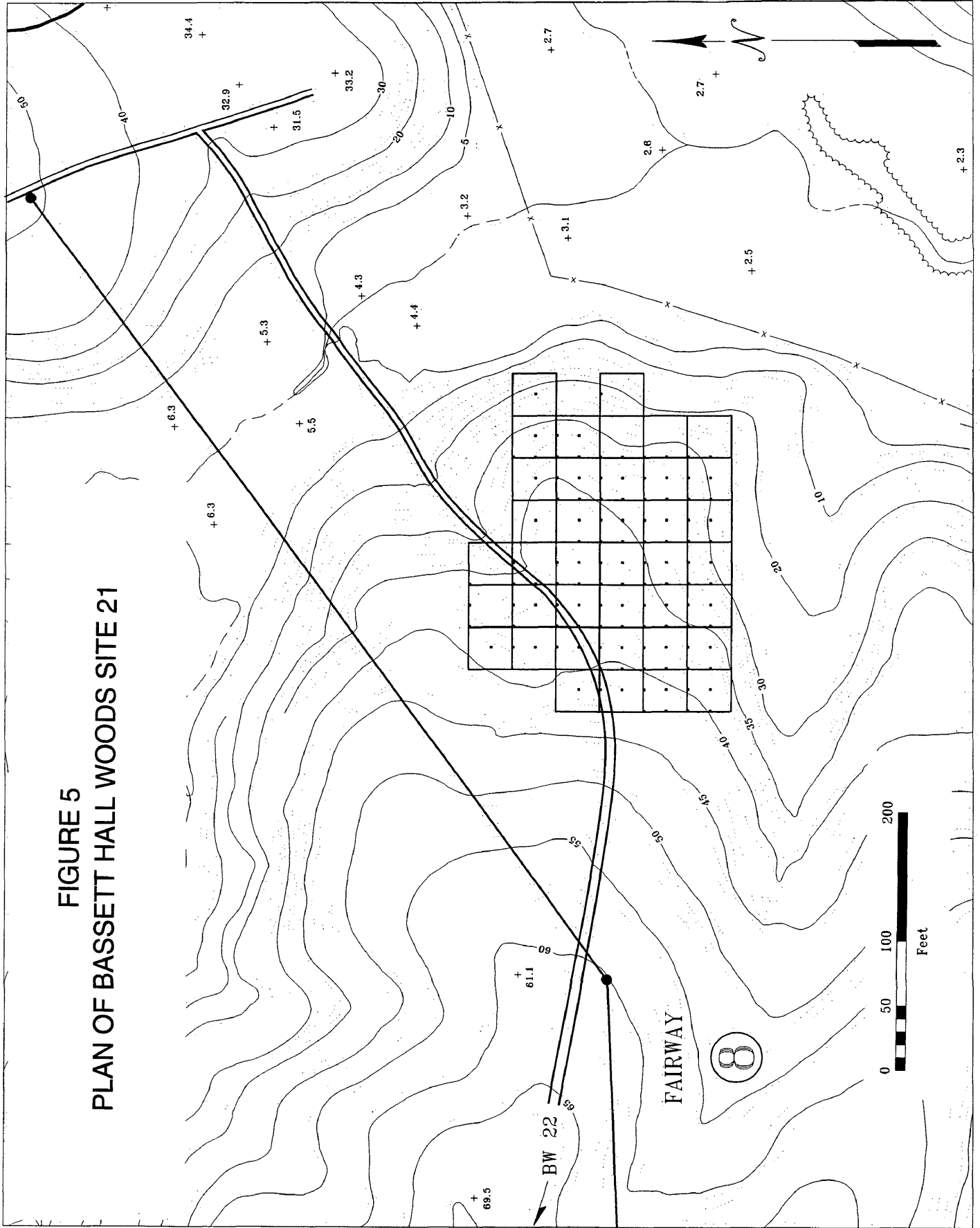


Seventy-five centimeter square test units were placed at five meter intervals along central north-south and east-west axes (Figure 4). The northwest quadrant contained a high artifact and feature concentration, and was tested at five meter intervals, while the less productive southwest quadrant was tested at ten meter intervals. To the east of the center line is the small ravine which was not fully tested. Twenty-eight test units were dug, while five were expanded to expose features. This resulted in approximately 1.16% of the excavated portion of the site recovered. A trash pit was located by a test unit, and this produced the majority of the recovered artifacts. The ceramics and other datable artifacts point to an occupation date from after 1650 to after 1680, concentrating in the 1680's (Moody, 1992).

#### *Bassett Hall Woods Site 21*

The sampling of Bassett Hall Woods Site 21, located in the current City of Williamsburg, once a part of James City County, was done in three stages. The first stage was a systematic placement of 116 fifty centimeter square test units over the fifty by sixty meter site area resulting in a one percent sample. Twelve two by two meter units were then placed in areas of interest to obtain more artifacts for analysis and to expose cultural features (Figure 5). Thus the sample taken was 2.5% of the total site area. Finally the entire area was stripped to expose features which could then be mapped. The stripping uncovered a 10 by 12.5 meter (23 by 32 foot) post structure. A second building was suggested by the artifact scatter. An analysis of the artifact distribution showed that much activity took place in the yard, which, combined

FIGURE 5  
PLAN OF BASSETT HALL WOODS SITE 21



with the types of artifacts recovered, suggested a domestic dwelling of low to middling status. A pipe stem analysis resulted in a date of 1670, while the other artifacts date to 1650 to the early 1690's (Steen, nd). The sampling percentage for Site 21 at 2.5% is about twice as large as the others. For the status indicator tests which involve percentages the sampling percentage is irrelevant. Tests which rely on counts, however, required that the counts be divided in half to equalize the sampling percentage. Strangely, none of the actual rankings derived from the tests were altered with the elimination of half of this assemblage. The only test that was affected was the test of total quantity, because the numbers changed, but still the rankings did not. The problems involved with this will be discussed more fully in Chapter 4, when the tests are explained.



## CHAPTER 4

### METHODS AND RESULTS

Attempts to define accurate ways of measuring the status of a site have yielded a variety of methods and generated much debate. Six possible indicators of status were used in this study: percentage relationships of artifact types, architectural elements, quality of ceramic ware types, quantity of fragments, diversity of artifact types, and signal or marker objects. These six methods were used to rank the four assemblages, Page, Hornsby, Carter's Grove Site 10, and Bassett Hall Woods Site 21 on a socio-economic scale. By comparing the results of each test it was hoped to learn more about the relationship of the sites to the community, as well as establish which methods were most appropriate to accurately determine status using artifacts from the seventeenth century. Please see Appendix A for a list of the artifact types used in this study.

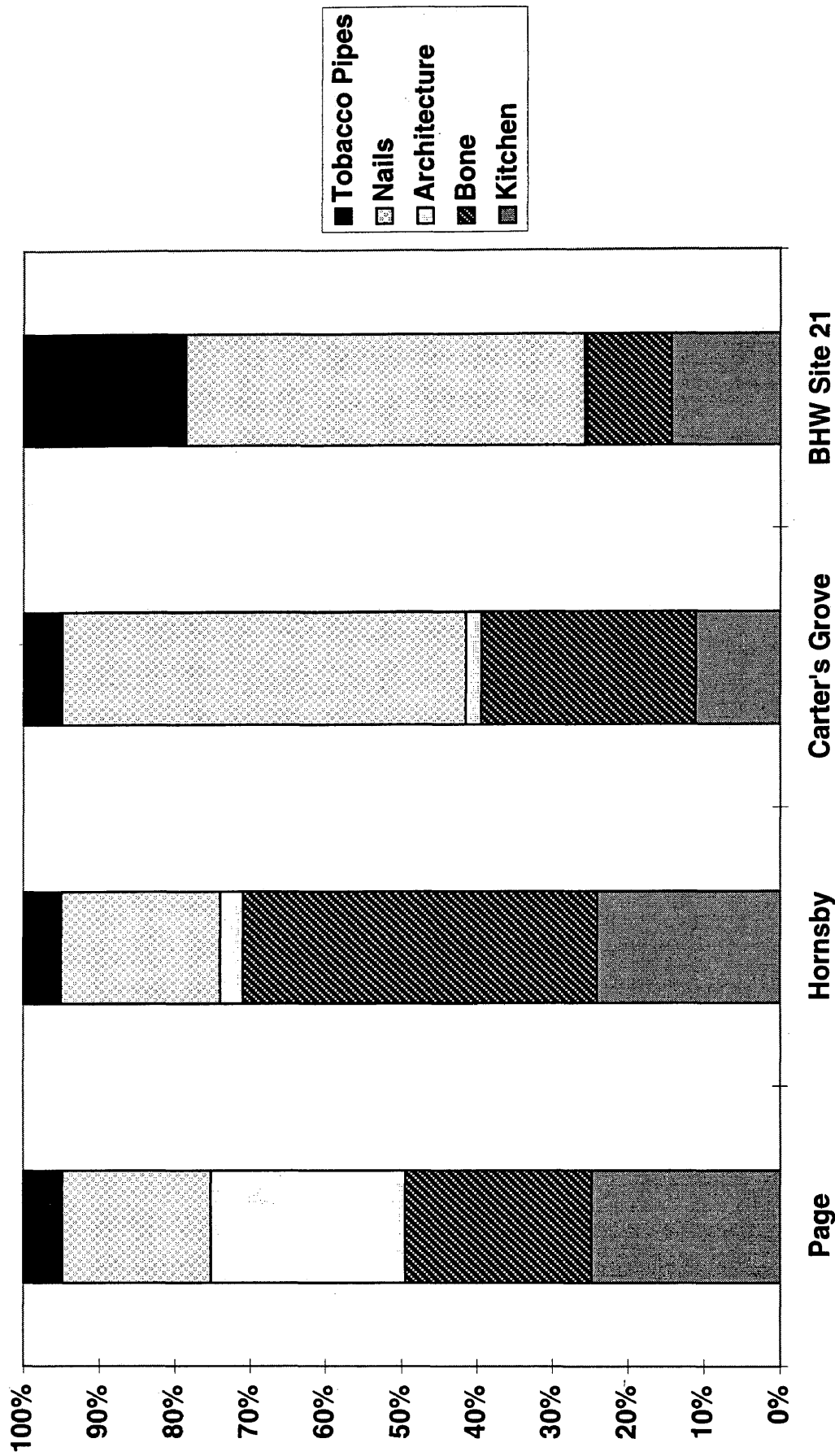
#### Percentage Relationships

The first possible status indicator method to be tested was suggested by Lesley Drucker (1981). Drucker used Stanley South's (1977) list of artifact classes, as well as South's data in his own research on socio-economic status. Based on the assumption that South's data came from medium to high status assemblages, Drucker hypothesized that there should be significant

differences in the percentages of artifact types between the assemblages South uses and low status assemblages. Rather than using South's data from eighteenth century sites, this study will compare the four seventeenth century study sites of possibly different socio-economic groups. It should be possible to compare the sites in this study to each other by calculating the percentage relationships of artifact types based on South's classes.

When the percentages of each of South's artifact groups were calculated for the four sites it became apparent that many categories, including the furniture, arms, clothing, personal and activities groups, did not yield a meaningful pattern. The percentages of kitchen, faunal, architectural, and tobacco pipe groups, however, did reveal some interesting trends. At first, it seemed the percentages of the architectural group would not be indicative of status because the sites with post structures, Bassett Hall Woods and Carter's Grove, had the highest percentages, followed by Page's presumably brick structure, and lastly the site with a brick foundation, Hornsby. When the architectural group was divided into two sub-groups, nails and non-nail architecture, the results made more sense. From this, it is hypothesized that sites with high percentages of kitchen related artifacts, faunal bone and non-nail architectural materials are of a higher status than those sites with a comparatively higher percentage of tobacco pipes, and nails. See Figure 6 for a graph of the results of this test. If this hypothesis is accurate, then the Page assemblage ranked as the highest status site with relatively high percentages in all three of the higher status groups, kitchen, bone and non-nail architecture

**FIGURE 6**  
**PERCENTAGE RELATIONSHIPS BY ARTIFACT GROUP**



**BHW Site 21**

**Carter's Grove**

**Hornsby**

**Page**

(24, 24 and 25% respectively), and low percentages for the lower status groups, nails and tobacco pipes (19 and 5% respectively). The Hornsby Site received the second place ranking with a relatively high percentage of kitchen related artifacts (24%), a very high percentage of faunal bone (47%), a middling percentage of non-nail architectural elements (3%), and relatively low percentages for nails and tobacco pipes (21 and 5% respectively).

Carter's Grove Site 10 ranked third due to its low percentage of kitchen related artifacts (11%) and middling amount of non-nail architectural elements (2%). However, it had a fairly high percentage of faunal remains (28%). On the other end of the scale it had the largest percentage of nails (53%), but tied for the lowest percentage of tobacco pipes (5%).

Bassett Hall Woods Site 21 ranked lowest on the socio-economic scale. It had low percentages of all three of the higher status indicators (kitchen 14%, bone 11%, non-nail architecture .3%), and high percentages of the low status indicators (nails 52%, tobacco pipes 21%). This was by far the highest percentage of tobacco pipes.

It has been suggested that the presence of a large quantity of nails should not be used as an indicator of low status because a large frame house will produce a very large quantity of nails. It is hoped that using percentages rather than counts will help compensate for this problem. A large percentage of nails, in any event, should indicate a dearth of other material goods. As a

case in point, it was possible to determine the exact dimensions of only one dwelling out of the four sites; the post structure at Bassett Hall Woods Site 21 measured 10 x 7.25 meters (32 x 23 feet) (Steen, nd). However, the brick foundations uncovered at the Hornsby Site were 12.5 meters (40 feet) apart (Muraca, nd). The Hornsby assemblage, a 1.32% sample, included 910 nails, while Site 21's 2.5% sample yielded 1187 nails, which if divided by two to level the sampling percentage, is reduced to 594. The frame dwelling at the Hornsby Site was larger, possibly substantially so, than the post structure at Bassett Hall Woods, and also had a higher nail count, yet the percentage of the total artifacts which nails represent at the latter site is over twice as high as that of the former (52% to 21% respectively).

#### Architectural Remains

Lois Feister (1984) found in her comparison of officer and soldier barracks that the differences in quality and type of architectural materials used were much more indicative of the opposing status groups than were other forms of material culture. William Adams and Sarah Boling (1989), among others also recommended using architectural remains to determine status as an alternative to the popular but controversial use of ceramics. Here it is hypothesized that sites with architectural diversity such as roofing tiles, glass windows, locks and other related hardware should be higher status assemblages.

The results of this test were similar to those from the percentage relationships test. The Page assemblage from Bruton Heights ranked the highest due to roofing tiles, window glass and leads, door locks and a wall tie. The Hornsby site was positioned below Page because it did not include a tile roof, but it did have an almost identical amount of window glass and leads, as well as strap hinges. Very few fragments of window glass were found at both Carter's Grove Site 10 and Bassett Hall Woods Site 21, and no window leads. It is fairly safe to assume that the structures did not have glazed windows. Spikes, which may have been used in the construction of the building, were found at Carter's Grove, while a spike and a hasp were recovered from Site 21.

Although this technique discusses diversity of archaeological elements, it can readily be reviewed as a test of archaeological quality. Surely glass casement windows allow for a better quality of life than the alternatives- window openings covered with paper, cloth or shutters, which if they are opened to let in light also let in the elements. Plastered walls were a fairly uncommon luxury in the seventeenth century and it should be noted that the Page assemblage was the only site that contained any plaster. Even the building hardware mentioned above can convey impressions of quality. Door locks and strap hinges suggest a sturdiness and aesthetic not felt in spikes and hasps. Combined with the knowledge that the Page residence was most likely a brick structure, while the Hornsby dwelling was built on a brick foundation, one is left with the image of these as substantial, well-built, attractive dwellings, in

contrast to the impermanent post structures of the Carter's Grove and Bassett Hall Woods sites, common in the seventeenth century.

It should be noted, however, that not all wealthy persons wanted to own substantial brick dwellings at this time period. Morgan (1975) noted that the successful men in late seventeenth century were not confident enough in the Virginia colony to sink money into huge, permanent houses. Therefore, most still lived in small, impermanent structures.

### Quality

Outlaw, Bogley and Outlaw in their 1976 study of status in seventeenth century assemblages determined, among other things, that higher quality wares should represent higher status sites. Many have disagreed with this hypothesis since then. For example Adams and Boling (1989) determined that there was little meaningful difference between ceramic types in different status assemblages, while Little and Shackle (1989) proposed that there was little difference in the kinds of things owned by the different status groups, the wealthy just owned more of them than the poor. Barbara Carson, however, sustained the idea that in the seventeenth century the wealthy had a better quality of goods, not just more of them, than the lower classes.

One problem with using ceramic ware quality to test socio-economic status is that the poor and middling classes will attempt to emulate the high status

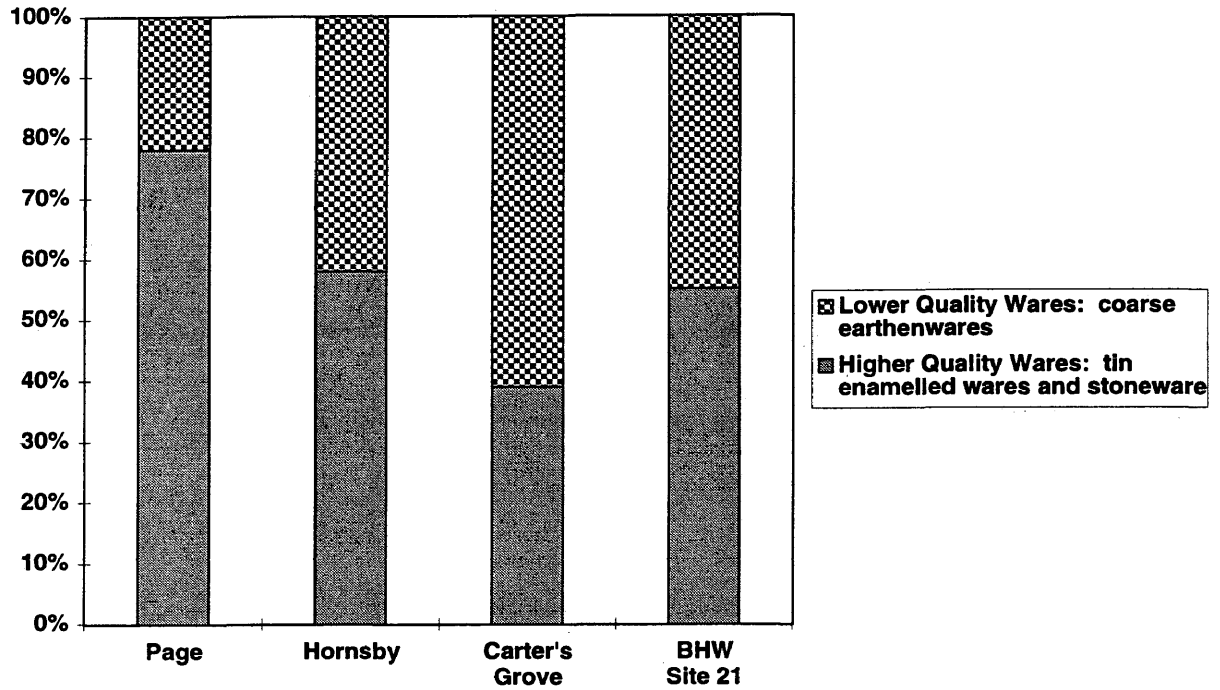
people by purchasing small high status goods. They will spend what little money they have on smaller items which they can afford. This means that the poor and middle class will have some small, higher status items, particularly ceramics.

Another aspect to consider is market availability. Because consumers can only purchase what is available to them; readily available, inexpensive items will show up in the homes of all social ranks. A wealthy person may have more access to some things which can only be found through ordering or other indirect means, but they will also be required to purchase ubiquitous, available everyday wares which will be found in all assemblages.

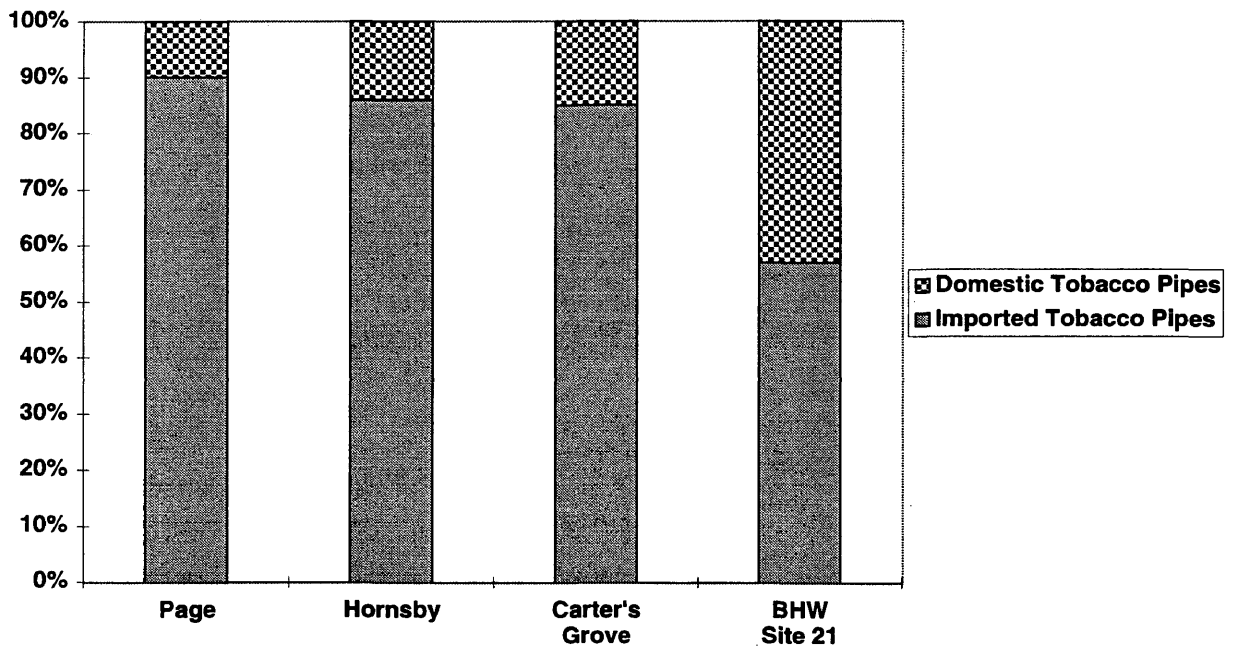
William Kelso (1984) questioned the relevancy of the quality debate by reminding us that quality of material is subjective. However, a study of this kind would be incomplete without a comparison of ceramic ware types based on what are generally considered to be higher quality and lesser quality types. This is made even more problematic when one considers that our study samples contain only sherds and not vessels, possibly resulting in disproportionate amounts of ceramic types, due to differential breakage. Because ceramic quality is subjective, it was difficult to determine how to divide the range of ceramics into better quality and lesser quality wares. At first the ceramics found at the four sites were separated into those which were decorative as well as utilitarian: tin-enameled wares, blue and gray Rhenish



**FIGURE 7**  
**QUALITY OF CERAMIC WARE TYPES**



**FIGURE 8**  
**CHART OF TOBACCO PIPE TYPES**



stonewares, and slip-decorated wares from those which were strictly utilitarian: plain coarsewares and brown stonewares. The results of this test were such that it appeared that ceramic ware quality was not a good status indicator. The Page assemblage, not surprisingly, had seventy-four percent higher quality wares, but the other three sites, Hornsby, Carter's Grove Site 10 and Bassett Hall Woods Site 21 all had fifty-five percent better quality wares. The identical percentages made them impossible to rank, and this method seemingly ineffective.

The next step was to sort the ceramics, not by surface treatment, but by body quality and firing temperatures. In this trial the higher quality ceramics included the more refined tin-enamels and stonewares, while the lesser quality group was comprised of the coarse earthenwares. These results were slightly more consistent with the other tests performed so far (Figure 7). The Page assemblage again had the highest percentage of better quality wares (78%). The Hornsby site ranked second (58%), followed by Bassett Hall Woods Site 21 (55%). Carter's Grove Site 10 received the lowest ranking (39%). This is surprising because until now Site 10 ranked as high, if not higher than Site 21.

The presence of Chinese porcelain at a site has long been considered an indication of high status. This is particularly true of the seventeenth century when Chinese porcelain was still a rare commodity. Two of the assemblages in this study contain porcelain. Not surprisingly these are Hornsby with two

sherds (1% of the total ceramic assemblage), and the Page assemblage with fourteen (4% of the ceramics).

### *Tobacco Pipes*

In his MA thesis Andrew Edwards suggests that the relative percentages of the evidently higher quality imported tobacco pipes and the lower quality domestic tobacco pipes can also delineate status. The test of imported versus domestic tobacco pipes resulted in a typical ranking, similar to that of the architectural elements (Figure 8). The rankings followed in the same order as they have before Page, Hornsby, Carter's Grove, and, lastly, Bassett Hall Woods (90, 86, 85, and 57% imported tobacco pipes respectively). It should be noted, however, that the percentage deviations are minimal except in the case of Site 21, which had an unusually high percentage of domestic tobacco pipes: twenty-eight percentage points more than the next lowest site.

Accurate dates from these sites are not available; the artifacts are known to date to the third quarter of the seventeenth century. It is possible that Bassett Hall Woods Site 21 is slightly earlier than the other three sites, enough to account for the greater percentage of domestic tobacco pipes. However, because the rankings were consistent with other tests performed, it can be assumed that domestic versus imported tobacco pipes is an accurate way of determining status, although the results may be too narrow to be noticeable.

## Quantity

While researchers debate about what in the material record indicates status, many, including Barbara Carson (1984), Little and Shackle (1989), and Outlaw, Bogley and Outlaw (1976) have conceded the obvious, that the wealthy should have had more goods than the poor. If a group of assemblages each represent a known and equal portion of their sites, then the assemblages with the greatest total artifact count should be the higher status sites. However, there are a few problems with using artifact counts in this manner, which is why most comparisons of this kind involve percentages rather than counts. Many of these problems fall under the heading of sampling error. Were the sites really sampled, or excavated, to the same degree? Were features with large amounts of artifacts, such as trash pits, located at some sites and not at others? Over-sampling, when researchers target certain areas to obtain a greater artifact yield, could be one cause of this. Another problem with using artifact counts is differential breakage. Under certain conditions artifacts will break into smaller pieces yielding larger, distorted counts.

The different sampling sizes of the sites in this study needs to be addressed here. Sampling size is often one of the biggest problems when comparing sites. The percentage of each of the four assemblages was calculated for this study by dividing the total area within the site boundaries by the total area of the test units and trenches excavated. In the case of the Page site where the

soils from the site were used to fill a ravine, the area of the ravine was used as the site boundaries to make the initial calculations. At that point, it was not known that any of the Page materials remained *in situ*, or that they would later be excavated. The initial calculation of the Page site was that the recovered artifacts constituted 1.6% of what would have been recovered if the entire ravine were excavated. More Page materials were recovered during the 1996 excavations, lowering the percentage of the Page total that was used in this study to as low as less than 1%. The percentage of the other sites that was recovered was calculated to be 1.32% for Hornsby, 1.13% for Carter's Grove Site 10, and 2.5% for Bassett Hall Woods. The total artifact counts for Site 21 were divided by two to make its percentage a more comparable 1.25%.

Unfortunately, this can not solve all of the problems of sampling error, nor can it account for differential breakage.

The Hornsby Site had the greatest total quantity of artifacts (4,429), followed by the Page assemblage (2,854), Bassett Hall Woods (1,131), and finally Carter's Grove (645). Because the Page assemblage is now known to represent less than one percent of the total, the quantity for Page is lower than it should be, and therefore the gap between Hornsby and Page should be lessened. In any event, the results of this test conform with previous tests by placing Page and Hornsby as higher status, and Carter's Grove and Bassett Hall Woods as lower status. However, caution should be used with this method because of the extreme problems with obtaining the same sample size.

## Diversity

Prudence Rice (1989) in her study of diversity in prehistoric ceramic production and technologies found that the wealthiest households did not have the largest quantity of vessels, rather they had the largest diversity of vessels. Diversity is a measurement of variation, and is said to have two properties: richness and evenness (Jones and Leonard, 1989). Richness is the number of categories represented, while evenness is the way in which the total amount is distributed among the classes. Diversity can be measured using either, or both, of these properties; diversity increases with both a richer sample and a more even sample. As with many of the other possible status indicators, using diversity to delineate status comes with some warnings. Jones and Leonard stress that the classification system used must be explicit, with classes that are “mutually exclusive, exhaustive, and composed at the same classificatory level” (1989:3). This last is probably the most important; the classes must be uniform. In addition the samples being measured should be random and representative. Unfortunately, a limited sample size can affect the richness measurement (Kintigh, 1989). The sample size in this study may preclude using diversity as a status indicator.

An attempt to find an already established classification system to use with the diversity test resulted in only two possibilities. Stanley South (1977) had pattern in mind when he created the list of artifact classes for the Carolina

Artifact Pattern study, and according to the cautions espoused by Jones and Leonard, may not be applicable for a study of diversity in that not all of his artifact classes are commensurate. Pogue's (1993) original purpose was to define a diachronic pattern when he created a list of selected domestic artifact categories, which he felt was unsuccessful. With a synchronic study, however, his list may be suitable for measuring richness, and hence, diversity. With the exception of the coarse and fine earthenwares (which are rarely significant because they are almost universally found on late seventeenth century sites) Pogue's categories are all on the same classificatory level.

It is hypothesized here that a more diverse assemblage is a higher status assemblage. Richness can be calculated by giving each site a point for every particular artifact type which occurs at least once in the assemblage. Despite the apparent unevenness of South's classes, the resulting rankings using both his and Pogue's classificatory schemes yielded identical results in this study. The discussion will be limited to the results from Pogue's list because it is shorter and easier to use.

The results of this test were inconsistent with the other results (Figure 5). Each of the sites contained coarse and refined earthenware. The Hornsby site received a first place ranking for having at least one artifact from six more of the twelve categories including, knives, spoons, window glass and leads, upholstery tacks, brass buckles and thimbles. Bassett Hall Woods Site 21 received its only high ranking, having representatives from four additional

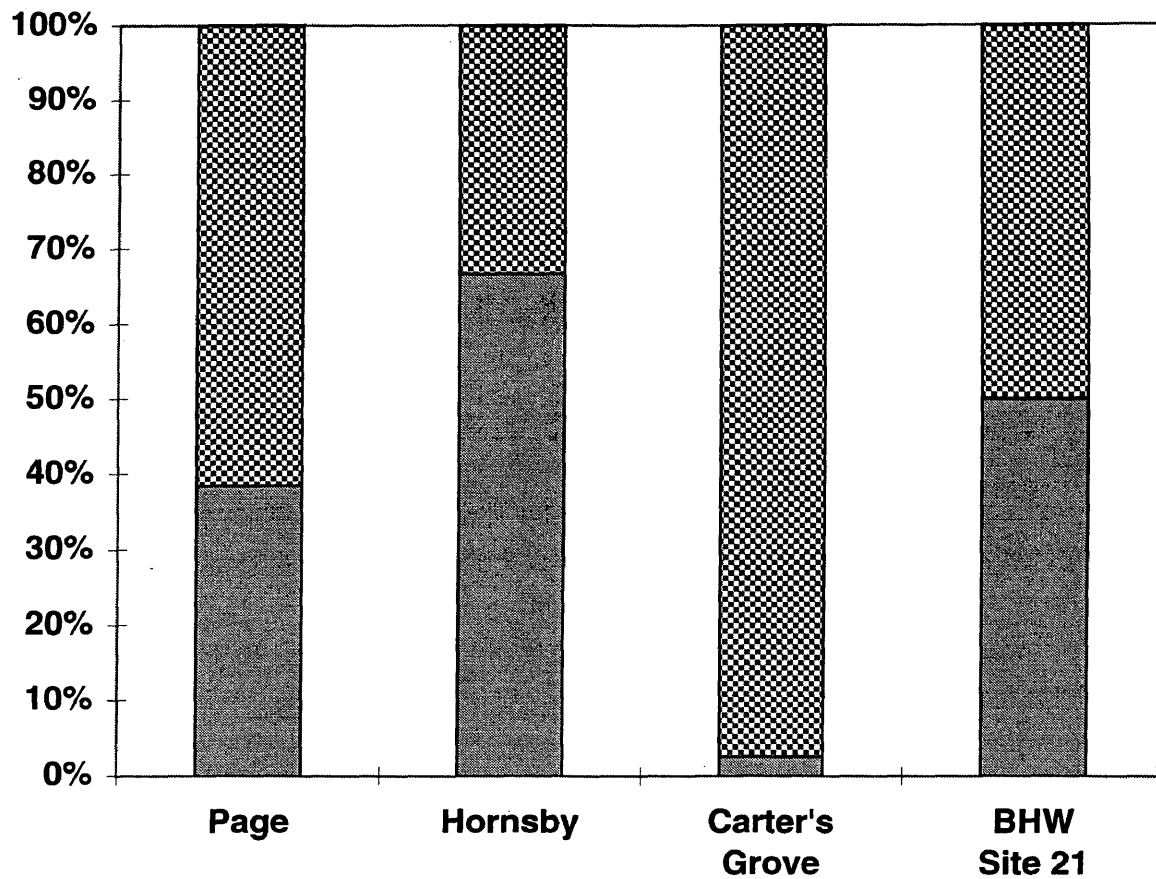
categories including knives, spoons, curtain rings and furniture tacks. The Page assemblage dropped to third place, its lowest ranking in the study, with only three additional categories represented, spoons, window glass and leads, and furniture tacks. Carter's Grove Site 10 ranked lowest because spoons were the only additional artifact class of the twelve. The results of this test are so inconsistent with the previous tests that we must conclude that diversity is not an adequate method of determining status on minimally sampled seventeenth century sites. The small sample size is a probable explanation for the failure of this test for these two reasons: first, the two sites with the lowest sample size (Carter's Grove with 1.13% and Page with less than 1%) were also the least diverse, and second, many of the categories were represented by very low counts (one or two examples) and thus may have been missed in the sampling of the sites.

## Markers

Perhaps the most basic method for calculating the status of a site was employed by William Kelso in his report on the Kingsmill excavations (1984). He looked for "signal objects" that depicted specific cultural behavior and would be conspicuous representations of either high or low status. Examples of what Kelso considered objects indicating high status on his sites included jewelry, a fragment of a coat of arms, and an enameled knife handle. Objects representing the lower status assemblages included local earthenwares, colono ware and hoes. A problem with using disposable consumer goods to



**FIGURE 9  
DIVERSITY OF ARTIFACT TYPES  
BASED ON POGUE, 1993**



	Page	Hornsby	Carter's Grove	BHW Site 21
Fine earthen	X	X	X	X
Coarse earthen	X	X	X	X
Knife		X		X
Spoon	X	X	X	X
Pan				
Pot				
Window	X	X		
Candle				
Curtain				X
Furn Tack	X	X		X
Thimbles, pins		X		
Buckles, buttons		X		

indicate wealth is that the lower class may have obtained small luxury items because they were unable to invest in land. Unfortunately, Kelso's interpretation of this method is not based on an independently derived list of high or low status markers. Rather, he has simply based his determination of the relative statuses of the assemblages on unique objects which are unlikely to be found on the majority of sites. Therefore, his technique is unreplicable and unsuited to make comparisons with other assemblages.

Using Kelso's method was difficult because it meant choosing from our artifact inventories those specific items which we thought to be most indicative of high status. Unfortunately, there were no artifacts found on these sites which were as obviously high status as portions of family crests. It was difficult to be objective and decide which of the fairly average items to select without being swayed by pre-existing notions of the relative status of the sites.

It was impossible to use this method in a systematic manner that would result in a ranking order for the four assemblages. The most that can be said is that Hornsby and Page once again rank as the highest status sites. The Hornsby assemblage included brass buttons, buckles and harness bosses as well as mirror glass and keys (suggesting they had something worth locking up), while the Bruton Heights' Page assemblage contained a bottle seal, German silver fragments, brass bosses, mirror glass and locks. Bassett Hall Woods Site 21 would appear to be lower status because it contained curtain rings, keys and cheap paste jewelry. This site also contained eight hoes, which

Kelso suggests is indicative of a low status site. Carter's Grove Site 10 is more problematic in that the only object in the inventory that could be objectively labeled as possibly high status is a brass harness boss. However, the archaeologist investigating the site described the entire assemblage as high quality. In particular, a spoon (which wouldn't normally be considered high status) was found to be "in fashion" during the occupation of the site.

Lois Green Carr and Lorena Walsh also had this idea in mind when they ranked probates based on the presence or absence of thirteen selected consumer items (1994). Included in this list are items which are rarely or never found archaeologically such as spices and religious books, as well as artifact types which are found on all archaeological assemblages such as coarse and fine earthenwares. Knives and mirror glass are the only two items from their list which were found in some but not all of the assemblages in our study. Therefore this list is not suitable for our purposes, nor most other archaeological assemblages.

## CHAPTER 5

### CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this study was threefold. The first relates to the 1992 excavations at Bruton Heights. Documentary sources suggested that the late seventeenth century assemblage found in the ravine belonged to the very wealthy John Page. Because only one percent of the secondary fill was recovered, and the site contained no intact features, a technique for comparing this assemblage to others from the surrounding community was needed. Secondly, since it is often the case that sites may only have been sampled, a method was needed to compare these sites without relying on vessel form and in-depth faunal analysis, both of which are impossible without large scale excavations. Finally, it was hoped that a reliable method of determining socio-economic status from small samples of seventeenth century domestic sites could be developed.

The strong documentary evidence that John Page was a prosperous and influential citizen of Middle Plantation has clearly influenced this assessment of the various techniques discussed here. A better test of the methods would be based on samples drawn from sites where names, occupations and the status of the inhabitants are all known. Hopefully, such a study will be possible in the future. Meanwhile, knowledge of Page's high social and economic position, allowed for some assessment of the accuracy of the tests.

The two parts of the original thesis problem have been successfully addressed. First, the four assemblages have been ranked on a rough socio-economic scale with Page, as expected, being very high status, Hornsby was also high status, while the residents of Site 10 at Carter's Grove were probably of middling prosperity, and the Bassett Hall Woods Site 21 occupants were poor. The results of the second part of the hypothesis- which criteria accurately determine status, are as follows:

Six separate tests were performed, one of which had two components, creating seven results. The two tests which were completely successful in that they resulted in similar rankings and placed Page toward the top of the scale were the percentage relationships of artifact types and the diversity of architectural elements. The percentage relationships test showed that assemblages with a high percentage of kitchen, faunal, and non-nail architectural objects have a higher status than those with a higher percentage of nails and tobacco pipes. The architectural components test demonstrated that sites with a diverse assortment of architectural elements such as windows and tiles are also higher status sites.

The quality test was divided into two components: ceramic ware quality and tobacco pipe type. The first difficulty with using ceramic quality is that it is subjective and can be interpreted differently, depending on the desired results. It is felt that the results of this test were not completely conclusive.

This is consistent with the idea that members of the lower class may purchase smaller high quality items such as ceramics in lieu of more expensive items such as land. The test of tobacco pipe quality may be more accurate in determining status. Although the percentages of imported tobacco pipes from three of the sites were very close together, and the fourth was very different, the resulting ordinal rankings are consistent with other results.

The results for the test of total quantity of artifacts was not completely successful, in that it did not give the exact same rankings as some of the other tests. However, it may be used in a general way, because the two sites deemed high status had the most artifacts, while the low and middle status sites had far fewer. It should be cautioned that the exact methods of sampling should be known, because this can greatly affect the results.

The two final tests were considered to be unsuccessful. The method using diversity of artifact types resulted in a ranking incompatible with other tests as well as the documentary evidence. The sample size may need to be bigger for a diversity test to achieve accurate results. Using signal objects which indicate high status behaviors was also considered not viable in that no independent, systematic list applicable to archaeological assemblages has been developed.

FIGURE 10  
RESULTS

Technique	Highest	Second	Third	Lowest
Percentage Relationships	Page	Hornsby	CG Site 10	BHW Site 21
Architecture	Page	Hornsby	CG Site 10 BHW Site 21	
Ceramic Quality	Page	Hornsby	BHW Site 21	CG Site 10
Tobacco Pipes	Page	Hornsby	CG Site 10	BHW Site 21
Quantity	Hornsby	Page	BHW Site 21	CG Site 10
Diversity	Hornsby	BHW Site 21	Page	CG Site 10
Markers	Hornsby Page		CG Site 10	BHW Site 21

None of these methods were deemed accurate on their own accord, however. Each test required the backing of other test results. Thus, it would seem the best way to determine status using artifacts recovered from a site would be to use multiple criteria- no one method should be used alone. A further benefit of this study is that it has shown that a one percent sample size can be adequate for determining status. An additional assessment of the criteria using well documented sites would allow us to further measure the accuracy of these methods.

In the 1970's historical archaeologists began quantifying finds in order to understand behavior. Most status studies have followed this trend of counting artifacts. However, this is only a first step which provides a basis for further studies. Counting nails and bones and sherds does not actually ascertain status, but only by first assessing use and behavior can meaning be elucidated in the archaeological record.

Determining status on minimally sampled sites is particularly difficult. It could be argued that it should not be attempted at all. However, due to time and monetary constraints, sometimes sampling is all that is possible. I do not feel that potential information from these sites should be ignored. Techniques like those discussed should be devised, tested and employed to make the fullest use possible of the large amount of data gathered from sampling. If methods are developed which can accurately determine patterns of site characteristics, then the meaning of these characteristics can be fully explored.



## APPENDIX A List of Artifact Types

### Ceramics

- refined earthenware
- coarse earthenware
- tin-enameled earthenware
- stoneware
- porcelain

### Tobacco pipes

### Glass vessels

- case bottle
- wine bottle
- pharmaceutical bottle
- table glass
- miscellaneous container

### Utensils/Cutlery

- knives
- spoons

### Faunal bone

### Architecture

- window glass
- nails
- spikes
- roofing tile
- window leads
- lock/lock parts
- wall ties
- hinges
- hasps

### Furniture

- curtain rings
- furniture tacks
- mirror glass
- trunk handles
- bed bolts
- furniture hinges

Clothing

- buckles
- buttons
- thimbles
- pins
- jewelry
- beads
- scissors

Equestrian

- bosses
- bits
- chains
- stirrups
- harness buckles

Tools

- hoes
- hammers
- buckets
- other tools

Shot/Bullet

Other

- coins
- marbles
- jaw harps
- gaming pieces
- keys
- unidentified metal fragments
- wire fragments

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