

2019

Tempering Our Expectations: Drinking, Smoking, and the Economy of a Western Massachusetts Farmstead-Tavern

Laura E. Masur

Boston University, masur@cua.edu

Aaron F. Miller

Mount Holyoke College Art Museum, afmiller@mtholyoke.edu

Follow this and additional works at: <https://orb.binghamton.edu/neha>



Part of the [Archaeological Anthropology Commons](#), [Social History Commons](#), and the [United States History Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Masur, Laura E. and Miller, Aaron F. (2019) "Tempering Our Expectations: Drinking, Smoking, and the Economy of a Western Massachusetts Farmstead-Tavern," *Northeast Historical Archaeology*. Vol. 48 48, Article 10.

Available at: <https://orb.binghamton.edu/neha/vol48/iss1/10>

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by The Open Repository @ Binghamton (The ORB). It has been accepted for inclusion in Northeast Historical Archaeology by an authorized editor of The Open Repository @ Binghamton (The ORB). For more information, please contact ORB@binghamton.edu.

Tempering Our Expectations: Drinking, Smoking, and the Economy of a Western Massachusetts Farmstead-Tavern

Cover Page Footnote

We greatly appreciate funding provided through Mass Humanities, the Community Foundation of Western Massachusetts, the Mary Lyon Foundation, Kickstarter, and the Sons and Daughters of Hawley. We are also grateful for those who made this project possible through the years, including John Sears, Lark and Beth Thwing, Alex Keim, members of the Sons and Daughters of Hawley, and Mohawk Trail Regional High School. Thanks to Mary Beaudry and Ed Bell, who provided feedback on earlier drafts of this manuscript, and the helpful suggestions of our three anonymous reviewers.

Tempering Our Expectations: Drinking, Smoking, and the Economy of a Western Massachusetts “Farmstead-Tavern”

Laura E. Masur and Aaron F. Miller

Between 1800 and 1830, William Sanford and his family operated a tavern in Hawley, a hill town in western Massachusetts. The establishment was located on the town’s common, adjacent to the community’s Congregational meetinghouse and several other taverns. At the initiative of the local historical preservation group, the Sons and Daughters of Hawley, archaeologists, students, teachers, and community members excavated the tavern site between 2011 and 2014. Historical and archaeological research indicates that William Sanford’s homestead not only functioned as a tavern, but also as a farm, store, smithy, and, occasionally, a court of law. Material evidence of alcohol and tobacco consumption is less pronounced than at heavily trafficked urban taverns, however. Research on the Sanford Tavern and other 19th-century public houses indicates that hybrid rural establishments played a variety of social and economic roles within local communities, which is evident in the archaeological record. Our findings show that archaeologists should approach rural “farmstead-taverns” with a more nuanced set of expectations.

Entre 1800 et 1830, William Sanford et sa famille ont exploité une taverne à Hawley, une ville située dans les collines de l’ouest du Massachusetts. Cet établissement était situé dans la commune de la ville, près de la salle de réunion de la congrégation de la communauté et de plusieurs autres tavernes. À l’initiative de la société historique locale, les « Fils et Filles de Hawley », des archéologues, étudiants, enseignants et membres de la communauté ont fouillé le site de la taverne entre 2011 et 2014. Les recherches historiques et archéologiques indiquent que la demeure de William Sanford ne fonctionnait pas seulement comme une taverne, mais aussi comme une ferme, un magasin, une forge et parfois comme un tribunal. Cependant, les preuves matérielles de la consommation d’alcool et de tabac sont moins prononcées que dans les tavernes urbaines achalandées. Les recherches sur la taverne de Sanford et d’autres tavernes et pubs du 19^e siècle indiquent que les établissements ruraux hybrides ont joué divers rôles sociaux et économiques au sein des communautés locales, ce qui est évident dans les données archéologiques. Nos résultats montrent que les archéologues devraient aborder les « fermes-tavernes » rurales avec un ensemble d’attentes plus nuancées.

Introduction

According to one early historian, William Sanford, “the millionaire of Hawley,” was “a pushing, wide-awake Yankee” (Atkins 1887: 125). This historical source notes that he hosted “sprees” and “revelries” at his tavern, growing wealthy through road-building contracts and the sale of spirits. He also served as a country lawyer, trying cases in his “commodious hall,” where participants would “allay the thirst consequent upon contested lawsuits” (Atkins 1887: 126). Although the tavern was only in operation between 1800 and 1830, these remarkable details about William Sanford and his establishment became enmeshed in the historical memory of Hawley, a hill town in the western corner of Massachusetts that came of age during the early 19th century. In more recent years, members of Hawley’s historical society have conducted archival research on William Sanford and his tavern’s history (Parker 1992:

394–396; Sears 2009: 21–25). Also, at the initiative of the Sons and Daughters of Hawley, archaeologists, students, teachers, and community members excavated the tavern site between 2011 and 2014 (Keim 2012; Masur 2015; A. Miller 2013). Archaeological evidence of alcohol and tobacco consumption is, however, less pronounced at the Sanford Tavern than at other taverns in the northeastern United States. Because historical records confirm that the Sanford house functioned as a tavern, this site provides an opportunity to reexamine the range of material evidence that may characterize a rural tavern assemblage. Clear documentation of a town temperance pledge in Hawley also provides an opportunity to examine the influence of the temperance movement on a tavern assemblage.

Here, we present the analysis of the early 19th-century tavern assemblage, which bears

similarities to previously published examples of 19th-century taverns, e.g., Wholey (2006) and Worrell (1980), but is distinct because of the small scale of excavation. The assemblage was excavated from a sheet midden and alluvial fill that covers the upper strata of the site and, as such, is extremely fragmented and dates from the entire occupation period. The research conducted is equivalent to a cultural resource management Phase II survey and demonstrates both the challenges and research potential of tavern sites. Our analysis focuses on two questions: (1) What material culture was present at a rural 19th-century tavern in New England, and (2) what role did the Sanford Tavern play in Hawley’s agrarian economy? We do not seek to establish a “pattern” for this type of site, but to explore the range of material culture that does characterize a tavern during the 19th century. The Sanford Tavern assemblage provides an opportunity to contrast the material culture of rural 19th-century taverns with published urban and rural examples, exploring the methodological challenges of defining expectations for a tavern assemblage.

We consider historical and archaeological evidence relating to William Sanford’s Tavern, situating the study within the historical archaeology of northeastern taverns (Bragdon 1981; Rockman and Rothschild 1984; Wholey 2006; Worrell 1980). We compare artifact and vessel frequencies from the Sanford Tavern and William Sanford’s 1831 probate inventory to other northeastern taverns in order to interpret the role of 19th-century taverns in rural communities and regional economies. Compared to taverns in urban areas and along stagecoach routes, archaeological evidence of alcohol and tobacco consumption at this site is easily overlooked. Tobacco pipes are rare, comprising less than 1% of the total artifact assemblage. Glass related to alcohol consumption represents only 2.6% of the artifacts. The assemblage consists primarily of ceramic vessels, including imported refined earthenwares and presumably domestic, coarse red earthenwares. Our analysis suggests, however, that quantifying the dataset as vessels rather than sherds can amplify evidence of alcohol consumption. Furthermore, we contend that an assemblage with even a small number of alcohol-related vessels and the near absence of

clay tobacco pipes can still be compatible with the presence of a tavern.

Historical and archaeological evidence suggests that the Sanford Tavern, as a farmstead and a commercial venture, played a nuanced role in Hawley’s economy during the first quarter of the 19th century. Unlike heavily trafficked urban taverns, town taverns that catered predominantly to stagecoach travelers, and rural institutions associated with commercial fishing or whaling, the Sanford Tavern was a multifaceted center of social and economic exchange, closely connected with Hawley’s agricultural economy. Small communities like Hawley had few community gathering spaces aside from the Congregational meetinghouse. Taverns were places to relay and discuss news, to send and receive mail, to see and be seen by others, and to enjoy music, dance, and other entertainments. While the consumption of alcohol was a major element of tavern life, other drinks, such as tea, coffee, and chocolate, were also available. These establishments could also serve civic functions, as alternatives to unheated meetinghouses during cold months. On 30 October 1815, the attendees at a special town meeting “[v]oted to adjourn to William Sanford’s bar room forthwith,” where they continued discussing and voting on town business, such as bridge repairs (Parker 1992: 43). While Hawley’s residents—from the 19th century to the present—have always remembered the Sanford household as a tavern, limited historical and archaeological reconnaissance paint a clear picture of a hybrid establishment.

The Historical Archaeology of Northeastern Taverns

As early as the 1630s, individuals established taverns or inns in the British colonies in order to shelter travelers “as both a commercial venture and a civic obligation” (Imbarrato 1998: 29). These institutions were central to community life in towns and cities, but also played an important role in communication, travel, and the transportation of material goods. In New England, most towns had at least two taverns, located centrally on the town common. As road conditions improved after the American Revolution, taverns in small towns became essential to stagecoach-

travel infrastructure. Stagecoaches needed to stop about every 10 mi. to change horses and allow passengers to eat and rest. Tavern keepers provided meals and beds for stagecoach passengers, as well as travel schedules and fresh horses. Although innkeepers in cities served meals to local patrons, in rural establishments food was typically served only to travelers (Imbarrato 1998: 29–30; Larkin 2000: 5–6, 13–15).

Alcohol use at taverns was ubiquitous in the 17th–19th centuries and was consequently heavily regulated. In most municipalities, tavern keepers were required to hold licenses to sell alcohol. These licenses could be obtained only after the applicant was deemed “of good character” by the town’s selectmen, the elected governing body of three to five members. Liquor licenses were renewed annually, and taverns were subject to additional regulations from legal authorities (Conroy 1995: 11; Larkin 2000: 9). Despite their social and economic importance in colonial America and the early Republic, written records on taverns are scarce, a fact that historian David Conroy attributes to the “oral culture” of tavern life (Conroy 1995: 2; Imbarrato 1998: 30). Historical research on northeastern taverns has focused on their role as spaces in which people could operate outside more rigid social or political boundaries, e.g., Conroy (1995) and Imbarrato (1998).

The paucity of documentary evidence of daily life at American taverns has made them ideal subjects for archaeological research. Taverns have been excavated in colonial towns and cities, including Jamestown, Williamsburg, Alexandria, Charles Town, St. Mary’s City, Philadelphia, New York City, and Boston (Bower 1978; Brown et al. 1990; Chenoweth 2006; Cotter 1958; DePaoli 1989; Dimmick 1991; Elia 1989; Foss 1974; Gallagher et al. 1994; King 1988; King and H. Miller 1987; Lucas 2016; Noël Hume 1969; Ritchie and B. Miller 1990; Rockman and Rothschild 1984), and in specialized fishing or whaling settlements in New England (Bragdon 1981, 1988; Camp 1975; Ekholm and Deetz 1971; Harper and Clouette 2009; Victor 2019); see also Smith (2008: 64–70) for an in-depth summary of tavern archaeology. Although several archaeological projects have investigated rural 18th-

and 19th-century taverns, e.g., Burrow et al. (2003), these sites are not well represented in published literature; but see Worrell (1980), Handsman (1981), and Wholey (2006). Other 19th-century drinking establishments, such as saloons, filled a distinct social and economic niche in the American West, focusing on various forms of entertainment and alcohol consumption. As the products of mining moved out of a town, materials for consumption, such as alcohol, were brought in (Dixon 2005: 25–26, 74–87).

In the past, archaeologists established material patterns for taverns in order to differentiate them from households and to understand the differences between urban and rural establishments. Based on the analysis of probate inventories and archaeological collections from known taverns, Bragdon (1981, 1988) developed a six-part “tavern signature” that emphasized the presence of vessels relating to alcohol and tobacco consumption:

The tavern assemblage is characterized by: 1) a large number of vessels; 2) a large percentage of drinking vessels in relation to the total ceramic sub-assemblage; 3) a large percentage of those ceramic types most often found in the form of drinking vessels; 4) large numbers of wineglasses; 5) specialized glassware; 6) large numbers of pipestems. (Bragdon 1981: 35)

Purely domestic households, in contrast, displayed more archaeological evidence of food production and consumption. Rockman and Rothschild (1984) added that the archaeological signature of rural taverns would include greater proportions of food-related material culture because they provided patrons with meals and lodging, as well as alcohol. Additional literature has added nuance to these patterns. King (1988) notes that, compared to domestic households, taverns may have had more drinking and storage vessels than food preparation or serving vessels. Furthermore, Chenoweth (2006) and Wholey (2006) suggest that tavern assemblages may reflect the status or economic specialization of a particular tavern or tavern keeper. While proportions of a particular class of artifact vary from assemblage to assemblage, all of these sites show significant evidence of drinking and, often, tobacco smoking.

The Problem with Tavern Patterns

Over time, archaeologists have identified problems with the application of existing tavern signature models, particularly at 19th-century sites. Discussing the archaeology of 19th-century taverns in Delaware, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, Burrow and colleagues note:

Repeatedly it has been concluded that meaningful contrasts between taverns and other sites, and between taverns of different dates and geographical locations, cannot yet be made. Certain classes of artifacts, such as drinking vessels and particular glass tumblers (and tobacco pipes in earlier periods but not in the 19th century), do seem to be strong indicators of tavern activities, but in themselves these are not enough to conclusively demonstrate that any particular assemblage is definitely from a tavern. (Burrow et al. 2003: 6–7)

The problem of how to conclusively identify a 19th-century tavern site is compounded by changes in the production and distribution of material culture, particularly ceramic vessels and tobacco pipes. We highlight two specific problems with the application of existing tavern patterns to 19th-century archaeological sites. These critiques concern (1) distinctions made between urban and rural taverns, and (2) the archaeological and historical methods used to reconstruct tavern economies and specializations.

First, classifying taverns as “urban” and “rural” overlooks the variety of roles that these institutions played in American communities, particularly in rural settings. The taverns that Rockman and Rothschild (1984) characterize as “rural” are associated with specialized fishing economies; the men who frequented these taverns were away from home, fishing or whaling off the New England coast. Other taverns traditionally categorized as “rural” are closely connected with late 18th- and early 19th-century stagecoach routes, providing food, drink, and beds to travelers. There are still other varieties of “rural” taverns, including those described by Worrell (1980) as “farmstead-taverns” (see below). Heather Wholey (2006) uses probate inventories to demonstrate innkeepers’ differing economic specializations in alcohol, hosting stagecoach guests, trades such as blacksmithing, and agricultural pursuits. Wholey’s work complicates

the urban/rural dichotomy for taverns, demonstrating that tavern keepers not only had diverse occupations, but that the material signatures associated with these establishments vary through space and time. Furthermore, taverns, like saloons and brothels, catered to patrons from a particular social class (Chenoweth 2006; Dixon 2005; A. Johnson 2012). While certain trends characterize urban and rural taverns, differences among establishments depend on a particular tavern keeper’s response to the needs of the local community and economy.

Second, methods used to characterize the material signature of colonial taverns must be adapted to the production and distribution networks of the 19th century. Archaeologists have used a variety of methods to estimate the roles of drinking and dining at taverns. Bragdon (1981) focuses on the analysis of ceramics, whereas Rockman and Rothschild (1984) use glass as a correlate for alcohol use and associate ceramics with the consumption of food. While this distinction has some utility, it becomes problematic when considering the role of locally produced and mass-produced ceramic drinking and alcohol-storage vessels. The growth of the Staffordshire ceramics industry and regional potteries and glass factories provided 19th-century New England consumers with a variety of choices with which to stock their homes and taverns. Furthermore, the transition from smoking tobacco in ceramic pipes to rolled cigars (Larkin 2000: 22, 26) had a profound effect on the visibility of taverns in the archaeological record. White-clay tobacco pipes are present at many 19th-century sites. They are common, for example, at the Boott Mill boardinghouses in Lowell (Cook 1989; Mrozowski et al. 1996: 67–71) and in the saloons of Virginia City, Nevada (Dixon 2005: 113–120). In a study of 19th-century Delaware taverns, however, Wholey notes varying quantities of tobacco pipes. The author identifies a decrease in tobacco-related artifacts through time, which she and other authors attribute to the rise in tobacco chewing and cigar smoking during the 19th century. Wholey (2006: 70–71) also calls for comparisons with tavern assemblages from other regions in order to reveal trends in tobacco use.

History of the Sanford Tavern

The town of Hawley, in the northwestern corner of Massachusetts (FIG. 1), was surveyed and settled during the final decades of the 18th century. Earlier in the century, settlement had spread north from the Connecticut River valley westward up the Deerfield River valley. As prime land along these waterways was claimed, settlers began to focus on the rockier and higher-elevation areas like Hawley. The

Hawley town common was located at the intersection of four roads that saw light but regular stagecoach traffic. A Congregational meetinghouse was built on the common in 1797, and, in 1798, William Sanford and his brother Elisha strategically purchased a plot of land adjacent to the meetinghouse. While William and Elisha Sanford's intentions are not documented, this plot of land was in a prime commercial location, and William

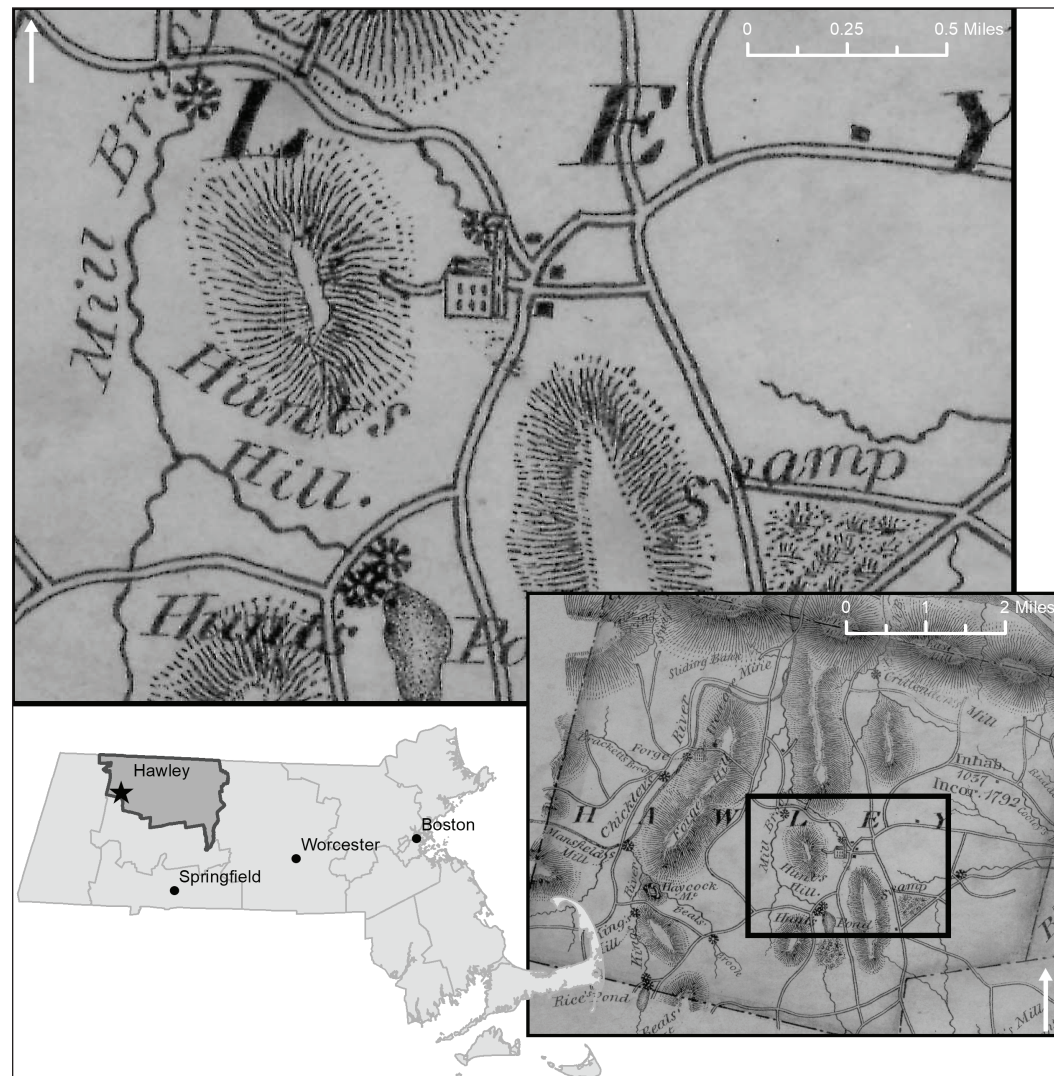


Figure 1. Detail from Arthur W. Hoyt's *A Topographical Map of the County of Franklin, Massachusetts, Exhibiting All the Roads, Rivers, Brooks, Mountains, etc.*, 1832. The detailed image shows Hoyt's representation of structures on Hawley's town common, prominently featuring the meetinghouse and a mill. Hawley is in Franklin County, Massachusetts. (Image courtesy of the State Library of Massachusetts; figure by Laura Masur, 2019.)

obtained a liquor license beginning in 1800 (Parker 1992: 63–64; Sears 2009: 14–15).

Meetinghouses were both the physical and metaphorical centers of New England communities. Although William Sanford belonged to the Charlemont Baptist Church in 1805, he also purchased half of Pew 14 in Hawley's meetinghouse (Parker 1992: 395–396). Being seen at the meetinghouse was probably important for Sanford's business ventures. After all, town business—centered on the meetinghouse—was interwoven with tavern business. As such, the small towns of early 19th-century inland New England were dotted with taverns (FIG. 2). Hawley itself had as many as three other inns or taverns within a half mile of Sanford's (Parker 1992: 132). A survey of the five communities immediately adjacent to Hawley reveals more than a dozen inns or taverns that were in operation between 1800 and 1830 (Barber 1841: 91; Healy 1986: 86, 91; Howes 1910: 129–130; Kendrick and Kellogg 1937: 73, 76). These numerous establishments were clearly serving a purpose beyond room and

board for weary travelers. While stagecoaches commonly traversed this area of the commonwealth, a review of almanacs shows that, between 1800 and 1830, the majority of east-west travel between Boston and upstate New York took place on a southern corridor through Chesterfield and Worthington, approximately 20 mi. to the south. It follows that Hawley's taverns primarily served the local community of farmers and townspeople.

John Worrell (1980) refers to this type of site as a "farmstead-tavern": a place where tavern-related activities were "more directly in complement to a rounded agrarian economy and social structure than to the commercial ventures with which it has usually been compared" (Worrell 1980: 137). Farmstead-taverns played multiple roles in the local economy, facilitating economic exchange and enabling the community to function as a self-sufficient unit (Worrell 1980: 137). The social and economic realities of rural life on the New England frontier necessitated these types of hybrid institutions. From the first period of



Figure 2. John Lewis Krimmel, *Village Tavern*, 1813–1814. (Image courtesy of the Toledo [Ohio] Museum of Art.)

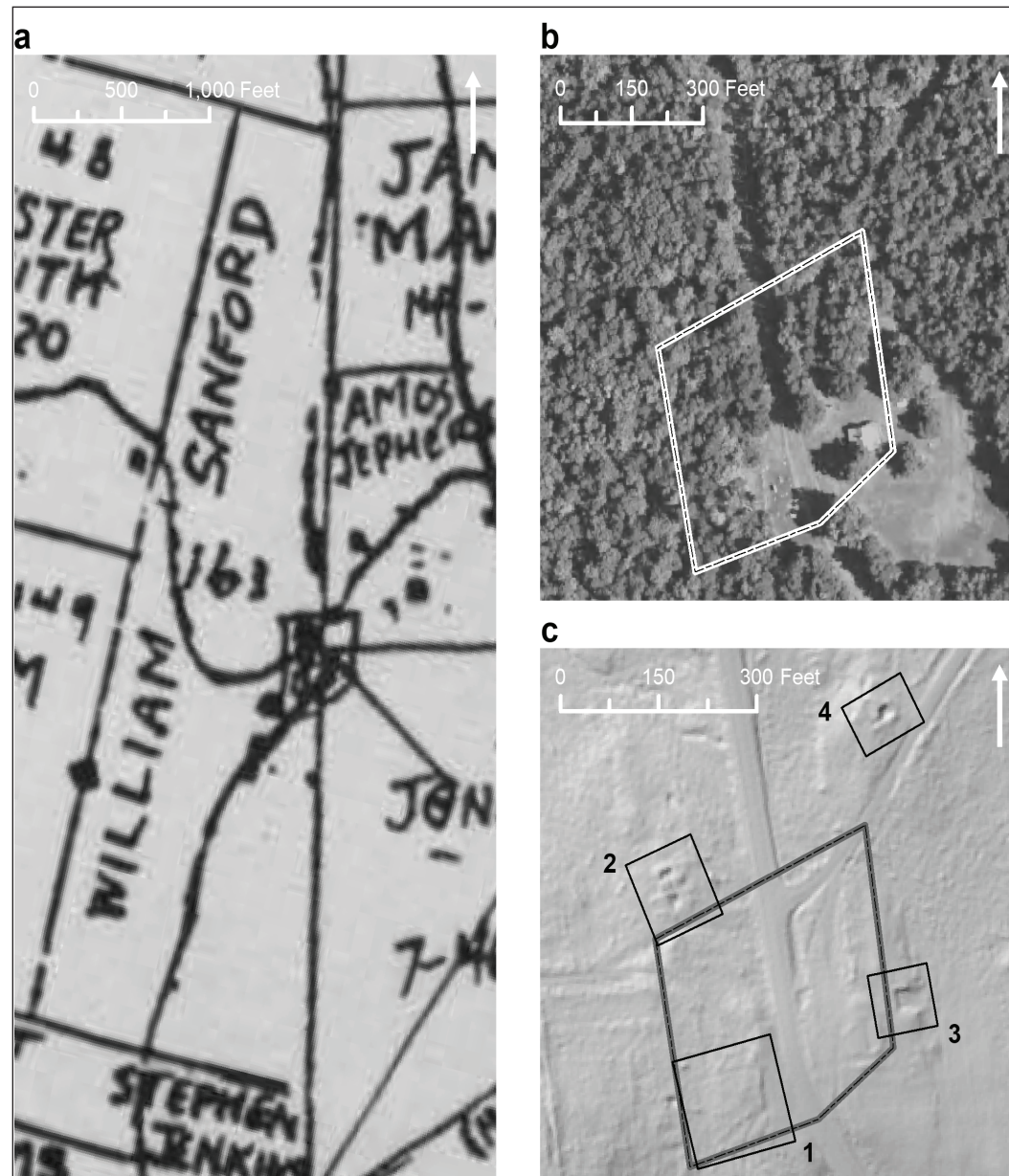


Figure 3. (a) Sketch of William Sanford's original 99 ac. parcel, adapted from Parker (1992). The property bordered the town common to the west. (b) Location of Hawley's town common on aerial imagery. (c) The town common shown on a LiDAR hillshade base map. Anomalies in the map indicate cellars, building foundations, and walls of the (1) meetinghouse (1797–1848), (2) Sanford Tavern (1800–1830), (3) Longley Tavern (1802–1848), and (4) Pomeroy Tavern (1798–1804). (Base map for b and c: MassGIS; maps by Laura Masur, 2019.)

Anglo-European settlement, fortified farmsteads functioned as both military and civilian structures that could also act as province-sanctioned taverns (A. Miller 2007). Indeed, the farmstead-tavern or farmstead-shop was a

staple of 19th-century rural New England. This hybridity clearly complicates the archaeological interpretation of these sites as “taverns,” highlighting the subtle material differences between sites with multiple functions.

Census, tax, and town records confirm that, in 1800, William, Elisha, and William's wife Betsey lived in and operated a tavern out of a small dwelling valued at \$160. The 99 ac. property (FIG. 3a) also included a blacksmith shop and coal house, and 18 ac. used for agriculture, pasture, and mowing. By 1810, the value of the dwelling had risen to \$800, with an additional shop and barn all valued at \$1,372—more than double the property value in 1800. William Sanford increased his landholdings to 289 ac. by 1818, all valued at over \$3,000 (A. Miller 2013: 22; Parker 1992: 63–64, 139, 394–395; Sears 2009: 14–15; U.S. Census Bureau 1800).

Between 1800 and 1830, the Sanford Tavern appears to have been a financially successful establishment. Betsey Parker and Abigail Hawks, William Sanford's first and second wives, gave birth to at least six children, four of whom lived to adulthood (U.S. Census Bureau 1810, 1820, 1830). The Sanford family grew crops and raised animals, contracted labor-intensive projects, and operated a store, blacksmith shop, tavern, and, sometimes, a court of law. As such, the tavern was central to social and economic life in early 19th-century Hawley. Their establishment was probably frequented by both locals and by occasional stagecoach travelers. The most complete historical description of the tavern comes from the recollections of former Hawley resident P. F. Cooley, recorded in Atkins's 1887 *History of the Town of Hawley* (see Sears [2009]):

The old Sanford place, [was] a large, pretentious building of two stories, and a long ell running out towards the west. It had never been adorned with paint, but the elaborate carvings and exterior adornments gave evidence that it had once been a place in which its owner felt not a little pride, in fact, William Sanford was at a time looked upon as the millionaire of Hawley. At one time he kept a “tavern” in the upright part, and in the ell was a general country store. Tradition says that at that store was sold more wet than dry goods. (Atkins 1887: 125)

Cooley goes on to describe William Sanford's establishment and the proprietor's proclivity for turning a profit through real-estate speculation, road-building contracts, the sale of alcohol (both wholesale and retail), and fees charged for legal services. He repeats late 19th-century oral traditions that reference the

tavern's specialty, New England rum, and the drinking “sprees” hosted there. After Sanford was named justice of the peace in 1812, lawsuits were tried in his “commodious hall,” where involved parties would “allay the thirst consequent upon contested lawsuits” (Atkins 1887: 125–126; Parker 1992: 133, 395–396). These legal activities are substantiated by the “Six law books” referenced in Sanford's 1831 probate inventory (Franklin County Probate 1831).

The household's social and economic foundation began to erode during the mid-1820s, as a result of changes in regional infrastructure and socioreligious movements. In 1825, the residents of West Hawley constructed their own meetinghouse, splintering the church community. In addition, the construction of Ashfield Road led to the rerouting of the Boston–Albany stagecoach more than a mile south of the original town common. Finally, in 1831, there was a religious revival at the meetinghouse, and many church members vowed not to drink alcohol. William Sanford passed away the same year, and his son William never reapplied for the liquor license (Sears 2009: 15, 22–23, 25–28).

William Sanford, Jr., and his family presumably lived at the site until 1843, when he lost the property in a lawsuit. Although the Sanford family continued to live and farm in Hawley, William Sanford, Jr., and his family were not as prosperous as the previous generation. In 1850 they held only \$75 in real estate, and \$100 in 1860, a small amount compared to the \$1,150 in immovable goods left by William Sanford at his death in 1831. It appears that losing this property, and the income that came from its prominent role in the community, were economically devastating for the family. Many of the Sanford family descendants eventually left Hawley, moving to cities like Amherst, Massachusetts, and Hartford, Connecticut (Franklin County Probate 1831; U.S. Census Bureau 1850, 1860, 1870, 1880). In 1848–1849, Hawley's residents relocated the Congregational meetinghouse a little more than a mile south of its previous location. By 1858, Sanford's tavern and many other buildings on the common no longer appeared on the town map (Sears 2009: 2).

Changes in Hawley's town common and farming community reflect contemporary

transformations in northeastern economies that reached far beyond cities and into the countryside. Innovations in transportation like canals, steamboats, and railroads led to increased mobility as well as the development of inland cities. Advances in transportation and industry allowed for growth and expansion, especially within northern cities (P. Johnson 2004). By the 1840s, Hawley's isolation from these new transportation routes led to economic deterioration. While Hawley's population was stable between 1810 and 1830, it declined significantly after 1840 (Bidwell 1917: 839). Socioeconomic trends, including temperance and transportation, led to the decline of the Sanford Tavern and other rural taverns in the northeastern United States; see Worrell (1980: 139, 142) and Wholey (2006: 73–74).

Today, the Sanford Tavern site is near East Hawley Road, on an historical walking trail of Hawley's Old Town Common, where a series of historical markers was installed by the Sons and Daughters of Hawley in 2009–2010. The area is heavily wooded, but cellars and stone foundations surround the Old Town Common and are visible on LiDAR hillshade images of the area (FIG. 3*b, c*). A double stone cellar and foundation walls mark the location of the Sanford Tavern to the north of the town common. LiDAR imagery also indicates the location of a wall, Sanford's barn, and other possible outbuildings. Even in the early 19th century, the area remained heavily wooded; only 18 of 99 ac. were cleared in 1800, and 13 ac. remained cleared by 1810 (Parker 1992: 395).

Archaeology

The Sanford Tavern Archaeological Excavation and Education Project was a successful collaboration between professional archaeologists, the Sons and Daughters of Hawley, and Mohawk Trail Regional High School. Each field season was a community-driven effort, funded by members of the community and eventually by Mass Humanities, the Community Foundation of Western Massachusetts, and the Mary Lyon Foundation, and through Kickstarter. Directed by Alexander Keim in 2011 and Aaron Miller in 2012, the project was active during the aca-

demical year as a high school class. Students excavated the site on Saturdays in the autumn; they processed and researched artifacts during class time through the week. In 2014, the project took the form of a two-week summer camp and field-training program directed by Laura Masur. Students assisted in laying out and excavating test units, screening sediment, completing paperwork, drawing site and unit maps, washing artifacts, and manually floating soil samples in order to recover botanical remains. The public and educational orientation of excavations promoted archaeological research and preservation while enabling members of the local community to connect with their history. Although the time constraints and limited resources of this program proved challenging, it was a rich and rewarding experience for all those involved.

Research goals for the project included site identification and establishing a stratigraphic profile, as well as the study of architectural elements, activity areas, and material culture. In 2014, students mapped the site. Between 2011 and 2014, students, teachers, community members, and archaeologists excavated a total of 10, 50 × 50 cm shovel tests and 5, 1 × 1 m test units. Shovel tests were excavated along a north–south transect within the extant foundations and in various other locations near the structure, whereas test-unit excavation focused on the area north of the tavern (FIG. 4).

The Sanford Tavern has a double cellar, connected by a narrow north–south passageway. Probing indicated the presence of stairs, entering the cellar from the south. The structure's footprint is hypothetically reconstructed in Figure 4 based on foundations visible on the contemporary ground surface. Artifact density around the structure was low, characterized primarily by architectural debris, while a large quantity of domestic refuse was uncovered in a midden area to the north. The majority of units contained artifact-rich topsoil and cultural fill in their upper layers. Units 7 and 9, located in a primary deposition area positioned adjacent to extant foundations to the northeast of the structure, contained over a third of the total artifacts ($n=1,272$, 38.5%). Artifacts were also deposited from other areas of the site via alluvial/colluvial fill, most apparent in the fragmentary artifacts from Unit 12 ($n=753$, 22.8%).

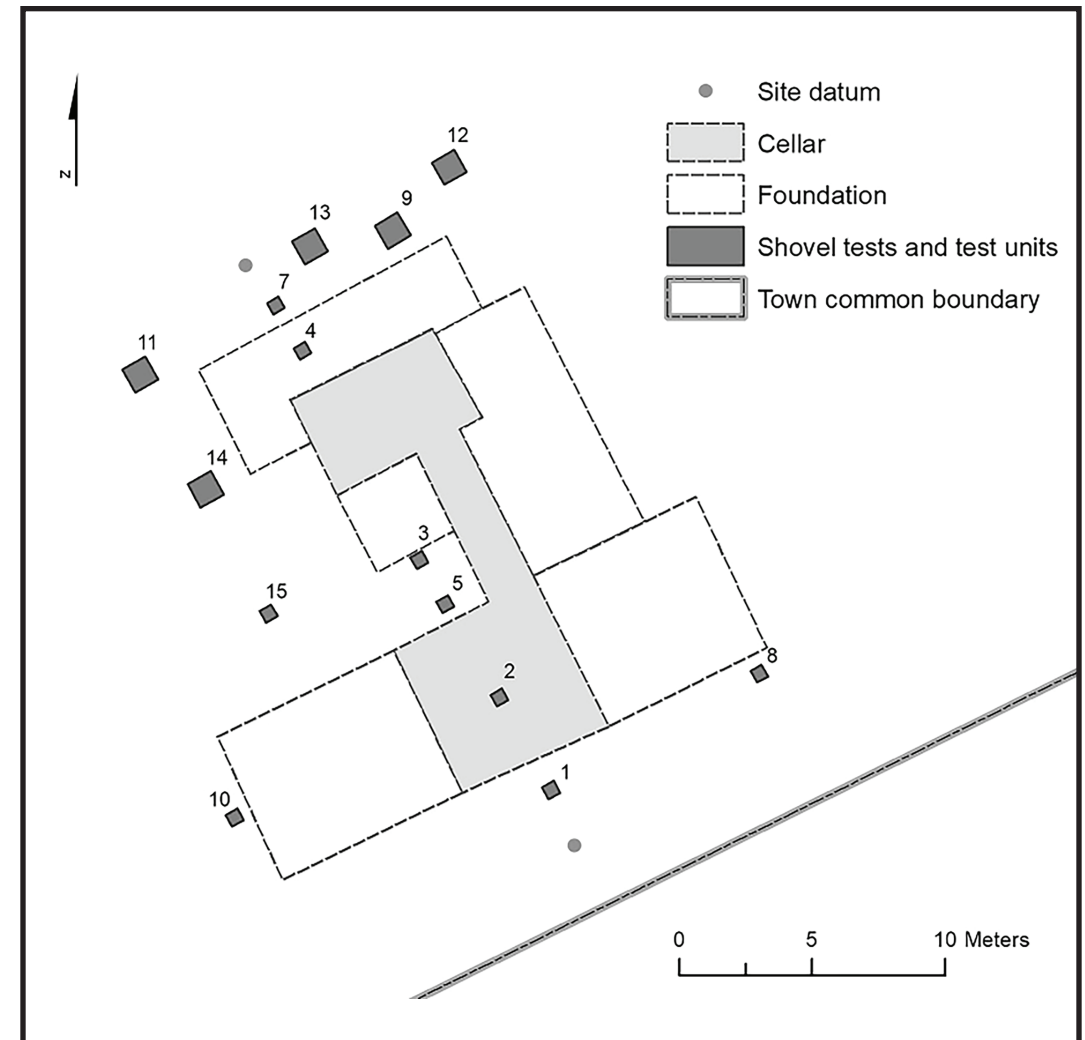


Figure 4. Sanford Tavern site map. (Map by Sarah Malone and Laura Masur, 2019.)

Throughout the site, these layers overlay a deep (at least 37 cm in Unit 13) layer of redeposited subsoil with low artifact density. This layer was likely redeposited as a result of cellar excavations between about 1798 and 1810. The presence of artifacts in this layer, including a pearlware mug handle, indicates that a household and perhaps a tavern was in operation at the time of excavation. As such, this layer was probably formed during the expansion of the tavern structure between 1800 and 1810. The concentration of charcoal and ash at the surface of the redeposited subsoil level probably relates to the process of

land clearance and maintenance for agriculture and pasture; see also Worrell (1980: 138).

The results of the analysis of artifacts excavated during the three field seasons is consistent with an 1800–1840 site occupation. All diagnostic ceramic types were produced during the study period with the exception of Staffordshire slipware, represented by only two sherds. Sherds of a tin-glazed earthenware plate (produced ca. 1600–1802) are also unexpected given the early 19th-century context. A mean ceramic date of 1797 was calculated. This date was heavily influenced by the prevalence of coarse redware, creamware, and

pearlware in the ceramic assemblage, as well as the aforementioned Staffordshire and tin-glazed earthenware. Rather than indicating an earlier site occupation, this date most likely reflects the frontier context of Hawley's settlement. Residents and patrons of the Sanford Tavern relied on locally produced ceramics and slightly outmoded ceramic types, which may relate to a delayed supply of imported goods to these areas, as well as the continued use of inherited or curated wares. In addition, fewer ceramics may have been purchased after 1820, when Hawley's agrarian economy began to decline.

A total of 3,303 artifacts were excavated in 15 units, including ceramic vessels (74.7%), glass vessels (2.6%), white-clay tobacco pipes (0.5%), bone (1.5%), window glass (9.8%), brick (4.7%), and metal (3.4%). Of the ceramic vessels, the majority are imported British refined earthenwares (58.3%), followed by coarse and refined redwares (41.4%), many of which were produced locally. The small quantity of tobacco pipes, as well as earthenware and glass vessels relating to alcohol storage and consumption, is contrary to the range of expectations for a tavern site (Rockman and Rothschild 1984). As a result, we generated a minimum vessel count from the Sanford Tavern assemblage in order to examine ceramic- and glass-vessel types more closely and compare them with existing tavern datasets.

Methods

We use a count of the minimum number of vessels (MNV) recovered from archaeological survey at the Sanford Tavern site in order to estimate the type and number of vessels in the archaeological assemblage and determine the relationship among ware types, ceramic-vessel forms, and the ways that these vessels were used. Basing our methods on Voss and Allen's (2010) guide to MNV calculation and using G. Miller (1980) and Beaudry et al. (1983), among other sources, to determine vessel forms, we generated quantitative vessel counts for each ceramic-ware type. We excluded all undecorated body sherds, except when they were the only sherd representing a specific ware type. For flat refined-earthenware vessels, specific rim designs and colors were used to determine

the minimum number of edged and non-edged plates or serving vessels, and, when possible, vessel diameter was used to identify the type of plate. In order to distinguish painted from printed refined earthenwares, we separated (1) hand-painted from transfer-printed designs, (2) distinct patterns, and (3) specific vessels within each pattern. Rims, bases, or other diagnostic elements were used to determine the MNVs for a specific ware type, pattern, and vessel type. When analyzing coarse red-earthenware vessels, we separated sherds based on vessel type, separating pans/bowls from other vessels. Using only whole rim sherds (where a full profile was visible), vessel diameter, slip/glaze color and coverage (interior/exterior), paste color and composition, and rim shape were closely examined in order to distinguish unique vessels. Counts of the MNV were also generated for glassware using base sherds, because these sherds were more common, less fragmented, and more diagnostic than rim sherds. Glass was examined, measured, and placed under an ultraviolet light in order to differentiate between leaded and unleaded glass vessels.

In turn, we compared the MNV count with historical data from William Sanford's 1831 probate inventory in order to investigate the Sanford family's financial investments and tavern specialization, and compare the Sanford Tavern to other archaeological assemblages and probate inventories from contemporary taverns. To this end, items from the probate inventory were placed in four categories: kitchen/dining, lodging, personal, and tools/agriculture, and the proportional monetary total of each category was calculated following Wholey (2006). In addition, because only certain classes of items preserve in the archaeological record, we used the probate inventory to investigate whether the archaeological assemblage was representative of material goods in the household around the time the tavern closed in 1831. Both archaeological vessels and vessels identified in the probate inventory were placed in one of the following six categories: (1) food storage, (2) drink storage, (3) preparation, (4) tableware used for food (5) tableware used for drink, and (6) tea ware. Drink storage and consumption vessels, and particularly ceramic bottles and pitchers, were likely associated with a variety of alcoholic and nonalco-



Figure 5. Ceramics attributed to Thomas Crafts & Co. of Whatley, Massachusetts: (a) Black-glazed redware teapot lid from the Sanford Tavern (Photo by Kathryn Ness, 2014), (b) teapot attributed to Thomas Crafts & Company (Photo by Penny Leveritt; collection of Historic Deerfield, HD 2013.7.5), (c) partial CRAFTS&CO stamp on a utilitarian redware vessel from the Sanford Tavern (Photo by Aaron Miller, 2012), and (d) an identical stamp recovered from a waster pile in Whatley. (Collection of Historic Deerfield.)

holic beverages. Nonetheless, our analysis focused on distinguishing vessels used for tea service from those traditionally associated with alcohol consumption in 18th- and 19th-century contexts: glass wine bottles, tumblers, wine glasses, and ceramic mugs (Smith 2008: 7, 19–20).

Results

When quantifying data as sherds, ceramics comprise about 80% of the assemblage, followed by glass (13%), and small quantities of other artifact types. Ceramic-vessel sherds ($n=2,467$) outnumbered glass-vessel fragments ($n=121$) by more than 20:1. Only 17 tobacco-pipe fragments were recovered, less than 1% of the total assemblage. The farmstead-tavern's use of glass vessels, such as a wine bottle, tumblers, and wine glasses, was far more evident when data were quantified as a minimum number of vessels rather than sherds. When considered together, ceramic and glass vessels

were more or less equally divided among food storage and preparation (MNV=14), dining (MNV=19), alcohol serving and consumption (MNV=13), and tea service (MNV=14).

We identified a minimum of 59 ceramic vessels and 9 glass vessels in the tavern assemblage (TABLES 1 and 2). Imported refined-earthenware vessels were associated with alcohol consumption (MNV=5), tea drinking (MNV=13), dining (MNV=19), and food storage and preparation (MNV=3). A minimum of 14 redware vessels were identified. Based on vessel form, they were associated with food storage and preparation (MNV=11), but also with the storage of alcoholic or nonalcoholic drinks (MNV=1) and tea (MNV=1). Some or all of these redware vessels were produced by potter Thomas Crafts in nearby Whatley, including a black-glazed redware teapot lid and an unidentified, hollow, utilitarian redware vessel with the fragmentary stamp: [C]RAFTS&CO (FIG. 5). While it is clear that locally produced ceramics were used in the household, one red-

Table 1. Minimum number of ceramic vessels.

Form	Description	Function	Count	Unique IDs
Milk pan	Lead-glazed redware	Storage and preparation	7	23–27, 31–32
Pan/bowl	Lead-glazed redware	Storage and preparation	4	28–30, 33
Bowl	Dipped pearlware	Storage and preparation	3	62–64
Dinner plate	Creamware	Tableware for food	1	34
Muffin	Edged pearlware	Tableware for food	3	39, 41, 46
Twiffler	Edged pearlware	Tableware for food	1	50
Plate	Tin-glazed earthenware	Tableware for food	1	19
Plate	Creamware	Tableware for food	1	35
Plate	Edged pearlware	Tableware for food	11	36–38, 40, 42–45, 47–49
Lid	Painted pearlware/white ware	Tableware for food	1	60
Tea-ware lid	Black-glazed redware	Tea ware	1	21
Teacup	Painted pearlware/white ware	Tea ware	2	55, 58
Teacup	Printed pearlware	Tea ware	1	67
Teacup	Painted white ware	Tea ware	1	61
Saucer	Painted pearlware	Tea ware	2	52–53
Saucer	Painted pearlware/white ware	Tea ware	3	56–57, 59
Saucer	Printed pearlware	Tea ware	2	65–66
Tea ware	Painted pearlware	Tea ware	2	51, 54
Bottle	Lead-glazed redware	Tableware for drink	1	22
Pitcher	Pearlware	Tableware for drink	1	69
Mug	Creamware	Tableware for drink	2	70, 72
Mug	Pearlware	Tableware for drink	1	71

Form	Description	Function	Count	Unique IDs
Hollow	Staffordshire	Tableware for drink	1	17
Inkwell	Lead-glazed redware	Household	1	20
Chamber pot	Pearlware	Household	1	68
Hollow	Stoneware	Unidentified	2	14–15
Flat	Yellowware	Unidentified	1	18
Unidentified	Rockingham	Unidentified	1	16

Table 2. Minimum number of glass vessels.

Form	Color	Leaded	Function	Subcategory	Count	Unique ID
Wine glass	Colorless	Leaded	Alcohol	Tableware for drink	2	4, 5
Tumbler	Colorless	Non-leaded	Alcohol	Tableware for drink	3	7, 8, 9
Tumbler	Colorless	Leaded	Alcohol	Tableware for drink	1	6
Wine bottle	Light green	—	Alcohol	Drink storage	1	1
Apothecary bottle	Aqua	—	Household	N/A	1	3
Unidentified	Dark green	—	Unidentified	N/A	1	2

ware bottle provides the only evidence of locally produced wares that could be used in alcohol storage and consumption. The remainder of the ceramic vessels associated with the consumption of alcohol—a pitcher and mugs—were imported British wares. In addition, there are a minimum of seven glass vessels related to alcohol consumption (FIG. 6).

William Sanford died intestate in 1831. His probate inventory, made in the same year that many churchgoers signed the town temperance pledge, may represent the already decreased importance of alcohol in the tavern economy or the efforts of Sanford's family to hide alcohol or material culture associated with alcohol. Yet the objects listed in his probate inventory demonstrate the household's diverse economy: livestock, crops, and farm equipment; wooden planks and boards; blacksmithing tools; 6 law books; 82 yd. of cloth; 23 pans and 220 lb. of partially cured cheese; and nearly 100 tubs for collecting maple sap to make syrup, as well as 50 lb. of maple sugar. The probate inventory also recorded 30 chairs, 21 plates, 9 teacups, 5 decanters, 7 wine glasses, 8 cider barrels, and 4 casks; the men

who compiled the inventory specified that the barrels were "old" and the casks "dry." In 1831, William Sanford's household made its living through agriculture and pastoralism, blacksmithing, and operating a small shop, which may have focused on the sale of locally produced goods, such as wood, wool, cheese, and maple syrup, as well as liquor. While the large number of chairs and plates suggests that the household had hosted community gatherings, evidence for vessels used to serve alcohol is modest. The barrels, casks, butts, and jugs listed in the inventory appear to have been the primary means of alcohol transportation and storage; only half a dozen bottles of any kind were listed. Indeed, the large number of alcohol-storage vessels ($n=28$) compared with a smaller number of alcohol consumption vessels ($n=17$) suggests that wholesale liquor sales were more common than in-house consumption. The kettles, tea set, teacups, and saucers recorded in the inventory ($n=17$) suggest that, in 1831, the communal consumption of tea was as common as alcohol (Franklin County Probate 1831).

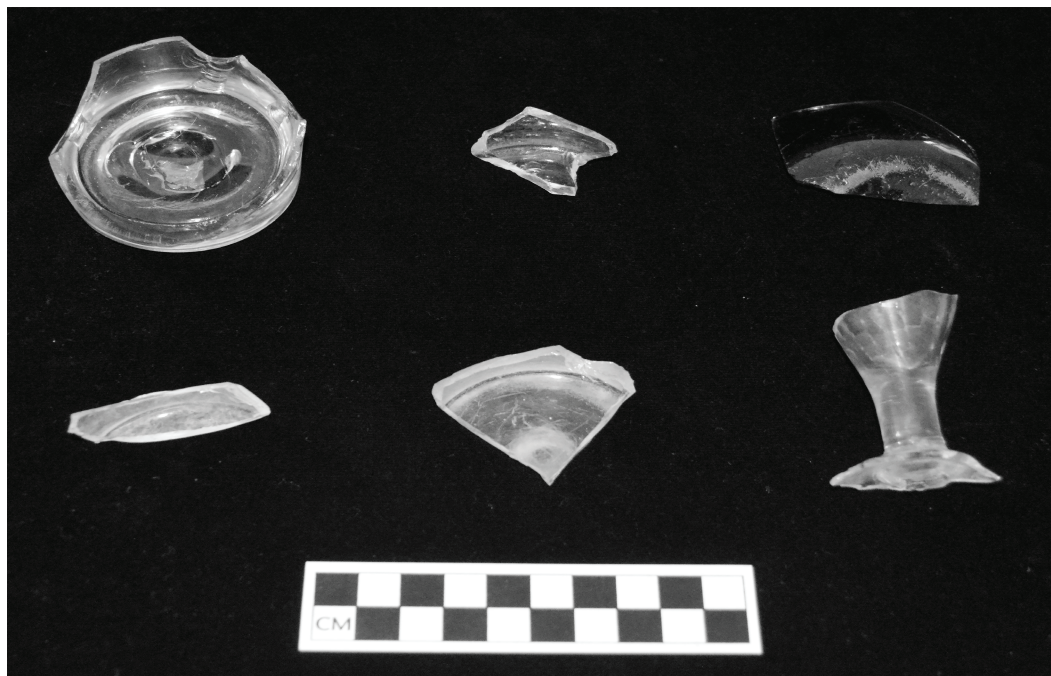


Figure 6. Glass vessels relating to alcohol consumption at the Sanford Tavern, including four tumbler bases, a wine-bottle base, and a wine-glass stem. (Photo by Laura Masur, 2016.)

Table 3. Quantitative comparison of the probate inventory and archaeological assemblage.

Description	1831 Inventory		Ceramics and Glass		Archaeology (MNV)	
Barrels (generic), chests	3	2%	0	0%	0	0%
Barrels, casks, bottles	28	19%	6	7%	1	2%
Pans, bowls, pots (metal), kettles, etc.	45	30%	21	24%	14	23%
Plates, dishes, utensils, salt cellars, etc.	38	26%	29	33%	19	32%
Glasses, decanters, jugs, pots (ceramic)	17	11%	17	19%	12	20%
Tea set, cup, bowl, saucer, teapot	17	11%	16	18%	14	23%
Total	148	100%	89	100%	60	100%

Comparison between the probate inventory and the archaeological assemblage (TAB. 3) provides an opportunity to explore bias in each source. Most vessels used to store food or alcohol at the tavern would have been made of wood or metal, which at least partially explains the paucity of wine bottles in the archaeological record. Proportions of ceramic and glass vessels used in food preparation, as tableware (food), tableware (drink), and tea ware are remarkably consistent between the probate inventory and the "vesselized" assemblage. Tea wares are slightly overrepresented in the archaeological assemblage (23% of vessels in the MNV, compared to 18% from the probate inventory), and alcohol-storage vessels such as bottles, are slightly underrepresented (2% of vessels in the MNV, compared to 7% from the probate inventory). Nonetheless, these findings suggest that: (1) the small archaeological sample is representative of the range of ceramic and glass vessels used in 1831; and (2) the probate inventory is consistent with material culture used at the tavern between 1800 and 1830, and largely does not reflect the sudden effects of Hawley's temperance movement.

Tempering our Expectations: The Materiality of Tavern Economies and Rural Exchange Networks

Between 1770 and 1830, Americans increased their per capita consumption of hard liquor from 3.7 to 5 gal. (Conroy 1995: 313–

314). As populations grew and moved west, aspiring entrepreneurs opened public houses on the New England frontier. The suite of historical trends that gave birth to widespread but localized temperance movements also colored the way that village taverns and their owners were remembered later in the 19th century. An 1843 article commemorating Edmund Longley, one of Hawley's original tavern keepers, praised his moderate use of "ardent spirit" and his openness to signing the town's temperance pledge in 1831 (Sears 2009: 23–24). P. F. Cooley recounted with nostalgia the days when Sanford's was "the best place to buy New England rum" (Atkins 1887: 125–126). While Cooley's description of William Sanford's tavern evokes a bustling, raucous environment, its largely domestic material signature is comparatively mundane. The Sanford Tavern was clearly not an establishment that focused exclusively on the sale and consumption of alcohol. Patterns of consumption at William Sanford's tavern are more similar to a farmstead than a tavern in a city or along a stagecoach route. The Sanford Tavern fits most closely with John Worrell's (1980) characterization of a "farmstead-tavern," which supplied the social and economic needs of a rural agricultural community.

Previous archaeological research on western Massachusetts hill-town taverns does not provide clear expectations for the material signature of such a site. The collection of artifacts from Othniel Taylor's early 18th-century tavern in Charlemont are seemingly indistin-

guishable from a domestic site (A. Miller 2007). A salvaged late 18th- and early 19th-century domestic assemblage from the adjacent hill town of Heath contained wine bottles, wine glasses, refined earthenware mugs, and Chinese porcelain tea wares. While the assemblage is similar to what would be expected at an urban tavern, it was instead produced by a wealthy household (Amanda Lange 2012, pers. comm.). Worrell (1980: 139) identifies a high ratio of hollow to flat vessels at the Stratton Tavern in Northfield, operating on the assumption that hollow vessels were associated with alcohol consumption at taverns and flat vessels with food. Analysis of the Sanford Tavern assemblage shows a relatively even distribution of ceramic and glass vessels associated with alcohol, tea, dining, and food storage and preparation. It is clear that in this region, differences between domestic sites and taverns are subtle and difficult to identify without the use of standardized analytical methods or historical records.

The material signature of the Sanford Tavern, although different from many colonial and urban public houses, is not wholly unusual. Wholey (2006: 70–71) also notes a low percentage of tobacco pipes (<1%–3%) in the artifact assemblages for the Blue Ball and Rising Son taverns in Delaware, and Chenoweth (2006: 84–86) connects lower numbers of tobacco pipes to generalized “rural” taverns. While there is no evidence of chewing tobacco or cigars in William Sanford’s probate inventory, large quantities of cigars are listed among store goods in Hawley innkeeper Calvin Longley’s probate inventory (Franklin County Probate 1858). The small quantity of glassware, particularly bottle glass, at the Sanford Tavern is striking. Wholey (2006: 70–71) reports bottle glass comprising 11%–24% of tavern assemblages from late 18th- and early 19th-century Delaware. The paucity of bottles in Sanford’s probate inventory suggests that his tavern may have specialized in serving cider and liquor rather than wine. Alternatively, Hawley’s remote location may have led to a greater dependence on bottle reuse; patrons may also have brought their own bottles to fill at the tavern. Moreover, most of the alcohol-storage vessels in Sanford’s probate inventory, primarily made of wood and metal, would not preserve well in the archaeological record.

Based on both the MNV and the probate inventory, the consumption of tea was as important as alcohol within the Sanford household. As Chenoweth (2006: 87) observes, data on tea wares are rarely reported from tavern sites, which makes it difficult to assess the role of tea drinking in public houses.

The presence of at least 14 redware vessels produced by Thomas Crafts & Company, based in Whatley—about 30 mi. southeast of Hawley—alludes to local networks of economic exchange. Thomas Crafts began to produce “common brown earthenware” in 1802, also producing “black teapots” after 1821 (Crafts 1899: 257). The redware vessels from the tavern assemblage—a handled bottle/jug, inkwell, milk pans/bowls, and a teapot lid—all likely came from the Crafts factory in Whatley. The CRAFTS&CO mark is an exact match to a sherd recovered from the factory site (FIG. 5) (A. Miller 2013: 38–39). There is little evidence from the Sanford Tavern, however, that the Crafts factory produced vessels that would have been used specifically for alcohol storage or consumption. British refined earthenwares, particularly mugs, are most common at both the Sanford Tavern and the Stratton Tavern (Worrell 1980: 139–140). As a cog in local exchange networks, it is possible that Sanford, Longley, or the owners of other stores and public houses in Hawley played a role in the distribution of Crafts & Company wares. William Sanford was known to sell dry goods, and the regional distribution of ceramics would be consistent with the establishment’s economic hybridity.

Contemporary probate inventories from Delaware demonstrate that tavern proprietors specialized in particular economic activities, such as lodging, dining, or bar service. Others diversified economically, as is marked through large quantities of agricultural or blacksmithing tools (Wholey 2006: 70–73). William Sanford’s 1831 probate inventory clearly demonstrates his efforts to diversify his family’s finances. Although the inventory lists a number of objects associated with alcohol storage and consumption—cider barrels, casks, butts, case bottles, bottles, jugs, decanters, and wine glasses—Sanford was a farmer, country lawyer, and businessman, as well as a purveyor of spirits. Sanford’s history of land acquisition and development suggests

a longstanding strategy aimed at diversifying his economic base for profit and financial security. The eventual closure of the tavern and loss of the property after William Sanford, Sr.’s death may reflect William Sanford, Jr.’s failure to diversify and adapt as a businessman, compounded by widespread social and economic change.

Between 1802 and 1848, the Longley family operated a competing tavern opposite the common from the Sanfords’. Edmund Longley’s son Thomas died in 1848, leaving a similarly diverse array of goods indicative of a farmstead-tavern. His probate inventory lists over 50 chairs and several dozen plates, as well as a large quantity of bedding, towels, and bedroom furniture that would have been excessive for a single household. This suggests that, in 1848, Longley’s establishment was equipped to provide room and board for guests. While the Longley tavern, like Sanford’s, did not obtain a liquor license after 1830, Thomas Longley’s probate inventory lists 2 decanters, 15 tumblers, 12 wine glasses, a case and bottles, and another 12 bottles (Franklin County Probate 1848). It appears that, despite prevailing attitudes favoring temperance, household members and guests continued to consume—if not legally sell—wine and spirits. The 1858 probate inventory of Calvin Longley, Thomas’s nephew, shows the household’s increased investment in mercantile goods, including alcohol, after its relocation near the new meetinghouse. The Longley Tavern still, apparently, hosted guests; seven fully outfitted bedrooms were described in the inventory (Franklin County Probate 1858). Nearly three decades after William Sanford’s death, several generations of the Longley family had adapted to Hawley’s economic needs, enabling this establishment to persist after Sanford’s had closed.

Conclusion

This case study shows the limitations of using established patterns to determine site function or character. The largely domestic nature of the tavern assemblage discussed here is a testament to the site’s hybridity as a farmstead-tavern and the direct result of the specific economic and social needs of early 19th-century hill-town communities in

western New England. Archaeological investigations of William Sanford’s tavern provide an extended counterexample to tavern pattern or signature searches, showing that a variety of assemblages can be compatible with the presence of a tavern. The archaeological signature of 19th-century rural taverns is different from those of the 17th- through 18th-centuries and urban taverns that are well represented in the archaeological literature. Future analysts should consider all available evidence and modify expectations for a tavern assemblage given a site’s location, economic specialization, and time period. In particular, the analysis of 19th-century taverns should recognize the influence of three factors on a tavern assemblage: (1) specialization, including alcohol consumption, fishing/whaling, stagecoach travel, farming, or any combination of these categories; (2) transition from the use of tobacco pipes to chewing tobacco and cigars, as well as the effects of temperance movements on tobacco consumption; and (3) changes in international and regional markets affecting the consumption of alcohol-related material culture. Evidence from the Sanford Tavern shows that even a small quantity of alcohol-related vessels and the near absence of clay tobacco pipes is nonetheless compatible with the presence of a tavern in early 19th-century New England.

The Sanford Tavern, like many taverns in rural New England, fulfilled multiple social and economic needs within Hawley’s society. The establishment was a household, a farmstead, a store, and a tavern; it was also a place of economic production and exchange, and a place for social gatherings that were not exclusively focused on alcohol consumption. Historical and archaeological evidence speaks to the Sanford Tavern’s multifaceted, if ultimately unsustainable, role in Hawley during the first three decades of the 19th century. Indeed, the dissolution of the Sanford Tavern was not spurred solely by Hawley’s 1831 revival and temperance pledge, but by a suite of interconnected changes that caused upheaval in 19th-century society. Today, the Old Town Common has again become a center of community activity, as a place to remember Hawley’s heritage and remain connected to the past. Archaeology plays an integral role in this process.

Acknowledgments

We greatly appreciate funding provided through Mass Humanities, the Community Foundation of Western Massachusetts, the Mary Lyon Foundation, Kickstarter, and the Sons and Daughters of Hawley. We are also grateful for those who made this project possible through the years, including John Sears, Lark and Beth Thwing, Alex Keim, members of the Sons and Daughters of Hawley, and Mohawk Trail Regional High School. Thanks to Mary Beaudry and Ed Bell, who provided feedback on earlier drafts of this manuscript, and the helpful suggestions of our three anonymous reviewers.

References

- Atkins, William Giles
1887 *History of the Town of Hawley, Franklin County, Massachusetts: From Its First Settlement in 1771 to 1887, with Family Records and Biographical Sketches*. William Giles Atkins, West Cummington, MA. Internet Archive <<https://archive.org/details/historyoftownofh00atki>>. Accessed 4 March 2020.
- Barber, John Warner
1841 *Historical Collections, Being a General Collection of Interesting Facts, Traditions, Biographical Sketches, Anecdotes, &c., Relating to the History and Antiquities of Every Town in Massachusetts, with Geographical Descriptions*. Dore, Howland & Co., Worcester, MA. HathiTrust Digital Library <<https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/009833530>>. Accessed 4 March 2020.
- Beaudry, Mary C., Janet Long, Henry M. Miller, Fraser D. Neiman, and Garry Wheeler Stone
1983 A Vessel Typology for Early Chesapeake Ceramics: The Potomac Typological System. *Historical Archaeology* 17(1): 18–43.
- Bidwell, Percy Wells
1917 Population Growth in Southern New England, 1810–1860. *Publications of the American Statistical Association* 15(120): 813–839.
- Bower, Beth Anne
1978 Report on the Archaeological Excavation at the Dogget and Cunningham Houses, Roxbury, Massachusetts. Manuscript, MHC No 25-1525, Massachusetts Historical Commission, Boston.
- Bragdon, Kathleen J.
1981 Occupational Differences Reflected in Material Culture. *Northeast Historical Archaeology* 10: 27–39.
1988 Occupational Differences Reflected in Material Culture. In *Documentary Archaeology in the New World*, Mary C. Beaudry, editor, pp. 83–91. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK.
- Brown, Gregory J., Thomas F. Higgins III, David F. Muraca, Kathleen Pepper, and Roni H. Polk
1990 *Shields Tavern Archaeological Report, Block 9 Building 26B, Originally entitled: "Archaeological Investigations of the Shields Tavern Site, Williamsburg, Virginia."* Colonial Williamsburg, Department of Archaeological Research, Williamsburg, VA. Colonial Williamsburg Digital Library <<https://research.colonialwilliamsburg.org/DigitalLibrary/view/index.cfm?doc=ResearchReports\RR1626.xml&highlight=shields%20tavern>>. Accessed 1 May 2020.
- Burrow, Ian, William Liebeknecht, Damon Tvaryanas, Douglas Scott, Nadine Sergejeff, and Rebecca White
2003 *John Tweed's Log Tavern: The Archaeology, History and Architecture of the Gutherie-Giacomelli House (Tweed's Tavern), CRS-#N-1101 and Tweed's Tavern Archaeological Site, 7NC-A-18, Mill Creek Hundred, New Castle County, Delaware*. Delaware Department of Transportation Archaeology Series No. 167. Dover. Delaware Department of Transportation <http://www.deldot.gov/archaeology/tweeds_tavern/>. Accessed 4 March 2020.
- Camp, Helen B.
1975 Archaeological Excavations at Pemaquid, Maine 1965–1974. Manuscript, Maine State Museum, Augusta.
- Chenoweth, John
2006 "What'll Thou Have": Quakers and the Characterization of Tavern Sites in Colonial Philadelphia. *Northeast Historical Archaeology* 35(1): 77–92.
- Conroy, David W
1995 *In Public Houses: Drink and the Revolution of Authority in Colonial Massachusetts*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.
- Cook, Lauren J
1989 Descriptive Analysis of Tobacco-Related Materials from Boott Mill Boardinghouses. In *Interdisciplinary Investigations of the Boott Mills, Lowell, Massachusetts*, Vol. 3: *The Boarding House System as a Way of Life*, Mary C. Beaudry and Stephen A. Mrozowski, editors, pp. 187–208. National Park Service, North Atlantic Regional Office, Division of Cultural Resources, Cultural Resources Management Studies, 21. Boston, MA. HathiTrust Digital Library <<https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/011327677>>. Accessed 4 March 2020.
- Cotter, John L.
1958 *Archaeological Excavations at Jamestown Colonial Historic Site, Virginia*. National Park Service, Archaeological Research Series No. 4. Washington, DC.
- Crafts, James Monroe
1899 *History of the Town of Whately, Mass: Including a Narrative of Leading Events from the First Planting of Hatfield: 1661–1899*. D. L. Crandall, Orange, MA. Internet Archive <<https://archive.org/details/historytown-what00crafgoog/page/n9/mode/2up>>. Accessed 4 March 2020.
- DePaoli, Neill
1989 Archaeological Investigations of the Golden Ball Tavern "Barn" Site, Weston, Massachusetts. Manuscript, MHC No 25-971, Massachusetts Historical Commission, Boston, MA.
- Dimmick, Frederica
1991 Archaeological Investigations off the South Eil of the Golden Ball Tavern, Weston, Massachusetts. Manuscript, MHC No 25-1063, Massachusetts Historical Commission, Boston, MA.
- Dixon, Kelly J.
2005 *Boomtown Saloons: Archaeology and History in Virginia City*. University of Nevada Press, Reno.
- Ekholm, Eric, and James Deetz
1971 The Wellfleet Tavern. *Natural History* 80(7): 48–57.
- Elia, Ricardo J.
1989 Archaeological Excavations at the East Eil of the Golden Ball Tavern in Weston, Massachusetts. Manuscript, MHC No 25-910, Massachusetts Historical Commission, Boston, MA.
- Foss, Robert
1974 *Excavations at Gadsby's Tavern, Alexandria, Virginia*. J. Everette Fauber, Jr. FAIA & Associates, Alexandria, VA. Alexandria Archaeology Bibliography <<https://www.alexandriava.gov/uploadedFiles/historic/info/archaeology/><<https://www.alexandriava.gov/uploadedFiles/historic/info/archaeSiteReportFoss1974GadsbysCourtyardAX2.pdf>>. Accessed 1 May 2020.
- Franklin County Probate
1831 William Sanford, 20 December. File 4078, Franklin County Probate, Franklin County Courthouse, Greenfield, MA.
1848 Thomas Longley, 19 December. File 2943, Franklin County Probate, Franklin County Courthouse, Greenfield, MA.
1858 Calvin Longley, 18 May. File 2938, Franklin County Probate, Franklin County Courthouse, Greenfield, MA.
- Gallagher, Joan, Laurie Boros, Neill DePaoli, K. Ann Turner, and Joyce Fitzgerald
1994 Archaeological Data Recovery, City Square Archaeological District, Central Artery North Reconstruction Project, Charlestown, Massachusetts, Vol. 7. Manuscript, MHC No 25-1515, Massachusetts Historical Commission, Boston, MA.
- Handsman, Russel G.
1981 Early Capitalism and the Center Village of Canaan, Connecticut: A Study of Transformations and Separations. *Artifacts* 9(3): 1–22.
- Harper, Ross, and Bruce Clouette
2009 Archaeology at the 1777 Ebenezer Story Site: The Household Economy of a Family of Fishermen-Farmers on the Thames River, Preston, Connecticut. *Northeast Historical Archaeology* 38: 100–121.
- Healy, Allan
1986 *Charlemont, Massachusetts: Frontier Village and Hill Town*. Paideia, Ashfield, MA.
- Howes, Frederick G.
1910 *History of the Town of Ashfield, Franklin County, Massachusetts from Its Settlement in 1742 to 1910*. *Town of Ashfield, Ashfield, MA*. Internet Archive <<http://archive.org/details/historyoftownofa00howe>>. Accessed 4 March 2020.

- Imbarrato, Susan Clair
1998 Ordinary Travel: Tavern Life and Female Accommodation in Early America and the New Republic. *Women's Studies* 28(1): 29–57.
- Johnson, Amanda B.
2012 Booze at the Brothel: Alcohol-Related Artifacts and Their Use in Performance at the 27/29 Endicott Street Brothel. Master's thesis, Department of Anthropology, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, VA.
- Johnson, Paul E.
2004 *A Shopkeeper's Millennium: Society and Revivals in Rochester, New York, 1815–1837*. Hill and Wang, New York, NY.
- Keim, Alexander D.
2012 In Search of "A Large Pretentious Building of Two Stories": Report for Sanford Tavern Archaeological Excavation and Education Project 2011. Manuscript, MHC No. 25-3297, Massachusetts Historical Commission, Boston, MA.
- Kendrick, Fannie Smith Shaw, and Lucy Cutler Kellogg
1937 *The History of Buckland, 1779–1935*. Town of Buckland, Buckland, MA. HathiTrust Digital Library <<https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/010028410>>. Accessed 3 March 2020.
- King, Julia A.
1988 A Comparative Midden Analysis of a Household and Inn in St. Mary's City, Maryland. *Historical Archaeology* 22(2): 17–39.
- King, Julia A., and Henry M. Miller
1987 The View from the Midden: An Analysis of Midden Distribution and Composition at the Van Sweringen Site, St. Mary's City, Maryland. *Historical Archaeology* 21(2): 37–59.
- Larkin, Jack
2000 *The New England Country Tavern*. Old Sturbridge Village, Sturbridge, MA.
- Lucas, Michael T.
2016 "To Our Inn We March'd away": Public Contexts for Consuming Alcohol and Tobacco in a Small Chesapeake Town, 1690–1720. *Journal of Middle Atlantic Archaeology* 32: 93–115.
- Massachusetts Bureau of Geographic Information (MassGIS)
2020 Aerial imagery. Sanford Tavern in the Town of Hawley, MA. <<http://mass.gov/orgs/massgis-bureau-geographid-information>>. Accessed 2020.
- 2020 LiDAR hillshade, Sanford Tavern in the Town of Hawley, MA. <<http://mass.gov/orgs/massgis-bureau-geographid-information>>. Accessed 2020.
- Masur, Laura E.
2015 Archaeological Site Examination of the Sanford Tavern (HAW-HA-1): Report of the 2014 Field Season. Manuscript, MHC RC 49941, Massachusetts Historical Commission, Boston, MA.
- Miller, Aaron F.
2007 Archaeological Site Examination Survey at the Taylor's Fort Site (CRL.HA.19 and 19-FR-407) Charlemont, Massachusetts. Manuscript, Massachusetts Historical Commission, Boston, MA.
- 2013 Archaeological Reconnaissance Survey at the Sanford Tavern Site, Hawley, MA. Manuscript, MHC No 25-3463, Massachusetts Historical Commission, Boston, MA.
- Miller, George L.
1980 Classification and Economic Scaling of 19th Century Ceramics. *Historical Archaeology* 14: 1–40.
- Mrozowski, Stephen A, Grace H. Ziesing, and Mary C. Beaudry
1996 *Living on the Boott: Historical Archaeology at the Boott Mills Boardinghouses, Lowell, Massachusetts*. University of Massachusetts Press, Amherst.
- Noël Hume, Ivor
1969 *Archaeology and Wetherburn's Tavern*. Colonial Williamsburg Archaeological Series No. 3. Williamsburg, VA.
- Parker, Harrison
1992 *Hawley, Massachusetts: The First Fifty Years, 1770–1820*. Sara, Amherst, MA.
- Ritchie, Duncan, and Beth Miller
1990 Reconnaissance and Intensive Level Archaeological Survey of the Nawn Factory Site, Roxbury Heritage State Park, Roxbury, Massachusetts. Manuscript, MHC No 25-978, Massachusetts Historical Commission, Boston, MA.
- Rockman, Diana DiZ., and Nan A. Rothschild
1984 City Tavern, Country Tavern: An Analysis of Four Colonial Sites. *Historical Archaeology* 18(2): 112–121.
- Sears, John F.
2009 *Rediscovering Hawley's Old Town Common*. Sons and Daughters of Hawley, Hawley, MA.
- Smith, Frederick H.
2008 *The Archaeology of Alcohol and Drinking*. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.
- U.S. Bureau of the Census
1800 Town of Hawley, Franklin County, Massachusetts. United States Bureau of the Census, Washington, DC. Ancestry.com <<https://www.ancestry.com>>. Accessed 12 Oct 2014.
- 1810 Town of Hawley, Franklin County, Massachusetts. United States Bureau of the Census, Washington, DC. Ancestry.com <<https://www.ancestry.com>>. Accessed 12 Oct 2014.
- 1820 Town of Hawley, Franklin County, Massachusetts. United States Bureau of the Census, Washington, DC. Ancestry.com <<https://www.ancestry.com>>. Accessed 12 Oct 2014.
- 1830 Town of Hawley, Franklin County, Massachusetts. United States Bureau of the Census, Washington, DC. Ancestry.com <<https://www.ancestry.com>>. Accessed 12 Oct 2014.
- 1850 Town of Hawley, Franklin County, Massachusetts. United States Bureau of the Census, Washington, DC. Ancestry.com <<https://www.ancestry.com>>. Accessed 12 Oct 2014.
- 1860 Town of Hawley, Franklin County, Massachusetts. United States Bureau of the Census, Washington, DC. Ancestry.com <<https://www.ancestry.com>>. Accessed 12 Oct 2014.
- 1870 Town of Hawley, Franklin County, Massachusetts. United States Bureau of the Census, Washington, DC. Ancestry.com <<https://www.ancestry.com>>. Accessed 12 Oct 2014.
- 1870 Town of Amherst, Hampshire County, Massachusetts. United States Bureau of the Census, Washington, DC. Ancestry.com <<https://www.ancestry.com>>. Accessed 12 Oct 2014.
- 1880 Town of Hawley, Franklin County, Massachusetts. United States Bureau of the Census, Washington, DC. Ancestry.com <<https://www.ancestry.com>>. Accessed 12 Oct 2014.
- 1880 Town of Amherst, Hampshire County, Massachusetts. United States Bureau of the Census, Washington, DC. Ancestry.com <<https://www.ancestry.com>>. Accessed 12 Oct 2014.
- 1880 Harford, Harford County, Connecticut. United States Bureau of the Census, Washington, DC. Ancestry.com <<https://www.ancestry.com>>. Accessed 12 Oct 2014.
- Victor, Megan
2019 Under the Tavern Table: Excavations at the Tavern on Smuttynose Island, Maine and Implications for Commensal Politics and Informal Economy. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 23(1): 34–56.
- Voss, Barbara L., and Rebecca Allen
2010 Guide to Ceramic MNV Calculation Qualitative and Quantitative Analysis. Technical Briefs in Historical Archaeology 5, Society for Historical Archaeology <https://sha.org/assets/documents/Technical_briefs_articles/vol5article01.pdf>. Accessed 3 March 2020.
- Wholey, Heather
2006 The Socioeconomic Landscape of Northern Delaware's Taverns and Innkeepers: The Blue Ball Tavern and Vicinity. *Northeast Historical Archaeology* 35: 63–76.
- Worrell, John
1980 Scars upon the Earth: Physical Evidence of Dramatic Change at the Stratton Tavern. In *Research Report 19: Proceedings of the Conference on Northeastern Archaeology*, pp. 133–145. University of Massachusetts Department of Anthropology Research Reports Series. Amherst. Scholarworks@UMassAmherst <http://scholarworks.umass.edu/anthro_res_rpt19/11?utm_source=scholarworks.umass.edu%2Fanthro_res_rpt19%2F11&utm_medium=PDF&utm_campaign=PDFCoverPages>. Accessed 3 March 2020.

Author Information

Laura Masur
Assistant Professor of Anthropology
Catholic University of America
masur@cua.edu

Aaron Miller
Associate Curator of Visual and Material
Culture and NAGPRA Coordinator
Mount Holyoke College Art Museum
afmiller@mtholyoke.edu