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“THE CIRCLE OF YOUR ACQUAINTANCE”: EARLY 19TH CENTURY CERAMIC SYMBOLISM AND CONSTRUCTIONS OF BLACK WOMANHOOD AT THE BOSTON-HIGGINBOTHAM HOUSE, NANTUCKET, MA

A Thesis Presented

by

LISSA J. HERZING

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

MASTER OF ARTS

August 2022

Historical Archaeology Program

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“THE CIRCLE OF YOUR ACQUAINTANCE”: EARLY 19TH CENTURY CERAMIC SYMBOLISM AND CONSTRUCTIONS OF BLACK WOMANHOOD AT THE BOSTON-HIGGINBOTHAM HOUSE, NANTUCKET, MA

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by

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ABSTRACT

"THE CIRCLE OF YOUR ACQUAINTANCE": EARLY 19TH CENTURY CERAMIC SYMBOLISM AND CONSTRUCTIONS OF BLACK WOMANHOOD AT THE BOSTON-HIGGINBOTHAM HOUSE, NANTUCKET, MA

August 2022

Lissa J. Herzing, B.A., The State University of New York at Potsdam
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Directed by Professor Nedra K. Lee

During the early 19th century, ideologies of womanhood were beginning to solidify in the national discourse of the United States. The concept of domesticity, the process of homemaking through material and spiritual means, was a key aspect of womanhood during this time, the transition from the Early Republic to the Victorian period. These ideals were prescribed to white middle- and upper-class women but were altered by Black women to serve their needs and adopted to combat negative stereotypes of Black people in a society permeated with racism. This was evident in the work of Maria W. Stewart, the first Black woman political writer, who orated and wrote from Boston in the early 1830s speaking directly to Black women about their roles as mothers and active community members. The archaeological ceramics corresponding to the household of Mary Boston Douglass, a free Black woman living in the community of New Guinea on Nantucket, serves as a case study to examine the lived experiences of free Black women during the 1820s-1830s and their engagement with ideologies of gender. This thesis uses an intersectional approach to interpret ceramic pattern symbolism and vessel forms from the Boston-Higginbotham House site.

Supported by the political writings of Stewart, discourses on Black womanhood documented by scholars, and comparative analysis of two contemporary sites, this analysis suggests that Mary's selection of ceramic wares, and the patterns that adorned them, were used to create what bell hooks calls "homeplace" through the daily consumption of ideas of aspiration and motherhood.

DEDICATION

For Eli

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Throughout my time working towards the completion of this thesis, I have been touched by so many amazing scholars and people, each of whom contributed to my growth as an archaeologist. I would like to begin by expressing my utmost thanks to the chair of my committee, Dr. Nedra Lee, who's guidance and mentorship has encouraged me and challenged me. I will forever be grateful for the time I have spent working with you. Thank you so much to my committee members, Dr. Christa Beranek and Dr. David Landon. Your advice, support, and enthusiasm has greatly impacted this work. Thank you to all other faculty from the Anthropology Department and Fiske Center for Archaeological Research for your support, it has truly been a pleasure to learn from you. I want to thank Rita Shepard and John Schoenfelder for letting me work with their OSWALT database in the initial stages of my research. Thank you to Kimal McCarthy and Yvonne Vaillancourt for providing me with opportunities to share my research with the Nantucket community. Thank you to the Museum of African American History for their continued partnership with the Fiske Center on the archaeological investigation of the New Guinea Community. I would like to express my deepest gratitude to Dr. Hadley Kruczek-Aaron. Thank you for your years of mentorship and for inspiring me to pursue a career in historical archaeology. Thank you to my National Park Service colleagues; Emily Murphy, Alicia Paresi, and Gavin Gardner, for their incredible support and advice throughout this entire process. Thank you to my colleagues from the New England African American Archaeology Lab, I greatly appreciate each of you and your help with this research. Thank you to Dr. Michael Lucas, and my friends at the New York State Museum for your continued support.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In the early 19th century, the free Black community of New Guinea was forming, growing, and thriving on the island of Nantucket. The story of this community has often been told from the vantage point of men—their roles in the prosperous maritime industry, political activism, and occupations as yeoman farmers and artisans—as this is the narrative that survives in the island's documentary record (Karttunen 2002; Johnson 2006). The women in this community have only been discussed with increasing focus in the last decade as a direct result of archaeological inquiry on the island (Bulger 2013, 2015; Horlacher 2016; Cacchione 2018, 2019; Lee 2019). Excavations at the Seneca Boston-Florence Higginbotham House unearthed the domestic material culture associated with the women of the Boston and Higginbotham families, allowing archaeologists to make visible the daily life experiences of the women who selected and used the artifacts recovered. The increased focus on the women of New Guinea was also the result of the growth of Black feminist analyses among historical archaeologists (Franklin 2001b; Wilkie 2003; Edwards-Ingram 2005; Battle-Baptiste 2011; Sesma 2016; Morris 2017; Arjona 2017; Flewellen 2022; Lee 2019). Black women have long been the subject of research among Black women historians (Davis 1983; Higginbotham 1993; Giddings 1984; King 2006) and the central focus of a Black feminist theoretical

approach, created by Black women in response to the disregard of their needs within the Civil Rights and Women's movements (Combahee River Collective Statement 1977; Crenshaw 1989; Collins 1989). Black feminist archaeology uses material culture to demonstrate how Black women were instrumental in the function of their communities, the creation of institutions, mothering and education of their children, maintenance of their domestic sphere, contribution to their family and household economies, and how they resisted race, sex, and class-based oppression. This thesis aims to expand upon the previous archaeological inquiry into the women of the Boston family, specifically Mary Boston Douglass, and her household, using archaeological ceramics, a category of domestic material culture, to illustrate the lived experiences of Black women within the free Black community of New Guinea during the early 19th century.

Mary Boston Douglass lived at 27 York Street, now known as the Boston-Higginbotham House, from 1804 to her death in 1834 (Bulger 2013:111). She and her household occupied a specific and significant moment in time and space. Mary was born to parents who were members of the first generation of freed enslaved people on the island of Nantucket. She was born in 1768, during a time when there were both free and enslaved Black people on Nantucket, over a decade before Massachusetts would officially abolish slavery (Bulger 2013:111). It is documented that Mary's father, Tobias Boston, brother of Seneca Boston, was freed through gradual emancipation (Bulger 2013:111). Mary grew up observing the realities of enslavement on the island and participated in the active creation of the community of New Guinea as she grew into a woman, married, and had children of her own, including a son, William, and two daughters, Eliza, and Charlotte (Bulger 2013:111).

Mary was also a member of the Boston family, a leading Black family on the island who were integral to the foundations of the New Guinea community, as one of the first families to settle at its heart (Bulger 2013:7). Mary's household during the 1820s represents the experiences of free Black women on Nantucket during the whaling boom which generated wealth for free Black people fueling the growth of the community, while taking many of the Black men working as mariners from the community out to sea. This time of growth within the community saw the building of institutions, such as the African Baptist Church between 1825-1826, which was also used as a school (Beaudry and Berkland 2007; Bulger 2013). Mary's choices in material culture reflect the symbolic nature of material culture in a first-generation free Black household and reflects how larger societal factors were impacting Black women on Nantucket at the household level. Mary occupied a particular time in which the community of New Guinea was firmly established, and its growth and prosperity fueled the continued fight for equal rights and citizenship among Black Nantucketers.

The 1820s period was also a time of ideological transition in the newly formed nation of the United States. Notions of womanhood from the late 18th to early 19th century, were centered on republican ideals of motherhood, citizenship, and civic duty (Sherman 2009; Rotman 2009). By the mid-19th century, the middle-class ideology of the "cult of true womanhood" had developed in response to the separation of the home and the workplace resulting from increased industrialization and prescribed piety, purity, submissiveness, and domesticity (Rotman 2009; Welter 1966). Both ideological frameworks prescribed the quality of domesticity, which situates women's responsibilities in the home, where it is her duty to create a sanctuary from the outside world (Welter 1966; Cott 1977; Rotman 2009).

These ideologies were reserved for white women and were defined in direct contrast to enslaved Black women (Davis 1983; Collins 2002; Battle-Baptiste 2011), but historians writing and theorizing about Black women's lives have asserted that it is likely that Black women engaged with dominant ideologies, adopting, or adapting the ideologies, with the aim of dismantling racist stereotypes founded in enslavement (Yee 1987; Collins 2002; King 2006; Webster 2017). Maria W. Stewart, the first female political writer, and first Black woman to speak on political matters in public, spoke and wrote of Black womanhood and abolition during the 1830s in Boston, MA (Stewart 1835; Richardson 1987; Cooper 2012). Through her work we can discern how womanhood was being discussed among free Black communities in Massachusetts and how this adoption or adaptation of dominant gender ideologies is reflected in material culture.

The Boston women's experiences were shaped by the social environment of their community, Nantucket, New England, the early 19th century, as well as by their race, gender, and class. The specific circumstances and discourses surrounding free Black women in the North were latent with racism and stereotypical notions related to the larger system of slavery that remained thriving in the southern United States as has been established by a long scholarly tradition exploring the history of the free Black experience (Litwack 1961; Yee 1987; Winch 1988; Levesque 1994; Horton 1993; Horton and Horton 1999). Any study of Black women's experiences must privilege an understanding of the ways in which their lives were impacted by racism, sexism, and classism as outlined by Black feminists, and how Black women responded to such oppression.

The social and ideological contexts described here intersect during the 1820s, the time in which Mary was raising her adolescent children, taking in boarders, and running her household along with her husband Michael. Mary's household is the only phase of the Boston-Higginbotham House's life cycles in which each of these conditions collide. It is through Mary's ceramic assemblage that I aim to better understand Black women's engagement with ideologies of domesticity during the early 19th century and the ways they used material culture to subvert racism.

Ceramic vessels have long been studied by historical archaeologists, as they are one of the most prevalent categories of material culture that are found in the archaeological record at early American sites (Miller 1980; Samford 1997; Barker and Majewski 2006). Ceramics are a powerful category of material whose selection and use has been most often attributed to women (Spencer-Wood 1987; Wall 1991, 1994, 1999, 2000; Kruczek-Aaron 2002). While ceramic decorative types and ware types have often been scaled according to cost and correlated to a household's economic status, archaeologists have also examined ceramic decorations and motifs to identify expressions of concomitant class and gender discourses such as gentility and the "cult of true womanhood" (Miller 1980, 1991; Wall 1991, 1994, 1999, 2000; Fitts 1999; Rotman 2009, 2012, 2019).

Through the analysis of ceramic motifs, symbolism, and vessel forms, I aim to understand how Mary Boston Douglass and her daughters, Eliza and Charlotte, envisioned their roles as Black women within their household through their ceramic consumption. My study aims to fill a gap in the body of literature in historical archaeology that uses ceramics to examine women's engagement with the dominant gender ideologies of the 19th century by

focusing on Black women who were categorically excluded from membership within the "cult of true womanhood" and other gendered ideological systems because of their race (Wall 1991, 1994, 1999, 2000; Fitts 1999; Kruczek-Aaron 2002; Rotman 2006, 2009). This study also contributes to the growing body of Black feminist archaeological studies by centering the lives and experiences of free Black women during the 19th century in discussions of alternative conceptions of domesticity and womanhood in the United States (Franklin 2001b; Wilkie 2003; Edwards-Ingram 2005; Battle-Baptiste 2011; Sesma 2016; Morris 2017; Arjona 2017; Flewellen 2022; Lee 2019). In addition, this thesis presents a comparative analysis, examining the ceramic data from two contemporary sites with Black women heads of household in the Northeastern United States. Lastly, this study offers a detailed argument for the increased use of pattern analyses in the study of vesselized ceramic assemblages, specifically through the identification and interpretation of the symbolism present on transfer-printed and hand-painted British import ceramics produced during the late 18th-early 19th centuries, to better understand the ways that marginalized groups used material culture to express their aspirations and identities (Majewski and O'Brien 1987; Brooks 1997, 1999; Lucas 2003; Brighton 2008).

To form my conclusions, the following questions need to be addressed. What were the dominant ideologies being prescribed to women during the early 19th century? How were these ideologies being discussed among Black women in New England? What symbolism is present on the ceramic vessels from the Boston assemblage and how can these symbols be linked to ideologies about womanhood from within the Black community? In what settings were these ceramic vessels used and who would have been using them? Together, the

answers to these questions as reflected through the material culture will shape an image of daily life practices for Mary Boston Douglass and the women of the Boston household during the early 19th century.

People of Color on Nantucket

Long before the arrival of European colonists to the island of Nantucket in the 1640s, Native Americans had lived in Nantucket and the rest of New England for thousands of years (Bragdon 1996, 2009; Karttunen 2002:7,19; Strobel 2020). The Wampanoag are an Algonquin speaking group like their neighbors the Pequot, Mohegan, and Nipmuc to the west, and the Narraganset, Massachusett, Nauset, and Patuxet to the north (Bragdon 1996; Karttunen 2002:17). When English settlers arrived in 1659, there were about 3,000 Wampanoag individuals living on the island of Nantucket (Karttunen 2002:50; Muehlbauer 2021). The English's presence disrupted and adversely affected the lives of the Indigenous people on Nantucket; their land was taken, rental fees were imposed upon them, and the English aimed to control most aspects of Wampanoag life (Karttunen 2002:59). By the 1760s, the Wampanoag population had dwindled to about 358 individuals, a group of people that were disproportionately affected by an epidemic that spanned from 1763 to 1764, with only 136 of them surviving the illness (Karttunen 2002:60,62; Bragdon 2009:80-81).

Along with the English settlers came another group who would become a part of Nantucket's people of color, enslaved Africans. Some of the earliest settlers on Nantucket, including those who were Quakers, enslaved individuals from Africa (Karttunen 2002:69). Some individuals of African descent were granted their freedom in the last wills and

testaments of their owners, while others were manumitted through legal disputes, from which the precedent ending slavery on Nantucket was set (Karttunen 2002:71,75). Decades before slavery would end on Nantucket, the Quakers voiced their radical stance in opposition to the owning of slaves in the 1720s, but their opinion was not enough to change the law on the island until 1775 (Karttunen 2002:72). Shortly after this, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts officially abolished slavery in 1783, and by this time there were no longer any individuals of African descent on Nantucket who were enslaved (Karttunen 2002:77; Muehlbauer 2021). The now free African Nantucketers became home and landowners, entrepreneurs, mariners, hired laborers, domestics, and activists. They opened businesses, built a school and churches, and established the free community of "New Guinea" (Karttunen 2002:68,73; Muehlbauer 2021).

New Guinea and the Boston Family

The community of New Guinea, once called Newtown, was formed by the late 1700s and was in an area of Nantucket known as the West Monomoy shares, on the outskirts of the town near the sheep grazing pastures (Karttunen 2002:78-79; Bulger 2013). During this time, it was common for members of the Wampanoag community to marry individuals of African descent; therefore, New Guinea has both African and Wampanoag heritage (Karttunen 2002:79). Declining numbers of Wampanoag men, because of disease, led to many Wampanoag women marrying Black men living on Nantucket. In some cases, Wampanoag women married enslaved men, which was advantageous for any children they might have as they would inherit the legal status of their mother (Mandell 1998). The intermarriage among Black Nantucketers and Wampanoag people effectively created a homogenized group in the

eyes of white Nantucketers. This was reinforced by the racialized terminology assigned to various groups in the federal census, which during the early 19th century consisted of the dichotomy of "white" or "colored" (Lee 2019:96; Muehlbauer 2021:46). These categories mask the presence of a diverse group of racial identities that existed among the New Guinea community, a diversity which only increased with the immigration of people from the Cape Verde Islands, the West Indies, and other locations (Karttunen 2002; Lee 2019:96).

In the early years of the 19th century, New Guinea had established itself as a thriving community, centered around the corners of Pleasant, York, and Atlantic Streets (Kaldenbach-Montemayor 2006:23). The African Meeting House, located at 25 York Street next to the Boston home, was constructed c. 1825 as the first school for African children on the island and later became the African Baptist Church (Saillant 2006:51). Another church, the Zion Methodist Church, was established in 1832 in New Guinea, as well as shops, a dance hall, and a burying ground belonging to the island's people of color (Beaudry and Berkland 2007:400; Bulger 2013:6-7; Muehlbauer 2021:36). The prosperous Nantucket whaling industry had a significant impact on the growth of this community, with many of the men becoming mariners. The maritime economy on Nantucket boomed after the end of the War of 1812 (Kaldenbach-Montemayor 2006:23). This economic growth fueled the creation of New Guinea, as Black men were able to profit from their labor as mariners, often on predominantly Black crews (Kaldenbach-Montemayor 2006:22). Nantucket quickly grew to become the largest whaling port in New England, with 83 vessels based on the island in 1823, compared with 42 vessels based in New Bedford, MA in the same year (Kaldenbach-Montemayor 2006:23). The capital generated from the whaling industry enabled Black men

to purchase property, build homes, and establish businesses fueling the growth of the New Guinea community (Kaldenbach-Montemayor 2006:24-25; Muehlbauer 2021).

The Boston family was one of many families that grew out of the development of the community of New Guinea and had a lasting presence on the island of Nantucket until the early 20th century. They were descended from an enslaved man named Boston, his partner Maria, and their children, who were enslaved by William Swain (Karttunen 2002:74). Boston was freed by Swain formally in 1760, while his and Maria's seven elder children remained enslaved until they reached the age of 28, after their prime years of physical health (Bulger 2013:10). By 1773 all of Boston's children were manumitted (Karttunen 2002:74-75). Seneca Boston, one of Boston and Maria's children, married a Wampanoag woman named Thankful Micah in 1770, one of the few survivors of the epidemic that impacted the Indigenous community just over a decade prior (Karttunen 2002:75). Seneca was freed in 1772, and two years later he and Thankful established their residence at 27 York St. (Landon et al. 2017:11). This property is now known as the Seneca Boston-Florence Higginbotham House, which is owned and maintained by the Museum of African American History.

Seneca and Thankful made several improvements to the property, including the construction of outbuildings, one listed in the deed record as a shop (Bulger 2013:102; Cacchione 2018:18). Freeborn Boston, their eldest son, was deeded the family home in 1802, and a short few years later, in 1809, both Seneca and Freeborn unexpectedly passed away, leaving the family estate to be divided among Seneca and Thankful's children. Freeborn's widow, Mary Boston, inherited his share, which consisted of the house at 27 York St., and permitted her family to reside there so long as Mary cared for her mother-in-law, Thankful

(Bulger 2013:11; Cacchione 2018:18). On the 1810 census, Mary was listed as the head of household for the family (Bulger 2013:11). Thankful has been described as having dementia and passed away a few years later in 1812. Mary Boston remarried in 1811 to a Cape Verdean man named Michael Douglass, and they did not have any children together (Karttunen 2002:84). It is likely that for a period of time, Michael was working as a mariner, and retired from working on the sea shortly after marrying Mary (Karttunen 2002:35-37). On the 1820 census, Michael was listed as the head of household, but I am situating Mary as the head of household because she was the legal owner of the property as stipulated in an 1812 deed for the 27 York St. property (Bulger 2013:11).

Mary and Freeborn had three children, William, Eliza, and Charlotte, who after their mother's death became equal owners of the 27 York St. home (Bulger 2013:11). During her time as head of household, Mary cared for her family and took on outside work as well as boarders to maintain sources of income (Bulger 2013:109; Lee 2019:99). This is evident in census records from 1830, which state there were a total of 11 people living at 27 York St., 5 of them being documented as boarders and the remainder being members of Mary and her youngest daughter Charlotte's families (Bulger 2013:113). Thus, Mary's household was different than the traditional nuclear family household, and her role at the helm of the Boston family was altered as a result. It is the members of the Boston Douglass' household who lived in the York St. home from 1820 to 1830, whose material culture will be examined in this archaeological study.

After Mary's death, the Boston home was passed down through the family. Mary's daughter, Eliza Boston Berry, lived at 27 York St. until her death in 1883, at which time she

was being taken care of by her niece Elizabeth Stevens. Elizabeth Stevens remained at the property and before her death, she sold the property to her niece, Caroline Talbot, and nephew, George Hogarth in 1914, as she had no children of her own. These were the last descendants of the Boston family to own the 27 York St. property. It was sold in 1919 to Edward H. Whelden, who likely never lived in the home. Florence Higginbotham, the site's other namesake, purchased the property a year later in 1920. Florence's family was integral to the preservation of the properties at 25 and 27 York St., until the Museum of African American History purchased them from her daughter-in-law in 2001 (Bulger 2013:13). Having been passed down through many generations of Black Nantucketers, this site embodies almost 200 years of Black history on the island (Landon et al. 2017). The archaeological remains recovered from this site shed light on many time periods in one household's lifecycle as well as the growth of a prosperous free Black community in New England.

Previous Research on the Boston-Higginbotham Site

There has been a considerable amount of research conducted on the Seneca Boston-Florence Higginbotham House site and its past occupants by graduate researchers which has been enabled by two field seasons of compliance archaeology conducted by the Fiske Center for Archaeological Research at the University of Massachusetts Boston. As a result of the 2008 excavations, conducted by Dr. David Landon in conjunction with Dr. Teresa Bulger, a master's thesis and a doctoral dissertation were produced (Way 2010; Bulger 2013).

Teresa Bulger's dissertation titled *Scrubbing the Whitewash from New England History: Citizenship, Race and Gender in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Nantucket* is a comprehensive examination of the Boston family, focusing on the largest period of history at the Boston property in Nantucket, specifically the late 18th century and the entirety of the 19th century (2013). She illustrated the experiences of the first occupants of the household, Seneca Boston, and his wife Thankful Micah, through material culture. Bulger also analyzed the creation of a collective identity among individuals living in the Boston household during the 19th century, in particular Mary Boston Douglass, her children, William, Eliza, and Charlotte, their families, and the larger extended Boston family (Bulger 2013). Bulger has also published a chapter on the topic of womanhood and race in Nantucket, that illustrated the experiences of Mary Boston Douglass and Eliza Boston Berry (Bulger 2015). This contribution echoes many of the ideas and interpretations that she discussed in chapter six of her dissertation (Bulger 2013:108-133). Bulger found that the ceramic assemblage associated with Mary and her household reflected an adherence to contemporary ideas about Black womanhood, which consisted of placing an emphasis on the home and the wellbeing of one's family, the pious socialization of children, and involvement in the betterment of the community through the church and mutual aid organizations (Bulger 2013: 29). In the ceramic assemblage, Bulger found a child's teacup with a poem describing the characteristic of piety printed on it, as well as family-oriented transfer-print patterns depicting bucolic scenes and a mother bird, which support her conclusion (Bulger 2013, 2015). My research on the household of Mary and her family builds upon the work done by Bulger, and while I am interrogating related questions about Black womanhood, the data considered in this thesis

adds a new perspective on Mary's views about her roles as a mother and includes a more detailed analysis of pattern symbolism and the settings of use and function of wares.

The faunal remains from the 2008 excavations were analyzed and described in Michael Way's master's thesis titled "Beef, Mutton, Pork, and a Taste of Turtle: Zooarchaeology and Nineteenth-Century African American Foodways at the Boston-Higginbotham House, Nantucket, Massachusetts" (2010). Way used his analysis of the faunal remains found at the Boston-Higginbotham house to discuss the foodways of the families living in that space during the late 18th and 19th centuries. Way determined the cuts of meat represented in the faunal assemblage, such as a cattle skull, and the limbs and shoulders of cattle, sheep, and goat, were highly desirable and written about in contemporary cookbooks and servants guides (Way 2010:98-100). Way asserts these cuts of meat, likely obtained through market purchase, as well as a supplementation with home raised domesticated animals, marine food sources and fowl, represent middle-class food consumption among the Boston family (Way 2010:102). Way argues the Boston family consumed these foods as an active effort to subvert racist stereotypes of Black people (2010).

In 2014, further compliance work was carried out by the Fiske Center at the Boston-Higginbotham House. The details of the excavation are outlined in the archaeological site examination report published in 2017 (Landon et al. 2017). Since 2014, three master's theses at UMass Boston have been published on the more recent archaeological evidence (Cacchione 2018; Horlacher 2016; Muehlbauer 2021). Victoria Cacchione's thesis titled "'There are Among the Coloured People of this Place Remains of the Nantucket Indians': Identity through Ceramics at the Boston-Higginbotham House," examined the formation of

collective and individual identities among Seneca Boston and Thankful Micah during the late 18th to early 19th centuries through the analysis of a ceramic assemblage dating to this period (2018). Intact archaeological deposits dating to the occupation of the last occupant of the site, Florence Higginbotham, were discovered during the second field season at the Boston-Higginbotham House, the data from which was the basis for Carolyn Horlacher's thesis titled "Measured Resistance: A Black Feminist Perspective on the Domestic Reform Movement" (2016). Through an analysis of food preparation related artifacts from the early 20th century, Horlacher discussed the ways that Florence Higginbotham interacted with the domestic reform movement using a Black feminist perspective (2016).

In one of the most recent works published on the archaeology of the Boston-Higginbotham House site, Nedra Lee (2019) used census records and ceramic vessel forms to analyze the ways that Black women supplemented their household income through taking on boarders. The initial results from the minimum vessel count for the ceramics from Lots O and P, as well as the results of the minimum vessel count conducted by Cacchione (2018), were used by Lee to discuss change over time in the forms present in assemblages associated with Thankful Micah Boston and Mary Boston Douglass (Lee 2019:94-95). The census records examined by Lee establish that Mary Boston Douglass worked as a domestic and took in boarders for extra income and therefore would have had less time to perform household duties (2019:95-96). This is supported by lack of utilitarian wares uncovered in the privy contexts associated with Lots O and P, indicating that Mary was employing different household management strategies than her predecessor, Thankful Micah Boston (2019:95). This analysis will help me to better understand the ways in which economic circumstances

shaped how Mary Boston Douglass and the other women in her household engaged with ideologies of the early 19th century.

Jared Muehlbauer's thesis has also proved to be integral to the continued study of the New Guinea community (2021). Muehlbauer identified, collected, and compiled an extensive body of census and deed records from Nantucket into a database which is now maintained by the New England African American Archaeology Lab run by Dr. Nedra Lee at UMass Boston. Using these data, Muehlbauer mapped the New Guinea community through time and explored the ways that community space was created and defined. This effort to create community, through owning property, starting businesses, and creating spaces for Black political actions, illustrates how Black people on Nantucket were empowered to resist racism (Muehlbauer 2021).

The publications discussed here examining identity among the Boston family, in both the late 18th century and throughout the 19th century, have asserted the members of this household through time have been a part of an emergent Black middle-class, as well as displaying a level of affluence through their consumption of ceramic wares and desirable cuts of meat (Way 2010; Bulger 2013, 2015; Cacchione 2018, 2019). For Mary Boston Douglass' household, this interpretation is complicated by the domestic labor and hosting of boarders which Mary engaged with as a strategy for economic survival (Lee 2019). Furthermore, Mary's engagement with class-based gender ideologies is complicated by experiences of race, therefore, I argue that the ceramic evidence discussed in this thesis represents an aspirational view of class (Mullins 1999b). Through the selection and purchase of ceramic wares containing aspirational symbolism of romanticism, leisure, nurturing, and motherhood,

I argue that Mary was adopting middle-class notions of domesticity to craft her home into a space of rest, sanctuary, and resistance; what bell hooks theorizes as "homeplace" (1990).

Summary of Chapters

In chapter 2, I present a review of the literature relevant to my study—African diaspora archaeology, gender archaeology, and Black feminist scholarship— and its applications in archaeology. Chapter 3 aims to situate my study within the broader historical context of women's experiences in New England during the late 18th and early 19th centuries, specifically focusing on the work of Black female historians and a contemporary Black woman writer to illustrate the ways that free Black women in the North were crafting their roles in the family and community. Chapter 4 presents the methodologies used to analyze the ceramic datasets discussed in this thesis, minimum vessel count, pattern, and form analyses. Chapter 5 details the findings and results of my analyses. Finally, chapter 6 presents a comparative analysis putting the data presented in chapter 5 in concert with two contemporary sites with Black female heads of household in the Northeastern United States, as well as discusses my interpretations and conclusions based on the findings of my ceramic analyses.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

My examination of the Boston women's engagement with early 19th century ideologies of womanhood through ceramic patterns and symbolism is informed by several bodies of theoretical, historical, and archaeological literature. I aim to situate my study within the subfield of African diaspora archaeology, gender archaeology, the theoretical approach of Black Feminism and its application in archaeology. This combination of approaches will enable me to discuss Black women's experiences in the past most accurately, by highlighting their voices and scholarship, in conjunction with archaeological perspectives on African diasporic sites and gender.

African Diaspora Archaeology

African diaspora archaeology as it has come to exist in the 21st century, was born out of a post-Civil Rights movement era academia which saw the value of researching the lived experiences of African descended people, a subject of focus that had been largely ignored in the field of archaeology (Epperson 1990; McDavid 1997; Singleton 1990, 1999). Initially known as plantation archaeology, this sub-field sought to find evidence of cultural continuity in the face of enslavement and brutality by identifying cultural markers, or "Africanisms,"

material culture that symbolized a continued practice of African customs and beliefs (Agbe-Davies 2007:415). Blue beads, cowrie shells, and other materials were seen as archaeological signs of, first, a retention of African customs within the institution of slavery in the American South, and later as evidence of agency, an act of subversion of the system that enslaved people were held within (Orser 1998a; Agbe-Davies 2007:414-415). Where material correlations to African identities were not found, archaeologists dangerously interpreted this absence as evidence of the acculturation and assimilation of enslaved African descended peoples to the dominant white Euro-American societal model without a consideration of the ways that the institution of slavery and racism shaped their lived experience and the material record (Agbe-Davies 2007:415).

Some early excavations of African diasporic sites occurred on free Black sites in the North, including both institutional and household contexts. Black Lucy's Garden, or the Lucy Foster site as it has come to be known, was excavated in 1942 by Adelaide and Ripley Bullen (Bullen and Bullen 1945). The first excavations at the African Meeting House in Boston, MA were conducted in the mid-1970s (Bower and Rushing 1980). Excavations within the free Black community of Parting Ways, in Plymouth, MA began around the same time in 1975 (Deetz 1977). The collections from these early sites have been reexamined several times through new excavations (Landon et al. 2007; Landon and Bulger 2013; Landon 2018) and through collections-based research with the addition of new and current perspectives, acknowledging the importance of these Black sites excavated in the early days of archaeology (Baker 1978; Battle-Baptiste 2011; Hutchins-Keim 2015; Martin 2017).

This subset of historical archaeology focusing on past African descended people came to be known as African American archaeology, due to its geographic focus within the United States (Franklin and McKee 2004:2). Over time, more critical and intersectional approaches were developed resulting from critique among its practitioners, shifting to ask questions about agency, power, racism, consumption, and consumerism of African American sites (Orser 1998a; Mullins 1999a, 1999b, 2008; Agbe-Davies 2007:417-418). There was also a fundamental change in the subfield with the onset of a global approach to experiences of African descended people. Archaeologists were now considering sites beyond the United States, such as in the Caribbean (Delle 1998, 2000, Wilkie 2000), Latin America (Orser 1994; Funari 1999), and Africa (Schmidt 2006). African diaspora archaeology was the new way in which this subfield defined itself, using complex understandings of lived experience within the diaspora of African descended peoples based in the intellectual tradition of Black historians and intellectuals. Historians such as Ruth Simms Hamilton, Paul Gilroy, and Colin Palmer, have conceptualized the study of the African diaspora as a comparative endeavor that examines the forced movement of African descended peoples through time and space, an experience defined by systematic oppression and racialized violence, and considers the global heterogenous African descended community to be connected through these experiences (Hamilton 1995; Gilroy 1993; Palmer 2001:57).

African diaspora archaeology became a subfield of historical archaeology that contained practitioners who employed a variety of theoretical perspectives and methodologies to better understand the past experiences of people within the African diaspora with the intent of exposing systems and structures of oppression to inform a more

just present and future (Franklin and McKee 2004). These approaches include examinations of culture change and creolization (Dawdy 2000), spiritual beliefs (Leone and Fry 1999), Black feminist and intersectional perspectives (Franklin 2001b; Wilkie 2003; Edwards-Ingram 2005; Battle-Baptiste 2011; Sesma 2016; Morris 2017; Arjona 2017; Flewellen 2022; Lee 2019), community collaboration (McDavid 1997; Balanzátegui Moreno 2018), and critical approaches to race (Mullins 1999a, 1999b, 2008; Orser 1998b; Delle, Mrozowski, and Paynter 2000; Franklin 2001a; Matthews and McGovern 2015). The work conducted by historical archaeologists working within the framework of African diaspora archaeology is inherently political because of its critical approach to the social construct of race (Franklin 1997; Epperson 2004). Among the discipline, there is a firm understanding that race is not biologically determined, but a construct, based on myths, that was created to "other" groups of people, justifying their subjugation and oppression, and reinforcing the superiority of whites (American Anthropological Association 1998).

African Diaspora archaeologists who conduct Black feminist and critical race studies call attention to the ways that race intertwines and compounds Black American's experiences of labor oppression, classism, and sexism. Black feminist archaeology, the intersectional archaeological study of Black women, is discussed at length below. Here I would like to describe the work of Paul Mullins, who has critically examined the intersections of race and class among the Black elite in Annapolis, Maryland (1999a, 1999b, 2008). Mullins' research aims to illuminate the ways that experiences of racialization impact material consumption patterns by Black Americans. Mullins argues that the consumption patterns of Black households from the late 19th and early 20th centuries illustrates how these families were

combating racism, and "[subverting] racist caricatures" (1999b:23). Class is defined as one's proximity to the means of production. Differences between groups with varying relationships to the means of production is often the site of conflict between classes (Mullins 1999b:24). After the Civil War and the emancipation of Black Americans from enslavement, Black people posed a threat to the existing white class structure in America because they could now participate in the labor structure and economy as free people. Mullins argues that the ability to participate in the economy as consumers and have labor rights were two integral pieces of obtaining citizenship by Black people, but also acknowledges that to obtain these privileges Black people would have to navigate both a "racist consumer space" and "racist mode of production" (1999b:24). The Black families considered in Mullins' studies were purchasing name brand consumer goods rather than conducting food preservation in the home and decreased their consumption of fish to subvert racism (Mullins 1999b:32-35). Mass consumer culture was viewed as an equalizer, through which Black Americans could obtain material goods that symbolized their aspiration to a higher-class position (Mullins 1999b:35). Mullins' work provides an excellent example for the ways that material culture from Black households illustrates the intersection of race and class, but also importantly the symbolic nature of material goods in free Black households (1999a, 1999b).

American society, as it was in the 1990s when Maria Franklin was considering the state of the discipline, is still today "polarized by racism" (Franklin 1997:40). A critical approach to the archaeological study of African descended peoples requires practitioners to be cautious and reflect about how the narratives they craft could be used today to reinforce or substantiate present day systemic racism. Franklin's criticism of the discipline included an

acknowledgement of the overwhelming number of white archaeologists excavating Black sites without involving descendant or stakeholder groups (Franklin 1997:40). The inclusion of such groups, as well as a diverse body of practitioners allows for Black people today to reclaim their past, one that previously was written to whitewash American history. As a result, there is a current push to diversify the field and increase the prevalence of Black archaeologists doing archaeology on Black sites. There is growing group of archaeologists of color working to promote community projects and critical approaches to racism and contemporary impacts on people of color in America and improve the discipline of archaeology (Balanzátegui and Morales 2016; Skipper 2016; Balanzátegui Moreno 2018; Lee 2019; Flewellen et al. 2021a; Flewellen et al. 2021b; Society of Black Archaeologists n.d; Indigenous Archaeology Collective 2020).

The development of African diaspora archaeology as described above informs my research, creating an understanding of the ways in which critical approaches to race, class, and gender have been integrated into a more holistic and politically motivated study of past Black lives. Black feminist thought and its applications in archaeology are explored further below to inform my examination of the ideological leanings of Mary Boston Douglass and her family, complicating notions of race, gender, and class using an intersectional perspective. First, I examine archaeological considerations of gender, to illustrate why a Black feminist perspective is needed to best interpret the archaeological collections from the early 19th century Boston household.

Archaeology of Gender

An archaeology of gender, or feminist archaeology, developed along a similar trajectory to that of African Diaspora archaeology, and it is the collision and conjunction of these perspectives that allow for a more complete analyses of Black women's lives through material culture. Before the 1980s, archaeologists included past women in their analyses and narratives, however this addition of women was uncritical and created essentialist claims about gender which substantiated the societal inferiority of women and the reinforced the patriarchy both in the past and present (Conkey and Spector 1984:2; Spencer-Wood 2007:30). Androcentric, or male centered, biases were at the core of archaeological scholarship (Spencer-Wood 2007). Archaeological inquiries that included mentions of gender were also ethnocentric, reproducing dominant Western gender ideologies and binaries assigning them to past peoples, not considering the ways that gender could be defined, experienced, and or performed differently in non-Western cultures (Conkey and Spector 1984; Joyce 2000a, 2000b).

To confront these biases in the field, a feminist critique of archaeology was undertaken by archaeologists, such as Meg Conkey and Janet Spector (1984), who called to create an archaeological framework for the critical examination of gender. This initial push to incorporate gendered analyses in archaeology first took hold in examinations of ancient and precolonial pasts around the world (Spector 1993; Wright 1996; Nelson and Rosen-Ayalon 2002; Nelson 2007; Joyce 2000a,2000b). Gender, defined as a social construct by feminists, could only be critically examined after the dissolution of androcentrism (Spencer-Wood 2007:30). A feminist archaeology of gender specifically calls out and examines gendered

power dynamics, the subordination of women, critically examining the oppressive forces of the patriarchy and capitalism. Feminist archaeology critiques of capitalism view it as a system which exploits women's labor (Spencer-Wood 2007). This critique aims to expose the ways in which women's labor has historically been devalued, with the goal of highlighting they ways women subverted the gender norms which prescribed they submit to their husbands (Spencer-Wood 2007). Capitalism has created an exploitative labor system which works to make the highest classes, those who own the means of production, incredibly wealthy. Capitalism only values women's domestic labor in relation to the labor potential that it produces, i.e., rearing children creates more laborers, supporting the husband who is also likely a laborer (Hamilton 2013:78-79). While women participated in the wage labor economy in increasing numbers during the 19th century, their labor was still undervalued and underpaid when compared to men, and they were still required to perform household tasks and childrearing (Hamilton 2013:82-83). Together, the patriarchy and capitalism work together to keep women in positions of subordination, a fundamental understanding which informs feminist archaeology.

Historical archaeologists examining gender have considered women's domestic roles, their labor, women's roles in public reform movements, inequality among genders under patriarchal societies, differences among various classes conceptions of gender identity, and more across time and space (Scott 1994; Delle et al. 2000; Galle and Young 2004: Barile and Brandon 2004; Spencer-Wood 2007). There has been a focus in historical archaeology on contemporary gender ideologies, and their prescription, adoption, manipulation, and contradiction by women from various socioeconomic groups. A substantial subset of

historical archaeology has illustrated the ways that material culture can be used to better understand women's identities as they relate to dominant gender ideologies (Wall 1991, 1994, 1999, 2000; Fitts 1999). The primary focus of this work has been 19th century ideologies of gentility and domesticity.

Gentility is described as a "world view" which governed the performance of a respectable middle-class identity, which included the consumption of fashionable material culture and architecture (Fitts 1999:39). Domesticity is most often defined as the quality of home as a sanctuary from the increasingly sinful capitalistic society which characterized much of Victorian America, an ideal which firmly planted the appropriate roles of women in the home (Welter 1966; Wall 1991; Christensen 2013). Domesticity governed the separation of the workplace and the home, the public and private domains of society respectively, and the corresponding gendered dichotomy (Rotman 2006). Domesticity, as a component of the "cult of true womanhood" was an ideal to be achieved by middle-class women through material and spiritual means, shaping their home into a place of nurturing and safety (Welter 1966; Fitts 1999; See Chapter 3 for further discussion). Achieving domesticity also meant creating a place where mothers could teach their children the moral and genteel behavior that would be expected of them as adult members of the middle-class (Fitts 1999:46). Intertwined with both domesticity and gentility, is the middle-class notion of respectability.

Respectability was a standard by which members of the American middle-class were evaluated, a respectable member of society would follow the social ideologies of the time as well as consume the appropriate material goods (Brighton 2011:34). Therefore, to be respectable there was an economic requirement, owning a home and furnishing it with

fashionable material culture. Domesticity, gentility, and respectability were each predicated on the performance of class-based identities. The ability to purchase and consume certain goods signified membership in the middle-class through the performance of gentility and respectability. During the 19th century, these ideologies were meant to reinforce the status quo, the power of the white American-born Protestants, while restricting the access to social mobility for all other groups, including immigrants and Black people (Brighton 2011:34). It is important to recognize here that these ideologies were commonly known and understood during the 19th century, but they were considered and interpreted to varying degrees at the household level. Ceramic data recovered archaeologically is the dominant category of material culture used by historical archaeologists to address questions of subscription to domesticity, gentility, and respectability because ceramic wares speak to dining practices that were central to the performance of these ideologies (Wall 1991, 1994, 1999, 2000; Fitts 1999; Kruczek-Aaron 2002; Rotman 2012). Women were responsible for the consumption of ceramic wares, and therefore choices in the selection of ceramics can illustrate the performance of gender ideologies (Wall 1994).

Diana Wall produced a series of publications illustrating the adherence to the ideology of domesticity by women in stratified middle- and working-class households through the analysis of ceramic wares (Wall 1991, 1994, 1999, 2000). Those studied by Wall were white, working, and middle-class women living in New York City during the mid-19th century (Wall 1991, 1994, 1999, 2000). Wall's research examined the intersections between gender and class, with the inclusion of ethnicity in the cases where immigrant households were being considered (Wall 1999). Wall's research is important to my study because her

analysis suggests that certain types of ceramic wares were linked to middle-class ideas of domesticity and the woman's role as a family's "moral guardian" (Wall 1999:113). During the mid to late 19th century, molded gothic ironstone dishes were popular among the women in the middle-class households she studied, the latest fashion in ceramic dishes imbuing ideas of purity and signaling membership among the middle-class. The dishes she studied were central to both family meal consumption and entertaining of guests highlighting the role of ceramics in the socialization of one's family and in the performance of a class-based identity to peers and the larger society (Wall 2000).

Robert Fitts, studying the same period and geographic location as Wall, examines the ideologies of domesticity and gentility among the Victorian middle-class (1999). Fitts and Wall participated in the production of a thematic volume of the journal *Historical Archaeology* in 1999 devoted to examining class in the field of historical archaeology, therefore, their studies should not be viewed as competing but complimentary. A principal element of Fitts' conception of the social construct of class is the performative aspect. While archaeologists often have access to information about the income of a household or the wealth possessed by a person at the time of their death reflected through public records, this type of information would be unknown by the people one interacts with in society. Membership to a class was communicated through the performance of certain symbolic behaviors, in this case genteel behavior communicated membership to the middle-class in Victorian Manhattan (Fitts 1999). Fitts argues that material culture was used by people in the 19th century to display their class membership and to shape the behavior of their children, through instruction of genteel dining etiquette (1999). Significantly, Fitts' argument relies on

the presence of matching and complimentary sets of tablewares and teawares. Fitts asserts that dining practice prescribed by the ideology of gentility during the mid-19th century required matching dishes (1999:52-53), further evidence that ceramic wares are directly tied towards ideological adherence as well as the socialization of children through prescription of etiquette and genteel behavior.

Drawing on the work of Wall (1991, 1994, 1999) and Fitts (1999), Hadley Kruczek-Aaron examines the archaeological assemblage from the Gerrit Smith household, a wealthy estate in Peterboro, NY, to understand the complex interactions between gender, temperance reform, Protestantism, consumption patterns, and "conflicting ideologies pertaining to self-presentation" (2002:176; 2007; 2013; 2015). Gerrit Smith, a wealthy 19th century abolitionist, was a staunch believer in temperance, which not only discouraged the consumption of alcohol and tobacco but also promoted material simplicity and practicality (Kruczek-Aaron 2002). In the archaeological assemblage from this household, Kruczek-Aaron found a collection of transfer-printed vessels that she interpreted as being inconsistent with Smith's ideological leanings. She concluded that these highly decorated wares were instead reflections of choices made by Smith's wife and daughter, who wanted more fashionable dishes for entertainment (Kruczek-Aaron 2002:180). This study is important for its assertion of differing meaning being ascribed to material culture by members of a single household.

Deborah Rotman, in her study of the late 19th century Irish-immigrant community in South Bend, Indiana, also drew on Wall's scholarship to establish a baseline for understanding social relationships through ceramic evidence (2012). Rotman analyzed the

homogeneity of the ceramic assemblage from the Fogarty household to assess the performance of socioeconomic status and gentility among the residents in relationship to their Catholic faith (2012:37). Rotman found that the Fogarty family preferred to purchase mis-matched floral decorated whiteware teawares and tablewares, which suggests both a desire to be frugal and not wasteful with purchases, and simultaneously wanting to present a stylistically consistent set of wares (Rotman 2012:38). Rotman conducted a similar study of ceramics from two late 19th century households in Deerfield, MA, where she analyzed the ceramic tablewares and teawares to assess two families' adherence to dominant gender ideologies (2019). Rotman found that in this rural agrarian context, the households chose to signal their middle-class position in diverse ways, through purchase of fashionable ceramics, their choice of Gothic Revival architecture, and the hiring of servants (2019:349). This study highlights the diversity of ways a household can signal membership to a class or perform their ideological subscriptions, and the degree of visibility of those signals in the archaeological record. Rotman's scholarship illustrates how women had agency in crafting their own lived experiences and did not simply subscribe to ideals passively (Rotman 2006, 2012, 2019).

The archaeology of gender aims to expose gendered power dynamics, give agency to women in the past, as well as understand gender as a fluid social construct that does not solely conform to the Western male/female dichotomy. The studies detailed above illustrate the ways that gender ideologies have been interrogated by historical archaeologists using ceramic data, which informs the base of my analysis. However, there is a lack of consideration of race and its effects on the gendered and classed experiences of women

during the 19th century among these works. Feminism has long been critiqued for its predominantly white and middle-class focus, and in response, Black feminists developed a theoretical approach to address the complexity and specificity of Black women's experiences. This body of theoretical literature and its application in archaeology is integral to a study of the women of the Boston family.

Black Feminist Thought

Black feminism is a school of thought that was created by Black women for Black women in response to their exclusion from the mainstream feminist movement of the 1960s-1990s. The Combahee River Collective statement is the seminal publication of Black feminist views and principles. Published in 1977, the statement clearly defined the race, class, and sex-based oppression faced by Black women and described a common desire for an antiracist and antisexist approach as the factor that drew the collective together (Combahee River Collective Statement 1977). Other liberation movements (i.e., Civil Rights and Women's movements) did not specifically attempt to understand the oppression Black women faced, each of these movements only tangentially considered the experiences of Black women through the lens of either race or gender, not both. The Collective understood that Black women's labor is marginalized and advocated for the dismantling of racism, capitalism, and the patriarchy. Over a decade later, in 1989 Kimberlé Crenshaw, a law professor, coined the term "intersectionality," a concept which places Black women at the center of overlapping facets of race, class, and gender marginalization (1989). Intersectionality is unique to Black feminism and its application in various disciplines. The term also speaks to the distinct vantage point that is revealed through the study of Black

women's past and present conditions. Patricia Hill Collins, a contemporary of Crenshaw's, in writing about Black feminist thought, states that Black women have an inimitable standpoint because "…African-American women, as a group, experience a different world than those who are not Black and female" (Collins 1989:747).

Collins further positions Black feminist thought as a critical social theory which traces its roots back to the work of Black women intellectuals like Maria W. Stewart and others whose work has long been overlooked (Collins 2002:3,8-9). Maria W. Stewart, the first female political writer in the United States, in her speeches and writings spoke directly to Black women, her peers (Richardson 1987; Waters 2022). Stewart recognized and discussed the intersecting oppressions faced by Black women and advocated for Black women to become self-sustaining (Richardson 1987; Cooper 2012; Waters 2022). Stewart's views centered the value of Black women as individuals to both their communities and society, which Collins suggests is an early iteration of the recognition of the uniqueness of Black women's standpoint (Collins 2002:2-3). Stewart's speeches and writing, which are examined more thoroughly in chapter 3, also called for the liberation of Black people and for their attainment of full citizenship (Waters 2013, 2022). Stewart's instructions to Black women to better their communities and to be virtuous placed the capability of this liberation and citizenship in their hands, attempting to inspire activism led by Black women (Collins 2002:3). These aspects of Stewart's scholarship, along with the works of other 19th century Black female scholars, laid a foundation for Black feminist thought (Collins 2002:2-3). Maria W. Stewart's work is also significant in the acknowledgement of a substantial Black female political intellectual tradition which for much of the last two hundred years been suppressed

by dominant knowledge creating institutions (Collins 2002). Black feminist scholars have reclaimed the works of Stewart and others to make visible the Black women's intellectual tradition that has long existed.

Black motherhood is a central facet of Black women's lived experiences that has been theorized by Black feminist scholars (Wallace 1978; Collins 2002). Collins described the need for a Black female perspective on motherhood in response to the negative views of Black mothers perpetuated by white society and the reductionist positive stereotype of the "superstrong Black mother" promoted by Black men (2002:174). White society has categorized Black women into the stereotypes "of the mammy, the matriarch, and the welfare mother" which by design create negative impacts for Black women, their families, and communities (Collins 2002:176). Black men, to create a positive discourse on Black mothers, produced an impossible standard which expected Black women to put others before themselves, and go above and beyond in service of their families and communities, all while being told they are less than by society (Collins 2002:174). A Black feminist standpoint on motherhood contradicts the idea of Black women as inherently bad mothers while also complicating the "superstrong Black mother" by acknowledging the ways this trope lauds the daily struggle of Back women to support, provide for, and protect their children (Collins 2002:175-176). Historically, motherhood for Black women has been a positive way to assert autonomy and be empowered, and simultaneously has been viewed as a burden (Collins 2002:176, 198). Motherhood among Black communities is complex and nuanced and reflects the agency of each individual and their choices (Wallace 1978; Collins 2002).

Black feminists also theorized about the importance of the home among Black communities and the importance of Black women in constructing the home. The concept of "homeplace," theorized by bell hooks, is defined as a location of sanctuary and resistance which was constructed and maintained by Black women (1990: 42). hooks views the creation of "homeplace" as a political act which Black women utilize to undermine racialized oppression faced in their daily lives (1990:42-43, 45). One's home is where they truly can operate autonomously, and control certain aspects of their lives. This concept has been used by hooks and others to illustrate the impact and influence of Black women throughout history, whether the "homeplace" created was a cabin occupied by enslaved people, or the home of a free Black family (hooks 1990:42). It is significant that Black women, while working outside of the home all day, were able to return and craft a space of solace for themselves and their families (hooks 1990:42). Mothering and "homeplace" are intertwined by their connection to the home as the site of their creation and occurrence, each also having materiality. Black feminism, and its considerations of motherhood and "homeplace" are critical to my analysis of Mary Boston Douglass and her household's ceramic assemblage.

Black Feminism and Archaeology

Black feminist thought has been applied to archaeological research of the African diaspora by scholars to correct the lack of consideration of the experiences of Black women in the past (Franklin 2001b; Wilkie 2003; Edwards-Ingram 2005; Battle-Baptiste 2011; Sesma 2016; Morris 2017; Arjona 2017; Flewellen 2022; Lee 2019). In response to the further development of Black feminist thought, Maria Franklin posited the use of a perspective such as this in archaeology and how it would help archaeologists to reframe

questions and practices when studying the African diaspora (2001a). In the same vein as Collins, calling for the reclamation of Black women's voices, Franklin sees archaeology as a reclamation of the material signature of past Black lives (2001a:112; Collins 2002). A Black feminist archaeology should ask questions of material culture that interrogate the intersections of race, class, and gender-based oppression with a goal of informing present change (Franklin 2001a:114). There are present social and political consequences of this work, and therefore, archaeologists practicing within this theoretical tradition have an obligation to communicate their findings to the wider public, exposing the structures that continue to uphold oppression today (Franklin 2001a).

Laurie Wilkie also called for the addition of Black feminist thought into the practice of archaeology, recognizing the need for an intersectional approach to experiences of motherhood (2003:3-4). Wilkie draws on the work of Black feminists to situate her study of Lucretia Perryman, an African American midwife living in post-emancipation Mobile, Alabama, within the broader context of the ways that Black women have historically and continue to be oppressed and how mothering is tied directly to their identities as women (2003:8-9). Wilkie's study contradicts the harmful stereotypes of Black women as bad mothers by illustrating how through midwifery the Perryman family was conducting community centered motherwork. Lucretia Perryman's midwifery practice was also a means for her to support her family through obtaining financial stability and investment in education (Wilkie 2003:210). Wilkie's research specifically draws on theorizations of motherhood and motherwork from Black feminist literature, highlighting the public nature of Black motherhood (Collins 2002). While she may not outright call her study a "Black feminist"

one, Wilkie's use of the literature and emphasis on the intersections of race, class, and gender-based oppressions is a model that should be followed by those researching Black women.

Similarly, Ywone Edwards-Ingram is another archaeologist who examined the lives of Black women in her work and their roles as mothers (2005). Edwards-Ingram's 2005 dissertation examined paleoethnobotanical evidence to better understand medicinal practices exercised by mothers under enslavement across the African Diaspora. The goal of her research was to "contribute to a greater understanding of slavery" (Edwards-Ingram 2005:8) and call attention to the agency of Black women in the face of oppression (Edwards-Ingram 2005:5). The particular focus on medicinal practices centers the nurturing aspects of mothering and emphasizes efforts to obtain small fragments of autonomy under enslavement (Edwards-Ingram 2005). Edwards-Ingram's analysis exposes the racist homogenization and paternalist behavior of enslavement and its contradictions with the reliance on enslaved labor by white families for childcare (2005:84-86). Motherhood under enslavement was the site of multiple oppressions; enslaved Black women reproduced the labor force, were required to care for white children, while being categorized as childlike to justify continued enslavement. In the face of this, motherhood, and mothering as healthcare, was a site where Black women could exercise their autonomy (Edwards-Ingram 2005:187).

A Black feminist approach in archaeology is uniquely narrative, the practitioner's positionality intertwined with the story they are telling, as has been established through Whitney Battle-Baptiste's book titled *Black Feminist Archaeology* (2011). This volume is the culmination of years of scholarship and reflection on the archaeological manifestations of

Black women's lives by Battle-Baptiste (2011). Battle-Baptiste's work highlights the complexity of lived experience and argues that archaeology is perfectly poised to attempt to tease out the intersections of race, class, and gender by examining material culture selected and used by Black women. Material culture humanizes past people who were not adequately documented in the historical record and adds another dimension to studies of Black women because a microscalar analysis can bring together "the personal" and "the political" (Combahee River Collective 1982 *in* Battle-Baptiste 2011:39). The study of the past is inherently political, and Battle-Baptiste warns that if we are not careful, there could be unintended consequences of the narratives we craft, perpetuating harmful stereotypes which support modern day racialization and sexism (2011:39-40). A Black feminist approach to archaeology also acknowledges the global nature of the diaspora, creating a comparative approach that does not simply examine experiences of African descended people in the United States but in other regions of the world as well. The broader idea of comparison should also be applied to a single site, allowing space for interpretations of material culture to change through time, reflecting new questions and perspectives (Battle-Baptiste 2011). The early works described above served as the basis for what has become the next generation of scholars applying an intersectional or Black feminist lens to the archaeological record, many of whom were trained by these leading scholars.

In the last decade, Black feminist studies in archaeology have increased in number and have a wide range of interpretive focuses. Ayana Flewellen has analyzed Black women's experiences through clothing and personal adornment artifacts found during excavations at the Levi Jordan Plantation (2022). Flewellen argues that Black women during the post-

emancipation period were crafting their identities through the process of getting dressed every day in styles of clothing that were meaningful to them (2022). Jaime Arjona examined late 19th century and early 20th century jook joints through the lens of bell hook's concept of "homeplace" (hooks 1990; Arjona 2017). While the jook joints were not traditional residential homes, to the communities that they served they were a place of refuge and a space of resistance (Arjona 2017:46). Similarly, Annelise Morris also aims to illuminate the creation of "homeplace" by Black women and its material components using census records along with archaeological evidence (2017). Morris found evidence of food preservation and dairying at a rural 19th century farm site, which is interpreted as evidence of efforts of the free Black household to navigate their economic oppression and sustain self-sufficiency (2017:37-38). In Morris' analysis, homeplace was found to be a site of past resistance, and present memorialization and remembrance (2017).

A common theme among the recent Black feminist studies published in archaeology is the notion of resistance. Black feminist notions of resistance help archaeologists to craft a narrative using material culture that illustrates the way that past Black women resisted sexism, classism, and racism (Collins 2002; Flewellen 2022; Arjona 2017; Morris 2017). Black feminist studies illustrate more completely and more intricately the web that intertwines race, class, and gender in ways that feminist approaches to archaeology, or archaeologies of gender have lacked. These studies illustrate the importance of conducting an intersectional study of middle-class gender ideologies. In studies of Black women, we cannot ascribe dominant classed or gendered identities to their consumption of material culture without critically examining race and its intersections with the patriarchy and capitalism.

Much of this literature has focused on experiences of enslaved Black women, or post emancipation contexts in the southern United States. Of note to the contrary is the scholarship produced on the women of the Boston and Higginbotham families on Nantucket. Nedra Lee's recent publication on Black women's labor and economic practices on Nantucket during the 19th century and the role of boarding in procuring income and creating community is an integral addition to Black feminist scholarship (2019). The work of Teresa Bulger (2013, 2015), Caroline Horlacher (2016), Victoria Cacchione (2018, 2019), and Nedra Lee (2019) on the women of the Boston and Higginbotham families is the most substantial corpus dedicated to the archaeological examination of the lives of free Black women in the Northeast. My research hopes to add to the excellent work done by UMass Boston scholars, as well as contribute to the larger and growing body of work that centers the stories of Black women and their lived experiences in archaeology.

Conclusion

Through the examination of the bodies of scholarship produced from the subfields of African Diaspora Archaeology, feminist and gender archaeology, Black feminism, and the applications of Black feminist thought in archaeology I have illustrated the necessity for the use of a Black feminist approach to the study of the lives of the Boston women. Mullins' theorization of class and consumption among the Black community illustrates the significance of the selection and purchase of ceramic wares by Mary Boston Douglass. Furthermore, the body of scholarship produced by Wall (1991, 1994, 1999), Fitts (1999), Kruczek-Aaron (2002), and Rotman (2006,2009) lay the foundations for ceramic wares recovered archaeologically to be used as a proxy for engagement with gendered and classed

ideologies of the 19th century. I aim to conduct an intersectional analysis of the engagement with ideologies of womanhood and domesticity by the Boston women through material culture as well as promoting the voices of Black women intellectuals in the form of both primary and secondary scholarship.

CHAPTER 3

SOCIAL AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Ideological frameworks of womanhood shifted over time in relation to a woman's proximity to labor, child rearing, and the home (Welter 1966; Ulrich 1980; Rotman 2009). In the 17th and 18th centuries in New England, women's labor was defined by household surplus production, childrearing, and assistance with a husband's business and work for the benefit of the family (Ulrich 1980). The end of the American Revolution ushered in the Early Republic period, 1790-1830, which prescribed the ideal of "Republican Motherhood" to women, highlighting the importance of raising the next generation of American men who would secure the future of the newly established nation (Wood 1988:5; Sherman 2009). As the nation continued to grow, the formation of the middle-class, resulting from increasing industrialization in mid-19th century America, solidified an aspirational version of womanhood which was reserved for respectable white women, the "cult of true womanhood." Domesticity, the process of homemaking through material and spiritual means, has been an essential component of womanhood for much of American history, which can be captured archaeologically through domestic material culture (Wall 1991; Fitts 1999; Kruczek-Aaron 2002; Spencer-Wood 1999; Rotman 2009, 2012).

For this analysis, I focus on ideologies of womanhood as they were discussed in the northern American colonies and states, which is a choice that reflects both the specific context of my study as well as the primary scope of analysis in scholarly literature discussing women's roles during these periods (Ulrich 1980; Cott 1977; Welter 1966). During the colonial period, which is defined as the 17th century to the beginning of the American Revolutionary period in about 1770, women from across the American colonies were participating in household production, but as time went on different regions came to rely on enslaved labor to differing degrees and for varied purposes, creating two unique interconnected economies (Fought 2003:80; Purvis 1999:xv). The divergence of the southern, northern, and midwestern economies was furthered by the onset of industrialization, which took hold first in the northern and Mid-Atlantic states during the early-mid 19th century, fueling the growth of urban centers, factory-based production, the separation of the home and the workplace, and the development of the middle-class (Meyer 2003; Welter 1966). The creation of a middle-class along with industrialization impacted gender ideologies in the North, while southern white women were defined in direct contrast to the Black women they enslaved (Davis 1983; King 2006; Fought 2003; Battle-Baptiste 2011). While womanhood in the South during the 19th century was also characterized by the "cult of true womanhood" (Fought 2003:81), I am choosing to focus on the specificity of northern examples of womanhood for this study.

Scholars have argued that throughout history Black women intentionally adopted and adapted aspects from dominant discourses on womanhood into their own lives as an active resistance to racism and subjugation (Davis 1983; Yee 1987; King 2006). To understand how

the Boston women's material culture reflects ideologies of womanhood and domesticity, I outline the progression of dominant ideologies of womanhood during the Early Republic period, 1790-1830, and Victorian period, about 1830-1900, consult literature produced by scholars of Black women's history, and finally examine the orations and writings of Maria W. Stewart, the first female and Black female political writer in the United States (Wood 1988:5; Gilmour 1993:xiv). Stewart's writings and orations illustrate her views of Black womanhood during the 1830s in Boston, MA, and their relationship to contemporary discourses. Through this examination I aim to illustrate the implications of gender ideologies discussed by Stewart in the lives of Black women among the New Guinea community on Nantucket.

Ideologies of Womanhood

Womanhood during the colonial period was defined in relation to women's labor; work in the home, production of goods for surplus sale, and of course the physical act of labor, bringing children into the world and raising them to adulthood. The home was the center of family life and household production (Ulrich 1980). In agrarian New England, women were responsible for running their home, assisting with many farm tasks, as well as carrying out household surplus production. Food preservation, including making cider, cheese, cured meats, and baking bread, were all tasks carried out by women (Ulrich 1980: 26). A married woman whose husband ran a business would often conduct business out of their home and would occasionally act as his proxy, suggesting that there was little separation between the public and private spheres at this time (Ulrich 1980). This was a common occurrence on Nantucket through the whaling boom period of the early to mid-19th

century, while many of the men were away on whaling ships, their wives assumed more responsibilities than traditionally allowed (Norling 1992,2000). In addition to these tasks, women were also responsible for taking care of their children, who during this period once they reached a certain age, would help to run the family's farm or shop, or produce surplus goods as well. Unmarried young women were often responsible for spinning and textile production for the family and for surplus sale (Ulrich 1980:29; Cott 1977:26-27). Laurel Thatcher Ulrich asserts that the historical record details a considerable number of differing tasks that women were responsible for indicating that the boundary for what was societally deemed "appropriate" was more permeable. It appears that if the tasks carried out by a woman were for the good of her family, her husband was less likely to see them as a transgression into the realm of men (Ulrich 1980:37-38). Therefore, work both inside and outside of the home were concepts that did not compete with ideas of womanhood during this period, in direct contrast to how womanhood came to be defined in the 19th century.

Women's "freedom" to conduct work on the farm or in the shop or for surplus household production does not mean that they were as independent as this might suggest. Ulrich is keen to remind us that there was a range of possibilities of women's roles during the 17th and 18th centuries, and that often has been described by historians as the roles of women being less restricted when compared to their 19th century counterparts. This may have been the case for some, but it is clear from the historical record that examples of both extremes existed during this period, often directly tied to a woman's specific situation (Ulrich 1980:36). Therefore, it is important that in describing the changes in women's roles and their conceptions in society that women during the colonial period were no more independent, but

their defining role as a wife was understood by their dependence on their husbands (Ulrich 1980:37). This is a condition of womanhood that illustrates the influence of the patriarchy on family dynamics.

As described, women's roles during the 17th and 18th centuries could be generalized to having to do with all things domestic. However, the concept of domesticity truly arrived in the discourse of New England during the last quarter of the 18th century (Cott 1977:3). It was during the Early Republic period, 1790-1830, after the end of the American Revolution that we see the dichotomy of the home versus the outside world appear in popular discourse (Cott 1977: 65; Wood 1988:5), corresponding to the development of the ideology of Republican Motherhood (Sherman 2009).

Republican Motherhood

The birth of a new nation created the need for an ideology of womanhood and motherhood that centered citizenship and civic duty. The ideology of Republican Motherhood instructed women to morally educate their sons to become the next generation of American leaders creating security for the new nation (Sherman 2009:60; Kerber 1980; Rotman 2009:17). Household economic production remained a main fixture of this period, and as such women's labor generally remained consistent with the previous two centuries. Republican Motherhood enabled American women to exercise a type of civic morality, which Linda Kerber understands as an inherently political role, educating male children within the context of the home (1980:11-12). The home became a place where mothers and families carried out the everyday tasks of sustenance, production, and civic duty. The

ideology centered the role of the mother, asserting the importance of women and mothers in the development of the new democratic republic (Sherman 2009; Rotman 2009). It is important to note that Republican Motherhood, along with other ideologies of gender that were promoted during the 18th and 19th centuries, were broad constructs that "defined women's proper place in society" (Sherman 2009:60), creating unrealistic expectations that were often not met by many women. Uncertainty about the future of America was felt at all levels of society in the decades following independence, and as such women would have been keenly aware of their roles as mothers and the importance of securing their families futures. Domesticity as a concept was solidified during the Early Republic, due to the growing importance of the home as the space where a mother's civic morality was executed (Cott 1977; Rotman 2009). It is during the Early Republic period that the home came to be viewed as a sanctuary, and this characterization would increase with the onset of industrialization (Cott 1977; Kerber 1980; Sherman 2009; Rotman 2009).

The "Cult of True Womanhood"

Industrialization began to increase in the early 19th century, leading to the creation of a burgeoning middle-class in the United States. This shift from a primarily agrarian economy to industrial production fueled urban growth, the separation between the home and workplace, and class stratification in America (Rotman 2009). The capitalist class, at the top, owned the factories and other means of production, while the working class sold their labor for wages (Rotman 2009:22). The newly formed middle-class filled the space in between, working in more specialized jobs such as middle management, small business owners, ministerial, and more (Rotman 2009:22). This market organization was constantly influx;

with the middle-class often being affected by changes from both the capitalist and working classes. There became a need for the development of an ideological identity of class that linked members of the middle-class together, which was crafted through performative behaviors and acquisition of material goods (Rotman 2009:22-23). Women of the middle-class became responsible for making their homes sanctuaries from the outside world, plagued by the depravity of capitalist competition and the exploitation of wage labor. The ideological requirements for women to perform their middle-class identities and create their sanctuaries were codified into the "cult of true womanhood" by the mid-19th century (Welter 1966). Barbara Welter theorized about four main ideals that a woman was required to uphold during the early to mid-19th century to perform their middle-class identity. These ideals were piety, purity, submissiveness, and domesticity (Welter 1966:152). Drawing upon period documents, women's handbooks, and other contemporary literature, Welter describes how these ideals were embedded in 19th century, middle-class, white society (1966).

Piety refers to a woman's religious obligation, one that was deeply rooted in the core of what it meant to be a woman during the 19th century. Women were responsible for being the good and virtuous sex, all the while attempting to tame their male counterparts who were more susceptible to sin (Welter 1966:152). Caring for children and acting as an in-home educator were roles related to a woman's piety and were necessary for the societal reproduction of middle-class values and "Christian morality" (Fitts 1999:39). It was appropriate for middle-class women to be educated enough to be able to read religious literature, but anything beyond would begin to tempt her towards immorality (Welter 1966:154). Purity as an ideal, prescribed to young women a sexuality of chastity until

marriage (Welter 1966:155). A woman's or young girl's virginity was often utilized by her family to obtain an advantageous marriage, helping the family to transcend their class and status. The women's handbooks and other publications of the time focused heavily on narratives that describe the horrors that happen to women who became impure (Welter 1966:155). These narratives were used to frighten women into celibacy. Research using birth and marriage records from the colonial period indicate that premarital sex was far more common than the dominant ideologies imply as pregnancies occurring before marriage were common (Smith and Hindus 1975). Submissiveness, another tenet of the "cult of true womanhood," prescribed to women that they obey and submit to the men in their lives, whether that be husband or father (Welter 1966:158-160). This ideal is tied directly to both piety and purity, as a women's responsibility to submit to her husband was one dictated by God and ultimately patriarchy (Welter 1966).

Lastly, the ideal of domesticity referred to a woman's social and familial duties within the home (Welter 1966:162). Domesticity describes a woman's responsibility to keep a good home for the purpose of guarding her husband and her family from the temptations and darkness of society, which were generated by industrialization and capitalism. The home was to be a sanctuary from the outside world. Part of keeping a good home was for a woman to provide comfort to her husband and children, which was through both material and spiritual means (Welter 1966:163). A role that fell within this categorization of comforter was that of nurse. It was the woman's responsibility to take care of any ailing family members, which was not an uncommon experience. Commentators on the education of

women warned of the negative impacts on a woman's natural ability to perform household tasks education would cause (Welter 1966:166).

Domesticity is the most materially visible ideal that was encompassed by the "cult of true womanhood" because it dictated the construction of home as a refuge, but it can be asserted that piety, purity, and submissiveness can also be construed through both objects and documentary records. The material culture of the home was used to perform this middle-class identity, and aid in the education and socialization of children (Fitts 1999; Rotman 2009). Transfer-printed ceramic patterns and the scenes that depicted on the surface of dining and tea sets were visible through their use in the home. It can be argued that the imagery on these wares were selected to reinforce ideological frameworks.

The generalizations of experiences of womanhood in the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries as described above serve as the basis for my understanding of early 19th century ideologies of womanhood. While Welter uses the period of 1820-1860 to bound the time during which the "cult of true womanhood" takes hold in middle-class American discourse (1966), it is important to state that during the early 19th century these ideals were being discussed but not in such certain terms. Early 19th century ministers were some of the most vocal in the public sphere illustrating the precursor to the formalized "cult of true womanhood," as they occupied a very prominent public role.

Reverend Nathan Strong, in a speech given to the Female Beneficent Society in Hartford, CT in 1809 titled *The character of a virtuous and good woman,* preached his belief that to be a woman meant excelling in motherhood and wifely duties, as well as being

industrious for the sake of Christian goals (1809:7). Strong believed that women had a special ability to influence their families and the development of morality in both the public and private aspects of life (1809:7). Womanhood during the late 18th and early 19th centuries was very much centered around piety and its connections to domesticity and motherhood (Welter 1966; Ulrich 1980; Cott 1977).

In this thesis, I define domesticity as the process of homemaking through material and spiritual means. This definition is based upon the works of archaeologists and historians who have used domesticity as a lens to understand women and the construction of home (Welter 1966; Wall 1991, 1994, 1999; Kruczek-Aaron 2002; Spencer-Wood 1999). It is important to frame domesticity as a process, as it was actively created by women through consumer choice and through household spiritual or cultural practices. The material components of home, domestic material culture recovered archaeologically, reflect choices and ideals held in belief by their owner. Practices carried out in the home using material culture were also central to the creation of domesticity. Food consumption, through dining, tea, and other forms are just one example of the ways that material culture in the home was used to shape the experiences of individuals. Therefore, ceramic wares were an essential aspect of the creation of domesticity (Wall 1991, 1994, 1999; Fitts 1999; Kruczek-Aaron 2002; Rotman 2009).

The above discussion of early American womanhood and the ideal of domesticity establishes the ways in which white society discussed the roles and expectations of women. The racialization of the free Black community of New Guinea greatly impacted the gendered experiences of the members of the Boston household in ways that can only be understood

through consulting the work of Black female intellectuals. I aim to illustrate the ways that race intersected with ideals of womanhood and class in early 19th century America and complicated the Boston's engagement with ideals of womanhood through the work of Black scholars as well as the writings and orations of Maria W. Stewart, the first Black woman political writer.

19th Century Womanhood and the Intersection of Race

The description of 19th century womanhood presented above is exclusively considering the experiences of white women, and in the case of the "cult of true womanhood" even more specifically white, middle-class women. The scholarship of Black female intellectuals and other historians studying Black women's history is critical to use when examining the lived experience of past Black women in all contexts because these scholars were leaders in developing ideas around Black feminist thought and considerations of intersectionality (Combahee River Collective 1977; Davis 1983; Crenshaw 1989; Collins 1989, 2000; Franklin 2001b; Edwards-Ingram 2005; Battle-Baptiste 2011). Black women occupy the space at the nexus of race, class, and gender-based oppression shaping their lived experience, an understanding that is necessary to interpret the material culture of free Black women. I now turn to the scholarship of female historians, specifically the work of several Black female historians, to illustrate the ways that race complicates 19th century notions of womanhood within the context of free Black households during the antebellum period.

Scholars have asserted that it is unlikely that Black women simply did not engage with or were not aware of dominant white ideologies, but that Black women during the 19th

century shaped their own identities through the adoption and adaption of dominant ideologies. Black women defined their roles placing emphasis on religious beliefs and motherhood (King 2006:58). This form of Black womanhood made room for women to work outside of the home, commonly working as domestics, but this does not mean that their own housework went unfinished (Davis 1983:230-231). In contrast to the “cult of true womanhood,” Black women’s self-defined womanhood did not allow space for submissiveness (Davis 1983:230-231; Yee 1987:100; King 2006:55). White womanhood was characteristically passive, while Black womanhood required that women be active members of their families and their larger communities. Black women were encouraged by the men in their communities to participate in the fight for abolition and other efforts of racial uplift (Yee 1987:100). Therefore, it was common for free Black women to be involved in their communities in the form of benevolent societies or through education. The Afric-American Female Intelligence Society of Boston was active during the 1830s, and this organization was dedicated to fostering an environment for knowledge dissemination, discussion of ideas, and the “suppression of vice and immorality” (Afric-American Female Intelligence Society 1832:2). Their constitution was published in William Lloyd Garrison’s *The Liberator,* an abolitionist newspaper disseminated among the free Black communities in the North (Jacobs 1971). Besides the Afric-American Female Intelligence Society, there were four other benevolence societies organized by and for Black women between 1830 and 1833 in Boston, MA (Boylan 2018:136-137). The presence of these societies reflects Black women’s desires to help members of their communities, uplifting through education and fundraising for mutual aid.

Historian Crystal Lynn Webster has constructed a historical narrative of Black motherhood in the northern United States during the 19th century, in which she describes the ways that Black women crafted their methods of mothering as an active counter to oppression (2017:427). Webster asserts that while the emphasis on mothering among the free Black community was consistent with the requirements of early 19th century gender ideologies, Black women performed this aspect of womanhood autonomously, having control over their children's lives and futures. Webster further defines motherhood as an example of Black women exercising control and influence among their families and in the home (Webster 2017: 432). Like ideologies prescribed to white women described above, Black motherhood included the moral education of children and household maintenance, but with the intent of uplifting the community in the face of racism (Webster 2017: 431-432). The domestic sphere was a place where Black women could exercise their autonomy and subjectivity (Webster 2017: 432). Webster states "for free African American women, to aspire to such an ideal did not reproduce dominant, middle-class family values, but instead allowed black women a form of authority over the physical space of the home as well as of their children" (2017:432-433).

Women and men in the free Black community during the early to mid-19th century adhered to contemporary gender roles not as an effort to assimilate or emulate but as an act to subvert the prevailing stereotypes and beliefs about Black people tied to enslavement (Horton 1986; Yee 1987:112). It is through this lens that we should view the adoption of aspects of dominant ideologies of womanhood by Black women. Emphasis on piety and motherhood among Black women illustrates how their adoption of this ideology was integral to the

preparation and protection of their children as they became adults, a direct attempt to subvert racism (Webster 2017). According to James Oliver Horton, contemporary gender roles were willfully reinforced by free Black newspapers during the early to mid-19th century (1986:55-56). The image of Black people held in the minds of the white ruling class was a contributing factor justifying the continuation of slavery, and so undermining these stereotypes was a main goal within the community.

Several scholars have also called attention to the relationship between white womanhood and Black womanhood, the pure and virtuous "cult of true womanhood" being defined in direct contrast to Black women who were seen through the veil of slavery as a series of negative stereotypes: mammy, jezebel, and matriarch (Collins 2002; Davis 1983). The perpetual equation of Black women and enslavement has fueled the stereotypes of physical strength and licentiousness that were predominant in the 19th century and through to today (Yee 1987:103-104). Within the "cult of true womanhood," white women were defined by their lack of sex, and enslaved Black women were oversexualized, subjected to experiences of sexual violence, and forced to reproduce enslaved labor (Giddings 1984; Collins 2002; Davis 1983; White 2001). This dichotomy produced a narrative that defined Black women by their forced sexuality, asserting they were responsible for the seduction of their enslavers so that white women could blame them for their husband's adultery (Yee 1987:109-111; King 2006). Stereotypes of Black women's promiscuity stemming from the power dynamics of enslavement diffused throughout discourse surrounding gender roles in America and have continuously harmed Black women for generations (Davis 1983).

It is important here to note, that the form of Black womanhood outlined by scholars above, has been defined in contrast to that of the "cult of true womanhood" and white middle-class notions of gender, because Black women selected aspects of these ideologies that were meaningful them to subvert racism, and because white womanhood was reliant on the subjugation of Black women (Collins 2002; Davis 1983). As Whitney Battle-Baptiste stated in the conclusion to her book *Black Feminist Archaeology,* "As cooks, domestics, wet nurses, laundresses, seamstresses, lovers, and field hands, we became part of the reason it was possible to maintain a Victorian sensibility, a cult of domesticity, a Women's Suffrage Movement" (2011:170). While Black womanhood should not be defined in a dialectical relationship with white womanhood, it was Black women and their labor outside the home, or their enslaved labor, that allowed for that version of white womanhood to exist in the first place.

The above conclusions made by scholars regarding characterizations of Black womanhood during the early-mid 19th century in free Black contexts are reinforced by the work of Maria W. Stewart, an influential Black women writer and orator who was sharing her ideas about womanhood, abolition, and piety during the 1830s in Boston. Stewart's work is evidence for conversations about Black women and their roles in society circulating among Black churches and institutions during this early formative period in New England. These conversations were likely occurring within the free Black community of New Guinea and within the African Baptist Church after its construction in about 1825. Maria Stewart's words inform my understanding of the symbolism being signaled through the regular use of ceramic wares by Mary Boston Douglass and her family during the 1820s and 1830s.

Maria W. Stewart and Black Womanhood

Maria W. Stewart was the first American born woman, and Black woman, to speak on political matters in public to a crowd of men and women (Richardson 1987; Waters 2022:234). She is also considered to be the first Black woman political writer, as she published several of her speeches and other essays in both *The Liberator* and in a later edited volume (Stewart 1835; Richardson 1987, 1993; Cooper 2012). Born in Connecticut in 1803, and orphaned at the age of 5, Maria Miller lived with a clergyman's family until she reached the working age of 15, at which time she began working as a domestic servant (Richardson 1987:3). Maria moved to Boston in 1826 when she married James W. Stewart, a shipping merchant, who was also a veteran of the War of 1812; she took on both his last name and his middle initial. They lived on Beacon Hill and were a part of Boston's free Black community. Maria and James were married by Rev. Thomas Paul of the African Baptist Church (Richardson 1987:3). Although her speaking and writing career in Boston, MA was short lived, spanning only about 5 years, she made her mark on the abolitionist circle in Boston and its prospering Black community.

During her time in Boston, Maria W. Stewart was a mentee of the famed anti-slavery activist and writer David Walker, the author of *Walker's Appeal, In Four Articles; Together with a Preamble, to the Coloured Citizens of the World, But in Particular, and Very Expressly, to Those of the United States of America* published in 1829 (Walker 1829; Richardson 1987:6). Walker impacted Stewart's views, which can be seen in her speeches and writings. Both Walker and Stewart were deeply religious. Walker was known to use heavy religious and scriptural references in his work to advance a nationalistic perspective

(Litwack and Meir 1988:134-144). Stewart did the same, utilizing the words of the Bible to promote the betterment and uplift of Black people and Black women more specifically. Her work stood in contrast to those in the South using scripture and religion to do quite literally the opposite— justify the enslavement of Black people. Stewart, in this regard, was not only influenced by Walker's religiosity, but by her youth and adolescence spent in a clergyman's household (Richardson 1987).

In 1829, Maria W. Stewart's husband James passed away, and the following year, her mentor David Walker died mysteriously. It was after these two great losses that Stewart rededicated herself to her religious beliefs, a set of beliefs which she saw were inextricably linked to the fight to end slavery and uplift Black people in the United States (Richardson 1987:8-9). In fact, Stewart believed that she was responsible to share with the public messages conveyed to her by God, which she received during her religious awakening (Cooper 2012:114). It is from this religious rebirth that Stewart produced her political writings and speeches.

Maria W. Stewart and David Walker's work, together form what scholar Kristin Waters refers to as Black Revolutionary Liberalism, an early tradition of Black political thought. Waters asserts that Stewart and Walker used "revolutionary language" to argue for the full rights and citizenship of Black people in the United States (Waters 2013:35-36; 2022). Walker specifically called into question the failure of the new American republic to deliver its promise of equality for all men in his writing, evoking the language of the American Declaration of Independence (Waters 2013:35). In her work, Stewart is not only arguing for the equal treatment of Black people but also for gender equality, advocating for

the equality of Black women (Waters 2013:46). Part of Stewart and Walker's Black Revolutionary Liberalism was an acknowledgment of the global Black experience, and a call for global Black liberation (Waters 2013:36, 47). Stewart evokes images of Africa, Ethiopia specifically, which is an early example of Black Nationalism and illustration of the African diaspora (Waters 2013:47). Black Revolutionary Liberalism calls for Black autonomy and citizenship, at a time when the abolition movement was beginning to ramp up in Boston.

Dr. Valerie Cooper has argued that it is Maria W. Stewart's position as both a widow who did not remarry, and a devout religious woman that enabled her to step onto the public stage to share her views with the world (Cooper 2012:118). There was an existing precedent for Evangelical women preachers that extended back to the first half of the 18th-century, including both Black and white women in New England (Cooper 2012:119). Two Black women who were a part of this tradition were Jarena Lee and Zilpha Elaw (Cooper 2012:113). Here there is a distinction being made between preaching and political speech; even though Maria W. Stewart heavily relied on religious word for her justification, she was making a political argument for the equal treatment of Black individuals and the rights of women. Stewart is also set apart from these other orators in that her audience was not that of a church congregation, but rather a mixed public in terms of both gender and race (Waters 2022:234).

Maria W. Stewart spoke and wrote of the betterment of Black people, and she spoke directly to the free Black community that was thriving in the city of Boston. By publishing her work in Garrison's *The Liberator,* Stewart accessed an even wider population of readers, which during the early 1830s included members of the free Black communities in Boston,

New York, and Philadelphia (Jacobs 1971:261). She was writing to free Black men and women about what she felt was their responsibility and capability of helping their brothers and sisters in bondage. Stewart's speeches emphasized the importance of their actions and spelled out ways in which she believed they could improve their own communities and in turn help to shape the public perception of Black people, undermining and fighting harmful stereotypes. Many of her suggestions and models for behavior were for the women in her audiences. Three of her pieces of writing or oration published and delivered in the early 1830s focused heavily on the roles of Black women, and these are the focus of my analysis (Richardson 1987,1993).

Stewart's first published essay, a pamphlet for sale at the office of *The Liberator* released in October of 1831, was titled *Religion and the Pure Principles of Morality, The Sure Foundation on Which We Must Build* (Stewart 1835:3; Richardson 1987:28-42). Her introduction to the Boston community quickly states her beliefs that she hopes to instill in her readers, that education, community uplift and betterment are the keys to improving the lives and position of Black people in the United States (Stewart 1835:3). She calls on Black women to distinguish themselves, saying:

"O, ye daughters of Africa, awake! Awake! Arise! No longer sleep nor slumber, but distinguish yourselves. Show forth to the world that ye are endowed with noble and exalted faculties. O, ye daughters of Africa! What have ye done to immortalize your names beyond the grave? What examples have ye set before the rising generation" (Stewart 1835:6)?

Stewart goes on to elaborate that she sees women as being central to the effort to liberate their brothers and sisters and the community at large, through efforts to promote virtue and self-sufficiency (Stewart 1835:16; Cooper 2012:139).

Stewart believes that Black women can promote virtue and create self-sustaining communities through both the moral education of their children but also in the creation of community institutions such as churches and schools (Stewart 1835:15-16). To illustrate this, Stewart details an example in which women banded together to raise funds through their labor growing onions to build a church in their community in Wethersfield, Connecticut[1], and calls on her audience to "imitate their examples, as far as they are worthy of imitation" (Stewart 1835:16). Stewart maintains that alongside this community building, Black women should be able to continue to carry out all the tasks characteristic of good housewifery (Stewart 1835:6).

[1] This story that Stewart tells is a simplified version of a complex relationship between household production, enslavement, and women's agency in late 18th century Wethersfield, CT. It has been established in secondary literature that Wethersfield, CT was known for its production of red onions (Van Vlack 2013:20). It has also been documented that the women of the Wethersfield community were growing onions in their backyards, which contributed to the fundraising for their church (Farrow, Lang, and Frank 2005:49-51; Fierro n.d.; Van Vlack 2013:24). In just a few decades household production shifted to production on a larger scale, at which point the town was producing onions to be sent to the West Indies as a trade good (Farrow et al. 2005:51). In the town's own folklore, it is stated that the original funds for the construction of a church were collected via taxes levied on its citizens, which many of them paid for in onions (Fierro n.d.). While the women of Wethersfield did not directly fundraise for the construction of the town church as Stewart suggests, they did contribute to their family's financial means to help pay their town taxes, as they were responsible for the growth of onions within their household economies. From a unique perspective, it is unclear if this was truly an industry or scale of production that was completely supported through household growth, or if the growing of onions was carried out by enslaved individuals in the town. Slavery was ended in Connecticut through a gradual manumission law, which stated that all Black individuals born to enslaved parents after 1784 would become free on their 25th birthdays, so there were still enslaved people in the state until 1848 (Menschel 2001:185,187). This narrative, although not presented as the whole truth, served its purpose as an inspirational tale utilized by Stewart to motivate the Black women of Boston to create and fund their own institutions.

Beyond encouraging Black women to build institutions for their communities, Stewart highlights the potential for Black women outside of the home. Stewart acknowledges that Black women have thoughts and ideas to contribute to society, a role that was not prescribed to any women during this period (Stewart 1835:16). There was also a clear focus in this essay on the importance of Black women in determining the success of their children. Success here refers to the fate of a child's soul, their morality, and their social and economic success (Stewart 1835:13). A mother is responsible for the religious and secular education of her children, and she must "set an example worthy of following" (Stewart 1835:14). Even though, at this time during the early 19th century, education was segregated in Boston, and the same quality of education provided to white children was not available for Black children, Stewart calls on mothers to subvert the system, and do everything in their power to make sure their children get the education they deserve (Stewart 1835:14). It is important to mention here, that the language Stewart uses when discussing opportunities for Black children in her earliest work, she focuses on male children (Richardson 1987:20). While she does not explicitly call for the equal education of women and female children yet, she says, "How long shall the fair daughters of Africa be compelled to bury their minds and talent beneath a load of iron pots and kettles?" (Stewart 1835:16). Stewart's ideas about gender reflect her identity as a woman negotiating her position in the public sphere.

Religion and the Pure Principles of Morality was Stewarts entre to the Boston abolitionist and Black community circles, and it was a political statement that she made on her views about Black aspiration and uplift being the keys to combating slavery, and how she

sees Black women as being important players in this effort. Stewart went on to further define her political views and share them with various audiences.

In 1832, Stewart spoke directly to Black women in her address to the Afric-American Female Intelligence Society of Boston. Her speech, titled “An Address Delivered Before the Afric-American Female Intelligence Society of America” was printed in *The Liberator* on April 28th, 1832, and the speech was delivered earlier in the Spring of the same year (Richardson 1987). In her speech, Stewart describes the significance of the influence of the women in her audience, saying:

“O woman, woman! Upon you I call; for upon your exertions almost entirely depends whether the rising generation shall be any thing more than we have been or not. O woman, woman! Your example is powerful, your influence great; it extends over your husbands and your children, and throughout the circle of your acquaintance” (Stewart 1835:62).

Here Stewart is clearly stating that she feels women, those with children and without alike, are wholly responsible for uplift of the race. The weight of this statement is one that is incredibly heavy. Although we do not know the response of the audience to this sentiment, and this is the extreme perspective, it is at the very least likely that Black women partially understood and agreed with the idea that they could have an impact on their position in the larger society, even if it was to a much smaller degree.

In her final speech to the community in Boston, *Mrs. Stewart's Farewell Address to Her Friends in the City of Boston,* delivered on September 21st, 1833, Stewart questions her audience "What if I am a woman…" (Stewart 1835:75)? This question and the tone of her previous statements suggest that there were people who spoke against her and condemned her position. Cooper has suggested that Stewart was forced to leave the city of Boston due to backlash she faced from being a woman who publicly spoke against men (2012:120). The prevailing ideology of Black manhood during the early 19th century was characterized by the patriarchy, which situated Black men as the heads of their families and protectors of their households (Bulger 2013:43-45). While the Black womanhood prescribed by Stewart allowed for women to participate in community uplift, political discourse was reserved for Black men (Bulger 2013:43-45). Stewart's work pushed against this notion because of her decision to speak about political matters, specifically that of the rights of women and the liberation of Black people. Her speeches and writing clashed against patriarchal notions of the suppression of Black women, and the response to her position from the community was likely a contributing factor in her decision to leave Boston (Cooper 2012:120; Waters 2022:243-244). Scholar Kristin Waters has presented an alternative theory, that Stewart was involved in a legal dispute that concluded in 1832, a matter which kept her in the Boston area for some time, even after the deaths of her husband and mentor (2022:243-244). After the case was resolved, Stewart likely saw this as her opportunity to move on to a new city. While the reasoning for her departure is not confidently known, is likely that Stewart's circumstances and decision to leave Boston were far more complicated than is presented above (Cooper 2012; Waters 2022).

In her farewell address, Stewart, again, had to prove that she was worthy of the position she had placed herself in, in front of the public. Even as she is leaving the city, she feels the need to defend herself proudly and loudly declaring that not only she is able to occupy this public space and stand for the rights women, but other women should be able to as well. Stewart became a part of a tradition of women who spoke about religious matters in the public, including contemporary women like Jarena Lee and Zilpha Elaw (Waters 2022). Lee and Elaw both published works addressing their religious beliefs as Black women, which were produced during the early to mid-19th century. Their publications stemmed from their work as itinerant preachers, traveling to various places to preach (Waters 2022:221).

In this final moment at the front of the room in Boston, Stewart tried to instill in her audience her belief that women are no different than men and their rights should reflect this. The use of religion to substantiate Stewart's claims was a clever approach that addressed both women's rights and the abolitionist agenda. While the South was weaponizing Christian and paternalistic sentiments to prove that Black people should remain enslaved, Stewart was flipping this narrative on its head, calling attention to the biblical narratives that prove the exact opposite. It is along this line as well that Stewart uses biblical narratives to show that women were not submissive in the past and this is her justification for the rejection of this facet of the "cult of true womanhood." Leaving the Black Boston community with these thoughts, Maria Stewart bid adieu to the city and her friends and moved south to Washington D.C. (Richardson 1987).

Stewart's writings present a contemporaneous perspective on the roles of Black women in the success of families, husbands, and children, as well as their larger community.

It was within this discourse that it was confirmed for Black women how important their roles were and how they could impact positive change. Black womanhood was also heavily characterized by piety, which is a common thread woven into each branch of Black women's influence. The moral education of children, the improvement of community through the creation of Black churches and schools, and the salvation of one's family were all guided by pious beliefs and behaviors. This version of womanhood crafted by free Black women uniquely emphasizes motherhood. According to Webster, Stewart and other "Black women activists also adopted a political rhetoric of motherhood in their activism and writing by highlighting their role as primary influencers of the domestic sphere" (2017:426). Stewart's work also centers the fight for citizenship and equality, a sentiment that was embodied by the ideology of Republican Motherhood, in particular the moral education of children. Education of children ensured the success of future generations of free Black citizens. This includes both social and institutional education. The domestic sphere is where mothers taught their children about society, including positive and negative realities of life for Black people during the early 19th century. They taught their children household skills so that they could one day establish their own homes and families, especially their daughters. While Republican Motherhood prescribed the education of sons, specifically to act as members of the American government, Stewart ultimately stated that women could contribute intellectually to society and should not be relegated to the kitchen (Stewart 1835). It is important now to turn to the historical context of the New Guinea community in the 1820s to understand how Black womanhood was interpreted on the island of Nantucket.

Nantucket: Historical Context

Ideological prescriptions promoted by religious leaders, popular literature and through other discourses were operating on the macro level of society. In this thesis I am concerned with the ways these ideals were interpreted by the Boston women in their particular circumstances on the island of Nantucket. In the 1820s, Mary Boston Douglass was a middle-aged woman with three adolescent aged children, living in the growing community of New Guinea. Mary was born at a time when there were still people of African descent being enslaved on the island. The practice of enslavement was ended through gradual emancipation on the island over the course of the last few decades of the 18th century (Johnson 2006; Karttunen 2002; Lee 2019), and slavery was officially abolished in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in 1783 (Bulger 2013:111). Muehlbauer's (2021) analyses of Nantucket census records are integral to the exploration of the Nantucket sociohistorical context of the early 19th century, after the emancipation of African descended people. The census records show that under enslavement, it was common for Black people on Nantucket to live in their enslaver's household. Over time, as more people of African descent became freed through gradual emancipation, more Black households were established, which were recorded in the census records (Muehlbauer 2021:58). Muehlbauer states "by 1820, 90% of persons recorded as Black on Nantucket are living in one of over 63 households headed by a Black person" (2021:58). This contrasts with the only 18 Black households that existed in the 1790 federal census (Muehlbauer 2021:57). The community grew because of emancipation, whereas now Black Nantucketers had the ability to grow their own families (Muehlbauer 2021:65).

After the end of the War of 1812, the whaling industry began to explode on Nantucket, providing opportunities for Black men to earn money working as mariners (Kaldenbach-Montemayor 2006:22-23). By the 1820s, Nantucket has the largest whaling economy in Massachusetts, and the most ships that called its harbor home (Kaldenbach-Montemayor 2006:23). Black men's participation in the industry as mariners took them from the island for extended periods of time, but also led them to acquire wealth, helping to establish families and households in New Guinea. The economic growth the community was experiencing also fueled the creation of Black owned businesses in New Guinea (Muehlbauer 2021). Eventually, the whaling boom encouraged immigration to the island from places such as the Cape Verde Islands (Muehlbauer 2021:66-67). Many of these immigrants were incorporated into the New Guinea community, as we see with the case of Mary's third husband Michael Douglass, who was a Cape Verdean man (Karttunen 2002; Bulger 2013).

Within the context of this growing and prosperous community, Black women's conceptions of their womanhood would be tied directly to their efforts to achieve freedom for themselves, and their children. Stewart's views encompassing Republican Motherhood and practices of good housewifery would have rung true in newly established households where women were able to exercise autonomy over their domestic sphere and their children. Black women's labor on the island was not captured by Muehlbauer in the census records, although we do know that it was common for Black women to work as domestic servants in white households on the island, as well as perform additional household labor for pay, such as laundering, repairing garments, and hosting boarders (Bulger 2015; Lee 2019; Muehlbauer 2021). This labor was a part of early conceptions of Black womanhood and was integral to

the survival of families especially in whaling communities where the men were often away for years on voyages (Lee 2019; Kaldenbach-Montemayor 2006). This dynamic affected numerous households in the New Guinea community, with Black men consisting of many employed mariners during the whaling boom beginning in the 1820s (Kaldenbach-Montemayor 2006:22). Black women conducting supplemental labor was extremely necessary to help mitigate the deferred payment to their husbands, which depended on the success of the whaling voyage.

Community uplift and activism were prevalent among the community of New Guinea, and among the Boston family specifically (Bulger 2013). Absalom Boston, Mary's brother-in-law, was a politically active community member, he led the effort to integrate Nantucket public schools in the 1840s (Bulger 2013:42). Another activist in the family was Lewis Berry, a boarder at the Boston home who eventually married Mary's daughter, Eliza (Bulger 2013:42,99). Berry fought for abolition on the island, continuing this effort took him to San Francisco in 1851, leaving his family behind on Nantucket (Bulger 2013:110). Absalom, and Lewis Berry's brother Wesley were subscribers to *The Liberator*, which connected them to the larger anti-slavery movement based in Boston (Lees 2019:101).

It is unclear whether Maria W. Stewart knew of the community of New Guinea on Nantucket during her time as a writer and orator in Boston. If she had known about New Guinea, I believe that she would have considered the growth and development of this community to be an exemplary case study illustrating her views on women and activism, as well as racial uplift. Stewart called on Black men and women to establish economic autonomy, fund and create their own institutions, educate their children, and do this with the

intent of fighting to end enslavement. These are core elements of New Guinea, and the Boston family with their history of activism and likely role in the creation of the African Baptist Church and the school. Mary, being right in the heart of the community, the Five Corners area, was steeped in this community. Mary was a contemporary of Maria W. Stewart, who's words would have reached Nantucket via *The Liberator* in the early 1830s. The importance of a contemporary free Black woman discussing womanhood in the public sphere cannot be stressed enough. Stewart's work provided the women of New Guinea with the opportunity to define themselves and to engage with ideas generated by other Black women. Using this understanding of early 19th century Black womanhood and domesticity through the lens of Maria W. Stewart, how can we then interpret the symbology represented by the ceramic patterns present in Mary Boston Douglass' assemblage?

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

Higginbotham House Archaeology Project

Archaeological investigations were carried out in 2008 by archaeologists from the Fiske Center for Archaeological Research at the University of Massachusetts Boston at the Seneca Boston-Florence Higginbotham House, owned by the Museum of African American History (Bulger 2013, 2015). This initial project was an effort to mitigate impacts of the restoration of the property on cultural resources as prescribed by federal legislation (Bulger 2013; Cacchione 2018:19-20). These excavations identified the culturally sensitive locations at the site, informing restoration work and future archaeological investigations. In 2014, Dr. David Landon and Dr. Nedra Lee of the Fiske Center, conducted further excavations at the Boston-Higginbotham House in advance of the repair of the north retaining wall as well as the construction of foundations and crawl spaces for the existing outbuildings on the property (Landon et al. 2017:3-4). The eleven excavation units dug during this field season yielded material culture that dates to the earliest occupations at the Boston-Higginbotham House, the household of Seneca Boston and Thankful Micah, as well as the household of Mary Boston Douglass (Landon et al. 2017:9).

A portion of an intact privy deposit was found in the retaining wall excavation units, EU 17 and 21, containing a series of deposits that date to the 1820s, when Mary Boston

Douglass and her family occupied their home at 27 York St. (Landon et al. 2017:23-26). In further analyses of the archaeological contexts uncovered in the 2014 excavations, contemporaneous groupings called "lots" were assembled to interpret the associated material culture. Contexts 434, 473, and 475 from within EU 17 constitute Lot O. Context 444 from EU 17, and contexts 474, 482, and 487 from EU 21 constitute Lot P. Graduate student researchers in the New England African American Archaeology Lab at UMass Boston have calculated Mean Ceramic Dates (MCD) for the designated lots for the Boston-Higginbotham site. Lot O has a MCD of 1818, and Lot P has a MCD of 1812. The *terminus post quem* (TPQ) for these deposits, or the earliest date after which they were created, were also determined. There were modern plastic artifacts found in both lots, likely due to slight mixing with the contexts located stratigraphically above. To account for the presence of these materials, a TPQp90 was used. A TPQp90 uses the beginning manufacture dates for the 90th percentile of artifacts to generate a date, removing consideration of the most recently produced artifacts (DAACS 2022). Using this method of calculation, both Lots O and P have a TPQp90 of c. 1820, as supported by the presence of undecorated whiteware fragments in both lots. These two lots date to the period in which Mary Boston-Douglass and her family occupied the home at 27 York St. The ceramic data found in Lots O and P will be the focus of my analysis.

The main methodologies used in this study include several sequential stages of material culture analyses; a ceramic minimum vessel count and pattern analysis. The combination of analyses helps me to illustrate the link between ceramic pattern and design

choices and ideologies of womanhood and domesticity possibly subscribed to by the Boston women during the early 19th century.

Minimum Vessel Count

To mobilize ceramic data in a way that attempts to recreate and visualize the ways ceramics were used in the past, we must look not at the small, fragmented sherds, but at the vessels these sherds represent. Minimum vessel count analyses (MNV) are commonly used by historical archaeologists to quantify their ceramic data in a way that represents a minimum number of unique vessels that can be discerned from an assemblage of archaeologically excavated ceramic fragments (Voss and Allen 2010:1). There are two main methodologies used to conduct MNVs in laboratory settings: quantitative and qualitative. A quantitative MNV analysis focuses on the identification and counting of rim, base, and handle fragments of differing measurements, and does not consider body sherds. The manufacture technique of the ceramic sherds is usually not considered as well, providing the most conservative minimum vessel number result. In contrast, a qualitative MNV focuses more on the innumerable characteristics of ceramic sherds rather than the part of the vessel a sherd represents. Therefore, vessels can be determined by considering multiple attributes, such as ware type, decoration type, form, and pattern. A significant difference between quantitative and qualitative approaches to MNVs is replicability. Quantitative MNVs are more standardized and thus are more likely to be accurately replicated by another researcher, where qualitative approaches tend to be more subjective and less replicable (Voss and Allen 2010:1). This highlights the importance of record keeping and descriptions of choices when conducting a qualitative MNV analysis.

The ceramic assemblage from Lots O and P, like several other deposits from the Boston-Higginbotham House site analyzed through a MNV, are highly fragmented and diverse in composition (Bulger 2013:79-81). Each of the lots consist of several contexts, which to maintain the integrity of the provenience of the assemblage, were first analyzed separately. A cross-mend analysis was carried out after an initial assessment of MNV within individual contexts was completed.

Within each context, I divided up the ceramic fragments first by ware type, then by method of decoration (i.e., plain, hand painted, printed, edged, etc.). I then attempted to identify any rims, bases, or handles that might be present within each grouping of ceramics. It was at this step that I determined that a combination of quantitative and qualitative MNV approaches would be best for the nature of the assemblage. If my analysis only considered vessel portions such as rims, handles, and bases, there would have been a considerable number of unique vessels overlooked, many of which were body sherds with uniquely distinguishable designs and patterns. This is due both to the low frequency of handles, rims, and bases, and high diversity among decorations represented. For each vessel determined to be unique, a vessel record form, provided by the Fiske Center for Archaeological Research, was filled out containing the following information: vessel #, ware type/material, paste, count, provenience of sherds, glaze type interior/exterior, temper, decoration type, decoration color, manufacture technique, form and function if discernable, maker's mark if present, diameter of rim or base if present, vessel completeness, and any detailed comments about the vessel and its attributes. These forms were then entered into a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet to conduct quantitative analyses with the results of the MNV analysis. The vessel numbers

assigned to vessels from Lots O and P began at number 305, as a continuation of the vessel numbers assigned to Lots H, I, J, and K by Cacchione in her MNV, as to not duplicate vessel numbers from the same site and year of excavation (2018).

After conducting the above analyses for each context, I then performed a cross-mend analysis, aiming to identify any vessels that were present in more than one context both within each of the Lots and between the Lots as well. Typically, cross-mending only takes into consideration sherds that physically mend together (Voss and Allen 2010:7). During my analysis, I found sherds with the exact pattern that matched another vessel, but they did not physically mend. In cases where there was no evidence suggesting that the sherds in question represented a unique vessel, I conservatively lumped them, considering them to be a minimum of one vessel.

The minimum vessel count analysis I conducted for the ceramic sherds from Lots O and P from the 2014 HHAP excavations included a pattern analysis which is described below, as well as consideration of vessel forms present among the vessels. The coupling of a pattern analysis and form analysis enables the detection of sets of ceramic wares used for specific functions such as serving meals or tea.

Pattern Analysis

Several archaeological studies have highlighted ceramic patterns or decorations to illustrate ideological engagement by people in the past (Brighton 2008; Lucas 2003; Kruczek-Aaron 2002; Fitts 1999; Wall 1991, 1999). As has been previously discussed, Fitts (1999) and Wall (1991, 1999) each use ceramic decoration as a proxy for engagement with

ideals of domesticity by households during the 19th century. However, the sites being studied by these two scholars are from the mid to late 19th century, and the main ceramic type they are analyzing is gothic molded ironstone (Fitts 1999:47; Wall 1991:76,78). Therefore, their work is not helpful in determining the best practices for identifying transfer-printed patterns from a highly fragmented assemblage.

Stephen Brighton, in his study of archaeological evidence from the 19th century neighborhood of Five Points in Manhattan, highlights the presence of one specific transfer-printed pattern illustrating Father Mathew, a Catholic temperance leader in Ireland (2008:24). Brighton does not describe the method of identifying this ceramic pattern, but instead describes the importance of the vessel in understanding the social context of Five Points (2008:24-25). Hadley Kruczek-Aaron in her study examining archaeological evidence associated with the household of wealthy, white, abolitionist, Gerrit Smith, highlights five unique transfer-printed pearlware vessels, depicting aristocratic, romantic, and pastoral scenes (2002:180). The presence of these vessels suggests that the Smith women were actively contradicting the ideology of temperance and simplicity that was subscribed to by Gerrit Smith (Kruczek-Aaron 2002:180). The approach used to identify the patterns described is not mentioned in this publication. Lastly, Gavin Lucas uses identified transfer-printed patterns recovered archaeologically to discuss the consumption of patterns representing literary themes and popular literature in England during the 19th century (Lucas 2003:126-127). Lucas, much like Brighton and Kruczek-Aaron, does not describe the methods he used to identify the patterns being analyzed in his study. For these studies, the act of identifying patterns is viewed as straightforward and does not require explanation. For my

study, identifying the patterns present in a highly fragmentary ceramic assemblage is the core of my methodology, and requires careful description.

Pattern Identification

The process of identifying the patterns present in the ceramic assemblage from Lots O and P was achieved through a multi-faceted approach using sources ranging from pattern source books (Coysh and Henrywood 1982, 1989), a transfer-print pattern database, and internet key word searches. To efficiently identify patterns, each ceramic vessel that was likely to be identified was photographed. The photographs allowed me to view the diagnostic aspects of the vessels stylistic and decorative attributes, features that would be searchable and that would help with pattern identification. Using the photographs and the physical vessels, I recorded more specific information about stylistic attributes and decorative elements of the vessels in an excel spreadsheet derived from the minimum vessel count spreadsheet. These attributes include presence of floral or chinoiserie style border elements, differentiation where possible between diverse types of flowers and leaves, any identifiable aspects of central motifs present on vessels such as the presence of a river, and others details specific to each vessel. The determination of these stylistic attributes and elements was crucial to being able to search the pattern database and pattern source books.

The initial stage of pattern identification began before I had access to the Transferware Collector Club's database, and therefore consisted mostly of searching the internet and pattern source books. To efficiently search the internet for patterns, I used terminology used to describe transfer-printed vessels on auction or collector websites, which

is different than the terminology used by historical archaeologists. Auction and collector websites, such as WorthPoint, were the most frequent results when searching the internet for historic transferware, which is not surprising as extant vessels from the 19th century are highly collectable. These websites often refer to blue transfer-printed pottery as "Staffordshire," which is a reference to the location of manufacture. If there is a mention of the method of manufacture, the terminology used is "transferware" rather than "transfer-print" (WorthPoint n.d.). Using these terms, along with key terms determined based on vessel attributes, I was able to identify several of the most distinguishable vessels in the assemblage.

The main method used to identify patterns in my assemblage was searching the Transferware Collectors Club Database (TCC), through an institutional subscription purchased for the New England African American Archaeology Lab at UMass Boston by Dr. Nedra Lee. The TCC is an extensive internet database dedicated to recording transfer-print patterns spanning the entirety of the 19th century. This database can be used to browse various categories such as makers, marks, border types, category of design, color, features, as well as patterns if a name is known. There is also a more detailed pattern search which allows for a more complex query, selecting multiple attributes to search the database.

There were a series of challenges I faced using the TCC database to identify the vessels I was examining. The first being, a query defining multiple attributes would be a hindrance to my search. This is due to the fragmentary nature of the ceramic assemblage. Several vessels I identified were only small rim fragments, representing a small portion of the border of pattern; therefore, it was more beneficial to search within a category of border design. There are many classifications of border designs recorded in the TCC database,

ranging from Floral to Geometric border patterns and more. The list of features in the database only pertain to the central portions of patterns, and therefore, would not be useful in identifying patterns by border design. This limitation did not allow for specific searches that would generate a list of results that have a specific identified characteristic in their border design, such as “serrated leaves.” To find specific patterns that have such a detail, would require simply browsing through all the vessels defined as having “Floral and Botanical” borders, which for blue transfer-printed patterns consists of over 1000 results (Transferware Collectors Club n.d.). This is a disadvantage I faced with many of the highly fragmented vessels I examined. One vessel I was aiming to identify contained the edge of a picture medallion in its border design along with small flowers. The presence of the picture medallion allowed me to search within a more specific category of “Floral and Botanical” borders, which was called “Floral with Picture Medallions” (Transferware Collectors Club n.d.). Searching through all patterns with borders categorized as such led to the identification of the pattern in question.

Another challenge that I faced in identifying patterns by border design, was the possibility that a border design I was aiming to identify was used in a series, with varying central image designs. If this were the case, I would be unable to confidently identify the central scene and therefore, would not be able to analyze the symbolic meaning of the pattern. During the first half of the 19th century, it was common for transfer printed ceramics made by a particular maker to have the same border design with multiple unique central scenes. This was especially the case for ceramic patterns that were a part of a series; a group of patterns thematically linked with the same border design. An example of this phenomenon

is the “Sporting Series,” created by the potter, Enoch Wood & Sons between 1818 and 1848 (Coysh and Henrywood 1982:344). This series featured images of animals that were hunted for sport, ranging from common to exotic, all with the same border design, which is characterized by the TCC as floral with scroll work.

I undertook several measures to attempt to determine if any of the vessels I identified by their border design were a part of a series. First, if the maker was known for the pattern identified, I searched all the patterns listed under that maker to confirm that the border design was present on only one pattern. This was not always possible considering that maker information is not known for all the patterns in the TCC database. For cases where the maker was unknown, all patterns with borders in the same category as the identified vessel were searched. Even with taking these measures, it is important to acknowledge that the TCC database is not complete and that there is still a chance that there were multiple patterns produced using the same border design for some vessels identified in this study. However, I am confident in my analysis and use of the database, as it includes over 16,000 patterns and over 1,000 sources used to identify said patterns (Transferware Collectors Club n.d.).

In the one instance in this analysis that a border design identified was present on multiple patterns listed in the TCC database, I consulted other resources to determine the specific pattern represented in the assemblage. I was unable to use the TCC database to flush out this detail because for each pattern there are usually only one or two reference images listed of extant vessels. Examining the patterns on the same vessel form as is represented in my assemblage would help to identify which was the correct pattern. Many of the reference images in the TCC database are plates, or more specialized vessel forms, such as tureens.

Very few are common hollowwares, on which patterns are going to look inherently different than on flatwares. On teacups or bowls, the pattern is going to mostly be on the exterior of the vessel with an interior border treatment as well as a possible small central image on the interior base of a vessel. To attempt to identify the correct pattern in the assemblage, I used the possible pattern names from the TCC database to search the internet for images of those patterns on various vessel forms. This effort proved to be difficult, especially considering that many of the patterns listed in the TCC database have assigned names, meaning the pattern does not have a name according to the documentary record.

Through the multi-faceted approach described, I was able to identify several unique patterns on vessels that were used by those in the Boston household that vary in subject matter and design. Analyzing these patterns and other ceramic decorations present in the assemblage, in conjunction with contemporary writings on womanhood and domesticity, I aim to illustrate how the Boston women were actively creating and shaping their experiences of womanhood. The results of these analyses are described in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5

RESULTS

Ceramic Assemblage: Lots O and P

The ceramic sherds excavated from Lots O and P during the 2014 field season at the Boston-Higginbotham House serve as the data for my analysis of the engagement with ideals of womanhood by the Boston women during the early 19th century. Lots O and P consist of four contexts in the lower strata of EU 17 and 21, located near the rear of the property. This locus was referred to as the "Retaining Wall" by excavators (Landon et al. 2017:23-26). Lot

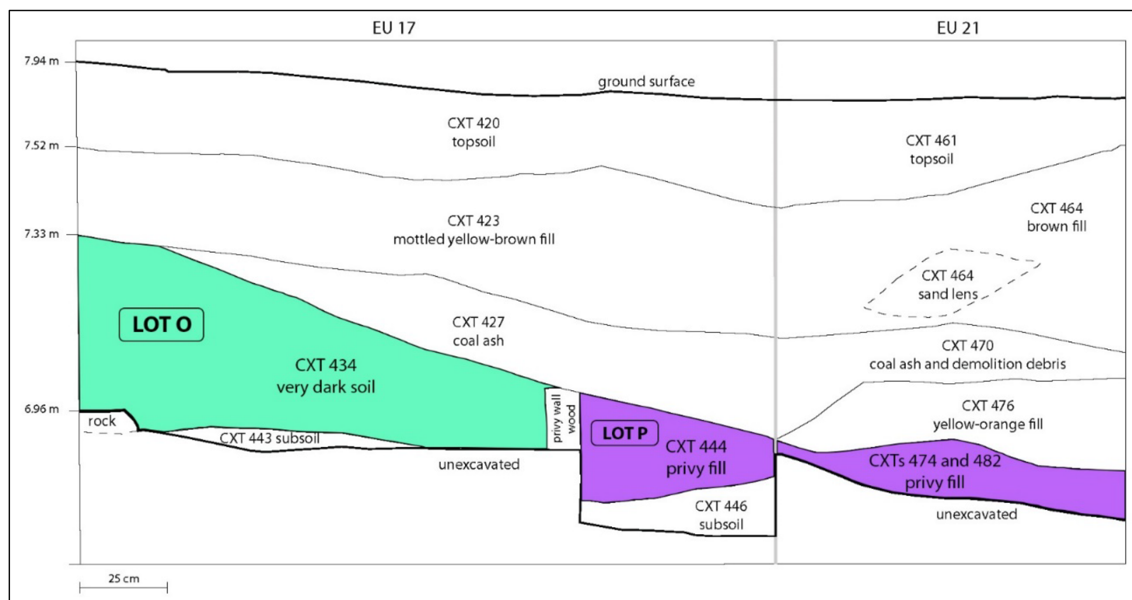


Figure 5.1 2014 Higginbotham House Archaeology Project Excavation Units 17 and 20. Digitized profile drawing of north wall highlighting contexts encompassed in Lots O and P, green and purple respectively. Figure is reproduced from Landon et al. 2017:23, with color and lot designations added by author.

O was defined as the context located directly adjacent to a wooden privy wall and has a mean ceramic date of 1818 and a TPQp90 of 1820. Lot P consists of contexts identified as being a part of the privy during excavations and has a mean ceramic date of 1812 and a TPQp90 of 1820 (Figure 5.1).

A total of 2,156 ceramic sherds were excavated from the two lots, with Lot O containing 1,751 sherds, and Lot P containing 405 sherds. These assemblages consisted of a standard variety of ware types, the breakdown of which is displayed in Table 5.1, with particularly high representation of refined earthenwares and an underrepresentation of coarse earthenwares and stonewares. To interpret the ceramic data from Lots O and P, a minimum vessel count was conducted.

Table 5.1 HHAP Lots O and P Raw Sherd Count by Ware Type

HHAP Lots O and P
Raw Sherd Count By Ware Type

	Lot O		**Lot P**		**TOTAL**	
Ware Type	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Redware	128	7.3%	38	9.4%	166	7.7%
Creamware	525	30.0%	93	23.0%	618	28.7%
Refined Earthenware, Indeterminate	45	2.6%	7	1.7%	52	2.4%
Factory-made Pearlware	17	1.0%	4	1.0%	21	1.0%
Ironstone	1	0.1%	5	1.2%	6	0.3%
Pearlware	910	52.0%	216	53.3%	1126	52.2%
Whiteware	105	6.0%	31	7.7%	136	6.3%
Yelloware	10	0.6%	3	0.7%	13	0.6%
Porcelain, Indeterminate	7	0.4%	4	1.0%	11	0.5%
Stoneware, Coarse	2	0.1%	1	0.2%	3	0.1%
Stoneware, Refined	1	0.1%	3	0.7%	4	0.2%
TOTAL	**1751**	100%	**405**	100%	**2156**	100%

Minimum Vessel Count Results

The minimum vessel count performed for Lots O and P found that there are at least 180 vessels present between the two lots. The vessels span the most common categories of ware type, decoration, and form represented during the late 18th and early 19th centuries. In terms of ware type, the largest percentage consisted of pearlware vessels at 55%, or 99 vessels (Table 5.2), which directly reflects pearlware being the most represented ware type in the assemblages when looking at raw sherd count as well. Whiteware, redware and creamware were the next most prevalent ware types in the vessel assemblage at 12.8%, 12.8% and 9.4% respectively. The relative lack of creamware and whiteware compared to pearlware reinforces the mean ceramic dates presented above, firmly situating the materials within these two lots as being acquired and used during the early 19th century by the Boston family. The remaining ware types, yellowware, ironstone, stoneware, porcelain, and indeterminate refined earthenware are each represented by about 4% or less of the vessel assemblage. An important takeaway from examining the vessel assemblage by ware type is that utilitarian types of wares, redware and stoneware, are represented in a much lower number than refined wares. This could be explained in several ways, through function and durability, or consumption patterns.

Table 5.2 Results of Minimum Vessel Count by Ware Type

HHAP Lots O and P
Minimum Number of Vessels Analysis
Results By Ware Type

Ware Type	Count	%
Earthenware, Coarse		
Redware	23	12.8%
Earthenware, Refined		
Creamware	17	9.4%
Pearlware	99	55.0%
Whiteware	23	12.8%
Yellowware	4	2.2%
Ironstone	3	1.7%
Indeterminate	1	0.6%
Stoneware	3	1.7%
Porcelain	7	3.9%
Total	**180**	100%

Redware and stoneware vessels are often used for utilitarian purposes such as food preparation and storage. Their everyday and consistent use makes it necessary for these types of vessels to be constructed in a durable fashion from a coarse ceramic clay body with thicker walls and chunky vessel forms. Perhaps there is a small number of redware and stoneware vessels because of their durability, suggesting that vessels used in the Boston household during this period lasted much longer than refined earthenwares, which are more fragile. This lack of utilitarian wares could also suggest that Mary purchased less of these wares because she was not carrying out the types of food preparation tasks that they represent. Her time was being occupied by outside work as has been asserted by Lee in her examination of the vessel data from Lots O and P (2019).

Another important takeaway from the ware type breakdown of the vessel assemblage is low representation of porcelain vessels, 7 in total from both lots, and 3.9% of the assemblage. Compared with the minimum vessel count performed for Lots H, I, J, and K from the Boston-Higginbotham house conducted by Victoria Cacchione (2018; 2019), this is a similar but lower percentage of porcelain vessels. Cacchione found porcelain vessels to comprise 7.6% of the 304 vessels identified from Lots H, I, J, and K (2019:10). The low percentage of porcelain vessels in both assemblages could be due to the importance and selective curation of these vessels among the Boston family. Chinese porcelain, being an expensive consumer good, was reserved for use during special occasions. Infrequency of use makes them less likely to be broken and therefore, they last for longer periods of time. Cacchione also found two specific types of ceramics absent from the vessel assemblage from

Table 5.3 Results of Minimum Vessel Count by Decoration

HHAP Lots O and P
Minimum Number of Vessels Analysis
Results By Decoration

Decoration Type		Count	%
Decalomania, Gilt		1	1%
Hand-painted, ALL		55	31%
Hand-painted, Broadbrush, Blue	*2*		
Hand-painted, Indeterminate	*3*		
Hand-painted, Monochrome, Blue	*19*		
Hand-painted, Monochrome, Brown	*4*		
Hand-painted, Monochrome, Green	*1*		
Hand-painted, Overglaze	*4*		
Hand-painted, Polychrome	*22*		
Dipped wares		8	4%
Mocha (Dendritic)	*2*		
Annular/Banded	*5*		
Green Scale Rouletted Banding	*1*		
Molded		7	4%
Molded, other	*6*		
Molded, Gilt	*1*		
Shell Edged, ALL		23	13%
Shell Edged, Blue	*17*		
Shell Edged, Blue, Impressed	*2*		
Shell Edged, Green	*4*		
Slip Decorated Redware		1	1%
Transfer-printed, ALL		37	21%
Transfer-printed, Black	*2*		
Transfer-printed, Blue	*30*		
Transfer-printed, Brown	*3*		
Transfer-printed, Green	*2*		
Undecorated		25	14%
Utilitarian Undecorated		23	13%
TOTAL		**180**	100%

Lots O and P; tin glazed earthenware and locally produced Native American pottery (2019:10). Cacchione's analysis of the late 18th century household of Seneca Boston and Thankful Micah, found that the presence of Indigenous pottery suggests a persistence of Thankful Micah's Indigenous identity as well as a substantial utilization of British export consumer goods within the household (Cacchione 2018; 2019). The presence of Indigenous pottery does not persist into the early 19th century assemblages.

The vessel assemblage from Lots O and P was most diverse in terms of the decorative types present. Patricia Samford (1997) has asserted that decoration is a better indicator for date of manufacture than ware type because of the inherent fluidity of the transitions between the refined earthenware types of creamware, pearlware, and whiteware, and variation among potters within each category. The most prevalent types of decoration present in the vessel

assemblage are hand-painted and transfer-printed, 55 vessels or 31% and 37 vessels or 21% respectively (Table 5.3). Within each of these categories there is a further level of diversity of decoration which is the foundation of my analysis and is explored further below.

The last major characteristic examined in the minimum vessel count analysis is vessel form. I found that most of the vessels identified through the minimum vessel count were forms considered as tableware and teaware, 36.7% and 22.2% of the vessels, respectively. There was a considerable amount of diversity of form within these two categories (Table 5.4). A small percentage of vessels were determined to be kitchen or storage vessels, including 1 pot and 1 storage crock. As discussed above, this could be due to the durability of utilitarian type wares. A significant find of the form analysis was the presence of a minimum of 3 flowerpots of varying sizes. These vessels were identified by their lack of glaze on both the interior and exterior of the vessels. The presence of flowerpots suggests a desire to

Table 5.4 Results of Minimum Vessel Count by Form

HHAP Lots O and P
Minimum Number of Vessels Analysis
Results By Form

Form by Function	Count		%	
Tableware		66		36.7%
Bowl	*20*		*11.1%*	
Small Bowl	*7*		*3.9%*	
Jug/Tankard	*1*		*0.6%*	
Plate	*17*		*9.4%*	
Small Plate	*17*		*9.4%*	
Soup Plate	*4*		*2.2%*	
Teaware		40		22.2%
Saucer	*22*		*12.2%*	
Tea Cup/Bowl	*16*		*8.9%*	
Teapot	*2*		*1.1%*	
Kitchen/Storage		2		1.1%
Pot	*1*		*0.6%*	
Storage Crock	*1*		*0.6%*	
Decorative		3		1.7%
Flowerpot	*3*		*1.7%*	
Ink Bottle		1		0.6%
Chamber Pot		1		0.6%
Flatware, Indeterminate		15		8.3%
Hollowware, Indeterminate		26		14.4%
Indeterminate		26		14.4%
Total		**180**		100%

beautify the home by the Boston family members. Another vessel of importance is a locally produced coarse earthenware reusable ink bottle, which suggests a level of literacy within the Boston household during the early 19th century. Cacchione also found ink bottles in her vessel analysis, suggesting that there has been a long tradition of literacy among the Boston family (2018, 2019; Karttunen 2006).

The distinction of form between vessels considered to be tableware and teaware is a critical component to my analysis of the patterns and decorative motifs to be described below. Tablewares and teawares are used in different social settings and considering these forms in tandem with the results of my pattern analysis allows me to better understand the communication of symbolism and ideology in those different settings with varying audiences.

Pattern Analysis Results

As identified through the frequency distribution of ceramic vessels described above, the two methods of decoration that dominated the ceramic assemblage from Lots O and P, are hand-painted and transfer-printed wares. Using the Transferware Collector's Club Database, transfer-print pattern source books, as well as research into the history and progression of methods of ceramic decoration, I have identified several distinct patterns and motifs on both the hand-painted and transfer-printed ceramics which shed light on the Boston women's engagement with ideologies of womanhood during the early 19th century. These identified patterns and motifs enable us to think critically about socialization within the home, the teaching of morality and gender roles, as well as the efforts of the Boston women to signal their beliefs to their community.

Hand-Painted Vessels

Hand-painted vessels represent the most prevalent decorative category in the vessel assemblage from Lots O and P, at about 31% of the total assemblage and a minimum of 55 vessels. Within this sub-category, there is variability among the types of decoration present on the hand-painted vessels. In this analysis, the edged decorated wares have been considered separately from the hand-painted wares even though rim treatments on edged vessels were produced through hand painting during the early 19th century. This division of the hand-painted category reflects differences in function. Edge decoration was used on tableware forms such as plates, platters, tureens, bowls of assorted sizes, salt and pepper pots, creamers, and pitchers, etc. These vessels were often the more affordable decorated tablewares when compared to the new and trendy transfer-printed wares. Hand-painted wares being considered here, chinoiserie and floral decorated wares, were exclusively teawares, teacups, saucers, and teapots (Samford 2002). Like their edged ware counterparts, these types of hand-painted teawares were cheaper than transfer-printed forms but were still a slightly larger cost investment compared to plain undecorated wares. The difference in cost and function or setting of use is a key factor when considering the engagement of the Boston women with ideals of womanhood and the signaling of said beliefs.

The Lot O and P assemblage contains a variety of hand-painted pearlwares that can be divided into sub-types based on colors and styles. There is an important distinction to be made between monochrome and polychrome hand-painted pearlwares, which reflects chronology and technological changes in the production of pearlware and use of underglaze pigmentation (Miller and Earls 2008; Miller and Hunter 2001; Miller 1980; Norton 1970). To

understand the importance of the presence of a large quantity and variety of hand-painted pearlware vessels from Lots O and P and their difference in decoration, it is necessary to examine the production history and chronology of these types of ceramics.

"China glaze," or what archaeologists refer to as pearlware, was originally characterized by its imitation of Chinese import porcelain designs using the pigment cobalt to create blue underglaze hand-painted chinoiserie style designs from about 1775 through into the first decade of the 19th century (Miller and Hunter 2001). The glaze used to create pearlware ceramics has a characteristic bluish tint which enhanced the appearance of cobalt pigment and appeared like Chinese porcelains. Motifs such as pagodas, other iterations of the Chinese House pattern, and willow trees were all common stylistic elements of these early hand-painted pearlware designs (Samford 2002). Beginning before the onset of the Napoleonic Wars in 1803, British potters' access to cobalt became unstable due to price and supply inconsistencies which continued through the conflict until its end in 1815 (Samford 2002). This shift in access to raw materials forced producers of refined earthenware vessels to use other pigments which resulted in an influx of polychrome hand-painted wares containing colors such as green, yellow, brown, and orange in the market. These wares very rarely contained blue decoration, but in cases where they did, it is very minimal. These vessels were no longer decorated with chinoiserie designs, instead floral designs were predominant. Rim treatments for these types of polychrome decorated vessels were often thin brown lines occasionally accompanied by brown dotted line patterns. The chinoiserie designs that were once produced on hand-painted wares were replaced by underglaze transfer-printed wares with chinoiserie designs (Samford 2002). After the end of the Napoleonic Wars, cobalt

was reintroduced to the ceramic market, but designs being produced continued to be floral rather than the chinoiserie style that was previously popular. This is the result of the growing popularity of the more efficiently produced chinoiserie style transfer-printed wares. The new monochromatic, hand-painted, floral wares were characterized by broader brushstroke designs in blue, often with thick blue strokes along the rim of the vessel. Polychrome designs returned to the market around 1830, with colors such as bright reds, greens, and yellows which were now derived from the mineral chrome and referred to as chrome colors. The pigments derived from chrome were stabilized by the introduction of borax to the ceramic glaze (Samford 2002). The development of decorative types on hand-painted wares is very temporally bound and is reflective of market constraints that were experienced on a global scale due to the Napoleonic Wars and is also deeply intwined with the development of transfer-printing technology. Distinctions between color schemes and designs used on hand-painted wares can help to better understand the period of ceramic acquisition for collections that contain a variety of hand-painted wares.

Table 5.5 Hand-painted Vessels by Decorative Sub-Type

HHAP Lots O and P
Hand-Painted Vessels by Decorative Sub-Type

Decorative Sub-Type	Count	%
Hand-painted, Broadbrush, Blue	*2*	4%
Hand-painted, Indeterminate	*3*	5%
Hand-painted, Monochrome, Blue	*19*	35%
Hand-painted, Monochrome, Brown	*4*	7%
Hand-painted, Monochrome, Green	*1*	2%
Hand-painted, Overglaze	*4*	7%
Hand-painted, Polychrome	*22*	40%
Total	55	100%

Hand-painted vessels represent 31% of the assemblage from Lots O and P. Each of the decorative categories described above can be found among the vessels, although represented in varying amounts. The following is a breakdown of each of the

decorative types of hand-painted wares and how they are represented in the Boston household's ceramic assemblage. The breakdown is presented according to the categories assigned to vessels during the minimum vessel count process (Table 5.5). These categories can be related back to the specific decorative motifs discussed above, but in some cases the vessels remain indeterminate regarding the specificity of their design.

Hand-Painted, Monochrome

The minimum vessel count analysis performed on this ceramic assemblage found there to be a subset of hand-painted vessels that were decorated with only one color, referred to henceforth as monochrome. It is important to note here that several of the identified vessels with a monochromatic color scheme only consisted of rim sherds, and therefore likely did not represent the full breadth of the vessels decorative type. A total of 4 vessels were found to have only brown colored decoration, each vessel represented by unique brown banded patterns on rim sherds (Figure 5.2). Through examining several styles of hand-painted wares it is likely that these four vessels are part of polychrome decorated vessels, as many of the polychrome floral wares had a high presence of brown and it was often used at the rim. These vessels were counted as unique vessels because there are no other vessels

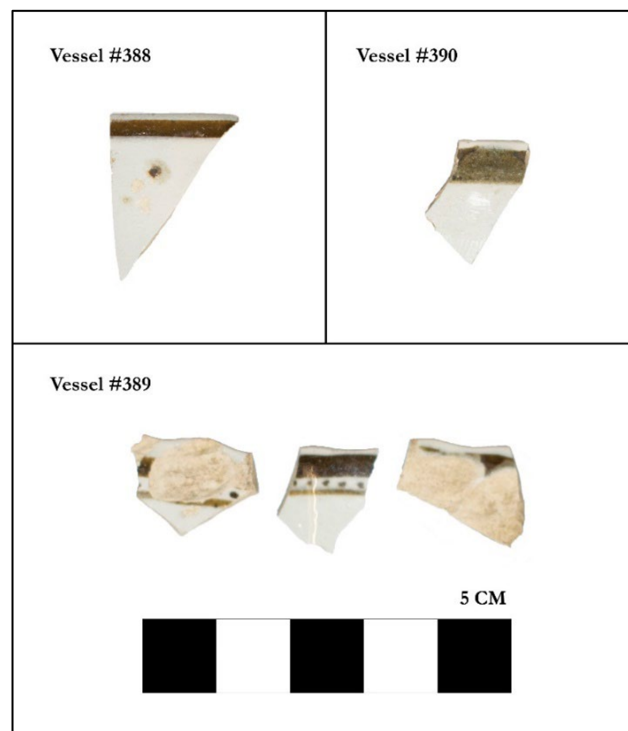


Figure 5.2 Brown rim decorated vessels. Vessels #388, #389, #390. Photographs by author.

included in the count that are body sherds with polychrome floral decoration that these rim sherds could correspond to. However, for the purpose of this analysis, these four vessels have been excluded from consideration as polychrome vessels.

By far the most prevalent monochrome hand-painted wares were in blue, similarly to the brown monochrome vessels, many of these vessels were rim sherds with blue linear decorations. There are a few vessels that are particularly noteworthy as they are more diagnostic. There is a minimum of 1 vessel in the assemblage from Lots O and P that can be identified as an early chinoiserie style hand-painted "China glaze" vessel (Figure 5.3). Vessel #338 is a rim sherd of a saucer with interior rim decoration consisting of blue lines in a type of repeating "X" pattern as seen in Figure 5.3. This type of rim decoration is indicative of a chinoiserie style hand-painted vessel produced in the last quarter of the 18th-century until about 1810, when compared to extant vessels (Samford 2002). The production date range for this vessel suggests that it could be a part of Thankful Micah's assemblage and that it was curated and

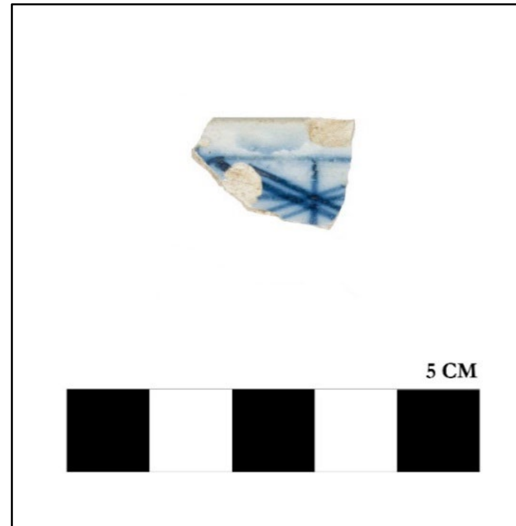


Figure 5.3 Hand-painted pearlware with chinoiserie style rim decoration, Vessel #338. Photograph by author.

Figure 5.4 Hand-painted broad-brush style in blue on pearlware, Vessel #330. Photograph by author.

used by Mary Boston Douglass and discarded later. Two other hand-painted, monochrome, blue vessels were identified as "broad-brush" blue wares, produced between 1815 and 1830. These vessels are characterized by monochromatic blue painted decoration in large or broad-brush strokes (Figure 5.4). These vessels were undoubtably acquired by Mary Boston Douglass or her children based on their production period.

Hand-Painted, Polychrome

The most significant category of hand-painted wares identified through the minimum vessel count analysis are the polychrome vessels. Of the 55 hand-painted vessels, polychrome decoration was present on 22, or 40% of the vessels. Produced between 1795 and 1830, the wares that contain no or little blue pigment were produced between 1795 and 1815, while designs that have an increased amount of blue pigment accompanied by secondary colors were produced between 1815 and 1830 after cobalt was reintroduced to ceramic producers in England (Samford 2002). Of the 22 vessels, 8 contain minimal amounts of blue pigment, and one contains a more substantial amount. Therefore, it is likely that most of the polychrome hand-painted vessels were acquired before 1815 by both Thankful Micah and Mary Boston Douglass and were discarded in the decades that followed.

Figure 5.5 Hand-painted polychrome floral design pearlware tea bowl, Vessel #394. Photograph by author.

The polychrome decorated wares have a variety of floral decorative motifs and colors, as can be seen on Vessel #394, a tea bowl with exterior decoration in green, brown,

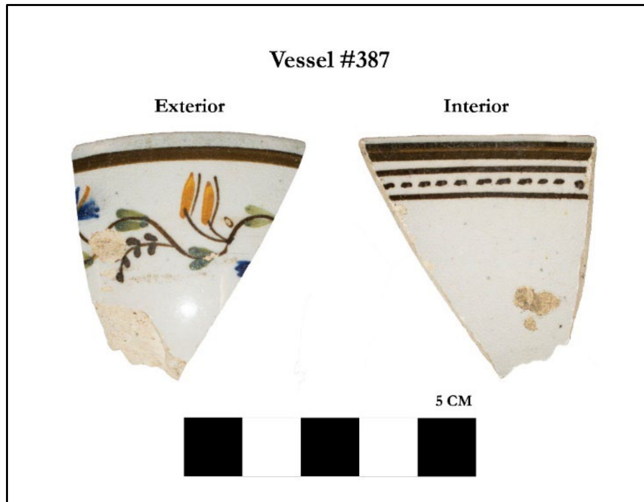


Figure 5.6 Hand-painted polychrome floral design with brown rim decoration on pearlware, Vessel #387. Photograph by author.

orange, and yellow (Figure 5.5). Vessel #387 is another example of a polychrome hand-painted tea bowl from the assemblage, but this design contains minimal use of blue pigment, along with orange, green, and brown, and has an elaborate interior rim decoration painted in brown (Figure 5.6). Notice the brown rim treatment present on both Vessel #394 and #387, which is consistent with the brown rim vessels previously described.

The floral designs present on the polychrome hand-painted wares are important for the symbolism that they imbue, representing nature and ideals of purity. These qualities would be important in the home to individuals who subscribed to ideals of purity during the early 19th century. There are no polychrome patterns that are present on multiple vessels, but the floral designs and colors used on these wares would be similar enough that the teawares could have resembled a mis-matched but cohesive set.

Transfer-Printed Patterns

The method of transfer-printing began being used in Staffordshire, England during the 1780s, a switch which made the production of elaborately decorated wares more efficient and cost-effective using a paper transfer method (Samford 1997). Transfer-printed earthenwares dominated the American market after the end of the War of 1812 and remained

Table 5.6 HHAP Lots O and P MNV Identified Transfer-Printed Patterns

Pattern Name	Maker	TCC #	Dates	HHAP Vessel #	Description
"Mother Bird" or "Bird with Nest in Flowers"	Unknown	4068	c. 1820-1836	404, 474	Date derived from Continuous Floral Border* "Bird with Nest in Flowers" is TCC assigned name.
"Flower Frenzy"	Enoch Wood & Sons	2250	c. 1818-1846	467	Dates of Maker in Production, TCC assigned name
"Gun Dogs"	Enoch Wood & Sons	3614	c. 1818-1846	464	Dates of Maker in Production
"Waterfall" or "Falls of Killarney"	Hackwood and Co.	2331	c. 1820-1836	453	Date derived from Continuous Floral Border*
"Pearl"	Samuel Alcock	7530	c. 1828-1859	455	Florentine China Series, Dates of Maker in Production
"Homeward Bound"	Unknown	15251	c. 1820-1836	407	TCC assigned name, Date dervied from Continuous Floral Border*
"Willow"	Unknown	19165	Unknown	349, 350, 406	Made by many makers, Production ranges from Early 19th century-Present
Continuous Geometric Style Border**	Unknown	See 173	c. 1818-1829	472	TCC # provided is a reference pattern with a similar geometric border design, with a central chinoiserie style image.

Source: Transferware Collectors Club Database

*Blue Transfer-printed designs with Continuous Floral Borders have a mean production range of 1820-1836 (Samford 1997: 20-21)

**Blue Transfer-printed degisns with Continuous Geometric Style Borders have a mean production range of 1818-1829 (Samford 1997: 20)

popular until the introduction of white granite or ironstone molded wares around the mid-19th century (Samford 1997:3-4). The flooding of the ceramic market in America after 1812 resulted in transfer-printed wares being sold for lower prices, generating sales that helped to sustain the Staffordshire industry. From the minimum assemblage of 37 transfer-printed vessels, I was able to identify 7 specific patterns and 1 general category of stylistic pattern (Table 5.6). The patterns identified are unique and offer insight into the choices in ceramic wares by the Boston women during the early 19th century. Each pattern is examined below and analyzed for its symbolic and ideological signals. To view extant vessels containing these patterns, see Appendix B for resources.

"Mother Bird" Pattern

Figure 5.7 "Mother Bird" pattern, Vessels #404 and #474. Photograph by author.

Figure 5.8 Vessel with "Mother Bird" pattern from HHAP 2008 Excavations. Bulger 2013:112.

The "Mother Bird" pattern, or "Bird with Nest in Flowers" as dubbed by the Transferware Collectors Club, is a dark blue transfer-printed pattern with a continuous floral border and little negative space. The maker of this pattern is unknown. The central image depicts a bird with a nest surrounded by flowers and a butterfly flying by, and the border contains a repeating pattern of large abstract flowers with scrolls and fillagree. This pattern is represented by at least two vessels from Lots O and P, a teacup (Vessel #474) and saucer (Vessel #404) (Figure 5.7). It was also found in the 2008 excavations at the site in the minimum vessel count conducted by Dr. Teresa Bulger and described in her dissertation (2013). Bulger found 4 vessels in her assemblage with this pattern, two teacups and two dining bowls, suggesting that it was immensely popular in the Boston household (2013:112) (Figure 5.8). This pattern was likely produced in the 1820's, or between 1820-1836, because

of its dark blue color and continuous floral border decoration (Samford 1997). The mother bird imagery symbolizes motherhood and care as well as nature and purity.

"Flower Frenzy" Pattern

The "Flower Frenzy" pattern, similarly to "Mother Bird," is a dark blue transfer-printed pattern with no negative space. This pattern is printed in reverse, which is called negative printing. The background of the pattern is solid blue, and the flowers and other elements are a lighter blue, contrasting with the dark background. The pattern depicts flowers that are in various stages of blooming and varied sizes, as well as leaves and a small bird (Figure 5.9). According to the Transferware Collectors club, wares with this pattern, TCC# 2250, were produced by Enoch Wood & Sons, a Staffordshire potter located in Burslem, England that operated between c. 1818-1846. There is little documentation for this pattern and as such the Transferware Collectors Club assigned its name. At least one vessel from Lots O and P contains this pattern, which is a teacup. Like the imagery of the "Mother Bird" pattern, the "Flower Frenzy" pattern could symbolize nature and purity, specifically the idea of unadulterated nature, with flowers able to grow unincumbered by the presence of humans, an Eden type symbol.

Figure 5.9 "Flower Frenzy" pattern, Vessel #467. Photograph by author.

"Gun Dogs" Pattern

Figure 5.10 "Gun Dogs" pattern, Vessel #464. Photograph by author.

The "Gun Dogs" pattern is a blue transfer-printed pattern with a main scene illustrating a man hunting a game bird, like a pheasant, with two dogs. This pattern has an unusual and unique repeating border with elaborate overlapping circles and a string of wheat at the very edge of the border closest to the rim. This border was not found to correspond to any other central scene in the Transferware Collector Club database. As you can see in this image, the vessel present in the Boston assemblage only contains a small portion of the rim (Figure 5.10). This pattern was produced by Enoch Wood & Sons, along with the "Flower Frenzy" pattern between c. 1818-1846. There is a minimum of one vessel in Lots O and P with this design, which is a bowl, represented by Vessel #464. The imagery contained within this transferware pattern signals ideas about gender and class. The presence of a male figure performing a masculine activity such as hunting for leisure with the assistance of his hunting hounds could be interpreted as representing aspirational sentiments to a higher class. This imagery is also peculiar because it represents an activity that did not occur on the island of Nantucket. Dogs were not allowed on the island beginning in 1734 because they would negatively interfere with the sheep raising industry that contributed to the economy on Nantucket (Starbuck 1924:103,152). There is record that Seneca Boston had to get rid of a dog that he owned after he was taxed by the town for possessing it in 1799 (Kaldenbach-Montemayor 2006:22; Bulger 2013).

"Waterfall" Pattern

The "Waterfall" pattern, or "Falls of Killarney" is a blue transfer-printed pattern with a central design featuring a landscape scene of a flowing waterfall, with ruins in the background and figures lounging in the foreground alongside grazing cattle. "Waterfall" is the name given to the pattern by the Transferware Collectors Club Database, but in other searches on auction websites this pattern was also referred to as "Falls of Killarney" or even "Ross Castle" (See Appendix A). Ross Castle is an actual stone castle built in the 15th-century that is located within Killarney National Park in Ireland (National Parks of Ireland n.d.). The pattern was produced by Hackwood and Co., a pottery manufacturer located in Staffordshire, England and was made between the dates of 1820-1836 as it has a continuous floral border design and is dark blue in color (Samford 1997:20-21). This pattern is represented within this assemblage by one vessel, Vessel #453, which is a plate (Figure 5.11). This pattern conjures a very romantic feel, a scene that teleports the user to another place, one that they might not be able to visit for themselves, like Ireland. It could be interpreted by the viewer as exotic, not as exotic as an Asiatic scene, but distant from the reality of Nantucket, nonetheless. The pattern also represents leisurely activity, with the figures in the foreground relaxing taking in their surroundings, clearly not burdened with the need to perform labor.

Figure 5.11 "Waterfall" pattern, Vessel #453. Photograph by author.

"Pearl" Pattern

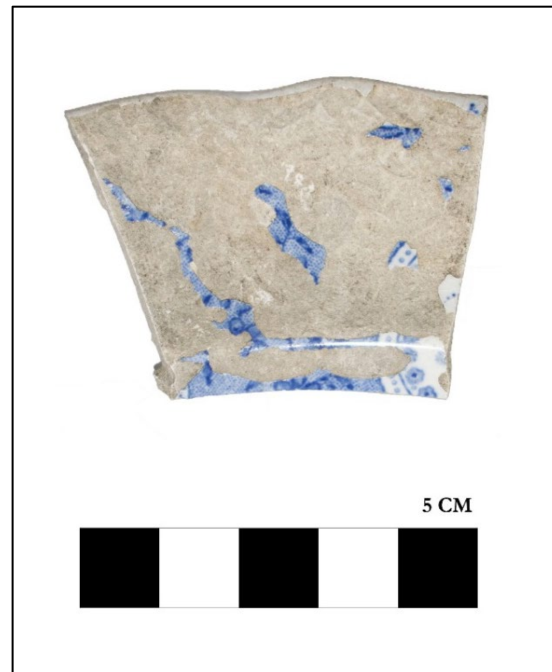


Figure 5.12 "Pearl" pattern, Vessel #455. Photograph by author.

The "Pearl" Pattern is a blue transfer-printed pattern with a central scene depicting two figures observing a pair of beehives in an environment with exotic structures and plants. This pattern contains a scenic vignette type border, with small repeating scenes along shoulder of the plate as well as repeating images of urns in between each vignette (Samford 1997). This pattern was produced in several colors, including blue, mulberry, green, red, and black, as well as several vessel forms, including plates and large serving platters. This pattern was produced by Samuel Alcock between c. 1829 and 1858 and was one of eight patterns in Alcock's "Florentine China" series (Coysh and Henrywood 1989:84). In the Lot O and P assemblage, there is one vessel represented by this pattern, Vessel #455, which is a plate. The glaze is partially exfoliated from the sherd of this vessel, but the border of a rim scenic vignette with the same coloration and floral component can clearly be seen when compared to extant vessels (Figure 5.12). Primarily, this pattern is an example of both leisurely activity and exoticism, a depiction of a faraway place, and can be classified as a romantic transfer-printed design. However, the presence of beehives can be related to different symbolism, that of industry and labor. An example of this use of symbolism can be found on a teacup found at 19th century immigrant household in the Five Points neighborhood in Manhattan, NY (Brighton 2008). This transfer-

printed teacup depicts Father Matthew, an Irish Catholic political figure, as well as a secondary decoration depicting a beehive (Brighton 2008:25,30). The beehive, the home for an industrious and hardworking swarm of bees, symbolizes the collective effort of the hive. This pattern could have symbolized the Boston family's role in the community of New Guinea, during the 1820s when the community was growing and establishing the African Baptist Church, the African school, and several shops and businesses (Muehlbauer 2021).

"Homeward Bound" Pattern

The "Homeward Bound" pattern, named by the Transferware Collectors Club, is a blue transfer-printed pattern with a continuous floral border and central image depicting two male figures returning to a picturesque cottage after a long day of work, one carrying a scythe and the other a pitchfork. This pattern is represented by one vessel, #407, a teacup or bowl, in the assemblage considered in this thesis.

Figure 5.13 "Homeward Bound" pattern, Vessel #407. Photograph by author.

According to the Transferware Collectors Club listing for this pattern, the maker is unknown, but the pattern dates to between c. 1820-1836, a date derived from its continuous floral border (Samford 1997). This pattern was identified in this assemblage through a rim fragment. Several other patterns with a similar border were identified, but the border present on Vessel #407 was most consistent with that which was present on the "Homeward Bound" pattern (Figure 5.13). Using Patricia Samford's thematic categorizations, the "Homeward Bound" pattern would be considered a "Pastoral" scene as it contains human figures with

farm equipment in a rural setting (1997:17). The scene conjures romantic notions about labor, hard work, and everyday life. This pattern conveyed the importance of hard work to the members of the Boston household which included boarders (Lee 2019).

"Willow" Pattern

The classic "Willow" pattern is represented in this assemblage by at least 4 vessels, #349, #350, #406, and #470. While fragments of the central image design do not exist in the assemblage, the border of the "Willow" pattern was consistent for much of its production period. All four of the vessels from this assemblage were matched to a section of the standard "Willow" border. Specifically, Vessels #350 and #406 contained the key motif, characteristic of chinoiserie style transfer-printed wares (Figure 5.14). The "Willow" pattern is defined by its depiction of a pagoda with willow trees, Chippendale style fences dotting the landscape, as well as water in the background with a figure in a boat and birds in the sky. The "Willow" pattern was a generic version of other chinoiserie style transfer-printed wares that were available on the market. The presence of "Willow" in the Bostons' ceramic assemblage is not surprising as they were commonly available during the 1820s-1830s (Samford 1997).

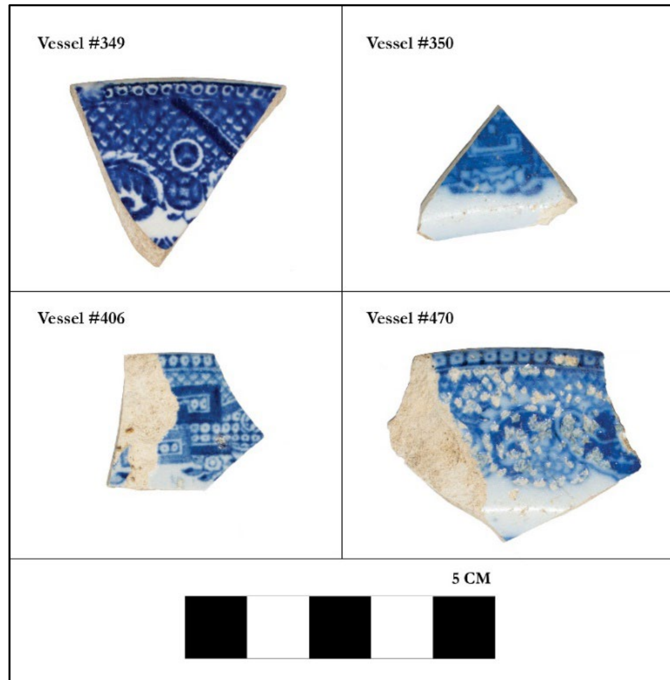


Figure 5.14 "Willow" pattern, Vessels #349, #350, #406, #470. Photograph by author.

General Chinoiserie Pattern

Beyond the "Willow" pattern vessels identified through this analysis, another continuous geometric border pattern in blue transfer-print was also identified, represented by one vessel, #472, a saucer. The central pattern corresponding to this border design was not identified, but the characteristic elements of a half mandala and flower with leaves are like other blue transfer-printed vessels with chinoiserie central designs (Figure 5.15). One pattern that had a similar border design identified through the Transferware Collectors Club site is called the "Temple" pattern. In comparing the vessel to the sample image, the designs are similar although in distinctive styles.

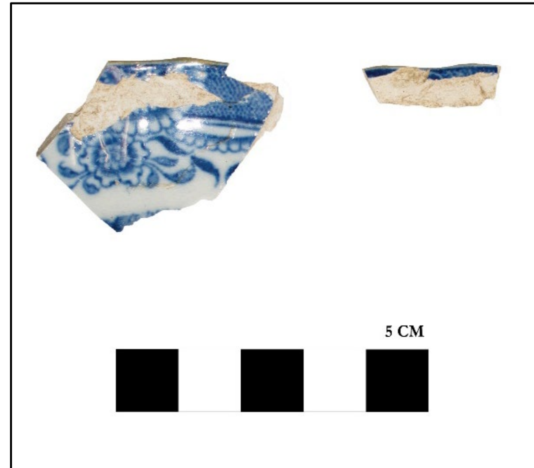


Figure 5.15 Continuous geometric style border, Vessel #472. Photograph by author.

Form Analysis

The two most prevalent vessel form categories from the assemblage of Lots O and P were tableware, 38.3%, comprising of various sizes of plates, bowls, and a tankard, and teaware, 20.6%, represented by teacups, saucers, and teapots. The pattern analysis reveals that the Bostons had two distinct sets of tablewares and teawares. Within the tableware category, there are two main decorative types present, shell edge decorated wares and transfer-printed wares. As has been previously established, shell edge decoration was used exclusively on tableware forms and would have been cheaper than more highly decorated

transfer-printed tablewares or imported porcelains, while still being slightly more expensive than plain undecorated dishes. These shell edge decorated vessels represent at least one set of dishes used for dining by the Bostons. The pattern analysis clearly revealed that the blue transfer-printed tablewares, while not of the same exact pattern, create a minimum of one cohesive mismatched set used for dining in the Boston household. This set would have been more costly than the shell edge decorated wares but cheaper than a matched set of transfer-print or porcelain dishes.

Similarly, the pattern analysis revealed that there are also two different decorative sets of teaware present in the assemblage; a hand-painted floral set and transfer-printed set. As previously discussed, hand-painted floral designs on a pearlware ceramic body were exclusively produced in teaware forms. The hand-painted set consists of mostly polychrome floral designs in browns, yellows, oranges, greens, and blues. Each vessel has a unique floral design but when combined, create a mismatched set of teawares that were used daily by the Boston family. The transfer-printed teawares consist of a mismatched set mirroring the sets of hand-painted floral teawares as well as the transfer-printed tablewares.

When examining form in relation to the pattern analysis, the patterns identified in the transfer-printed assemblage can be divided into the two categories of tableware and teaware. The patterns present on tableware vessels (i.e., bowls and plates) are "Gun Dogs," "Waterfall," "Pearl," "Willow." The patterns present on teaware vessels (i.e., teacups/tea bowls and saucers) are "Mother Bird," "Flower Frenzy," and "Homeward Bound." This division of the patterns presented here are significant in their correlation to use of ceramic wares in the Boston Household. What does the symbolism in these patterns suggest about

messages being signaled through their use among the household and with members of the community?

The minimum vessel count, pattern, and form analyses conducted on the ceramic data from Lots O and P excavated from the Boston-Higginbotham house found that Mary Boston Douglass had two distinct sets of teawares and tablewares that were used in different settings. What messages and ideologies were being signaled through the daily use of these wares and to whom? How do these patterns and symbols relate to ideals of Black womanhood? When each of these questions is posed in concert with ceramic data, we gain a more complete understanding of the lived experiences of Mary and her family.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The ceramic data presented in the previous chapter clearly illustrates the presence of two distinct sets of tableware and teaware vessels in the ceramic assemblage from Lots O and P excavated from the Boston-Higginbotham House. The patterns and decorative elements found on these ceramic vessels can be correlated to symbolism and ideologies from the early 19th century, as discussed in contemporary writings and speeches given by Maria W. Stewart. The significance of having a minimum of two sets of tablewares and teawares is illustrated by comparing the forms of vessels from the MNV conducted for this thesis with data from two contemporaneous free Black sites in the Northeastern United States with women heads of household: the Betsey Prince Site and the Lucy Foster Site. Before presenting my conclusions, I establish that ceramic wares were accessible on the island of Nantucket through examining advertisements from historic newspapers.

Comparative Analysis

While the patterns and the sets of ceramic wares and their use are the focus of my analysis, it is important to compare my main dataset with others to assess its uniqueness or commonness. For this comparison, I am focusing on two free Black households in the

Northeast region of the United States, from the early 19th century, the Betsey Prince site, and the Lucy Foster site. The variable I am comparing is vessel form, to assess the main functional categories present in the assemblages and how they compare to the composition of the ceramic vessels from the Boston household. Any decorative information presented in the analyses of the Betsey Prince and Lucy Foster sites is also considered.

Betsey Prince Site

The Betsey Prince Site is in Brookhaven, Suffolk County, Long Island, NY and was excavated in 1993 by archaeologists from the New York State Museum as a data recovery in advance of a highway expansion project (LoRusso 1998, 2000:195). The site was named after a free Black woman who was one of several free Black people associated with the property excavated, her name was written several ways in the documentary record, one being Betsey Prince. However, it is more likely that her name was Betty Jessup, the widow of Prince Jessup (McGovern 2010:9-10). Betty Jessup was listed in the Federal census records as the head of household at her residence in Brookhaven in both 1820 and 1830. The site report details that during this period Jessup was the owner of the property as well (LoRusso 1998; 2000:199). Little is known of Betty Jessup other than her relationship with her property. She was not listed in the 1840 census, and as such it has been inferred that by that time she was deceased. Her home was situated within a free Black community consisting of 13 individual households that was established by 1790, in and around Rocky Point Village (LoRusso 1998:7-8, 2000; McGovern 2010). This is a significant site for its similarities to the Boston household and the community of New Guinea, which by the time of the first federal census in 1790 had 18 Black households (Muehlbauer 2021:57).

A minimum vessel count analysis was conducted by NYSM archaeologists for the over 5000 ceramic sherds recovered from the Betsey Prince Site, from several loci including features such as cellar fill and a storage pit (LoRusso 1998:62). The analysis found that there were a minimum of 117 vessels in the assemblage (LoRusso 1998:42-43). The researchers who conducted this minimum vessel count paid particular attention to decoration type, similarly to the methods I employed for my minimum vessel analysis, considering all distinctive fragments regardless of vessel portion or size (LoRusso 1998:43). The vessel data was presented in terms of form and ware type. Some of the most important takeaways from the Betsey Prince vessel assemblage are that it consisted of many identified redware storage and food preparation type vessels (n=36), a considerable number of pearlware teaware vessels with hand-painted polychrome floral decoration (n=22), only two transfer-printed teaware vessels, only a few examples of edge decorated plates, one green transfer-printed plate, and ten overglaze painted Chinese porcelain teaware vessels (LoRusso 1998:43-45; McGovern 2010). The presence of a considerable number of Chinese porcelain teaware vessels has been interpreted as a sign of the performance of a higher social status, as these expensive wares suggest a level of importance ascribed to the consumption of tea (LoRusso 2000:214). Also of note, the Betsey Prince assemblage also contained a minimum of one flowerpot (LoRusso 1998:44). Using the table presenting the summary of the vessel assemblage I was able to reconstruct the vessel totals within the categories of Storage/Dairy, Kitchen, Tableware, Teaware, and Other, removing the information about ware type (LoRusso 1998:44). This data is presented in comparison with the Lucy Foster site assemblage and the Boston Household assemblage below (Table 6.2).

Lucy Foster Site

The Lucy Foster site is a famous free Black site located in Andover, MA first excavated in 1942 by Adelaide and Ripley Bullen (1945), reanalyzed by Vernon Baker (1978), Anthony Martin (2017), and by Whitney Battle-Baptiste as well in her seminal work *Black Feminist Archaeology* (2011:30). Lucy Foster was a formerly enslaved woman who was born in 1767 in Boston and brought to Andover, MA in 1771 to be given to a couple named Job and Hannah Foster (Martin 2017:137). Lucy resided at the Fosters' home after she was legally emancipated when Massachusetts abolished slavery, and upon the death of Hannah Foster, her previous owner, in 1812, Lucy was willed an acre of land where she would live until her death in 1845 (Martin 2017:138). It was asserted by the Bullens and Baker that after 1812, Lucy Foster was impoverished, an assumption concluded based on records showing she received public assistance from several institutions. The archaeological evidence from the Lucy Foster site complicates the notion of poverty as defined through the historical record, as she was not materially poor (Battle-Baptiste 2011). There is also evidence to suggest that Lucy Foster was procuring money in other ways, through other forms of labor unseen in the historical record such as mending clothes (Battle-Baptiste 2011:128). Lucy's ceramic dishes stand out because they contradict the interpretation that Lucy was poor. Scholars have suggested that her ceramic dishes were acquired through various means including hand-me-downs from Hannah Foster, but it is also just as likely that she purchased some of the wares as well (Martin 2017:140-141). To compare the Lucy Foster ceramic vessels with those from the Betsey Prince site and the Boston household, the original vessel data from Vernon Baker's work at the site was examined (1978).

Baker's reexamination of the Lucy Foster ceramic assemblage concluded there to be a minimum of 113 vessels, and he documented each vessel in detail in his publication *Historical Archaeology at Black Lucy's Garden: Ceramics from the Site of a Nineteenth Century Afro-American*, listing ware type, decoration type with corresponding Munsell colors, vessel form, provenience, black and white images of decorated vessels, and other relevant information (Baker 1978:20-109). While the data provided by Baker is comprehensive, to compare to both the Betsey Prince site and the Boston household, I am simply examining the forms of the Lucy Foster vessels but briefly highlight important points of comparison among decorative types among discernable tea and tableware vessels.

Within the 113 vessels presented by Baker, there were three main categories of tea and tablewares: undecorated, hand-painted, and transfer-printed. There are 29 undecorated tableware and teaware vessels, a much larger assemblage of undecorated wares than I found in the Boston household assemblage. Baker found 11 shell edge decorated plates and 21 hand-painted teawares. Within the hand-painted teawares, there was a high level of diversity among the color combinations, including polychrome floral designs as well as several examples of broad brush blue floral designs, but there were no early chinoiserie style hand-painted blue vessels. The transfer-printed vessels make up a smaller portion of the assemblage than their hand-painted counterparts, with 9 transfer-printed teaware vessels and 8 transfer-printed tableware vessels being found (Baker 1978:20-109). This data suggests that Lucy Foster had what could be interpreted as three miss-matched sets of tablewares and teawares. Something very striking about this data is the sheer volume of vessels in the Lucy Foster assemblage related to food and beverage consumption, dining, and entertainment.

Lucy was believed to have lived alone, but clearly; she had a need for this number of dishes. Battle-Baptiste considers several interpretations of the substantial number of ceramic dishes; hosting people traveling to Boston, as a type of make-shift tavern, hosting events for the community or the local church, or other forms of community socialization and entertainment (2011:180). If Lucy Foster's ceramics reflect community entertainment in some form, then the Boston assemblage similarly reflects large gatherings, the need for formal dining wares as well as formal tea consumption.

Comparison

When compared in terms of vessel form, there are some major similarities and differences between the ceramic vessel assemblages from the Boston household, the Betsey Prince site, and the Lucy Foster site. I first address the indeterminate vessel form categories from the Boston assemblage, as presented in Table 6.1. There were 67 vessels found in the vessel assemblage which had distinguishing decorative elements but were represented by such small fragments of ceramic that I was not able to determine a specific vessel form. Of the 67 vessels, 15 vessels were determined to be indeterminate flatware vessels, 26 were determined to be indeterminate

Table 6.1 Breakdown of Vessels with Indeterminate Forms by Ware Type

HHAP Lots O and P
MNV Analysis
Vessels with Indeterminate Forms by Ware Type

Form	Ware Type	Count	
Flatware, Indeterminate			**15**
	Pearlware	10	
	Whiteware	4	
	Porcelain	1	
Hollowware, Indeterminate			**26**
	Pearlware	16	
	Whiteware	1	
	Stoneware	1	
	Redware	3	
	Creamware	2	
	Indeterminate	3	
Indeterminate			**26**
	Pearlware	10	
	Redware	2	
	Yellowware	3	
	Creamware	2	
	Whiteware	7	
	Porcelain	1	
	Indeterminate	1	
TOTAL			**67**

hollowware vessels, and 26 were unable to be categorized as flatware or hollowware. The breakdown of these vessels by ware type gives more clues as to what vessel categories some may represent. For example, refined earthenwares and porcelains are likely to be tablewares and teawares, while redwares, yellowwares, and stonewares are more likely to be utilitarian or food preparation type vessels. According to the ware type categorizations, only 9 of the indeterminate vessels are likely to be kitchen or storage related vessels, while about 54 are likely tableware or teaware forms.

A major difference between these assemblages is the relative underrepresentation of utilitarian and food preparation vessels in the Boston Douglass assemblage (Table 6.2). The Betsey Prince and Lucy Foster sites both have evidence of food preparation and production: milk pans, pots, pans, jars, and other related vessels. As described above, only 9 vessels from the indeterminate form category have utilitarian functions, therefore these vessels are highly underrepresented in the Boston assemblage when compared with the Betsey Prince and Lucy Foster sites. Nedra Lee has asserted in her interpretation of the Boston ceramic assemblage from the early 19th century, that this underrepresentation of kitchen and storage type vessels is a direct result of Mary and her daughters working outside of the home as domestics, therefore relying on consumer goods rather than household production (2019). During this period, Mary was limiting household production and instead using the funds she generated from her labor and hosting boarders to sustain her household (Lee 2019). Household production was more prevalent in the households of Betsey Prince and Lucy Foster which could suggest that these women were not performing labor outside of the home. This is purely speculative for the Betsey Prince household, but further supports Whitney Battle-

Baptiste's interpretations of Lucy Foster's assemblage of tablewares. Battle-Baptiste suggests that Foster's large assemblage of tablewares suggests that she was serving or entertaining guests, possibly running a tavern or other community establishment (2011). Kitchen and storage related wares support this conclusion, and further suggest that she was engaged in household production to serve her guests, dairying to produce cheese, and other preservation related tasks.

Another difference is the lack of ink bottles at the Betsey Prince and Lucy Foster sites. Rates of literacy are unknown for the free Black communities in Andover, MA and Brookhaven, NY, or more specifically for Lucy Foster and Betty Jessup. The absence of ink bottles could be an indication that at least writing was not common in either household, although it is still possible that the individuals in these households could read and or write.

Table 6.2 Comparison of Vessel Forms from free Black Sites in the Northeastern United States

Comparison of Vessel Forms
from Free Black Sites, Northeastern United States

FORM	BHH Site, Lots O and P Nantucket, MA	Betsey Prince Site Rocky Point, NY	Lucy Foster Site Andover, MA
Tableware			
Plate*	34	29	25
Soup Plate	4	0	0
Bowl	26	5	19
Pitcher	0	6	4
Mug/Tankard	1	2	5
Salt Shaker	0	1	0
Platter	0	3	0
Teaware			
Cup	16	4	17
Saucer	22	N/A	23
Cup/Saucer**	N/A	37	N/A
Creamer	0	1	0
Teapot	2	7	3
Kitchen/Storage			
Pot/Jar/Jug	N/A	7	N/A
Pot	1	N/A	4
Pan	0	N/A	7
Jug	0	N/A	4
Bowl	1	3	2
Milkpan	0	5	0
Crock	1	1	0
Bottle	0	4	0
Porringer	0	1	0
Decorative			
Flower Pot	3	1	0
Ink Bottle	1	0	0
Chamber Pot	1	0	0
Indeterminate Flatware	15	N/A	N/A
Indeterminate Hollowware	26	N/A	N/A
Indeterminate	26	N/A	N/A
Total	**180**	**117**	**113**

** "Plate" includes Small and Large Plates where applicable*

*** The Betsey Prince MNV lumped all Cups and Saucers together; therefore, these vessels are represented here by the "Cup/Saucer" category.*

Source: *Herzing HHAP MNV; LoRusso 1998:43-45; Baker 1978:109*

An important similarity between the three assemblages is the large numbers of tablewares and teawares (Table 6.2). This suggests that social interaction through dining, serving, and tea consumption were important activities in each household. Perhaps dining was even more important at the Betsey Prince and Lucy Foster sites than it was at the Boston household, with the Betsey Prince site having 3 platters and several Chinese porcelain teaware vessels and Prince and Foster sites having several pitchers. These types of dishes would have been used to serve beverages and large roasts of meat (Beecher 1846:234-241). However, during the early 19th century it was also possible to purchase wooden or metal platters serving dishes, two types of materials that would not survive in the archaeological record.

To further contextualize the similarities and differences between these comparative sites, an examination of the economic conditions of these households is warranted. Lucy Foster has been described as impoverished based on her receiving aid from local public assistance programs, and it has been shown that she was not materially poor and that she was hosting people in her home (Baker 1978; Battle-Baptiste 2011). As for Betty Jessup, during the 1820s and 1830s when she was listed as the head of household, she was widowed, and her household consisted of four individuals (LoRusso 1998:19). It is likely that these other members of the household were children or other adult family members. This information begs us to question what her income level was during this period, which is unknown. It is known that she owned the property where she lived but it has also been stated that she likely had a limited income (LoRusso 2000:214; McGovern 2010:10). On the 1830 census there were 11 individuals listed within the Boston household, five being described as boarders, the

largest household of the three by far. By 1830, Mary was taking in boarders as a source of income to help support her family but was partially relying on ceramic wares that were acquired during the two decades prior. The congruency of the tableware and teaware assemblages in conversation with information about the make-up of each household and their income forces us to take a more nuanced look at the vessel data. Perhaps this data shows that the Boston household had an appropriate number of vessels for the size of the household, further supporting the assumption that Lucy Foster's high number of ceramics were for serving meals. Each household has a similar number of plates, but the Betsey Prince site had a much lower number of bowls when compared to the other sites, which is correlated to the smaller household size of the Jessup household during the 1820s and 30s.

Perhaps the congruency in assemblages reflects performances of class-based identities. It has been previously asserted by scholars who have researched the Boston family on Nantucket, that their material culture reveals them to be middle-class (Way 2010; Bulger 2013, 2015; Cacchione 2018, 2019). Each household considered here was placing an importance on table and teawares while also either lacking significant income levels or participating in supplemental labor efforts such as boarding, domestic labor, or even tavern keeping (LoRusso 2000; Lee 2019; Battle-Baptiste 2011). The consumption of teawares and tablewares, and the importance placed upon them, suggests that the women of these households were performing aspiration to a middle-class identity through ritual dining and tea practices (Mintz 1985; Roth 1988; Wall 1991). Their experiences of race undoubtably complicated their interaction with class-based identities. In Mullins' work on the affluent Black communities in post-emancipation Annapolis, he has asserted that his model for

understanding consumption does not see material culture as a "mirror" to people's real identities, rather, material culture reflects aspirational identities (1999a:28-29). These material items reflect the consumer's efforts to aspire to a higher standard or ideal through the purchase and use of particular items. Using Mullin's understanding, I assert that the choice to purchase teawares and tablewares by the Boston, Foster, and Prince households suggests the performance of an aspirational middle-class identity.

Furthermore, it is important to note that not all free Black households had an abundance of ceramics as we see with the Betsey Prince, Lucy Foster, and Boston assemblages. According to a 1990 study conducted by Beth Anne Bower, which includes an analysis of probate inventories for free Black households in Boston, MA, ceramics were recorded in few numbers even in households considered to be wealthy (Bower 1990). Bower found a correlation between high numbers of ceramic wares and households which contained a person in a service-oriented occupation, such as catering (Bower 1990:58-59). David Landon and Teresa Bulger further confirmed Bower's observation in their analysis of the assemblage of ceramics from the Boston African Meeting House's yard excavated in 2005 (2013). A staggering approximation of 2,000 ceramic vessels were recovered from contexts associated with use of the Meeting House during the decades of archaeological excavations that took place at the site. Landon and Bulger tie these wares to Domingo Williams, an African American caterer who lived in the basement of the Meeting House during the early 19th century until about 1831 (Landon and Bulger 2013:132). While the Boston, Prince, and Foster assemblages contain far less than the thousands of vessels found at the Boston African Meeting House, it is still significant that individual free Black households during this period

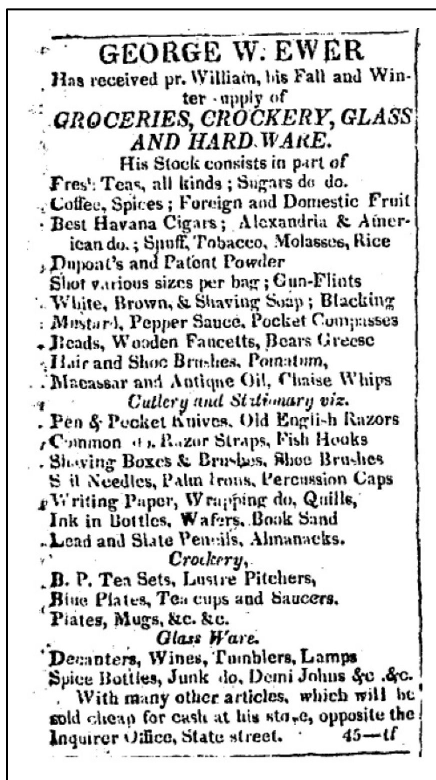
of the early 19th century had considerable amounts of ceramic wares, suggesting that among the free Black community in the Northeast, there were varying factors in everyday life that contributed to diversity in consumer choice of ceramic wares and other goods. Free Black people were not a homogenized group, which is reflected in investment in ceramics by the Boston household.

This comparative analysis suggests that among free Black sites in the Northeast United States where a woman was the head of the household during the early 19th century, dining and tea consumption practices were a key component of everyday life and essential in the performance of a middle-class identity. I argue that the centrality of dining and tea consumption is an effort by Black women to create "homeplace" (hooks 1990) through the aspiration to the middle-class ideal of domesticity. The analysis also revealed that the Boston household during this period had an adequate number of ceramic dishes for the size of the household, which was a level that Mary was able to maintain through the income generated by hosting boarders and working as a domestic.

Accessibility of Ceramic Wares

My interpretation relies on ceramics being understood as an accessible commodity through which the Boston women could engage with ideals of womanhood and choose to highlight certain symbology through their purchasing power. Through historic newspaper research we can establish that during the early 19th century there were an ample number of sellers on Nantucket who were advertising the sale of ceramic wares. The Nantucket Atheneum's Historic Newspaper Digital Archive contains records for the newspapers

distributed on the island of Nantucket beginning in 1816. Using this database, I conducted key word searches using period terminology for ceramic wares and recorded all sellers, the types of ceramic products they sold, the period in which they were in operation, shop location if listed, and any specific comments about the ceramics for sale, whether they were elegant, ornate, or a general assortment. Through searching the newspaper database, the common terms used in advertisements listing ceramic wares in their inventory consisted of the following: “crockery,” “China ware,” “Britannia ware,” “Japan” or “Japanned ware,” “Earthen ware,” and “Stone ware.” Also of importance were advertisements for estate sales or other types of irregular selling events where ceramics were being sold, as this could be another avenue in which the Boston women were purchasing their ceramics second hand.



GEORGE W. EWER

Has received pr. William, his Fall and Winter supply of

GROCERIES, CROCKERY, GLASS AND HARD WARE.

His Stock consists in part of

Fresh Teas, all kinds; Sugars do do.
Coffee, Spices; Foreign and Domestic Fruit
Best Havana Cigars; Alexandria & American do.; Snuff, Tobacco, Molasses, Rice
Dupont's and Patent Powder
Shot various sizes per bag; Gun-Flints
White, Brown, & Shaving Soap; Blacking
Mustard, Pepper Sauce, Pocket Compasses
Beads, Wooden Faucetts, Bears Greese
Hair and Shoe Brushes, Pomatum,
Macassar and Antique Oil, Chaise Whips

Cutlery and Stationary viz.

Pen & Pocket Knives, Old English Razors
Common do. Razor Straps, Fish Hooks
Shaving Boxes & Brushes, Shoe Brushes
Sail Needles, Palm Irons, Percussion Caps
Writing Paper, Wrapping do, Quills,
Ink in Bottles, Wafers, Book Sand
Lead and Slate Pencils, Almanacks.

Crockery,

B. P. Tea Sets, Lustre Pitchers,
Blue Plates, Tea cups and Saucers.
Plates, Mugs, &c. &c.

Glass Ware.

Decanters, Wines, Tumblers, Lamps
Spice Bottles, Junk do, Demi Johns &c .&c.

With many other articles, which will be sold cheap for cash at his store, opposite the Inquirer Office, State street. 45—tf

Figure 6.1 George W. Ewer store advertisement, November 25th, 1826. The Inquirer and Mirror, Page 4, Source: Nantucket Atheneum Historic Digital Newspaper Archive.

Through the search, I found that between 1821 and 1830, there were a total of 47 unique sellers that advertised the sale of ceramic wares on Nantucket. The sellers were not listed by a company name but by the name of the individual or individuals who ran the shop, and each listing gave a general description of new shipments that arrived and the general stock of the store. As you can see in this advertisement from November 25th, 1826, for a store run by George W. Ewer, a wide variety of goods were listed in stock for the fall and winter seasons, ranging from writing supplies, gun flints,

tea, coffee, sugar, other dry goods, crockery, and more (Figure 6.1). This advertisement is a good example which reflects the other types of listings that were being made by individuals running general stores that were stocking ceramic wares to be sold on Nantucket. However, this ad was by far the most detailed regarding the types of ceramics being sold. The Ewer ad lists “B.P. Tea Sets,” “Lustre Pitchers,” “Blue Plates,” “Tea cups,” “Saucers,” and other ceramic forms. It is highly likely that “B.P. Tea Sets” refers to blue transfer-printed tea sets, and their specific listing suggests that they were in demand or highly valued by potential customers on the island. Many of the ads were like that of George W. Ewer’s and listed a myriad of goods which were sold alongside the ceramic wares, implying that these stores were types of general stores. It is important to note that it is possible that not all stores on the island during the period in question were advertising in the local newspaper, and it is also possible that each of the sellers recorded for the 10-year period only sold goods for a brief period or only when they received a shipment from Boston. The newspaper searches also yielded a result of 17 auctions or estate sales that occurred between 1822 and 1828 where ceramic wares were advertised as a good to be expected at the sale. This is a secondary avenue that the Boston women could have used to obtain their ceramic wares. These potential alternatives do not detract from the sheer number of sellers who were advertising the sale of ceramic wares during this decade. The number of sellers and number of auctions and estate sales is significant in that there appears to always have been access to a variety of imported ceramic wares for the period when Mary Boston Douglass and her daughters were acquiring some of their ceramic wares.

The data I collected from Nantucket newspapers allows me to infer that there was a wide variety of access to ceramic products on the island during the earliest decades of the 19th century. The high number of ceramic sellers leads me to conclude that it is likely that the Boston women would have been able to actively choose where they were purchasing their ceramics, and more importantly for my study, what they looked like. Of course, there are other factors to consider, such as how racism on the island might have impacted what stores were frequented by the members of the New Guinea community. Racial tensions were undoubtedly high, and the Black community chose to establish its roots on the outskirts of the West Monomoy Shares around the central location of the Five Corners (Karttunen 2002; Johnson 2006). Future research should attempt to locate and analyze receipts of sale for goods purchased by members of the New Guinea community to determine which stores and businesses were frequented or if there were businesses within the community that sold ceramic wares.

Ceramics are an appropriate data source for talking about choice and engagement with ideology because the number of sellers throughout the 1820s establishes that there was a great degree of access to a variety of ceramic wares on the island. Being that there are so many sellers it is likely that they would try to keep different trendy products in stock and keep prices down to compete with other sellers. This aspect is key, considering it was during the 1820s when transfer-printed wares became popular and highly fashionable. A few of the newspaper advertisements even state that they were selling "blue printed" wares. The evidence of the consistent sale of ceramic wares on the island along with the sporadic estate sales suggests there would have been many ways in which the Boston women were

purchasing their dishes. This accessibility of ceramics also points to their being enough variety for Mary and her daughters to select wares and patterns that were to their liking. Therefore, the patterns examined in my analysis can be viewed as intentional symbolic choices by the members of the Boston Household. Furthermore, ceramics have also been essential to archaeologists' understanding of the motivations and behaviors of consumers. Once accessibility of a variety of types of ceramic wares has been established, we can look to other factors such as status, race, class, and gender to explain the choices made to purchase those wares (Spencer-Wood 1987; Baugher and Venables 1987; Spencer-Wood and Herberling 1987; Klein 1991; Wilkie 1996; Mullins 1999a, 1999b).

Mary Boston Douglass' Ceramic Wares

Through my ceramic analysis outlined in the methods and results chapters, I determined that there are clearly two distinct sets of teawares and tablewares that were being used within the Boston Household. Present in the assemblage is a set of transfer-printed teawares, hand-painted pearlware teawares, a set of transfer-printed tablewares, and edge decorated tablewares. These sets are not of singular patterns, they are mismatched groupings of aesthetically similar transfer-printed and hand-painted designs. I assert that the differences between these sets are critical to our understanding of their use within the Boston household during the early 19th century. Based on our understanding of the market valuation of ceramic vessels as commodities, I posit that the cost difference between transfer-printed wares and hand-painted floral and shell edged wares directly correlates to spheres of use within the home by Mary Boston Douglass and her family.

Archaeological scholars have stated that more highly decorated ceramic dishes were often used during special occasions, such as entertainment in the home, while more plainly decorated dishes were used for everyday consumption, a differentiation which reflects and is tied to the cost differential of ceramic wares with decoration and those with none (Miller

Table 6.3 Scaled Cost of Ceramic Wares Based on Decoration Type Derived from Miller 1980

Scaled Cost of English and American Produced Ceramic Wares Based on Decoration Type Derived from Miller 1980

Cost Level	Decoration Type	Skill Level Required	Relative Cost
1	Undecorated: plain cream-colored (CC) wares	None	Cheapest wares
2	Minimal Decoration: Shell Edged, Sponge, Annular-Banded, Mochaware, Dipped/Slip decorated wares	Minimal: Novice	Cheapest decorated wares
3	Hand-painted wares: Floral motifs, Chinoiserie stylized scenes	Competent: Replication through copying designs	Cheaper than transfer-printed wares, but still relatively inexpensive
4	Transfer-printed wares	Proficiency and specialization	1790s: 3-5 times more expensive than plain CC vessels Mid-19th Century: 1.5-2 times more expensive than plain CC vessels

Source: Miller 1980:3-4

1980; Majewski and O'Brien 1987; Samford 1997). A scale of cost for ceramics during the first half of the 19th century based on decoration type has been developed by George Miller (1980). The scaled cost of ceramic vessels is related to the amount of labor and skill required to produce the wares. As seen in Table 6.3, the relative cost and skill level required to produce the decoration type from cheapest to most expensive was as follows: undecorated, minimal decoration, hand-painted decoration, and transfer-print (Miller 1980:3-4). Chinese imported wares were not considered in this cost scale described by Miller, although they would have been more expensive than the other types of decorated vessels available on the

market. Transfer-printed wares as well as chinoiserie inspired hand-painted vessels were produced as lower cost imitations of these types of porcelain ceramics imported from China, and for this scale Miller was specifically focusing on English and American produced ceramics (1980).

There were very few ceramics identified in the minimum vessel count of Lots O and P that can be described as undecorated, and as such my analysis considers the very slight difference in cost and meaning to be significant between hand-painted sets of teaware and tableware and their more expensive transfer-printed counterparts. On George Miller's scale of cost, the difference between hand-painted floral wares and transfer-printed wares might seem miniscule because these two categories are only a step apart, but hand-painted floral teawares were incredibly common during this period and were the cheapest decorated teawares available on the market (Miller 1980; Miller and Earls 2008). Even though hand-painted teawares and tablewares were cheaper than transfer-printed wares or imported Chinese ceramics, there was a choice made here by Mary and her family to purchase decorated wares rather than entirely plain teawares or tablewares.

The difference in cost between the sets of ceramic wares being analyzed in this thesis and the relative absence of undecorated ceramic vessels suggest that the two distinct tableware and teaware sets were used in different settings. Archaeologists and historians have asserted that highly decorated wares are directly tied to ideas about gentility and performance within the dining experience, were symbols of status that were often displayed in the homes of middle-class families during the 19th century, and they would have also been used when entertaining for special occasions (Young 2010; Brighton 2008; Rotman 2007; Kruczek-

Aaron 2002, 2015; Fitts 1999). Therefore, the transfer-printed sets were more likely to have been displayed in the Boston Douglass home or used during dining and tea drinking settings when members of the community or the extended family were being entertained. This is highly significant because it implies that the patterns previously described were chosen for their symbology and messaging. Their likely use in entertainment settings suggests that the patterns were used to signal ideals to individuals within the household and from outside of the household, who would visit the Boston home for special occasions. I argue that the symbology present on the ceramic wares used in various settings reflects Mary Boston Douglass and the other women in the household's efforts to assert their aspirational views on the molding and shaping of the minds of children and members of the community.

Participation in the market through the selection and purchase of ceramic wares was important in the lives of free Black people on Nantucket, not only because amassing possessions in a post-emancipation society was significant, but also because these goods were an avenue through which to aspire to particular class-based identities (Mullins 1999a, 1999b). Previous studies of the Boston family have found them to be a part of an emergent Black middle-class (Way 2010; Bulger 2013, 2015; Cacchione 2018,2019). Relatively expensive ceramic wares, jewelry, and desirable cuts of meat represented in faunal remains found archaeologically at the site have supported this interpretation (Bulger 2013; Cacchione 2018). As was suggested by Lee (2019), the Boston women's ceramics have often overshadowed the labor that was conducted by Mary and her daughters, including as domestics and housing boarders, to supplement money brought in by the Boston men through whaling. This is critical when we realize that Black men participating in whaling would be

away from home for prolonged periods of time, and wives and families of these mariners would need to sustain themselves in their absence (Kaldenbach-Montemayor 2006). When we view Mary Boston Douglass' ceramic assemblage using Mullins' understanding of material culture as a reflection of aspiration, it can be argued that through the consumption of moderately priced transfer-printed tea and tablewares Mary was aspiring to a middle-class notion of womanhood through meeting standards of domesticity with the appropriate ceramic wares (Mullins 1999a, 1999b). Furthermore, participation in the consumer market using money earned from working as a domestic and from hosting boarders, Mary was choosing to aspire to such ideals through material consumption also while sustaining her household (Lee 2019). The importance placed upon ceramic teaware and tablewares in the Boston household, and their importance among the Betsey Prince and Lucy Foster households as well, further supports this conclusion. The symbolism reflected in the transfer-printed wares found in this assemblage can further expand our interpretation of Mary's engagement with the middle-class notion of domesticity.

Pattern Symbolism and Signaling

The transfer-printed patterns on tableware vessels (i.e., bowls and plates) examined in the previous chapter were "Gun Dogs," "Waterfall," "Pearl," and "Willow." The "Gun Dogs" pattern symbolizes a gendered leisurely activity that would only be reserved for wealthy men, hunting with hounds. The remaining patterns all symbolize exoticism and romantic notions about faraway places, places that only the mariners on Nantucket were likely to have seen. These ideas and images were being signaled during dining practices, likely when guests were visiting the Boston household for dinner (Wall 1991, 2000).

The transfer-printed teaware patterns have differing symbology and messaging than the tableware dishes. The patterns found on teawares were the "Mother Bird," "Flower Frenzy," and "Homeward Bound." "Mother Bird" and "Flower Frenzy" are nature oriented with copious flowers and both also contain images of birds, which can be correlated to notions of purity and piety. The "Mother Bird" pattern also communicates ideas of mothering, care, and nurture with the imagery of the bird with her nest of eggs. The "Homeward Bound" pattern has a more rural feel to it than any of the patterns from the tableware set, with a small cottage like something you might see on Nantucket. The depiction of two men carrying farm equipment also speaks to the labor that would have been common on the island, such as shepherding and other farming jobs. This pattern is more relatable for the folks who lived on Nantucket than any of the exotic or romantic imagery seen at the dinner table. Drinking tea was a gendered activity that was more common for the women of the household to participate in along with women from the community during the 19th century (Wall 1991:79; Mintz 1985). This interpretation expands into a much clearer picture when we consider Maria W. Stewart and her views on womanhood.

Early 19th Century Black Womanhood and Ceramic Symbology

Maria W. Stewart's writings and orations made her opinions on Black womanhood, motherhood, and women's roles in the community abundantly clear. As previously examined, her work circulated in Boston in the early 1830s spoke directly to women, calling them to act for their communities and their children. Stewart believed that Black women could better their communities through fundraising and activism as well as through mothering and the education of their children. Black women could uplift their communities

and mold their children to become successful members of society, contradicting the harmful stereotypes of Black people that were used to justify their continued enslavement in other parts of the country and used to justify racism (Stewart 1835).

Mary Boston Douglass' transfer-printed dinner plates suggest that she was signaling ideas of uplift and aspiration through an emphasis on patterns depicting leisurely activities to all members of her household, including her children and her boarders. While taking tea, Mary was signaling ideas of purity, and motherhood as well as labor, hard work, and rural life. This imagery was specifically intended for her daughters, and the women in her life, speaking to their roles as wives and mothers and members of the community of New Guinea. Even the daily use teawares, which were used for hot beverage consumption in a variety of settings, contain hand-painted floral designs which evoke ideas of purity. This at first may seem insignificant because these polychrome floral hand-painted teawares were widely available. However, more affordable plain teawares were also available; therefore, the lack of plain teawares suggests that Mary was actively choosing to purchase the floral teawares. The hand-painted floral tea set and edged decorated tablewares were used daily, while the transfer-printed sets were likely reserved for special occasions. By presenting transfer-printed patterns displaying scenes of leisure and higher status activities as seen in the patterns "Gun Dogs," "Waterfall," and "Pearl" at the dinner table, Mary was signaling to both men and women an aspirational image of uplift. In contrast, the transfer-printed teawares speak directly to the women who Mary entertained, signaling ideas about motherhood, nurturing, as well as nature and purity, as seen in the patterns "Mother Bird" and "Flower Frenzy." Of note, several of the patterns discussed here, "Gun Dogs," "Waterfall," and "Pearl" contain

depictions of men engaged in leisurely activities. In the same ways that stereotypes about Black women and their sexuality were used to justify their continued enslavement and subjugation, stereotypes about Black men and manhood existed during the early 19th century as well, painting Black men as physical aggressive and savage (Horton 1993; Bulger 2013:43). Conceptions on manhood and masculinity from within the Black community very much focused on reproducing the patriarchy, men as the leaders and protectors of family and household, while also working towards achieving freedom and citizenship (Bulger 2013:43). The emphasis on patriarchy did not disallow for the public centered aspect of Black womanhood, but the prevalence of Black women contributing to household finances through supplemental labor was sometimes at odds with the patriarchal notions of family (Bulger 2013:45). The ceramic patterns depicting men highlight leisurely activities that represent aspirational ideas about class identity, freedom, and citizenship which were signaled to members of the household through their use.

The ceramic patterns analyzed in this thesis are a representative sample of the ceramic dishes that were used by Mary and the members of her household, and while I make a functional distinction between the ways that teawares and tablewares were used in the home, there was likely overlap in their usage. The presence of both teawares and tablewares is significant because it reflects Mary's adoption of the ideal of domesticity, satisfying a material component of the early 19th century process of homemaking. Therefore, Mary and her family were adhering to the conceptions of Black womanhood put forth by Maria Stewart by adopting a component of middle-class gender ideology (Davis 1983; Yee 1987; Higginbotham 1993; King 2006). Through the acquisition and selection of fashionable

ceramic dishes Mary was fulfilling a slice of her housewifery responsibilities. Mary was contributing to the sustainment of her household through boarding and working outside of the home, which enabled her to purchase products such as the ceramic wares she set her table with, and other material goods required in her home. While labor outside of the home was not traditionally a part of good housewifery practices, it was common for free Black women and allowed them to generate economic autonomy for themselves and their families (Davis 1983: Lee 2019). The ceramic wares were an essential component of the creation of Mary's domestic sphere, and the imagery and symbolism communicated by Mary's ceramic dishes was instrumental in the education and socialization of her three children, giving them the domestic and social skills to navigate Nantucket society and prepare them to create their own homes (Bulger 2013; Lampard 2009). Through this socialization, Mary was molding her children to become successful adults, active members of society whose positive actions and contributions would further the efforts of free Black people to achieve equality and citizenship, as Maria Stewart envisioned.

It is through the selection of ceramic patterns and symbols, and adoption of the middle-class notion of domesticity that Mary was creating what bell hooks calls "homeplace" (1990). Black women throughout time have constructed homeplaces, spaces where members of a household or community can recharge and be shielded from the racism of white supremacist societies and where they can resist (hooks 1990: 42). hooks recognizes that the effort to create homeplace was an intentional and political one. Intertwined with the creation of "homeplace" is the materiality of domesticity and motherhood, which have always been categorized as natural responsibilities of women, but this sexist assumption diminishes the

significance of the choices and sacrifices Black women make in creating their homeplace (hooks 1990: 45). Black women exercised agency in their homes, families, and communities, creating nurturing spaces of resistance.

Mary was a part of the first generation of Black people on Nantucket to be born free, but still she witnessed the realities of enslavement of other Black people on the island. Creating homeplace during this time on the island was critical for the well-being and success of Mary's family and community. Nantucket island might have been known for being a Quaker abolitionist haven, but racism was still prevalent (Saillant 2006). Homeplaces created by New Guinea community members were both physically and mentally distanced from experiences of racism on the island. Mary adopted domesticity through choice of ceramic wares to create her homeplace, which was intended to uplift, nurture, and create a space where she and her family as well as boarders could exist autonomously. Material goods were especially important in the creation of homeplace in a new post emancipation community, with Black people gaining true autonomy over their lives, their families, and their circumstances. Under enslavement, Black people often lived in the homes of their white owners, sometimes as the only person of African descent, or one of only a few. But as more Black people became emancipated, the census records reveal that there was an increase in the establishment of Black households and nuclear families (Muehlbauer 2021:57-58; Kaldenbach-Montemayor 2006).

Mary's roles as a woman, mother, and wife made her the creator of their homeplace, one which she also extended to boarders whom she housed. The ceramic wares she selected, and their symbolism highlight her efforts to create a positive, nurturing home environment

that contained the comforts of 19th century dining and tea consumption practices. The homeplace is the foundation upon which community is built, Mary's homeplace acting as a building block of the New Guinea community.

Conclusion

Black women are central to the survival and persistence of their families and communities past and present. Their roles as mothers, care givers, workers, and community members have been integral in the shaping of Black communities and institutions. The ceramic assemblage analyzed in this thesis is significant because it illustrates the ways in which Mary Boston Douglass, part of the first generation of free Black people to be born on the island of Nantucket, was surrounding herself and her household with material culture displaying imagery of aspiration, uplift, and mothering. As the community of New Guinea was growing, so too was the whaling industry of Nantucket. Economic growth from the participation of Black men as mariners, fueled the establishment of the community, the purchasing of property by free Black families, and the establishment of institutions and businesses (Muehlbauer 2021). Despite this image of prosperity among the New Guinea community, racism and other forms of oppression were still ever present (Saillant 2006).

Through the daily use of ceramic wares, Mary was adopting the ideology of domesticity, not as an effort to assimilate to early 19th century middle-class ideological prescriptions regarding gender, but instead to actively subvert racism and oppression that her family and community faced. Black feminist scholars and archaeologists have established a precedent for the archaeological examination of "homeplace" and motherhood in the lives of

past Black women, which seeks to expose the structures of racism and sexism that intersect in these women's lives (hooks 1990; Collins 2002; Edwards-Ingram 2005; Battle-Baptiste 2011; Bulger 2013; Arjona 2017; Morris 2017; Lee 2019; Muehlbauer 2021). My analysis reveals that dining and tea consumption practices were important in not just Mary's household, but also those of Betty Jessup and Lucy Foster (LoRusso 1998; Baker 1978; Battle-Baptiste 2011). Through daily consumption, Mary was reinforcing ideas about leisure, aspiration, nurturing, care, and motherhood. This intentional selection of material culture was a component of Mary's effort to create "homeplace," a place where her household, her husband and three children, as well as boarders, could rest and feel safe and welcome.

Regardless of the island's reputation as a progressive, abolitionist society, anti-Black racism was prevalent in island discourses, documented in perpetuity in newspaper records (Saillant 2006:50, 58). White islanders published opinion pieces telling Black people to go back to where they came from, reinforcing beliefs about Black criminality, and creating caricatured stereotypes (Saillant 2006). This rhetoric seems all too familiar. The same attacks that were wielded against Black people in the past are used for the same purposes today. But in the face of this, Black people survive, resist, and overcome. My research aims to make visible the lived experiences of Mary Boston Douglass and her family, humanizing their stories through the material culture that they surrounded themselves with, touched and used every day. This study is an intentional act of remembrance (hooks 1990: 43), remembering Mary, a woman, mother, and community member, to resist and dismantle white supremacy and the harmful and racist depictions and characterizations of Black women that have permeated our society through time. As archaeologists, we can wield our trowels, our pens,

and our funding to support Black scholars, Black stories, and undermine the efforts of home-grown white supremacy that is gaining momentum in America.

Mary's role as a mother, raising and educating her three children, was how she exercised her autonomy within the home that her family had created, autonomy that is critical to achieving freedom after emancipation on Nantucket (Collins 2002; Webster 2017). As of the completion of this thesis, the Supreme Court of the United States has just issued the horrifying decision to overturn the landmark decision *Roe v. Wade,* which had protected abortion rights in the United States for almost 50 years (*Dobbs v. Jackson Women's Health Organization,* 2022). While this decision will unequivocally affect people who can become pregnant across the United States, it will disproportionately affect poor women and women of color, as was the case before *Roe* (Davis 1983:204). Almost half of the states in America have trigger laws in place to ban abortions, which in the coming months will go into effect (Kheyfets et al. 2022). These predominantly southern, conservative states will force abortion seekers to pay substantial amounts of money to travel for an abortion, to find an unsafe way to terminate their pregnancy, or force them to have children they cannot support. Black women have the highest maternal and infant mortality rates in the nation, one that will only grow now that abortion is no longer protected (Kheyfets et al. 2022). This ruling has stripped away women's autonomy over their own bodies, and their freedom to choose when or if they become a mother. My choice to continue studying the women of the Boston family, adding to the body of scholarship produced by my colleagues (Bulger 2013, 2015; Horlacher 2016; Cacchione 2018, 2019; Lee 2019), is meant to continue to highlight the stories of past Black

women, to humanize them in the face of racism they experienced and the racism and discrimination that still exists today.

Mary and the women in the Black community of New Guinea were engaged with and thinking about ideas put forth by other Black women as their community was being built, which was then echoed when Maria Stewart came onto the stage a few years later. A commitment to one's family and one's community was born out of the need for Black people to band together in the face of enslavement and systematic racism and oppression. The creation of homeplace through the adoption of domesticity by Black women, highlights the ways that their influence and domestic labor was essential to the success of their communities. This sentiment was pervasive in the writings and speeches of Maria Stewart, and the ceramic assemblage analyzed here suggests that Mary's influence was as far reaching as Stewart claimed it to be: "O woman, woman! your example is powerful, your influence great; it extends over your husbands and over your children and throughout the circle of your acquaintance" (Stewart 1835:62).

APPENDIX A

PATTERN REFERENCE IMAGE RESOURCES

Images from the Transferware Collectors Club Database cannot be reproduced due to copyright restrictions. The Transferware Collectors Club Database is a membership only database, therefore, to make the patterns discussed in this thesis available to readers, the author has compiled a list of internet sources that can be used to view extant examples of ceramics with the patterns discussed, many of which have been sold on auction websites. The images contained on these auction websites are also subjected to copyright law and therefore, only web addresses are provided below. These sites may be taken down or discontinued in the future; therefore, the author has retained copies of these sites in their personal records, which can be available upon request.

“Mother Bird” or “Bird with Nest in Flowers” Pattern, TCC #4068

WorthPoint
n.d. ANTIQUE STAFFORDSHIRE DARK BLUE & WHITE TRANSFER CUP & SAUCER, “BIRD & FLOWERS.” <https://www.worthpoint.com/worthopedia/antique-staffordshire-dark-blue-white-1880623008>. Accessed 8 April 2020.

“Flower Frenzy” Pattern, TCC #2250

WorthPoint
n.d. ANTIQUE STAFFORDSHIRE DARK BLUE TRANSFER SAUCER “BIRD + FLOWERS,” C. 1830. <https://www.worthpoint.com/worthopedia/antique-staffordshire-dark-blue-1976250318>. Accessed 8 April 2020.

“Gun Dogs” Pattern, TCC #3614

Bidsquare
2014 Pearlware Transfer-Decorated Bowl. <https://www.bidsquare.com/online-auctions/cowans/pearlware-transfer-decorated-bowl-71959>. Accessed 8 April 2020.

WorthPoint
n.d. 2 LG BLUE STAFFORDSHIRE TRANSFERWARE CUPS AND SAUCERS MAN W HUNTING DOGS. <https://www.worthpoint.com/worthopedia/lg-blue-english-staffordshire-1985302770>. Accessed 8 April 2020.

"Waterfall" or "Falls of Killarney" Pattern, TCC #2331

Ebay
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n.d. Antique English Blue & White Transferware Meat Plate/Platter Falls of Killarney. <https://bluewhiteplates.org/antique_english_blue_white_transferware_meat_plate_platter_falls_of_killarney.htm>. Accessed 8 April 2020.

"Pearl" Pattern, Florentine China Series, TCC # 7530

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n.d. SAMUEL ALCOCK PEARL FLORENTINE CHINA BLACK TRANSFERWARE BREAD & BUTTER PLATE. <https://www.worthpoint.com/worthopedia/samuel-alcock-pearl-florentine-china-1840309781>. Accessed 23 April 2022.

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"Homeward Bound" Pattern, TCC #15251

No non-TCC sources for this pattern

"Willow" Pattern, TCC #19165

HowOriginalStore
2022 20" Antique Blue Willow Platter Staffordshire Transferware Marked Early to mid 19th century. Etsy. <https://www.etsy.com/listing/564402431/20-antique-blue-willow-platter?gpla=1&gao=1&&utm_source=google&utm_medium=cpc&utm_campaign=shopping_us_ps-a-home_and_living-kitchen_and_dining-dining_and_serving-trays_and_platters-platters&utm_custom1=_k_Cj0KCQjwuO6WBhDLARIsAIdeyDL5sNtrhPWzyNANMnp1drM1oP1pmR6UFqu7iLDfSzPYt2lH8t7l89QaArwOEALw_wcB_k_&utm_content=go_12567673668_122422060311_507253237414_aud-1408996296215:pla-308550193195_c__564402431_115368581&utm_custom2=12567673668&gclid=Cj0KCQjwuO6WBhDLARIsAIdeyDL5sNtrhPWzyNANMnp1drM1oP1pmR6UFqu7iLDfSzPYt2lH8t7l89QaArwOEALw_wcB>. Accessed 23 Jul7 2022.

APPENDIX B

HHAP LOTS O AND P VESSEL DATA

Vessel #	Context #	Ware Type	Decoration	Form
305	444, 474	Redware	Utilitarian, Undecorated	Bowl
306	474	Redware	Utilitarian, Undecorated	Indeterminate
307	482	Redware	Utilitarian, Undecorated	Bowl
308	482	Ironstone	Overglaze Painted	Saucer
309	482	Ironstone	Molded	Chamber Pot
311	474	Creamware	Undecorated	Cup/Mug
312	474	Redware	Utilitarian, Undecorated	Flowerpot
313	474	Creamware	Undecorated	Small bowl
314	474	Redware	Utilitarian, Undecorated	Indeterminate
315	482	Redware	Utilitarian, Undecorated	Traveling Ink Bottle

Vessel #	Context #	Ware Type	Decoration	Form
317	474	Pearlware	Shell edged, Blue	Plate
318	444, 474	Pearlware	Undecorated	Small bowl
319	444	Creamware	Undecorated	Indeterminate
320	444	Creamware	Undecorated	Bowl
321	482	Whiteware	Undecorated	Bowl
322	474	Pearlware	Hand-painted, Polychrome	Flatware
323	474	Whiteware	Undecorated	Indeterminate
324	487	Whiteware	Undecorated	Plate
325	474, 487	Yellowware	Undecorated	Indeterminate
326	474, 482	Whiteware	Molded, Gilt	Plate
329	474	Pearlware, factory slip/diptware	Mocha	Hollowware

Vessel #	Context #	Ware Type	Decoration	Form
330	444, 474	Pearlware	Hand-painted, Broadbrush, Blue	Tea cup/bowl
331	474	Stoneware, Coarse	Undecorated	Hollowware
332	482	Porcelain	Undecorated	Flatware
333	482	Porcelain	Molded	Tea cup/bowl
335	482	Pearlware	Hand-painted, Monochrome, Green	Saucer
336	482	Whiteware	Transfer-printed, Green	Plate
337	444	Porcelain	Hand-painted, Monochrome, Blue	Indeterminate
338	482	Pearlware	Hand-painted, Monochrome, Blue	Saucer
339	482	Pearlware	Hand-painted, Monochrome Blue	Tea cup/bowl
342	487	Pearlware	Shell Edged, Blue	Indeterminate
344	474	Pearlware	Transfer-printed, Brown	Indeterminate

Vessel #	Context #	Ware Type	Decoration	Form
345	444	Pearlware	Hand-painted, Monochrome, Blue	Tea cup/bowl
346	474	Pearlware	Hand-painted, Monochrome, Blue	Saucer
349	482	Whiteware	Transfer-printed, Blue	Bowl
350	444	Pearlware	Transfer-printed, Blue	Plate
351	444, 474, 482, 487	Pearlware	Hand-painted, Polychrome	Bowl
352	473	Ironstone	Undecorated	Plate
353	434	Redware	Slip Decorated	Plate
354	434	Redware	Utilitarian, Undecorated	Bowl
355	434	Redware	Utilitarian, Undecorated	Bowl
356	434	Redware	Utilitarian, Undecorated	Bowl
357	434	Redware	Decorative, Undecorated	Small Flowerpot

Vessel #	Context #	Ware Type	Decoration	Form
358	475	Redware	Decorative, Undecorated	Flowerpot
359	434	Redware	Utilitarian, Undecorated	Bowl
360	434	Redware	Utilitarian, Undecorated	Bowl
361	434, 474, 482	Redware	Utilitarian, Undecorated	Bowl
362	434	Redware	Utilitarian, Undecorated	Teapot
363	434	Redware	Utilitarian, Undecorated	Hollowware
364	475	Redware	Utilitarian, Undecorated	Bowl
365	434	Redware	Utilitarian, Undecorated	Hollowware
366	434	Redware	Utilitarian, Undecorated	Pot
367	434	Redware	Utilitarian, Undecorated	Hollowware
368	434	Redware	Utilitarian, Undecorated	Bowl

Vessel #	Context #	Ware Type	Decoration	Form
369	434	Redware	Utilitarian, Undecorated	Bowl
370	434	Yellowware	Undecorated	Indeterminate
371	434	Yellowware	Undecorated	Indeterminate
372	434	Yellowware	Mocha, Annular	Bowl
373	434	Pearlware	Hand-painted, Indeterminate	Hollowware
374	434	Pearlware	Hand-painted, Polychrome	Flatware
375	434	Pearlware	Hand-painted, Polychrome	Indeterminate
376	434	Pearlware	Hand-painted, Polychrome	Indeterminate
377	434, 473	Pearlware	Hand-painted, Polychrome	Saucer
378	434	Pearlware	Hand-painted, Polychrome	Saucer
379	475	Pearlware	Hand-painted, Polychrome	Saucer

Vessel #	Context #	Ware Type	Decoration	Form
380	434	Pearlware	Hand-painted, Polychrome	Tea cup/bowl
381	434	Pearlware	Hand-painted, Polychrome	Hollowware
382	434	Pearlware	Hand-painted, Polychrome	Saucer
383	434	Pearlware	Hand-painted, Polychrome	Indeterminate
384	434	Pearlware	Hand-painted, Polychrome	Small bowl
385	434	Pearlware	Hand-painted, Polychrome	Tea cup/bowl
386	434, 482	Pearlware	Hand-painted, Polychrome	Tea cup/bowl
387	434	Pearlware	Hand-painted, Polychrome	Tea cup/bowl
388	434	Pearlware	Hand-painted, Monochrome, Brown	Hollowware
389	434, 482	Pearlware	Hand-painted, Monochrome, Brown	Flatware
390	434	Pearlware	Hand-painted, Monochrome, Brown	Indeterminate

Vessel #	Context #	Ware Type	Decoration	Form
391	434	Pearlware	Hand-painted, Monochrome, Brown	Indeterminate
392	434	Pearlware	Hand-painted, Polychrome	Hollowware
393	434	Pearlware	Hand-painted, Polychrome	Hollowware
394	475	Pearlware	Hand-painted, Polychrome	Tea cup/bowl
395	475	Pearlware	Hand-painted, Monochrome, Blue	Small plate
396	475	Pearlware	Shell Edged, Blue, Impressed	Small plate
397	434	Pearlware	Shell Edged, Blue	Indeterminate Special Tableware Form
398	434	Pearlware	Shell Edged, Blue	Hollowware
399	434	Pearlware	Shell Edged, Green	Flatware
400	434	Pearlware	Shell Edged, Green	Flatware
401	434	Pearlware	Shell Edged, Green	Flatware

Vessel #	Context #	Ware Type	Decoration	Form
402	434	Pearlware	Shell Edged, Green	Small plate
403	475	Pearlware	Transfer-printed, Blue	Saucer
404	434, 444, 474, 475, 482	Pearlware	Transfer-printed, Blue	Saucer
405	475	Pearlware	Transfer-printed, Blue	Soup Plate
406	475	Pearlware	Transfer-printed, Blue	Saucer
407	434, 475	Pearlware	Transfer-printed, Blue	Tea cup/bowl
408	434, 474	Pearlware	Hand-painted, Broad-brush, Blue	Flatware
409	434	Pearlware	Hand-painted, Monochrome, Blue	Tea cup/bowl
410	434	Pearlware	Hand-painted, Polychrome	Flatware
411	434	Pearlware	Hand-painted, Monochrome, Blue	Indeterminate
412	434	Pearlware	Hand-painted, Monochrome, Blue	Saucer

Vessel #	Context #	Ware Type	Decoration	Form
413	434	Pearlware	Hand-painted, Monochrome, Blue	Hollowware
414	434	Pearlware	Hand-painted, Monochrome, Blue	Tea cup/bowl
415	434, 482	Pearlware	Hand-painted, Monochrome, Blue	Tea cup/bowl
416	434	Pearlware	Hand-painted, Monochrome, Blue	Hollowware
417	434	Pearlware	Hand-painted, Monochrome, Blue	Hollowware
418	434	Pearlware	Hand-painted, Monochrome, Blue	Hollowware
419	434	Pearlware	Hand-painted, Monochrome, Blue	Bowl
420	434	Pearlware	Hand-painted, Monochrome, Blue	Hollowware
421	434	Pearlware	Hand-painted, Monochrome, Blue	Hollowware
422	434	Pearlware	Hand-painted, Monochrome, Blue	Bowl
423	434	Pearlware	Shell Edged, Blue, Impressed	Soup Plate

Vessel #	Context #	Ware Type	Decoration	Form
424	434	Pearlware	Shell Edged, Blue	Small plate
425	434	Pearlware	Shell Edged, Blue	Plate
426	434, 474	Pearlware	Shell Edged, Blue	Small plate
427	434	Pearlware	Shell Edged, Blue	Flatware
428	434	Pearlware	Shell Edged, Blue	Small plate
429	434	Pearlware	Shell Edged, Blue	Small plate
430	434	Pearlware	Shell Edged, Blue	Small plate
431	434	Pearlware	Shell Edged, Blue	Small plate
432	434	Pearlware	Shell Edged, Blue	Small plate
433	434	Pearlware	Shell Edged, Blue	Small plate
434	434	Pearlware	Shell Edged, Blue	Small plate

Vessel #	Context #	Ware Type	Decoration	Form
435	434	Pearlware	Shell Edged, Blue	Flatware
436	434, 482	Creamware	Undecorated	Teapot
437	434	Creamware	Undecorated	Indeterminate
438	434, 475	Creamware	Undecorated	Small plate
439	434	Creamware	Molded	Plate
440	434	Creamware	Undecorated	Plate
441	434	Creamware	Undecorated	Small plate
442	434	Creamware	Undecorated	Plate
443	475	Creamware	Molded	Small plate
444	475	Creamware	Undecorated	Small plate
445	434	Creamware	Undecorated	Soup plate

Vessel #	Context #	Ware Type	Decoration	Form
446	434	Creamware	Undecorated	Soup plate
447	434	Creamware	Mocha, Dendritic	Hollowware
448	434	Creamware	Mocha, Annular	Hollowware
449	434	Pearlware, factory slip/diptware	Annular Polychrome	Hollowware
450	434	Pearlware, factory slip/diptware	Annular Polychrome	Hollowware
451	434	Pearlware, factory slip/diptware	Mocha, Green scale	Hollowware
452	434	Refined Earthenware, Indeterminate	Hand-painted, Indeterminate	Indeterminate
453	434	Pearlware	Transfer-printed, Blue	Small plate
455	434	Whiteware	Transfer-printed, Blue	Plate
456	434	Whiteware	Transfer-printed, Blue	Indeterminate
457	434	Whiteware	Transfer-printed, Blue	Indeterminate

Vessel #	Context #	Ware Type	Decoration	Form
458	434	Whiteware	Transfer-printed, Blue	Flatware
459	434	Whiteware	Transfer-printed, Blue	Hollowware
460	434	Pearlware	Transfer-printed, Blue	Saucer
461	434	Pearlware	Transfer-printed, Blue	Plate
462	434, 474	Pearlware	Transfer-printed, Blue	Saucer
463	434	Pearlware	Transfer-printed, Blue	Small bowl
464	434	Pearlware	Transfer-printed, Blue	Saucer
465	434	Pearlware	Transfer-printed, Blue	Saucer
466	434	Pearlware	Transfer-printed, Blue	Saucer
467	434	Pearlware	Transfer-printed, Blue	Bowl
468	434	Pearlware	Transfer-printed, Blue	Bowl

Vessel #	Context #	Ware Type	Decoration	Form
469	434	Pearlware	Transfer-printed, Blue	Plate
470	434	Pearlware	Transfer-printed, Blue	Plate
471	434	Pearlware	Transfer-printed, Blue	Indeterminate
472	434, 474	Pearlware	Transfer-printed, Blue	Saucer
473	434	Pearlware	Transfer-printed, Blue	Saucer
474	434, 444, 474, 482	Pearlware	Transfer-printed, Blue	Tea cup/bowl
475	434, 474	Pearlware	Transfer-printed, Blue	Saucer
476	473, 475	Pearlware	Transfer-printed, Blue	Hollowware
477	434	Whiteware	Shell Edged, Blue	Flatware
478	434	Whiteware	Hand-painted, Polychrome	Small bowl
479	434	Stoneware, Coarse	Utilitarian, Undecorated	Storage Crock

Vessel #	Context #	Ware Type	Decoration	Form
480	434	Whiteware	Molded	Indeterminate
481	434	Whiteware	Transfer-printed, Green	Plate
482	434	Whiteware	Transfer-printed, Black	Flatware
483	434	Whiteware	Transfer-printed, Black	Indeterminate
484	434	Whiteware	Transfer-printed, Brown	Indeterminate
485	434	Whiteware	Transfer-printed, Brown	Flatware
486	434	Porcelain, Indeterminate	Hand-painted, Overglaze	Saucer
487	434	Porcelain, Indeterminate	Hand-painted, Overglaze	Saucer
488	434	Porcelain, Indeterminate	Hand-painted, Overglaze	Saucer
489	434	Porcelain, Indeterminate	Molded	Tea cup/bowl
490	434	Whiteware	Undecorated	Small bowl

Vessel #	Context #	Ware Type	Decoration	Form
491	434	Whiteware	Undecorated	Small bowl
492	444, 475	Pearlware, factory slip/diptware	Mocha, Dendritic	Hollowware
493	434, 444, 474, 482	Stoneware, Refined, White Salt Glazed	Hand-painted, Indeterminate	Jug/Tankard
494	434	Whiteware	Hand-painted, Polychrome	Indeterminate
495	434	Whiteware	Decalomania, Gilt	Plate

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