THE STYLE OF QUAKER CONSUMPTION
IN BRITISH COLONIAL NEW JERSEY:

THE LINK BETWEEN RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND VALUES
AND THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECORD OF
THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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ABSTRACT
THE STYLE OF QUAKER CONSUMPTION
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This research focuses on the role of beliefs and values at domestic Quaker sites in British Colonial North America and their transformations through time. Evidence is drawn from building techniques, ceramic and glass tablewares, foodways as manifest through storage/preparation vessels and faunal remains, alcohol and tobacco-related objects, and materials related to dress and personal adornment. The aim of this research is to make substantial contributions to the study of Quakers, to the study of the influence of beliefs and values in colonial situations and past cultural traditions in general, and to the study of the rise and spread of eighteenth-century consumerism associated with the Industrial Revolution. Beliefs and values possess material manifestations. To link the material archaeological evidence to cultural ideals, this proposed research focuses on behavior which may be documented in the archaeological record. The full potential of the archaeological contribution to issues surrounding the varying degree of adherence to Quaker beliefs and values may be realized through consideration of all available types of material culture. An analytical focus on the style of consumption and technology is considered essential for the study of tenets, beliefs, and values in the archaeological record. The revival of archaeological theories of style is advocated as the primary means archaeologists have available to study the manifestation of beliefs, values, and the underlying ethos through variation in material culture. The revival of an archaeological focus on style enables a more full realization of the goals of social archaeology and the consideration of the significance of a research project at the higher scales of relevance: the scale of issues of importance in history and the social sciences in general, and the scale of the contribution research may render towards developing solutions to contemporary social problems.
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CHAPTER 1

Introduction:

The Significant Contributions of the Archaeological Study of Quakers at Multiple Scales of Relevance

1.1 Linked Set of Research Questions

The key question for this study possesses three primary components, each linked to a contribution at a different scale of analysis: I) Do Quaker beliefs and tenets distinguish their production and consumption from non-Quaker contemporaries (scale of the topic); II) Can this distinction be detected archaeologically (scale of the discipline); and III) Does the manifestation of Quaker beliefs and tenets lead to a differential degree and timing of the adoption of the economic and social changes associated with the rise and spread of consumerism characteristic of modern capitalism in the eighteenth to early nineteenth century? To what extent did Quakers participate in the emerging pattern of consumerism, and when it occurs is the adoption of these patterns associated with a lessening of the tenet of compassion and sympathy and a lessening of Quaker egalitarianism?

According to Geertz, the “moral” aspects of a culture may be summed up by the term “ethos” (1973:126). The ethos is the “tone, character, and quality of life, its moral and aesthetic style and mood” (Geertz 1973:127). Consideration of past cultural ethos should be central to the study of beliefs and values, as this is the level at which the “moral and aesthetic style and mood” of a culture or group should be understood. With the understanding that beliefs and values constitute the “moral” aspects of a culture, then analytical methods to elucidate this emotional and cultural ethos are required to gain insight into the recursive material manifestation of beliefs and values. Tarlow argues that a meaningful social archaeology is not possible without consideration of emotions in the past, and that focus should concentrate on the study of “emotional standards” or “emotional ethos”, constituting a “culturally shared emotional atmosphere” (Tarlow 2000:721, 728). The separation of cognition and emotion, in fact, is argued to represent a false dichotomy since every action and thought is in fact “tinged with emotion” at an often unconscious or subconscious level (Norman 2005:8).
The emotional ethos of a particular culture in a particular period of time developed over a span of time, being reinforced and reinforcing other aspects or culture and society.

The aim of this research is to make substantial contributions to the study of Quakers in the British Colony of New Jersey, to the study of the influence of beliefs and values in colonial situations and past cultural traditions in general, and to the study of the rise and spread of eighteenth-century consumerism associated with the Industrial Revolution. New Jersey, the Delaware Valley, and the Middle Atlantic in general have received less academic focus compared to the more thoroughly researched Chesapeake and New England regions, though several pivotal works in recent years have been helping to fill this void (Cantwell and Wall 2001; De Cunzo 2004; Veit 2002; Veit and Orr 2014; Yamin 2008). This research will fill gaps in this still relatively poorly documented and studied region, will add new perspectives to the study of beliefs and values, and develop a new framework for the study of beliefs, values, and religious tenets from archaeological data sets. British Colonial New Jersey was a primary area of settlement for Quakers in the late seventeenth and eighteenth century, though the archaeological evidence of Quaker households remains relatively poorly documented. The culturally diverse colony of New Jersey provides possesses robust archaeological and documentary data sets and as such constitutes an ideal study ground for the hybridization and transformations of beliefs and values in a colonial setting. The study of the entirety of archaeologically evident material culture within a household is what I term the “constellation” of goods which together constitute a style of consumption in a household. The study of the “style of consumption” becomes of paramount importance in the study of the recent past, within which individual households produced less and less of the material accoutrements of life and selected more and more goods that were mass-produced and distributed at local, regional, and global scales.

The “style of consumption” draws from theories of style in archaeology, and also specifically theories relating to technological style and the style of production. Viewing style as a manner of doing, all behavior may have a style and consumption as behavior hence likewise possesses a distinctive style. In the recent past, the material assemblage of a household was accumulated through a combination of production and consumption and as such both the theories of technological style and the style of consumption, or the style of consumer choices and behavior, may fully elucidate the
style or manner in which the entire ensemble of household goods was assembled. To the extent that some goods are also the result of household production, the entire collection of material goods of a household would also involve the technological style, or style of production, within the household unit. The study of the style of consumption among a particular group, the Society of Friends, simultaneously provides new information pertaining to the group members’ degree of adherence to religious tenets and assists in developing a new analytical framework for the study of how the style of consumption relates to beliefs and values from material culture.

Reviving style in archaeology is essential for the study of religious tenets, beliefs, and values in the past. Theories of technological style and consumer choice enable the identification of choices which are related to the marking and expressing of beliefs and values. Capitalist ideology places primary importance on the extraction of energy and matter for profit and gain, and as such has instilled greater materialism and individualism. These "values" are opposed to the Quaker tenets of "going plain in the world" and "compassion and sympathy for thy neighbor." To what extent, in particular Quaker households, did the new values replace or lead to the lessening of these Quaker tenets? Is the timing of the adoption of the values associated with consumerism different than that within the households of non-Quaker contemporaries? Finally, how can the new understanding of these processes generated by this research make a contribution to our contemporary society and world? The analytical methods employed to enable consideration of the archaeological evidence from Quaker households at each of these scales of relevance is outlined below.

1.2 Significant Contributions: Scales of Relevance

The significant contributions of a research project may be viewed at multiple scales of analysis, or scales of relevance, as the relevance of the data and its synthesis may be considered in multiple dimensions: the site-specific/the topic, the discipline, the “big questions” of history and the social sciences (the *longue durée*), and the application to today’s society and the current world. In order to be meaningful to broader audiences outside a particular disciplinary field of enquiry, significance at the third and fourth scales must be realized and explicated. According to Tarlow, archaeologists should “push themselves further” to consider how fine-grained studies of
particular sites and particular archaeological materials may produce understandings of wider issues of broader social context (1999:267). Archaeology, as the study of material evidence of the past, is ideally situated to render significant contributions to the big questions of history and the social sciences, and would accomplish more significant findings in this area if more relevance was explicitly sought. However, to validate fully itself as a discipline in the public eye and to justify public expenditures in the form of grants and funding for cultural resource management studies, archaeology must also achieve relevance at the scale of our contemporary society and world. This is not to say that archaeological evidence need be interpreted within the biased lens of today’s understandings and culture, but rather that the empirical study of pasts different from our own and transitioning to the present may inform upon alternative solutions to contemporary problems and the origins and causes of said problems simultaneously. Archaeologists’ material basis renders us exceptionally qualified to objectively render contributions to learn from the “mistakes of history”, to situate our present in its particular historical trajectory, and as Braudel argues to delineate the broad patterns of history (the *longue durée*). Contemporary issues and crises should not be understood within contemporary contexts alone, but rather as the product of broad cultural and historical trajectories which can be empirically identified, tested, and explicated through the combined study of historical documentation and evidence from the archaeological record. As Braudel writes, in order to enact the most substantial change, an individual must identify the current of history and then exert one’s own force in the same direction (quoted in translation by Mayne 1993:xxiv). All efforts against the “prevailing tide of history” are “doomed to failure” (Mayne 1993:xxiv). The direction of the “prevailing tide” is, furthermore, argued to not always be obvious (Mayne 1993:xxiv). This view does not imply that change is not possible, but that individual’s actions are most effective when applied in the direction of the tide.

The *longue durée*, as described by Braudel, involves consideration of the history of the longer term, a history with a “slower pulse rate” (Braudel 1993:xxxvii). Braudel argues history prior to 1914 moved at a slower rate, but that these ancient civilizations “live on in each of us; and they will still live on after we have passed away” (1993:xxxvii). The degree to which these ancient civilizations differed qualitatively or quantitatively has been the subject of much debate as described below and is directly
pertinent to the successful identification of the tides of history acting at the scale of the *longue durée*. To Braudel, “simplicity that distorts the truth, produces a void, and is another name for mediocrity, but simplicity that is clarity, the light of intelligence” (quoted in Mayne 1993:xxv). The focus on the *longue durée* involves the clarity of finding the “key to a civilization”, such as the understanding of Greece as a civilization of the Aegean, not a Balkan peninsula, and Egypt as a civilization that tamed the Nile (Mayne 1993:xxv). In this manner, industrial capitalism may be viewed as the system that ensnared the Atlantic, binding Europe, Africa and the Americas within an interconnected web of dependencies founded on production, consumption, and slavery. The Quakers, within this rubric, may be viewed as the reformists who sought to escape this snare. The degree to which they were successful in this endeavor at a particular place, through time, is the subject of this study. That place is the Lawrie Farmstead in western Monmouth County within the Delaware Valley in the colony of New Jersey, and the time spans two thirds of the eighteenth century, from 1705 to the 1767. The evidence from the Lawrie Farmstead will be compared to that from other residential sites within British Colonial North America from the late seventeenth through early nineteenth century. Before considering the direct context of that place and time, however, discussions of the Atlantic System, Quakerism, and a review of previous archaeological considerations at Quaker sites is presented. The aim is to explore the context of the site at multiple scales, so the relevance at all four scales may be most fully determined.

### 1.3 The Contribution to the Study of Quakers in British Colonial North America

This study contributes to the understanding of Quakers in British North America. Quakers emerged initially as a dissenting group in Great Britain, though by the nineteenth century they had risen in wealth and influence in Great Britain, Ireland, and North America (Rynne 2008; Anderberg and Motheral 1996). Archaeology possesses potential to illuminate questions regarding transformations in the style of consumption at Quaker households through time and the degree to which the assertion of Quaker tenets is visible and may be demonstrated to change through time. By consideration of the constellation of choices in a household, or the style of production...
and consumption of material culture classes, the stylistic variation may be documented and compared to other sites. The material culture evidence from Quaker households in the late seventeenth to early nineteenth century will be compared and contrasted to that from non-Quaker contemporaries throughout British Colonial North America.

One primary question regards consideration of the level of adherence to Quaker tenets in households. The selection of predominately plain, simple material culture would not have fostered the growth in consumerism documented in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, yet this dissenting group paradoxically emerged as wealthy and influential in emerging industrial societies. By 1750, there were 250 Quaker Meeting Houses in North America, mostly within the Middle Colonies (Taylor 2001:342). Quakerism is ranked at that time as the third largest denomination in the colonies, below only Congregationalism in New England and Anglican parishes in the south (Taylor 2001:342). The archaeological study of material culture, with a focus on the style of production and consumption as linking mechanisms between variation in material culture and beliefs and values, helps to illuminate the conscious and less than conscious signaling of different levels of adherence to beliefs and values in particular households through time.

Tarlow, in a recent review of the study of emotion and affect in archaeology, notes that few studies have focused upon positive emotions such as compassion or empathy (2012:178). Consideration of emotions in the past should be central to the study of beliefs and values, since a meaningful social archaeology is not possible without consideration of past emotional ethos (Tarlow 2000:721, 728). The archaeological study of Quakers provides an opportunity to seek evidence for compassion in the archaeological record, as the Quakers are noted to have been marked by a sense of compassion, empathy, and sympathy for their neighbors arising from the concept of the Inner Light in every human being. Fischer argues this is related to the importance the Society of Friends placed on the concept of the Inner Light and New Testament scriptures (1989:426). Robert Barclay, for instance, in the influential Quaker text Apology (1675) included 821 biblical quotations of which 80% derived from the New Testament (Fischer 1989:426). In Barclay’s Catechism, 93% of Biblical quotations came from the New Testament. This emphasis fostered the belief in a benevolent God, a God of “Love and Light”, present in everyone. In contrast the
Puritans placed greater emphasis on the Old Testament and a wrathful God. The former would have instilled greater compassion and the latter greater fear. The compassion of the members of the Society of Friends is evidenced throughout history in their non-combatant stance, their peaceable interactions with Native Americans, and their active role within the Abolitionist movement.

Compassion may be evidenced, for example, in Quaker participation in the Abolitionist Movement and Underground Railroad such as in Lancaster, Pennsylvania (Delle 2008). In cases where Quakers were slaveholders, such as in the British Virgin Islands (Chenoweth 2012), was the treatment of slaves different than those on other contemporary plantations in the West Indies? In a review of the archaeological record associated with the Society of Friends, the degree to which evidence of compassion and empathy may be detected will be considered in addition to possible evidence of adherence to Quaker tenets such as the “plainness doctrine”. In this review technological style and the style of Quaker consumption will be considered, as a means of linking the archaeological data to socially constructed technical traits, and as argued by Boas for art, the “expression of emotions and thought” (1927[1955]: 349).

1.4 The Contribution to the Archaeological Manifestation of Beliefs and Values

The study of the archaeological evidence of the style of consumption of material culture within individual households possesses potential to generate a broader understanding of the reflection, and recursive reinforcement, of beliefs and values in material culture. Some types of material culture may possess differing types of style, in differing forms of material culture, and when taken as a whole the constellation of the material culture surviving within the archaeological record should reflect both the enculturated group values and the individual’s conscious assertion, dissention, or rebellion with respect to group values.

Choice here is used in a general sense, to include choices made by a culture or social group as well as individual choices. In "mapping out" the ideational realm, Cowgill specified three primary parts: 1) "rational choice"; 2) "nonrational propensities"; 3) "local rules" (1993:557-559). While the first two may be considered individual choices, the latter is the realm where the social rules of cultural “choices” of a group is located. The study of the degree of adherence to beliefs and values benefits
from distinguishing analytically between two primary forms of identity or identification: group identity characteristic of ethnic groups and members of religious affiliations such as the Society of Friends, and individual self-ascribed identity. Following Sanz, Fiore, and May, identity is conceived as operating at multiple scales: individual, group, society, and human species (2009:17). To the extent that group and society may or may not be the same in any given historically contingent context, and identity as a member of the human species may be a relatively recent modern phenomena, the group and individual scales are here argued to be the two primary scales important for consideration. Distinguishing between different types of style in the production and consumption of material culture enables the consideration of these two primary forms of identity and identification, or adherence with specific beliefs and values, within the archaeological record.

Archaeologists have used style and theories of style to study identity and identification with particular beliefs and values in the past, and returning to a re-emphasis on style is crucial to this endeavor. Wiessner’s distinction between emblemic and assertive style (1983) is particularly useful in the identification of past agency, belief, and perhaps also emotion, to the extent that this reflects socially constructed emotions characteristic of particular beliefs, tenets, or ideational environment. The concept of assertive style enables consideration of the degree to which an individual member of society or a group actively, consciously, asserted an identity in accordance with social or group beliefs and tenets.

A focus on style provides insight into the archaeological study of communities in general. Human communities may share residence or space, and may also share “life experiences, knowledge, goals, and sentiments” (Isbell 2000:243). The former may be viewed as the “natural community”, bounded by space, and the latter the “imagined community” (248-249). Inclusion in the “imagined community” is argued to be fleeting and associated with desires, intentions, and a sense of belonging (Isbell 2000:249). In the archaeological study of communities, it has been argued an approach focusing on the “imagined” community possesses greater potential than the “natural community” (Isbell 2000:263). The approach focusing on style may assist in the identification of assertion of membership within an “imagined” community, through the presence of emblemic or assertive style in domestic artifact assemblages.
1.5 **Contribution to the Rise and Spread of Consumerism in the Atlantic World**

The study of the material culture evidence of the manifestation of Quaker tenets also may contribute to the study of transformations in beliefs and values in the period of the emergence and proliferation of consumerism in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century in British Colonial North America and the Atlantic World. Historians and anthropologists have attributed high significance to the role of consumption in the Industrial Revolution and modern industrial capitalism, and as such in the formation of the contemporary world and society in general.

In order to contextualize the world within which Quakerism emerged and spread to the British North American colonies, an overview of theoretical frameworks regarding capitalism, the Atlantic World System, and the development of industrial capitalism follows. Theories range in focus on material and ideological considerations as primary in fostering the critical economic and social transformations associated with industrialization in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. For Marx, the material conditions of human existence are deterministic and the political and religious dimensions are “superstructure” (Barzun 2000:589; Johnson 1996:6). Weber's analysis in *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, alternatively, views religious ideological tenets as the primary agent of change in society. Specifically, the Protestant ethic emphasized hard work and the worth of individuals as resulting from merit and is viewed as stimulating the development of industrial capitalism.

### 1.5.1 Definitions of Capitalism

The term “capitalism” did not fully enter political and economic discussion until the early twentieth century (Braudel 1979:237). Though used as early as 1753, the word had formerly been defined as “the state of one who is rich” (Braudel 1979:237). Braudel points out that the proliferation of the term capitalism in the early twentieth century arouse in the context of political debate (1979:237).

Marx, though not using the term “capitalism”, argued the capitalist mode of production and accumulation involves the expropriation of labor for the generation of surplus (Marx 1887[1967]:724). Weber, emphasizing the accumulation of wealth, defines "capitalistic economic action as one which rests on the expectation of profit by
the utilization of opportunities for exchange” (Weber 1930[2005]:xxxii). These perspectives each identify critical aspects of an important economic transition.

For Weber, Protestant ideology constitutes the prime mover which stimulated the development of capitalism and industrialization. Protestant tenets, Weber argued fostered a “worldly asceticism” founded on the principle of “living in the world but not of it” (Fischer 1989:556). Wealth was not to be consumed in “opulent displays”, but to be saved and turned to constructive purposes (Fischer 1989:558). These principles, it can be argued, are those that rendered the Quakers ideal industrialists. They saved the capital necessary for additional industrial or commercial investment and expenditure. In England and the British North American colonies alike, Quakers played a role “far beyond their numbers” in the industrial revolution (Fischer 1989:558-560). In this manner, the tenets of the adherents of the Society of Friends rendered them ideally suited to emerge as what Veblen termed “Captains of Industry” (Cassano 2008). In contrast, according to Veblen the social elite of the time engaged in conspicuous consumption and those hoping to ascend to that status engaged in flagrant displays of consumption in emulation or “invidious comparison” (Veblen 1899[1994]; Cassano 2008:185). Cassano argues, though differing in their focus, both Weber and Veblen came to the same conclusion that within capitalism the individual ultimately becomes trapped within the “cage of the acquisitive machine” (Cassano 2008:177).

Borrowing the concept from Marx, Wolf labels three modes of production - tributary, kinship, and capitalist (1982:76). In both the tributary and kinship modes, the individual producer possesses the means of production of his own subsistence (Wolf 1982:80). In the tributary mode a class of "surplus takers" is formed, while in the kinship mode rules for establishing lineage and power within lineages determines the distribution of surplus (Wolf 1982:90). The capitalist mode is distinguished by the ownership of the means of production, which does not belong to the producers, and is enabled by the ability to purchase social labor (Wolf 1982:78). The elite members of society, who owned the means of production, could control social labor either by paying wages for the products of labor or by ownership of the laborers in a system of slavery (Delle 1998:28-29; Wallerstein 1974:147-148).

An alternative perspective views this as the transformation from agricultural capitalism to industrial capitalism (Williams 1944[1994]:54). These perspectives all
identify critical aspects of an important economic transition. The new capitalist system was characterized by factory production and the restructuring of social relations involving the formation of an urban proletariat (Delle 1998:3, 49). This transition may have been spurred by a demand for increased production and technological innovation (Patterson 1993:357).

For Weber it was the “rational”, or segmented organization of all aspects of culture, that distinguished modern Western Society (1930[2005]:xxxviii-xxxix). Weber viewed the ethos, or “influence of certain religious ideas” as possessing a profound effect on an economic system and in fact on all aspects of society (1930[2005]:xxxix). For example, the “rationalization” or “rational” organization of modern Western art included harmonious music through orchestras with highly segmented roles in the production of polyphonic sound (Weber 1930[2005]:xxix). Though polyphonic music is known throughout world cultures, Weber argues it is the “rational” and “calculated” organization of the production of the sounds through highly organized orchestras that differs in modern Western society (Weber 1930[2005]:xxix). Likewise, while the pursuit of gain or money was present in “China, India, Babylon, Egypt, Mediterranean antiquity, and the Middle Ages”, Weber argues it is the extension of the principles of “rational organization” that distinguishes the modern Western economic systems from other earlier systems (1930[2005]:xxxi-xxvii).

Some scholars suggest that a form of capitalism may have been present in ancient civilizations, which is of critical importance for consideration of the longue durée of early modern industrial capitalism. They equate capitalism with the use of wealth to produce further wealth, which was present in the first state-level societies but did not become dominant until A.D. 1500 (Ekholm and Friedman 1982; Sanderson and Hall 1995:101; Weber 1930[2005]). Wolf classifies this as the accumulation of mercantile wealth, which has existed much longer than capitalist production and has historically relied on the tributary and kinship modes (Wolf 1982:85). This strategy has been used all along by merchants, in buying low and selling at a higher price, and should not be confused with a capitalist mode of production (Wolf 1982:298).

Also, it should be noted that many definitions of modern industrial capitalism are framed so specifically as to only describe the economic system which fostered and arose from industrialization. Braudel argues that the equation of capitalism with “the
modern industrial system” precludes the consideration of capitalism in ancient societies by definition (1979:238). Extending this argument further, one could in fact view “capitalism” as part of the ideology of the modern industrial system. In essence, it is a manifestation of the ethnocentric qualitative differentiation of the modern system from medieval and ancient political economies. If capitalism is the political economy of the modern industrial system, then certainly it originated with industrialization in the modern era. However, does this illuminate the historical and cultural transformations that led to the spread and success of capitalism and industrialization? Braudel argues:

…the pretext that ‘true’ capitalism dates only from the nineteenth century, means abandoning the effort to understand the significance – crucial to the analysis of that economy – of what might be termed the former topology of capitalism.

(1979:239)

The study of the origins and, as termed by Braudel (1979:251), the “pre-conditions” of capitalism is beneficial in the identification and consideration of the elements of the system: the accumulation of capital, competitive markets, and a wage-earning proletariat. A productive avenue of research, rather than limiting consideration to the economic system of the modern era, would be to investigate the timing and onset of different elements of this economic system in varying degrees in ancient economies.

I believe these elements, or hallmarks, of capitalism may best be viewed as deriving from and recursively fostering two primary cultural ethos: 1) materialism, manifesting as an ostentatious materialism, linked to consumption and commodification; and 2) individualism, linked to the emergence and reinforcement of the pursuit of the individual accumulation of capital through competitive markets. Contrary to the view that modern industrial capitalism is associated with the “free market”, Braudel argues the development of capitalism is linked to monopolies which were the “product of power, cunning and intelligence” (1979:418). The “free market” has in fact been described as part of the “ideology of capitalism” which is valorized by Neoliberalism (Shankar and Cavanaugh 2012:357). Stemming from the cultural ethos of materialism and individualism associated with capitalism is a host of socio-cultural issues and problems much discussed by modern social theorists in relation to social
stratification: disproportionate power relations, inequality, and poverty. The study of these phenomena benefits from a consideration of the historical and cultural emergence and transformation of the ethos of materialism and individualism that witnessed their proliferation.

Furthermore, materialism and individualism need not be solely associated with capitalism and could alternatively also characterize and be prevalent within other socio-economic systems characteristic of industrialized societies and earlier societies. Some groups sought to spread an ethos in contradiction to the ethos of materialism and individualism. The religious Society of Friends was one such group, whose tenets of “Going Plain in the World” and “The Inner Light” sought to directly counter the prevalent materialism and individualism of their time. The concept of the light in every human should not be interpreted as reflective of an ethos of individualism, for though all individuals possess the light the emphasis was situated in the call for “sympathy and compassion for thy neighbor” because all humans possess the light. “Individualism” has been defined as “the basic orientation guiding the attitudes, values, and behaviors of people in modern individualized society” (Halman and Ester 1996:645). According to Edmund Leach, the “ethos of individualism” was central to contemporary Western society but “notably absent” from most “non-Western” societies which anthropologists study (Leach 1982:139-140, quoted in Storr 1988[2005]:78). Within the values fostering sympathy, empathy and compassion, the Quakers developed an alternative to the ethos of individualism within the context of modern Western society. Consideration of the Quakers’ values and ethos may provide insight into new alternatives to materialism and individualism, and the associated social issues and problems in modern society.

1.5.2 Overview of Capitalism, Industrialization, and the Atlantic System

A substantial body of historical and anthropological research has been compiled on the issue of the imperial expansion of northwestern Europe and the development of an Atlantic world system. By the late seventeenth century Europe, Africa, the Caribbean, and much of North and South America were linked in an interdependent web of economic interaction (Blackburn 1997:3; Curtin 1998:141-142; Inikori and Engerman 1992:9; Meinig 1986:65; Sheridan 1974:15; Solow 1991:1; Solow and

During the 1960s and 1970s the literature on the Atlantic System and the rise of the Western world grew considerably (for example, see Braudel 1973; Davis 1973; Frank 1969, 1978, 1979; Genovese 1973a and 1973b; North and Thomas 1973; Sheridan 1974). A particularly influential body of work has been Wallerstein’s formulation of the modern world system (1974, 1980, 1989). Wallerstein merged Braudelian historiography, Marxian historical materialism, and Frank’s dependency theory into a theory on the development of the modern world economy that has revolutionized the study of social life and historical change (Sanderson and Hall 1995:95). Following Wallerstein, the development of literature on the Atlantic world system continued (for example, see Blackburn 1997; Craton 1997; Drescher and Engerman 1998; Eltis 1987; Engerman 1996; Inikori and Engerman 1992; Meinig 1986; Mintz 1985; Solow 1991; Solow and Engerman 1987; Stinchcombe 1995; Thornton 1998; Walvin 2000; D. Watts 1987; Wolf 1982). Some have argued that the world system is much older than postulated by Wallerstein, stretching back 5,000 years into antiquity (Frank and Gills 1993).

Insights from world systems theory and the development of the Atlantic system have prompted revisions in the anthropological conception of culture change, encapsulated in the work of Eric Wolf. He has argued that societies develop in systems of weblike interconnections rather than in isolation (1982:286). Such a perspective was previously formulated as a theory of social fields, within which societies interacted with each other in “weblike, netlike connections” (Lesser 1961:42). Wolf’s work has inspired substantial research into the effects of the rise and spread of modern industrial capitalism on local populations throughout the world (for example, see Schneider and
Rapp 1995). A significant focus of many historical archaeologists has been the effects of European explorations and colonization upon native peoples (Deagan 1991:108; Feder 1994:15; Little 1994:11).

Scholars increasingly emphasize the need to conceptualize the reciprocal nature of interactions among societies engaging in these weblike connections (for example, see Armstrong 2000:380; Cusick 2000:46; Dawdy 2000:2; Deetz 1996:213; Feder 1994:17; Ferguson 1992:xli-xlv, 2000:5; Lightfoot 1995). Current conceptualizations emphasize the existence of multiple systems and numerous subsystems having variable effects upon each other (Meinig 1986:264). Within the Atlantic world system, research is directed towards the mutual intercontinental effects of trade, settlement, and the enforced migration of peoples upon the local populations, emerging colonial societies, and European nations (for example, see Axtell 1981, 1997; Butler 2000; Hawke 1988; Kupperman 2000; Merrell 1989; Weatherford 1988; 1991; Wood et al. 1990).

Eric Williams’ discussion in *Capitalism and Slavery* (1944[1994]), which has come to be known as the “Williams Thesis”, has heavily influenced the study of the development of the Atlantic world system (Craton 1997:306; Drescher and Engerman 1998:357; Eltis 1987:4; Engerman 1996:147; Inikori and Engerman 1992:8; Paquette and Engerman 1996:6). Williams’ multicomponent thesis is comprised of two main parts, concerning the suggested link between the Atlantic trade and the rise of industrial capitalism and the primary economic motivation of abolition (Solow and Engerman 1987:1). This thesis has inspired studies on the profitability of the Atlantic slave trade and West Indian slavery, and detailed studies of abolitionist politics. Another area of research inspired by the Williams Thesis calls for the reformulation of discussion of the Atlantic System, to include Africa in world history, so that the effects of slavery and the slave trade on the entire Atlantic world may be considered (Manning 1990:13-14).

The Williams Thesis asserts the importance of slavery and the slave trade in the development of industrial metropoles in Europe and North America. The triangular trade is argued to be the fundamental source of wealth that stimulated, and even financed, the industrial revolution (Austen and Smith 1992:184; Drescher and Engerman 1998:389; Eltis 1987; Inikori and Engerman 1992:9; Mintz n.d.:29; Sheridan 1974:475; Solow and Engerman 1987:5; E. Williams 1944[1994]:52). In this trade the slave trade was a pivotal part, described as "the first principle and foundation for all the
rest” (Williams 1944[1994]:51, 1970[1991]:126). All major ship-owners in the
eighteenth century participated at least to some extent in the slave trade (Williams
1944[1994]:208). The wealth generated by the slave trade itself was great, especially
because of the high mortality and "restocking" required in the West Indies (Williams
1970[1991]:125), but the wealth generated from the slave production was immense as
well. Eric Williams claims that "sugar was King, and the West Indian islands the sugar
bowl of Europe”, and that the wealth accumulated from West Indian trade underlay the
prosperity and civilization of northern Europe and the northern North American
colonies (Williams 1944[1994]:108). The triangular trade may be conceived as a
positive feedback loop, in which both sending and receiving contributed to the
economic development of Europe, first, and later of the multiple overlapping core in
northern North America. The West Indian colonies were the most valuable, providing
raw materials for manufacture and markets for slaves and manufactures simultaneously
(Williams 1970[1991]:123). The wealth generated through the trade was immense, but
the economic gains included increased manufacturing and access to raw materials for
manufacture (Williams 1944[1994]:52). The increase in the consumption of goods
generated by that trade instigated the development of the productive power of the
country (Manning 1990:14; E. Williams 1944[1994]:98). The triangular trade therefore
spurred Europe's economy in three primary ways by: contributing directly to European
wealth through a favorable trade balance; providing increased markets, in Africa and
the New World slave societies, for manufactured goods; and providing raw materials,
from the colonies, which further stimulated production.

This argument has been the subject of ongoing debate among historians
market for manufactured goods in the New World, and English exports to Africa and
the Americas increased tenfold over the course of the eighteenth century. Such
increased exports suggest a large overseas market for European manufactured goods
had developed, and that high levels of demand may have inspired elevated levels of
production leading to industrialization. Critics argue, however, that trade within the
home countries may have been more influential in stimulating industrial development
than foreign trade with colonial holdings (Engerman 1996:149). Engerman believes
that resolution of this debate requires empirical data in order to achieve a more
definitive reconstruction of the economic links between the New and Old Worlds (1996:162).

The archaeological study of consumption among slaves and the recently emancipated in the New World may help accumulate the “empirical data” Engerman calls for. Comparison of the relative frequencies of local wares and imported European goods in colonial settings, and changes in these frequencies through time, may help to document the extent to which colonial demand for European goods stimulated the Industrial Revolution. Though slaves may have received secondhand ceramics from the planter, in the Caribbean slaves also had access to Caribbean goods through an extensive internal marketing system (Berlin and Morgan (1993:22; Pulsipher 1994:207; Young 2002:43-44). Preliminary results from archaeological data in colonial settings document a decrease in local production and increase in importation of European goods. At Galways Plantation on the Caribbean island of Montserrat, for instance, the frequencies of local wares compared to European goods declined from the late eighteenth to mid-nineteenth century (Howson 1995:205). The decrease in the relative frequencies of local wares in the early to mid-nineteenth century lends support to the contentions of the Williams Thesis. British textile and ceramic exports to Montserrat, and the Caribbean in general, increased dramatically between 1830 and 1845. This increase supports the claim for the role of consumption amongst plantation laborers, the most numerous occupants of plantation societies, in stimulating the Industrial Revolution in Europe. The timing of the loss of aspects of traditional culture, as reflected through technological style as an increase in plain Colono Ware, coincides with the onset and adoption of consumerism at Galways (Young 2002, 2010). Is the degree and timing of the adoption of elements of consumerism at Quaker residential sites comparable to that from other contemporary non-Quaker households?

Weber defines “capitalistic economic action as one which rests on the expectation of profit by the utilization of opportunities for exchange” (Weber 1930[2005]:xxxii). The Protestant ideology, therefore, is viewed as motivating the pursuit of capitalistic actions and essentially is argued as the prime mover responsible for the expansion of capitalism. For Eric Williams increasing markets for consumption served as the prime mover in the industrial revolution. An ideology such as that
described by Veblen would have fostered the demand for consumer goods in accordance with the Williams Thesis.

In consideration of the production and consumption of household goods, the degree to which particular cultures valued self-interest, or cooperative-interest, should be questioned and evidence sought to document the relative importance of each within particular historically contingent cases. Interestingly, the members of the Society of Friends actually consciously refused to participate in conspicuous consumption as a form of rejection of the values associated with it.

The Quakers offer a prime example of tenets fostering cooperative-interest, and an underlying ethos of compassion. Should we assume that historically-documented groups like the Quakers are unique in world history in possessing an ethos of compassion and self-interest, or would it rather be prudent to gain insight from the Quaker example and seek evidence of other cultures in the past which may have shared a similar ethos? This study seeks to establish a path forward to documenting the degree to which past societies shared or lacked an ethos of compassion similar to historically documented members of the Society of Friends. The establishment of analytical methods, focused on style and technological style, to enable the consideration of past beliefs, tenets and us such an underlying ethos, paves the way for the identification and study of other ethos from archaeological data sets.

1.6 Quakers at the Lawrie Farmstead in British Colonial New Jersey

Consideration of the technological style and the style of consumption of the constellation of material culture from a household, or entire range of surviving archaeological data sets, provides new insight into Quakers and Quakerism and also new contributions to the study of beliefs and values from material culture in general. Archaeological and historical data from the Lawrie Farmstead will be analyzed in this manner. The evidence considered here includes ceramic and glass artifacts, materials related to sewing, dress and personal adornment, alcohol and tobacco-related objects, faunal remains, architectural evidence of building techniques, and the use of social space within buildings and within the organization of buildings and out-buildings at rural domestic sites. Low-visibility and highly-visible artifacts reflect differing mechanisms for the manifestation and assertion of the adherence to beliefs and tenets.
The Lawrie Farmstead in western Monmouth County, New Jersey, was occupied by Scottish Quakers from 1705 to 1767 (Figures 1.1 through 1.3). The site was excavated during an archaeological field school through William Paterson University, with the assistance of Richard Grubb & Associates, cultural resource consultants (Young 2001, 2005a, 2007a; Young et al. In Preparation).

Data from the Lawrie Farmstead will be compared to that from other Quaker and non-Quaker sites from British North America. Information from sites from the late seventeenth to mid eighteenth century will be compared to that from the late eighteenth to early nineteenth century in five basic regions: The Delaware Valley, New England, New York, the Chesapeake, and the Carolinas. Information from several sites of each region and time period has been tabulated, including data pertaining to artifact groups considered including the Architectural, Kitchen/Domestic, Clothing/Sewing, Alcohol-Related and Tobacco-Related groups. Evidence of on-site production and evidence of building techniques, internal site organization, the social use of space, and spatial artifact distributions is also considered. This enables evaluation of the degree to which Quaker sites differed or were similar to contemporaneous non-Quaker sites, by region.

1.6.1 The Context of Cultural Pluralism: Quakerism in Colonial New Jersey

The context of the archaeological data sets from the Lawrie Farmstead is considered within the historical context of the heterogeneous Colony of New Jersey. New Jersey is argued to have been the most culturally diverse of the European North American colonies, and as a result the historical archaeological resources are quite varied (Wacker 1982:199). In a recent overview of the history of the state three chronological periods have been identified: the initial period of “settlement and adjustment” lasting until 1844, a period of growth and urban industrial economic development ranging from the 1840s until the end of World War II, and a subsequent period of modern suburbanization (Clemens 2004:375). A recent history of the Garden State has further divided these periods into nine groups, spanning the colonial period through the era of suburbanization and decline of the cities (Lurie and Veit 2012).
Figure 1.1: Perth Amboy and the Lawrie Farmstead (Wacker 2009:50 [Rutgers University])
Figure 1.2: Perth Amboy and the Lawrie Farmstead (Robinson 2009:25 [Evans 1749])
Figure 1.3: USGS Map (7.5' Quadrangle: Pitman West, N.J., 1995)
Members of the Lenape tribe originally occupied the vicinity of the Lawrie Farmstead in southwestern New Jersey. The Lenape’s homeland, *Lenapehocking* comprised a region including New Jersey, northern Delaware, eastern Pennsylvania, and southeastern New York. Initial contact occurred between the Lenape and Europeans occurred in 1524 when Verrazano sailed into New York Bay (Dowd 1992:31). Dutch traders may have been in Lenapehoking as early as 1598, but the first well established contact is Hudson's journey up river in 1609 (Dowd 1992:32). Trade was blossoming a few years later, for in the winter of 1613 to 1614 10,000 pelts were obtained from the Hudson River Indians (Kraft 1991:208). In 1622 and 1624 trading posts were established, including Fort Nassau on the Delaware across from the Schuylkill (Dowd 1992:34). A settlement was established on Burlington Island in the Delaware River in 1624, until being relocated to Manhattan in 1626 (Dillian et al 2014:51-52).

During the early colonial period, between 1630 and 1670, the Dutch, the Swedes, and various groups from England moved into the region that would become New Jersey (Clemens 2004:375; Taylor 2001:252-263). In 1631 the Dutch established *Swanendael* on the Delaware, but the settlement was annihilated by the Lenape the following year (Dowd 1992:35). During the first generation the Dutch colonists relied on Indian corn for subsistence (Dowd 1992:34). The Lenape became dependent on trade, especially on guns, gunpowder and lead which they required for protection from their enemies (Dowd 1992:35). New Netherland, home to Dutch, German, French, Scandinavian, and free and enslaved Africans, became North America’s “first multiethnic society” (Boyer et al. 1998:59). No more than half of the European settlers of New Netherland were Dutch, with the others coming from other parts of Europe and other Dutch Colonies (Cantwell and Wall 2001:168). There were also Native Americans from the Lenape and a variety of other tribes which came to trade or were brought in as slaves (Cantwell and Wall 2001:169).

The Swedes occupied the Lower Delaware River Valley from 1638 to 1655. The Lenape supplied the Swedes with needed game and corn, attesting to the resiliency of the Lenape economy (Esposito 1994:4). In 1638 the Swedes exported 30,000 skins from New Sweden, they engaged in extensive trade with the Susquehannocks until 1655 (Newcomb 1956:81).
New Sweden, founded in the Lower Delaware Valley in 1638, was short-lived but had long-lasting effects on the region and the colonists’ relationship with the Lenape (Esposito 1994). The Colony of New Sweden was established as a trading outpost in 1638. Between 1620 and 1638, the Lenape engaged in a series of conflicts with the Susquehannocks which ended with the latter assuming a dominant position. Fur trade in New Sweden was never extensive, however, and the beaver was hunted to near extinction and absent from the area of New Sweden by 1644. Problems arose in the mid 1640s over land purchases. The Lenape believed they were selling only the rights to shared usage (Esposito 1994:4). The giving of gifts was essential as a symbolic representation of friendship, and the Lenape expected continued, "rent-like" presentations (Esposito 1994:5). The Lenape were decimated by smallpox, which depopulated entire villages on the Delaware in an epidemic from 1637 to 1640.

Previous interpretations of New Jersey history have followed a trajectory paralleling the development of historiography in America in general. Early historians focused upon political and military issues, followed by economic concerns. An interest in social history began in the 1960s and 70s, followed by a more recent interest in race and gender (Lurie 2004:373). The New Jersey State Plan for Archaeological Resources, published in 1982, reflected the interest in economic and social history along with a focus on the study of ethnicity and the cultural heterogeneity of the New Jersey.

The first permanent European settlement in what later became New Jersey was by the Dutch in Bergen in 1660 (Wacker 1982:199). In 1664 English colonial rule began, and New Englanders began moving into northeastern New Jersey. In the mid-1670s Quakers began settling southwestern New Jersey, along with Swedes and Finns from what was to become the colony of Pennsylvania (Wacker 1982:199). While the political rule changed from the Dutch to the English, the majority of the early settlers remained and heterogeneity intensified within the colony in the eighteenth century. According to Peter Wacker in New Jersey’s State Plan for Archaeological Resources, there existed four primary cultural regions in New Jersey in the eighteenth century: the Dutch-settled area in the northeast; a New England-settled area to the south, an English Quaker region in the southwest in the Delaware River Valley, and a Pennsylvania-settled region in the northwest (1982:207). The central portion of the colony, including the Raritan Valley, was defined as a “Zone of Heterogeneity” and the southeastern
outer coastal plain a sparsely populated “Lumbering Region” (Wacker 1982:204). This general pattern, with Quakers primarily settling the Delaware Valley Region and the northeast becoming “especially multiethnic” continues to be generally accepted (Taylor 2001:263; Wacker 2009:48).

By the 1720s European settlement and expansion had displaced the majority of the native Lenape, or Delaware (Williams 2009:83-87). In southern New Jersey small groups of Lenape lived amongst the European immigrants well into the eighteenth century (Williams and Kardas 1982:191). The Quakers are reputed to have maintained non-violent attitudes and made numerous missionizing efforts, leading to the establishment of mission communities such as the Bethel in the Borough of Jamesburg and the Brotherton reservation in Indian Mills, New Jersey (Cosans-Zebooker and Thomas 1993:14; Grossman-Bailey 2011:2; Grossman-Bailey et al. 2009:3-18). The mission community of Bethel was established by David Brainerd in 1746 (Dwight 1822: 290-291; Grossman-Bailey 2011:2; Grossman-Bailey et al. 2009:3-18). John Brainerd, David’s brother, was appointed superintendent of the Brotherton reservation in 1762 by Governor Barnard, the last official place of refuge of the New Jersey Indians (Kammler 1996:36-37).

From 1765 to 1810, defined as the Pre-Revolutionary Era to the Pre-Industrial Period, population swelled in most New Jersey counties though the southeastern and northwestern regions maintained lower populations (Wacker 1982:212). From 1800 to 1865, New Jersey underwent cultural changes arising from industrialization, massive immigration, and transportation improvements (Larrabee 1982:220). The Inner Coastal Plain, extending in a band across central New Jersey between the metropoles of Philadelphia and New York, is defined as a zone of “Intense Development of Transportation and Industry” (Larrabee 1982:222).

The Lawrie Farmstead, as an extensively excavated early to mid-eighteenth century Quaker-occupied site in Colonial New Jersey, possesses ample archaeological data sets for consideration of the level of adherence to Quaker beliefs and tenets. The location of the Lawrie Farmstead in western Monmouth County was situated near the boundary of the “English Quaker Settlement Region” and “Zone of Heterogeneity” in the Raritan Valley and Bay area in the eighteenth century (Wacker 1982:204). When the Lawries first arrived in the Raritan Bay Area, in 1683, many Dutch still inhabited
that area. In 1682, the Province of East Jersey contained approximately 5,500 inhabitants consisting of primarily of Puritans from Long Island and New England and the Dutch (Pomfret 1953). There was also “a scattering of Baptists, Quakers, and other dissenters”. The majority of these “old settlers” lived within seven settlements in northeastern New Jersey in the Raritan Bay area (Pomfret 1953). The Lawrie Farmstead was therefore situated between the two large Middle Colony Metropoles and their zones of influence: New York City and the Raritan Bay in northeastern New Jersey and Philadelphia and the Delaware Valley in West New Jersey (see Figures 1.1 through 1.3). As Raritan Bay settlers the Lawries’ may have possessed connections with the New York metropole, yet as Quakers and residents of West New Jersey they may also have possessed connections with that urban center. The degree to which the Lawries’ material culture exhibits similarities to either, or both, of these urban centers will be closely examined.

1.7 Organization of the Volume

This volume includes a total of seven Chapters, including this introduction. Chapter 2 presents the theoretical background, providing an overview of the uses of culture and style in archaeology and their application to the study of the production and consumption of material culture at households associated with members of the Society of Friends. Chapter 3 provides an overview of Quakerism and its basic tenets, beliefs and values. Chapter 4 includes a detailed outline of the anticipated archaeological correlates of the basic tenets and values associated with Quakerism: Going Plain in the World and the Inner Light. Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 provide details of the archaeological evidence from several Quaker and non-Quaker households, from the late seventeenth to early nineteenth century. Chapter 5 presents the archaeological evidence associated with data sets related to the Quaker tenet of going plain in the world and eschewing the many temptations of consumerism. Chapter 6 presents the archaeological evidence for data sets related to the Quaker doctrine of the Inner Light and associated call for compassion, empathy, and sympathy for thy neighbors. Chapter 7, the concluding chapter, consists of overall interpretations, summary of the contributions of this study, and proposed directions for future research. The significant contributions of the study at the four scales of relevance identified above (Section 1.1) will be
considered within each chapter, and for the study as a whole in the final chapter. Figures and tables are included in the text following the first in-text citation. An appendix includes information pertaining to the development of archaeological correlates of Native American and settler interaction.
CHAPTER 2
Theoretical Background: The Importance of Style
to the Archaeological Study of Beliefs and Values

2.1 Introduction

Human interaction with the natural world, as traditionally defined in terms of
economic systems, involves production, distribution, and consumption. This section
will consider archaeological theory pertaining to style and technological style, the
influence of style and choice on human actions involved in the production and
consumption of material culture, and how these may be applied to consumption which
also involves human action. Through the act of choosing consumer goods, members of
individual households make selections which may be influenced by culture, ethnicity,
gender, and religious affiliation, beliefs, and values. To the extent that there is ever
more than one choice to select from, then style will be apparent in those choices and
will reflect and reinforce the degree of acceptance and adherence to beliefs and values.

Increasingly, archaeologists are concerned with linking site-specific artifact
analyses with broader conceptual frameworks and the “big questions” of history
(Palmer and Horning 2009:404; Tarlow 2007:5). A focus on style, technological style,
and consumer choice, which consider such choices to be reflective of socially and
personally influenced choices, provides linking mechanisms between artifact variation
and larger issues such as emerging consumerism, and the differential adoption and
spread of the ideologies, or ethos, fostering the growth of capitalism.

The study of the “style of consumption” becomes of paramount importance in
the study of the recent past, within which individual households produced less and less
of the material accoutrements of the life and selected more and more goods that were
mass-produced and distributed at local, regional, and global scales. The study of the
style of consumption among a particular group, the Society of Friends, simultaneously
provides new information pertaining to the group members’ degree of adherence to
religious tenets and assists in developing a new analytical framework for the study of
beliefs and values from material culture.
2.2 Theoretical Foundations: Culture in Anthropology and Anthropological Archaeology

Archaeology is typically defined as the study of past human cultures through material remains (Price 2007:6; Renfrew and Bahn 2000:11; Young 2005b). The goal is to generate new understanding and insight into past cultures, rather than simply additional information regarding past material remains. As Matthew Johnson has stated, with regards to “old houses”, the aim is “to understand something of the ways of life and systems of thought of the builders, owners, and users” (2010:3). Archaeologists’ efforts to reconstruct past human cultures are intricately connected to the definition of culture adhered to by the researcher. Cowgill argues the term “culture” encourages thinking of an "inchoate mass of ideational phenomena" (Cowgill 1993:560). As such, a discussion of culture and its uses in anthropology and anthropological archaeology provides an important framework for the discussion of the application of archaeological data sets to any particular research questions.

Within the Western intellectual tradition there exists a long-standing conceptualization of a dualistic nature of reality, which is manifest within anthropologists’ definitions of culture (Young 2002:3). Extremes range from idealist to materialist definitions, such as Tylor’s (2012[1891:1]) “complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, morals…” and White’s (1959:8) “extrasomatic means of adaptation”. Adaptation as a prime mover may be demonstrated not to entirely explain even technology, however, and as such provides an inadequate definition for culture as a whole (Young 2002:3). This underlying dualism, however, has fueled decades of debate, as described by Trigger, between “materialists and idealists…processual archaeologists against post-processual ones, … and Darwinian archaeologists and sociobiologists, against neo-Boasian postmodernists” (2003:3). Trigger argues this fundamental dichotomy has manifested most clearly within anthropological archaeology as the debate between rationalism and relativism. Rationalists stress the universal features shared by humans, and view culture change as evolutionary and derived from adaptation to changing conditions (Trigger 2003:4). Trigger argues relativism derives from Romanticism, originating as a protest against Enlightenment rationalism, and emphasized the importance of emotions and connection to ethnic groups, religions, communities, and other social groups (2003:7). Postmodernism, and
post-processualism in archaeology, emphasize the historically constructed nature of cultural traditions and as such can be viewed as a return to the cultural relativism of Boas (Trigger 2003:7).

Post-modernism, post-structuralism, and post-processualism, argue that science does not maintain a privileged status (Preucel and Mrozowski 2010:4). The advocates of this approach argue this is a radical departure from previous scientific approaches in the social sciences and within archaeology in particular. In formative writings in the emergence of “post-processualism”, Hodder asserted material culture actively constitutes rather than passively reflects social action (Hodder 1979, 1982; Preucel and Mrozowski 2010:6). The adherents of the post-processual approach have incorporated sophisticated theories on the inter-relations, or entanglements, of humans and material culture. Many archaeologists now espouse a “processual-plus” position, seeking to combine processual and post-processual approaches (Hegmon 1993:217). In the study of colonial encounters, for example, Stein argues combining the approaches by studying the issues of concern to post-processual archaeology while maintain a comparative analytical framework and concern for explicit replicable methodologies (Stein 2005:8).

Many studies, however, suffer from a significant disjuncture between theory and its application to archaeological data sets. This disjuncture, I will argue, may be overcome through a return and revival of archaeological theories pertaining to style and technological style. The original proponents of theories of style and technological style may in fact be viewed in some ways as early “post-processualists” due to their interest in social phenomena and the manner in which they may be studied through material culture. I will present a case below, however, that these were not in fact “early post-processualists” but were rather instead anthropological archaeologists. The term “post-processualism” is in fact a misnomer, and the term “pre-processualism” may actually be more suitable, as the ideas are prevalent within the former cultural-historical approach and amongst the founders of four-field Americanist anthropology. I will build a case to demonstrate that theories have fluctuated, cyclically, from humanistic to scientific and back to humanistic approaches. Trigger argues that the cyclical nature of these fluctuations suggests the theories are “deeply embedded in the competing values of Western society” (2003:655).
In an influential article on style in archaeology Sackett, following the anthropologist Cornelius Osgood, argued artifacts simultaneously operate in ideational, social, and material realms (Sackett 1982:69; Osgood 1940). These thoughts did not originate with Sackett in the 1970s or 1980s, or with Osgood in the 1940s, but rather with Franz Boas earlier in the twentieth century. Boas, considered the founding father of Americanist anthropology, postulated in 1927 that “Primitive Art” derives from two sources: “from technical pursuits and from the expression of emotions and thought” (1927[1955]:349). Interest in the social aspects of art, and through extension in technology or “technical pursuits”, may be found to be fundamental to the formation of four-field anthropology as a discipline. Boas also realized all cultures were the product of historical growth and were not static or timeless. He argued: “It is safe to say that the critical study of recent years has definitely disproved the existence of far reaching homologies which would permit us to arrange all the manifold cultural lines in an ascending scale…” (1927[1955]: 5). He continued to assert that all “…cultural traits are in a constant state of flux…” (1927[1955]:7).

To “evaluate the rival claims” of cultural ecologists and postmodernist cultural relativists, Trigger conducted extensive research for a cross-cultural comparison of cultural traits of seven early civilizations: Old and Middle Kingdom Egypt, southern Mesopotamia, northern China, the Valley of Mexico, the Classic Maya, the Inka kingdom, and the Yoruba and Benin peoples of West Africa (2003:x, 14, 28). The adaptive theories of cultural ecologists predict that societies at the same level of development will share the most cross-cultural similarities in their economies, less in social and political organization, and the least similarity in the epiphenomenal cultural sphere (Trigger 2003:655). However, in the review of early civilizations the data leads Trigger to conclude that subsistence and economic systems vary the most and, unexpectedly, only one general form of class structure, two main forms of sociopolitical organization, and one set of key religious beliefs may be documented (2003:684). Trigger asserts that to account for cross-cultural similarities and differences, and culture change through time, biological and psychological factors must be considered in conjunction with social and cultural factors, to bridge the rift in theory and develop more “holistic and convincing explanations” (2003:687-688).
If the arguments of post-processualism are not new to the discipline, they were contrary to the rationalism espoused by the New Archaeology. The limits of rationalism were not unknown to Boas, who wrote: “the logics of science, - that unattainable ideal of the discovery of pure relations of cause and effect, uncontaminated by any kind of emotional bias as well as of unproved opinion, - are not the logics of life” (1927[1955]:2). Herein we see the realization that objective rationalism is an unattainable ideal, and that an individual’s own subjective bias interferes, long before the advent of any designations of “post-structuralism” or “post-processualism”. Boas further wrote that “the fashions in scientific and philosophic theory prove the weakness of our claim to a rational view of the world” (1927[1955]:2). It is ironic that archaeology, of all disciplines one that studies past human cultures, should fall so easily sway to the cyclical “fashions in scientific and philosophic theory” and place primary preference upon the new “theory-of-the-day”. However, I argue that much can be learned from the theories of the past, if not adopted whole-scale, but in selectively adapting what was presented before with the insights of work done subsequently.

One of the realizations of subsequent generations of scholars has been to shy away from biased, evolutionary terms such as “primitive”. However, Boas foreshowed and set the stage for these realizations through his arguments that all humans share “the fundamental sameness of mental processes” (1927[1955]:1). Boas argues the “advantage” of modern industrialized society is one of “…greater knowledge of the objective world, painfully gained by the labor of many generations, a knowledge which we apply rather badly…” (1927[1955]:4). Unfortunately, swayed by the “fashions of scientific and philosophical theory”, contemporary scholars are often far too ready to discard the baby with the bathwater when it comes to older social science theories. However, I will argue, the “baby” in the older anthropological and archaeological theories is of great utility, at times may be viewed as being the contemporary “baby” with a new name, and is precisely the tool or link that is necessary to enable the application of sophisticated social theory to archaeological data sets. When it comes to older anthropological and archaeological theories, we should not let the cloudy bathwater of terminology like “primitive” cloud our reception of the “baby”. The baby in this case consists of the founding concepts of four-field anthropology, including that all material culture is intimately intertwined with humans and that artifacts
simultaneously operate in the ideational, social, and material realms. For the founders of anthropology, the way to study the ideational and social realms of past societies was through style evident in material culture. Style, as the baby, should not be discarded with the clouded and overturned biases and concepts in the associated bathwater.

The revival of style is in fact essential to a primary goal of social and post-processual archaeology: the study of religious affiliation, beliefs, and values and the totality of past cultural traditions. To distance religious beliefs and values from other aspects of a cultural tradition and ethos is in and of itself a product of ethnocentric bias derived from contemporary modern, segmented society. However, the separation of religion and everyday life is, as described by Turner, a “modern phenomenon” (2011:952-968). Bossy argues the modern conceptualization of religion can be traced to the seventeenth century (1982:7-8). Turner goes on to point out that “archaeologists should not assume that past or even present Christian communities would understand a similar division” between religious belief and everyday life (2011:952-968). The view that religious beliefs and values can be separated from everyday life likely originates from the “rationalization” of society as described by Weber, including the “rational structures of law and of administration” associated with “modern rational capitalism” (Weber 1930[2005]:xxxviii). By “rational”, Weber is herein referring to the highly hierarchically, segmented, and disciplined organization of all aspects of culture and society associated with modern Western society. It is this “rational” organization of culture and society which is associated with the ethos emphasizing materialism and individualism characteristic of eighteenth century consumerism and the Industrial Revolution. The study of past cultures and societies should include a focus on past beliefs and values, or if not run the risk of reifying the “rational” abstraction of these categories prevalent in modern Western society.

2.2.1 The Interplay of Culture, Material Culture and Human Action

To account for the manner in which cultural ideals and values and material culture both contribute to the development of cultural traditions and culture change, social agency has been advanced as the mechanism which “reproduces and transforms society… through the nexus of agency and materiality” (Dobres and Robb 2005:162).
In the archaeological application of agency theory, most researchers have drawn upon the work of Bourdieu (1977) and Giddens (1984).

Bourdieu, in *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, is arguing against the two major approaches in anthropology of the time: structural-functionalism and structuralism (1977). These approaches embody the long-lasting body/mind, material/ideal, dichotomy in western intellectualism. Bourdieu exposes not only the inadequacies of each of these approaches, but the fundamental problems with the underlying dichotomy. He attempts a synthesis, or re-synthesis, of what was artificially separated, in a theory incorporating elements of both. The key concept, providing the theoretical unification, is *habitus*. *Habitus* is defined by Bourdieu as:

> that which one has acquired, but which has become durably incorporated in the body in the form of permanent dispositions. So the term constantly reminds us that it refers to something historical, linked to individual history, and that it belongs to a genetic mode of thought, as opposed to essentialist modes of thought (1993:86)

Bourdieu argues that he has revived the term *habitus*, a concept he attributes to Latin translations of Aristotle’s *Hesis* as well as Durkheim and Marcel Mauss, though admittedly he ascribes to the concept a more decisive role to play in cultural formations (Bourdieu 1993:85-86).

Structural-functionalism, in simplified form, is what Bourdieu refers to as "ethno-methodology". The focus is on establishing rules for conduct, or for social action. This is accomplished through making "practical activity an object of observation and analysis," (1977:2) indirectly. The rules, or constructs, created are "of the second degree, that is, constructs of the constructs made by actors on the social scene," (1977:21). Bourdieu argues this approach is "naive realism", viewing culture as "an empirical whole made up of a limited number of readily identifiable parts," (1977:201-202) and "practice as the product of obedience to rules" (1977:27). This approach is argued to be ineffective as a result of its emphasis on abstracting from the informant's accounts of his own world, for what goes without saying remains unsaid; it relies on the informant's "semi-theoretical" perspective" (1977:18,21). The importance
of unconscious or less than conscious predispositions is not adequately accounted for in these approaches.

While structural-functionalism deals with rules, or mechanisms of construction, structuralism focuses on "structure structured in the absence of any structuring principle,” (Bourdieu 1977:27). Levy Strauss's work, utilizing the concept of the unconscious, in effect negates any consideration of the structuring mechanism. The mechanism is latent and inaccessible by being conceptually placed in the mind. This approach tends to lead to reification, to "slip from the model of reality to the reality of the model" (Bourdieu 1977:29). The structures are made agents of social action, the construers of the social reality.

Bourdieu argues the common element in both approaches is the neglect of practical knowledge (1977:3). Analytical access to this realm of knowledge is gained through Bourdieu's concept of habitus. The habitus consists of the schemes of perception and appreciation deposited in every member of a group (1977:17). It is "a disposition inculcated in the earliest years of life and constantly reinforced by calls to order from the group" (1977:15). Social reality, or the reality of social action, is never simply the application of customary rules but is always constructed actively, creatively, improvisationally. Human agency, and strategy, is the fundamental element neglected in prior analyses. Bourdieu uses many analogies to express the utility of this concept, particularly of sports and games. In tennis or boxing, for example, the teacher can enumerate to the student the steps or moves necessary but the sum of these does not equal victory. There are subtleties which cannot be explicitly expressed, like the "dummy" or "fake" move, a bluff. The assumption making this a viable strategy is that your opponent will be able to interpret your next move simultaneously, from your motions and positioning prior to, and necessarily preceding, the fulfillment of the move. This realm of unconscious, or at least inexplicable, perceptions and assumptions, is the habitus. The teacher can never fully express this to the student; it can only be learned through experience (1977:11-15). A theory of practice must account for this realm of activity, in which social actors do not merely follow prescribed rules but "play with them", encompassing "tact, dexterity, or savoir-faire" (1977:201,10).

Bourdieu's theory of practice requires the study of the structures which simultaneously govern action and are the mechanisms for determining, or setting the
limits for, this action. These structures are rendered accessible through the concept of *habitus*. Bourdieu's approach is capable of realizing the goals of both structural-functionalism and structuralism, without succumbing to the “naivete” or reifications implicit in such narrowly focused approaches. The *habitus* is the mechanism through which the individual perceives her/his world, but this structure is learned and not an innate feature of the mind. The concept of the *habitus* provides the key to understanding the relationship between the ideas which generate action and the accounts given to others of the ideas underlying action.

The paramount importance of individual agency as a prime mover in cultural formations and culture change, however, should not necessarily be assumed to be a cross-cultural universal. Bender (1993:258) has asserted that the emphasis on individual agency “mirrors contemporary western politics”, which can be viewed as reflecting modern “middle-class experiences” (Dobres and Robb 2000:13). Robb points out that “collective agency” has been rather neglected by agency theorists and not thoroughly addressed by archaeologists (2010:503). “Western individualism” has fostered the emergence of “self-interest as the pursuit of strictly personal goals”, whereas in many societies “personal rewards, prestige, and well-being are believed to be derived from working with and for others” (Trigger 2003:679). To view the individual and individual agency as a prime mover of culture change in all times and all places runs the risk of ethnocentrically projecting modern values into the past. The degree to which the ideational, material, and social or individual action may or may not have enacted change in non-Western societies and in the past should in and of itself be determined on a case by case basis rather than assumed within the underlying theoretical framework.

In the study of cultural ideals, scholars argue emotion should be considered along with cognition. Tarlow argues that a focus on the study of “emotional standards” or “emotional ethos”, constituting a “culturally shared emotional atmosphere”, possesses greater potential in the study of past cultures than the study of subjective emotional experiences (2000:728). Oren and Bar-Tal define ethos as “the configuration of central society beliefs that provide particular orientation to a society” (2006:2). In fact, it is argued that a meaningful social archaeology is not possible without consideration of emotions in the past (Tarlow 2000:721). The separation of cognition and emotion, in fact, is argued to represent a false dichotomy (Norman 2005:8). Every
action and thought is in fact argued to be “tinged with emotion” at an often unconscious or subconscious level (Norman 2005:8). The emotional ethos of a particular culture in a particular period of time, is best viewed as both culturally and historically contingent. It developed over a span of time, being reinforced and reinforcing other aspects of culture and society.

Historians have argued that past religious systems may have been amongst the most influential reinforcing forces of other aspects of culture, including among them the emotional ethos of a particular group in a particular period in time. In the study of past emotional ethos, it may perhaps be most effective to commence first with a consideration of past religious beliefs, values, and tenets. These may be reconstructed through the aide of textual evidence in historic periods, and in prehistoric periods through an analysis of iconographic style which is emblemic in nature. As argued by Kus, the system of symbols characteristic of a religion enables a “middle-range theory of material agentic behavior and belief”, in which moods and motivations are “expressed and restructured in meaningful material practice” (2012:12). The definition of religion as a system of symbols, following Geertz (1973:90), renders the study of past religious systems ideally approachable via archaeological theory pertaining to emblemic style. Geertz argues:

religious symbols formulate a basic congruence between a particular style of life and a specific (if, most often, explicit) metaphysic, and in so doing sustain each with the borrowed authority of the other (1973:90).

The use of religious symbols, a form of emblemic and assertive style, by members of a particular household would indicate the degree to which the household members associate themselves with a particular set of religious beliefs or values. The style of life, influenced by the “moods and motivations” associated with a particular system of religious symbols and a particular ethos (1973:118), is analogous to the “manner of doing” associated with types of style defined by archaeologists and the concept of habitus.

The assertion that religion establishes “powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting moods and motivations in [wo]men” (Kus 2012:12, citing Geertz 1973:90), is central
to my position that religious beliefs, values, and tenets are formative, reinforcing, and reinforced by the emotional ethos of a particular group in a particular period in time. Kus recalls an insightful statement by Heusch (1962:15) that “a comparative study of politics should begin with a comparative study of religion” (2012:12). Similarly, a comparative study of past emotional ethos benefits from a comparative study of religion.

2.3 Style in Archaeology

Wobst, in questioning in the late 1990s whether style may be viewed to have fallen out of fashion in anthropological archaeology, wrote:

I consider it premature to talk about the death of style in archaeology: to me, talk of the end of style is as hegemonic as talk about the end of history – it represents an effort to silence readings alternative to the accepted story and thus an effort to suppress learning. To me, style is one of the most interesting and dynamic aspects of the material culture corpus to learn about. As long as stylistic theory and method have barely scratched the surface, we have no good reason to abandon the concept (1999:119-120)

A review of the use of the keywords “archaeology” and “style” in an academic search engine (SciVerse Scopus, accessed June 29, 2015) further suggests it is inappropriate to consider style as having fallen out of fashion within the discipline. The use of Scopus for this search possesses the advantage of targeting the search to keyword references, thereby eliminating many less relevant occurrences of the term in publications as found through other search engines. The term is seen to have been used in conjunction with archaeology as a keyword twice in the 1970s, 13 times in the 1980s, 42 times in the 1990s, 161 times in the first decade of the twenty-first century, and 222 times already in the current decade. Though the number of publications has also risen over this time, the overall percentage of the occurrence of the use of style as a keyword in archaeological publications has increased from 0.48 percent in the 1970s to 1.56 percent in the current decade. This trend appears to show the application of style is still present in the field, and an overview of the concept and its use in archaeology through time will be presented.
The issue of style has been the subject of substantial debate in the field of archaeology (Binford 1989; Conkey and Hastorf 1990; Hegmon 1992; Hodder 1982; Jones 1997; Lucy 2005; Sackett 1977, 1982, 1985; Wiessner 1983; Wobst 1977). Although there are many different definitions and approaches to the concept of style in archaeology, it is generally agreed that style is "a way of doing" which involves choices among various alternatives (Hegmon 1992:518). Central to the concept of style is the assumption that it results from culturally structured choices between alternatives. Variation is held to exist because there is a wide range of alternatives from which choices may be made and flexibility in the choices involved (Rice 1987:245). Beyond this core, however, there is great variation, to the extent that style has been described as the "elusive, controversial, and proverbial 'black box'" (Conkey and Hastorf 1990:1). Disagreement centers around what style is and what it does, if it does anything (Hegmon 1992:518). Debate revolves around whether style functions as a means of information transfer (Wobst 1977:321, Wiessner 1989:58) or whether it only holds meaning to archaeologists (Sackett 1977).

Since style is a vague, elusive topic it is useful to begin with a discussion of definition. Some definitions of style conceptualize it as a form a behavior. This view is seen in the description of style as "formal, extrinsic manifestation of intrinsic pattern," suggesting that "style is the manifest expression, on the behavioral level, of cultural patterning that is usually neither cognitively known nor even knowable by members of a cultural community" (Lechtman 1977:4). Although in archaeology, studies of style have tended to focus on the result of actions, the formal dimension, in art and literature style is generally viewed as "a manner or mode of expression" and "the distinction, originality, and character of that expression" (Rice 1987:244). A widely held archaeological definition holds style to be a "highly specific and characteristic manner of doing something, which, by its very nature is peculiar to a specific time and place" (Sackett 1982:63). Earlier anthropological definitions are consistent: “style is characteristic; it is distinctive; it refers to a manner or mode” (Kroeber 1963:3). These stylistic manners of doing something, or productive and decorative techniques, are characteristic of geographic areas. Boas (1927[1955]:11) indicates that every part of the world has a “pronounced style”, and Kroeber (1963:5) discusses the existence of “long-term styles” characteristic of “vast areas”. As a result,
style emerged as integral to the study of past ethnicity and other forms of social and group identity.

Perhaps the elusive nature of the concept of style derives from the fact that style may be viewed as existing in different dimensions simultaneously. Style may be studied in its material manifestation, as is most commonly done in archaeological research. This aspect of style consists of the formal dimension of artifacts, such as vessel morphology and stylistic decoration in the field of ceramic studies. Yet style may also be viewed as existing as action, a perspective which is apparent in the general concept of style as a way of doing. Here lies one of the sources of the confusion in the concept of style, the fact that most archaeologists define style as action while searching for it in the material dimension. This has been described by Hegmon as a separation of the "subject (style as a component of human activity) from the object of study (material culture variation)" (1992:519). Linking mechanisms are required to allow consideration of the material manifestation of style as action. One such linking mechanism for approaching style is the study of operational sequences, such as the sequence of techniques for the production of stone tools, ceramic vessels, or the construction of residential buildings. The operational sequence is not limited to the production of tools, or even unique to our species. The building of nests and beaver lodges, and hoarding of food supplies for hibernation, are also examples of operational sequences (Karlin and Julien 1994:152).

Style may also be viewed as existing in an ideational dimension. The concept that ideas of what a finished product should look like exist in the minds of artisans, designated as the "technical scheme", has emerged through the study of operational sequences (Karlin and Julien 1994). The study of operational sequences, or chaîne opératoire, provides a useful linking mechanism between artifact patterning and “sociopolitical relations of production” (Dobres 1999[2010]:156). Through technological behavior, these stylistic ideas combine with actions on materials to produce objects which exhibit formal stylistic features. Through an appreciation of the multiple dimensions of the existence of style we may dispel the confusion over this issue and avoid the separation Hegmon identifies. Through the study of operational sequences and technical schemes, in addition to formal attributes of material culture variation, style may be analyzed in each of its dimensions. This essay now turns to a
discussion of style in its behavioral and ideational dimensions and the linkages of these dimensions to the production of material culture, aspects which have traditionally been referred to as technological style.

2.3.1 Technological Style

The view of technology as a social phenomenon is central to the concept of technological style (Lemonnier 1992:11). Technology is considered to be influenced by social factors, like other social phenomena, rather than simply by physical constraints (Lemonnier 1992:17). In this view, "technologies...are particular sorts of cultural phenomena that reflect cultural preoccupations and that express them in the very style of the technology itself (Lechtman 1977:4). Technological style has been defined as "the production techniques that transform natural materials into cultural objects and the production sequences carried out in producing them" (Wright 1993:251). Technologies comprise technological actions, attitudes, ideas, and social organization; and "the format or 'package' defined by these relationships...is stylistic in nature" (Lechtman 1977:6). Technological action may be viewed as comprising five related components, including matter, energy, objects, gestures, and specific knowledge (Lemonnier 1992:5). The "gestures" follow patterns, termed operational sequences, which are culturally dependent.

Operational sequences play a central role in the study of technological style. They have been described as "the backbone of style" (Lechtman 1977:12) and "the basic data" for the study of technological systems (Lemonnier 1992:4, 25). This concept may be defined as "a series of operations which brings a raw material from a natural state to a manufactured state" (Lemonnier 1992:26). Through operational sequences we may study style in its behavioral dimension. Technical traits or operational sequences of a single class of material culture may, and have, spread over a wide range of quite culturally distinct groups. "Unlike the modern world in which critical technologies are controlled by politically powerful national entities, Bronze Age technologies...diffused from one area to another, and in that sense were quickly transferable" (Wright 1984:7). In the late twentieth to twenty-first century, while some technologies like advances in communication and computing may be widely transferred, other critical technologies such as nuclear technology continue to be tightly
controlled. While "style" may be more culture bound, and technologies more easily transferable as Wright suggests, the focus on the entire technical system of a group allows for consideration of what Lechtman (1977:4) terms "the style in technology."

2.3.2 Style, Technological Style, and Choice

A core issue in the study of style and technological style centers around the difficulty of distinguishing between variation resulting from style and variation resulting from functional expediency and efficiency. In one attempt to overcome this difficulty, Hayden distinguishes between practical and prestige technologies and advocates different methods for the analysis of the patterns of action of each (1998). Hayden argues that practical technologies involve choices which are determined by how effective and costly the alternatives are (1998:2). This overlooks the influence of the social dimension on practical technology. For example, the Chippewyan of subarctic Canada pulled their toboggans with human power rather than with dogs, because in their origin myth a dog-like creature fathered their people (Oswalt and Neely 1999:77). This is an example of a less effective technological choice which is dictated by the supernatural association of dogs. The Chippewyan are not unaware of the efficiency of using dogs, for they trade with people to the north who use dogs to pull their sleds. The case of the Chippewyan demonstrates that ideational factors may play a crucial role in the selection of less efficient practical solutions. Also, in New Guinea Lemonnier has identified a wide variety of situations which "cannot be accounted for by any simplistic brand of technical determinism" (Lemonnier 1993:126).

Van der Leeuw asserts "that not nature but culture is the main constraint of technique" (1993:241). Van der Leeuw studied globular pots with a simple everted rim in five areas of the world and identified "a uniform basic sequence" for each (1993:249). The importance of culture in determining operational sequences is evident from this study. Even with regard to the same shape, the sequence is different for each cultural area but similar within a cultural area, indicating the study of operational sequences may be a powerful tool for the identification of cultural groups from archaeological remains.

Beyond their physical manifestations, technical manipulations of production "reflect intellectual orientations to materials" (Wright 1993:248). The cognitive aspects
of technology include know-how, manual skills, procedures, and "a set of cultural representations of reality" (Lemonnier 1986:154). One of the most useful concepts, which evolved out of the study of multiple operational sequences, is that of the technical scheme. "Unlike the chaîne opératoire which develops in a linear way, the scheme includes, in its construction, all the possible methods, such as missing one stage or going back to a previous one" (Karlin and Julien 1994:154). This has also been referred to as a "project schema", including the mental models that order the combination of matter, tools, and gestures (Lemonnier 1992:81). The ideational dimension of style may also be addressed through a similar concept - the conceptual context, which refers to the production choices made in the transformation of a natural material into a human creation (Wright 1993:244).

The technical scheme and conceptual context of technologies allow us to study the ideational dimension of style. The ideational dimension may have a profound input on the trajectory of technologies, as indicated by the example of modern aeronautical technology. Modern conceptualizations of masculinity led to the failure of a perfectly efficient design of an airplane that was not viewed as "macho" by the pilots (Lemonnier 1992:73).

Technologies involve technological choices, which may be defined as "the adoption of a technical solution by a human group in order to solve some problem" (Quilici-Pacaud 1993:399). Some of these choices are not dictated by immediate or physical constraints, but rather are the function of social factors (Lemonnier 1992:viii, Mahias 1993:158). Lechtman asserts these choices are "rarely if ever dictated solely by the environment. They largely reflect cultural choices" (1977:14). Technological choices are influenced by a social logic, and they are compatible with other social choices (Lemonnier 1992:2). The areas of technology in which choice operates involve raw material selection, tools, operational sequences, and the social organization of production (Lemonnier 1992:6). An example of choice operating in raw material selection demonstrates the importance of non-material considerations. Among the Thule Inuit certain classes of artifacts are made from ivory, others from sea mammal bone, and others from antler. At some sites a large number of artifacts are made out of sea mammal bone and ivory, even though antler is more easily carved, less brittle, and widely available (McGhee 1977:144). In this case the purely physical, technical
properties of the materials available were not the determining factor in raw material selection. After ruling out possible physical explanations, McGhee concludes "an explanation be found in the symbolic attributes of these materials in the minds of the Thule people" (1977:145).

Lemonnier argues that informational functions may be found not just in formal artifact variation but also among the actual physical features of a technological system, in raw material and tool selection, operational sequences, and technical traits which function in the material world (1992:7). Lemonnier argues attention must be directed toward correlations, or linkages, between functional traits of technical systems which are materially inexplicable and therefore must indicate social choice (1986:155). Lemonnier terms this approach the search for "concomitant variation," the existence of "technical traits and technical sequences which form combinations - i.e. sets of traits that show concomitant variation - the distribution of which is a non-random one, although these traits are technologically (physically) independent" (Lemonnier 1986:159). Choices which demonstrate this linked variation are argued to provide insight into the symbolic dimension as expressions of gender, age class, initiatory stage, social status, or ethnic group (Lemonnier 1992:52). "Small, coherent combinations of technical features" may, in some instances, correspond "directly to given social groups" (Mahias 1993:170). For example, among groups of the Anga of New Guinea there exists concomitant variation between the type of arrow, the type of bow, and the form of houses which are inexplicable in physical terms and must indicate social differences between the groups, perhaps in the realm of gender relations (Lemonnier 1992:62-66). Also, the size of the potter's wheel in Maharashtra in India differentiates between two sub-castes (Mahias 1993:170).

Since all human action may be conceived as capable of possessing a style, then all human production and consumption of material culture may potentially be guided by style. Style is argued to be situated within the realm of artifact variation pertaining to "choice". Choice involves the selection of a particular technique, raw material, or consumer good among a realm of possible alternative selections. As was argued with regards to the individual and agency, to view choice as being determined freely by an individual runs the risk of ethnocentrically projecting modern values into the past. The degree to which individual "choice", or less than conscious selections such as those
associated with the *habitus*, are involved in the compilation of the constellation of material goods at a household should be documented in specific cases rather than assumed. Choices may be influenced by conscious signaling of adherence to beliefs and values, unconscious pre-conditioning by particular historically contingent moods, beliefs, and values, or by the efficiency, functionality, and economic viability of a particular selection.

Distinguishing between three primary types of style, *isochrestic*, *emblemic*, and *assertive*, facilitates the analysis of the style of consumption and technological style. *Isochrestic style* entails artifact variation resulting from choices between functionally equivalent alternatives and is acquired unconsciously (Sackett 1982:72-23, 1985:157-158). The choices are argued to result from craft traditions, within which the producers “have been enculturated in as members of social groups” (Sackett 1985:157). Isochrestic style is argued to be socially transmitted, “the product of socially conditioned choices made by artisans” (Sackett 1982:75). As a result, the artifact patterning resulting from these “isochrestic” choices is argued to be an indicator of ethnicity, and its distribution an indicator of social interaction between groups (Sackett 1982:74-75).

The concept of “isochrestic” style, or variation, has been advanced with regards to variation in material culture deriving from a particular culturally influenced manner of doing things (Sackett 1982). Isochrestic style is argued to derive from enculturation within a particular group, and therefore has been viewed as an indicator of ethnicity (Sackett 1977:371). Choices could be selected due to functional efficiency rather than a reflection of forms of identity, belief, or values. Binford points out that the degree to which alternatives are functionally equivalent remains difficult to determine and as such it not possible to determine if variation derives from functional requirements of isochrestic style (1989). This limitation may be minimized by shifting analytical focus from the formal dimension to the technological; from style as material to style as action and idea (Young 2002: 28-29).

Wiessner’s distinction between emblemic and assertive style (1983) is also particularly useful in the identification of past agency, belief, and perhaps also emotion, to the extent that this reflects socially constructed emotions characteristic of particular beliefs, tenets, or ideational environment. *Emblemic style* consists of formal variation in material culture that transmits a clear message “about conscious affiliation or identity,
such as an emblem or a flag” (Weissner 1983:257). *Assertive style* consists of formal variation in material culture which is “personally based and which carries information supporting individual identity” (Weissner 1983:258). The concept of assertive style enables consideration of the degree to which an individual member of society or a group actively, consciously, asserted adherence with social or group beliefs and tenets. A flag is an emblem, and the flying of a flag at a residence represents the household’s assertion of affiliation with what is represented by that emblem. As such, emblems found archaeologically at monumental centers or public areas may likewise constitute evidence of group adherence to beliefs and values, whereas the same emblems found at residential sites would constitute evidence of the household’s assertion of adherence to the beliefs and values represented by the emblem.

Elements of the approaches developed by Sackett and Wiessner are herein combined to constitute a new cumulative approach. Rather than viewing style as isochrestic or, alternatively, as emblemic or assertive, this approach postulates different types of style that can be operating within an ensemble of material culture at the same time. Isochrestic style would be found in the unconscious and less than conscious choices, and emblemic and assertive style situated within those conscious choices signaling group affiliation. Consideration of the entire range of variation within all artifact types in an archaeological assemblage, as advocated by Lemonnier in the concept of “concomitant variation”, will allow determination of the “type of style” exhibited at a particular household. This approach will be best suited to household archaeology. Each household, in a given period of time, elects a series of choices and thereby assembles a constellation of material culture, of which bits and pieces survive in the archaeological record. Functional equivalence in a particular class of material culture may be impossible to determine, yet I argue functional equivalence will be unnecessary to establish in order to determine the type of style of an entire household. For instance, economic factors may govern choices in the households of the lower classes of society. However, the constellation of choices will still reflect a type of style. Consideration of the entire constellation of choices opens the door for the location of variation reflective of beliefs and values in the archaeological record. This chapter now turns to a discussion of consumption, to situate the choices involved in the assemblage of the constellation of material culture in households from the recent past.
2.3.3 **The Archaeological Study of Consumption**

The study of economics is traditionally divided into consideration of production, distribution, and consumption, and this division is followed in the archaeological study of economic systems. In archaeology this concept of the stages through which material culture passes has been conceptualized through behavioral chain or flow models (Schiffer 1976), through *chaînes opératoire* or operational sequences (Leroi-Gourhan 1964[1993]), and through a life cycle model (Tite 1999). These chains, sequences, or cycles begin with the production stage, continue through the distribution, and end with the ultimate consumption, use, and discard of the material items. Moving “beyond consumption” recent studies in archaeology have also stressed the importance of considering the use of material culture following consumption” (Herva and Nurmi 2009). Archaeologists are able to reconstruct these stages through careful consideration of the physical aspects of material culture and their distribution in time and space.

Archaeological studies of production have focused upon raw material selection, the techniques employed, and the social relations of production. The study of distribution involves consideration of the trade and exchange relations between societies in interaction. A substantial and growing body of literature has developed on these topics. The study of consumption was taken up by anthropologists in the late 1970s (Bourdieu 1977; Douglas and Isherwood 1978), and during the subsequent decades rose to obtain a prominent position within the field (for example, see Appadurai 1986; Bourdieu 1984; Brewer and Porter 1994; Carson et al. 1994; Dilley 1992; Miller 1987, 1995a, 1995b, 1998; Rutz and Orlove 1989). Consumption is defined as the acquisition of goods and services to satisfy human needs and desires (Appleby 1994:162-164; Burke 1994:148; Henry 1991:3; LeeDecker 1991:30; McCracken 1988:xi; Mintz 1994:267). The study of consumer behavior within historical archaeology has been advanced as a type of middle-range theory, linking artifact assemblages with theories of cultural process and change, and possesses great potential for yielding significant new information on past societies and social formations.
The study of consumption has been embraced by historical archaeologists. Following the publication of *Consumer Choice in Historical Archaeology* in the late 1980s (Spencer-Wood 1987a), the analysis of consumption has become a prominent field of inquiry (for example, see Carroll 1999; Cuddy 2008; Gibb 1996; Goodwin 1999; Hodge 2014; King et al. 2006; Klein and Leedeker 1991; Leone 2005, Martin 1993, 1996; Miller et al. 1994; Mrozowski 1999; Mullins 1999a, 1999b; Pendery 1992; Shackel 1996, 2000; Wurst and McGuire 1999). These studies have primarily focused on urban contexts from the late eighteenth to early twentieth century, though these parameters have expanded to earlier and rural sites (for example, see Gibb 1996; Goodwin 1999).

An issue of great interest among historians is the rise of consumerism during the eighteenth century, sometimes referred to as the Consumer Revolution (for example, see Austin and Smith 1992; Campbell 1987; McCracken 1988; McKendrick et al. 1982; Shammas 1990; Weatherill 1996). In the early eighteenth century households continued the long lasting European tradition of directly producing much of what they consumed (Gibb 1996:16; Hawke 1988:8, 32). Improvements in manufacturing and distribution later in the eighteenth century, coupled with a new willingness to spend, led to a greater quantity, quality, and variety of material possessions and a greater overall material prosperity amongst the Western European and Anglo-American middling ranks (Breen 1994:447-449; Carson 1994:484; Casella and Croucher 2010:114; Goodwin 1999:102; Martin 1993:142, 1996:73; McCracken 1988:6; McKendrick et al. 1982:10; Middleton 1992:250; Miller et al. 1994:228-230; Porter 1994:65; Shackel 1993:159, 1996:111). Though the details and extent of this rise in consumption remain the topic of heated debate, consumption appears to have risen the most amongst the middle class (Goodwin 1999:102-103; Styles 1994:529; Weatherill 1996:193-195). This rise in consumerism, or rise in demand for a variety of material goods, was a necessary precursor for the increased production involved with the industrial revolution. A level of demand that would accommodate mass production is argued to have been the catalyst for the overhaul of the productive process.

The theory of the “Industrious Revolution” postulates an earlier phenomenon occurring over the course of the “long eighteenth century” from 1650 to 1850 (De Vries 2008). De Vries argues the particular Western European marriage pattern and the
nuclear family led to increased “industrious” activity within the household (De Vries 2008:7-9). This increased household production generated both increased market supply and consumptive demand (De Vries 2008:10). This economic growth occurred before the technological breakthroughs of the Industrial Revolution (De Vries 2008:7). De Vries argues for adding a historical perspective to theories of the origins and development of modern consumerism (De Vries 2008:4). This theory is worthy of attention by archaeologists, due to its emphasis on the household level which archaeologists may directly study. The degree to which household production and consumption increased during the “long eighteenth century” may be tested through empirical evidence from archaeological sites of the period.

The rise in consumerism coincided with a period of intense social pressure and cultural transformation. New ideas of social mobility and measures of social worth emerged. In the early eighteenth century the term class first entered the English language, and by the 1740s this had emerged as something approximating upper, middle, and lower groups within society (Martin 1996:82). During this time new social rules associated with etiquette and an ensemble of associated material props entered elite households (Cook et al. 1996:57; Fitts 1999:49; Martin 1993:153, 1996:76-79; Shackel 1993:161, 2000:154-157). Members of the middle class acquired these new objects, primarily tea and dining wares but also new furniture and fashions in the latest styles, in a form of social emulation of the elite to increase their own social standing (Goodwin 1999:101, 123; Martin 1996:83; Middleton 1992:198; Pendery 1992:63; Shackel 1993:162; Shammas 1994:177; Veblen 1899[1994]:57-59). Hodge, however, argues gentility rather than emulation emerged as a lasting American value that could be partially or fully adopted at middling households (2014:18-19).

These changes in social etiquette and material culture are held to be associated with a particular worldview, termed the Georgian worldview and associated by some with capitalism (Deetz 1988:228, 1996:62; Glassie 1975:189-190; Leone 1988:236; Potter 1994:139-146). This worldview emphasized balance, order, symmetry, segmentation, standardization, specialization, and individualization (Deetz 1996:63; Potter 1994:139; Shackel 1993:159). These concepts stimulated demand for consumer goods and were the principles upon which industrialization was founded and organized (Leone 1988:257-258; Potter 1994:141).
The rise in consumerism must have been associated with an increased demand for consumer goods of a wide variety of types. Scholars initially assumed that humans have an innate desire to consume, and consumption was lower in previous historical periods only because people lacked the means and opportunity to satisfy their desire for commodities (Gibb 1996:20; McKendrick et al. 1982:10; Shackel 1996:143). More recently scholars are no longer assuming such an innate desire, and are looking for particular social and political transformations to account for the changing patterns of consumption. Shackel argues that the rise in consumerism is associated with the demise of classical republicanism and the rise of liberal republicanism in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century (1996:22-25; 1998). Classical republicanism discouraged excessive accumulation and display of wealth (Shackel 1996:22). The onset of Romanticism, or liberal republicanism, facilitated the growth of modern, autonomous, imaginative indulgence that fostered industrial development (Shackel 1996:23, 1998:8-9).

The archaeology of consumption allows for consideration of past human activity through the social choices that governed consumer behavior. “Consumer behavior” consists of choices to acquire, and later discard, particular goods from amongst a wide array of available goods (Spencer-Wood 1987b:xi; Baart 1987:2). A focus on consumer behavior provides a link between archaeological data and past human cultural behavior (Gibb 1996:237; Spencer-Wood 1987b:9). There exists a general lack of consensus over whether consumer behavior models constitute a paradigm, framework, or model functioning as a type of middle-range theory (see Leone and Crosby 1987; Spencer-Wood 1987b). Consumer behavior approaches within historical archaeological have been argued to have arisen primarily as a set of closely related methods that function outside a clearly expressed theory of material culture (Gibb1996:14, 28; Henry 1991:12). These approaches can allow, however, consideration of the global economic effects upon human behavior at the household and community level (Carroll 1999:131; Gibb 1996:26).

interpretations of social and economic status. Subsequent research into consumer behavior has investigated other dimensions of social variability. Substantial contributions have been generated through a focus on gender employing consumer behavior models and methods. Dramatic changes have been documented in gender ideologies and the gender roles of women during the nineteenth century. The separation of the public and private or domestic spheres, and the concomitant ascription of the female gender to the domestic sphere, has had profound effects upon the status of women within American society. Studies within the Middle Atlantic region have argued the separation of the spheres may be traced through changing patterns in the consumption of ceramics and glassware (Klein 1991 and Leedecker; Wall 1991, 1994, 2000; Yentsch 1991a, 1991[1996]). Scholars are also applying consumer behavior approaches to the study of race and ethnicity (Mullins 1999a, 1999b, 1999c; Spencer-Wood 1994; Wall 1999).

The manner in which members of a particular household adopted the new consumer material goods and the concomitant social etiquette and behavior must be determined in each case and not implicitly assumed. In some cases household members may have adopted the new social practices without the associated consumer goods. In backcountry Virginia, for example, people began to consume tea in the mid-eighteenth century without the use of formal sets of teawares (Martin 1996:100). In other cases consumers may have purchased the new goods without adopting the associated social behavior and etiquette. Historical archaeologists have devised a method to distinguish the objects from the associated worldview through analyzing the diameters of tea and dinnerwares. A wide variety of diameter sizes indicates acceptance of the segmentary rules of dining etiquette specifying different dishes sizes for different courses of meals (Martin 1996:76; Leone 1999:196; Potter 1994:139; Shackel 1993:168). The use of only one size of plates, on the other hand, would indicate the use of the easily obtained, mass-produced goods without acceptance of the new worldview. Formulas based on these principles have been devised to determine the differential rates and degrees of acceptance of the Georgian worldview (Leone 1999:197; 2005:155-160; Potter 1994:151).

Excavations at plantation sites illustrate the manner in which consumer choice may reflect identity, for instance the reflection of African identity within the material
culture of plantation slaves. Although using the European, American, and East Asian plates, bowls, and cups, the slaves tended to acquire mismatched sets and single items more than homogeneous sets. This may be because they purchased individual items with their small quantities of cash, or their masters may have deliberately given them cheaper and mismatched sets (Orser 1988:14). Though secondhand ceramics may have been passed down from the planter, slaves frequently also had access to goods through an internal marketing system (Berlin and Morgan (1993:22; Pulsipher 1994:207; Young 2002:43-44). To the extent that the acquisition of matching sets is associated with the rules of dining etiquette and the Georgian worldview, their absence in slave sites may also be interpreted as the refusal of the slaves to accept these new social behaviors and beliefs of their masters. In this manner the consumer choices of the slaves may be viewed as another form of resistance against the dominant culture of the oppressive slave system.

In a study of African-Caribbean consumer choices in the Bahamas, Wilkie has demonstrated that an “African-inspired aesthetic and religious traditions” influenced the selection of consumer goods (2001:281). Wilkie considers multiple forms of material culture in a convincing argument: locally produced African-Caribbean pottery, tobacco pipes, items of personal adornment, and European mass-produced ceramics. Despite the fact that decorated European ceramics are more expensive than plain ceramics, the evidence from Clifton Plantation indicates slaves chose transfer printed and hand painted ceramics over plain (2001:285). Though slaves may have received secondhand ceramics from the planter, in the Caribbean slaves also had access to Caribbean goods through an extensive internal marketing system. The majority of decorated ceramics were predominately brown in color, most often annular or mocha wares (Wilkie 2001:287-288). Wilkie argues African-Caribbean choices reflect African religious beliefs and aesthetics, since the European wares selected feature elements such as chevrons, bands, and dots which are common within West African pottery, wood carvings, and garments (2001:288-289).

The types of consumer goods chosen by the free African-Americans have been documented to illuminate patterns of cultural transformation and resistance following emancipation. Work by Mullins suggests that African-Americans in Annapolis made
consumer choices in an effort to conceal imposed racial identity and to introduce beneficial material changes (Mullins 1999b:170).

In a comparative study of eighteenth century Chesapeake plantation slaves, Galle argues conspicuous consumption in the form of metal buttons and refined ceramics may be viewed as a form costly signaling among plantation slaves (Galle 2010:37). While costly signaling may be an appropriate framework for understanding conspicuous consumption within modern, capitalist societies, extension of this framework universally should be questioned. Costly signaling in particular, and by extension the application of Darwinian evolutionary theory to human culture in general, is fundamentally ethnocentric. Costly signaling and evolutionary theory presuppose the underlying universality of self-interest. As a result, costly signaling has been evoked to explain game sharing among hunter-gatherers (Hildebrandt and McGuire 2002, 2003) and the origins of religion (Murray and Moore 2009). While some past societies may have shared an ethos of self-interest and engaged in conspicuous consumption as a form of costly signaling, the existence of this ethos in specific cultures within specific past periods of time should be investigated and documented rather than assumed. Self-interest is increasingly a dominant underlying paradigm within modern, industrial societies, but extension of this phenomenon universally to the past does not assist in documenting ethnographic difference synchronically or diachronically within world cultures. The degree to which particular cultures valued self-interest, or cooperative-interest, should be questioned and evidence sought to document the relative importance of each within particular historically contingent cases.

Consumption and the use of consumer goods must also be considered. Goods can be appropriated and “indigenized”, and used by both colonizer and colonized in attempts to assert control (Dietler 2005: 65). Everyday objects have shifting meanings, “pulsing with meaning” due to the web of “social relations spun by a restless political economy” (Dawdy 2010:768). Dietler argues the study of consumption should include the context of consumption, or consideration of the types of sites goods are found at, along with the association of particular goods with each other at specific sites (2005:66). This “association” of particular goods, or of all goods in total from a site, is what I term the “constellation” of goods which together constitute a style of
consumption in a household. A similar approach for the study of identity has been advanced by Rosten, advocating consideration of all types of personal adornment rather than the selection of a single class of material culture (2007). Consumer behavior models provide a crucial link between the artifacts archaeologists excavate and past human behavior, allowing for consideration of how social choices reflect class, ethnicity, race, gender, religious affiliation and other social variables.

2.3.4 The Archaeology of Identity, Beliefs, and Values as Manifested Through Choice

A great focus of archaeological research has concentrated on identity, which is defined as plural, multiple, and transient, and is conceived as historical, fluid, and subject to change (Casella and Fowler 2005:2; Diaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005:2). Various forms of social affiliation, or identity, including race, ethnicity, sexuality, age, class, gender, personhood, health, and/or religion are expressed materially (Casella and Fowler 2005:2). Identity in archaeology has been defined as “the intersection of race, class, gender, and ethnicity and the ways in which the material world is deployed as a form of expression (Hall and Silliman 2006:12). A broader psychological definition states “social identity” is:

that part of an individual’s self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership

(Oren and Bar Tal 2006:2, citing Tajfel 1978:63)

Early work on identity in North American archaeology focused on discovering ethnicity in the archaeological record, though it has been noted during the same time period that scholars of British social archaeology were focusing on issues of class and rank (Tarlow 1999:266). A general consensus of ethnicity has emerged that it is a self-ascribed identity that is actively socially constructed (Diaz-Andreu et al. 2005; Insoll 2006; Jones 1997; Sweeney 2009; Young 2005b). Sweeney convincingly points out that not all self-ascribed group identities are in fact ethnic but may rather also derive from religious, linguistic, or other social groups (2009:102).
Isochrestic style has been argued to derive from social reproduction, or acculturation, within a particularly group and therefore has been used as an indicator of ethnicity (Sackett 1977:371). Archaeological definitions of isochrestic style, as the variation derived from a manner of doing things, is most closely aligned with theories on technological style, technological choice, and consumer choice. Sian Jones argues isochrestic variation can be compared to Bourdieu’s concept of *habitus* (1997:122). Herein would also be found the realm associated with the moods and motivations characteristic of a particular ethos as defined by Geertz. As such, the utility of style in archaeology is more than simply an indicator of ethnicity or forms of individual or social identity in the past. A focus on style allows consideration of social identity in general, and in particular the religious beliefs, values, and underlying ethos which is reflected in and recursively reinforced by material culture.

Wiessner distinguishes “emblemic style”, or style which transmits a message of conscious affiliation with a group or set of beliefs or values, such as a flag or other emblem, from “assertive style” which transmits information on individual conscious affiliation (Wiessner 1983:257-258). The main distinction between isochrestic style or *habitus* from emblemic or assertive style is the degree of consciousness of the reflected action. Isochrestic style as argued by Sackett and *habitus* as argued by Bourdieu refer to choices governed by a particular, socially and historically contingent manner of doing which may be unconscious or less than fully conscious. Emblemic and assertive style, on the other hand, reflect conscious identity signaling. As a result, the different types of style should manifest differently in different types of material culture. Isochrestic style consists of the less than conscious or unconscious manifestation of beliefs and values, and assertive style may be viewed as the conscious signaling of emblems of particular beliefs and values.

Wobst argues that utilitarian classes of artifacts found in particular households, such as kitchen utensils and household tools, are unlikely to carry messages of social group affiliation (1977:328). In light of the theories of isochrestic variation and *habitus*, however, it may be argued instead that utilitarian goods would be influenced by a historically contingent social group identity (Bourdieu 1977; Jones 2010; Lightfoot et al. 2010; Sackett 1977). By extension, these forms of style allow consideration of the underlying beliefs, values, tenets and ethos of a historically contingent social group.
A main criticism of these approaches has been that inadequate focus is given to individual agency. In a discussion of the application of Bourdieu’s theories to archaeology, Hodder argues greater attention should be directed to “individual lived experience within historically specific worlds” (1999:137). Defining a distinction between isochrestic style and assertive style, however, allows consideration of individual agency within material culture variation. Hodder argues that ethnic identity is expressed in mundane as well as highly visible artifacts (1982:55). Based upon existing knowledge and the insights gained from previous studies on style, choice, and identity it may be concluded that choice in both production techniques and the acquisition of consumer goods is influenced by beliefs, values, and the underlying ethos. Stylistic choice may reflect personal adherence to particular beliefs and tenets, and as such may reflect a desire to distance oneself or consciously differentiate oneself from a particular group. These assertive stylistic choices, to effectively communicate, should be visible in nature. Not all style in visible material culture, however, would be personal or assertive. All, or at least the vast majority of variation in utilitarian items, however, would not be assertive but rather isochrestic in nature.

It stands to reason, therefore, that group identity, or the “mood” or ethos of a group, and individual assertive identity, or the degree to which an individual espouses affiliation with particular beliefs and tenets, may be sought in the choices elected in the manner of production and consumption of all aspects of material culture. The emblemic and assertive choices communicate the desired group identity or affiliation, and the isochrestic choices the enculturated identity, and so to fully understand identity and self-identification with a particular group all types of material culture and the style of consumption of all goods in a household should be considered. Within the assertive choices exists the realm of variation in material culture within which individual agency, including obedience, disobedience, rebellion, or re-appropriation of social “rules” may be considered. This would be the realm of assertive personal identity, which will be fluid, transient, shifting, possibly plural, and highly variable among households. Comparison of the assertive choices with the isochrestic variation will illuminate the individual’s role and level of self-ascription in a particular social group.

It has long been accepted by sociologists that dress and consumption is used to construct identity and “to signal identity to others” (Barnes 2009:1; Zukin et al. 2004).
In a recent sociological study of consumption among East African Muslim immigrant women, Barnes has shown how individuals “adopt, reject, or modify American Style and Consumer models” at the intersection with Islam, a “powerful alternative paradigm” (2009:1). Barnes found dress and consumer choices may be a reflection of personal identity, a marker of Muslim identity, or both simultaneously (2009:23). Dress and the degree to which it adhered to Muslim religious tenets were most often regarded as a markers of self-ascribed group identity, while shopping behaviors were less likely to be viewed as “a part or product of ethnicity” (2009:23-24). Consumer behavior was sometimes viewed, however, as an indication of inclusion in “American society” (2009:24). In the framework discussed above, dress and personal adornment could be viewed as assertive style. In fact, elements of traditional Muslim garb prescribed by religious tenets may even be viewed as a form of emblemic style, which asserts individual membership within a larger social group. Consumer choice may reflect both assertive and isochrestic style, depending upon the types of goods chosen. This study illustrates the utility of a focus on the various types of style and the style of consumption to investigate ascription to forms of religious identity in plural societies. Unfortunately, Barnes does not include discussion of shopping for non-visible utilitarian objects which may be viewed as most heavily influenced by isochrestic behavior.

Also, it should be noted the degree to which personal identity and therefore the reflected assertive style is paramount may in itself be culturally and historically contingent, and may have been far less pronounced in some historical social groups than may seem evident in light of contemporary society. However, even amongst historical dissenting groups with a strong sense of community identity such as the Canterbury Shakers, identity has been demonstrated to be fluid and changing through time (Starbuck 2004:85). In a case study of members of the Society of Friends, a consideration of both assertive choices and isochrestic choices should illustrate the degree to which a particular household adopted or resisted particular religious tenets.
2.4 Summary and Discussion

The study of the style of consumption of all material goods within individual households possesses great potential for illuminating the reflection, and recursive reinforcement, of beliefs and values through material culture. Some types of material culture may possess elements of assertive style, others isochrestic style, and when taken as a whole the constellation of material culture should reflect both the encultured group beliefs and values and the individual’s conscious assertion, dissention, or rebellion with respect to the group beliefs and values.

Quakers emerged initially as a dissenting group in Great Britain, though by the nineteenth century had risen in wealth and influence in both Great Britain and North America (Rynne 2008; Anderberg and Motheral 1996). By consideration of the entire constellation of choices in a household, or the style of consumption of all material culture classes, the emblemic, assertive, and isochrestic stylistic variation may be documented and compared to other sites. The selection of predominately plain, simple material culture would not have fostered the growth in consumerism documented in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, yet this dissenting group paradoxically emerged as wealthy and influential in emerging industrial societies. The archaeological study of material culture, with a focus on the style of consumption as a linking mechanism between variation in material culture and actions pertaining to the conscious and less than conscious signaling of identity, possesses great potential to illuminate this question in particular households through time.

Early civilizations have been demonstrated to have created “a single model of how the cosmos functioned and of the relations linking humans and the supernatural” (Trigger 2003:661). All early civilizations were based on the belief that supernatural forces animated the natural world, and as such did not distinguish the natural from the supernatural as is done in the modern world (Trigger 2003:670). All early civilizations also held ideas of a multilevel cosmos with exclusively supernatural levels above and below the earth (Trigger 2003:672). The organization of the supernatural “came to be perceived as a model and justification for human political and religious conduct” (Trigger 2003:672). As religious “reformers”, the Quakers’ advancement of the tenets of Going Plain in the World and of the Inner Light in all, however, may be viewed as contrary to the interest of socio-political organization of modern industrial capitalism.
To what extent did particular Quaker households adhere to these tenets, as may be demonstrated through the archaeological manifestation of these ideals?

2.5 SIGNIFICANCE AT MULTIPLE SCALES OF RELEVANCE

The significant contributions of this theoretical approach to the study of the archaeological record of the Society of Friends may be viewed at multiple scales of analysis, or scales of relevance, as the relevance of the data and its synthesis may be considered in multiple dimensions: the site-specific/the topic, the discipline, the “big questions” of history and the social sciences, and the application to today’s society and the current world. The contribution of this theoretical approach at each scale of relevance is discussed below.

This study will make substantial contributions to the study of Quakers in the British Colony of New Jersey through a focus on the style of consumption and technological style. A re-emphasis on style in the archaeological study of members of the Society of Friends will enable consideration of the degree of adherence to particular tenets, beliefs and values at particular Quakers households through time.

The analytical emphasis on style as a linking mechanism between beliefs and values and the material variation evident within the archaeological record will also make substantial contributions to the study of the ideational realm and ethos in the recent past and antiquity, which will achieve relevance at the scale of the discipline of anthropological archaeology. In what ways can archaeological and historical evidence from an eighteenth century household in British Colonial New Jersey provide new insight into the study of religious beliefs and values in a colonial setting? The culturally diverse colony of New Jersey provides an ideal study ground for the hybridization and transformations of adherence to beliefs and values through material culture. Beliefs and values possess material manifestations, and to link the material archaeological evidence to cultural identity this proposed research will focus on the realm of material culture variation associated with style which may be documented in the archaeological record. Theories of technological style and consumer choice enable the identification of choices which are related to the marking and expressing of beliefs and values. The revival of archaeological theories on style and their application to the archaeological
and historical data sets from a particular Quaker household will assist in developing a framework for the study of beliefs and values from archaeological evidence in general.

At the scale of the “big questions” of history and the social sciences, the revival of style enables consideration of the manifestation of the processes of industrial capitalism in particular households. This study will constitute an important test of the Weber Thesis and Veblen’s contentions, against the backdrop of the Williams Thesis. For Weber Protestant ideology is viewed as motivating the pursuit of capitalistic actions and is argued to constitute the prime mover for the expansion of capitalism. For Williams increasing markets for consumption, resulting from colonial expansion and emancipation, served as the prime mover in the industrial revolution. An ideology such as that described by Veblen, involving heightened consumerism or “conspicuous consumption”, would have fostered the demand for consumer goods in accordance with the Williams Thesis. Did adherence to religious tenets persist, or as argued by Williams and subsequently by Cassano, did the Quakers turn to consumerism in the later period and become “trapped within the acquisitive machine” or within the snare of the industrial capitalist system? Archaeology, which enables the detailed study of variation in material culture, is ideally situated to reconstruct the relative importance of economic concerns or beliefs and values in particular historical settings and groups’ positioning themselves within those settings. The degree to which those subscribing to Quaker beliefs and values participated in consumerism and adopted capitalist ideology, or resisted this ideology in the pursuit of religious tenets, may be documented through careful consideration of technological style and consumer choice evident within artifact variation.

Finally, at the level of contemporary relevance, this theoretical approach may render significant contributions with regards to the study of past beliefs, tenets, and values. Even in the highly materialistic societies of contemporary industrial capitalism, this study may demonstrate the importance of religious tenets, beliefs, values, and an underlying ethos as determinants of society. Insights from the Society of Friends, who at least at their onset developed alternatives to the culture of consumerism and flagrant conspicuous consumption, may assist in the development of solutions to problems of contemporary society. A focus on the style of consumption and technological style of the material culture of members of the Society of Friends enables consideration of the
degree to which such solutions manifested and transformed at particular places through time.

Archaeology, through its material and historical focus, is ideally situated to investigate past beliefs, tenets, and values. Differing beliefs, associated with differing sets of material correlates, may be documented. The compilation of such cross-cultural data on beliefs, tenets, and values in the past may help to identify past solutions to many of the problems frequently characterizing large, complex societies. The focus on style, including the style of consumption and technological style, provides important linking mechanisms between material culture variation and sets of beliefs, tenets, and values and as a result renders possible the identification and evaluation of the level of success of past solutions to contemporary problems.
CHAPTER 3
Overview of Quakerism

3.1 Introduction

The Religious Society of Friends, often commonly referred to as Quakers, emerged initially as a dissenting group in Great Britain, though by the nineteenth century had risen in wealth and influence in both Great Britain and North America (Rynne 2008; Anderberg and Motheral 1996). This chapter presents a brief overview of the origins and tenets of the Religious Society of Friends, with particular focus on the tenets as they relate to Quaker use of material culture. By consideration of the entire constellation of choices in a household, or the style of consumption of all archaeological material culture classes, the emblemic, assertive, and isochrestic stylistic variation may be documented and compared to other sites.

By 1750, there were 250 Quaker Meeting Houses in North America, mostly within the Middle Colonies (Taylor 2001:342). Quakerism may be ranked at this time as the third largest denomination in the colonies, below only Congregationalism with 450 churches mostly in New England, and 300 Anglican parishes primarily in the south (Taylor 2001:342). The archaeological study of material culture, with a focus on the style of consumption as a linking mechanism between variation in material culture and beliefs and values, helps to illuminate the conscious and less than conscious signaling of adherence to Quaker tenets in particular households through time.

3.2 Origins and History of Quakerism

Quakers, or the Society of Friends as initially termed, began in England in 1652 (Braithwaite 1955:42; Frost 2003:19; Gragg 2009:17; Wood 2011:3). George Fox, founder of the Society, was born in Leicestershire in 1624 (Gragg 2009:7; Hamm 2006:14). Arising from the religious upheavals sweeping Protestant Europe and England in the seventeenth century, Quakerism rejected church practices as too worldly and removed from Christ’s teachings. Early Quakers rejected music, plays, gambling, and frivolous recreations as a waste of time (Frost 2003:17). With the restoration of the Crown in England in 1660, English mainstream culture developed an increased focus on elaborate ornamental fashion, and Quakers placed greater emphasis on “plainness”
in response (Frost 2003:20). Quakers emphasized the use of plain dress, plain speech, and plain furniture (Frost 2003:24).

Quakerism declined in England in the first half of the eighteenth century, but continued to prosper in North America and emerged as the third largest religious group in the colonies by 1750 (Levy 1988:6). The first meeting of the Society of Friends in Gloucester County occurred in Salem in 1675 (Jones 1966:372). The other key monthly meeting in West Jersey was in Burlington (Jones 1966:376). By 1699, West Jersey contained 266 Quakers out of 832 Freeholders, or about one third of the population (Jones 1966:377).

Quakers excelled in business in the British Colonies of New Jersey and Pennsylvania in the Delaware Valley. The Quakers of Philadelphia have been largely credited for the success of that city, which by 1765 was the largest in North America (Levy 1993:265). In 1769 in Philadelphia, for instance, the Quakers constituted less than one-seventh of the population yet accounted for more than half of those who paid taxes in excess of 100 pounds (Henretta 1988:41). Twelve of the seventeen wealthiest individuals in the city were raised within the Society of Friends (Henretta 1988:41).

Fleming argues the disproportionate economic success of Quakers is “beyond dispute” (2008:99). Fleming cites evidence for this disproportionate success in England and its North American colonies (2008:101). In England and the British North American colonies alike, also, Quakers are argued to have fulfilled a role “far beyond their numbers” in the industrial revolution (Fischer 1989:558-560). By 1790 a quarter of English banks were Quaker owned (Fleming 2008:101; Pratt 1985:76-77). By 1851, the percentage of Quakers in Britain amongst the very wealthy is 50 times higher than their percentage in the general population (Fleming 2008:101; M. Watts 1995:332).

Many have maintained the success of Quakers in financing and industry as evidence in support of the Weber Thesis regarding the importance of hard work and thrift. Others have argued the networks of monthly meetings and ties of kinship through marriage were to be sought as reasons for the Quakers’ disproportionate success (Fleming 2008:99).

Successful Quaker merchants, lawyers, and landowners lived lavishly on profits and credit in Philadelphia (Klepp 2002:88). Henry Drinker of the mercantile firm Drinker & James lived in a three story mansion with seven household servants, though
Klepp argues as a Quaker Drinker was relatively “restrained” compared to his wealthy Anglican and Presbyterian contemporaries (2002:88). Anglican and Presbyterian merchants lived opulently, lining the walls of their mansions with family portraits, serving multiple courses on silver platters, dressing ostentatiously, and creating formal gardens on their grounds with statuary (Klepp 2002:88).

David Hall calls upon the distinction between early and later Quakerism in the colony of Pennsylvania, describing the early period as a “conscious utopianism” (1984:329). As Quakers rose to power and gained material success, Hall argues, the Quaker challenge to social hierarchy subsided and had been replaced by “a culture of rank” (D. Hall 1984:329; Yamin 2008:185). Wealthy Quakers’ worldly ways compromised their commitment to “plain style, egalitarian manners, and spiritual spontaneity” (Taylor 2001:266).

Wood’s recent thesis argues, on the basis of a case study of the wealthy Shippen family of Philadelphia, that material success led to deviation from the Quaker faith (2011:1). Wood argues the Quaker faith and relationships acquired through the Society led to business and societal success (2011:1). Wood attributes the slipping from Quaker ways to greed and the general “de-religion of America” (2011:49). The evidence cited to support the decrease in adherence to religious beliefs, however, is drawn from a 2001 survey and not from the eighteenth century (Wood 2011:148). Wood’s argument fails to assemble empirical evidence to support this conclusion regarding the causes of the Shippen’s documented withdrawal from the Society of Friends.

Although the Quakers emerged as a wealthy elite in the Delaware Valley, this region in general was more egalitarian than the other British North American colonies (Fischer 1989:567). In 1693 in Philadelphia the wealthiest 10 percent held 36 percent of the wealth, while in Boston the top 10 percent held over half the wealth and in Virginia the same sized group held more than two-thirds of the colony’s total wealth (Fischer 1989:567-568). Fischer argues the Quaker tradition of passing inheritance equally to offspring, both male and female, contributed to the lower stratification of wealth in this region (1989:568). Women in New Netherland are likewise noted to have possessed the ability to own land and the right to inheritance (Vann 2013:108). Quaker households were also less male-dominant, and Quaker women played larger roles in the Society of Friends than in other Christian denominations of the time (Fischer 1989:493-495).
Women were to be spiritually equal with men, co-equal in ruling the Society, and to exercise authority at monthly meetings (Levy 1988:193).

By the late seventeenth century, Quakers had developed a particular focus on the domestic sphere and on child rearing (Frost 2003:25). Children were to be reared in Quaker households, educated at Quaker schools, and to marry others within the Society of Friends (Frost 2003:26-27). One of the most inexcusable infractions, according to surviving minutes of the various meetings, was marrying outside the faith (Frost 2003:28; Marietta 1984).

Between 1750 and 1790 Quakerism experienced a marked decline in the Delaware River Valley (Levy 1988). Quakers increasingly sought marriage outside the Society. A study of the Chester and Radnor, Pennsylvania Monthly meetings between 1750 and 1790 found that nearly 50 percent of the younger generation was disowned (Levy 1988:16). Though members of the Society of Friends practiced egalitarian inheritance practices, they also generally disinherited those who were disowned (Fischer 1989:570).

**Quakers and Capitalist Economy: A Comparison of Quaker and Other Non-Quaker Households in Alexandria in 1810** has demonstrated that there was a significantly higher proportion of the highest rank (Rank 1) individuals heading Quaker households (Anderberg and Motheral 1996:12). In 1810, 60% of Quaker household heads held Rank 1 occupations, such as merchants or doctors, compared to only 13% of white households holding this rank in the general white population (Anderberg and Motheral 1996:4). By the nineteenth century, Rynne argues Quakers became notable for their wealth and influence in Ireland and Great Britain also (2008:12-13). Tarlow discusses how Quakers ironically became known for their “worldly success” (2011:55).

The degree to which Quakers continued to assert religious tenets, or ascribe and assert alternative values, and the degree to which the assertion of varying degrees of Quaker beliefs and values may have contributed or not contributed to the emerging wealth and influence of members of the group is a potentially fruitful area of enquiry. Some Quakers, even in the late eighteenth century, continued to adhere to traditional tenets and espouse what Martinie-Eiler has argued constituted the “Quaker Reformation” from 1737 to 1798 (2008:11). The importation of European goods is said to have “exploded” in the North American colonies in the 1740s (Martinie-Eiler 2008:13). In the
mid-eighteenth century Quaker reformers repeatedly noted the infiltration of goods and market consciousness amongst members of the Society (Martinie-Eiler 2008:16). Joshua Evans wrote “new fashions in dress, house furniture, sumptuous tables, costly vessels and other things” were evidence of “the corrupt root of pride” (quoted in Martinie-Eiler 2008:17).

3.3 Quaker Tenets

Quaker tenets may be summarized in the form of two fundamental, underlying beliefs and values both stemming from the concept of the Inner Light: an emphasis on plainness, and a conviction that all humans are equal and therefore all are worthy of compassion, empathy, and sympathy. An overview of these two central tenets of the Society of Friends is presented below.

3.3.1 The Doctrine of Plainness

Quakers were to wear plain clothing and “eschew alcohol and the many temptations of consumerism” (Wood 2011:17). Quakerism further maintained that every person possessed the “Light of Christ” also referred to as the Inner Light or Inward Light (Hamm 2006:15). This doctrine of the Inner Light is argued to be largely responsible for the greater relative egalitarianism within the Society of Friends, for their consciously peaceful interactions with Native Americans, and their stance against slavery (Hamm 2006:28, 33). Other religious groups in Colonial Pennsylvania possessed similar beliefs associated with plainness, such as the German Mennonites. Mennonites possessed tenets advocating non-ornamental, “plainness”, conservatism, frugality, thrift, and functionality, though lack the Quaker concept of the Inner Light (Redekop 1989:210; Wheelersburg et al. 1994:86).

The Quakers are noted for developing a distinctive “plain style” which set them apart from their neighbors (Chenoweth 2009:321-322; Frost 2004:668; Ryan 2009:7; Taylor 2001:265; Veit 2002:34; Ward and O’Reilly 2000:9; Wood 2011:17). “Material simplicity and the avoidance of ostentation” were central values to the members of the Society of Friends (McCarthy 1999:149). Quakers were advised not to drink alcohol or smoke tobacco, and the idea of “going plain in the world” was part of George Fox’s teaching during the first period of Quakerism (Fischer 1989:539-540, 544). Quakers
believed the material world could constitute a detriment to the pursuit of truth for the faithful and advocated “plain speech, dress, and housing” (Klepp 2002:63).

Archaeological evidence may reveal the extent to which this doctrine was or was not adhered to in specific cases. To the extent that this shared behavior and thought manifests spatially and materially it remains identifiable through archaeological research. For instance, the presence or absence of certain classes of refined earthenwares, pipestems, and glass vessels may indicate the degree of participation in social behaviors related to ritualized dining etiquette and tea drinking, smoking, and the consumption of alcoholic beverages.

Quaker’ plainness doctrine extended particularly to items of dress and personal adornment. Quakers were expected to wear plain clothes, as these were a typical marker of social hierarchy (Taylor 2001:265). Quaker clothing has been noted to have been highly important in the assertion of Quaker tenets, as one of the primary means through which Quakers rendered themselves “visible as individuals” (Fischer 1989:544; Herman 2003:211). Robert Barclay, an influential early Quaker, wrote that “ribbands and lace”, along with the plaiting of the hair and painting of the face, were “superfluous” and by definition as a result “unlawful” (Matinie-Eiler 2008:12). In 1672, Quaker tailors condemned lace, ribbons, buttons, and other “superfluous” clothing features (Braithwaite 1961:512; Martinie-Eiler 2008:26; Tolles 1948[1963]:126; Wood 2011:17-18). Only those material goods that were functional were considered “lawful” to Barclay. Though plain in style, Quaker clothing was noted as having been fashioned from the most expensive materials available (Martinie-Eiler 2008:14).

In a discussion of the plainness aesthetic in Quaker houses in the Delaware Valley, Herman points out that many discussions of Quaker plainness come from a flawed understanding of “plain” (2003:188). Plainness, in essence, must be defined in relation to a referent or it is meaningless. Herman concludes Quaker colonial housing was “enduring” and “monumental,” like other Anglo-American buildings of the time (2003:211). However, Herman considered only the extant surviving Quaker structures, which by the very nature of the fact that they have remained standing for over 200 years must be the most enduring and monumental examples of their kind. Archaeology enables a discussion of a Quaker aesthetic in building traditions and spatial
organization, through consideration of the less monumental examples of houses which have not stood the test of time.

Barry Levy argues the Quaker expenditure on bedding and furniture is related to the Quaker settlers’ focus on the environment of their children’s spiritual growth and the home (1988:182). The hallmarks of the home in the Delaware Valley included: ample chairs, tables, feather beds, and large, comfortable houses (1988:182). Quakers, unlike other groups like the Anglicans, built few impressive public buildings (Levy 1988:182). Anglicans, in contrast, are argued to have been more publically focused and their houses evinced less domestic involvement (Levy 1988:182). Probate inventories of the first generation show, that among families of similar wealth, Quakers spent more on bedding and other furniture than Anglicans (Levy 1988:182-183). Comparing households of comparable wealth, from inventories from 1681 to 1735, Quakers spent an average of 15.3 pounds on bedding while Anglicans spent an average of 7 pounds (Levy 1988:182, 311). In light of Levy’s thesis Quakers may have invested more substantially in the home, but more public displays such as dress and ornamentation should have adhered to the doctrine of “going plain in the world”.

Quaker ideals extended to “ordinary acts of everyday life”, not just highly visible arenas of material culture like dress and housing. As such, Quakers stressed the importance of plainness in cooking and eating, and cautioned against indulgence (Fischer 1989:538). Quakers argued one should drink only when “thou art dry”, and that “drunkenness is of the worst sort” of excess (Fischer 1989:539). In a recent dissertation, Philadelphia Foodways Ca. 1750-1850: An Historical Archaeology of Cuisine, Schweitzer argues Quaker foodways derived more from a “culinary philosophy” than specific “culinary practices” (2010:23). Quakers are argued to have sought frugality in foodways, while at the same time taking advantage of the bounty of the Colonial Delaware Valley (Schweitzer 2010:25-26; McWilliams 2005:168-169). A quantitative survey of regional foods in Britain has found a preference for boiling in the north, where Quakers hailed from, distinct from regional preferences for baking in East Anglia and frying in southern and western England (Fischer 1989:542; Allen 1968:23). Boiled breakfasts and dinners became important in the Delaware Valley (Fischer 1989:542).
3.3.2 The Inner Light

Fischer argues, as noted previously in Section 1.3, that the Quakers frequently noted a sense of compassion, empathy, and sympathy for their neighbors is related to the importance the Society of Friends placed on the concept of the Inner Light and New Testament scriptures (1989:426). In contrast to the Quaker ethos of egalitarianism, the Puritan Governor of Massachusetts began his sermon “A Modell of Christian Charity” with the words:

GOD ALMIGHTY in His most holy and wise providence, hath so disposed of the condition of mankind, as in all times some must be rich, some poor, some high and eminent in power and dignity; others mean and in submission.

In an essay on “The Influence of the Old Testament on Puritanism”, Selbie argues the Puritans’ emphasis on the Old Testament fostered, and was in fact encouraged by, the image of God as “…a jealous God whose wrath is a terrible reality” (1927[2003]:416).

The Quaker founders of the Delaware Valley have been argued to possess the greatest degree of equality between the genders of any English-speaking settlers (Fischer 1989:490). Quaker households were less male-dominant, and Quaker women played larger roles in the Society of Friends than in other Christian denominations of the time (Fischer 1989:493-495). Women were to be spiritually equal with men, co-equal in ruling the Society, to speak as recognized ministers, and to exercise authority at monthly meetings (Levy 1988:193). In contrast, Puritans are argued to have viewed women as “weaker vessels” who should not be allowed to speak in church (Levy 1988:84).

3.4 Summary and Discussion

Two primary, linked sets of Quaker tenets may be identified: 1) Going Plain in the World to eschew the many temptations of consumerism; and 2) The Inner Light, and the underlying call for compassion, sympathy, and empathy for thy neighbor. The first primary tenet of plainness, material simplicity, lack of ostentatious display, and the discouragement of the use of tobacco and alcohol, was in contradiction to the ethos of materialism associated with rise and spread of consumerism associated with the
industrial revolution. Another consideration includes the positive emotions of compassion and empathy argued to have been valued by members of the Society of Friends. Central to this second area of focus are the Quaker belief in an Inner Light and equality of all humans. This doctrine of equality, compassion, and empathy was in opposition to the underlying ethos of individualism linked to the spread of consumerism and the formation of the modern, segmented, highly organized Western society. A pivotal question concerns the degree to which particular households adhered to religious tenets through time. Are any differences evident in different classes of material culture, or in high visibility versus low visibility objects? The archaeological correlates of these two primary sets of Quaker tenets will be outlined in detail in the next chapter.

3.5 Significant Contributions: Scales of Relevance

The significant contributions of this overview of the origins, history, and tenets of the Society of Friends may be viewed at multiple scales of analysis, or scales of relevance, as the relevance of the data and its synthesis may be considered in multiple dimensions: the site-specific/the topic, the discipline, the “big questions” of history and the social sciences, and the application to today’s society and the current world. The contribution of the study of Quakerism and Quaker tenets at each scale of relevance is discussed below.

The significance of the study of the origins of Quakerism and Quaker tenets at the first scale of relevance, the scale of the topic, relates to generating more information and a greater understanding of Quakerism in general. Two primary, linked, sets of tenets have been identified: the doctrine of going plain in the world and the tenet of the Inner Light. Through each, alternatives were developed to the underlying ethos of materialism and individualism associated with modern Western society. Both sets of tenets possess clear implications for material culture variation, which will be discussed further in subsequent chapters.

The overview of the history of Quakerism suggests key diachronic changes may be evident in the manifestation of adherence to beliefs and values in the early and later period of Quakerism. A key question involves whether the archaeological manifestation
of the tenets provides evidence of changes in adherence to these tenets and underlying beliefs and values through time.

The study of the origins of Quakerism and Quaker tenets also enables substantial contributions to the study of beliefs and values in hybrid, plural colonial settings, in the recent past and antiquity. These contributions achieve relevance at the scale of the discipline of anthropological archaeology. The focus on the underlying ethos of a group, such as the ethos of plainness and compassion associated with the Society of Friends, enables consideration of the material, archaeological manifestation of beliefs and values as outlined in the next chapter. The doctrine of plainness motivated the Quakers to eschew the many temptations of consumerism, and the doctrine of the Inner Light is responsible for the greater egalitarianism amongst Friends and the peaceful interactions with Native Americans and opposition to slavery (Hamm 2006:28, 33; Wood 2011:17).

Capitalist ideology places primary importance on the extraction of energy and matter for profit and gain, and as such has instilled greater materialism and individualism (Taylor 2001:21). This pursuit of wealth was at times in conflict with Christian beliefs and values (Taylor 2001:21-22). It is therefore important in the study of capitalist societies to determine the extent to which variation in material culture derives from the pursuit of economic gain or from the expression of adherence to specific religious tenets, beliefs, and values. The consideration of Quaker beliefs and tenets, and their manifestation in material culture, reveals the importance of religious affiliation in the production and assembly, or consumption, of material culture at a household. The importance of tenets, beliefs, values and ethos should not be neglected in the interpretation of material culture variation in archaeology.

At the scale of the “big questions” of history and the social sciences, the study of the origins of Quakerism and Quaker tenets may illuminate the processes of industrial capitalism and the extent to which material and religious dimensions of cultural phenomena are important in the development and spread of this system. Industrial capitalism which emerged in the eighteenth century may be viewed as the system that ensnared the Atlantic, binding Europe, African and the Americas within an interconnected web of dependencies founded on production, consumption, and slavery. The Quakers, within this rubric, may be viewed as the reformists who sought to remove
themselves from this snare. Did adherence to religious tenets persist, or did the Quakers turn to consumerism in the later period? The degree to which economic concerns or religious beliefs and values manifest in and are reinforced by material culture is itself conceived to be historically contingent.

Finally, at the level of contemporary relevance, the study of the origins of Quakerism and Quaker tenets may render two primary significant contributions. Firstly, even in the context of the materialism and individualism characterizing societies of contemporary industrial capitalism, this study demonstrates the importance of religious ideals and tenets as determinants of society. Secondly, in light of the economic crises of 2008 as discussed by Dahrendorf in the Journal *Max Weber Studies* (2010), the insights gained from this study may offer alternatives to the ethos of materialism and individualism associated with contemporary industrialized society. Quaker tenets, values and beliefs offer alternatives to mass consumerism and conspicuous consumption that involve an increased appreciation and understanding of the value, utility, and historical importance of thrift and frugality. The days of easy credit are gone, according to Dahrendorf (2010:11) and alternative solutions must be sought if a “mass civilization of high quality” is to be achieved (Braudel 1993:21). The doctrine of the Inner Light likewise presents an alternative to the individualism characterizing the increasing social stratification of modern industrial society. Insights from the Society of Friends, who at least at their onset developed alternatives to the culture of consumerism, flagrant conspicuous consumption, and ethos of individualism may assist in the development of such solutions.
CHAPTER 4

The Archaeological Correlates of Quaker Tenets, Beliefs and Values

4.1 Introduction

A series of archaeological correlates of Quaker tenets, beliefs and values are presented in this chapter, to serve as the basis for analysis and comparative evaluation of the evidence from Quaker and non-Quaker archaeological sites. Quaker tenets, including “material simplicity”, a “plain style”, and the discouragement of the use of tobacco and alcohol, are expected to be associated with particular archaeological correlates. This group of Quaker tenets, centering on a belief that the material world is a detriment to the pursuit of truth, possesses a set of archaeological correlates relating to the relative frequencies of certain classes and types of material culture. Another consideration includes the degree to which the material culture record exhibits evidence of the positive emotions of compassion and empathy argued to have been valued by members of the Society of Friends. Central to this second area of focus is the Quaker belief in an Inner Light and equality of all humans. The expected archaeological correlates of Going Plain in the World and tenets of equality are discussed below. Following South (1979:225) and Peebles and Kus (1977:423), outlining the anticipated archaeological correlates is viewed as a critical step in linking material culture variation to aspects of social behavior and belief.

4.2 Going Plain in the World: Eschew the Temptations of Consumerism

The doctrine of plainness and shunning of consumerism is expected to possess certain archaeological correlates. The correlates for various archaeological data sets are presented below:

1) A low frequency or absence of items of personal adornment is expected at Quaker sites compared to contemporaneous non-Quaker sites.

2) A low frequency or absence of tobacco and alcohol-related artifacts is expected compared to non-Quaker sites.
3) Higher frequencies of plain and minimally decorated ceramics are expected, and lower frequencies of highly decorated ceramics, at Quaker sites.

4) Lower degree of adherence and acceptance of material culture associated with the new consumerism emerging in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Artifacts to be considered include:
   a) Coarse and Refined Earthenwares
   b) Ceramic Vessel Form
   c) Ceramic Type Function
   d) Index of Ceramic Variability
   e) Amenities Indices

5) Foodways are expected to be simple but plain. The following expectations are associated with the two main archaeological data sets which enable the reconstruction of past foodways:
   a) Faunal remains: A high proportion of the utilization of wild species, representing frugality, is expected at Quaker sites.
   c) Food preparation and consumption vessels: More pots and bowls expected, reflective of frugal, less elaborate dining.

6) Extensive retention and re-use of material goods is expected, as a reflection of thrift and frugality.

4.2.1 Artifact Group and Relative Frequencies

Archaeological Correlates #1 and #2 may best be investigated through tabulation of the percentages of artifacts by group at Quaker and non-Quaker sites. Following South (1977), the percentage of artifacts by functional group will be tabulated for several sites owned by Quakers and those of other religious affiliations to illuminate differential frequencies of material culture use. Information from sites from the late seventeenth to mid eighteenth century is compared to that from the late eighteenth to early nineteenth century in five basic regions: The Delaware Valley, New England, New York, the Chesapeake, and the Carolinas. Information from several sites
of each region and time period has been tabulated from the figures and tables within archaeological site reports. Artifact groups considered include the Architectural, Kitchen/Domestic, Clothing/Sewing, Alcohol-Related and Tobacco-Related groups. Following South (1977), faunal material was excluded from these calculations. This enables evaluation of the degree to which Quaker sites differed or were similar to contemporaneous non-Quaker sites, by region.

4.2.2 Measuring Degree of Decoration

Archaeological Correlate #3 may be investigated through tabulation of the proportions of plain, moderately decorated, and highly decorated ceramics. The degree of decoration may be calculated following an adaptation of Otto’s technique (Otto 1977; Wheelersburg et al. 1994:84). Though devised by Otto to compare domestic artifact assemblages from masters, overseers, and slaves, the technique also provides a useful manner of ranking ceramics by degree of surface decorative treatment and may therefore assist in documenting the degree of adherence to a “plainness” doctrine (Wheelersburg et al. 1994:86). In the comparative study of Mennonite material culture, the authors of the Meyers Site technical report adapted Otto’s (1977) technique for the ranking of ceramics by degree of surface decoration (Wheelersburg et al. 1994:86). Percentages of plain, minimally decorated (defined as banded and edge decorated) and highly decorated (defined as painted and transfer printed) ceramics may be tabulated and compared at Quaker and non-Quaker sites.

4.2.3 Measuring Consumption: The Archaeological Correlates of Consumerism

The eighteenth and nineteenth century were marked by the spread of consumerism and myriad concomitant social changes. This new consumerism rose over the course of the eighteenth century. In the early eighteenth century households continued the long lasting European tradition of directly producing much of what they consumed (Gibb 1996:16; Hawke 1988:8, 32). The later eighteenth century was marked by a greater quantity, quality, and variety of material possessions and a greater overall material prosperity amongst the Western European and Anglo-American middling ranks (Breen 1994:447-449; Carson 1994:484; Casella and Croucher 2010:114; Goodwin 1999:102; Martin 1993:142, 1996:73; McCracken 1988:6; McKendrick et al.

The archaeology of consumption and consumerism has emerged as a primary focus of many archaeological studies of the recent past, and the various approaches to this subject have been thoroughly reviewed recently (Mullins 2011, 2012). Historical archaeologists have devised methods to quantify the degree of acceptance and adherence to the worldview associated with the new consumerism through analyzing tea and dinnerwares. A wide variety of diameter sizes indicates acceptance of the segmentary rules of dining etiquette specifying different dish sizes for different courses of meals (Martin 1996:76; Leone 2005; Leone 1999:196; Potter 1994:139; Shackel 1993:168). The use of only one size of plates, on the other hand, would indicate the use of the easily obtained, mass-produced goods without acceptance of the new worldview. Formulas based on these principles have been devised to determine the differential rates and degrees of acceptance of the Georgian worldview (Leone 2005:152-163; 1999:197; Potter 1994:151; Shackel 1993:30-42). Ceramic type-functions may be calculated using the method outlined by Shackel (1993:30-42). A lower number of types and sizes indicates a relative lack of segmentation at the table, and a large number indicates a high degree of segmentation (Shackel 1993:32). The index of ceramic variability may also calculated using the revised formula presented by Leone (2005:156). The total number of vessels in the minimum vessel count is divided by the number of wares plus primary decorative techniques, then multiplied by the number of different vessel forms.
Many previous methods for developing a measure of the degree of acceptance of the new consumerism and associated social etiquette and ensemble of material props have focused primarily on the study of European refined earthenwares. Alternatively, focus on a broader range of material culture provides greater insight into the degree of acceptance or rejection of the new consumerism. Five methods devised by others and adapted for this study will be employed and compared to measure the degree of Quaker acceptance or rejection of emerging patterns of consumerism. Data from contemporaneous Quaker and non-Quaker sites will be compared. The data sets and analytical methods to be used include:

1) The relative proportion of locally-produced coarse earthenware compared to refined earthenware.

2) The percentages of the seven basic ceramic forms, following Brooks (2002).


5) The analysis of other material culture types, using probate and archaeological data sets, following Main (1988), Bedel (2000), and Pogue (2006).

Relative Proportion of Locally-produced Coarse Earthenware

A high frequency of coarse, locally produced earthenwares is expected at Quaker sites. Higher frequencies of refined earthenwares are expected at contemporaneous non-Quaker households actively adopting the material accoutrements of the new consumerism. Scholars have argued that each region within the North American colonies developed methods of producing and marketing its own particular products, and that this local production and trade fostered colonial growth (McCusker and Menard 1985:12; Yamin 1992-1993:130). One type is redware, defined as an unglazed or lead-glazed earthenware. Production of this ware commenced in Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, and began amongst North American settlers by 1625 (Feder 1994:165). In the late eighteenth century redware declined in popularity,
though production continued in some areas of Pennsylvania into the 1870s (Spargo 1926:123-126). Redware in the eighteenth century commonly had a lead-glaze and was frequently “slip-decorated”, involving the application of colored liquid clay in a trailed, combed, dribbled or haphazard formation on the vessels.

Other types of locally produced coarse earthenware are known from colonial contexts throughout the world, such as Colonoware and African-Caribbean Ware from New World Plantation societies, and locally produced colonial coarse earthenware from the seventeenth and eighteenth century Dutch South Africa (see Jordan 2000; Jordan et al. 1999; Young 2002, 2007b, 2010). Colonoware, or low-fired, hand-built earthenware from the colonial period was first described by Ivor Noel Hume and designated as Colono-Indian ware. Some imitated European vessels in form and decoration, but shared more in common with Native American pottery. Noel Hume argued the Native Americans in the vicinity of these sites manufactured these vessels and traded them with slaves (Noel Hume 1962:3-7).

Initial studies of locally produced pottery in the Caribbean were conducted by Jerome Handler on wheel-made, kiln-fired vessels produced by potters of African descent on Barbados (Handler 1963a, 1963b, 1964). Hand-made coarse earthenwares were later reported from plantations on Jamaica and St. Croix (Mathewson 1972; Gartley 1979). Subsequently, similar earthenware ceramics have been found in colonial contexts throughout the New World (Deagan 1988:214; Heath 1988:27). Several dissertations, monographs, and numerous articles have been devoted to studies of this material in North America and the Caribbean (for example, see Crane 1993; Ferguson 1992, 1999; Hauser 2008; Hauser and Armstrong 1999; Heath 1988, 1999; Magana 1999; Meyers 1999, Mouer et al. 1999; Peterson, Watters, and Nicholson 1999; Singleton and Bograd 2000; Young 2002).

The approach outlined by Yentsch regarding redware as "invisible vessels" (1991a), and more recently applied by Rotman in the Archaeology of Gendered Lives (2009) seems most applicable due to the prevalence of red earthenwares and the early to mid-eighteenth century time period of occupation at Quaker households. Over the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth century, a decrease in the use of “invisible”/“earth-toned” vessels for food consumption and increase in the use of “white-toned” vessels has been documented (Rotman 2009:125; Yentsch 1991a). Earth-
toned vessels, of the type traditionally used in medieval European households, were relegated during this time period to tasks related to processing, preparation, and storage. To the extent that household activities such as food preparation, storage, and consumption are deemed to be related to enculturation or trans-generational cultural reproduction, a greater use of earth-toned vessels may be interpreted as an atmosphere which fosters the transmission of traditional values. An emphasis on newly imported, white-toned vessels, on the other hand, emphasizes values associated with the new fashions and social etiquette and is likely characteristic of a future-oriented society. The degree of the timing of the switch from earth-toned to white-toned vessels can be documented at Quaker households and compared to other contemporary households. In the event that the Quaker tenets involving the need to eschew “new fashions in dress, house furniture, sumptuous tables, costly vessels and other things” (Joshua Evans quoted in Martinie-Eiler 2008:17) were adhered to, a lag in the adoption of white-toned vessels for food consumption is to be expected. The use of redware ceramics in the Delaware Valley is a prime example of the use of “earth-toned” vessels, and its persistence in various classes of domestic material culture can be documented and compared. Its persistence through time may be viewed as an example of isochreastic style, providing evidence of the enculturation of traditional values rather than new fashions. Likewise, in other geographical regions the type of earth-toned vessels may differ but they may signify a comparable phenomenon.

In the North American South and Caribbean, for instance, the persistence of Colono Ware pottery through time in households may be viewed as a measure of the degree of creation of a domestic sphere fostering the transmission of traditional cultural values. At Galways Plantation on the Caribbean island of Montserrat, for instance, the frequencies of local wares compared to white-toned European goods declined from the late eighteenth to mid-nineteenth century (Howson 1995:205). The timing of the increase in white-toned vessels coincides with an increase in plain Colono Ware compared to smoothed or burnished vessels, as reflected through technological style (Young 2002, 2007b, 2010).

In the documentation of the degree of adherence to rising patterns of consumerism, the proportion of coarse earthenware within an archaeological assemblage should not be ignored. A higher proportion of coarse earthenwares, relative to refined wares such as white
salt-glazed stoneware, delft, and later, creamware, pearlware, and whiteware, is to be expected at seventeenth and early eighteenth century sites. In the later eighteenth century and early nineteenth century, the proportion of coarse earthenware compared to refined wares is expected to correlate with the degree to which the new social etiquette and associated accoutrements for dining were adopted.

Ceramic Form

The relative proportions of basic ceramic forms provide insight into the degree of acceptance of new patterns of social dining and the associated material props. For example, amongst New World Plantation slaves archaeological analyses of Colono ware and African-Caribbean vessel forms indicate the majority of vessels may be classified as pots and bowls (Young 2002, 2007b). This tendency suggests functional associations reflecting a continuation of African traditions among slaves in the New World (Ferguson 1991, 1992, 1999; Heath 1988, 1991, 1999). The bowl is also most common in West Africa where soups, stews, and gruels are the main foodstuffs (Ferguson 1992:100; Heath 1999:210; Howson 1995:208). The prevalence of small cooking jars, similar in form to vessels in West Africa, has been cited as evidence for the continuation of the African tradition of cooking vegetable sauces (Ferguson 1992:98, 104-105). Ethnohistoric sources document the use of “pepper pots” for the preparation of spiced stews in the Caribbean in the early nineteenth century (Heath 1999:210-212).

Rather than the association of pots and bowls primarily with a particular set of foodways, however, Brooks argues the consumption of soups and gruels and associated use of pots and bowls is a subsistence strategy which the rural poor have traditionally engaged in irrespective of cultural background (2002:55). In a study of two sites from Wales, two from the Outer Hebrides in Scotland, and two from Virginia, Brooks tabulated data for the seven most common ceramic forms of tableware: plate, bowl, cup, saucer, jug, teapot, and mug (2002:54). A higher proportion of bowls to plates was found at the four British sites (Brooks 2002:55). Brooks concludes that the rural poor in Wales and Scotland used bowls, for stews, and that this is not necessarily associated with a particular ethnic origin (Brooks 2002:55).
The relative proportion of these seven most common ceramic forms, though, can also be used as a measure of the degree of acceptance of the new consumerism and associated new social etiquette for dining. In households with a high degree of acceptance of the new consumerism, a high proportion of plates, cups, saucers, and teapots would be expected. Late medieval and early modern foodways have been argued to have involved the use of ceramics primarily for food storage and preparation, and wood or pewter trenchers for dining (Deetz 1996:59-62; Mullins 2012:30). In the eighteenth century, individual plates in varieties of sizes began to dominate (Mullins 2012:30). With the emergence of the “Georgian Worldview” in the eighteenth century, ceramic use was marked by the widespread use of mass-produced matching sets of refined wares replacing the craft-produced vessels previously shared in communal consumption (Deetz 1993:71; Mullins 2012:49). Consideration of the relative proportions of basic ceramic forms at early and later Quaker and non-Quaker sites may illuminate the degree to which Quakers did or did not adhere to the emerging consumerism in comparison to their contemporaries.

**Type-Functions**

Shackel, in his study of the onset of the Georgian Worldview in Annapolis, Maryland, documented the manner in which elite households began to consume different goods to differentiate themselves from other classes (1993:73). Shackel argues the widespread adoption of matching ceramic sets in a variety of sizes, cutlery sets, formal dining items, and bodily maintenance items such as hair brushes and toothbrushes reflect the onset of new modern discipline and the emergence of individualism (1993:78). Variation in ceramic plate sizes, for instance, Shackel argues reflect the segmentation of dining (1993:168). To measure the degree of adoption of the new consumerism and associated “segmenting” dining behavior, Shackel tabulated the number of ceramic types and ceramic rim diameter sizes at archaeological sites (Shackel 1993:31-32). An assemblage with a few types and sizes would indicate a lack of variation and segmentation, while a great variety of types and sizes would indicate a high degree of acceptance of the new segmenting, social etiquette of dining (Shackel 1993:32). Ceramic Type-Functions are a calculation of the number of various sizes by type within an assemblage (Shackel 1993:33). Shackel documented a great
increase in ceramic type-functions at site in Annapolis from the mid-eighteenth to late nineteenth century (Shackel 1993:41, Table 9).

Index of Ceramic Variability

Formulas expanding upon Shackel’s Type-Function calculations were developed in order to generate an “index of variation” to measure the level of adherence to daily routines emphasizing individualism, orderliness, and the associated etiquette (Leone 1999). The “Index of Ceramic Variability” was originally devised through the formula:

\[ \frac{V}{F} \times W \]

In which:

- \( V \) = total vessels in the minimum vessel count
- \( F \) = total number of different vessel forms
- \( W \) = the number of ware types plus primary decorative techniques

(Leone 1999:197, Table 1)

The formula was later revised to include decorative technique as a separate multiplier as such:

\[ \frac{V/W}{F} \times D \]

In which:

- \( V \) = total number of vessels
- \( W \) = total number of Wares
- \( F \) = total number of forms
- \( D \) = total number of different decorative techniques

(Leone 2005:160, Table 10)

These formulas have been employed in the study of ceramics from Annapolis (Leone 1999, 2005), and in the archaeological study of gender relations in Deerfield, Massachusetts (Rotman 2009). The formulas for calculating the Index of Ceramic Variability, however, have been criticized for being too heavily influenced by sample size in the form of the total number of vessels in the minimum vessel count (MNV). All versions of the formula begin with the number of vessels in the MNV, so in general the
greater the number of vessels the larger the index of ceramic variation will be. In the calculation of the indices from sites in Deerfield, Rotman (2009) employed the formulas for diversity analysis presented by Rotman and Bradbury (2002). Diversity analysis provides a measure of the “richness” of an assemblage and is calculated by dividing the total number of classes by the square root of the total number of vessels (Rotman and Bradbury 2002).

The use of the MNV in the formula renders the calculation a measure of sample size more than sample variety. For instance, there could be 20 vessels that are each different, which would be a high variety of variability but would possess a lower Index of Ceramic Variability than 400 vessels in 2 different forms, 2 ware types, and 2 decorative techniques. The former would possess an Index of 20 and the latter, which is intuitively a less diverse assemblage, would possess an Index of 200.

Shackel’s Type-Function calculations avoid the pitfall of allowing sample size to inflate the value of the index, through the lack of inclusion of sample size or MNV in the equation. These totals will be tabulated separately, and those figures then compared. The number of ware types and forms may prove to not be productive for this calculation, as a high degree of decorative types and sizes within a single ware (i.e. creamware) or single form (i.e. plate) can represent a high degree of variation and high level of adherence to new patterns of consumerism. Multiplying by ware type or form inflates the values, without providing a concomitant measure of the degree of elaboration or adherence to the new social etiquette. Did the social etiquette call for a high variety of ware types: creamware, pearlware, white salt-glazed stoneware, or did it alternatively call for a high degree of decoration and variety of sizes?

A high degree of decorative ware-types, ceramic forms, and diameter sizes would indicated a high degree of acceptance of the new consumerism and new social etiquette for dining. On the other hand, a low degree of decorative ware-types and low number of forms and diameter sizes would indicate a lack of acceptance of the new social etiquette and emerging consumerism. These calculations will be tabulated following Shackel and Leone.

Amongst Quakers, a low number of decorative ware-types is expected, predominately plain or minimally decorated. A low variety of forms and diameter sizes is also expected. Calculations of ceramic variability at Quaker and non-Quaker sites
will be compiled based on Shackel’s and Leone’s methods, and compared to the new adaptation of these methods proposed here. The effectiveness of each method in general as a measure of ceramic variability, and in particular as a measure of the degree of Quaker acceptance or rejection of the new consumerism, will be evaluated.

**Amenities Indices**

Methods to measure emerging patterns of consumerism from probate data have also been devised by historians. In a comparative study of probate inventories, Main puts forth two measures of the standard of living in British North America (1988:126). The first measure involves the total value of consumer goods and the second is adapted from an item counting scheme pioneered by Carr and Walsh (Main 1988:126; Carr and Walsh 1978). The presence or absence of twelve consumer goods is noted, giving a total consumption index or “amenities index” range of 0 to 12. Consumer goods considered include: household linens of any kind (sheets, pillowcases, tablecloths, napkins, or towels), religious books, secular books, watches or clocks, coarse earthenware, fine earthenware, silver-ware, spices (including such imported foodstuffs as coffee, tea, and sugar), knives, forks, wigs, and pictures (Main 1988:126). In a study of probate inventories from 1760 to 1820, Clemens adapted the consumption index to include consideration of: candlesticks, Dutch ovens, basic earthen-ware, fine earthenware, bed or table linens, knives and forks, spices or spice containers, books, watches, clocks, pictures, and silverware (2005:581).

The use of a consumption index can be a useful comparative tool, and aids the consideration of the degree of participation in the new consumer culture over the course of the eighteenth and into the nineteenth century. Bedell has noted, however, that probate inventories can be incomplete and when compared to the archaeological record may be demonstrated to omit items of “low value” such as earthenware dishes, sewing gear, and children’s toys (2000:224). Bedell argues for using probate data in conjunction with archaeological data to better understand eighteenth century material life (2000:226). Pogue, having applied the amenities index to archaeological sites from the Chesapeake, developed a “new amenities list” for measuring the degree of consumerism based on archaeological inventories to avoid the limitations of probate data (2006). Pogue’s list involves 40 artifacts types within seven general classes: food,
furnishings, entertainment, sewing, clothing, horse furniture, weaponry, and architecture (2006).

The tabulation of data on amenities may provide insight into the degree to which Quaker households adhered to or rejected emerging consumerism. Barry Levy (1988) argues the Quaker expenditure on bedding and furniture, as discussed in Section 3.3.1, is related to the Quaker settlers focus on the environment of their children’s spiritual growth and the home (182). Probates from the seventeenth and eighteenth century in Quaker households in the Delaware Valley also showed as much evidence of “female home manufacturing and processing as coeval probates from settled Puritan villages in Essex County, Massachusetts” (Levy 1988:196-197).

While the consumption of furniture and other amenities may have been characteristic of Quaker households, these items are less visible and therefore more private than some other amenity types such as clothing. Clothing and methods of clothing fastening are amongst the most visible forms of material culture, and as such should be expected to reflect strong adherence to the Quaker plainness doctrine. Their plainness may, in this manner, be conceived as a manner of “non-costly” signaling. However, greater insight can be obtained from considering the reflection of their tenets and values in this signaling rather than viewing it as a means of adaption to foster greater material success.

4.2.4 Foodways

Faunal Material

In archaeological as well as social theory foodways are believed to be intimately linked to ethnic identity (e.g. Gonzalez 1988:98, Hastorf 1991:133, Howson 1990:80). The study of foodways in a plural society such as Colonial New Jersey may reveal the particular way varying elements merged to form new dietary patterns. Faunal remains may be used to determine the species utilized. In a study of early nineteenth century sites in western North Carolina, Greene found that faunal remains were more indicative of ethnicity than other classes of material culture (2011). A high relative frequency of wild species, including small birds, was found at a historic Cherokee site compared to lower frequencies at contemporary residences of plantation slaves and white farmers or
laborers (Greene 2011:64). Is a higher percentage of wild species present at Quaker sites, reflecting a higher degree of frugality?

**Food Preparation and Consumption Vessels**

Pottery can also be used to infer culinary practices through analysis of the forms used. For example, the prevalence of small cooking jars in South Carolina which are similar in form to vessels in West Africa have been cited as evidence for the continuation of the African tradition of cooking vegetable sauces (Ferguson 1992:98). Previous research has demonstrated that bowl forms tend to be dominant at African-American sites, which may be related to the African tradition of eating primarily soups and gruels (Armstrong 1990:146, Ferguson 1992:95). Also, within Caribbean Plantations the proportion of cassava griddles may be an indicator of the influence of the Island Carib culinary tradition. Use wear analysis may also be employed to determine if eating utensils were used. A study of Colono ware ceramics from South Carolina, which displayed no utensil markings, led Ferguson to conclude that the slaves continued the West African practice of eating with the hands (1992:98).

A higher proportion of pots and bowls is expected at Quaker sites. As argued by Brooks, consumption of soups, stews, and gruels in pots and bowls is to be expected from the “rural poor” (2002:55). To the extent that members of The Society of Friends were to partake of “a simple diet” (Fischer 1989:538), it is expected that the foodways of the “rural poor” at the time would better have fulfilled this ideal than the table of elite dining with plates in multitudes of sizes. While Fischer (1989:542) maintains Quaker foodways in the Delaware Valley emphasized boiling in pots and consumption in bowls, there is currently no consensus on the composition of Quaker foodways (Kiple and Ornelas 2000:1307). However, it is acknowledged that Quaker foodways may be most notable for what they lacked, as abstinence was emphasized (Kiple and Ornelas 2000:1307). As a result, frugality as reflected through consumption of wild species and soups, stews, and gruels through pots and bowls is expected in higher proportions compared to contemporary non-Quaker households. Following Braudel in his review of early modern foodstuffs, clothing, and shelter, it is useful to distinguish between that which is consumed by the majority and that of “the minority, the privileged, whom we may regard as living in luxury” (1979:183). Since Quakerism
emerged in opposition to the opulent displays of luxury by the contemporary privileged elites, it is expected that adoption or “ emulation” of these attributes would not characterize the material culture evidence obtained from Quaker households.

4.2.5 Retention and Re-Use of Material Goods

Retaining material goods for extended periods of time, and re-use of goods, is expected at Quaker sites as a reflection of thrift and frugality associated with the doctrine of plainness. Do Quaker sites exhibit evidence of retaining goods, such as heirlooms, for prolonged periods of time? Do Quaker sites exhibit evidence of re-using goods, in the same or differing use contexts? Does the degree of the retention and re-use of items differ from that of non-Quaker contemporaries?

4.3 The Inner Light: Compassion, Empathy, and Sympathy for Thy Neighbors

In a recent review of the study of emotion and affect in archaeology, Tarlow notes that few studies have focused upon positive emotions such as compassion or empathy (2012:178). Definitions of emotions are often vague and ambiguous (Tarlow 2000:713). Even within nursing, a profession for which compassion has traditionally been considered a primary asset, the concepts of compassion and compassionate care are not clearly defined or widely promoted (Schantz 2007:49). In a synthesis of definitions of compassion in dictionaries, academic journal articles and nursing textbooks, Schantz reports that compassion is viewed as “an internalized motivation for doing good” and involves “making justice and doing works of mercy” (Schantz 2007:50, citing Sadler 2004:37). Overall, dictionary definitions define compassion as the feeling of emotion of deep sympathy or sorrow for another’s misfortune, and a strong desire to relieve or alleviate that suffering (Schantz 2007:51). Schantz goes on to argue that compassion has been devalued in contemporary nursing, and in society at large, in favor of “emotional detachment” and calls for the exercising of greater compassion within the field (Jull 2001:16, cited in Schantz 2007:51, 54). In a review of pity, compassion, and commiseration in seventeenth century French theatre, Ibbett argues while pity is more associated with self catharsis, compassion is essentially a social force which “teeters on the brink between selfhood and otherness” and encourages feeling “more generally for those around them” (2008:196, 208).
Tarlow argues that a focus on the study of “emotional standards” or “emotional ethos”, constituting a “culturally shared emotional atmosphere”, possesses greater potential in the study of past cultures than the study of subjective emotional experiences (2000:728). The emotional ethos of a particular culture in a particular period of time, is best viewed as both culturally and historically contingent. It developed over a span of time, being reinforced and reinforcing other aspects or culture and society. Historians have argued that past religious systems may have been amongst the most influential reinforcing forces of other aspects of culture, including among them the emotional ethos of a particular group in a particular period in time. In the study of past emotional ethos, it may perhaps be most effective to commence first with a consideration of past religious tenets beliefs, and values. These may be reconstructed through the aide of textual evidence in historic periods, and in prehistoric periods through an analysis of iconographic style which is emblemic in nature. The Quaker founders of the Delaware Valley, as discussed previously in Section 3.3.2, are held to have possessed lesser gender stratification than in other Christian denominations of the time.

An emotional ethos fostering compassion is expected to possess certain archaeological correlates, or material manifestations which are discernable within the archaeological record. These correlates are based upon the following assumptions regarding compassion, as an “internalized motivation for doing good” (Schantz 2007:50, citing Sadler 2004:37). In addressing these correlates, archaeological theory in general on the study of egalitarianism and the degree of social stratification is particularly relevant. The term social stratification is employed to refer to “distinct social classes with varying opportunities for power, wealth, and success” (Young 2005b). Amongst the Society of Friends, Quaker tenets and values in terms of greater egalitarianism in race, ethnic, and gender relations are directly relevant.

1) A lower frequency of evidence of inter-group violence or animosity, evidenced by less militaristic material evidence.

2) Accordingly, a high level of inter-group exchange of goods and technologies is expected as a result of amiable relations.
a) A high proportion of artifacts associated with other groups, such as stone tools, pottery, and other classes of material culture.

b) A high level of transfer of technological know-how or technical traits and technical sequences. This correlate corresponds to architectural building techniques and the fashioning of other elements of material culture.

3) In accordance with the desire to alleviate the suffering of others, less pronounced social stratification is expected within past groups emphasizing an emotional ethos of compassion. Greater egalitarianism is to be expected, in terms of both gender and other forms of social organization or grouping within society. Considering the example of historic Quakers once again, this correlate is manifested in the members of the Society’s lesser degree of gender stratification and efforts to alleviate the suffering of others in the institution of Slavery through participation in the Underground Railroad and Abolitionist Movement. The following archaeological data sets will be considered:

a) Archaeological evidence for home production, the organization of activities of production spatially, and transformations of these activities through time.

b) Gendered use of space is expected to reflect a lesser degree of gender stratification compared to non-Quaker sites.

b) Spatial artifact distribution and gender relations.
4.3.1 Inter-Group Violence or Animosity

Archaeological Correlate #1, among historic Quakers, is for example associated with the Society of Friends general pacifistic stance and more amicable interactions with Native Americans in North America. This correlate is difficult to assess from archaeological data sets at residential sites, as evidence of the Arms artifact group may be associated with hunting activities rather than inter-group hostility. This correlate could more accurately be assessed through other site types, such as the presence or absence of forts and fortifications, mortuary sites and the degree and type of trauma. The assessment of this correlate from such other site types, while a potentially fruitful avenue of inquiry, lies beyond the scope of this study.

4.3.2 Inter-Group Exchange

In "Nonviolent Contact: The Quakers and the Indians", Tolles details the 300 years of interactions between Quakers and Native Americans in North America (1963). Tolles argues these interactions have been characterized by "friendship, sympathy, understanding, respect, and love" (1963:93). Tolles finds the underlying reason for the nature of these interactions to be theological, deriving from the Quaker concept of the "Light Within" (1963:94). Early Friends are argued to have avoided bearing arms, taking oaths, holding slaves, and maltreating the Native Americans out of an “inner impulse” (1963:94). These interactions are argued to have been motivated out of humaneness and humanitarianism, and are held to be deriving from more than pacifism (1963:94).

In their own words, both groups are recorded as speaking favorably of each other and their interactions. For instance, Dutch travelers reportedly quoted the Native Americans as stating, in reference to Quakers, “they are not Christians, they are like ourselves” (Tolles 1963:96). In fact Joseph Coale, an English Quaker who was beaten and imprisoned by the New England Puritans, found refuge among Algonquin Indians. The Algonquin chief stated “The Quakers are honest men and do no harm”, and Coale is recorded as writing “through the goodness of the Lord we found these Indians more sober and Christian-like towards us than the Christians so called” (1963:93).

Smolenski, in *Friends and Strangers: The Making of a Creole Culture in Colonial Pennsylvania*, considers the growth of a “creole culture” among the Quakers
in the British Colony of Pennsylvania (2010). Smolenski defines “creolization” as the “creative process through which individuals and groups constructed new cultural habits and identities as they tried to make Old-World inheritances ‘fit’ in a New-World environment” (2010:4). Historical archaeologists have conceptualized the interactions and influences amongst cultures in contact and frontier situations through the processes of “creolization” and hybridization (Cusick 2000:46; Dawdy 2000:2; Deetz 1996; Feder 1994:17; Ferguson 2000:5, 1992:xli-xlvi; Lightfoot 1995; Van Dommelen 2005). Deetz defined the process of creolization as “the interaction between two or more cultures to produce an integrated mix which is different from its antecedents” (1996:213). Hybridization and creolization differ from previous concepts of acculturation and assimilation in that they consider the effects of cultural interaction on the historically dominant as well as the subordinate groups. A new research direction includes the consideration of the ways in which both “colonisers and indigenous peoples responded to culture contact and colonialism” (Palmer and Horning 2009:398). Hybridization focuses on the processes of interaction and negotiation between various groups in colonial settings, emphasizing the “practice of mixed origins” (Van Dommelen 2005:117-118). The local roots of a portion of a colonial community, and simultaneous involvement in an extrarregional colonial network, are both considered (Van Dommelen 2005:118). The culturally heterogeneous society in colonial New Jersey may perhaps best be considered through the interpretative framework of hybridization.

Smolenski argues that creolization for the colonial Quakers involved “interaction, adaptation, and incorporation” (2010:4). Smolenski argues that Quaker interactions with Native Americans and German and Dutch Pietists resulted in "the emergence of a new, reconfigured, creole Quakerism" (2010:176-177, 236). This strengthened in defense of criticism that they had become "bastard Quakers" due to this process of "creolization", which the Pennsylvania Quakers countered that their interactions and acceptance of other groups were more in tune with the Quaker values of love and unity (2010:176).

To the extent that the Quakers interacted amicably with local Native American groups and other populations in a plural colonial setting, then a greater degree of evidence of peaceable interaction is expected. A high level of transfer from other groups to members of Quaker households is expected. Archaeological Correlate #2 may
be measured by the degree to which goods and technological techniques from other
groups are present at Quaker households. For instance, in Colonial New Jersey, to what
extent do Quaker households contain evidence of goods from Dutch New York?

With regards to the exchange of techniques, the manufacture of pottery or
production or maintenance of textiles could be considered. At a domestic site lacking
evidence of on-site manufacturing, however, the exchange of technological techniques
as manifest in architectural building styles at a site may be considered. A fruitful focus
of the relationship between the cultural and material realms, which is in no way simple,
has been demonstrated to include the consideration of production techniques. For
example, Deetz argues that the same structuring principles which order social relations
and cultural worldview are operative in the formation of material culture pertaining to
the switch from the medieval to the "Georgian" worldview in “Anglo-America” (1977).
Archaeological theory on "technological style" is particularly well suited to address the
social dimension of material culture. Technical sequences, while possessing limits set
by physical properties, incorporate variation which is the outcome of social choice,
being determined by culturally contingent "idiosyncracies" (Lechtman 1977, Lemonnier 1986).
Analysis of the variation of technological systems which is
determined
by social factors opens the possibility for studying processes of social
change and heterogeneity through material culture.

Structural remains have also been used in the study of creolization or
hybridization in plural societies. For example, creolization has been investigated
through a focus on the raw materials, construction techniques, and spatial arrangements
conducted by Deetz on African-American houses (Deetz 1977; Ferguson 1992). Log
cabin frame houses with wattle-and-daub roofs and "earth-fast" homes with porches,
root cellars and no chimney in Virginia are also argued to combine European and West
African architectural elements (Ferguson 1992:56). Houses in South Carolina, which
consist of clay walls, have been described as "more African" (Ferguson 1992:58).
Although there is no "general" West African floor plan (Armstrong 1990:11), elements
like wattle-and-daub, clay walls, and the absence of chimneys may indicate African
influence in the formation of African-American architectural traditions.

The spatial dimension of house structures may also reveal aspects of cultural
identity. Work on a free African community in New England has demonstrated that
European houses tend to be organized around 16 foot segments (or one rod), while the crucial size for African-American structures was only 12 feet (Deetz 1977:149). The relationship between space and worldview has been discussed quite extensively (Deetz 1977:150), and the importance of spatial dimensions is not limited to that of one particular structure. The location of villages and their functional use of space, wherein the houses may be aligned in rigid rows or random clusters, is also culturally significant (Armstrong 1990:100).

In the study of Quaker and non-Quaker building techniques, it is useful first to consider if the structures are brick and stone or of impermanent, wooden, earthfast construction. As Braudel argues, the differences in society are perhaps best evidenced in houses, clothes and fashion for “where is luxury more conspicuous than in house, furniture, and dress?” (1979:266). Whether early Quaker houses were brick and stone, or earthfast, and how these trends compare to non-Quaker contemporaries will be considered. Then, the following technical traits associated with building techniques for residential structures will be compared. This list of traits is adapted in part from the investigation of perishable architecture at the Jonathan Creek Site by Schroeder (2011):

1) Foundation Type: brick, stone, post-in ground, log sill, for example. Variables such as the depth of foundations and width can be considered.

2) Structure Size: length, width, and overall square footage can be compared. Some studies have demonstrated that houses 1 rod (16 ½ feet) by 1 ½ rods (24 ¾ feet) were common in the eighteenth century British houses (Deetz 1977).

3) For earthfast structures, the following traits of posts can be considered:
   A) Post diameter, and log sill diameter if present
   B) Post spacing: the distance between posts

4) Evidence of interior partitions

5) Arrangement of residential structures and associated outbuildings
4.3.3 Social Stratification and Egalitarianism

The lesser degree of social stratification and higher evidence of egalitarianism is expected to manifest in inter-group interactions and intra-group gender relations. Compassion may be evidenced, for example, in Quaker participation in the Abolitionist Movement and Underground Railroad such as in Lancaster, Pennsylvania as discussed in Section 1.3. In the Colony of Pennsylvania, a written protest by members of the Germantown Meeting in 1688 represents one of the earliest documented rejections of the institution of slavery (Nash and Soderlund 1991:43). The statement indicated disapproval and dismay over the fact that the “Quaker colony, established for liberty of conscience, should deny men and women ‘liberty of the body’” (Nash and Soderlund 1991:43). Where Quakers were slaveholders, such as in the British Virgin Islands (Chenoweth 2012), was the treatment of slaves different than those on other contemporary plantations in the West Indies?

Gender Stratification and Gender Relations

The Quaker founders of the Delaware Valley have been argued to possess lesser gender stratification (see Section 3.3.2). Archaeological research may be directed towards this issue at Quaker sites to evaluate whether evidence for gender stratification and gender relations differ, based upon historical and material culture evidence. Gender is a fundamental structural principle and cannot be ignored in the study of past or present cultures. Gender may be defined as a cultural construction involving the ascription of certain traits to males and females by society (Young 2005b). Gender relations are defined as the manner in which genders interact in a given culture (Nelson 2002:235). Gender relations are constantly defined, redefined, and reshaped, and their specific formulation at a point in time likewise may have a profound effect on the historical trajectories of cultures. Roosevelt argues an assumption of natural gender inequality became “enshrined” in the late Victorian period but is not supported by the evidence (2002). Rather than humans’ natural predisposition, Roosevelt argues that social stratification, gender and other forms of inequality, aggression, and violence have emerged during the Holocene as the result of social crowding and competition over scarce resources (2002:372). Since systematic gender inequality is viewed as arising relatively recently in human history, and has therefore existed for too short a
time to allow for “significant genetic embedding”, these relations are argued to not be natural and as a result “obviously can be undone” (2002:76). In accordance with their tenets associated with the Inner Light, did the Quakers develop a system of gender relations which circumvented the systematic gender inequality characteristic of contemporaneous groups in the early modern period?

Substantial contributions have been generated to the study of gender by historical archaeologists through employing consumer behavior models and methods. Dramatic changes have been documented in gender ideologies and the gender roles of women during the eighteenth to nineteenth century. The separation of the public and private or domestic spheres, and the concomitant ascription of the female gender to the domestic sphere, has had profound effects upon the status of women. Studies within the Middle Atlantic region have demonstrated that the separation of the spheres may be traced through changing patterns in the consumption of ceramics and glassware (Klein and LeeDecker 1991; Wall 1991, 1994, 2000; Yentsch 1991a and 1991[1996]).

Historians have documented, however, that the separation of separate public and private spheres is not unique to modern industrialized capitalism, but may in fact be traced back to the Greek and Roman worlds (Spencer-Wood and Camp 2013:1). However, recent studies have called into question the validity of this separation even within modern industrialized nations, documenting numerous case studies where the boundary was crossed (Spencer Wood and Camp 2013:3). Sweely argues exclusive public and private contexts are unrealistic (1999:5). While the public sphere is typically assumed to have been the location of “activities that serve to control or influence people”, the private sphere has not been viewed as possessing an active role in the formation of the social, economic, or political world (1999:5). However, Sweely argues that individuals experience “institutionalized ideologies and personal interpretations of those ideologies in both settings” (Sweely 1999:6). Extending Sweely’s argument it could be contended that, particularly in certain times and places, the “private sphere” may be more constitutive of the social, economic, and political world because that is the realm of child-rearing, enculturation, and the passing of cultural norms, values, and emotional ethos from one generation to the next. While our contemporary, rapidly changing, future-oriented society may lack ample comparative examples, many
previous past-oriented societies may have placed far greater emphasis on the value and importance of the “private sphere” in maintaining cultural traditions, values, and ethos.

Sweely’s distinction of the “institutionalized ideologies” and “personal interpretations of those ideologies” is interesting, and both would be readily evidenced in material culture: the former in emblemic style and the later in personal assertive style. Furthermore, the “private” sphere of child-rearing and enculturation would be evidenced in material culture through isochrestic variation, enabling a “window” through which the archaeologist may study this realm and the transmission of cultural traditions, values and emotional ethos across generations.

Following Kent, egalitarianism is defined as “the absence of stratification, hierarchies, domination, power, coercion, force, and privilege” (1999:33). Egalitarianism is a continuum, such that societies may possess a greater or lesser degree but none are known to be “absolutely egalitarian” (Kent 1999:37). Within “highly egalitarian” groups such as the Bushmen, Pygmies, and Batek groups, gender relations are characterized by a highly flexible division of labor in which both genders may at times participate in all labor tasks and women “have as much autonomy, status, and equality as men” (Kent 1999:38). Within “strongly egalitarian” groups, such as the Navajo, the genders possess different roles but those roles are not ranked hierarchically (Kent 1999:38). The Quaker founders of the Delaware Valley region possessed the greatest degree of equality between the genders of any English-speaking settlers (see Section 3.3.2). Archaeological research may be directed towards this issue at Quaker sites in the region to evaluate whether evidence for the separation of the public and private spheres and gender stratification differs from other sites.

In the previous section, the degree of adherence to Quaker tenets involving going plain in the world was evaluated through consideration of the relative proportions of various types, classes, and forms of material goods. These represent consumption choices, and as such reflect the manner in which a household elects to position itself within an emerging consumer marketplace and consumer society. These consumer choices reflect the household’s view and conscious assertion of its relationship with the larger society. Also, in the form of technological style of building techniques, different sets of technical traits may reflect interaction and exchange of technical know-how between groups. At the household level, different archaeological data sets are
conceived to best reflect the relationship between members of a household group such as gender relations. The use of space within a household is argued to possess the greatest potential to illuminate relations between members of a household group. The home production of types of materials, such as dairying and sewing, may be considered and the spatial distribution of materials associated with these activities analyzed following the methods employed by Gibb and King in the study of seventeenth century Chesapeake homelots (1991). While the consumer choice of different goods is conceived to reflect the assertion of the relationship of the household with the greater society, the spatial distribution of these same goods within a household and domestic landscape may be perceived as relating to the relationships between members of that household. Likewise, the use of space including both the arrangement of activity areas at a homestead and the use or absence of internal partitions in living spaces may inform upon the day to day organization of activities and their relationships within a residential landscape.

As pointed out by Spencer-Wood, patriarchy can be expressed in the gendered use of space through gender segregation in separate buildings or in buildings with gender-segregated entrances…” (2013:176). Ethnographically and ethnohistorically documented examples of extreme forms of gender segregation can be found in the form of “men’s houses” in the Caribbean and the North American Arctic. Among the Island Carib in the eastern Caribbean in the seventeenth century, upon reaching adolescence boys began to stay in the carbet, the men's house, and were taught an exclusively male language which had many Cariban elements (Gonzalez 1988:26). Among the Kuskowagamuit of Alaska the Kashgee, or men’s house, was the home of males with each occupying a specific spot in the structure: the old men on the bench in front of the entrance, the young men on the opposite bench, the middle-aged men on the outer benches, and the young boys occupied the floor (Oswalt and Neely 1996:129).

Within the context of eighteenth century British architectural traditions, the pattern of closing rooms and the advent of the Georgian building tradition marked an "increasingly segmented, segregated world" divided along lines of gender and class (Jackson 2013:130; Johnson 1993:103). Medieval European dwellings generally consisted of two sections: a hall and an enclosed room, and sometimes a third service room (French 2013:204; Goldberg 2011:214). The hall was a communal space, a place
to receive people, whereas the parlor was a place for the households’ more personal use (French 2013:204). In later medieval peasant houses in England, space is argued to have been “conspicuously communal rather than specific to one or other gender” (Goldberg 2011:228). This communal space would presumably have reflected and reinforced a lesser degree of stratification than the later highly segmented space characteristic of Georgian houses.

Change in architecture in the early modern period is reflective of change from communal face-to-face relations to a society based on class and capitalistic economic relations (Longcraft 2002:42, citing Johnson 1993:78). In medieval Europe, gender patterns are argued to have been formed by the agricultural system wherein the household was the basic unit of production (Wiesner-Hanks 2013:66). Beginning in the thirteenth and fourteenth century, the formation of mostly male guilds focusing on production is argued to represent the beginning of this change in production (Wiesner-Hanks 2013:67). Within modern, industrial capitalism, with the advent of the separate spheres ideology, women’s unpaid household contribution to work and labor became devalued (Boydston 1993; Sievens 2006:370). With the ideology of men’s public sphere and women’s private sphere, the productive activity of men was greatly valued and women’s role was highlighted as consumers and dependent on their husbands (Sievens 2006:370). According to Boydston, gender was “reconfigured” in the eighteenth century as “femaleness” had been defined as absence from the workplace even though they continued to work in the household and in some cases in the industrial labor force (Boydston 1996:205-206). Within the early modern, Georgina plan house the segregation of men and women for much of the day may be seen as a reflection of the marginalization and decrease of women’s positions (Johnson 2010:153). In a Georgian house, space was segregated with women’s activities relegated to the “back space” and the “front space” a “comfortable setting for polite conversation” (Johnson 2010:171). The increasing spatial segregation reflected, and reinforced, the increasing stratification and increasing marginalization of women in society.

Home Production

Within late medieval and early post-medieval households, household buildings and family lands constituted the major work areas for members of both genders
Yentsch argues that in the seventeenth century households were characterized by an “organic solidarity” within which there were no clear bounds or segmentation of activities (1991[1996]:322). As a result, low spatial differentiation of artifacts is expected during this period. Home production activities generally ascribed to the female gender during this time include those associated with dairy products, eggs, flax and wool to yarn, and plants for soup and medicine (Yentsch 1991[1996]:323).

The frequency of artifacts pertaining to home production will be considered at Quaker and non-Quaker sites in the early (late seventeenth to mid-eighteenth) and late (late eighteenth to early nineteenth) periods. Artifacts associated with sewing, for instance, have been identified as providing an opportunity to consider the roles and activities of women in the past (Beaudry 2006; Gibb and King 1991). Sewing has been identified as a skill predominant among eighteenth century women, amongst Quakers, the Dutch, and other groups (Crane 1994:xvi, 137). Preliminary analysis of the assemblage from Quaker domestic sites has indicated the presence of a number of sewing related artifacts which may contribute to a better understanding of gender roles in Colonial Quaker households. In the study of these artifacts the context of production and social implications of various forms of needlepoint have been identified as critical considerations to distinguish, for example, straight pins associated with sewing from those used as other types of fasteners by men and women (Beaudry 2006:8). The length of pins should be considered, when whole, as those that measure approximately one inch in length are interpreted as sewing pins (Beaudry 2006:24). Levy notes a high degree of evidence of female home production at Quaker households and relates this to the emphasis upon the home and rearing of children amongst Quakers (1988:182-183, 196-197).

The Gendered Use of Space

Until the mid-eighteenth century few households are believed to have set aside public rooms separated from the rest of the household (Yentsch 1991[1996]:323). Most household structures prior to this period contained a single common room within which the majority of activities transpired. Archaeological evidence may reveal the extent and timing of this separation of spheres in particular settings. The architectural evidence for
the presence or absence of interior rooms or partitions will be considered, along with any evidence for workshops within the home in separate ancillary buildings. The timing of the advent of separate spaces, at Quaker and non-Quaker houses, will be compared.

Spatial Artifact Distribution and Gender Relations

In addition to the presence or absence of separately constructed spaces within households, the spatial distribution of artifacts may provide crucial information pertaining to gender relations and the degree of egalitarianism or stratification. Following Gibb and King (1991:121), the spatial distribution of dairying vessels and other ceramic forms will be considered. In addition, the spatial distribution of artifacts associated with sewing will also be considered, along with the distribution of “white-toned” or refined wares compared to coarse earthenwares and stonewares. A low level of spatial differentiation is to be expected at early sites in general, and in particular at Quaker sites compared to contemporary non-Quaker sites, since a lower level would be reflective of lesser gender segmentation and stratification. The timing of the shift towards the greater use of closed space will be considered in later Quaker households, compared to a similar shift in non-Quaker households. Do later Quaker households possess greater evidence for segmentation use of space? Is the manner of the segmentation and timing of the onset of this separation different from contemporary non-Quaker sites?

4.4 Summary and Discussion

The degree of adherence to Quaker tenets and values should be manifested in the material culture of domestic sites, and may be measured through the application of archaeological data sets in accordance with particular archaeological correlates. Going plain in the world may be measured by a particular set of correlates involving artifact frequencies, degree of decoration, the degree of adoption of modern consumerism, and foodways. A focus on a broad range of material culture provides greater insight into the degree of acceptance or rejection of doctrine of going plain the world in opposition to the new consumerism. These consumption choices reflect the manner in which a household elects to assert or position itself within an emerging consumer marketplace and consumer society. These choices reflect the conscious assertion of the household’s
relationship with the larger society. Also, in the form of technological style of building techniques and the home production of goods, different sets of technical traits may reflect interaction and exchange of technical know-how between groups. The exchange of technological style may reflect isochrestic variation, if transmitted from generation to generation, or inter-group interaction if that of neighboring groups is adopted.

Within a household, different archaeological data sets are conceived to reflect the relationships between members of a household group with members outside and inside the group. The use of space within a household possesses the greatest potential to illuminate relations between members of a household group. The home production of types of materials, such as sewing, may be considered and the spatial distribution of materials associated with these activities. While the consumer choices for different goods is conceived to reflect the assertion of the relationship of the household with the greater society, the spatial distribution of these same goods within a household and the associated yard or landscape reflects the relationships between members of that household. The arrangement of activity areas at a homestead and the use or absence of internal partitions in living spaces may inform upon the day to day organization of activities and their relationships within a residential landscape.

A variety of archaeological evidence may illuminate the study of compassion within past societies. At mortuary sites the degree of compassion within a group may be studied through such evidence as the degree of incidence of violent death associated with inter-group combat as well as the presence or absence of grave goods reflecting a greater or lesser degree of stratification and social ranking. At domestic household sites, as the primary locus of the “private sphere”, the degree to which traditional values or new consumptive fashions were used reflects the enculturative atmosphere of the household. This atmosphere may foster the development of different cultural values and ethos. To the extent the households of the Society of Friends exhibit evidence of an absence of a clear separation of spheres, and lack of adoption of new fashions of dining and social etiquette, the household may be viewed as fostering the transmission of traditional cultural values and religious tenets valuing plainness, a lack of ostentation, and compassion.
4.5 Significant Contributions: Scales of Relevance

The significant contributions of the formulation of archaeological correlates for the study of the Society of Friends may be viewed at multiple scales of analysis, or scales of relevance, as the relevance of the data and its synthesis may be considered in multiple dimensions: the site-specific/the topic, the discipline, the “big questions” of history and the social sciences, and the application to today’s society and the current world. The contribution of these archaeological correlates for the study of Quaker archaeological sites at each scale of relevance is discussed below.

The significance of the formulation of archaeological correlates for the study of the Quaker archaeological record at the first scale of relevance relates to generating more information and a greater understanding of Quakerism and the degree of adherence to its tenets at specific places through time. The degree of adherence to the plainness doctrine and degree of adoption of the new consumerism may be documented at specific sites and compared to residences of their contemporaries. These choices reveal the degree to which the projection of assertive, or emblemic, style conformed to the doctrine of going plain in the world. Also, the degree to which members of Quaker households adhered to the tenets of compassion and empathy fostered by the belief in the Inner Light may be documented.

The formulation of archaeological correlates for Quaker beliefs and tenets possesses potential to contribute to the study of past beliefs and tenets through archaeological data sets in general. These correlates can be applied to other sites, with occupants adhering to other religious belief systems, to determine the degree of difference or similarity to other members of the same and different faiths. Past religious systems may have been amongst the most influential reinforcing forces of other aspects of culture, including among them the emotional ethos of a particular group in a particular period in time. In order to study past emotional ethos it may be most effective to commence first with a consideration of past religious beliefs, values, and tenets. Though “beliefs” may not be visible, the adherence to or set of practices in accordance with beliefs, values and tenets possesses material correlates that may be detected in the archaeological record.

At the scale of the “big questions” of history and the social sciences, the formulation of archaeological correlates for the study of Quaker domestic sites, and
their application to Quaker and contemporary non-Quaker sites, may illuminate issues concerning the advent of modern consumerism and concomitant changes in culture and emotional ethos. Some societies share and foster an ethos of self-interest, and may have engaged in conspicuous consumption as a form of costly signaling. The degree to which particular cultures were characterized by an ethos of self-interest, or alternatively an ethos of cooperative-interest, should be documented within particular historically contingent cases. The archaeological correlates for compassion formulated for Quaker sites are advanced as a method for the study of similar or differing emotional ethos in past societies in general. The Quakers espoused tenets fostering cooperative-interest, and an underlying ethos of compassion. Rather than assuming the historically-documented groups like the Quakers are unique in world history in possessing an ethos of compassionate cooperative-interest, evidence for other cultures in the past which may have shared a similar ethos should be sought. These efforts will help to circumvent an inherent ethnocentrism embodied by the assumption that all past societies are predominately characterized by rational optimization and self-interest.

Finally, at the level of contemporary relevance, the formulation of archaeological correlates for the study Quaker archaeological sites may render two primary significant contributions. Firstly, even in the highly materially-oriented societies of contemporary industrial capitalism, this study demonstrates the importance of religious ideals and tenets as determinants of society. Secondly, in light of Roosevelt’s (2002) convincing compilation of evidence regarding the origins of social stratification, gender inequality, aggression and violence in the Holocene as a result of social crowding and completion over scarce resources, these phenomenon are not humankind’s “natural state” and therefore not immutable. The Quakers represent a prime modern example of a group that actively sought to alleviate many of these systems of stratification and inequality. The study of the methods of the historical members of the Society of Friends to reject these systems of stratification and inequality, and the level of success of these methods within the Society and through time, will be considered.
CHAPTER 5
The Archaeological Evidence of Going Plain in the World:
Eschew the Temptations of Consumerism

5.1 Introduction

The archaeological evidence for the material manifestation of the Quaker tenet of going plain in the world is reviewed in this chapter. For comparative purposes, data from Quaker and contemporaneous non-Quaker residential sites is considered from different regions in British Colonial North America.

This chapter will first present a brief summary of the sites that will be considered in this comparison of Quaker material culture evidence to non-Quaker contemporaries. Next the archaeological correlates of going plain in the world, as outlined in the previous chapter, will be discussed. Summary tables, including percentages of artifacts by type, ceramics by decorative type, ceramic ware type, and ceramic vessel form, have been compiled. Figures illustrating the overall range of variation of various artifact frequencies have also been drafted on the basis of the comparative tabulated data.

5.2 Overview of the Archaeological Sites

Data has been gathered and tabulated for several sites occupied by Quakers and those of other religious affiliations to illuminate differential frequencies of material culture use. Information from sites from the late seventeenth to mid eighteenth century is compared to that from the late eighteenth to early nineteenth century in five basic regions: The Delaware Valley, New England, New York, the Chesapeake, and the Carolinas. Information from several sites of each region and time period has been tabulated from the data presented within archaeological site reports.

5.2.1 Quaker Sites

The archaeological record for Quaker sites may be viewed as relatively scarce at this time, due to the combined fact that few Quaker sites have been extensively excavated and that at many sites it is difficult to separate the Quaker period of
ownership from occupation by others. Previous archaeological investigations of Quaker sites have considered whether the material culture indicates adherence to the Quaker “plainness” doctrine (Bailey et al. 2004; Samford et al. 1990; Tarlow 2011:55; Ward and O’Reilly 2000). The concept of “plainness” and its enforcement has been argued to vary greatly, amongst Quaker communities and classes synchronically and diachronically (Lapsansky 2003:13). A review of data from previous investigations helps to determine if this variation may be found to be related to changes in the Society of Friends through time, variation reflective or urban versus rural households, or variation reflective of Friends of varying socio-economic status. Changes through time have also been documented for Canterbury Shakers, for whom the initial “strict, somber image” of the early years witnessed a lessening over time to a “less rigid lifestyle which allowed for individual expression and more consumer choices” (Starbuck 2004:85). Research suggests that some urban Quakers participated in the prevailing trends in fashion in architecture, clothing, and furniture (Samford et al. 1990:34; Brown 1987:365). Rural Quakers, on the other hand, were noted for their de-emphasis of luxury and frills (Samford et al. 1990:34). How does adherence to Quaker beliefs and values manifest at individual Quaker domestic sites? In the study of the manner in which material culture represents and asserts the degree of adherence to Quaker doctrine, textiles may be viewed as possessing higher visibility potential than ceramics, though ceramics used for social entertaining would also possess visibility.

Previously excavated and published sites are discussed by region below. As evidence allows, the additional variables of time, urban versus rural setting, and the social standing of the households will also be considered. Historians theorize a lessening of adherence to Quaker doctrine through time. Does this lessening bear out in the archaeological evidence? Does this lessening occur earlier in urban settings and later in rural settings, and sooner amongst the elite than amongst other segments of society?

The goal, to the extent the data sets allow, is consideration of the extent to which the entire constellation of choices from Quaker households reveals varying degrees of adherence to religious tenets and prohibitions. A consideration of both assertive choices and isochrestic choices should illustrate the degree to which a particular household adopted or resisted particular religious tenets. In addition to
consideration of the “plainness doctrine” the degree to which the Quakers’ emphasis on compassion is or is not evidence in the archaeological record will also be considered in this review of the archaeological data from Quaker sites, and discussed further in Chapter 6.

In the United Kingdom and Ireland, most archaeological excavations of Quaker sites have focused upon burial grounds or meeting houses. The Kingston Hill Burial ground is discussed below, a large and extensively studied Quaker cemetery in England. The Religious Society of Friends acquired a parcel at the foot of Kingston Hill for use as a burial ground in 1663. The cemetery was used and enlarged until 1814, when a new plot was established at Kingston town centre (Bashford et al. 2007:102). In 1996 Archaeology South-East conducted a full-scale excavation of the Kingston-Upon-Thames burial ground. Burials were found to possess highly variable orientation and a high degree of intercutting (Bashford et al. 2007:114). Organic preservation was poor so the excavation of this cemetery yielded scant evidence of textiles. Copper pins in the cranium and upper chest areas suggest burial in shrouds (Bashford et al. 2007:120). Some coffins were lead lined, however, and textile remnants were present in poor condition in some of these burials. The burials of two mature females possessed leather caps that may have been “daywear” (Bashford et al. 2007:120). Though uncommon, one pair of cuff links and a hairpiece were indicative of the wealth and status of two of the deceased (Bashford et al. 2007:121). On the basis of the limited evidence for funerary attire, the excavators conclude the Quakers buried at Kingston reflect general adherence to the religious tenet favoring plainness or “simplicity” (Bashford et al. 2007:121). A relatively low quantity, 22 bowls, of clay pipes were recovered which the excavators indicate may have been discarded by the gravediggers and as such do not inform on the degree of adherence to the Quaker prohibition on tobacco use (Bashford et al. 2007:131). A small quantity, 190 sherds, of pottery was likewise recovered though this generally derived from grave fills and as such does not provide information on the adherence to Quaker tenets (Bashford et al. 2007:130).

The archaeological record of Quaker sites in the Caribbean has been explored in a recent dissertation by Chenoweth on a community in the British Virgin Islands in the mid-eighteenth century (2011). The Lettsoms, Quakers who owned a plantation and owned slaves from 1740 to 1758, exhibited elements of differing degrees of the
expression of Quaker identity. The plantation architecture, which was highly visible to others on the island and to passing ships, exhibited elements of “public planterness” (Chenoweth 2011:308). Smoking was conducted primarily in highly visible areas of the plantation house such as the front porch, whereas artifacts associated with the English Tea Ceremony were encountered in frequencies far less than would be expected (Chenoweth 2011:309). Evidence of alcohol related artifacts was scarce (Chenoweth 2011:309). Faunal remains demonstrate a heavy reliance on wild species, especially fish (Chenoweth 2011:287). Artifacts associated with the Quaker ideals of “simplicity” and “thrift” tend to be focused more on items within the household which would have been visible only to household members, the plantation slaves, and visitors to the plantation house (Chenoweth 2011:309). Artifacts found within the vicinity of the homes of the enslaved laborers at the site, however, had a higher proportion of undecorated ceramics (Chenoweth 2012:81).

Chenoweth argues slaveholding Friends were advised to be “merciful” and “study their consciences” (Chenoweth 2011:297; Durham 1972). The advent of Quaker sentiment against slavery is routinely dated to the beginning of the Seven Years’ War in 1754 (Chenoweth 2011:298). However, there are earlier instances of protest against the institution of slavery (see Section 4.3.3). Chenoweth argues the Lettsoms’ operated the plantation with “a general lack of oversight of the enslaved people” (2011:269). As elsewhere in the Caribbean, the enslaved were granted provision grounds and given Saturday afternoons and Sundays to work their own crops (Chenoweth 2011:72). Slaves at the Lettsoms’ plantation are argued to have been treated with “less than the usual level of surveillance and oversight”, since the owners’ house was quite some distance from that of the enslaved laborers (Chenoweth 2011:305). Furthermore, the high levels of wild species in the diet of the enslaved people indicates a degree of freedom of movement on the island was allowed (Chenoweth 2011:305).

A recent master’s thesis focused on the Huddleston House, a nineteenth century Quaker Farmstead in Indiana on the “Hosier Frontier”, provides evidence of the archaeology of sites associated with members of the Society of Friends who migrated out of the Delaware Valley or other East Coast Regions (Lautzenheiser 2010:187). This region of Indiana was settled in the late eighteenth century primarily by Quakers, and today is said to include the densest Quaker population of any United States county
Lautzenheiser found that the Huddleston Family owned many “high-quality items that were plain in appearance” (2010:187). A total of 87% of the ceramic assemblage was undecorated (2010:159). This study suggests, at least in terms of the selection of ceramic types, Quaker doctrine was adhered to at the site. A detailed discussion of smoking and alcohol-related artifacts and items of personal adornment is not provided in the thesis.

The geographical range for the comparative material which follows focuses on British North America, since the archaeological evidence of Quaker residential sites in the United Kingdom and Ireland is scarce. Data from a total of 18 Quaker temporally affiliated analytical contexts from domestic sites has been tabulated, from the Delaware Valley, New England, the Chesapeake, and the Carolinas (Tables 5.1 through 5.6). For comparison, data from a total of 18 contemporary non-Quaker analytical contexts from sites has also been tabulated. A brief overview of each site, by region, is presented next.

The Delaware Valley

The Delaware Valley has perhaps seen the largest amount of archaeological investigation conducted on sites associated with members of the Society of Friends. Sites associated with the founder of the Colony of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia merchants, various farmsteads, meeting houses, and a mill community have been excavated. A review of the published literature and cultural resource management reports directed towards Quaker sites is presented below.

At the Burlington Meeting House in Burlington County, New Jersey, an assemblage of generally undecorated ceramics was recovered dating from a 100 year period from 1680 to around 1780 (Veit 2002:34). The excavators conclude the choice of ceramics for meals consumed on the premises reflects the Quaker value of simplicity (Ward and McCarthy 2009:30). Three buckles were recovered from the Burlington Meeting house, which appear “neither more nor less decorative than buckles recovered from non-Quaker domestic sites of a similar period” (Ward and McCarthy 2009:39). Unfortunately the site has yielded scant additional evidence for personal adornment that may inform upon the degree of adherence to the plainness doctrine.
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*Italics denote sites occupied by Quakers*
### TABLE 5.4: PERCENTAGE OF CERAMICS BY WARE TYPE AT QUAKER AND NON-QUAKER SITES FROM THE EARLY PERIOD

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*Italics denote sites occupied by Quakers*
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*Italics denote sites occupied by Quakers*
The Parvin Homestead in Berks County, Pennsylvania, was established by Francis Parvin, a wealthy member of the Society of Friends (Delle and Shellenhamer 2008:41). The site was the location of a tannery and gristmill established by the Parvins in the 1730s, and the Parvin House was established by 1758 (Delle and Shellenhamer 2008:45). Oral traditions and family histories suggest the Parvins were active in the Abolitionist Movement and the Underground Railroad in the 1850s and 1860s (Delle and Shellenhamer 2008:46). Subterranean tunnel openings were reported to exist at the Parvin Homestead, in the house, cold cellar, and barn (Delle and Shellenhamer 2008:47). Archaeological investigations were conducted to determine whether tunnels existed, and if so the age of the features. The evidence was interpreted to represent the twentieth century installation of a water pipe at the homestead (Delle and Shellenhamer 2008:54). Excavations yielded an assemblage of eighteenth to nineteenth century artifacts which was analyzed to determine if evidence for the Quaker lifeways and participation in Underground Railroad activities could be identified. The ceramics, including creamware pearlware, and whiteware, included undecorated but also a high proportion of decorated vessels (Delle and Shellenhamer 2008:53). Only a single buckle or strap was recovered, and glass fragments were not common (Delle and Shellenhamer 2008:53-54). A single blue faceted glass bead was recovered from within the cold cellar (Delle and Shellenhamer 2008:53). Blue beads are argued to be “commonly associated with African Americans,” and the presence of this object “lends further support to the hypothesis that African Americans fleeing captivity were harbored in the cellar” (Delle and Shellenhamer 2008: 56). The presence of the single bead is put forth as “interesting though circumstantial evidence” of the family’s participation in the Underground Railroad (Delle and Shellenhamer 2008:77), though the recovery of larger quantities of blue beads would bolster this argument.

The planning and construction of Pennsbury Manor in southeastern Pennsylvania was begun by William Penn in the 1680s. The site continued to be in the possession of the Penn family until the 1730s. Following several decades of abandonment, the site witnessed farming activity by the Crozer family from 1785 through the twentieth century (Kardas and Larrabee 1986). This site has witnessed archaeological investigation since the 1930s, though detailed provenience data and artifact inventories are not consistently included in the technical reports of these early
excavations. A total of 1,118 artifacts were recovered during trenching in the yard area, of which 9.2 percent were bottle glass and 2.6 percent were tobacco-related (Kardas and Larrabee 1986). It should be noted, however, that material from the Penn period of ownership and Crozer period was mixed so it remains unclear how much of the alcohol- and tobacco-related material is associated with the later farm on the site.

The Daniel Boone Homestead, boyhood home of Daniel Boone from 1734 to 1750, has yielded generally low frequencies of vessel glass, tobacco-related, and clothing/sewing related artifacts (Basalik 2007:26). Squire and Sarah Boone, Daniel’s parents, were members of the Society of Friends and settled in the Oley Valley in southeastern Pennsylvania (Silverman 1998). Daniel was reportedly raised “with a strong ethic of Quakerism underlying his family's moral code”, and as a result of his Quaker upbringing, and “by the early encounters he had had with Native Americans-- never became an "Indian-hater" as did many fellow pioneers” (Silverman 1998).

The Front and Dock Street Sites, in a swampy cove along the Delaware River in Philadelphia, has yielded archaeological data on an enclave of the initial merchants in this Colonial port (McCarthy 1999:137). Excavation revealed a sealed seventeenth century ground surface with trash pit and midden deposit which has yielded significant information pertaining to the lifestyle of the Philadelphia merchant elite (McCarthy 1999:137). Early merchant families included the Claypooles, Cooks, Framptons, and Shippens, the latter of which was recently the subject of a thesis by Wood discussed above (2011). Edward Shippen settled on this block in 1686, relocating from Boston (McCarthy 1999:140). Shippen, a converted member of the Society of Friends, is reputed to have owned the largest coach in the province and wore a powdered wig and was not generally viewed as conforming to the Quaker notions of plainness (McCarthy 1999:147-148; R. Klein 1975:21). A total of 361 artifacts and 666 food remains were recovered from seventeenth century contexts (McCarthy 1999:144). Though many of these remains may not necessarily be attributed to a specific household, in general they may be viewed as reflecting the lifeways of the Colonial Philadelphia’s early Quaker merchants (McCarthy 1999:144). These high status seventeenth century Quaker sites in Philadelphia have yielded “high-quality but undecorated” porcelain ceramics (McCarthy 1999:150). The porcelain recovered from Edward Shippen’s property is
plain and undecorated, even though he could have afforded the most costly household goods (McCarthy 1999:149-150).

The Tindall/Pearson Farmstead, on a bluff overlooking the Delaware River and Crosswicks Creek south of Trenton, New Jersey, was excavated prior to the construction of I-195 (Louis Berger Associates 1998). Of 2,337 ceramic sherds from the site's earliest contexts dating from 1680 to 1720, 1,652 or 70% were locally produced primarily red-bodied wares. These finds are interpreted as representing evidence of the site’s location on the economic frontier where wealth and status were not displayed through the acquisition of fine ceramics (McCarthy 1999:149). Alternatively, these finds could be viewed as evidence of the early settlers’ adherence to Quaker tenets. However, the occupants of the site during this early period may have been indentured servants whose religious affiliation remains uncertain (Louis Berger & Associates 1998:257). Such uncertainty of religious affiliation can obfuscate the comparison of data from sites of particular, known, affiliation. As a result, data from this site has not been tabulated for detailed comparison.

Richard Grubb & Associates, a cultural resource management firm in the Middle Atlantic, has conducted excavations at several Quaker households in western New Jersey and southeastern Pennsylvania which provide useful information for comparative study. Excavations at three sites are discussed and analyzed below: the Lawrie Farmstead in western Monmouth County, New Jersey, the Wagers Farmstead in Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, and the Zane Farmstead in Gloucester County, New Jersey (Cushman et al. 2001; Young et al. 2007a; Young et al. In Preparation).

The Lawrie Farmstead was occupied by Scottish Quakers from 1705 to 1767 (see Figures 1.1 through 1.3). The site was excavated during an archaeological field school through William Paterson University with the assistance of Richard Grubb & Associates, cultural resource consultants (Young 2001, 2005a, 2007a; Young et al. In Preparation). An assemblage of 8,592 artifacts and 2,752 faunal remains was recovered. Of this assemblage, a total of 5,408 artifacts and faunal remains (46.3%) may be definitively attributed to the Lawrie Period of occupation at the site. The Lawrie period of occupation is manifested archaeologically by the remains of a brick clamp, early earthfast structure, later brick house with stone foundation, wooden outbuilding, well, and lines of post holes indicating a fenced enclosure.
Waterways formed the primary transportation routes in the early eighteenth century, and the Lawrie Farmstead is linked by water with Philadelphia. The site is situated upon a low knoll overlooking Negro Run, a small waterway feeding into Doctors Creek, which flows into Crosswicks Creek and on to the Delaware River from which Philadelphia is easily reached (Figures 1.1 through 1.3). Within colonial New Jersey areas within the vicinity of waterways draining to the west generally fell under the influence of Philadelphia, while areas draining to the east fell within the sphere of influence of New York (Wacker 1982:205).

Thomas Lawrie, a Scottish Quaker, settled in Perth Amboy at the mouth of the Cheesequake River in the Raritan Bay area of the Colony of New Jersey in 1683 (Salter 1887[1997]:xxxvi). This region at the time was a zone of cultural heterogeneity, comprised of Dutch, New England and Scottish settlers (Manning 1984:44). According to McDougall, by the 1680s conditions were “desperate” in Scotland and a number of nobles and gentlemen decided to settle in New Jersey and the Carolinas (1917[1992]:19-20). In 1682 a group settled in the Perth Amboy area, named after the Earl of Perth who was one of the principal proprietors (McDougall 1917[1992]:20). Gawen Lawrie, a Scottish Quaker merchant who acquired shares in both New Jersey provinces, was named Deputy-Governor of East Jersey in the same year (Lurie 2004:461; McDougall 1917[1992]:20; Pomfret 1953:265).

Thomas, the father of the first occupant of the Lawrie Farmstead, was the brother of Deputy-Governor Gawen Lawrie. Thomas arrived with two children, James and Anne. Thomas’ occupation is listed as a “taylor”. In 1705, Thomas’ son James bought 187 acres near Allentown within Upper Freehold Township, Monmouth County, New Jersey, “upon which he built a cabin and remained the remainder of his life” (Figure 1.3) (New Jersey Archives 1872; Salter 1887[1997]:xxxvi). The town of Crosswicks, situated approximately 3.5 miles to the southwest of the Lawrie Farmstead, was established by Quakers in 1677 and soon emerged as a local center. The Crosswicks Meeting House is described as one of the most influential (Derry 1979:104; Tvaryanas 1993:72). Many Quakers moved into Upper Freehold Township in general and the vicinity of the town of Allentown in particular, in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century (Storms 1965:10). Other early Scottish Quaker settlers include Nathan Allen, the son-in-law of Robert Burnett and early settler and founder of the
community of Allentown, and Jacob Large a Quaker who moved into the area in 1711 from Burlington County (Hutchinson n.d.). James’ son Thomas continued to reside at the site until 1767. Thomas Lawrie married Sarah Allen, widow of Benjamin Allen, the son of Nathan Allen (Ellis 1885:620).

The majority of artifacts from the excavations at the Lawrie Farmstead were recovered from intact archaeological features identified following the removal of the plowzone from the site area. Of the total artifact assemblage 8,592 artifacts, 41% or 3,537 artifacts derive from the filled-in cellar house or earthfast structure. These are comprised of large sherds of domestic vessels which suggest primary deposition, likely the result of refuse deposition from the nearby stone and brick house erected around 1740. The artifacts from this feature represent a rich record of the material possessions of a Quaker household in the mid-eighteenth century.

Moses Peters, a Welsh Quaker immigrant, was the initial occupant of the Wagers Farmstead/Armstrong House Site (Cushman et al. 2001: 10-47). This discussion, for comparative purposes, focuses solely on those contexts from this site which can be definitively attributed to the Peters occupation from the 1730s to 1770s. The percentage of plain undecorated ceramics, personal and sewing-related artifacts, alcohol-related items and tobacco-related artifacts was comparable to the nearby Meyers site occupied by German Mennonite settlers (Young 2012).

Early Quaker settlers in Gloucester County in Southwestern New Jersey included the Allens, the Frenchs, the Lippincotts, and the Zanes. Robert Zane (1642-1694) emigrated in 1673 from England to Ireland and then to Elsinborough in Salem County (Stewart 1917:262). Robert Zane co-founded the Salem Monthly Meeting in 1676 (Jones 1966: 372). Zane moved to Newton, in present-day Camden County, in 1682. Robert Zane’s son and namesake, Robert Zane (1682/3-1774), was documented as a faithful member of the Haddonfield Meeting, where at least four of his own children also worshiped and married (Medrum and Launey 1995:74; 79, 80, 85). Zane’s son Isaac, however, married an Anglican named Azuba Wilkins at Christ Church in Philadelphia in 1761 (Zane 1984:7). The third Robert Zane (1717-1768), followed in his father’s footsteps and also attended the Haddonfield Meeting and married there in 1743 (Medrum and Launey 1995:74). Among his seven children Simeon (married 1761), William (married 1774), and Robert (married 1781) married in
the Haddonfield Meeting (Medrum and Launey 1995:47, 50, 85). Chattin Zane was disowned by the Woodbury Meeting in 1787 (Medrum and Launey 1995:190). The fifth son, Joseph Zane, opted for a Justice of the Peace to perform his marriage to Rebecca Tomlin in 1789 (Craig 1930:251). The following year, an entry in the minutes of the Woodbury Monthly Meeting noted: “Joseph Zane, Jr. dealt with for marrying out, his unchased freedom with her who is now his wife and neglecting meetings, showed no desire to recant his actions; disowned” (Medrum and Launey 1995:194). A sixth brother, Isaac Zane, also married outside the Society in 1792 (Craig 1930:251). The seventh son’s religious affiliation could not be determined. Within this one branch of the family, approximately 50 percent of the children left the Society of Friends or were forced out within a five-year period in the late eighteenth century. At the Zane Farmstead evidence indicates a disowned member of the Society of Friends still adhered to some doctrines, such as the prohibition against tobacco and alcohol, while at the same time may no longer have followed an aesthetic for plainness (Young 2005a; Young et al. 2007a). Only one pipe stem fragment (0.1% of total assemblage) and 20 glass bottle fragments (1.6% of assemblage) have been recovered from deposits related to the Zane period of occupation, from the early 1820s to 1840, which is suggestive of scarce alcohol and tobacco consumption at the site during this period. The presence of a ceramic assemblage comprised of approximately 67.4% plain ceramics may provide further evidence of a continuation of adherence to Quaker tenets, even if no longer a member of the Society (Young 2012). The presence of two tumblers however, one with a sunburst pattern, suggests the use of elaborate dinner wares for entertaining guests (Young et al. 2007a:Section 5-Page 8). Further, though scarce evidence of personal adornment was recovered the presence of rounded and oval loops of a brass decorative chain and a pewter shoe buckle with alternating square and flower pattern suggest a lack of adherence to Quaker tenets for plain dress.

Archaeological data recovery has been conducted on the Hoopes House in Chester County, Pennsylvania, a farmstead occupied by Quakers from 1730 to the late 1800s (Bailey et al. 2004). The presence of only a single pipestem fragment from the 1730s to 1780s contexts at the site attests to the relative lack of participation in tobacco-related activities at the site during this period (Bailey et al. 2004:61). The presence of decorated ceramics has been interpreted as reflecting a focus on social station and
economic status over a doctrine of plainness (Bailey et al. 2004). Data from mid-eighteenth century contexts and late eighteenth to early nineteenth century contexts from the Hoopes House has been tabulated (Tables 5.1 through 5.6). Analysis of the proportion of decorated and undecorated ceramics through time at the site and comparison to contemporary sites has focused on whether percentages of artifacts differ in frequencies.

The residence of the Allens, a family influential within the family of Friends in the Colony of New Jersey, has been excavated in Red Bank, Monmouth County, New Jersey (Traver et al. 1987). This site, known as the Red Bank Site, was occupied by the Allen family from 1747 to 1800 (Traver et al. 1987:III-1 to III-2). Scarce evidence of alcohol- and tobacco-related materials were recovered. The investigators concluded: “the low volume of smoking related materials and bottle glass suggest that the Quaker beliefs of the Allen family were reflected in the archaeological record” (Traver et al. 1987:i).

The Zook House, in Chester County within southeastern Pennsylvania, was initially settled by Charles Owen in 1734. Owen, a Welsh Quaker, established an 18 by 20 foot house on the site which is believed to have been of log construction with a stone foundation (Catts et al. 2000:9). Later, a larger house was built on the property in 1750 which was expanded in a series of additions in the late eighteenth and nineteenth century. The Zug family, a surname later changed to Zooke and finally Zook, acquired the property in 1770 and maintained ownership until 1889 (Catts et al. 2000). The Zugs were Mennonites from Germany who converted to Quakerism. The house was moved for the construction of a shopping mall in Exton in 1998, and archaeological investigations obtained data from several features with deposits ranging from the mid-eighteenth to late nineteenth century.

Historic Walnford, in western Monmouth County approximately three miles from Allentown, New Jersey, is the site of a large late eighteenth to twentieth century mill community. Milling activities began at this location along Crosswicks Creek in 1734 (Hunton and McCabe 1984:6). The site was acquired by wealthy Quakers from Philadelphia, Richard and Elizabeth Waln, in 1772 (Hunton and McCabe 1984:6). The 180 acre “plantation” contained a grist mill, saw mill, fulling mill, blacksmith shop, cooper’s shop, two-family brick house, 4 tenant houses, assorted farm buildings, 100
plowed acres, 25 acres of meadow, and 2 orchards. Archaeological investigations at the site indicated there was no evidence of an ornamental garden in the eighteenth century at Walnford (Yamin 1993:76). The architectural evidence at the site attests to ascription to the tenet of “the best sort, but plain”, and the well-to-do Quakers at the site are argued to have avoided conspicuous consumption (Yamin 1993:77-78). A paucity of elegant ceramics is noted (Yamin 1993:78). Faunal remains showed a heavy reliance on domestic animals, along with birds (Yamin 1993:85). The eighteenth century remains are distinguished in contrast to the nineteenth century remains at the site, which provides evidence of an elaborate ornamental garden (Yamin 1993:76-78). Little evidence of tobacco-related artifacts is also noted from excavations at the site (Yamin 1993:78). The evidence appears to suggest change through time in the material culture, and particularly, use of the landscape when comparing the eighteenth and nineteenth century evidence. For purposes of the comparative analysis here (Tables 5.2, 5.3, and 5.5), strata from excavations at Walnford that can be positively attributed to the Waln occupation are included (Yamin 1996). Earlier strata, including a midden and buried historic A-horizon, lack pearlware and other diagnostics from the 1780s or later and as such may be associated with the Samuel Rogers period of ownership of the site. Rogers, who owned the site from 1734 to 1772, is reported to have been an active member of the Church of England (Ward and Richards 1858:5-6). The excavator has argued the midden may be associated with the initial period of occupation by the Walns, and may have been quickly capped at the site (Yamin 1996:3-4). However, since this material may be mixed with artifacts associated with the Rogers occupation it is not included in the comparative analysis at this time.

The Tatnall House was occupied by members of the Tatnall family in downtown Wilmington, Delaware, from 1770 to 1889 (Gerhardt et al. 2009). Joseph Tatnall, the initial occupant of the site, owned milling and race construction activities along the Brandywine River (Gerhardt et al. 2009:26). When Joseph died in 1813 he is reported as having been one of the most successful millers in the region and may have been one of the wealthiest individuals in Delaware at the time (Gerhardt et al. 2009:26, 144). The house remained in the Tatnall family until the 1880s. All of the Tatnall occupants are reported to have been active members of the Society of Friends. The excavators of the Tatnall House concluded that, despite the wealthy status and urban
setting of the household, the artifact assemblage indicates a “restrained consumption” in keeping with the occupants “Quaker roots” (Gerhardt et al. 2009:162).

New England


To the extent that the social identity of Quakers found expression…as an affirmation of their faith and their active membership in the Society of Friends, it would persist as long as the Society remained viable (1987:274)

This argument underscores the pertinence of identifying asserted identity in the study of Quakers, or the study of intra-group identity in general. In his study of the Mott family material over time, however, Brown finds the material culture represents what would be expected from any domestic seventeenth to late eighteenth century site in the region, including evidence of the foodways common in Colonial New England and evidence of increased consumerism in the eighteenth century (1987:193). The ceramics indicate an increased importance of plates and tea wares towards the end of the eighteenth century as found elsewhere (Brown 1987:193). Brown concludes however, from the archaeological and architectural evidence at the site, that the Mott’s exhibited a “conservatism” or “cling to tradition” (1987:197). Brown states Jacob Mott was “very modest in his wardrobe”, citing no evidence for silver or gold buttons which were prominent in neighbors’ inventories (1987:287). Brown does not include analysis of the relative proportion of plain versus decorated ceramics as compared to other colonial farmsteads, or a detailed discussion of smoking, alcohol-related items or artifacts of personal adornment. Data from early eighteenth century and late eighteenth century contexts at the Mott House has been tabulated for comparative purposes (Tables 5.1 through 5.6).
The Keeler Site, a farmstead on Conanicut Island in Narragansett Bay in Rhode Island, was occupied by the Carr family from the late eighteenth and late nineteenth century (McCarthy et al. 1996). The Carr family was among a group of early Quaker settlers in the Newport County area of Rhode Island (McCarthy et al. 1996:4). Rhode Island was an area of initial Quaker settlement in colonial North America, with the first general Quaker meeting on the continent held at Newport in 1661 (McCarthy et al. 1996:6). The large number of undecorated ceramic sherds at the Keeler Site, and scant evidence of porcelain, is interpreted by the excavators as reflective of the Carr family’s social identity and adherence to Quaker beliefs (McCarthy et al. 1996:70-72).

The Captain Thomas Richardson household, in Newport, Rhode Island, was occupied by the Richardson family from 1755 to 1782 (Hise 2010:18). Captain Richardson, a prominent merchant in the Newport area, was reportedly a member of the Society of Friends until the 1780s when evidence suggests he had become a member of Newport’s Second Congregational Church (Hise 2010:34). Probate evidence suggests an economic decline in the Richardson household by 1782 (Hise 2010:86). Archaeological evidence is argued by Hise to reflect the “trappings of polite behavior” in the form of a high proportion of elaborately decorated porcelain, and elaborate glass vessels (Hise 2010:85). A total of 68.9 percent of porcelain is reported as decorated while 31.1 percent is plain (Hise 2010:54, Table 4.3). The percentage of decorative types for refined earthenwares is not provided.

The Chesapeake Region

The archaeological record of Quaker sites in the Chesapeake is better documented than some regions, and a review of some of the more notable sites includes those of wealthy families, merchants, and mortuary sites. Skipworth’s Addition, in Anne Arundel County, Maryland, was occupied by a well-to-do Quaker from 1664 to 1682 (Cox et al. 2000). The owner and occupant of the site, George Skipworth, was an active Quaker and son-in-law of influential Quaker missionary Thomas Thurston (Cox et al. 2000:1-2). Two thirds of ceramics from the site were refined wares, and a fragment of a Venetian drinking glass is considered evidence of the high status of the occupants (Cox et al. 2000:6). Other contemporaneous sites in the county possess a far lower proportion
of refined wares (see Figure 5 in Cox et al. 2000:6). Tobacco pipes and smoking-related artifacts were found in abundance (Cox et al. 2000:7).

At the Bates Site, the early eighteenth century shop of a Quaker merchant in Williamsburg, Virginia, the proprietor’s Quaker beliefs of plainness were apparent in the textile stock of his store (Samford et al. 1990:37). The ceramics in the trash pit behind the store, however, were largely decorated (Samford et al. 1990:37). Also in the trash pit were found a copper alloy button, button, and straight pin, none of which displayed the gold gilt which was against Quaker dress regulations (Samford 1990:34). Also apparent in the trash pit was the absence of alcohol related artifacts, suggesting adherence to the Quaker probation on drinking (Samford 1990:34). Bates’ household possessions, furthermore, indicate the presence of luxury items such as mirrors, clocks, spyglasses, and ceramic teawares (Samford et al. 1990:37). Samford concludes that in his home, Bates actively participated in the “acquisition of consumer goods” (Samford et al. 1990:37). Bates seems to have adhered to Quaker tenets in the selection of his store merchandise, and in his personal life in terms personal adornment and the absence of drinking. The concentration of artifacts reflecting plainness within the household represents an example opposite to that documented for the Lettsoms in the Caribbean, attesting to the variability in the manifestation and assertion of Quaker identity.

The Fawcett Site, in the Lower Shenandoah Valley in western Frederick County, Virginia, was occupied by a devout Quaker family from the early 1780s to 1822 (Jolley 2002:185-187). Stratigraphic contexts associated temporally with the Quaker period of occupation of the site were identified and analyzed separately (Jolley 2002:206). The excavator concluded that the Fawcetts conformed to some Quaker lifeways, evidenced by the prevalence of utilitarian and undecorated ceramics, but departed from Quaker lifeways in other areas including the use of refined ceramics, the consumption of alcoholic beverages, and the use of ornamental attire (Jolley 2002:207).

The study of burial practices at Quaker burial grounds may also illuminate the degree of adherence to religious tenets. Plain, simply worded headstones were used in the eighteenth and nineteenth century at the Queen Street site of the old Quaker burying ground in Alexandria, revealing a rejection of the ostentatious burial rituals of the dominant culture at the time (Bromberg and Shephard 2006; Wheelock 1995). These sites illustrate adherence to the doctrine of going “plain” in the world, asserted
stylistically through choice in ceramics and headstone. Buttons and other items associated with clothing and dress were found in low quantities and when present attest to “the simplicity of dress” (Bromberg and Shephard 2006:82).

The Carolinas

The Albemarle Region of North Carolina was settled by many Quaker settlers from the Chesapeake in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century (Gray 1997:71). The Reid Site, within this region, was occupied by Solomon Pool from 1684 to 1739 (Gray 1997). Pool was a Quaker, active in the local Society of Friends (Gray 1997:73). A very low percentage of porcelain was recovered, with a high proportion of utilitarian wares (Gray 1997:79). A total of 5.8% of artifacts recovered from the Reid Site were tobacco-related, compared to 8.3% at contemporaneous Nath Moore’s Front in Brunswick Town (see Table 1 in Gray 1997:80). This frequency for tobacco-related items from the Reid site falls above the typical range for Delaware Valley Quakers, though falls within the low end of the range for non-Quakers in the late seventeenth to mid-eighteenth century period. Nath Moore’s Front, occupied by early traders and entrepreneurs in this port town, yielded a high proportion of refined ceramics, candlesticks, and teapots (Gray 1997:79). Personal artifacts comprised 0.3% of the assemblage from the Reid Site and 1.1% of the assemblage from Moore’s Front (Gray 1997:80).

5.2.1 Non-Quaker Sites

Data has been gathered and tabulated for several non-Quaker sites for comparison to the Quaker archaeological assemblages to illuminate differential frequencies of material culture use. Data from sites from the late seventeenth to mid-eighteenth century is compared to that from the late eighteenth to early nineteenth century. Data from sites from the Delaware Valley, New England, New York, the Chesapeake, and the Carolinas has been gathered for this comparison. Criteria for the selection of non-Quaker sites include: 1) sites with large assemblages from intact, well-dated contexts, and 2) assemblages that can definitively be ascribed to non-Quaker households. If the religious affiliation of a household is not known, or remains in doubt,
assemblages from those sites were not included in the comparison. A brief overview of each non-Quaker site included in this comparison is presented below.

Five non-Quaker sites from the Delaware Valley are included in this comparison. The Gloucester City Site, located on the banks of the Delaware River in Gloucester City, New Jersey, has yielded a vast assemblage associated with structural remains and outbuildings dating to the late seventeenth to mid-eighteenth century (MAAR 1985:ii). The site is associated with John Reading, one of the few original proprietors of West Jersey who is notably recorded as not being a member of the Society of Friends (MAAR 1985:I-34; Tanner 1908:272). The Richard Whitehart Plantation was occupied from circa 1691 to 1701, and the John Powell Plantation was occupied from 1691 to 1735 (Grettler et al. 1995). The Whiteharts and Powells, both tobacco farmers, were close neighbors in Kent County, Delaware (Grettler et al. 1995). The William Strickland Plantation Site, in Smyrna in Kent County, Delaware, was likely settled in the 1720s and abandoned by the 1760s (Catts 1995:18-23). The Stricklands were members of the Anglican Church of Duck Creek Hundred (Catts 1995:19). The Benjamin Wynn Tenancy, in Kent County, Delaware, was the residence of a blacksmith from 1797 to circa 1820 (Grettler et al. 1996:102-104).

Four analytical contexts from non-Quaker sites from New England are included in this comparison. The Tyng Mansion, in Dunstable, Massachusetts, was the home of a family of wealthy land-owners and merchants. Archaeological investigations identified the remains of a cellar of an early house on the property that was likely filled in the 1760s (Beranek 2009:170). The Narbonne House is located in the City of Salem in Massachusetts (Moran et al. 1982:3). Simon Willard purchased the house in 1699 and it remained within the Willard family until the 1750s (Moran et al. 1982:61-69). Captain Joseph Hodges owned the site from the 1750s until 1778 (Moran et al. 1982:71). The Andrews family occupied the home from 1780 to 1820 (Moran et al. 1982:72). A total of over 138,000 artifacts were recovered, many from undisturbed and well-dated contexts, rendering the Narbonne House ideal for comparing to assemblages from contemporary sites. A recent Master’s thesis analyzed over 13,000 sherds of creamware from the Narbonne House, and provides useful comparative information (Etsey 2013).

Two non-Quaker sites from New York are included: the Trader’s House in Albany and the John Bogart House. The Trader’s House consisted of a dugout, or
“Dutch wigwam”, based on the Native American partially subterranean bark wickiup but incorporating European framing techniques with finished lumber (Hartgen Archaeological Associates 2002:3.7). Located in a small sheltered cove of the Hudson River, the site was established by about 1650 on the outskirts of Albany for trade with Native Americans (Hartgen Archaeological Associates 2002:3.2, 3.22-3.23). The Bogart House, within Albany, was destroyed by fire in 1797 and provides ample comparative evidence from a late eighteenth century household (Hartgen Archaeological Associates 2002:5.6).

Three non-Quaker sites from the Chesapeake Region have been included for comparison. The King’s Reach plantation homelot, in Calvert County, Maryland, was occupied from about 1690 to 1715 (Pogue 1988:40). The site is believed to be the home of Richard Smith, Jr., a wealthy Chesapeake tobacco planter with ties to the Calvert family (King et al. 2006:48). Homewood’s Lot, near the Chesapeake Bay in Ann Arundel County, Maryland, was settled in 1649 by James Homewood (Franz and Luckenbach 2004:19-20). Homewood Lot is among a group of sites in the vicinity associated with Puritan settlers, and remained in the Homewood family until 1763 (Franz and Luckenbach 2004:19-20). Data from King’s Reach and Homewood Lot has been compiled from the online Comparative Chesapeake Archaeological Database (Maryland Archaeological Conservation Lab 2009). The Banneker Site, in Baltimore County, Maryland, has yielded intact archaeological deposits from circa 1737 to 1806 while Benjamin Banneker lived at the household (Hurry 2002:vii). Benjamin Banneker was a landowner, a farmer, a self-taught mathematician and astronomer, and considered “America’s first black man of science” (Hurry 2002:12).

Data from four non-Quaker sites from the Carolinas has been compiled for comparative purposes. Brunswick S25, in Brunswick Town in eastern North Carolina near the mouth of the Cape Fear River, was occupied from 1732 to 1776 (South 1977:92). Brunswick S7, the Hepburn-Reonalds House in Brunswick Town, was occupied from 1734 to circa 1776 (South 1977:143). Brunswick S10, Nath Moore’s Front, was occupied from circa 1728 to 1776 by a prosperous trader (Gray 1997:79-80; South 1977:92). From the cellar at Cambridge 96 in South Carolina a refuse assemblage dating from 1800 to circa 1820 was recovered (South 1977:92).
5.3 Artifact Group and Relative Frequencies

The frequency of artifacts of personal adornment and alcohol and tobacco-related artifacts is compared from Quaker and contemporary non-Quaker sites through the tabulation of the percentages of artifacts by group at Quaker and non-Quaker sites (see Tables 5.1 and 5.2). Following South (1977), the percentage of artifacts by functional group has been tabulated for several sites owned by Quakers and those of other religious affiliations in order to determine whether Quaker households in general differed in their use and consumption of these classes of material culture. Artifact groups considered include the Architectural, Kitchen/Domestic, Clothing/Sewing, Alcohol related and Tobacco related groups. Following South (1977), faunal material was excluded from these calculations. This enables evaluation of the degree to which Quaker sites differed or were similar to contemporaneous non-Quaker sites, by region.

Some general trends are apparent in the data tabulated in Tables 5.1 and 5.2. First, the majority of Quaker sites in the early period exhibit low percentages of clothing/sewing, alcohol, and tobacco related artifacts. The range of variation in artifact frequencies between Quaker and non-Quaker sites in the early and later periods is presented in Figure 5.1. Between 0 to 2.7 percent of Quaker site assemblages are categorized as clothing and sewing-related in the early period, and between 0.1 to 1.5 are associated with this artifact group in the later period. In comparison, contemporary non-Quaker assemblages range from 0.3 to 11.9 and 0.1 to 5.4 percent in the early and later periods, respectively. The general absence or low quantities of these clothing and sewing related artifacts may in and of itself attest to the general adherence of the doctrine of simplicity in that not many items of personal adornment were utilized. They may also indicate the retention and use of articles of clothing for prolonged periods of time, and as such reflect an ethos of thrift and frugality.

The percentage of alcohol related artifacts does not vary as much by time period, ranging from 1.0 to 9.5 percent at early Quaker sites and 0.1 to 9.7 percent at later Quaker sites. The percentage of alcohol related artifacts is marginally higher at non-Quaker sites, ranging from 3.9 to 14.9 and 5.0 to 13.5, and also does not vary much by time period. For tobacco related artifacts, the low frequencies at Quaker sites in the early period witness an even further decrease in the later period, falling from a range of 0.1 to 13.9 percent to 0.6 to 4.4 percent. The range at non-Quaker sites, while also
Figure 5.1 Range of Variation of Artifacts at Quaker and Non-Quaker Sites
decreasing during the later period, is much broader spanning 5.5 to 41.9 and 1.0 to 15.5 percent. It appears the frequencies of clothing/sewing, and tobacco related artifacts are most consistently low at Quaker sites compared to contemporary non-Quaker sites. Alcohol related artifacts, are also found in lower frequencies but there exists a greater range of variation which is closer in general to the range for non-Quaker sites. Regional differentiation is apparent within the frequency of tobacco-related material, with the highest frequencies found in the Chesapeake and the Albany Trader’s House.

The overall decrease in the percentage of tobacco related materials at late eighteenth to early nineteenth century Quaker and non-Quaker sites in general is likely the result in an overall increase in the numbers of kitchen/domestic related material culture associated with increasing consumerism during the period. Following the “explosion” of importations of European goods in the Colonies beginning in the 1740s, as documented by Martinie-Eiler (2008:13), the sheer volume of those materials rendered the artifacts associated other activities a smaller percentage of the total assemblage. For the late seventeenth to mid-eighteenth century, for instance, 10.3 to 88.0 percent of the assemblages in Table 5.1 are in the Kitchen/Domestic Group. During the late eighteenth to early nineteenth century, however, Kitchen/Domestic Group artifacts constitute a larger portion of most assemblages, ranging from 38.3 to 97.9 percent.

5.4 Measuring Degree of Decoration

The frequency of plain, minimally decorated, and highly decorated ceramics is compared from Quaker and contemporary non-Quaker sites (see Table 5.3). The range of variation in frequencies of decorative type between Quaker and non-Quaker sites in the early and later periods is also presented in Figure 5.1. Undecorated and minimally decorated, defined as edge decorated, wares constitute 59.4 percent to 100 percent of the assemblages at early Quaker sites. At early non-Quaker sites plan and minimally decorated wares constitute only 7.9 to 54.9 percent. During the later period the range at Quaker sites drops ranging from 45.7 to 87.7 percent. At non-Quaker sites the percentage of undecorated and minimally decorated ceramics varies much more greatly, from 7.9 to 54.9 percent in the early period to 34.8 to 94.8 percent in the later period.
During the later period the plain and minimally decorated ceramic frequency falls within the range for that of non-Quaker contemporaries (see Figure 5.1).

Excavations at the Meyer site, though a German Mennonite household, is discussed because, like Quakers, Mennonites also possessed tenets advocating non-ornamental, “plainness”, conservatism, frugality, thrift, and functionality (Wheelersburg et al. 1994:86). Undecorated wares comprised approximately 70% of the assemblage form the Meyers farmstead, compared to 30 to 40% for the same wares at other sites dating to the same time period (Wheelersburg et al. 1994:87).

The evidence tabulated regarding the degree of ceramic decoration enables two general conclusions: first, that Quaker sites generally possess artifacts with a lesser degree of decoration; and secondly, that Quaker sites are more similar to other sites of members of the Society of Friends, whereas non-Quaker sites span a much greater spectrum of variation. This second conclusion is likely the result of the inclusive nature of the “non-Quaker” group, which defining characteristic is that they are not members of the Society of Friends, so within that diverse group widely ranging degrees of ceramic decoration reflective of widely ranging consumer choices and degrees of adoption of the new consumerism is not to be unexpected. The consideration of the evidence from Quaker sites through time suggests that in the later period the frequencies of undecorated and minimally decorated ceramics fall within the range of that for the contemporary non-Quaker households.

5.5 Measuring Consumption: The Archaeological Correlates of Consumerism

Five methods devised by others and adapted for this study have been employed and compared to measure the degree of Quaker acceptance or rejection of emerging patterns of consumerism. The degree to which each method meets or does not meet the expectations presented in Chapter 4 is evaluated.

5.5.1 The Relative Proportions of Coarse Earthenware and Refined Earthenware

The relative proportions of coarse earthenware, coarse stoneware, refined wares, and porcelain has been tabulated from several sites by region. The comparison seeks to establish whether Quaker sites demonstrate differing proportions of coarse and refined wares, and therefore a differing degree of adoption of rising patterns of consumerism.
The proportion of ceramics by ware types is presented in Tables 5.4 and 5.5, and the range of variation is presented in Figure 5.2.

In the early period Quaker sites possess 39.5 to 91.0 percent coarse earthenware and stonewares, while contemporaneous non-Quaker sites are more variable ranging from 23.3 to 100 percent. In the later period, the Quaker sites possess a lower proportion of coarse earthenwares. The proportion of coarse wares at Quaker sites ranges from 30.6 to 78.8 percent, while at non-Quaker sites the proportion ranges from 9.5 to 81.9 percent of the ceramic assemblage. The wide variance at non-Quaker sites is likely the result of widely differing degrees of adoption of the new consumerism and associated social etiquette. Amongst the Quaker sites used in this comparison, the Bates and Tatnall House possess much lower percentages of coarse wares. If these two are excluded all Quaker sites would possess a majority of coarse wares. Bates was a wealthy Chesapeake merchant, and Tatnall was believed to be one of the wealthiest individuals in Delaware at the time, so this pattern suggests that the degree of coarse versus refined wares and porcelain is more strongly correlated with wealth, class, and perhaps also the urban setting and access to markets than to religious beliefs and values. Interestingly, the Bates assemblage was predominantly plain (77.6 percent) while only 45.6 percent of the Tatnall assemblage was plain or minimally decorated (see Tables 5.4 and 5.5). This suggests that degree of ceramic decoration is a better measure of the strength of one’s adherence to religious tenets than the frequency of coarse wares, refined wares, and porcelain. Also, even wealthy households with a high proportion of refined wares and porcelain, such as the Bates Site, may still compile a predominately plain ceramic assemblage.
Figure 5.2 Range of Variation by Ware Type and Vessel Form at Quaker and Non-Quaker Sites
5.5.2 The Percentages of the Seven Basic Ceramic Forms

The relative proportions of data for the seven most common ceramic forms of tableware: plate, bowl, cup, saucer, jug, teapot, and mug, has been tabulated from several sites by region. The proportion of ceramic forms is presented in Table 5.6, and the range of variation is presented in Figure 5.2. Frequencies of Quaker and non-Quaker sites, by period, vary greatly. No overall trends can be discerned in the comparison of Quaker versus non-Quaker sites, suggesting that other factors more greatly influence the frequencies of ceramic form. Contrary to the expectation of an increase in plate use associated with the new patterns of consumerism in the late eighteenth century, some late sites (the Zane Farmstead and Banneker Site) continue to use a large proportion of bowls. Furthermore, some of the sites with the highest frequency of plates were late seventeenth to early eighteenth century Quaker and non-Quaker sites (such as Homewood Lot and the Wagers Farmstead).

5.5.3 The Calculation of Type-Functions and the Index of Ceramic Variability

In the next sub-section, the degree of manifestation of artifacts associated with the new emerging consumerism will be evaluated and compared to non-Quaker contemporaries. The artifacts from the earthfast cellar house at the Lawrie Farmstead in western Monmouth County, New Jersey, represent domestic refuse deposition from a Quaker household in the early to mid-eighteenth century and provide a prime opportunity to explore issues relating to the acquisition and production of material possessions. A large assemblage of domestic material culture has been recovered, which will allow consideration and comparison of these wares in southwestern New Jersey with other assemblages (Young 2005a, 2007a; Young et al. In Preparation). Measures of ceramic variability, known as ceramic type-functions, were determined for the early and later analytical contexts at the Lawrie Farmstead using the method outlined by Shackel (1993:30-42). A lower number of types and sizes indicates a relative lack of segmentation at the table, and a large number indicates a high degree of segmentation (Shackel 1993:32). Information on type and rim diameter size has been tabulated (Table 5.7). The total overall type-function, which is the total of all type sizes,
for early period is 2 and for the later period is 13, suggesting an increase in the level of segmentation through time.

The material from the Lawrie Farmstead has been compared to that from the Zane Farmstead, a disowned member of the Society of Friends in nearby Gloucester County, New Jersey (Young 2005a; Young et al. 2007a) and to non-Quaker households reported from and Deerfield, Massachusetts and Annapolis, Maryland, (Leone 1999, 2005; Shackel 1993; Rotman 2009). Assemblages for comparison were selected from those for which these types of ceramic variability analyses had been previously conducted. The household of Dr. Thomas and Esther Williams, is an example of the “local gentry” in Deerfield and the Connecticut River Valley in general in the mid-eighteenth century (Rotman 2009:50). Thomas Williams’ uncle was Reverend John Williams, one of the Puritan founders of Deerfield (Rotman 2009:50). Data from the mid-eighteenth century and late eighteenth century contexts at the Dr. Thomas and Esther Williams site is included in Table 5.7. Three sites are also included for comparative analysis from work done in Annapolis: the Thomas Hyde House, the Jonas Green site, and the Bordley-Randall House (Leone 1999, 2005; Shackel 1993). Thomas Hyde was a merchant and member of the Protestant Episcopal Church (C. Hall 1912:369; Shackel 1993:25). Jonas Green, a middle class printer, served as a vestryman for Saint Anne’s Episcopal Church in Annapolis (Leone 2005:156; Shackel 1993:26). The Bordley-Randall House was an elite mansion house owned by Anglicans in the early to late eighteenth century (Hammond 1914:72-76; Leone 2005:156; Papenfuse 1979:147-148).

The type-function value for the early period at the Lawrie Farmstead is lower than the figures obtained by Rotman for the early period at the Dr. Thomas and Esther Williams site and by Shackel in Annapolis for the early period at the Thomas Hyde House (Leone 2005:156; Shackel 1993:41). The value for the later period at the Lawrie Farmstead is comparable to that obtained by Shackel for the Jonas Green site and late period at the Thomas Hyde House (Table 5.7).

The index of ceramic variability has been calculated for the Lawrie Farmstead assemblage using the revised formula presented by Leone (2005:156). The total number of vessels in the minimum vessel count is divided by the number of wares plus primary
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERIOD</th>
<th>REGION</th>
<th>SITE</th>
<th>TYPE-FUNCTION</th>
<th>INDEX OF CERAMIC VARIABILITY</th>
<th>SOURCE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LATE 17TH TO MID 18TH CENTURY</td>
<td>Delaware Valley</td>
<td><em>Lawrie Farmstead</em> (early)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Young et al. In Preparation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Lawrie Farmstead</em> (late)</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>30.3</td>
<td>Young et al. In Preparation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>New England</td>
<td>Dr. Thomas and Esther</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Rotman 2009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Williams (early)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chesapeake</td>
<td><em>Thomas Hyde House</em> (early)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Shackel 1993; Leone 1999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Jonas Green</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Shackel 1993; Leone 1999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bordley-Randall (early)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>Leone 2005</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| LATE 18TH TO EARLY 19TH CENTURY | Delaware Valley | *Zane Farmstead* (early) | 4             | --                          | Young et al. 2007a            |
| New England             | Dr. Thomas and Esther | Williams (late)          | 7             | 5.33 (tableware)/13.0 (teaware) | Rotman 2009                     |
|                         | Thomas Hyde House (late) |                          | 12            | 11                          | Shackel 1993; Leone 1999      |
|                         | Bordley-Randall House (late) |                        | --            | 296                         | Leone 2005                    |

*Italics denote sites occupied by Quakers*
decorative techniques, then multiplied by the number of different vessel forms. Using this formula the following values are calculated for imported wares from the early and later contexts (Table 5.7). The index of variability for the early context at the Lawrie Farmstead is comparable to those reported by Leone (2005:156) for early periods at the Thomas Hyde and Jonas Green sites, and by Rotman for early period at the Dr. Thomas and Esther Williams site (2009:153). The index value for imported wares for the later context at the Lawrie Farmstead is higher than that of all in the comparative example except for the assemblage of wealthy Anglican elites at the Bordley-Randall House (Leone 2005:156). The use of a wide variety of ceramics in variable diameter sizes which are primarily plain at the Lawrie Farmstead suggests segmentation at the table, while simultaneously asserting an association with the Society of Friends plainness doctrine.

The Zane Farmstead offers the opportunity to compare the assemblage from the Lawrie Farmstead to that of a family disowned from the Society of Friends in the late eighteenth century. The total overall type-function, which is the total of all type sizes, for early nineteenth century context at the Zane Farmstead is 4. This type-function value is lower than the later context at the Lawrie Farmstead and the others in the comparative sample dating to the mid to late eighteenth century (see Table 5.7). These comparisons indicate a lag in the acceptance of the social rules of etiquette and associated segmentation linked to dining and the tea ceremony at the Zane Farmstead.

5.5.4 Amenities Indices Using Probate and Archaeological Data Sets
If the amenities index developed by historians is supplemented by archaeological evidence a more complete picture of the level of consumption may be obtained. The inventory of Thomas’ estate, the brother of Gawen Lawrie and father of the initial occupant of the Lawrie Farmstead, indicates his total personal effects amounted to 38 pounds, including silver buckles and buttons (1 pound) and books (7.4 pounds), and “amber beads rice” valued at 15 shillings (Nelson 1901). James’ probate, made Nov. 12, 1740, was inventoried at 59 pounds and includes the following items (Nelson 1904):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>purse and apparel</td>
<td>16.00.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Books</td>
<td>6.00.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feather bed chaf bed &amp; furniture</td>
<td>12.00.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case of “Dxxxxxxx”?</td>
<td>4.15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item</td>
<td>Value</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>table Cloth</td>
<td>0.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chests and a pair of horse collars</td>
<td>1.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pots &amp; Cettle [Kettle] &amp; Skillet</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>frying pan &amp; Chapeau dish &amp; tongs</td>
<td>0.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pewter and Earthen Dishes</td>
<td>2.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>looking glass &amp; Sundry things</td>
<td>1.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shears</td>
<td>0.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earthen Judges [Jugs] &amp; Earthen pots</td>
<td>0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glass bottle &amp; drinking glass</td>
<td>0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drawing tub &amp; pail &amp; Cags [Kegs]</td>
<td>0.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chairs and bags</td>
<td>0.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpenter tools and plantation tools</td>
<td>3.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bills and Book Debts</td>
<td>7.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.59</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

James passed on his books to his four children and 2 pounds to the Quaker Meeting House near “Crosswicks Bridge” (Scott et al. 1918).

For comparative purposes, the estate of William Trent of Trenton, New Jersey, was valued at about 1,100 Pounds in 1726 (The Trent House Association, Online Document). In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century in Essex and Gloucester in England some left effects totaling several hundreds of pounds and one effects of 1,873 pounds (Geiter and Speck 2003:23). In 1740 the estate of James Lawrie scores a 4 or 5 in this ranking system, depending upon whether one counts the looking glass which may or may not be considered in some ranking schemes. This would place James Lawries’ household between Clemens’ “middling” and “comfortable” categories, though it should be noted that is in comparison to probates from Chester County, Pennsylvania from the 1790s (2005:581). From the archaeological evidence from the Lawrie Farmstead, for instance, we know that at least one fork was present and is not indicated on James Lawrie’s probate. This would increase the Lawries’ Amenities index from a 4 or 5, based on the probate, to a 5 or 6. Other probates have been noted to lack mention of earthen pots, though archaeological investigations on those sites have recovered several such specimens (Bedell 2000). Overall the Lawries score relatively high on the amenities index. This observation, in combination with the segmented but plain ceramic assemblage, suggests the partial adherence to rising patterns of consumerism is evident at the site in the late eighteenth century.
5.6 Foodways

The evidence from Quaker sites is considered, to evaluate the expectation that a higher frequency of wild species reflecting greater frugality would characterize Quaker sites. Evidence is drawn from faunal remains and food preparation and consumption vessels.

5.6.1 Faunal Remains

With regards to evidence for foodways as manifest through faunal remains, the Lawrie Farmstead stands out for an increased use of wild game, birds, and fish. These species together constitute 68% of the assemblage, while cattle, pigs, and sheep/goats constitute only 5.4% to 11.8%. However, at the contemporary Quaker-owned Wagers Farmstead only 29% of the assemblage was characterized by wild game and birds (Young 2012). At the mid-eighteenth Century Red Bank Site, a site owned by the Quaker Allen family in Monmouth County, New Jersey, only 29.3% of the faunal assemblage consisted of wild game and fish (Traver et al. 1988). At the Whitehart Plantation, Powell Plantation, and Strickland Plantation, non-Quaker sites in Delaware, 31% to 39% of the assemblages were comprised of wild species (Grettl er et al. 1995:164). The degree of use of wild species may be more heavily influenced by other factors than membership in the Society of Friends. For example the earliest sites in the comparative sample, both Quaker and non-Quaker, tend to possess higher percentages of wild species.

5.6.2 Food Preparation and Consumption Vessels

The frequencies of vessel forms by ceramic type have been tabulated for the early and later periods at the Lawrie Farmstead (Tables 5.8 and 5.9). Food preparation and distribution vessels during the early period at the Lawrie Farmstead were exclusively redware, matching a common pattern identified within other eighteenth century sites in Colonial North America (Yentsch 1994). However, two thirds (67%) of all “food consumption” vessels were also redware. Vessels for dining and drinking more commonly would have been fashioned from delft or salt-glazed stoneware during the period. Three of the redware vessels, two basins and one coggled-edge plate, are of the types defined by Steen as Philadelphia wares (1999).
### TABLE 5.8: VESSEL FORMS BY TYPE FOR THE EARLY ANALYTICAL CONTEXT AT THE LAWRIE FARMSTEAD

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VESSEL FORM AND FUNCTIONAL ARTIFACT CLASS</th>
<th>REDWARE</th>
<th>DELFT</th>
<th>STAFFORDSHIRE</th>
<th>SALT-GLAZED STONEWARE</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Food Preparation and Storage</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basins</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milk Pans</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
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<tr>
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<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
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<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
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<tr>
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<td>--</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>--</td>
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*Above numbers indicate Minimum Number of Vessels*
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<tr>
<th>VESSEL FORM AND FUNCTIONAL ARTIFACT CLASS</th>
<th>REDWARE</th>
<th>DELFT</th>
<th>STAFFORDSHIRE</th>
<th>SALT-GLAZED STONEWARE</th>
<th>CREAMWARE</th>
<th>IBERIAN EARTHENWARE</th>
<th>PORCELAIN</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
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<tr>
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<td>--</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TOTAL** 127 2 5 20 19 1 6 180

*Above numbers indicate Minimum Number of Vessels*
Food preparation and distribution vessels consisted of redware and a single Iberian earthenware storage jar, as common for the period. Eighty percent of all food distribution vessels were redware. Although vessels for dining and drinking more commonly would have been fashioned from delft, salt-glazed stoneware, creamware, or porcelain during the period, a total of 57% of the tablewares and teawares were fashioned of redware. Some delft, salt-glazed stoneware, creamware, and porcelain is present, particularly for teawares. No plates formed of these wares were recovered dating to this period from the site. Also, though not common, two redware saucers and a redware teapot indicate the use of redware vessels for tea consumption also occurred. The prevalence of redware among these types of vessels appears to indicate different mechanisms guiding the selection of food consumption vessels. At least 39 of the 127 redware vessels from this analytical context may be assigned to one of the three types defined by Steen as Philadelphia wares (1999).

One vessel, a 7 inch diameter redware “frying pan”, may represent Dutch influence (Figure 5.3). Frying was common amongst the Dutch settlers in New Netherland and the region that later became to the Colonies of New York and New Jersey (Janowitz et al. 1993). This vessel may represent what Janowitz, Morgan, and Rothschild define as a “Grapen” and may constitute some evidence of Dutch influence in food preparation activities. However, the vast majority of redware vessels possess affinities more with Philadelphia and foodways defined for the Delaware Valley in general. The high proportion of pans, dishes, and plates, and low frequencies of pots and bowls, does not fit the expectations for a diet focusing primarily on soups and gruels prepared in pots and served in bowls.
Figure 5.3: Redware Spider/“Frying Pan” (Grapen)
5.8 Summary and Discussion

This comparative review of Quaker and non-Quaker sites has enabled an extended case study on the differential manifestation and assertion of adherence to beliefs and values in various forms of material culture. The degree of adherence to Quaker tenets and values has been shown to be manifested in the material culture of domestic sites, and may be measured through the application of archaeological data sets in accordance with particular archaeological correlates. Going plain in the world may be measured best by the correlates involving artifact frequencies and degree of decoration, while the degree of adoption of the segmentation associated with modern consumerism, and foodways, are less reflective of tenets of the Society of Friends. Frequencies of clothing and sewing related, tobacco related, and plain to minimally decorated ceramics are found to be the lowest within Quaker households compared to those of non-Quaker contemporaries (see Figure 5.1). This trend in plain to minimally decorated ceramics is apparent in the early period, while in the later period dating to the late eighteenth to early nineteenth century greater variation more consistent with the variation at non-Quaker sites is documented (see Figure 5.1). The frequencies of alcohol related artifacts, coarse wares, vessel forms, and evidence for foodways have not been found to be highly linked to membership in the Society of Friends (see Figures 5.1 and 5.2).

The timing of the decrease in frequency of plain to minimally decorated ceramics at Quaker households coincides with the onset of increased consumerism in the late eighteenth to early nineteenth century. The timing of the diminishment of adherence to the plainness doctrine at Quaker sites coincides with the timing of a general greater use of white-toned refined wares.

For example, some sites like that of the wealthy merchant at the Bates Site possess a high frequency of plain ceramics, while other sites of wealthy occupants like the Tatnalls in Wilmington, Delaware, possess a lower frequency of plain ceramics in the later period. At some sites of wealthy occupants, a low frequency of porcelain and decorated ceramics are noted, such as at the site of Captain Richardson and the Keeler Site. A focus on a broad range of material culture provides greater insight into the degree of acceptance or rejection of doctrine of going plain in the world. These consumptive choices reflect the manner in which a household elects to assert or
position itself within an emerging consumer marketplace and consumer society. These choices reflect the conscious assertion of the household’s relationship with the larger society.

To the extent the households of the Society of Friends exhibit evidence of the lack of adoption of new fashions of dining and social etiquette, the household may be viewed as fostering the transmission of traditional cultural values and religious tenets valuing plainness and a lack of ostentation. The evidence from a particular household can be compared to the range of variation for other contemporary Quaker and non-Quaker households to identify similarities and contrasts in the selective accumulation of the constellation of material cultural at a site. The evidence from the Lawrie Farmstead attests to a general adherence to Quaker tenets. In a plural, heterogeneous society such as eighteenth century Colonial New Jersey consideration of the types of style and the style of consumption provide new insight. The evidence indicates the Lawrie family was isochrestically selecting material culture consistent with Quaker tenets. The evidence of household choices with regards to clothing and personal adornment, alcohol and tobacco related artifacts, and the selection of European versus locally-produced redware vessels suggests rather minimal participation in emerging eighteenth century consumerism. These primarily demonstrate affiliation with the Delaware Valley through the selection of Philadelphia redwares and vessels. One frying pan from the early analytical period, however, may represent culinary influence from the Dutch Raritan Bay (Figure 5.3). Tea consumption was conducted in plain redware vessels, but also in salt-glazed stoneware and blue floral decorated porcelain vessels. However, the majority (89.5 percent) of ceramics at the Lawrie Farmstead are plain or minimally decorated. At the Lawrie Farmstead a high frequency, relative to the other sites, of straight pins attests to a high degree of sewing and textile maintenance-related activities. The high percentage of wild species represented in the faunal collection and evidence for onsite sewing activities attests to adherence more to an ethic of frugality and self-sufficiency. The presence of redware vessels with mend holes further attests to the ethic of thrift and frugality at the site.

By the mid to late eighteenth century the ceramic assemblage from the Lawrie Farmstead exhibits a high degree of segmentation, while still remaining predominately plain. By other measures such as the amenities index supplemented with archaeological
data the Lawries, with a ranking of 5 or 6, score relatively high when compared to other contemporary households. The Lawries may in this manner be seen to be making consumer choices that are emblemic and assertive of Quaker tenets regarding plainness, while still providing a high degree of amenities to their households and children which has been identified as another important Quaker tenet. The Lawries consumer choices may be seen as in keeping with Quaker tenets, while still also adopting aspects of the new consumerism such as segmentation. The Lawries selected the new consumer goods, but selected particular items of those classes of goods that were predominately plain in keeping with Quaker tenets.

At the Zane Farmstead evidence indicates a disowned member of the Society of Friends still adhered to some doctrines, such as the prohibition against alcohol and tobacco, while at the same time may no longer have asserted an aesthetic for plainness (Young 2005a; Young et al. 2007a). Scarce alcohol and tobacco consumption and the presence of a ceramic assemblage containing approximately 67.4% plain ceramics provides evidence of a continuation of adherence to Quaker tenets, even if no longer a member of the Society. The presence of two tumblers however, one with a sunburst pattern, suggests the use of elaborate dinner wares for entertaining guests (Young et al. 2007a:Section 5-Page 8). Further, the presence of rounded and oval loops of a brass decorative chain and a pewter shoe buckle with alternating square and flower pattern suggest a lack of adherence to Quaker tenets for plain dress. Considered in the framework of the theories and method formulated for this study, this pattern indicates the active, assertive signaling of non-Quaker values in entertaining and adornment, while simultaneously maintaining more “conservative” isochrestic style in alcohol/tobacco use, foodways, and choices in less visible ceramics (Young 2012).

5.9 Significant Contributions: Scales of Relevance

The significant contributions of the archaeological evidence for the material manifestation of the Quaker tenet of going plain in the world may be viewed at multiple scales of analysis, or scales of relevance, as the relevance of the data and its synthesis may be considered in multiple dimensions: the site-specific/the topic, the discipline, the “big questions” of history and the social sciences, and the application to today’s society
and the current world. The contribution of this archaeological evidence at each scale of relevance is discussed below.

The significance of the archaeological evidence for the material manifestation of the Quaker tenet of going plain in the world at the first scale of relevance relates to generating more information and a greater understanding of Quakerism and the degree of adherence to its tenets at specific places through time. The relative frequency of certain artifact classes, clothing/sewing related and tobacco related and the prevalence of plain and minimally decorated ceramics have been demonstrated to be most closely related to membership in the Society of Friends. Other archaeological correlates postulated in Chapter 4, such as measures of segmentation and consumerism and foodways, have been determined to be more variable within members of the Society.

The archaeological evidence for the material manifestation of the Quaker tenet of going plain in the world possesses potential to contribute to the study of past beliefs and tenets through archaeological data sets in general. The manifestation of isochrestic, emblemic, and assertive style may assist in the fullest reconstruction of activities at the site, and assist in the development of new techniques for the determination of hybridization within the archaeological record. With regards to ceramic artifact selection, while based on the range of variation similar wares and forms may have been acquired at Quaker and non-Quaker sites, the vessels chosen were primarily plain or minimally decorated compared to non-Quaker assemblages. Therefore, it is the decorative dimension of this class of material culture that is more closely aligned with membership in the Society of Friends, rather than ware-type or the formal dimension.

At the scale of the “big questions” of history and the social sciences, the archaeological evidence for the material manifestation of the Quaker tenet of going plain in the world may illuminate issues concerning the advent of modern consumerism and concomitant changes in culture. This research suggests that while many tenets of Quakerism were adhered to throughout the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, at some sites certain elements of the new consumerism were adopted. A non-ostentatious segmentation appears to be amongst the earliest elements of consumerism manifesting within Quaker household assemblages. This research also suggests that while the new goods were purchased, isochrestic values as to which of the new goods should be acquired are represented within the archaeological record. Also, at Quaker
sites from the late eighteenth to early nineteenth century low frequencies of clothing-related and tobacco-related artifacts continue (see Figure 5.1).

The timing of the decrease in frequency of plain to minimally decorated ceramics at Quaker households coincides with the onset of increased consumerism in the late eighteenth to early nineteenth century. During this period, the percentages of plain and minimally decorated ceramics are more consistent with general patterns documented for contemporary non-Quaker households (see Figure 5.1). The timing of the diminishment of adherence to the plainness doctrine at Quaker sites coincides with the timing of a general greater use of white-toned refined wares (see Figure 5.2). These trends indicate that Quaker adherence to the tenet to eschew the temptations of consumerism was more prominent in the early period. The Quakers lagged behind non-Quaker contemporaries in the use of highly decorated refined white ceramics, but eventually began to use more and more of this material and as such may there may be viewed to be a diminishment in the adherence to Quaker tenets through time. Likewise, on the Caribbean island of Montserrat during the same time period an increase in plain Colono Ware compared to smoothed or burnished vessels, as reflected through technological style (Young 2002, 2007b, 2010). This change documented in technical style in Colono Ware, along with the diminishment in the adherence to Quaker tenets, both occur over the course of the late eighteenth to early nineteenth century and may be viewed as associated with the rise of consumerism and the Industrial Revolution.

Finally, at the level of contemporary relevance, archaeological evidence for the material manifestation of the Quaker tenet of going plain in the world may render two primary significant contributions. Firstly, even in the highly materialistic societies of contemporary industrial capitalism, this study may demonstrate the importance of religious ideals and tenets as determinants of society. The Quakers may be viewed as a prime example of the establishment of an alternative ethos to that of the materialism associated with the rise of consumerism and Industrial Revolution. Insights from the Society of Friends, who at least at their onset developed alternatives to the culture of consumerism and flagrant conspicuous consumption, may assist in the development of such future alternatives. Furthermore, this study of the material manifestation of Quaker tenets has revealed a diminishment in the level of adherence to beliefs and values concomitant with the rise of consumerism and Industrial Revolution. The consideration
of the changes in adherence to Quaker beliefs and values, and timing of those changes, may assist in the development of more successful future alternatives.
CHAPTER 6
Archaeological Evidence for the Inner Light:
Compassion, Empathy, and Sympathy for Thy Neighbors

6.1 Introduction
The archaeological evidence for the material manifestation of the Quaker belief in the Inner Light and the associated values of compassion, empathy and sympathy for others is reviewed in this chapter. This chapter will evaluate the archaeological evidence pertaining to the correlates of the Quaker belief in the Inner Light, as outlined previously in Chapter 4. For comparative purposes, data from Quaker and contemporaneous non-Quaker residential sites is considered from different regions in British Colonial North America, as in Chapter 5. Summary tables, including data on building techniques for rural domestic structures and building techniques for cellar set houses, have been compiled.

6.2 Inter-Group Violence or Animosity
The Society of Friends’ general pacifistic stance and more amicable interactions with Native Americans in North America is a reflection of Quakers’ belief in the Inner Light and emphasis on compassion, empathy, and sympathy. This correlate is difficult to assess from archaeological data sets at residential sites, as evidence of the Arms artifact group may be associated with hunting activities rather than inter-group hostility. In fact, the Quakers emphasis on frugality may have fostered an increased in wild food procurement activities at some sites which would be expected to manifest in the form of an increased frequency of Arms-related artifacts.

“Ethnohistoric” evidence from the Lawrie Farmstead is considered with regards to potential insight into the peaceable interactions between early eighteenth century Quaker settlers and the Lenni-Lenape, or Delaware Tribe, in British Colonial New Jersey. Ethnohistory is here defined as the historical study of the “disenfranchised” in history, those non-Europeans, poor Europeans, or those of the female gender who did not typically write histories but were written about by those of the dominant groups in society. Due to the biases inherent in the documentary record regarding the “disenfranchised,” this is a field of inquiry in which historical archaeology, with a focus
on material culture, may make a unique and substantial contribution (Little 1994:8; Deagan 1991:108). Ethnohistoric research provides additional insight into the material culture evidence recovered from the Lawrie Farmstead.

Documentation regarding land claims indicates Native Americans, members of the Lenape tribe, were in the vicinity of the Lawrie Farmstead in the early eighteenth century (Hunter 1996:259-261; Pennsylvania Archives 1758[1853]:344). The Lenape inhabited Lenapehocking at the time of European Contact, a region including New Jersey, northern Delaware, eastern Pennsylvania, and southeastern New York. The Lenape, also known as the Delaware, were not a single, social, political, or linguistic entity, but were a group of related bands occupying a continuous area (Newcomb 1956:1). Settlement pattern research in eastern Pennsylvania and adjacent portions of New Jersey has suggested the existence of band-organized social groups occupying territories centered around the major river systems (Becker 1986:94, 1988:79, 1997:18; Gallivan 2002:538-539; Kent 1970; Kent et al. 1971:86; Mounier 1985a, 1985b, 1991; Newcomb 1956:1). In southern New Jersey small groups of Christianized Lenape lived amongst the European immigrants (Williams and Kardas 1982:191). The Quakers were notable for their non-violent attitudes and made numerous missionizing efforts, leading to the establishment of mission communities such as the Brotherton reservation in Indian Mills, New Jersey (Cosans-Zebooke and Thomas 1993:14). Some of the residents at Brotherton became the first official students at the Moor’s Indian Charity School in Lebanon, Connecticut in the later eighteenth century (Cipolla 2013:33). Many students at this school later played important roles in the subsequent Brothertown Movement (Cipolla 2013:33).

A Lenape chief, “Moses Tatamy,” living in Pennsylvania was aided in his requests for land claims in New Jersey by two prominent Pennsylvanians, the Quaker Jeremy Langhorne and William Allen of Allentown, Pennsylvania. In the 1740s and 1750s New Jersey Lenape gave power of attorney to Tatamy in claims of lands for them, including lands “near and east of Allentown, New Jersey” which were “still occupied in part” (Hunter 1996:259-261). The Lawrie Farmstead is “near and east” of Allentown, approximately two thirds of a mile east of the early eighteenth century town center at a confluence of two waterways.
The Quakers were noted for engaging in more friendly interaction with the Lenape than other colonizing groups. The Quaker missionary John Brainard established the Brotherton Indian Reservation which continued at Indian Mills in Burlington County New Jersey from 1759 to 1801 (Cosans-Zebooker and Thomas 1993:14). Other Lenape were noted in the vicinity during this time, not on the reservation. Brainerd wrote of at least two communities outside the reservation who worked as servants and laborers (Cosans-Zebooker and Thomas 1993:14).

If the lands near and to the east of Allentown were occupied in part by the Lenape in the eighteenth century it is reasonable to believe that the Lawries would have engaged in interactions with them. There is a documented presence of Native Americans in the vicinity to at least the Late Woodland period. The Doctors Creek Site, situated approximately 1000 feet to the west of the Lawrie Farmstead, overlooks Doctors Creek and has yielded diagnostic artifacts ranging from the Late Archaic to Late Woodland periods (Pennington and Frasier 1996).

Substantial archaeological scholarship has focused on the interactions of the colonists and Lenape in New Jersey (see, for Example, Grumet 1995; Kraft 1986, 2001; Newcomb 1956; Schonenberger 1991). Through the simultaneous influence on colonists and their material culture is acknowledged, the archaeological signatures of the “Contact” or “Proto-Historic” periods are essentially defined as archaeological evidence of European goods at Native American sites. What, on the other hand, would constitute archaeological evidence of Native Americans visiting the sites of European Colonists? Peaceable interactions between the Lenape and early colonists in New Jersey were commonplace, such that the Colonial Secretary of New Netherland commented in 1650 that the settlers were “having the Indians daily inside their houses” (Van Tienhoven 1642:276).

Sydney G. Fisher, in *The Quaker Colonies: A Chronicle of the Proprietors of the Delaware* (1919:140), remarked that the early settlers:

On arriving, the West Jersey settlers suffered some hardships during the year that must elapse before a crop could be raised and a log cabin or house built. During that period they usually lived, in the Indian manner, in wigwams of poles covered with bark, or in caves protected with logs in the steep banks of the creeks. Many of them lived in the villages of the
Indians. The Indians supplied them all with corn and venison, and without this Indian help, they would have run serious risk of starving, for they were not accustomed to hunting. They had also to thank the Indians for having in past ages removed so much of the heavy forest growth from the wide strip of land along the river that it was easy to start cultivation. These Quaker settlers made a point of dealing very justly with the Indians and the two races lived side by side for several generations.

Hawke asserts that the early English settlers had been residing in houses there that were built generations before, and when arriving in North America frequently lived tents, dug caves in hillsides, or “took over Indian shelters” (Hawke 1988:47). One settler in Salem, Massachusetts, is recorded adapting a wigwam by putting a door in one end and fireplace in another (Hawke 1988:47). Other early houses in Massachusetts are described as wattle and daub thatched huts, and “more primitive” wigwams of branches, rushes, and turf (Fiske 1922:4; Kniffen and Glassie 1999:240). A letter from Lieutenant-Governor Dudley of Massachusetts Bay to the Countess of Lincoln reports of “English wigwams” (Fiske 1922:4; Force 1838:19). The early settlers took up habitations in wigwams that “were not inhabited but stood in a place convenient for their shelter” (Force 1838:18). Captain John Smith wrote in 1630 that the earliest church at Jamestown consisted of “an old rottren [sic] tent…covered with rafts, sedges, and earth” (Arber 1884:957; Fiske 1922:4). A newcomer to the Massachusetts Bay Colony, Edward Johnson, noted in 1654:

They burrow themselves in the Earth for their first shelter under some Hill side casting the Earth afoft upon Timber, they make a smoaky fire against the Earth at its highest side...yet in these poor wigwanes (they sing Psalms, pray, and praise their God) till they can provide them houses (Jameson 1910:113-114; Fiske 1922:5)

The evidence for Native American artifacts at the Lawrie Farmstead is evaluated within the framework of these archaeological correlates in the Appendix.

The Quakers of the Delaware Valley are noted for peaceable relations with the Lenni-Lenape, or Delaware Indians, in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century. Penn was committed to establishing a colony founded on the religious principles of the Society of Friends, among which included the denunciation of violence in accordance with the belief in the “innate quality of all human beings”
It has been argued due to William Penn and the efforts of other early Quakers that the relations with the Native Americans were “at first more harmonious” than in any of the other American colonies (Kenny 2009:3). Following William Penn’s demise in 1718, however the “holy experiment” disintegrated gradually and ultimately “collapsed” during the Indian Wars of the 1750s and 1760s (Kenny 2009:3). In 1737 William Penn’s son, who had converted to Anglicanism, tricked the Lenni-Lenape out of a territory in southeastern Pennsylvania the size of Rhode Island in the “Walking Purchase” (Kenny 2009:3).

6.3 Inter-Group Exchange

Documentary evidence as discussed in Section 4.3.2 indicates Quakers interacted amicably with other non-Quaker groups (see, for example, Tolles 1963; Smolenski 2010). The following method has been devised to detect the degree of this interaction on the basis of archaeologically evident material culture remains, to determine the extent to which a particular household followed the expectations derived from the documentary evidence. The extent to which Quakers interacted amicably with members of other groups and other populations in a plural colonial setting may be investigated through a focus on the degree to which goods and technological techniques from other groups are present at Quaker households. A high level of transfer from other groups to members of Quaker households is expected. The degree to which goods and technological techniques from other groups are present at Quaker households may serve as a measure of the inter-group exchange. In this sub-section the evidence from the earthfast cellar house at the Lawrie Farmstead in western Monmouth County, New Jersey, will be reviewed and compared to evidence from other non-Quaker sites.

At the Lawrie Farmstead one vessel from the earthfast cellar house, a 7 inch diameter redware “frying pan”, may represent Dutch influence (Figure 5.3). Frying was common amongst the Dutch settlers in New Netherland and the region that later became to the Colonies of New York and New Jersey (Janowitz et al. 1993). This vessel may represent what Janowitz, Morgan, and Rothschild define as a “Grapen” and may constitute some evidence of Dutch influence in food preparation activities. The 7 inch “frying pan” from the Lawrie Farmstead also resembles the “koekepan” and “steelpan” described by Schaefer from the seventeenth century in the Netherlands.
(1994:100-101). This is described as a round-bottomed cooking pot with a rod handle and were fashioned of red or white earthenware (Schaefer 1994:100-101, 384). An example in Schaefer’s typology of seventeenth-century Dutch ceramics resembles the vessel recovered from the Lawrie Farmstead in form and dimensions, with the Dutch example measuring approximately 8.3 inches (Schaefer 1994:384, Figure 16). The presence of this Dutch redware vessel suggests interactions between the Lawries and Dutch settlers, possibly from the Raritan Bay area where the Lawries first settled in East Jersey in the 1680s. These vessels provide evidence of the adoption not just of material goods, but of a culinary practice or technique.

The evidence for structural remains from the Lawrie Farmstead may also be considered as possible evidence of interaction with other groups and the borrowing of building techniques. A focus on the raw materials, construction techniques, and spatial arrangements of structural remains, following the work done on African-American houses (Deetz 1977, Ferguson 1992), may illuminate the process of inter-group exchange. The early cellar house at the Lawrie Farmstead measured 21 feet by 16 feet (Young 2001, 2005a, 2007a; Young et al. In Preparation). Work on a free African community in New England has demonstrated that European houses tend to be organized around 16 foot segments, while the crucial size for African-American structures was only 12 feet (Deetz 1977:149).

The relationship between space and worldview has been discussed quite extensively (Deetz 1977:150), and the importance of spatial dimensions is not limited to that of one particular structure. The cultural organization of space has been argued to be an excellent indicator of ethnicity (Hastorf 1991, Deetz 1977). Clarke has divided the study of space in archaeology into what he terms the micro, semi-micro, and macro levels (1977:11-13). The micro level refers to the use of space within structures, and individual and cultural factors are argued to dominate over economic ones (Clarke 1977:11). The semi-micro level consists of the "communal space" within sites and social and cultural factors should be dominant, and the macro level refers to the organization of sites across a region and is held to be determined strongly by economic factors (Clarke 1977:11-13). While all levels should, to at least some extent, be influenced by ethnicity or religious affiliation the first two should be more powerful reflections of social and cultural “choices”. At the macro level choices stemming from
ethnic ideals or religious tenets may be difficult to distinguish from those arising out of economic factors, and space at this level would be a less reliable indicator of social or cultural “choices”. The organization of space within a structure would also be influenced by ethnic ideals and, due to the personal nature of the micro level, by intra-group (race, gender, class, faction) ideals as well. At this level, the isochrestic, emblemic, and/or assertive stylistic choices should be manifest in the selection of building techniques and intra-structure spatial organization. The semi-micro level at a rural farmstead would consist of the arrangement of residence, outbuildings, fields, and other agricultural features within a site. At this level the farm occupants would organize their activities with respect to their relationship with each other, and would simultaneously communicate their ideals, tenets, and “choices” to the outside world in the form of the arrangement of the cultural landscape at the farm. The semi-micro level would therefore be a highly useful spatial indicator of both intra-group and inter-group relationships and interaction.

Culture is now held to play a significant role in "the complex interaction between domestic structures and spatial organization" (Kent 1990:2). In phenomenology space is conceived of as dependent on action; the "human consciousness makes the physical reality out of the natural environment" (Tilley 1994:67). Space is perceived through the human body, and is therefore dependent on the actions and perceptions of individuals (Tilley 1994:10-14). Phenomonology seeks to return to original experiences, prior to their thematization by scientific activity, which reinserts the individual and cultural implications of humanized space (Pickles 1985:160). Space is socially produced and this spatiality combines both mental and material aspects (Soja 1989). "Transformations of the spatio-temporal matrices are the real substratum of mythical, religious, philosophical or 'experiential' representations of space-time" (Soja 1989, citing Poulantzas 1978:26). Humanizing space places emphasis on the interplay of culture and the individual, rather than conceiving of space as a universalized abstraction. The "life-world of being" is located in "the construction of human geographies; the social production of space and the restless formation and reformation of geographical landscapes" (Soja 1989:11). Acceptance of the social nature of space opens the door to analysis of the interrelation between space and culture.
Conkey argues that material culture should be conceived in an active sense, being simultaneously created and creating culture (1991), and a similar argument may be advanced for space. Space may be argued to be dynamic, and as a social construction it plays roles in both reflecting and creating the cultures it is a part of. Space may be viewed as a reflection of cultural ideals, but it simultaneously promotes development and change through the course of a culture's trajectory.

Conceiving culture as intimately tied to, and created through, the organization of space renders the latter a highly significant indicator of religious affiliation, ethnicity, and other forms of social and cultural identity. The organization of space at the semi-micro level, which may be referred to as the organization of the cultural landscape at rural site, opens the door to the study of the cultural construction of space and the spatial construction of identity through social and cultural “choices”. Space, as a reflection of cultural ideals, is powerfully linked to shared ideals of the site occupants.

The archaeological evidence for building techniques and the social use of space at the micro and semi-micro level at the Lawrie farmstead is reviewed below. The focus on building techniques and spatial organization is two-fold: I) as technique, employing technological style, can technological traits be seen to have been borrowed from neighboring groups; and II) can the spatial organization of Quaker households be seen to reinforce Quaker beliefs, tenets and values embodied in the Inner Light? To what extent, if any, were building techniques from neighboring groups borrowed and used in the construction of Quaker houses? Does the organization and social use of space in Quaker households reflect lesser stratification? Comparisons to other Quaker and non-Quaker sites are presented as the presence of comparable data sets allows.

6.3.1 The Micro Level: Building Techniques and Intra-Structure Spatial Organization

The Micro-Level: Building Techniques

In order to interpret evidence of the degree of inter-group interaction, as manifest in hybridization in material culture such as in the construction of housing, the theories of technological style and the operational sequence or operational chain have been employed. Identification of the material manifestations of elements in the operational sequence will allow consideration of the origin of each trait or action.
Technological traits in an operational sequence, as a manner of doing, should reflect isochrestic style though in a plural society there exist multiple possible traditions from which each trait may have been passed down. There are no known similar examples of such cellar houses in England at the time, so seeking comparative material amongst other groups within the diverse colony is appropriate.

The cellar house at the Lawrie Farmstead consisted of a 21 by 16 foot, 4 to 5 ½ foot deep, rectangular feature containing a builder’s trench, small interior postholes set into a log sill, and remnants of a clay floor overlain by floor planks (Figures 6.1 to 6.4). This early house at the site was inhabited by the Lawries from 1705 to circa 1740. Elements of the operational sequence for the construction of this house involved the digging of a cellar hole, rolling of a large log sill into the sloped, stepped, hole, and then framing the structure with small (3-4 inch) saplings. Posts were spaced approximately 2 ¼ feet to 3 ¼ apart. The bottom of the cellar floor was formed of a packed clay floor with wood planks.

The evidence of these elements in the operational sequence has been compared to elements of documented technological traits amongst at Quaker and non-Quaker sites in British Colonial North America (Tables 6.1 and 6.2). Many of the Quaker and non-Quaker sites in the sample, based upon the same sites considered in the comparative review in the previous chapter, also possess evidence of earthfast residential structures. The majority of these earthfast structures, however, are post-in-ground construction with large posts (6 to 18 inches) and wide post spacing (8 to 15 feet). The small posts and close post interval at the cellar-set house at the Lawrie Farmstead appears to be most directly comparable to the Albany Dutch Trader’s House. At the Trader’s house, small posts were also set into a sill at close space intervals (Tables 6.1 and 6.2). The Trader’s House was interpreted by the excavators as a “Dutch wigwam”, based on the Native American partially subterranean bark wickiup but incorporating European framing techniques with finished lumber (Hartgen Archaeological Associates 2002:3.7).
Figure 6.1: Lawrie Farmstead Earthfast Structure (Young et al. In Preparation)
KEY:
1. MOTTLED DARK YELLOWISH BROWN (HYS R 4.6) AND YELLOWISH BROWN (HYS 7.5) COMPACT SANDY SILT LOAM WITH PEBBLES AND BROWN (HYS 5.3) ROOT STAINS (MATRIX 18)
2. DARK BROWN (HYS R 3.5) MOTTLED WITH YELLOWISH BROWN (HYS 5.3) AND BROWN (HYS 5.3) SANDY LOAM WITH PEBBLES AND LIGHT CHARCOAL FEICKING (MATRIX 11)
3A. DARK YELLOWISH BROWN (HYS R 4.5) SILT LOAM WITH BRICK FEICKING (MATRIX 12 FEATURE 8)
3B. DARK BROWN (HYS R 3.1) SANDY SILT LOAM WITH PEBBLES, SANDSTONE, BRICK, AND CHARCOAL FEICKING (MATRIX 12 FEATURE 9)
3C. DARK GRAYISH BROWN (HYS R 2.4) SANDY SILT LOAM WITH BRICK AND CHARCOAL FEICKING AND SANDSTONE (MATRIX 12 FEATURE 8)
3D. DARK GRAYISH BROWN (HYS R 2.4) SILT LOAM, DARK YELLOWISH BROWN (HYS R 4.5) SILT CLAY LOAM, AND DARK GRAYISH BROWN (HYS R 4.2) SILT LOAM WITH CHARCOAL AND PEBBLES (MATRIX 12 FEATURE 9)
3E. MOTTLED YELLOWISH BROWN (HYS R 5.6) AND BROWN (HYS R 5.3) SANDY SILT LOAM WITH PEBBLES (MATRIX 12 FEATURE 8)
4. DARK BROWN (HYS R 3.5) TO BROWN (HYS 4.5) SILT LOAM WITH CHARCOAL FEICKING, MOTTLED WITH YELLOWISH BROWN (HYS 5.4) SANDY SILT LOAM IN SOME AREAS (MATRIX 13)
5. MOTTLED BROWN (HYS R 4.5), DARK YELLOWISH BROWN (HYS R 4.4), AND YELLOWISH BROWN (HYS R 3.4) COMPACT SANDY SILT LOAM (MATRIX 14)
6. DARK YELLOWISH BROWN (HYS R 4.5) SILT LOAM WITH CHARCOAL FEICKING MOTTLED WITH HITS OF DARK YELLOWISH BROWN (HYS R 4.6) SILT LOAM AND PATCHES OF YELLOWISH BROWN (HYS R 3.6) COMPACT SANDY SILT LOAM (MATRIX 16)
7. DARK GRAYISH BROWN (HYS R 2.4) SILT LOAM WITH PEBBLES AND CHARCOAL FEICKING (MATRIX 17)
8. YELLOWISH BROWN (HYS R 4.4) COMPACTED SANDY CLAY LOAM (MATRIX 18)
9. DARK YELLOWISH BROWN (HYS R 4.5) SILT SAND (SUBSOIL - D1 HORIZON)
10. MOTTLED YELLOWISH BROWN (HYS R 5.4 AND HYS 5.6) SAND AND WITH PEBBLES (SUBSOIL - C1 HORIZON)

---
SANDSTONE
BRICK
HOLE OR POSSIBLE POST HOLE MOTTLED SWARLING DARK GRAY (HYS R 4.5) SILT LOAM, LIGHT YELLOWISH BROWN (HYS R 4.6) SAND, AND YELLOWISH BROWN (HYS R 5.6) SAND WITH PEBBLES SOFT AND LOOSE

Figure 6.2: Lawrie Farmstead Earthfast Structure Wall Profiles (Young et al. In Preparation)
Figure 6.3: Clay Floor with Wood Fragments (Young et al. *In Preparation*)
Figure 6.4: Log Sill with Post Holes (Young et al. *In Preparation*)
<table>
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<tr>
<th>PERIOD</th>
<th>REGION</th>
<th>SITE</th>
<th>FOUNDATION</th>
<th>STRUCTURE SIZE</th>
<th>POST DIAMETER</th>
<th>LOG SILL</th>
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<td>21' x 16'</td>
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<td>30' x 15'</td>
<td>12' to 18'</td>
<td>No</td>
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Italics denote sites occupied by Quakers
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<td>Stone</td>
<td>39' x 31'</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Georgian (c. 1770)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Gerhardt et al. 2009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Benjamin Wynn</td>
<td>Earthfast</td>
<td>30' x 24'</td>
<td>12' to 18'</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>10' to 12'</td>
<td>Hall Parlor w/Blacksmith Shop</td>
<td>Organic</td>
<td>Grettler et al. 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mott House (late)</td>
<td>Stone</td>
<td>47' x 33'</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Georgian (c. 1760)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Brown 1987</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Narbonne House (Hodges)</td>
<td>Stone</td>
<td>40' x 20'</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Hall Parlor w/Addition</td>
<td>Organic</td>
<td>Deetz 1993</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Narbonne House (Andrews)</td>
<td>Stone</td>
<td>40' x 20'</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Georgian (c. 1780)</td>
<td>Organic</td>
<td>Deetz 1993</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Fawcett Site</td>
<td>Stone</td>
<td>53' x 18'</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Quaker Plan (c. 1780)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Jolley 2002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Cherokees</td>
<td>Brick</td>
<td>15' x 12'</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Hall-Parlor</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>South 1977</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Brunswick S10</td>
<td>Stone</td>
<td>30' x 22'</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Hall-Parlor</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>South 1977</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Italics denote sites occupied by Quakers*
Other wood lined cellars with packed clay floors have been identified at Dutch sites in the Hudson River area, and this technological procedure may have been learned by the Lawries during their stay in Perth Amboy from 1683 to 1705. At the edges of the clay floor at the Lawrie’s cellar house a dark stain indicative of wall planks was present, and similar stains indicate small interior postholes. These small post holes, approximately three to four inches in diameter, do not appear to have been sufficient to bear the structural weight of a residence. However, the builder’s trench was stepped, and at the bottom a dark stain indicated the presence of a log sill, into which the small vertical interior posts were inserted. The use of a substantial log sill, enclosing the perimeter of the earthfast cellar, could have supplied the structural integrity to support a wooden superstructure. The use of log sills has also been documented at the Trader’s House and Hoopes Site (Tables 6.1 and 6.2). In Delaware log sills were also present at the John Powell and Benjamin Wynn sites, however, only the Lawrie Farmstead and Trader’s House possess sill sunken in cellar-set houses with small, closely spaced interior posts.

The stratigraphy within the cellar house at the Lawrie Farmstead supports the interpretation that the cellar hole once held a wooden superstructure. Directly above the clay and wood-lined floor a dark, organically rich soil stratum was present, apparently associated with the abandonment of the structure prior to demolition. Above this a lighter solid stratum with a high proportion of nails indicates the collapse of the wooden superstructure. Above this lay successive layers of gradually accumulated refuse deposition rich in domestic artifacts, apparently thrown into the hole formed by the collapse of the structure during the occupation of the adjacent stone and brick residence.

Although the vast majority of earthfast structures possess exterior postholes, examples with interior postholes have been reported from the Chesapeake area (Carr 2000; Deetz 1993:62-4; Markell 1994:53-6; Noel Hume 1979:54-9). A summary of the traits of other cellar houses is presented in Table 6.3. The four Chesapeake examples all possess wider posts and lack log sills. While many other earthfast structures have been excavated in New Jersey, the majority are characterized by the more common post-in-ground technique (Gall et al. 2011). Another subterranean earthfast structure has been
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>REGION</th>
<th>SITE</th>
<th>STRUCTURE SIZE</th>
<th>POST DIAMETER</th>
<th>LOG SILL</th>
<th>POST SPACING</th>
<th>INTERIOR PARTITIONS</th>
<th>SOURCE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Delaware Valley</td>
<td>Lawrie Farmstead</td>
<td>21’ x 16’</td>
<td>3” to 4”</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>2 ¼” to 3 ¾”</td>
<td>Yes/Hall-Parlor</td>
<td>Young et al. In Preparation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Albany Trader’s House</td>
<td>10’+ x 9’</td>
<td>4” x 4”</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>35”</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>Hartgen 2002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chesapeake</td>
<td>Martin’s Hundred</td>
<td>20’ x 19’</td>
<td>8”</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>10’</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Noel Hume 1979</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Flowerdew Hundred</td>
<td>20’ x 16’</td>
<td>6” to 12”</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>4”</td>
<td>Yes/Hall-Parlor</td>
<td>Deetz 1993</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Richard Stevens Site</td>
<td>18’ x 18’</td>
<td>6” to 12”</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>3’ to 4.5’</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Carr 2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Adam Thorogood Site</td>
<td>22’ x 9’</td>
<td>6” to 12”</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>2 ½’ to 3’</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Carr 2000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Italics denote sites occupied by Quakers*
reported at the Dutch Van Duyne House in Wayne, Passaic County, New Jersey, which has been interpreted as a sod house (Gall et al. 2011:47; Lenik 1985).

A reconstruction of an example of this type of structure has been generated for Martin’s Hundred in Virginia (Noel Hume 1979:58-59, Figure 3-17). Figure 6.5 depicts the Martin’s Hundred cellar house reconstruction. These structures, known as cellar houses, have been interpreted in light of documentary evidence from New Netherland (Noel Hume 1979:57). Van Tienhoven, the colonial secretary of New Amsterdam, reported in 1650 that:

Those in New Netherlands and in New England who have no means to build farm-houses at first according to their wishes, dig a square pit in the ground, cellar fashion, six or seven feet deep, as long and as broad as they think proper, case the earth inside all around the wall with timber, which they line with bark of trees or something else to prevent the caving in of the earth, floor this cellar with plank and wainscott it overhead for a ceiling, raise a roof of spars clear up and cover the spars with bark or green sods, so that they can live dry and warm in these houses with their entire families

(Noel Hume 1979:57, Linn and Hegle 1877:182-183; Van Tienhoven 1650[1851]:31-32)

Noel Hume argues the cellar house at Martin’s Hundred may have been that of a carpenter who moved into an area early and set up a temporary, less substantial dwelling while he began the construction of homes for others to come. In light of this hypothesis it is interesting to note that James Lawrie’s occupation, the initial occupant of the site, is listed as a carpenter in his will (Swan 1973; Ellis 1885:613).

The earliest houses in New Netherland have been described as belonging to two types: *dugouts*, “Excavations in the earth”, or cellar set houses which were lined with bark and covered with sod or reeds; and “crudely built houses” consisting of a sapling framework covered and lined with bark (Bailey 1936:20). Dilliard, citing the 1650 pamphlet by Colonial Secretary Cornelius Van Tienhoven which is quoted above, noted that the earliest settlers would dig pits, floor and line them with wood, and “erect roofs with sods and bark” (Dilliard 1963:71; Van Tienhoven 1650[1851]:31-32). Even wealthy settlers were noted to construct such buildings initially, to encourage the “poorer colonists” (Huey 1987:31). A semi-subterranean dwelling such as the cellar set
Figure 6.5: Cellar House from Martin’s Hundred (Noel Hume 1979:58-59, Fig. 3-17)
house would provide better protection from the cold, which could be a problem in early
earthfast structures. A visitor to New Jersey in 1679 commented that a clapboard house
was “so wretchedly constructed that if you are not so close to the fire as almost to burn
yourself, you cannot keep warm,” (Hawke 1988:49).

The earthfast structure at the Lawrie Farmstead appears to be an example of this
building technique documented in New Netherland. Thomas Lawrie, the father of the
initial occupant of the Lawrie Farmstead, settled within the Raritan Bay in 1683.
During this time the bay was occupied by a sizeable Dutch population, from whom the
Lawries may have learned this construction technique. The earthfast structure at the
Lawrie Farmstead resembles excavated examples from the Upper Hudson Valley in the
use of a log sill and wood-lined cellar, and a log sill was also used in the construction of
Fort Orange near Albany (Huey 1987, 1991:45). The adoption of these building
techniques by the Lawries appears to represent an example of hybridization, through
contact between Dutch and Scottish Quaker settlers within the New World. The
architectural evidence suggests the initial Scottish Quakers at the site incorporated traits
learned from interaction with the Dutch inhabitants of East Jersey into the construction
of the early earthfast structure at the site. Such material manifestations of the blending
of different ethnicities will aids determining the material correlates of interaction in
colonial settings.

Another documentary reference to a cellar-set house in the Delaware Valley
includes the account a German settler in what would become the City of Philadelphia if
1684:

Upon the front lot I have, with our man-servant, built already a small
house, half under the ground and half above, which indeed is only thirty
feet long and fifteen feet broad (Myers 1912:404)

Housing was particularly a problem in rapidly settled regions, such as West
Jersey in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth Century (Hawke 1988:84). In
Philadelphia in 1682 Fiske notes:

By digging into the ground, near the verge of the river-front bank, about
three feet in depth; thus making half their chamber underground and the
remaining half above ground was formed of sods of earth, or earth and
brush combined

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In *Annals of Philadelphia*, Watson recounts the story of Hannah Speakman, 75 years old at the time, who recalled an original cave known as “Owen’s Cave” (1830:160). The cave was:

…dug into the hill – had grass frowing upon the roof part, which itself was formed of laid timber. The same man who had once inhabited it was still alive, and dwelt in a small fram[e] house near it

The original “cave” of the Brown family, in Northern Liberties, is reported as having been incorporated in some form into the cellar of the family mansion (Watson 1830:160). These early structure commonly referred to as “caves” may, on the basis of these descriptions, be interpreted as cellar-set houses. Efforts were made to put an end to the “caves” in 1685, through an order of the Grand Jury, though some were noted to still be in existence as late as 1760 (Fiske 1922:6; Watson 1830:159).

In East Jersey in 1684 Gawen Lawrie, brother to Thomas Lawrie and uncle to the initial occupant of the Lawrie Farmstead, noted:

The poor sort set up a house of two or three rooms themselves, after this manner; the walls are of cloven timber about eight or ten inches broad, like planks set one end to the ground, and the other nailed to the raising, which they plaster within

(Fiske 1922:6-7; Smith *History of New-Jersey* 1765[1890]:145)

A seventeenth century farmstead was excavated by MAAR Associates in 1991 along Assiscunk Creek in Mansfield Township, New Jersey (Louis Berger & Associates 1998:467). The first structure is believed to have been an impermanent structure erected in 1680 along the banks of the creek, while a more permanent dwelling was subsequently built on a small “lobe of land” overlooking the creek (Louis Berger & Associates 1998:468). Sod houses are reported for southeastern Pennsylvania, along the banks of the Schuylkill River opposite the Manayunk Area (Lower Merion Historical Society 2007). A sketch by John B. Satterthwaite from 2007, consisting of a contemporary artistic reconstruction of a cellar-set house, is included as Figure 6.6.
Figure 6.6: Sod House in Banks of Schuylkill River (Lower Merion Historical Society, sketch by John B. Satterthwaite 2007)
In a review of eighteenth century building techniques in Monmouth County, New Jersey, the excavators of the Allen Site state that in some cases early temporary structures “were made by twisting saplings together in imitation of the Indian wigwam (Traver et al. 1987:1-22). Another method involved “digging square cellar-like excavations…often six or seven feet deep and twelve to twenty feet long” (Traver et al. 1987:1-22).

The evidence from the Lawrie Farmstead appears to most closely match evidence from early earthfast cellar houses in New Netherland, and as such may be interpreted within the framework of Quaker adoption of new technologies and technical traits through amicable inter-group interaction. At the Lawrie Farmstead these sapling posts were also planked with timber, perhaps in the manner as recorded by Gawen Lawrie in 1684 (Fiske 1922:5). Though other cellar houses are documented in the Chesapeake, these examples possess much wider posts and wider post spacing intervals (Table 6.3). Only the other examples from New Netherland, such as the Albany Trader’s House, also possess small, tightly spaced interior postholes set in sills as at the Lawrie Farmstead. Cellar houses, or sod houses, are also reported to have been used in the Netherlands into the early twentieth century (Postma 2010:74). Known as plaggenhutten, turfhouses have been documented up to the 1920s in Drenthe (Figure 6.7).

In Burlington County, New Jersey, a feature that resembles many of the elements of the cellar house at the Lawrie Farmstead has been identified at the Burr-Haines Site (Cosans-Zebooker and Thomas 1993:18). The feature dates to a comparable time span, ranging from 1745 to 1765. The assemblage is dominated by locally produced, “utilitarian” redware, though salt-glazed stoneware and a large number of straight pins are also reported. Native American artifacts, including a bone and antler awl, lithic flakes, pottery, two projectile points, gun flints, a pierced metal disk, and trade beads were recovered (Cosans-Zebooker and Thomas 1993:18-19). Faunal remains consisted of pig and wild game (Cosans-Zebooker and Thomas 1993:19). The evidence has been interpreted as representing evidence of occupation by Lenape during the Colonial Period.

At the Thompson’s Park Site, in Monroe Township in Middlesex County, New Jersey, archaeological investigations have recovered mid-eighteenth century pit features.
Figure 6.7: Plaggenhut Sod House from the Netherlands, January 22, 1905 (Postma 2010)
possibly near the site of the Bethel Indian Mission (Grossman-Bailey 2011; Grossman-Bailey et al. 2009: ). The Bethel mission settlement was established by David Brainerd in 1746 (see Section 1.6.1). The pit features have been interpreted as cold cellars associated with domestic structures (Grossman-Bailey et al. 2009:5-24). Small quantities of Native American artifacts including pottery, a jasper tool, and debitage were recovered along with red and buff earthenware, Staffordshire slipware, white salt-glazed stoneware, wine bottle fragments, wrought nails, pewter and copper buttons, and pipe fragments (Grossman-Bailey 2011:8-9). Varying levels of consumption of wild taxa were present, including evidence of consumption of the eastern box turtle (Grossman-Bailey et al. 2009:5-22). The site was interpreted as possibly related to the Bethel mission settlement, occupation nearby by individuals associated with Bethel, or by other occupants or tenants (Grossman-Bailey 2011:12).

The Micro-Level: Intra-Structure Spatial Organization

The evidence for interior partitions at the Quaker and non-Quaker sites indicates the majority of house plans consisted of the Hall-Parlor layout. In hall-parlor houses, household activities generally occurred within the hall and the parlor was used primarily for dining and sleeping (Pogue 1988:42). In the eighteenth century symmetrical “Georgian” house plans gained acceptance at the “upper and middling social levels” (Johnson 1996:79). Within the comparative sample, 16 house plans may be classified as Hall-Parlor, 4 as three-room Quaker plan houses, and 8 as symmetrical “Georgian” houses (Tables 6.1 and 6.2). Quaker plan houses consist of three rooms economically grouped together around fireplaces (Fischer 1989:477). The early Mott House, Zook House, and Fawcett Site, all occupied by members of the Society of Friends, built houses according to this three room plan. In general, most late seventeenth to early eighteenth century sites in the sample followed the hall-parlor plan and the later period considered reflects a greater mixture of hall-parlor and Georgian house plans, including several earlier hall-parlor or three-room houses that were transformed to achieve a more symmetrical and “Georgian” appearance. The earliest Georgian house in the sample is that from Homewood Lot dating to about 1740. In general, Quaker households appear to have adopted Georgian house layouts later in the eighteenth century than contemporary non-Quaker households. For example, the
earliest Georgian house layouts at non-Quaker houses in the comparative sample date to the first half of the eighteenth century, such as the circa 1740 for the Georgian House at Homewood Lot (see Table 6.1). All Quaker sites in the comparative sample followed the hall-parlor or three-room plans. In the later period the first Quaker houses following the Georgian plan are apparent, dating to the 1770 and 1780s approximately 30 to 40 years later than the first Georgian houses at non-Quaker sites (see Tables 6.1 and 6.2). The earliest Quaker house to assume a Georgian form was the Mott House, which achieved this symmetrical layout through additions by the 1760s. However, at the Quaker Fawcett Site in Virginia was built in a three-room Quaker plan layout in the 1780s, at a time when much of new construction was adhering to the Georgian, symmetrical layout.

At the Lawrie Farmstead, the later stone foundation structure adhered to the hall-parlor layout. As with the earlier structure, the later stone and brick structure faces southeast, to provide shelter from the northern winds (Hawke 1988:42). The later residential structure was constructed of durable materials, including locally available sandstone and brick. Based upon artifactual evidence this house is believed to have been constructed circa 1740, coinciding with the onset of ownership of the site by Thomas Lawrie. The dimensions of the structure, 24 by 17 feet, also coincide with the most common house size pattern for the local area in the eighteenth century (Personal Communication, Richard Veit, December 2000). The dimensions of the house were approximately 1 rod (16 ½ feet) by one and a half rods, a pattern noted as common for British colonial houses (Deetz 1996:109). The later structure contained a sandstone foundation, and a brick superstructure may be assumed on the basis of the high volume of brick and mortar rubble fill within the cellar hole. The cellar contained a brick floor, which consisted of many broken and partial bricks which may in fact have been salvaged from the earlier well at the site. Underneath the bricks was a thin, organically rich stratum, suggesting the residence was occupied for a short span prior to the placement of the bricks. Remnants of the sandstone foundation include the apparent foundation of the chimney, identified by the presence of a high, localized concentration of charcoal and ash which would have fallen from the fireplace on the first floor of the residence. Much of the original sandstone foundation has been removed for reuse elsewhere, as with the brick well, perhaps for the construction of the farmhouse along
the road on the same property by 1850. It was not until the construction of this house, close to the nineteenth century road, that a larger symmetrical format was adopted at this site.

6.3.2 The Semi-Micro Level: Arrangement of Residences and Associated Outbuildings

A total of 104 archaeological features, consisting of early and later residential structures, an early well, outbuildings, and postholes, have been identified at the Lawrie Farmstead (Figure 6.8). The assignment of features to the Lawrie period of the site, in addition to dating through diagnostic artifacts, may be accomplished through consideration of the stratigraphic relationships between the postholes and other features. A circular soil stain is cut into by the northern end of the earthfast structure, though it only extends to a depth of approximately one foot below the top of the subsoil. The presence of ash, charcoal flecks, and reddened, oxidated clay at the bottom of this feature suggest it once held a fire or fires. This is interpreted as the brick clamp, where the Lawries fired the bricks for construction of the nearby well. This feature greatly resembles the eighteenth century brick clamp identified at the Jones Site in Delaware (O’Neill 2001).

A fence-line represented by four post holes, approximately parallel to the long axis of the earthfast structure, is truncated by the remains of the later brick house with stone foundation. Both the earthfast structure and associated fence-line may thereby be interpreted as earlier than the brick and stone residence. The wooden outbuilding and the well both apparently date to the same initial period of occupation as the earthfast structure. The wooden outbuilding, measuring approximately 10 by 11 feet and extending only 6 inches below the top of the subsoil, possesses remnants of a wooden plank floor and stains indicating wooden walls. This may have been a wooden storage shed or other wooden outbuilding on the farmstead. An initial lighter stratum possessing a high volume of nails is overlain by gradually accumulating refuse deposition, presumably dating subsequent to the collapse of the wooden structure. The well was evident at the surface of the subsoil only by an approximately 7 foot diameter
Figure 6.8: Lawrie Farmstead Site Map (Young et al. *In Preparation*)
circular soil stain. Upon reaching a depth of approximately six feet below this point, however, the bricks lining the former well were present. The bricks from the initial six to seven feet, including the former plowzone, of the well were removed for reuse elsewhere. As with the wooden outbuilding the uppermost strata of the back-filled well contained organically rich soil laden with artifacts indicative of gradually accumulating refuse deposition. These features were in use during the Lawrie Period.

The early eighteenth century residential structure and associated outbuildings are all oriented in the same north-south, east-west orientations. The longitudinal axis of the early earthfast structure extends north-south, and the later brick and stone structure extends east-west. As with other early farmsteads the house was situated near the available water, rather than on the road, and likely faced to the south to maximize sun exposure to the entrance during the winter months. The fenced enclosure and wooden outbuilding likewise are similarly oriented, though there is a general lack of clear plan of enclosure or organization to the grouping of buildings and fence posts. The arrangement of early features appears to follow the trend of a general lack of arrangement, in which “eighteenth century farms tend to have a more dispersed layout, with little enclosed space within the farmstead” (Hunton and McCabe 1984:69).

Johnson argues medieval agricultural landscapes and domestic spaces exhibit parallels in the manner in which both are open, or lack enclosure (1996:82). Coinciding with the advent of symmetrical Georgian houses, the agriculture landscapes underwent greater enclosure. Beginning in the eighteenth century, “model farms” were constructed based upon a courtyard pattern (Tarlow 2007:68). In this layout the farmhouse was removed from the “noise and smells of the yard” (Tarlow 2007:68). Model farms were often sited close to a road and were “designed to be seen and admired”. Model farms appeared increasingly over the eighteenth century, along with the decline of the “‘peasant’ or small owner-occupier farmers” (Wade Martins 2002:19). The “ideal farm plan” in southern New Jersey consisted of a hollow square or rectangular courtyard bounded by the house, barn, and outbuildings (Glassie 1972:50; Manning 1984:63).

For sites with sufficient information to reconstruct the farm layout from the comparative sample, all sites dating to the early period are characterized by dispersed, farm layouts that developed organically over time without apparent organization (Tables 6.1 and 6.2). Four of the Quaker sites from the later period exhibit evidence of
courtyards and attributes of model farms: the Zane Farmstead, Hoopes House, Zook House, and Walnford. Several sites in the sample have not yielded sufficient data to identify the farm layout. Future archaeological research may shed further light on the transformation of Quaker and non-Quaker farm layouts through time. Alice Manning astutely points out that, since extant farm layouts may possess an amalgamation of buildings from various points of time, only archaeological excavation may provide information directly related to farm layout at specific periods of time (1984:56).

At the Lawrie Farmstead, a model farm was apparently not constructed until circa 1850, long after the Quaker period of ownership at the site. In the early to mid-eighteenth century, the Lawrie farms appears to have developed over time in a disorganized manner. When the cellar house was abandoned in about 1740, it was used for domestic refuse disposal, despite its location merely six feet from the later stone and brick house (Figure 6.7). Quaker households therefore appear to have been variable in the adoption of the “model farm” layout.

Within early farmsteads documentary evidence indicates that crops, rather than livestock, would have been enclosed within fencing. The fenced-enclosure to the south of the residence may have been a kitchen garden or orchard, the fence serving to protect the crops from predators or livestock. The livestock would have been allowed to forage freely in the forest. Soil samples obtained from a dark stain within the fenced enclosure were tested to identify the phosphorus level to test this hypothesis. The manure accumulation in areas where livestock were congregate on farms increases the phosphorus content, which was determined through a commercial gardener’s kit (Banning 2001; Custer et al. 1986:90; Grettler 1996:25). The phosphorus levels obtained from soil samples from other features, the plowzone, and natural subsoil was used as a control for this analysis. The phosphorus test revealed the area inside the fenced enclosure possessed levels comparable to the rest of the site and the subsoil. The highest levels of phosphorus at the site were from the postholes and lowest levels of the earthfast cellar house, providing further evidence for the use of this feature for “smelly” refuse deposition following its abandonment in 1740.
6.4 Social Stratification and Egalitarianism

The lesser degree of social stratification and higher evidence of egalitarianism is expected to manifest in inter-group interactions and intra-group gender relations. Compassion may be evidenced, for example, in Quaker participation in the Abolitionist Movement and Underground Railroad (see Sections 1.3 and 4.3.3). Evidence of Underground Railroad activities at the Thaddeus Stevens house, though not a Quaker, is also identified in the form a cistern that was modified in the mid-nineteenth century (Delle 2008:81). Evidence of a tunnel excavated from 1855 to 1870 between the house and the abandoned cistern suggests the use of the cistern to hide fugitives (Delle 2008:82). Similar archaeological evidence may be sought at Quaker households, such as the study conducted at the Parvin Homestead, home of a wealthy Quaker family in Berks County, Pennsylvania (Delle and Shellenhamer 2008: 56, 77).

6.4.1 Gender Stratification and Gender Relations

As indicated by Spencer-Wood, patriarchy can be expressed in the gendered use of space through gender segregation in separate buildings or in buildings with gender-segregated entrances…” (2013:176). Within the context of eighteenth century British architectural traditions, the pattern of closing rooms and the advent of the Georgian building tradition marked an "increasingly segmented, segregated world" divided along lines of gender and class (Jackson 2013:130; Johnson 1993:103).

The Quakers have been argued to possess less gender stratification (see Section 3.3.2), and this greater equality is expected to manifest within the archaeological record. Archaeological evidence may reveal degree of gender stratification between Quaker and non-Quaker contemporary households. The archaeological remains from the Zane Farmstead Archaeological Site present a unique opportunity for consideration of the historical unfolding of this transformation within the household of a rural artisan from the late eighteenth through early nineteenth century. Joseph Zane, the initial occupant of the site, has been identified as a blacksmith (McConnell and Walker 2004:2-8). The blacksmith shop, however, was separated from this late eighteenth century residence, providing evidence of an example of the separation of the spheres in southern New Jersey. At the Benjamin Wynn Site, home of a non-Quaker household in Delaware in the late eighteenth to early nineteenth century, a blacksmith shop was at
the same location as the historic residence (Grettler et al. 1996). Evidence for home production, the gendered use of space, and spatial artifact distributions at the Lawrie Farmstead is considered in the sub-sections which follow.

6.4.2 Home Production

Artifacts associated with sewing, for instance, have been identified as providing an opportunity to consider the roles and activities of women in the past (Beaudry 2006; Gibb and King 1991). Sewing has been identified as a skill predominant among eighteenth century women, amongst Quakers, the Dutch, and other groups (Crane 1994:xvi, 137). Analysis of the assemblage from the Lawrie Farmstead has indicated the presence of a number of sewing-related artifacts which may contribute to a better understanding of gender roles in Colonial Quaker households. In the study of these artifacts the context of production and social implications of various forms of needlepoint have been identified as critical considerations to distinguish, for example, straight pins associated with sewing from those used as other types of fasteners by men and women (Beaudry 2006:8). The pins from the Lawrie Farmstead, when whole, all measure approximately one inch in length and as such are interpreted as sewing pins (Beaudry 2006:24).

Levy notes evidence of a high degree of female home production at Quaker households and relates this to the emphasis upon the home and rearing of children amongst Quakers (1988:182-183, 196-197). Analysis of the assemblage from the Lawrie Farmstead reveals a high level of straight pins and other sewing related artifacts during the later period of occupation at the site when compared to other Quaker and non-Quaker Sites (see Tables 5.1 and 5.2). Only the Albany Trader’s House, occupied by a non-Quaker Dutch trader, possesses a higher frequency of sewing-related artifacts. The higher relative frequency of sewing-related artifacts at the Lawrie Farmstead attests to the importance of sewing-related activities at the site, particularly in the middle eighteenth century.
6.4.3 The Gendered Use of Space

In hall-parlor houses, the same space could be associated with a particular gender at specific moments (Johnson 1996:164). Within Georgian, symmetrical house plans of the eighteenth century, food preparation activities were shifted to the back of the house and aspects of social life shifted out of the central hall, resulting in concomitant changes in gender and class relations in the household (Johnson 1996:79-80). Within a symmetrical Georgian house, with separated functionally demarcated rooms, gender roles and activities were also separated (Johnson 1996:83). Did the Georgian Order, which placed a greater emphasis on the individual and concomitant commodification and closure within households, lead to lesser gender equality? Was the lag in the adoption of this pattern at Quaker sites, and the concomitant symmetrical house plan, associated with the Quaker tenets fostering greater gender equality? The evidence from the sites in the comparative sample suggests Quaker households adopted the Georgian house plan approximately 20 to 40 years after contemporary non-Quaker households. Within the context of eighteenth-century British architectural traditions, the pattern of closing rooms and the advent of the Georgian building tradition marked an "increasingly segmented, segregated world" divided along lines of gender and class (Jackson 2013:130; Johnson 1993:103). As such, the lag in adoption of the Georgian symmetrical house plans may be viewed as a manifestation of the lower degree of gender stratification in Quaker households. However the Georgian plan did eventually become used in Quaker households as well suggesting that, as with plainness and consumption, the adoption of patterns consistent with non-Quaker households was only delayed and not continuously rejected. Though Quakers eventually adopted the Georgian house plan, the use of this segmented space may have differed and as such still been relatively more egalitarian than the use of similar segmented space in the Georgian houses on non-Quaker contemporaries.

6.4.4 Spatial Artifact Distribution and Gender Relations

Within a household, different archaeological data sets are conceived to reflect the relationships between members of a household group, with members outside and inside the group. The use of space within a household possesses the greatest potential to illuminate relations between members of a household group. The home production of
types of materials, such as dairying and sewing, has been considered and the spatial
distribution of materials associated with these activities. While the consumer choices
for different goods is conceived to reflect the (assertion of the) relationship of the
household with the greater society, the spatial distribution of these same goods within a
household and the associated yard or landscape reflects the relationships between
members of that household. The arrangement of activity areas at a homestead and the
use or absence of internal partitions in living spaces may inform upon the day to day
organization of activities and their relationships within a residential landscape.

At the Lawrie Farmstead, evidence points to some differential use of space in
some types of artifacts. The lowest levels of the cellar house, Matrix16, 17 and 18,
consisted of the packed clay floor, floor planks, and thin soil strata immediately above
(Figures 6.1 and 6.2). The two thin soil strata immediately above the clay floor, Matrix
16 and 17, were visibly distinct and separated by a stain indicative of an interior
partition (see Figure 6.2). These strata are below the strata with a high frequency of
nails which is interpreted as representing the collapse of the wooden structure, and as
such are presumably associated with the use or period immediately following the
Lawrie’s relocation to the stone and brick house constructed at the site. The straight
pins within these lowest stratigraphic levels of the cellar house were only present within
the southern “hall” of the structure (Figure 6.1). In the northern “parlor”, no pins were
recovered from these lowest levels. In terms of the spatial distribution of refined
ceramics, consisting primarily of tea wares and dining wares, these comprise 11.7
percent of the ceramics from the hall and 5.8 percent of the ceramics from the parlor.
These finds lead to two conclusions: firstly, that sewing and textile maintenance
occurred primarily in the hall; and secondly, that both the hall and parlor were used for
tea and food consumption. The evidence from the Lawrie Farmstead is consistent with
Jonhson’s observations regarding hall-parlor houses, such that the same spaces were
used for different activities by members of different genders at different time periods
throughout a given day (1996:164). The evidence from the spatial artifact distribution
supports the evidence for the architectural use of space with regards to indications of a
lesser degree of gender separations, segregations, and stratification at this Quaker
household.
6.5 Summary and Discussion

This comparative review of Quaker and non-Quaker domestic sites has revealed that Quaker tenets, beliefs, and values associated with the Inner Light and compassion, sympathy, and empathy for thy neighbor may be detected within the archaeological record. The analytical focus on the technical style of building techniques, use of space within domestic structures and rural sites, and spatial artifact distribution indicates that Quaker households are characterized by a lesser degree of separation, segregation, and stratification.

The Lawrie Farmstead provides a unique opportunity to explore the material manifestations of frontier life, and evidence for the hybridization of cultures in the culturally heterogeneous colony of New Jersey. The evidence suggests traits learned from interaction with the Dutch inhabitants of East Jersey were incorporated into the construction of the original residential structure at the site. In the form of technological style of building techniques and the home production of goods, different sets of technical traits may reflect interaction and exchange of technical know-how between groups. The exchange of technological style reflected inter-group interaction, and as such manifests the Quaker tenets of living amicably with one’s neighbors.

A variety of archaeological evidence may illuminate the study of compassion within past societies. At mortuary sites the degree of compassion within a group may be studied through such evidence as the degree of incidence of violent death associated with inter-group combat as well as the presence or absence of grave goods reflecting a greater or lesser degree of stratification and social ranking. At domestic household sites, as the primary locus of the “private sphere”, the degree to which traditional values or new fashions were used reflects the cultural atmosphere of the household. This atmosphere may foster the development of different cultural values and ethos. To the extent the households of the Society of Friends exhibit evidence of an absence of a clear separation of spheres, the household may be viewed as fostering the transmission of traditional cultural values and religious tenets valuing compassion and equality.

The colonial Native American Waldo Farm Burial Ground in Dartmouth, Massachusetts, though not a residential site also warrants mention in this discussion since evidence presented by Hodge suggests that those interred appropriated Quaker burial practices (Hodge 2005:87). The burial ground was used from circa 1700 to 1750
No grave goods or items of personal adornment were recovered, and plain fieldstone head and foot stone were present (Hodge 2005:79). The area within which the burial ground is located is reported as a “Quaker enclave” within Puritan Massachusetts (Hodge 2005:75). Hodge argues the Quaker tenets of egalitarianism and peaceful relations would have resounded with the early eighteenth century Wampanoag (2005:88). The documentation that a member of the Society of Friends was disowned for “beating and abusing an Indian” in 1703 (Dartmouth Monthly Meeting of Friends 1703:12; Hodge 2005:76), attests to the claims that Quakers usually engaged in peaceable and friendly relations with Native Americans. Though not a Quaker Burial Place, Hodge’s interpretation of Waldo Farm provides additional evidence of Quaker relations with Native American groups.

The evidence from the comparison of Quaker and non-Quaker house plans and farm layout indicates the adoption of the symmetrical Georgian house plan and model farm occurred approximately 20 to 40 years later than at many of the contemporary non-Quaker sites (see Tables 6.1 and 6.2). Since the increasing segregation of social space has been linked to increasing gender stratification and increasing marginalization of women (see Section 4.3.3), the lag in adoption of the Georgian symmetrical plans and layouts may be viewed as a manifestation of the lower degree of gender stratification in Quaker households. At the Lawrie Farmstead the spatial distribution of artifacts, associated with sewing and clothing maintenance, food preparation, serving, dining, and tea consumption, further attest to the lack of rigidly separated use of space.

Overall, the cumulative record of archaeological evidence from households of members of the Society of Friends, and the specific record from the ample data sets at the Lawrie Farmstead, indicates general adherence to the Quaker beliefs and values associated with compassion, sympathy and empathy for thy neighbor. This evidence is strongest in the early period under consideration, from the late seventeenth to mid-eighteenth century, though it appears to begin to break down in the late eighteenth to early nineteenth century. Though the Quaker households lagged behind non-Quaker households in adoption of a more separated and segregated use of space, these patterns ultimately came to characterize many Quaker households as well as those of non-Quaker contemporaries.
6.6 Significant Contributions: Scales of Relevance

The significant contributions of the archaeological evidence for the manifestation of compassion, sympathy, and empathy among the Society of Friends may be viewed at multiple scales of analysis, or scales of relevance, as the relevance of the data and its synthesis may be considered in multiple dimensions: the site-specific/the topic, the discipline, the “big questions” of history and the social sciences, and the application to today’s society and the current world. The contribution of these archaeological correlates for the study of Quaker archaeological sites at each scale of relevance is discussed below.

The significance of the study of the evidence for adherence to the doctrine of the Inner Light in the Quaker archaeological record at the first scale of relevance, the scale of the topic, relates to generating more information and a greater understanding of Quakerism and the degree of adherence to its tenets at specific places through time. The degree of adherence to the doctrine of the Inner Light may be documented at specific sites and compared to residences of their contemporaries. These choices reveal the degree to which the projection of assertive, or emblemic, style conformed to the values of compassion, empathy and sympathy for others. Also, the degree to which members of Quaker households adhered to the tenets of compassion and empathy fostered by the belief in the Inner Light has been documented. Quaker households appear to have adopted the Georgian symmetrical house plan, and possibly also the model farm, later than their non-Quaker contemporaries. Also, in the case of the Lawrie Farmstead, a Quaker household is shown to have adopted goods and techniques from neighbors groups.

The archaeological evidence for the material manifestation of the Quaker tenet of the Inner Light possesses potential to contribute to the study of past beliefs and tenets through archaeological data sets in general. The manifestation of isochrestic, emblemic, and assertive style may assist in the fullest reconstruction of activities at the site, and assist in the development of new techniques for the determination of hybridization within the archaeological record. House plans, farm layout, and the spatial distribution of artifacts are shown to possess potential to reflect, and be reflected by, religious tenets. Past religious systems may have been amongst the most influential reinforcing forces of other aspects of culture, including among them the emotional
ethos of a particular group in a particular period in time. In order to study past emotional ethos it may be most effective to commence first with a consideration of past (religious) beliefs, values, and tenets.

At the scale of the “big questions” of history and the social sciences, the archaeological evidence for the material manifestation of the Quaker tenet of the Inner Light may illuminate issues concerning the adoption of symmetrical Georgian house plans, model farms, and concomitant changes in culture. The archaeological correlates for compassion formulated for Quaker sites are advanced as a method for the study of similar or differing emotional ethos in past societies in general. The Quakers espoused tenets fostering cooperative-interest, and an underlying ethos of compassion, and as a result appear to have been slower to adopt the new emerging eighteenth century house forms and farm layouts. Rather than assuming that historically-documented groups like the Quakers are unique in world history in possessing an ethos of compassion cooperative-interest, evidence for other cultures in the past which may have shared a similar ethos should be sought. These efforts will help to circumvent an inherent ethnocentrism embodied by the assumption that all past societies are predominately characterized by rational optimization and self-interest. However the Georgian plan did eventually become used in Quaker households as well, suggesting that, as with plainness and consumption, the adoption of patterns consistent with non-Quaker households was only delayed and not continuously rejected.

Finally, at the level of contemporary relevance, the archaeological evidence for the material manifestation of the Quaker tenet of the Inner Light reveals the manner in which Quakers actively sought to alleviate systems of stratification and inequality. The study of the methods of the historical members of the Society of Friends to reject these systems of stratification and inequality, and the level of success of these methods within the Society and through time, may assist the contemporary pursuit of the alleviation of stratification and inequality in general. The members of the Society of Friends were slower to adopt symmetrical Georgian house plans than other contemporary households. To the extent that spatial organization and the social use of space may be conceived to not only reflect but to reinforce social relations and the degree of social stratification, then the adoption of particular spatial organization in contemporary society may help to lessen social stratification. More open house plans
and yard space areas, rather than highly segmented and separated spatial arrangements, may be viewed as reinforcing more egalitarian social relations. In fact, the trend in contemporary architecture for “open plans” may be conceived as a reflection, and effort to reinforce, lower social and gender stratification in contemporary society (Attfield 2006:73-94). The Quakers may be viewed as a prime example of the establishment of an alternative ethos to that of the individualism associated with the rise of consumerism and Industrial Revolution. Insights from the Society of Friends, who at least at their onset developed alternatives to the culture of individualism and concomitant stratification and inequality, may assist in the development of such future alternatives. Furthermore, this study of the material manifestation of Quaker tenets has revealed a diminishment in the level of adherence to beliefs and values concomitant with the rise of consumerism and Industrial Revolution. The consideration of the changes in adherence to Quaker beliefs and values, and timing of those changes, may assist in the development of more successful future alternatives.
CHAPTER 7
Conclusion:
Significance At Multiple Scales

Since the significance of any research project can be realized at multiple scales of relevance, the significance of the overall findings of this study are now reviewed at these multiple scales. The basic set of linked research questions, outlined first in Section 1.2, is addressed in turn on the basis of the findings of the preceding chapters. The significant contributions of this research have been possible through the following:

I) Historical and social science theories and theorizing on the rise and effect of consumerism and the Industrial Revolution;

II) Archaeological theories of style and technological style to serve as linking mechanisms between material culture variation and the degree of adherence to particular tenets, beliefs, and values; and

III) A trifold application of the linking mechanisms to the “big questions” of history through
   A) Determining the primary historic Quaker tenets, beliefs, and values through the documentary record,
   B) Developing specific and explicit archaeological correlates for the manifestation of tenets, beliefs, and values in the archaeological record, and
   C) An extensive comparison of archaeological data sets pertaining to each of the archaeological correlates from Quaker and non-Quaker households.

Only through a focus on style, particularly the style of consumption and technological style, can material culture variation be linked adequately to beliefs and values and as a result be directly considered with reference to theories related to the rise of consumerism and the Industrial Revolution. The study of the archaeological record of the Society of Friends benefits from ample historic documentary evidence on their tenets, beliefs, and values. For other societies or groups, the lack of a comparable historic data set could be overcome through ethnohistoric, ethnographic, and ethno-
archaeological information where possible and rendered specific and explicit through the formulation of archaeological correlates. The archaeological correlates, or expectations for the manifestation of tenets, beliefs, and values within the archaeological record, should be detailed thoroughly and itemized. This enables the identification of the underlying assumptions that coalesce into the interpretation of material culture variation, and enables other researchers the opportunity to question the underlying assumptions themselves or compare additional data to the same correlates.

Consideration of the entire range of archaeologically evident material culture at households possesses the greatest potential to reveal the varying degrees of manifestation and assertion of Quaker tenets. In general, ceramics often offer more accessible evidence for or against the adherence to the plainness doctrine at specific sites due presumably to their presence in higher frequencies. However, the full potential of the archaeological contribution to issues surrounding the varying degree of adherence to Quaker beliefs and values may be realized through consideration of all available types of material culture, such as evidence of housing and spatial organization, glass vessels and tablewares, foodways as manifest through storage/preparation vessels and faunal remains, alcohol and tobacco-related objects, and materials related to dress and personal adornment. Non-visible or low-visibility artifacts and highly-visible artifacts reflect differing mechanisms for the manifestation and assertion of identity. Consideration of the entire constellation of material culture from a household, or entire range of the style of consumption and style of production or technological style, possesses great potential to provide new insight into Quakers and Quakerism and also new contributions to the study of identity from material culture in general.

An analytical focus on technical style and the style of consumption is considered essential for the study of tenets, beliefs, and values in the archaeological record. The revival of archaeological theories of style is advocated as a valuable means archaeologists have available to study the manifestation of beliefs, values, and the underlying ethos through evident variation in material culture. The revival of an archaeological focus on style enables a fuller realization of the goals of social archaeology and the consideration of the significance of a research project at the higher scales of relevance: the scale of issues of importance in history and the social sciences
in general, and the scale of the contribution research may render towards developing solutions to contemporary social problems.

The significance at the first scale of relevance, the scale of the topic, relates to generating more information and a greater understanding of Quakerism in general. Two primary, linked, sets of tenets have been identified: the doctrine of going plain in the world and the tenet of the Inner Light. The overview of the history of Quakerism suggests key diachronic changes may be evident in the manifestation of adherence to beliefs and values in the early and later period of Quakerism. The relative frequency of certain artifact classes, clothing/sewing related and tobacco related and the prevalence of plain and minimally decorated ceramics have been demonstrated to be most closely related to membership in the Society of Friends. The general absence of clothing-related artifacts, prevalence of wild species, and presence of several redware vessels with mend holes attest to the ethic of thrift and frugality at the Lawrie Farmstead. Other archaeological correlates postulated in Chapter 4, such as measures of segmentation and consumerism and foodways, have been determined to be more variable within members of the Society. Quaker households appear to have adopted the Georgian symmetrical house plan, and possibly also the model farm, later than their non-Quaker contemporaries. Also, in the case of the Lawrie Farmstead, a Quaker household is shown to have adopted goods and techniques from neighboring groups, and to have been characterized by a lesser degree of gender separation and stratification as revealed through spatial artifact distribution. The Lawrie’s adopted elements of Dutch culinary techniques and building techniques. The adoption of techniques, which tend to be more isochrestic in nature, may be viewed as more strongly correlated with the degree of interaction and acceptance between groups. In the case of the Quaker’s, the adoption of techniques from other groups may be viewed as a manifestation of the doctrine of the Inner Light and compassion, empathy, and sympathy for thy neighbor.

Several sites in the comparative sample used in this study have not yielded sufficient data to identify the farm layout. Future archaeological research may shed further light on the transformation of Quaker and non-Quaker farm layouts through time. As Alice Manning points out, since extant farm layouts may possess an amalgamation of buildings from various points of time, only archaeological excavation
may provide information directly related to farm layout at specific periods of time (1984:56).

The analytical emphasis on style as a linking mechanism between beliefs and values and the material variation evident within the archaeological record enables substantial contributions to the study of the ideational realm and ethos in the recent past and antiquity, which helps achieve relevance at the scale of the discipline of anthropological archaeology. Beliefs and values possess material manifestations, and to link the material archaeological evidence to cultural identity archaeologists should focus on the realm of material culture variation associated with style which may be documented in the archaeological record. Theories of technological style and consumer choice, viewing consumption as a manner of doing and therefore something that possesses style, enable the identification of choices which are related to the marking and expressing of beliefs and values. The revival of archaeological theories on style and their application to the archaeological and historical data sets from a particular Quaker household assists in developing a framework for the study of beliefs and values from archaeological evidence in general.

The archaeological evidence for the material manifestation of the Quaker tenets of going plain in the world and the Inner Light may only fully be realized through an approach that implements archaeological theory on style. The manifestation of isochrestic, emblemic, and assertive style may assist in the fullest reconstruction of activities at the site. Plainness may be viewed as emblemic of membership in the Society of Friends, to the extent that it actively asserts membership and adherence to group beliefs, tenets and values. The adoption of items of material culture, such as the Dutch redware frying pan, and technical building techniques from Dutch settlers, may be viewed as examples of assertive style: the Lawries were asserting their association with the doctrine of the Inner Light in their willingness to adopt goods and techniques from their neighbors. The Dutch frying pan, as an item of food preparation rather than food storage or transport, may best be viewed as evidence of the adoption not only of Dutch material culture but also the adoption of Dutch culinary practices to an extent. An example of isochrestic style may be seen in the persistence of the hall-and-parlor house plan, and organic farm layout, longer at Quaker sites than at sites of non-Quaker contemporaries. The Quaker occupants of these sites were passing on and continuing
isochrestically transmitted patterns for social space in residential structures and residential site layouts, rather than adopting new plans and layouts as rapidly as non-Quaker contemporaries. A focus on style, and consideration of the types of style, provides insight into the emblemic, assertive, and unconsciously isochrestically transmitted, adherence to past beliefs, tenets, and values.

The evidence of building techniques, through consideration of technical style, reveals the association between the building techniques at the Lawrie Farmstead and similar such technical sequences for earthfast construction in New Netherland. Focus solely on the formal dimension of house forms would not reveal such a connection as is identified through the reconstruction of the operational, or building, sequence. With regards to consumer choice and artifact selection, considered of the style of consumption reveals that it is the decorative dimension of this ceramic artifacts that is more closely aligned with membership in the Society of Friends, rather than ware-type or the formal dimension. While the focus on style has rendered important conclusions about historic Quakers possible, it likewise also underscores the importance of implanting a consideration of style in the attempts to understand past cultures. This is particularly true with regards to beliefs, values, the underlying emotional ethos, and other espoused goals of contemporary social archaeology.

Wiessner’s distinction between emblemic and assertive style (1983) is particularly useful in the identification of past agency, belief, and perhaps also emotion, to the extent that this reflects socially constructed emotions characteristic of particular beliefs, tenets, or ideational environment. The concept of assertive style enables consideration of the degree to which an individual member of society or a group actively, consciously, asserted adherence with social or group beliefs and tenets. Assertive style allows reconstruction of “imagined communities” in the past, that were not merely bounded physically and geographically but which shared common beliefs and values across regions such as the Society of Friends. Emblems found archaeologically at monumental centers or public areas may constitute evidence of group beliefs and values, whereas the same emblems found at residential sites would constitute evidence of the assertion of adherence to the tenets, beliefs, and values represented by the emblem. In the case of the Society of Friends, the archaeological evidence for the adherence to plainness, as an emblem of Quakerism, at particular
households may attest to that household’s level of adherence to Quaker tenets. By extension, the presence of other emblems in domestic contexts in earlier historic and prehistoric time periods may demonstrate the degree of assertion of beliefs and values associated with that emblem. A re-emphasis on style by archaeologists in this manner opens the door to new possibilities for the study of belief, values, and ethos in the past. A focus on the style of consumption and technological style as linking mechanisms between variation in material culture and actions pertaining to the conscious and less than conscious signaling of adherence to beliefs and values possesses great potential to illuminate questions pertaining the trajectory of the development and transformation of emotional ethos through time.

The degree to which particular cultures were characterized by an ethos of self-interest, or alternatively an ethos of cooperative-interest, may be documented within particular historically contingent cases through a focus on style. Seeking the archaeological evidence for compassion for Quaker sites is advanced as a method for the study of similar or differing emotional ethos in past societies in general. Rather than assuming the historically-documented groups like the Quakers are unique in world history in possessing an ethos of compassion and cooperative-interest, evidence for other cultures in the past which may have shared a similar ethos should be sought. These efforts will help to circumvent an inherent ethnocentrism embodied by the assumption that all past societies are predominately characterized by rational optimization and self-interest.

At the scale of the “big questions” of history and the social sciences, the study of the style of consumption and technological style at Quaker domestic sites illuminates issues concerning the advent of modern consumerism and concomitant changes in culture and emotional ethos. The selection of predominately plain, simple material culture would not have fostered the growth in consumerism documented in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. This study illuminates the processes of industrial capitalism and the extent to which material and religious dimensions of cultural phenomena are important in the development and spread of this system. Industrial capitalism may be viewed as the system that ensnared the Atlantic, binding Europe, African and the Americas within an interconnected web of dependencies founded on production, consumption, and slavery. The Quakers may likewise be viewed as the
reformists who sought to remove themselves from this snare. The lag in adoption of some of the elements of consumerism, such as highly decorated refined wares and separated, segregated residential space and site layouts, indicates the Quakers escaped this snare for a period but not perpetually.

Capitalist ideology places primary importance on the extraction of energy and matter for profit and gain, and as such has instilled greater materialism and individualism (Taylor 2001:21). This pursuit of wealth was at times in conflict with Christian beliefs and values (Taylor 2001:21-22). The archaeological study of the style of consumption and technological style assists in compiling the “empirical data” that historians argue is necessary for fully understanding the development and spread of consumerism and the Industrial Revolution. The evidence from residential sites associated with the Society of Friends in British North America indicates a lag rather than a complete and continued disavowal of the elements of material culture associated with the rising consumerism and use of social space. However, the continued low frequencies of clothing- and tobacco-related material culture suggest that the tenets of plainness and behaviors related to avoiding tobacco consumption persisted into the later period in the late eighteenth to early nineteenth century. Also, though the Quakers eventually adopted segmented Georgian house plans, their use of these spaces may have differed and continued to be more egalitarian than their non-Quaker contemporaries.

In the Caribbean, for comparison, the relative frequencies of local ware and imported European goods in colonial settings, and changes in these frequencies through time, helps to document the extent to which colonial demand for European goods stimulated the Industrial Revolution. Preliminary results from archaeological data in colonial settings document a decrease in local production and increase in importation of European goods. At Galways Plantation on the Caribbean island of Montserrat, for instance, the frequencies of local wares compared to European goods declined from the late eighteenth to mid-nineteenth century (Howson 1995:205). The decrease in the relative frequencies of local wares in the early to mid-nineteenth century lends support to the contentions of the Williams Thesis. British textile and ceramic exports to Montserrat, and the Caribbean in general, increased dramatically between 1830 and 1845. This increase supports the claim for the role of consumption amongst plantation
laborers, the most numerous occupants of plantation societies, in stimulating the Industrial Revolution in Europe. The timing of the increase in plain Colono Ware, as revealed through a focus on technological style, coincides with the onset and adoption of consumerism at Galways (Young 2002, 2010). Interestingly, among the Society of Friends, the lessening of the material manifestation of religious tenets, beliefs, and values is likewise associated with the timing of the onset of increased consumerism in the late eighteenth to early nineteenth century. Archaeology, which enables the detailed study of variation in material culture, is ideally situated to reconstruct adherence to particular beliefs, values, and underlying ethos in particular historical settings. The focus on the style of consumption and technological style allows the realization of these goals, and enables identification of the elements of effects of the rise and spread of modern consumerism.

Through each of the two primary tenets, related to plainness and the Inner Light, Quakers developed alternatives to the underlying ethos of materialism and individualism associated with consumerism and the Industrial Revolution in modern Western society. The study of the archaeological record of domestic sites associated with the Society of Friends in British North America, through a focus on the style of consumption and technological style, renders two primary significant contributions related to the two primary Quaker tenets. Some final thoughts of the significance arising from both tenets are also offered.

Firstly, even in the highly materialistic societies of contemporary industrial capitalism, this study demonstrates the importance of religious tenets, beliefs, values, and an underlying ethos as determinants of society. The Quakers may be viewed as a prime example of the establishment of an alternative ethos to that of the materialism associated with the rise of consumerism and Industrial Revolution. Insights from the Society of Friends, who at least at their onset developed alternatives to the culture of consumerism and flagrant conspicuous consumption, may assist in the development of such future alternatives.

In light of the economic crises of 2008 as discussed by Dahrendorf in the Journal Max Weber Studies (2010), the insights gained from this study may offer alternatives to the ethos of materialism associated with contemporary industrialized society. Quaker tenets, values and beliefs offer alternatives to mass consumerism and
conspicuous consumption that involve an increased appreciation and understanding of the value, utility, and historical importance of thrift and frugality. The days of easy credit are gone, according to Dahrendorf (2010:11) and alternative solutions must be sought if a “mass civilization of high quality” is to be achieved (Braudel 1993:21). Insights from the Society of Friends, who at least at their onset developed alternatives to the culture of consumerism and flagrant conspicuous consumption, may assist in the development of such solutions.

Secondly, in light of Roosevelt’s (2002) convincing compilation of evidence regarding the origins of social stratification, gender inequality, aggression and violence in the Holocene as a result of social crowding and completion over scarce resources, these phenomenon are not humankind’s “natural state” and therefore not immutable. The Quakers represent a prime modern example of a group that actively sought to alleviate many of these systems of stratification and inequality. The study of the methods of the historical members of the Society of Friends to reject these systems of stratification and inequality, and the level of success of these methods within the Society and through time, has been considered. Though the alternatives developed by the Quakers resulted in a lag in acceptance of elements of material culture and the social use of space associated with modern consumerism, the prevalence of “alternatives” to these elements and the underlying ethos declined in time. The members of the Society of Friends were slower to adopt symmetrical Georgian house plans than other contemporary households. The Quakers may be viewed as a prime example of the establishment of an alternative ethos to that of the individualism associated with the rise of consumerism and Industrial Revolution.

Since spatial organization and the social use of space not only reflects but also reinforces social relations and the degree of social stratification, the adoption of particular spatial organization in contemporary society may help to lessen social stratification. More open house plans and yard space areas, rather than highly segmented and separated spatial arrangements characteristic of Georgian houses and model farms, may be viewed as reinforcing more egalitarian social relations. The trend in contemporary architecture for “open plans” may be conceived as a reflection, and effort to reinforce, lower social and gender stratification in contemporary society (Attfield 2006:73-94).
“Western individualism” has fostered the emergence of “self-interest as the pursuit of strictly personal goals”, whereas in many societies “personal rewards, prestige, and well-being are believed to be derived from working with and for others” (Trigger 2003:679). Trigger argues one of the failures of social scientists has been to address issues of the cross-culturally universal tendency “towards inequality in status and wealth” (2003:687-688). The compassion of the members of the Society of Friends is evidenced throughout history in their non-combatant stance, their peaceable interactions with Native Americans, their active role within the Abolitionist movement, and more egalitarian gender relations. These Quaker attitudes are argued to have a basis in their core value of a unity that meant “compassion towards all” (Gill 2005:104; Hubberthorne 1659:4). The manifestation of these tenets, beliefs, and values through material culture appears to lessen through time, as observed through an emphasis on style and evidence for a diminishment in plainness and increasing separation and segregation in the social organization and use of space.

Though this study of the material manifestation of Quaker tenets suggests a diminishment in the level of adherence to beliefs and values concomitant with the rise of consumerism and Industrial Revolution, Quaker tenets and the underlying ethos were not completely abandoned. The continued importance of Quaker beliefs and tenets may be evidenced, for example, in their prominence in the Abolitionist and Women’s Rights Movements. Further research on Quakerism in the middle to late nineteenth century, outside the scope of the present study, may illuminate additional aspects of Quakers’ adherence to religious beliefs and values during that time.

Finally, the study of Quaker tenets, beliefs, and values regarding alternatives to the materialism and individualism of modern society helps overcome the ethnocentric tendency to reify the modern ethos and project modern beliefs and values to past societies. Theories which fail to view beliefs and values as integral to everyday life for instance, or which place primary emphasis on the pursuit of material gain or individual success in past societies, run the risk of overlooking cases where differing beliefs, values, and emotional ethos were central. To fail to consider beliefs and values the study of archaeological variation extends the “rational”, i.e. rational and segmented in a Weberian sense, modern abstraction of these categories into the past. Furthermore, the degree to which the pursuit of gain and individual success, or alternatively compassion,
empathy, sympathy, and the pursuit of cooperative success, formed a basis of the underlying ethos of a group should be studied and documented in particular cases rather than assumed to be similar to that of modern Western societies. In the search for alternatives to the host of socio-cultural issues and problems stemming from the cultural ethos of materialism and individualism within contemporary society, such as disproportionate power relations, inequality, and poverty, theories and analytical methods must be employed which can differentiate past ethos from that of contemporary society. The study of these phenomena benefits from a consideration of the historical and cultural emergence and transformation of the ethos of materialism and individualism that witnessed their proliferation, and from historical groups which developed alternatives to this ethos.

Further research could focus on the study of later Quakers through an emphasis on the style of consumption and technical style, and compare the archaeological evidence from members of the Society of Friends to that of their non-Quaker contemporaries. Likewise, further research may also apply these methods and a focus on style and technological style to the study of the beliefs and values of previous, earlier groups and societies as well. Can the ethos of other non-Western groups be revealed, and can elements of their beliefs, values, and ethos be illustrated to be similar or different from the underlying ethos fostering materialism and individualism in modern consumer societies?
APPENDIX

Archaeological Correlates of Native American and Settler Interaction

To aid in the identification of Native American and settler interaction at colonial European sites, archaeological correlates of this interaction must be developed. Native American artifacts may be present, but to establish interaction the possibility that they represent the remnants of an earlier occupation predating the European settlement must be considered. These artifacts are frequently recovered from nineteenth century sites, where they likely represent earlier unassociated occupations. The following archaeological correlates of an earlier Native American site and evidence of interaction are offered:

Earlier Native American Site with Overlapping Colonial Site:

1) If the Native American artifacts represent an earlier site, they would be expected to be present in the plowzone in larger frequencies than in European features. If in features, the Native American artifacts should be present in equal amounts in earlier and later features at the site.

2) Artifacts of any and all prehistoric time periods may be represented.

3) The artifacts should possess a horizontal distribution similar to other document prehistoric sites in the region, which is either confined within or extending beyond the boundaries of the European-American site.

Native American and Settler Interaction:

1) If the Native American artifacts represent interaction with settlers at colonial European sites, they would be expected to be found in higher frequencies in the earliest features from the site and lower or absent from later features (such as late eighteenth
or nineteenth century features in a site with a long span of occupation).

2) Diagnostic artifacts would be expected to be associated with the Late Woodland period.

3) A high percentage of tools relative to the total Native American assemblage is expected. Prehistoric Native American sites typically have high debitage to tool ratios. Assuming little flintknapping occurred on visits to colonial settler sites, however, than a high proportion of tools that would have been carried by the visitor are anticipated.

**Native Americans, Hybridization, and the Lawrie Farmstead**

The evidence for Native American artifacts at the Lawrie Farmstead has been evaluated within the framework of these archaeological correlates. A total of 21 Native American artifacts have been identified from the Lawrie Farmstead, including 8 tools, and six quartzite, quartz and sandstone cobbles bearing evidence of thermal alteration. Tools include a mano, pestle, adz, a Late Woodland projectile point, a likely knife implement, scrapers and utilized flakes. Ten of these artifacts are from the early earthfast structure, six from late eighteenth to early nineteenth century features, and five from the plowzone. These artifacts have been recovered from early features in greater proportions than from later features and the plowzone. A very high percentage (38.0%) of the artifacts consists of tools, many of which are specialized tools such as the mano, pestle, and adz. The artifacts are not distributed within a typical patterning or cluster that would be expected of a prehistoric Native American site. Furthermore, typical Native American sites with this number of tools would generally have large assemblages of debitage throughout a broad spatial area. Other late eighteenth and early nineteenth century sites in Gloucester and Ocean Counties in New Jersey have yielded small Native American assemblages, though in those cases the tool ratio was much lower and the distribution once mapped resembled other small prehistoric lithic scatter sites prevalent in the area (Young et al. 2007a; Young et al. 2007b). In those instances the patterning appears to represent small earlier prehistoric sites with overlapping historic period occupation. In the case of the Lawrie Farmstead, however, the data
differs and may represent the archaeological manifestation of Native American interaction at a locus of settler habitation.
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