Lock, hull, wheel, and rail: an archaeological study of the construction of ethnicity and industry in New York

Jordon Douglas Loucks
University at Albany, State University of New York, jloucks@albany.edu

The University at Albany community has made this article openly available. Please share how this access benefits you.

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarsarchive.library.albany.edu/legacy-etd

Part of the History of Art, Architecture, and Archaeology Commons

Recommended Citation

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the The Graduate School at Scholars Archive. It has been accepted for inclusion in Legacy Theses & Dissertations (2009 - 2024) by an authorized administrator of Scholars Archive. Please see Terms of Use. For more information, please contact scholarsarchive@albany.edu.
Lock, Hull, Wheel, and Rail:
An Archaeological Study of the Construction of Ethnicity and Industry in New York

By

Jordon Douglas Loucks

A Dissertation
Submitted to the University at Albany, State University of New York
in Partial Fulfillment of
the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

College of Arts & Sciences
Department of Anthropology
2018
Abstract

This study examines the efficacy of archaeological interpretation of ethnicity within the confines of nineteenth-century material culture available from the New York State Museum’s archaeology collection and the New York State Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation Cultural Resource Information System. The goals of this evaluation are to discuss the limits of archaeological interpretation of ethnicity, the utility of material indications of racism in the archaeological record, and the archaeological footprint of immigrant groups by considering the economic development history of New York State. This study focuses on the canals and railroads of New York State as a mechanism of economic development across the state, and how the construction of these arteries impacted the lives of immigrant populations who both built and depended upon them. Archaeological evidence combined with historical documents and map data provide a clear picture of the development of interpretive resolution of ethnic identity in rural communities as they are connected to the larger economy through the construction of these arteries. The following is a detailed account of the construction of this connection as it happens throughout the nineteenth century and across the geography of New York State with the goal of creating a model to assess the archaeological visibility of social difference due to economic change and development.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

**LIST OF FIGURES** .................................................................................................................. V

**LIST OF TABLES** .................................................................................................................... V

**ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS** .......................................................................................................... VI

**CHAPTER ONE - INTRODUCTION** .......................................................................................... 1

  Research Questions .................................................................................................................. 6
  Data Utilized ............................................................................................................................... 9
  Interpretive Methods .................................................................................................................. 15

**CHAPTER TWO – ARCHAEOLOGICAL THEORY AND ETHNICITY** ........................................... 21

  Introduction and the History of Ethnicity in Archaeological Study ........................................... 22
  Challenges in the Application of Ethnicity to the Archaeological Record .................................. 32
  Racism Defining Meaningful Archaeological Social Boundaries .................................................. 35
  Racism, Ethnicity, and Class ....................................................................................................... 39
  Identification of Cultural Groups Using the Archaeology of Resistance ....................................... 49
    *The Irish in Indiana* ................................................................................................................. 50
    *Chinese in California* ............................................................................................................. 52
    *Chinaman’s Flat and the Australian Gold Rush* ....................................................................... 55
    *Objective Engagement with Romantic Ideas of Culture* ......................................................... 57
    *Realistic Application and Complications of the Archaeology of Ethnicity/Racism* .................. 59
  Chapter Summary ....................................................................................................................... 62

**CHAPTER THREE – PRACTICAL INTERPRETATION OF ETHNICITY** ........................................... 65

  Material Types and Their Relation to Ethnic Identification .......................................................... 69
    *Metal* ...................................................................................................................................... 70
    *Ceramic* ................................................................................................................................. 75
    *Food* ...................................................................................................................................... 79
    *Textiles* .................................................................................................................................. 81
    *Isotopes* ................................................................................................................................. 84
    *Personal Items* ....................................................................................................................... 86
  Using Historical Documents to Inform Material Analysis of Racism and Ethnic Boundaries in History .......................................................................................................................... 88
    *Individual Correspondence* ..................................................................................................... 89
    *Newspaper Publications and Court Records* ......................................................................... 92
    *Political Cartoons and Art* ..................................................................................................... 95
    *Maps* ..................................................................................................................................... 98
  Chapter Summary ....................................................................................................................... 100

**CHAPTER FOUR – HISTORICAL CONTEXT AND BACKGROUND FOR THE REGIONS OF NEW YORK STATE** .............................................................................................................. 104

  The Hudson, Mohawk, and Susquehanna River Valleys ............................................................... 104
    *Hudson and Mohawk Rivers* .................................................................................................... 105
    *Susquehanna River Valley* ...................................................................................................... 107
    *Binghamton* ......................................................................................................................... 108
  Finger Lakes, Western New York, and Frontier Cities .................................................................... 109
    *Syracuse and the Erie Canal* .................................................................................................. 109
    *Steuben County and Western Rural New York* ..................................................................... 111
  Adirondack and Catskill Mountain Ranges ................................................................................... 113
    *Hamilton County and the Adirondacks* ................................................................................ 114
    *Delaware County and the Catskill Mountains* ...................................................................... 118
  Market Basket of Available Goods ............................................................................................... 120
CHAPTER FIVE – ARCHAEOLOGICAL DATA

HUDSON, MOHAWK, AND SUSQUEHANNA RIVER VALLEYS

The Belknap-Montgomery Site .......................................................... 127
The Weaver-Demarest Site .............................................................. 128
Railroad Avenue .......................................................................... 130
The McClumpha Farm Site ............................................................. 131

FINGER LAKES, WESTERN NEW YORK, AND FRONTIER CITIES

Dickerson Street Site .................................................................... 133
The J Evans Site ........................................................................... 134
The Eggleston Site ........................................................................ 137
The D. DeRailye and J. Marsh Sites ............................................. 138
The Lansing Site ........................................................................... 140

ADIRONDACK AND CATSKILL MOUNTAIN RANGES

Burnham’s Store Site & The Ploomy Morrison Site: ..................... 142
T Middlemast Historic Site ............................................................ 143
Masonville Survey: ....................................................................... 144

CHAPTER SIX – INTERPRETATION OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL DATA

HUDSON, MOHAWK, AND SUSQUEHANNA RIVER VALLEYS

Hierarchical Cluster Analysis ......................................................... 151

FINGER LAKES, WESTERN NEW YORK, AND FRONTIER CITIES

Hierarchical Cluster Analysis ......................................................... 152
Syracuse and Racialization ............................................................... 153

ADIRONDACK AND CATSKILL MOUNTAIN RANGES

Hierarchical Cluster Analysis ......................................................... 155
Mountainous Regions, Access, and the Anti-Rent Wars of New York State .............................................................. 156

CHAPTER SEVEN – CONCLUSIONS AND SIGNIFICANCE

Key Comparisons and Conclusions ............................................. 170
Hierarchical Cluster Analysis ......................................................... 171
Significance .................................................................................. 177
Future Research .......................................................................... 180

REFERENCES CITED ..................................................................... 181
LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE 1. ECONOMY ACCESS ZONE MAP ................................................................. 4
FIGURE 2. FIVE SITES IN FIVE COUNTIES REPRESENTED IN STATEWIDE GEOGRAPHY ..........9
FIGURE 3. ECONOMIC CONTRIBUTIONS TO RAILROAD CONSTRUCTION BY YEAR .............12
FIGURE 4. COUNTY MAP OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL COLLECTIONS USED IN THIS STUDY ..........15
FIGURE 5. DENDROGRAM SHOWING CLUSTERED COUNTIES ........................................19
FIGURE 6. NATIVIST CARTOON FROM 19TH CENTURY SAN FRANCISCO PUBLICATION ..........42
FIGURE 7. “THE AMERICAN RIVER GANGES” HARPERS WEEKLY 1875, LIBRARY OF CONGRESS ................................................................. 45
FIGURE 8. “THIS IS A WHITE MAN’S GOVERNMENT” HARPERS WEEKLY, 1868, LIBRARY OF CONGRESS .................................................................................. 47
FIGURE 9. “THE CHINESE QUESTION” HARPERS WEEKLY, 1871, LIBRARY OF CONGRESS ....48
FIGURE 10. PHOTOGRAPH SHOWING LOG RAFT ON EAST BRANCH OF DELAWARE RIVER. FROM THE COLLECTION OF THE COLCHESTER HISTORICAL SOCIETY .............................119
FIGURE 11. CLUSTER ANALYSIS OF VALLEY CERAMICS ..............................................154
FIGURE 12. CLUSTER ANALYSIS OF VALLEY CERAMICS (STANDARDIZED) .....................155
FIGURE 13. CLUSTER ANALYSIS OF FRONTIER CERAMICS ........................................157
FIGURE 14. CLUSTER ANALYSIS OF FRONTIER CERAMICS (STANDARDIZED) ................158
FIGURE 15. CLUSTER ANALYSIS OF MOUNTAIN CERAMICS ......................................163
FIGURE 16. CLUSTER ANALYSIS OF MOUNTAIN CERAMICS (STANDARDIZED) .............164
FIGURE 17. 1777 MAJOR HOLLAND’S THE PROVINCES OF NEW YORK AND NEW JERSEY ....172
FIGURE 18. CLUSTER ANALYSIS OF CERAMICS FROM ALL ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES ....175

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE 1. POLISH LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS IN CHICAGO. BEKKEN 2000:8 .........................................93
TABLE 2. NEWSPAPERS EVALUATED FOR MARKET BASKET ..............................................123
TABLE 3. HUDSON, MOHAWK, AND SUSQUEHANNA RIVER VALLEY CERAMIC TYPES ........128
TABLE 4. CERAMIC DECORATION, BELKNAP MONTGOMERY ...........................................129
TABLE 5. CERAMIC DECORATION, RAILROAD AVENUE ..................................................132
TABLE 6. CERAMIC DECORATION, MCCLUMPHA FARM ................................................136
TABLE 7. FINGER LAKES, WESTERN NEW YORK, AND FRONTIER CITIES CERAMIC TYPES ...138
TABLE 8. ADIRONDACK AND CATSKILL MOUNTAIN RANGES CERAMIC TYPES ................148
TABLE 9. CERAMIC DECORATION, MASONVILLE SURVEY ......................................................151
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First, I would like to thank my wife and family for their unflinching support and encouragement, without them I never would have gotten this far in my education. I would also like to thank my advisors: Sean Rafferty, Mike Lucas, Charles Orser, Ben Ford, and Rob Rosenswig. These professors have provided continual guidance and conversations for my own theoretical and methodological development. Finally, I would like to thank the great graduate student cohorts of which I have been a part for the last seven years. Cooperation and conversations between us, both in Albany and in Indiana have fostered an environment of scholarly innovation and excitement.
CHAPTER ONE - INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this dissertation is to construct a model to ascertain the material limitations of evaluating ethnicity in the archaeological record, reconstruct the development of the economic landscape of New York State to evaluate immigrant groups’ access to high value goods, and track the historical indoctrination of racism into American culture. To complete this task, the following dissertation aims to explain the difficulties in ascribing constructions of ethnicity onto archaeological data and understand the implications of the construction of a model based on economic development for more precise applications of interpretations of ethnicity in archaeological contexts. To achieve this aim, archaeological implications of ethnic identity must be contextualized within a set of definitions that describes the social mechanisms of racism, ethnicity, racialization, resistance, materiality, economic landscape, and Victorian idealism. All of these terms construct the confines of social interaction during the nineteenth century and a discussion of them promotes a better understanding of the cultural environment of that time period.

Ethnicity is a social distinction created and outwardly expressed by the individual agent in history (Babson 1990, McGuire 1989, Shennan 1989, Veit 1989, Voss and Allen 2008). In light of the individuality of ethnicity, the likelihood of seeing systematic material indications of this social distinction in the archaeological record is extremely low (Orser 2004, Perry and Paynter 1999). Efforts have been made to connect individual ethnicity to like-minded descendent groups through material refuse resulting from cultural traditions, such as a connection between soda water bottles and Irish American medicinal traditions (Linn 2010, 2014). Outside of specific cultural actions like those presented in Linn’s study on soda water bottles, an efficient
means of giving voice to ethnic groups in history is finding material indications of racism in the archaeological record (Orser 2004).

External pressures provided by a culture steeped in Victorian idealism, which consists of a cultural list of best practices that center on Christian protestant and capitalist methods and values, creates denial of economic choices and overt violence against some historically-perceived ethnic groups (Wall 1991). These actions leave material traces that are more easily seen by archaeologists than outward expressions of ethnicity by individuals. It is to be noted that these are not one to one correlations, and the groups materially represented this way are only the perceived ethnic groups defined by racist historical agents acting against those represented (Perry and Paynter 1999).

Considering this distinction, the actions taken by those individuals being acted against in history leave their own material traces, and this archaeological data is an expression in materiality of that population’s resistance against an overtly racist culture (Brighton 2008). It is the conversation between these social pressures and their material correlates in the archaeological record that archaeologists must interpret to understand an inhospitable environment, and overwhelming perseverance of immigrant groups in the United States during the nineteenth century. The process of agents in power creating these groups who have to resist malefic actions by historical agents is often termed racialization, and the victims of this social construction change through time to include Native Americans and immigrants from Ireland, Italy, Africa, Poland, China, and more recently Japan, India, Mexico, and the Middle East (Orser 2004).

As a result of this cyclical racialization, and its material indications, historical agents who do take harmful actions against these groups do so in systematic ways that are applicable to
many of these groups through history. One of the most reliable trends that leaves a material trace is the restriction of certain classes, and by extension certain socially taboo ethnic groups, to levels of wealth in the world market (Gomez 1998, Matthews 2010). It is through this economic distinction that interpretation of the systematic violence of racism can be seen archaeologically, and it is that trend that this study aims to utilize, within the specific context of the state of New York.

This study will utilize a specific data set that pertains to the economic development of New York State, and her industrial endeavors throughout the nineteenth century. The economic growth of New York was both a product and a producer of large arterial projects to move goods and services as well as connect small communities to the larger world market (Sheriff 1996). These arteries are the railroad and canal systems largely built by immigrant hands.

In order to better understand the development of ethnic identity, racist action, and the social environment that immigrant communities lived within during the nineteenth century, the artifact collections at the New York State Museum, in combination with data derived from cultural resource management projects and historical documents will be used to construct the model of potential for material culture diversity and economic status implications on social divisions. An understanding of the creation of racism is tied intrinsically to the actions taken by historical agents whom are a product of their social, economic, and political environment (Gomez 1998). This environment must be detailed in its entirety to understand the totality and direction of pressures acting on the people of history to shape the events that take place. To focus such a large topic as the difference between economic environments, a continuum of rural to urban community structures will be used to better flush out patterns that may be able to comment on the development of social understanding.
The following will detail the research questions that best address this issue within three distinct regions of New York. Those regions are the Western Plateau and Finger Lakes, Adirondack Mountains and Northern Section, and Catskill Mountains and Southern Section (Figure 1). Each of these regions flank the main arteries of New York’s trading system, the Mohawk, Hudson, and Susquehanna River valleys, as well as the early canal systems built in New York. These economic arteries are highlighted purple in Figure 1. River valleys are the first means to transport large quantities of goods and people through New York, and later the Railway system is built along them to provide even more speed and reliability in delivery.

Figure 1. Economy Access Zone Map

The difference in economic availability throughout the state, as it is gradually remedied by these arterial constructions, is directly related to the possibility of material interpretation
supporting racialization. Without the saturation in variety of goods and services available to make immigrant groups distinct in much of the communities around the state, archaeological interpretations of ethnicity are likely to be based solely on specific small finds instead of systematic difference. These systematic differences are a direct reflection of the development of the material correlates of racism (Fennell 2017, Perry and Paynter 1999).

To better describe the problem of determinations of ethnicity using archaeological material, a discussion of ethnic interpretation in the discipline will be included (see Chapter 2). More practical than ethnicity, racialization of particular populations, and the systematic material correlates that follow institutional racism are a much better indication of imposed social boundaries upon immigrant groups (Gomez 1998, Perry and Paynter 1999, Orser 2010). The distinction between these two approaches and their advantages will be evaluated to theoretically base the interpretations of archaeological material in this study (see Chapter 3). An evaluation of the regions will follow these discussions with a context section detailing the Euro-American settlement history in each region. This context will establish the relationship between immigrant groups in power, and those without, as well as complex relationships with foreign national interests and interactions with indigenous populations (see Chapters 4 and 6).

The academic exercise and interpretation of these limitations is important because of the immigrant contribution to the development of one of the most important industrial zones in the Young American Republic. Their lived experience along these industrial developments is an incredibly important part of New York State history. The actions of immigrant groups in their contributions to the economic development of the country had lasting effects on historical events into the modern age, and their experience in a variety of environments from small towns to large cities should be evaluated in every way possible to better understand their daily lives and
struggles in an unfamiliar land. The conclusion of this dissertation will detail the significance of these contributions and what can be done in the future to better understand this important part of history (see Chapter 7).

**Research Questions**

The following research questions focus the study on the lived experience of immigrant life in New York State during the nineteenth century, and the importance of the works completed by immigrant populations to the economic and political development of the Empire State.

- As communities throughout New York State were connected to the larger trade system in the region through the construction of railroads and canals was there a corresponding change in the material culture of those communities to reflect the presence of a larger economic gap between low-class, middle-class, and high-class families?

  - If no – What class environments exist in rural contexts before the connection of larger industrial means of transporting goods and people? Is this an indication of corporate pressures by transportation companies to extort whatever wealth possible from smaller communities through fruitless construction? What can be said about socially distinct groups in archaeology without a material trace of economic difference?

  - If yes – Is the change in class difference in direct correlation with the change in access to a wider variety of goods? What material indications of social derision
against certain sections of the population are present, if any? Is the resolution of this change so clear as to allow further archaeologically based interpretations of the development of community dynamics with the help of documentary evidence?

- What are the archaeological implications in a connection between racialization and economic class position? Is there archaeological evidence that can contribute to a discussion of the development of racist attitudes in the Young American Republic, with respect to economic development and materiality of ethnic difference in communities across the state?

The purpose of this question is to better flesh out the connections between a social distinction between populations and an economic distinction. The difference in economic position between two families is one of the clearest indications of social difference in terms of cultural treatment of that family (Gomez 1998, Matthews 2010). This interpretation needs to be supported by the material culture in combination with historical documents that provide evidence for an environment that supports all factors to remain constant, except one derivation that separates the access to prestigious goods and by extension the identification of a racialized household.

If an economically homogeneous environment in a rural community in New York State exists, the variety in choice of goods may be so limited that the economic difference between otherwise invisibly racialized families and communally accepted families may not exist (Fennell 2017, Gomez 1998). In this situation, how viable are interpretations of archaeological data to support social difference which center on economic difference? Are
there other ways to archaeologically distinguish racialized families which do not hinge on economic difference? The lack of this line of evidence makes the possibility for interpretations of racialization using archaeological material increasingly inaccurate and more dependent on curios or small finds, which can be exaggerated in analysis and are especially vulnerable to interpretive bias (Orser 2004, Smith 2003).

In previous works the development of racism as a cultural idea, and how it is dispensed across the entirety of the United States is described as a flexible evil (Roediger 2010). The social control that racism allows for, and fosters, was developed and mechanically implemented in terms of social understandings of interactions between people they associate with, their presumptions about those associates, and how those cultural identities were manufactured. The archaeological, or material presence of racism is a means to determine when it is visible historically beyond the pages of documents, and represents the physicality of racism in terms of consumerism and the restrictions to market that are present later in time (Perry and Paynter 1999, Smith 2017). The obligation of the investigation into economic difference within these small communities is to determine the possibility of archaeological evidence correlating to malefic treatment of new immigrant communities by communities that are themselves made up of the descendants of immigrants and Native Americans. What is measured here is the visibility of material trace of Nativist sensibilities and symbolic violence in geographic areas where political cartoons (Prettyman 2001), immigrant group focused newspapers (Bekken 2000), oral histories, and documentation of ethnic neighborhoods (Rotman 2010) may not exist.
Data Utilized

Archaeological data of 14 sites across the state of New York were selected to evaluate the research questions above. These collections are held at the New York State Museum or are digitized catalogs available via the New York State Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation Cultural Resource Information System (CRIS), and represent a limited diachronic, economically different, sample. Each of these sites will be composed of less than 5000, and in many cases less than 500, artifacts each. These artifacts will be broken up into type, and evaluated by their likelihood to yield identifiable information with regards to the owners’ ethnicity, or better suited, the acts of racism that can be somewhat detailed using the artifact type in comparison to the larger socio-cultural environment.

Figure 2. Five Sites in Five Counties Represented in Statewide Geography

As referenced in the map above by the colored counties, five sites have been preliminarily evaluated with a singular focus on ceramics to establish the efficacy of the model.
These five sites represent the southeast corridor of the state, with boundaries of Saratoga, Montgomery, Delaware, Orange, and Greene counties. Each of these five sites are contemporaneous to the early-mid nineteenth-century and represent a difference in access to market by their respective level of urbanism. These five sites are Weaver-Demarest located in Saratoga county, Masonville Survey located in Delaware County, McClumpha Farm located in Montgomery County, Railroad Avenue located in Greene County, and Belknap-Montgomery located in Orange County. The conclusion that each of these sites clearly denotes differences in respective levels of urbanism was supported through the exclusive use of ceramic identification at each of the five sites. These five sites are further included in the study to utilize comparison between the data represented by them with other data sets in nearby counties, or within the same county.

The data for this study excludes all archaeological remnants included within the five boroughs of New York City and Long Island because the economic environment of New York City and Long Island does not establish contrasting growth during the nineteenth century on a scale from rural to urban, or simple to complex, economic systems (Blackmar 1989). The first set of sites will be combined with the data resulting from a representative sample of archaeological material in the Adirondack region, as well as from the Southern Tier, Finger Lakes, and Western Plateau. This collection of 14 small sites across the state roughly illustrates the nineteenth-century economic development of the state and any societal implications that growth may have had on immigrant communities.

Many of these different sites are parts of larger town-wide or village-wide surveys. The use of these surveys better illustrates the economic connection of an entire community to the larger access to market, and the separation of various households, farmsteads, and businesses
provides the data necessary to demarcate differences within that community if the material culture varies on that level of scale. For the Adirondack Mountain region of the state, Hamilton County is represented by two artifact assemblages. Both of these assemblages result from New York State Department of Transportation Projects in Hamilton County within the township of Wells. Wells is a typical Adirondack settlement of only a few dwellings with the local economy supported by limited agriculture and resource extraction.

For the Frontier Cities, Expansion and Finger Lakes Section four counties are represented that can be considered to fall within this trade region. These are Onondaga, Steuben, Jefferson, and Allegany County. Representing these four counties: the Dickerson Street, the J Evans Site and the Eggleston Site, the D. Derailye Site and the J. Marsh Site, and the Lansing Site provide sizable archaeological resources respectively.

The data to provide evidence for difference in access to market for differing regions of the state is provided through historical documents and economic investment records. To initially narrow down greater regional difference in economic availability the date of investment in the large locomotive companies made by small communities throughout the state was mapped. See the map below (Figure 3):
In the above map (Figure 3), I have detailed the year at which each municipality in New York paid in to a locomotive company to facilitate the construction of rail lines across the state. The pins in the Google map are color coded according to time period, and these time periods represent the different economic development schedules of each region of New York. Red pins represent the earliest railroad constructions ranging from 1837 to 1853. The yellow pins represent the communities that built railroads from 1853 to 1864. Green pins represent the communities that built railroads from 1864-1867. The blue pins represent 1868-1870. Finally, the purple pins represent 1870 to 1874. (This map is available for interactive viewing at https://drive.google.com/open?id=1KIrTPeEx9s7yS6bHyxjG8hE0UP8&usp=sharing).
The movement of money in the construction of railroads leaves a pattern along New York’s landscape. The earliest constructions (red pins) are located in the most important shipping centers and lanes in the state, Utica, Albany, along the Hudson, Binghamton, Buffalo, and the Finger Lakes. The yellow pins follow the Susquehanna River, and represent a single endeavor to streamline shipping between the Capital and the Southern Tier. The green, blue, and purple pins represent funding for railroad construction thirty years or more after the completion of the earliest lines, and aim to fill in the sections of the state still eager for a better access to market and mobility.

All of this data is provided in Pierce’s *Railroads of New York* in the appendices which details the township, the amount of money provided, to which railroad company, and the larger system that that railroad links into (Pierce 1953). A combination of this resource with *Wedding of the Waters* (Bernstein 2006) and *The Artificial River* (Sheriff 1996) provides a history of industrial movement of goods from 1800 to 1900 through the construction of canals and railroads throughout the state of New York. These regional economic zones that appear through the construction of reliable transportation routes have helped to detail which sites should be evaluated to take advantage of rural urban contradiction in the availability of a wide variety of material culture, and sites that come from both, connected and disconnected parts of the state should be helpful in narrowing the efficacy of archaeological interpretations that focus on ethnicity.

The detailed development of arterial construction will be combined with community resource availability data provided by store record books held by the New York State Historical Association special collections library in Cooperstown, NY and the New York State Archive in Albany, NY. These books detail the transactions on a daily basis from the late eighteenth century
onward. Considering complementing data for the five sites that have been preliminarily evaluated, three account books from three counties have been used to interpret different levels of urbanism. Each of these books represents a very rural, large town, and city level of consumer choice. These differing levels are located in the Catskill Mountain range, the Mohawk River Valley, and downtown Albany respectively (Crawford 1827; Dodge 1832; Mackey 1843; Wakeman 1802). Similar accounting data will be interpreted in the following chapters to supplement interpretations of the other regions of the state to provide evidence to evaluate this trend across the entirety of New York State’s geography.

The account books and secondary sources will be evaluated with an emphasis on comparison with the historical research done by the various consulting firms that provide gray literature with each of the sites in this study. Newspaper editorials and advertisements are also an important source of documentary data to reconstruct the economic landscape. As many lines of evidence that are available across the regions of New York will be utilized to reasonably ascertain the economic position of these communities in the larger regional landscape.

The combination of these various streams of historical and archaeological data will provide a level of understanding of regional economic development across the state that can contribute to profound realizations in the development of culture. The map below represents on a county level the regions of New York State that are covered by this project (Figure 4). The counties that have been darkened gray are the counties that are represented in the archaeological collections included in this study.
Interpretive Methods

Each site included in the study will include evidence of economic status difference, or sufficient data to evaluate the possibility of archaeological interpretations of economic development of a region or community. This economic difference, in combination with the relative development of the community in which each assemblage is located has the possibility to lead to archaeological interpretations of racialized groups or ethnicity. For example, looking at the ceramics of a particular site, the ceramic assemblage can be gauged against historical sources of
general stores or other ceramic suppliers which can lead to a better understanding of economic position of the owners of that ceramic.

Decoration is one of the most important aspects of using ceramics as a means to date access to market and the markings among the ceramics present through all 14 sites that will be evaluated. While many ceramics are available throughout the nineteenth century, certain types and decorative patterns are only available after certain dates. American Rockingham (a buff-paste earthenware) for example is only available from 1812 onward, in sharp contrast with British Rockingham which is available much earlier into the eighteenth century. Yellowware is only available after 1827, notably after the completion of the Erie Canal (Brown 1982). There are many more types of ceramics which exhibit these watershed availability events, and the presence of these types of artifacts among the assemblages associated with the 14 sites will be a good measure of their progress in connectivity to the whole of the world market.

This analysis will not be limited to ceramics, however, and will also include any artifact type that can provide some commentary on social or economic status within the larger cultural environment. Examples of artifact types that have the capability to provide this information are: textiles, metals, building materials, personal items, religious icons and small finds. Throughout the sites detailed in this study the presence of metals, building materials, personal items and small finds are all commonplace. In most cases glass is one of the most prominent artifacts in these collections and glass colors and markings are good indicators of dates. The Society for Historical Archaeology has a comprehensive online database of descriptions and images of diagnostic glass bottles in a wide variety of shapes and colors and can be used to interpret this specific material type (http://www.sha.org/bottle/typing.htm).
The material culture catalog of each site was accessed via the museum's electronic catalog Mimsy XG or the New York State Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation (OPRHP) online Cultural Resource Information System (CRIS). There was variation in the quality of description for each site, so if a site proved opaque through digital means, it was evaluated using its accompanying gray literature. All of the data recovered from the archaeological analysis of each site was organized and interpreted using Microsoft Excel and Access, as well as R. During the course of this digital evaluation, the resulting digitized data will be provided back to the museum and contribute to the digital curation of the museum’s collections.

In this study, the material signature of each site will be contextualized within the documentary information on the site, such as its location, the names of those who utilized the area, the purpose of the site in terms of economic productivity, the usage history in terms of time scale, and its ability to prove a significant example for the region in which it resides. These signatures will then be complemented by any historical documents available on a community, then regional level, to characterize the social environment of the community in which they were found. All of this data will be mapped onto the landscape of New York and used to understand the economic developments of the state, and any possible commentary of efficacy of archaeological interpretation of ethnic identity (if at all possible) on a statewide level. The use of maps through different time sections throughout the nineteenth century as well as different geographical scales will create a physical manifestation of the creation and growth of economic dependency on the larger world market, and by extension the social implications of that connection.
To support theoretical interpretations and landscape analysis using maps, statistical analysis considering multiple variables of difference in economic diversity and material type will be used to evaluate the research questions of this project. Cluster analysis will be used to better parse out the differences between ceramics at each site. Cluster analysis is a statistical tool that measures the similarity between two or more collections using many different levels of difference, which is measured as mathematical distance, at once (Manly 2004). For example, the ceramics from the five sites that have been preliminarily studied for the difference in ceramic type as measured in mathematical difference and then compared to its own collection and the four other collections in question. This is done using a distance matrix. Below is the resulting dendrogram from this process to evaluate the varying levels of urbanism, and by extension access to market for each site:
Figure 5. Dendrogram Showing Clustered Counties.

This dendrogram shows that differences in basic ceramic manufacture type of the more rural counties clustered together, while the most economically connected counties (sites along the Hudson) clustered together due to a difference in ceramic manufacture type diversity. More rural contexts yield a less diverse assemblage of manufacture types, while more urban or connected contexts yield a more diverse assemblage of manufacture types. This type of statistical mechanism provides interesting data to interpret various social and cultural trends when they are combined with the other lines of evidence that are detailed above. In terms of this study, cluster analysis will be conducted on all of the sites selected for this project to test whether this trend
continues beyond the five sites (and by extension five counties) represented in the preliminary sample. The introduction of more variables by adding additional material types will only strengthen the resolution of the statistical analysis and provide trends that speak to the research questions detailed above.

Using the glass analysis guide, significant differences in bottle types and colors will be combined with the ceramics to even further embolden the variations within and between the collections of all the sites included in this study, if the collections allow. Hopefully, what this analysis will do is create a statistical signature of each site within their respective historical contexts to provide a good resolution as to their use history, their position and scale on the economic landscape, and their respective social histories.

An exhaustive look at these economic signatures will provide a dynamic view of the production and economic evolution of communities across the state, and those signatures will provide a baseline of comparison to contrast societal and cultural histories. Other scholars have denoted the important link between economic position and the development and employment of racialized idealism (Gomez 1998, Orser 2004, Perry and Paynter 1999, Roediger 2010). This study will summarize the economic environment of the state of New York as it develops through the nineteenth-century and the implications of those economic differences in the treatment of immigrants as they and their families develop through the nineteenth-century as well.
CHAPTER TWO – ARCHAEOLOGICAL THEORY AND ETHNICITY

In order to discuss the use of material culture to delineate groups of individuals that may or may not self-identify as an inclusive unit, many scholars have used the term ethnicity (Orser, 1998). Ethnicity is a politically charged term that is imprecise when measuring the lived experience of immigrants during the nineteenth century. Racism and racialization are also less than optimal terms but do at least harness the imagery necessary to glean the lived experience of immigrants in the nineteenth century (Orser, 2004). If none of these terms reliably relate those historical experiences through archaeological material, then how have archaeologists used these concepts? The use of these terms details the movement of the discipline towards an individualist interpretation of the past, focused on the experiences of a single agent through the material culture that can be linked to that person (Dornan 2002). This approach provides a stark account of the actions of a well-documented historical individual (or family of individuals), but does not accurately depict those individuals who are not well documented, literarily or materially. How archaeologists have incorporated the idea of ethnicity into their research to evaluate the ephemeral individuals of history can be explored using a few questions:

How has ethnicity been defined and modeled by anthropology to answer these hard questions? What are the unique challenges in reconstructing ethnic divisions based solely on material culture? What other social divisions have been proposed as viable alternatives to ethnicity in archaeological research? What possible connections between non-hierarchical social divisions, ethnicity for example, and hierarchical social divisions such as social class or rank have been modeled by archaeologists? The past efforts of archaeologists to discuss these slippery topics show the growth of the discipline and a movement away from patterning ethnic material, and a movement toward individual and communal interpretation of trackable historical action.
dependent on perceived ethnic difference. This perceived difference, when taken to action and resulting in a material signature, has been termed archaeologically visible racialization (Orser 2004). Only in these circumstances do ethnic boundaries ever become hinted at in historical archaeological contexts with no documentary evidence to suggest otherwise.

**Introduction and the History of Ethnicity in Archaeological Study**

The initiative to study ethnicity appears in the very roots of archaeology in the late nineteenth century. These early archaeologists were obsessed with identifying archaeological culture groups using material remains (Orser 1998, Shackel and Little 1992). In order to make these designations, characteristics of artifacts are deemed more likely to result from one culture or another, ultimately restricting our view of what can be and cannot be indicative of a certain ethnic group (Gomez 1998, Perry and Paynter 1999). The approach of defining cultures using typologies derived from material remains was widely experimented with by much of the prehistoric-studying archaeological community. Prehistorians dealing with these crude typologies found difficulty in applying their models to archaeological collections. Orser (1998) notes that Childe's observation that "The path of the prehistorian who wishes to draw ethnographical conclusions from archaeological data is often beset with pitfalls"(1926:200), is just as relevant today, ninety-two years later.

Difficulties did not solely belong to prehistorians, but also historical archaeologists. The advantage that historic archaeology has over prehistoric archaeology in determining ethnicity (if it can at all be determined in the archaeological record) is through the utilization of historical documents (Orser 1998). The assumption that historical archaeologists have a keen insight on ethnicity sparked a movement in the discipline to determine cultural markers in different
assemblages in order to shed light on ethnicity. These typologies, even with being informed through historical documentation, are flawed in that they provide an easy route for interpretation according to ‘traditional’ cultural people-hoods (Perry and Paynter 1999, Shennan 1989). The dilemma this posed for archaeology inspired the 1989 World Archaeological Congress (WAC) to focus on the ways that archaeologists study ethnicity. S.I. Shennan edited a volume from the papers given at that conference in an effort to pin down how archaeology has dealt with ethnicity and how it could better adapt to the study of ethnicity over all.

In the introduction to that volume, Shennan explains that archaeological cultures that are referred to during early conversations about ethnicity are carefully defined typologies that cover certain geographic regions (1989). The careful definition of these archaeological cultures is made possible through the unique material consequences of the environment that a particular culture produces its material residue within, as well as the cultural parameters that control for their interaction with available raw materials. Archaeology was often tied to ethnicity by interested parties that continue to have political ties in hopes of verification of an ethnic group’s legitimacy throughout history (Shennan 1989). In 1998, Michael Gomez published *Exchanging Our Country Marks: The Transformation of African Identities in the Colonial and Antebellum South*. This book explores the use of material culture, social boundaries, and economic difference in the development of an African American identity for disenfranchised populations in the Antebellum South. Gomez argues that economic disparity became a formidable barrier in a cross ethnic construction of African American culture:

“In some instances, social stratification within the African American community can be related to preceding ethnic differences. But whether related to ethnicity or not, classism emerged as the principal obstacle to a race-based collective concept” (Gomez 1998:4).
The African American community in the south during the antebellum period was attempting to forge a new cultural identity that was race oriented rather than one based on ethnicity (Gomez 1998). This action was to solidify the efforts of all African American people regardless of their differences in ethnic background to throw off the chains of slavery in the south and retaliate against white slave holders and the culture that empowered them. The production of African American culture then, by blending many different ethnic practices of disparate African cultures was a means to produce a united front against symbolic and overt violence furnished upon them by southern Euro-American culture, whom, were ignorant to ethnic differences within the group of African Americans they were committing violence against. Gomez argues that this cultural warfare ultimately causes the creation of an African American culture in the southern United States (Gomez 1998).

“Ethnicity (emphasis in original text) refers to the same network of sociocultural communications and so at times can be used interchangeably with Community“ (Gomez 1998:6). Community, as Gomez describes it, is a concept of a collection of individuals who share a common network of cultural trends and expressions including kinship, diet, language, art, and labor conventions. He argues that ethnicity lacks the flexibility of community as a term to discuss the differences in social groups. Ethnicity then, should be applied with more care and far less often than other more effective social distinctions, like community. Gomez argues that “one cannot speak of a Muslim ethnicity” that the definition of an individual as part of an ethnicity with a definition as broad as this would lack an inquire into the specific background of that individual, a cross-section of his or her language, culture, religion (Gomez 1998:6).

Ethnicity’s purpose, Gomez states, is to “dissociate rather than associate, to engage in a reductionist enterprise as opposed to aggregation” (Gomez 1998:6). The application of ethnicity
is to determine what unique aspects of the cultural community that one is evaluating from an outside perspective. As a result, many aspects of assigning ethnicity within the context of African Americans have been viewed as being flawed because they are applied to these communities of individuals by colonialist ideology whom employed their cultural biases at the height of the African slave trade.

In the context of archaeological investigation, the arguments that Gomez produces only reinforce the futility in attempting to define archaeological interpretations of ethnicity. Instead, the communities that Gomez interprets in his book are utilizing the race-based violence against them as a consolidation tool, to create a new cultural identity (1998). This new identity leaves a material trace different than any that a group that would identify with a singular African ethnicity would leave unto itself in a vacuum away from the colonial environment. Therefore, because the communities that Gomez focuses on are using racial tensions to resist against overt and symbolic violence, the material indicators of that racialization and the violence related to it are the most accurate evidence for cultural divides between cultural antagonisms.

At the beginning of his discussion, Gomez points out that classism is the largest impediment to this created of a race-based cultural identity (1998). It is the same classism that creates visible distinctions in material culture between individuals within the larger cultural antagonisms that Gomez is contending with in his book. Perry and Paynter also focus on the application of identity to historical groups of people by evaluating the African American populations of the American south. They begin their discussion of the difficulty of effectively conducting archaeological interpretation on African American ethnic groups with a quote from W.E.B Du Bois “The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color-line” (Perry and Paynter 1999: 299).
Unfortunately, this quote is just as relevant today well into the second decade of the twenty-first century. Warren and Paynter present three key issues with the archaeology of disenfranchised groups, focusing on African Americans, as many did in 1998 and 1999. The first of these issues is the lack of utility in leaning on what they term as “Africanisms” (1999:300), that is, artifacts which are interpreted as having specific cultural ties to communities of African descent. Perry and Paynter argue that historical archaeologists search for Africanisms to study the distinctive character of the African presence, the specifics and breadth of the cultural creativity, identity, resilience, degree of suppression, and the forgotten or unacknowledged populations in colonial times (1999). The study of Africanisms is not to study the initial presence and character of a people, but rather to study the initial presence and character of the biased interpretation of how those people should or would present themselves in the archaeological record. The use of material indications to attempt to understand Africanisms, then, has no use in the understanding of the actual populations to which Africanisms are being ascribed.

The second key issue is that when modern historical archaeologists attempt to use Africanisms to discuss the actuality of African American culture in colonial and post-colonial times, either knowingly or unknowingly, those archaeologists will be using the framework of assumed biased understandings of what African American culture is to inform their interpretations (Perry and Paynter 1999). Third, Perry and Paynter discuss multivalent objects as an inherent problem in using material alone to establish an understanding of a specific ethnic group in history (1999). Multivalent objects are historical objects that are inaccurately ascribed to a specific ethnic group, or no ethnic group at all, that can be used or appropriated by many different ethnic groups in history for different purposes while retaining the same visibility in the archaeological record (Perry and Paynter). A simple item that is used by many different ethnic or
cultural groups in history can be used in a special way by any of them to develop cultural identity, and yet, that distinction cannot be seen by archaeological scholarship that focuses on objects alone (Perry and Paynter 1999).

While Gomez, Perry, and Paynter all focus on African American culture and the archaeology of the American south, these concepts can and should be applied to any archaeological interpretation of a historically identified cultural group. Many different historically disenfranchised groups used material expression through a lens of consumption to persist in the creation of an identity, rather than only resisting the actions of racialization alone (Morris 2017). Morris, in her recent article, refers to this as creation of a homeplace and has been discussed before by others as an outward expression of habitus (Bourdieu 1986, Orser 2004).

Morris explains that the creation of a homeplace is a means to self-identity and celebrate a built cultural landscape, and that creation is more archaeologically visible than the identity created by the resistance of symbolic and overt violence. The tools of the creation of homeplaces are the material indications of self-ascribing identity and resistance, made up of culturally significant items that may or may not be multivalent, and visibility of these material signatures is expressly dependent on the material culture available to the historical populations of New York, and therefore is dependent on the construction of reliable trade routes. The construction of reliable trade routes in the region allows the material signature of any given location to grow in variation significantly so that studies that can only hope to evaluate the material remains found at a specific site have a better chance at an accurate interpretation of the occupation of that place.

Culturally linked interest groups in the modern era have latched on to the historical interpretation of historical ethnic groups as a means to legitimize their current political or social goals. While many movements that can be described this way are focused on disenfranchised
groups and targeted as a means to verify the presence of historical stigma, they can be co-opted by other, more nefarious, ambitions. Interest group or advocate oriented approaches in archaeology and the results of attempts of particular groups and a direct connection to the past with respect to archaeological cultures can be misused and abused, often with dire consequences.

The spark of studies centering on ethnicity in archaeology were attempts to provide substantial evidence to a wave of nationalism that swept most of Europe in the nineteenth century. German propaganda, and study of the ancient Germanic heritage, is one of the most popular examples of using archaeology for ethnic legitimation (Shennan 1989). Ulrich Veit contributed to the WAC volume that Shennan edited. In his paper on the legacy of ethnic interpretation in the archaeological record, he focused on early archaeological interpretations of ethnicity in German history, specifically focusing on the work of Gustaf Kossinna. Veit argues that because of historical circumstances, German scholarship on ethnicity has been largely ignored by most other summaries of the history of ethnic interpretation (Veit 1989). He points out that while Kossinna’s work was wildly racist, and used politically by the National Socialist party to contribute to the Nazi doctrine, the core application of his interpretive ideals was used by his pupils and other later archaeologists to build the concept of ethnicity in archaeology (Veit 1989). Kossinna provides a practical example of how archaeology was misapplied to ethnicity between the turn of the twentieth century and the 1930s (Veit 1989).

Kossinna wrote on the difficulties in ethnic interpretation of archaeological material remains, and published his first paper on the topic in 1895 (Veit 1989). Kossinna defined the settlement archaeological method, and wrote on its application to the archaeological record to assess ethnicity in prehistory. He applied the observed culture of the first written record of a society, to that society’s territory in order to create a culture area. He then used that culture area
to determine ethnic heritages and extend those heritages far into the past. This approach assumes much about the history of whole geographic areas and ignores cultural change or cultural prevalence. Kossinna was aware of the difficulties that this approach fosters in prehistoric contexts. By using some concepts then developing in linguistic analysis, Kossinna applied his culture areas to what he called “primeval peoples” long into history to try and correct for the unknown history prior to recorded history (Veit 1989:40). Veit explains that Kossinna was deluding himself as to the practical applications of archaeology, and archaeology’s limitations.

What is important, however, is that Kossinna’s ideas were passed on to his pupils and other young archaeologists during the 1930s, but thankfully without his racist overtones. Childe was one such archaeologist (Veit 1989). The new generation of archaeologists questioned Kossinna’s equation of people and race, as well as the dangers of direct historical analogy and Kossinna’s idea of settlement archaeology (Klejn 2008). Wahle replaced these methods by employing ethnic reconstruction based almost solely on written records, and wrote on the limited application of archaeology beyond that point (Malina and Vašíček 1990). When questioned about earlier periods, he tended to doubt the existence, or even the importance of an interpretation of ethnicity (Veit 1989).

After the 1940s, the use of archaeology alone to define ethnic interpretation was completely rejected. Ethnicity was determined as a necessary topic for archaeology to study though, so to compensate, scholars of the time merely replaced the term ‘ethnicity’ with ‘archaeological culture’. There was also a push towards a wholly materialist approach to archaeological interpretation during this period, and as a result ‘ethnicity’ also got replaced with ‘socio-economic areas’ (Veit 1989). Largely though, the theoretical treatment of these interchangeable terms did not stray far from discussions of ethnicity. The taboo associated with
the discussion of ethnicity might be accounted for by the ideologies involved in the Second World War and the ideological environment that was so fostered by Kossinna’s political writings.

After the 1970s, archaeologists began employing many facets of the cultural environment in their assessments of ethnicity. The discipline was spattered with misapplication of concepts to corral ethnic interpretation (Veit 1989). The small number of scholars attempting ethnic definition in an acceptable way understood the difficulties inherent in archaeological interpretations of ethnicity and called for a discussion on the topic. The result was the World Archaeological Congress for which Veit wrote his paper.

In part, this shows how archaeological theory is able to be influenced by the outside world of politics and society. Shennan also mentions outside influences, even in more current archaeological work, by explaining that the focus on ethnic studies in archaeology, either to provide insight into ancestors’ actions, or to elevate certain ethnic groups in the minds of interested parties, is inspired by the global economic market patterns that are influencing culture around the world and changing traditional aspects of social memory (1989). This reaction is a means to reestablish a cultural pride in the interested party by intensively studying their ancestors and their cultural practices in the face of globalization (Shennan 1989). Reevaluation of ethnic histories also raised concerns about our modern understanding of the past. Some scholars in the 1980s theorized that our understanding of the past is more convenient than accurate, and serves a purpose of legitimizing our own desired idealized histories (Shennan 1989).

Practicing revisionist history creates sections or topics within history that are better understood, and often misrepresented, than other sections of topics of history. These more familiar sections of history are centered on prominent social and political figures that reify the
current socio-political power (Shennan 1989). How archaeology has been used, at first, was to bolster the arguments of interested parties developing specific historical nationalism. Later, interested parties of decedent groups of disenfranchised populations would use archaeology to catch up their less studied cultural histories, in an effort to level the field of historical account and legitimation (Shennan 1989). These efforts, both at the beginning of the use of ethnicity in archaeology, and more recently, parse out distinct cultural boundaries and attempt to define either contemporary or historical ethnicities. Unfortunately, early on these efforts were often restricted to the application of simplistic typologies.

In a practical example of a misapplication of typology after the 1940s, colono-ware being simplistically limited to being African causes problems when colono-ware sherds turn up in Native American contexts. The archaeologists who limited themselves to this approach lumped pipe stems decorated with harps to Irish populations, and opium related materials with the Chinese. Orser notes that many archaeologists today realize the simplistic nature of these typologies and account for individual agency to steer clear of readily available interpretations of singular ethnicity determined by material culture (1998). For another example of “unsatisfactory explanatory edifice”, (Shennan 1989:5) see Rouse 1972.

Today, archaeologists have moved past simplistic typologies to examine boundaries of ethnic identity and how those interest groups separate themselves from the whole of the larger culture in which they thrive. The materiality of these boundaries would be able to identify interest groups in the archaeological record. Ethnic pride and racial prejudice are actions taken by parties which have a high likelihood of leaving a material residue in the archaeological record.
Challenges in the Application of Ethnicity to the Archaeological Record

Voss and Allen note that ethnicity is used at times to side step the conundrum of evaluating race and racism in the archaeological record, but that ethnicity itself is an unstable theoretical construct (2008). In their article on Overseas Chinese archaeology, they not only explain that the discipline lacks an emphasis on an important immigration period, but also that ethnic identities and racial tensions are produced not by specifically crafted artifacts to represent identity, but rather through negotiations in social and economic power derived from being the same, or different, than controlling parties.

Voss and Allen relay that investigating Chinese identity and culture is more accurate by studying how their cultural practices interact with the consistently changing community in which they live, and what material culture those interactions may yield (2008). These artifacts could be manufactured for the melding of their culture into the greater community, or just as easily as a resistance to acculturation.

While Voss and Allen's research is pointed towards Chinese immigrants, their narrative on the effectiveness and application of ethnicity in overall archaeology should not go unnoticed. They further discuss the idea that ethnicity can be interpreted in archaeology only through the self-identifying actions of the group who can describe themselves as an ethnic group (Voss and Allen 2008). The group of people that may have described themselves as ethnically similar may only be available to archaeological interpretation through material culture in the event that these groups resisted or adapted cultural beliefs that result in material culture with the greater community in which they were a part.

Complications in interpretations that rely on parsing out ethnicity in the material record are commonplace. Babson (1990) explains that the definition of ethnicity and the connotations
that are connected to it somewhat skew its usefulness in archaeology. Looking to activism in archaeology, many projects that focus on ethnic definitions in archaeological context hope to create direct connections from current interested parties and their ancestral populations (Babson 1990).

The aims of these studies are to make that connection without relying on potentially biased written records using material culture. There are many pitfalls though when assigning ethnicity to any particular object, even with the best of intentions (Babson 1990, Gomez 1998).

The complex relationships of cultural groups in the past should not be direct correlations of the idea of those groups held by current interested parties. Simplistic explanations of human agency even within ethnic groups, if ethnicity can be defined in the archaeological record, should be reevaluated to be complex and difficult to discern (Babson 1990). Knowledge is not only bound by locality, but also in time, and archaeological interpretations that cross cut time without the appropriate amount of hesitation in terms of direct analogy do a disservice to the archaeological record (Shennan 1989).

Babson uses colono-ware vessels as an example of simplistic ties between material remains and ethnicity (1990). He is careful to note that both Ferguson and Binford were not wrong in their interpretation of colono-ware vessels as African in ethnicity. However, when the discussion of the ethnic connection of colono-ware stops at African American heritage, that description of a single ethnicity in an object fails to accurately portray the past. Now we understand that colono-ware is an ethnic indicator of a creolization of different cultures between European, African American, and Native American influences due to its multivalent qualities (Perry and Paynter 1999). This makes the finding of colono-ware much less distinctive of any
particular ethnic group in the traditional definition, and as a result could be viewed as less useful in the archaeological record.

To complicate things further, the self-identifying nature of ethnicity by the agents of history makes the connection between groups that were, and groups that are, almost completely unreliable (Babson 1990). This unreliability is a much greater problem than the misapplication of basic artifact typologies to groups of people. It renders historical groups of people as fictional concepts which the archaeologist and interested party create when implying their own bias onto the archaeological record. The goal of this interpretation of ethnicity within the archaeological record is not to deconstruct any argument that places a group identity onto a disadvantaged population of people of similar ancestry.

The goal of the engagement with archaeological interpretation of ethnicity is merely to restrict the definition of what an ethnic group in archaeology may be. The definition of what ethnicity is, and what that means to the archaeological record should be limited to what can be definitively said about iconography or cultural custom which applies to a group of people that can be delineated by their common application of the material resources around them. To use colono-ware again, one could not make the argument that colono-ware was only produced and used by the African American ethnic group as they are now defined during the colonial and post-colonial period. One could make the argument that those people who produced and used colono-ware were somehow delineated by the society in which they lived as different than those who did not use colono-ware. Such a distinction could be the result of a lack of access to resources, wealth, or through created social boundaries such as the concept of racialization.
Racism Defining Meaningful Archaeological Social Boundaries

As a result of the great number of pitfalls that are compounded by direct studies of ethnicity in the archaeological record, the accurate account of social boundaries and interest groups in the past must be sought out using another, more applicable, social concept. The application of racism to the archaeological record to trace the lines of separation within societies past can result in more definitive explanations of relationships between populations (Gomez 1998, Orser 2007). The approach of using racism and its material remains better defines disenfranchised groups and ignores physical descriptions of what would be considered as ethnic groups in today's society.

This greatly diminishes the possibility for modern bias and highlights the biases of the oppressing and oppressed populations of the past regardless of our conception of what those groups should be. Moving past this theoretical hurdle is critical to our understanding of the past. If we continue to ask how a certain ethnic group of our own definition is represented in the archaeological record rather than asking how the archaeological record presents different groups in history, a better understanding of which groups of people were actually self-identifying together will never be completely understood.

Effectively determining socially bound groups in history using racism depends heavily on the materiality of the restrictions forced upon that group by the more influential social groups determining the norms of overall society (Morris 2017, White 2017). Attempting to determine some level of social identification from the archaeological record without the material refuse left by social unrest and racist behaviors may be fruitless. In nineteenth-century New York City, the archaeological record has yielded an astonishing number of artifacts (and subsequent data) from the notorious neighborhood of the Five Points. With the data set and historical documents
available from that time period, the identities of thousands of Irish inhabitants that lived in lower Manhattan can be earnestly evaluated (Loucks 2013).

The social mechanisms that allow for the racialized stigma against these populations leave useful material remains in the archaeological record. The paternalism of the Victorian era in New York created an environment ripe with influential pressures to assimilate to an unfamiliar culture (McGuire 2006, Symonds 1999). The Irish populations of the Five Points are a particularly applicable group when attempting to parse out these cultural boundaries, and the resistance that forced (albeit covertly) acculturation undoubtedly creates (Anbinder 2001). Influence and resistance to influence create a social conversation between two cultural powers. The material culture these self-defined ethnic groups create and use to embody their social voice helps the archaeologist to discern the boundary lines between the two interested parties. The environmental constraints and cultural traditions that help create those specific assemblages are informed by every social theater of interaction, from religion to politics (Loucks 2013).

These social theaters of influence effect consumer choice when purchasing everyday items, as well as particularly specialized personal items (Wall 1991). Diana Wall studied the tea ware assemblages that resulted from middle class homes in Manhattan as a means to assess the influence of Victorian idealism, and the cult of domesticity, on the women of nineteenth-century New York (Wall 1991). While not being directly related to racism, the use of material remains like ceramics to show resistance to cultural influences and creation of identities is important for the scope of this dissertation. The results of her study found that women who were being pressured by the overall Victorian social parameters continued to act within the confines of proper etiquette, but purchased less expensive, gothic style, tea wares despite the clear availability of more elaborate wares. Convincingly Wall makes the argument that the women
who were buying these less expensive wares were supporting their friends who teetered on the brink of the lower class by not requiring them to also buy more expensive wares. A gesture like this one would be one of acculturation because they are still practicing the tea ceremony. But it was also a gesture of resistance, by purposefully disobeying the demand of competitive consumerism (Wall 1991).

In another article focused on lower Manhattan, Meredith Linn studied soda water bottle contents of assemblages found in the Five Points (Linn 2010, 2014). Linn explains that while other scholars in recent articles have provided interesting arguments about the structural violence that can be imposed upon different cultural heritages within a new and unfamiliar environment, in some cases a new habitus can provide a springboard of possibilities to adapt cultural practices in exciting and unpredictable ways (Bourdieu 1986, Linn 2010, 2014). Linn shows that the use of soda water by Irish populations in New York was a means to create a healing tool, to be used against the many ailments that were common in a nineteenth-century urban environment (Linn 2010, 2014).

Soda water was used as a medicinal agent in a way that was akin to traditional healing practices linked to Irish heritage. Beyond that though, soda water was also used in part to carve out an Irish American identity. The soda water bottles’ affiliation with healing and cultural tradition enabled newly dislocated Irish populations in New York to romanticize their heritage and homeland. The communities that a simple commodity like soda water helped create stimulated social debate and cooperation, which effectively created a new Irish-American identity (Linn 2010). While Linn explains these large cultural trends in the context of a single artifact type, the message that she conveys is clear. In the face of new influences of the environment of nineteenth-century New York City a singular product, such as soda water, acted
as a catalyst for the creation of community and home for a dislocated and often disliked population.

The structural violence that she nods to early on in her discussion on this topic is also important, such as the economic pressures that would push Irish populations to the small expense in soda water for cures to ailments, or the demand of cleanliness and conformity of the Victorian middle class (Linn 2010, 2014). Linn decides to focus on the importance of one object, and the agency that one object created which in turn greatly affected the larger cultural landscape. The truth of history lies somewhere in between the structural violence and the exponential influence of a singular exercise of individual agency, but Linn’s study demonstrates that a population of Irish Americans can be investigated through their material remains within the confines of specific circumstance. While Linn argues that the agency of cultural heritage is a more active factor for the creation of the connection between Irish populations and soda water, the structural violence that would enable that cultural heritage connection greatly influenced the purchase of soda water as well.

The soda water bottle then becomes an artifact of resistance to greater cultural pressures that impose unwanted changes on a cultural tradition in a new environment. Lack of access to proper medical care, economic stability, and crushing paternalistic influence demanded that Irish populations devise some way to steel their cultural heritage while providing safety and security for their families in the only way they could. This resistance relates to racism, in that the racialization of Irish immigrants created an environment that prohibited access to the basic necessities listed above, and provided the window for the innovative use of soda water as a coping mechanism, a material item available to their economic group.
Racism, Ethnicity, and Class

The efficacy of using class based, or market access based studies to evaluate the lasting effects of the racialization of a single group of people in the past is, at the very least, viable (Fennell 2017, Perry and Paynter 1999). While ethnicity, or the more applicable racism, is not inherently class based, the social hierarchy that defined these terms applied social boundaries upon certain groups along socially defined lines (Fennell 2017). There is a detectable connection then, between racialized groups, socio-economic status, and class.

By focusing on the economic reality of downtrodden populations in the past, the conditions that created that economic inequality and their socially attributed race, or ethnicity, based parameters can provide archaeological evidence of influence and resistance. For example, using a study from nineteenth-century Ireland, Orser concludes that the resistance of the renting population of the townland of Ballykilcline can be traced through their ceramics and other household goods as they responded to the racism imposed upon them by the English improvers (Orser 2004). Orser explains that Improvement, or Enclosure as it is sometimes referred to, is a theoretical movement of agricultural practice that engulfed the United Kingdom during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Improvement can be explained as a cultural revolution sparked by an English belief that the Irish populations utilizing Ireland for agricultural practices were wasting the land’s potential by employing multi-crop, communally shared agricultural lands. The agrarian capitalist shift to monocrop farming for primarily profit or market exchange, usually on lands owned by a singular party, forced the cultural tradition of many rural Irish families to change completely (Orser 2004). This trend extended into all areas of cultural tradition and economic stability and as a result created a vast class disparity (Orser 2004). Orser explains that the ceramic industry in
Ireland during this period shifted from a cottage-industry to the common availability of industrially produced English ceramics. This is an important note, not only to demarcate the spread of globalization in the ceramic industry but also because household items were used by agents of the improvers to measure how improved any particular Irish family had become. If the household of a particular renter did not appear to adhere to the improved rhetoric by owning a certain amount of English goods, the renters’ possessions could be lofted into the street! This symbolic violence is an example of the racialization of a culture by another dominant culture, and provides an excellent example of a theoretical construct such as English improvement basing progress in the possession of socially preferred material objects. That measurement provides a conduit for the archaeologist to peer into the social confines and violence imposed on the Irish population because of their cultural practices.

The preference by the English for the obliteration of the cottage-industry ceramic trade was both an economic and social concern. The cottage-industry ceramics produced by Irish families provided a cultural forum, and was a means to produce within their community without relying on outside powers, like the English. Not only does this example illustrate cultural and economic ties to racialization, but also provides evidence through landscape analysis of community control and observation (Orser 2004). While more traditional town layouts in Ireland called clachans are nuclear, the townland of Ballykilcline was arranged along straight roads in the ‘modern’ fashion (Orser 2004). Orser points out that this arrangement made access to every household by tax collectors and official personnel unobstructed. This produces a community that cannot hold back outside influences such as controlling powers and is designed to provide the influencing power with unlimited access to the individuals of the influenced community. The environment of social pressures that were felt by nineteenth-century Irish community members.
of Ballykilcline was later analyzed by Orser through archaeological study because of the materiality of racism and paternalistic control.

The layout of a community and the material remains that are left behind from development can inform archaeologists about such paternalistic control measures. Also, the manner in which decoration is employed within the confines of the managed construction of communities can provide insight into the level and manner of resistance on the part of influenced communities (Ford 2011). This can be related to racialized populations in a number of ways; the most apparent is that racialized populations often exhibit far less access to well-paying occupations of nineteenth-century America.

As a result of the majority of hard labor was done by racialized populations during this time period, and the majority of paternalistic communities such as mines or railroad companies, influenced those racialized populations (Ford 2011, Smith 2005). However, assumptions that a population that has been put under paternalistic control is indicative of an ethnic, or racialized group, are reckless. The combination of historical records showing the nationality of inhabitants in a paternalistic controlled society may be able to speak to the application of racialization based interpretations in the archaeological record. The symbolic violence afforded those populations under paternalistic control would have also suffered the same injustices that have already been covered with concern to access to market and the Victorian tenants of domesticity.
Another powerful force during the nineteenth century was the Nativist movement (Anbinder 2001). There was an ideology that sprang up in response to the high number of immigrants arriving in New York Harbor during the nineteenth century that declared that Native Americans were the men and women, or descendants of men and women who had been born in the New World. Prior to the influx of immigrants, these interest groups were active communally and politically, they attempted to deprive immigrant populations of well paid jobs, government funded relief programs, or assistance with housing or medical care (Anbinder 2001). While not a belief system held by the great majority, the influence of the Nativists did effect the immigrant
populations of New York during the nineteenth century in ways that altered their cultural practices (Anbinder 2001).

Through a combination of cultural and economic pressures the racialization of whole groups of immigrants is committed by the larger whole of American society during the nineteenth century (and beyond). A connection between class and ethnicity, or social boundaries determining perceived racial distinctions can be seen in violence and influence of paternalistic social powers which limited an immigrant population’s access to resources and education. The examples above illustrate each factor that may play into an archaeological interpretation in an evaluation of an ethnicity. Each of these examples leaves specific material refuse patterns in the archaeological record and if each pattern is evaluated in terms of the cultural and economic pressures that created their necessity, insight into how populations organized themselves and lived may be able to be gleaned.

Stephen Brighton used many of the above concepts in his analysis of ceramics from the Five Points collection that has since been destroyed (2000). In his work, Brighton has demonstrated the viability of examining cultural trends of resistance to cultural pressures in consumer choice of household goods. Specifically, he uses ceramics to delineate the structural influences that have had negative effects on the immigrant populations of New York City (Brighton 2000). Brighton makes a convincing argument that links ceramic choices to religious affiliations and by extension, cultural identity. He focuses on a sample size of a few hundred artifacts from the block 160 excavations in the Five Points survey (Brighton 2000).

Within this collection there are matching sets of florally decorated table and tea wares, as well as Victorian figurines. The analysis of these artifacts seems to verify a community who is eager to fall in line with the Victorian ideal, which consisted of a value in consumerism and the
properly decorated household. However, Brighton also points out the inclusion of a Father Matthew cup in the collection. A Father Matthew cup is a ceramic cup that depicts Father Matthew, a catholic symbol for temperance, and was a cherished possession in many Victorian homes.

While this may seem to be in line with Victorian attitudes towards intemperance and work ethic, Brighton notes that this can also be interpreted as a sign of resistance on the part of the catholic Irish as a way to legitimize their religious affiliations in a wave of religious persecution (Brighton 2000). The projection of a catholic figure as helping the Victorian cultural status quo could be a mechanism for preserving the catholic faith in an increasingly hostile environment. Religion played a large part in the racialization of the Irish in America during the nineteenth century.

There are many instances of protestant agents in New York City politically and economically crippling the catholic immigrants arriving from Ireland (Anbinder 2001). In 1842 a few accomplished Irish politicians attempted to pass a law called the Maclay Act. The Maclay act created a new school system providing a catholic education in New York. Up until this point, the public school system available to New Yorkers was protestant run. Outrage rang through the city’s newspapers and communities. Figure 2 (below) shows the public need to protect their children from the evil influence of the Catholic faith.
A young editor of the Democratic newspaper *Aurora*, Walt Whitman, publicly announced that he despised this new legislation, and considered a means to foster the “Catholic superstition” (Anbinder 2001:155). Whitman’s participation in the public forum denouncing this legislation shows the reach and influence of the Nativist voice. Whitman further elaborates in that same article that the best way to teach the “foreign riffraff” true American values was to deny their educational aspirations and prevent them from further confusing themselves (Anbinder 2001:155). This example helps illustrate the cultural, economic, and religious persecution that helped create the racialized Irish in the nineteenth century.
Brighton’s work using the Father Matthew cup in this context provides an example of a material deposit that reflects the social tensions between religious groups and aspirations of normality by immigrant populations striving to fit into the hostile environment of Victorian New York. Most prominently though, this example shows the overt endeavors of Nativist influence attempting to restrict immigrant populations’ access to education, upward social mobility, and religious freedom. Such a cultural environment would restrict the racialized population of Irish Americans to a lower socio-economic status in American society, and only through complete acculturation could that population ever hope to become American and have unlimited access to the fruits of American society.

In essence the Irish had to achieve whiteness in the eyes of the entirety of American society. In an effort to provide this whiteness, there is a large cultural push to demean other more recently arrived immigrant groups such as the Chinese (Orser 2007). Through participation in the racialization of a new population, the Irish were soon folded into the American culture. In the Figure 8, there are three men standing on an African American declaring that the government indeed belongs to white men. What is interesting about this cartoon is that the Irishman to the left retains his simianized features and touts a club of a vote. To the right of the Irishman, a Confederate States of America supporter declares his superiority over the African American, as does the Wall Street banker to the far right. This shows the effort of the Irish to fit in to racist American culture in order to achieve an acceptable level of whiteness and power.

Below Figures 8 and 9 also include a semianized Irishman in a rowdy crowd of racist nativists searching for the Chinese immigrant hiding behind Lady Liberty. The Irishman intends violence with the club in his hand. There is also imagery of a “colored orphan asylum” adjacent to a noose hanging from a tree. This is an excellent image to demonstrate the process of
racialization, and how a political cartoon like this one might reflect the social and cultural influences that may be seen through the archaeological record. The tendency to turn toward racism of other immigrant populations that arrive after the Irish, by the Irish, demonstrates the lack of access to resources, education, and religious freedom that is allowed to white Americans. Only through the creation of their own white identity may the Irish accelerate their position within society. What is important for archaeology is that the material refuse of these actions may be found and interpreted to include these social boundaries and help elaborate on the cultural interest groups that remain unknown in the past.

Figure 8. “This is a White Man’s Government” Harper’s Weekly, 1868, Library of Congress.
Identification of Cultural Groups Using the Archaeology of Resistance

Up until this point, this chapter has focused primarily on the differences between the application of ethnicity and racialization in the study of the archaeological record. After an overview of the history of the concept of ethnicity in archaeological study, the concept of racialization, and how resistance to exterior cultural pressures caused by racialization can be seen in the archaeological record were presented through examples of Irish Americans in urban contexts. To illustrate the engagement of archaeological scholars with these concepts the following section consists of three examples of arguably successful attempts to evaluate ethnic identity in the archaeological record.

All three of these examples use multiple lines of evidence to support their conclusions, and all three of these examples provide archaeological evidence of resistance on the part of racialized immigrant populations in rural contexts. These examples show the applicability of the evaluation of resistance through material culture to successfully demarcate cultural groups in history, regardless of environment. The latter two examples below discuss Chinese immigration to both the United States and Australia. While more distinct cultural differences between European and Chinese everyday practices arguably makes the interpretation of archaeological materials for ethnic difference easier, the application of an interpretation centered on resistance remains an important part of an analysis that hopes to confirm an ethnic identification. The Chinese examples speak to the similarities between racialized ethnic groups upon their immersion into American, or in the case of Australia, Western Culture. The similar actions between the Chinese and the Irish in community building are in some ways more interesting than the resistance trends in ceramic assemblage patterns.
Reverend Edward Sorin, of north Indiana, was an instrumental figure in the building of a safe haven community for Catholic immigrants in the South Bend neighborhood affiliated with the University of Notre Dame (Rotman 2010). Father Sorin bought and set aside 120 acres of land south of the Notre Dame campus, and resold lots for twenty-five dollars down, with the balance to be repaid through barter, trade, or long-term credit. This community, what would be called Sorinsville, was targeted towards Catholic immigrants, especially of Irish or German heritage (Rotman 2010).

Father Sorin founded a parish in this community in 1853. Rotman notes that a parish helps insulate Irish communities by providing a forum for preserving faith, ideals, traditions, and cultural values. It also provided a psychological safe haven from the nativist pressures and voices that served to racialize and demonize the Irish Catholic community (Rotman 2010). A school that was affiliated with the parish also provided a Catholic education, which can be hard to come by.

Many of the Catholic Irish utilizing Sorinsville worked skilled labor jobs for Notre Dame, and as a result, centered their entire lives on their faith as a means to protect their cultural heritage, and establish a safe community. Rotman also points out that many of these individuals relished the idea of owning land in a supportive community (2010). Owning a home in the eyes of an Irish immigrant coming from Ireland wrought with rent spikes and land use reforms, was likely a way to express freedom, dignity, and a possibility of control over one’s own life.

The access to jobs, education, and communal security was not available to these immigrants because they were Irish, but rather, it was available to them because they were Catholic (Rotman 2010). Through that access, the cultural identity of these Irish immigrant
populations was defined by their religion. Interestingly, it was through the Paternalistic control of development in Sorinsville by Father Sorin that opportunities were created for Irish immigrants in Indiana. Despite the apparent abundance of opportunity for Irish immigrants within the Catholic community of Sorinsville, racism and animosity was continually flung towards them, even in that supportive environment. Those attempting to find work outside of their immediate community were met with bias born of the fear of immigrants flooding the American job market (Rotman 2010).

Further, the utilization of hospitals and doctors’ offices were low. Mimicking previous research in the Five Points, archaeological investigations in Sorinsville revealed a prevalence of patent medicine bottles, with doctor prescribed remedies nearly non-existent (Rotman 2010). This supports an unwillingness to weather the medical system and the biases inherent during this time period. Nativist political organizations like the Know-Nothings and all out racist regimes like the Ku Klux Klan targeted discrimination and harassment toward the Irish immigrants in the South Bend regardless of religious affiliation (Rotman 2010). While Sorinsville created some outlets for cultural heritage and community to flourish it did not altogether stop these abrasive outside influences from impacting the lives of immigrants. It did, however provide a different lifestyle in comparison to other communities, like those on the eastern seaboard.

Rotman is careful to detail that this lifestyle is not necessarily better, but comprises of different cultural practices and opportunities (2010). What is interesting in this example is despite the environmental and cultural differences with respect to access to community involvement and education, access to healthcare and other staple necessities remains somewhat tainted, just as in some of the other examples that have been presented above. Ceramics were also used in Rotman's analysis, and just as in some of Brighton's work. What Rotman finds is
that the buying practices of Midwest Irish immigrants reflect an emphasis on inward presentation rather than outward presentation (2010). No complete teaware or tableware sets are found, but rather, a myriad of complimenting florally decorated wares that could be used together but do not signify any type of conspicuous consumption. This could be interpreted as a resistance of Victorian values of consumerism, in kind with the results of Wall's 1991 study on domesticity.

Despite the many miles between New York and northern Indiana, the archaeological refuse of Irish immigrants feeling the pressures of Victorian America are strikingly similar. Both regions have prevalence for patent medicines and home remedies. The ceramic assemblages of both regions tend to convey a resistance to consumerism, and a fondness for complimentarily decorated wares (Brighton 2008, Rotman 2010, Wall 1991). The comparison between these regions, and the archaeological data available, suggests that by using the material cultural created by resistance to racialized influence, archaeologists may be able to parse out the Irish immigrant community, regardless of the geographical location in the United States during the nineteenth century. More importantly, it shows the utility of using the concept of racialization, and the influences that both create and are created by it, to evaluate the archaeological record.

**Chinese in California**

Another example that supports the use of racialization, and the resistance of cultural pressures to illustrate material refuse of ethnic boundaries comes from the study of Chinese immigrants, both to the U.S. and to Australia. Roberta Greenwood (1978) conducted a study on a nineteenth-century Chinese community in California. One of the earliest examples of comprehensive discussion on ethnicity in the archaeological record, Greenwood's study comments on the use of community boundaries and the creation of a "Chinatown" (1978:2) to
help protect against racist ideals and actions of the American population during the late-
nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Like in the Irish examples that have already been
discussed, the actual separation of a cultural population helps to both buffer from prejudice and
create a support community that can help immigrants become more comfortable economically
and socially in their new environment.

The archaeological site that Greenwood exploits to elaborate on our understanding of the
Overseas Chinese has a very long occupation series. First inhabited by Native Americans with
dates of 3500 BP, artifacts are found from this very early occupation through the historic period
(Greenwood 1978). According to the documentary record the Chinese occupation of the adobes
that were on Main Street in Ventura, California only encompasses the end of the nineteenth
century. By 1905, the record of the Chinese occupation of a neighborhood on Main Street in
Ventura almost completely vanishes, save a few Chinese names in newspaper articles.

Greenwood presents the Chinese assemblage as being easy to delineate between
European and Native American deposits. She asserts that while the Chinese were renown during
this period for producing some of the finest ceramics in the world, the populations here were
using more utilitarian ceramics in the "typical shapes and styles" used by the Chinese
(Greenwood 1978:4). Her very direct use of "typical" in describing the cultural uses of ceramics
for a Chinese household is somewhat troubling, but the cultural differences between Native
Americans, Europeans, and the Chinese are drastic enough that it is possible to delineate a
Chinese ceramic. Partially, this makes the use of material culture to determine cultural
boundaries between the Chinese and outside influences somewhat easier in comparison with the
Irish communities that have been previously discussed. Culinary differences influenced by
cultural traditions makes the presence of artifacts like soy sauce bottles, rice bowls, and small
wine cups, especially important in determining the population that lived at the excavated site. Greenwood gives a contrast assemblage of a typical western place setting to be dinner plates, cups with handles, drinking glasses, and metal cutlery (1978). Opium apparatus pieces were also found in these contexts, but it is important to avoid basing any interpretation of Chinese presence on the landscape on Opium use alone.

What is more interesting than differences in cultural traditions for dining, are the similarities between the archaeology of the Chinese, and the archaeology of the Irish. Just as in the Midwest, anti-immigrant labor unions caused problems for the separated community to try and disrupt the amount of available immigrant labor. The Chinese population that inhabited the adobes in Ventura, California was attacked, not physically, but through systematic changes to their taxing structure, and legislation limiting immigrant rights and access to travel (Greenwood 1978). Ultimately these tactics proved fruitful for the Nativist interest groups, and the Chinese community at Ventura disappeared after a short existence. The creation of their community was a means to attempt and defend their families from the prejudiced actions of European Americans who believed that the Chinese were stealing jobs and wealth, and wasting resources. In their resistance, Greenwood notes that there is almost no evidence of European based ceramics, or any cultural item that could be tied to the standard nineteenth-century American household item list (Greenwood 1978). Archaeologically, this indicates a complete refusal of western acculturation by the Chinese inhabiting Ventura. The sharp antagonism between their cultural safe haven, and the tumultuous environment all around them ended in the demolition of their community and the relocation of their families.
Chinaman’s Flat and the Australian Gold Rush

During the second half of the nineteenth century, Australia experienced a massive influx of immigrants in response to the discovery of Gold. In kind with the American gold rush, a large amount of those immigrants were Chinese (Smith 2003). Australian archaeologists have attempted to parse out these Chinese occupations using interpretations of built structure layouts and ceramic assemblages at mining camps in the Australian alpine region. Lindsay M. Smith published a paper in 2003 on the data recovered from excavations at Kiandra, a mining community with a distinct archaeological record that indicates a Chinese presence (Smith 2003). The area of Snowy River, where Kiandra is located, has been occupied in prehistoric times by the aboriginal peoples of Australia and used primarily as a resource for chert. During the early nineteenth century, European explorations utilized this area for pasture, and soon established mining communities after discovery of precious metals. The vast increase in immigration, including from China, occurred after the winter of 1860, and lasted into the early twentieth century. Like those Chinese who immigrated to the United States, the goals of the immigrants who arrived in Australia were to work in the gold mining trade to earn surplus wealth and return to China (Smith 2003). Groups of Chinese workers were organized by interested companies and investors in China and sent together to satisfy the interested party’s goals. Outside of these organized immigrant groups, individual Chinese immigrants followed these populations to create a support network of essential services. Chinese doctors, tailors, butchers and store keepers are all mentioned as being present in New South Wales during this period.

Just as in the example of Chinese immigration to California, these populations created small isolated communities, almost completely devoid of western influences. Although documentary evidence states that there were many isolated Chinese communities, an extensive
archaeological survey could only parse out one. Despite this, some markers of the presence of these communities still remain, such as the descriptive typonomy of "Chinamans Flat" (Smith 2003:20). Using markers like the one above can be problematic, and assume a lack of bias in both historical and material evidence of the past.

The site that is discussed in Smith's study consists of two stone dwellings which the author presents as in line with traditional vernacular Chinese architecture that can be traced back into time some 8,000 years (Smith 2003). To further support the assertion of traditional Chinese architecture, Smith employs statistical analysis of living quarter volumes with similar structures in the two regions of China that a majority of the immigrants were relocated from. Smith also points out the use of tamped earth foundations and stone foundation linings as a very successful means of weatherproofing the structure. Smith relates these structural approaches with known Chinese sites in New Zealand, and other localities in the Pacific (Smith 2003). Some of the aspects of the construction of the Chinese dwellings are similar to Chinese occupied dwellings as far away as Idaho (Smith 2003).

Cultural influences in dwelling construction in the United States and in New Zealand changed a preference for chimneys to be placed within the structure for cooking. Interior chimneys were not present in the structures investigated by Smith, and the author argues that this may be because of a direct relationship to the hut building traditions in Eastern China (Smith 2003). Like in the California example, Smith uses ceramics to discuss ethnic identities of those inhabiting the Chinese influenced structures in Kiandra. Just as in Ventura, the ceramic assemblage is determined to be typically Chinese by using unique vessel forms and ceramic implements to demarcate a lack of western influence. There were also opium pipe fragments found at this site. Because of the decoration patterns, shape, function, and fabric of these
ceramics, 98.9 percent of the ceramics were determined to be imported from China, while British imports only accounted for 0.1 percent of the total ceramic assemblage (Smith 2003).

Smith presents the approach of using ceramics and structure analysis as a means to create a reliable way to interpret an assemblage as Chinese in ethnicity (Smith 2003). The ceramic percentages certainly lean towards a certainty of Chinese occupation when combined with historical records and architectural styles. The exclusion of exterior western influences and the complete isolation of an entire community of immigrants is an interesting way to interpret cultural boundaries and ethnic groups in history. Smith's study is another example of the construction of a support community in an unfamiliar environment to reinforce resistance to outside cultural influences. Like in the other examples presented in this chapter, resistance is seen in the consumer habits of ceramics found in the archaeological record.

Objective Engagement with Romantic Ideas of Culture

Mullins (2008) outlined the beginnings of archaeological understanding of cultural difference between the Chinese and what would be considered ‘mainstream’ American culture during the nineteenth century. He explains that even early scholars, such as Stewart Culin in 1890 were proceeding carefully with the distinction of what would be considered traditional Chinese cultural markers. This early scholar supported using study of Chinese traditions in gaming, dress, secret societies, foodways, and healing arts, instead of relying on certainly biased common knowledge stereotypes to at least attempt to objectively delineate the Chinese in anthropological and archaeological study (Mullins 2008). Nearly one hundred and twenty years later in 2008, Mullins notes that while archaeologists acknowledge increasingly complex models of sociocultural transformation, mechanical models of acculturation still lurk in contemporary
scholarship. The simplicity of these approaches is the result of xenophobia, and racist ideals centering on certain ethnic groups like the Chinese. Mullins explains that the trend of simplistic interpretation of ethnicity in the discipline is changing for the better (2008).

In the examples discussed throughout this chapter, there has been a range of complex engagement with the archaeological material in determining the level of certainty in applying an ethnic label. While both articles centered on the Chinese make quick work of determining "traditional Chinese" goods. The authors are engaging with a few factors that Mullins discusses when speaking about the pitfalls in interpreting ethnically charged sites. When discussing the rice bowls, soy sauce bottles, and small wine cups, Greenwood is engaging with observed traditional foodways affiliated with the Chinese. Even just this one factor when combined with complete dominance of ceramics supporting these foodways with respect to any other type of cultural eating practice heartily supports a Chinese presence. The Smith article too, engages with the foodway methods of the Chinese in interpreting the Australian assemblage. More carefully, Smith also applies the architectural analysis to provide further evidence for the Chinese occupation of those sites. Both examples also used historical records for supporting evidence, which is a clear advantage in ethnic interpretations for historical archaeology.

Important to these studies of the Chinese in America during the nineteenth century though, is a consciousness of romanticism of the Far East when comparing the Chinese to almost any other group studied in terms of ethnicity in archaeology. Mullins notes that while the Irish and Italians are often also viewed at times too simplistically, in terms of acculturation and resistance, their home cultures are never as fantasized as the Chinese and African descendant populations (2008). The romanticism and exoticism of Chinese and African groups is fed through the racialization of these people, and have a long-lasting effect on how that population is
engaged with, both commonly and academically. By engaging with many lines of evidence in complex ways the example studies mentioned in this dissertation present a more appropriate analysis of the archaeological record with respect to racialization and ethnic identity.

Realistic Application and Complications of the Archaeology of Ethnicity/Racism

Randall McGuire starts his 1982 paper on ethnicity in historical archaeology with the line, "[t]he history of the United States is in large part a chronicle of ethnic relations" (McGuire 1982:159). This opening line touches on the complexity and overlap of ethnic boundaries and relationships throughout the history of the United States. In his paper, McGuire attempts to present the state of archaeological study of ethnicity using a practical example, and shows the complications that can arise with ethnic interpretation. This example, unlike the three above, shows a less clear, intermingled relationship between a number of different ethnic groups, which is much more difficult to parse out archaeologically.

McGuire engages with a cross national trend of assimilation on the part of Germans and Poles into the larger Anglo-Saxon based society in comparison with the clear separation of Mexican American and Native American groups from that same larger society. McGuire uses a theory in this work to evaluate ethnic boundary maintenance between these groups in southern Arizona during the latter half of the nineteenth century. McGuire's theory is based on the interrelationship between competition, ethnocentrism, and power. McGuire cites Noel (1968) in projecting this theory, explaining that competition provides motivation for group formation, ethnocentrism centers that motivation along ethnic boundaries, and power determines the nature of the relationship (McGuire 1982). These three distinct factors create the environment for the
suppression or extortion of certain ethnic groups by others, and the perpetuation of stereotypes and propaganda which ultimately cause whole groups of people to become racialized.

In order to assess those groups archaeologically, McGuire touches on the use of symbols to maintain ethnic boundaries, and uses those symbols as a means to engage with ethnicity in the archaeological record. The creation, manipulation, and maintenance of these symbols, when followed as they move through history provide an insight on the relationships between ethnic groups. Archaeology provides a unique insight into the everyday production of these symbols in mundane, routine, actions. These actions produce evidence through the production and use of artifacts. McGuire states that the use of analysis on the mundane aspects of everyday life in unison with interpretations of historical documents provides a nearly complete picture of the development of ethnic relationships and daily creation of ethnic boundaries (1982). McGuire also points out that in terms of checks and balances, archaeology creates a contrast in historical documents by providing a healthy skepticism in documents almost exclusively produced by a singular ethnic group (McGuire 1982).

The need for careful analysis of the symbolism that McGuire discusses is created by the other cultural factors that influence the buying practices, and everyday actions of all nineteenth-century Americans. Ethnicity is not the only important influence that controls the formation of the archaeological record. The difficulty in producing definitive interpretations centered on ethnicity is the application of certain aspects of the archaeological record that may or may not be more appropriate to link to ethnic boundaries and cultural resistance. In his application of these ideas to Arizona, McGuire contended with the intermingled communities of Mexican and European Americans. In this instance, the European Americans controlled the political and economic spheres of influence, however, culturally, they adopted many goods and practices
common to that of the Mexican American community. In fact, the marriage between the two ethnic groups was the rule rather than the exception, and after a short time, no single household belonged to one group or the other. This poses a problem archaeologically because of the commonality of the artifact assemblage from group to group. McGuire contrasts this environment with a separated Chinese community in Tucson.

This case study becomes even more interesting upon the arrival of the railroad in the region. With the addition of available trade and travel by way of the railroad, the ethnic boundaries between the two groups became more pronounced. Spanish speaking political figures and prominent members of the community quickly became the minority, and fluency in English was mandatory for any type of political success before long. In addition, the Chinese who entered the community with the railroad were quickly allowed a space in social status underneath the Mexican Americans, who in turn, were underneath the Europeans. The increase in scale of influence from the small community in Arizona to the larger west, and further, to the entire United States, caused a shift in the social hierarchy of previously indiscernible ethnic groups. The influence of economic disparity between these social groups enabled political mobility and superposition to occur, and shows a distinct tie between economic development of an area and the visibility of racialization in that same area. The economic development in this particular case study allows for the development of racial boundaries to exist materially, where no material distinction between racialized groups was previously available.

What this shows that perhaps the other examples above do not is the fluidity of the prominence of racialization even at the same site over relatively small amounts of time. This complicates the archaeological interpretation of resistance to a point, and creates discrete sections of history that have a completely different archaeological assemblage than others. Sites
like this one provide a challenge for those scholars wishing to understand why the shift in power dynamics along ethnic boundaries changed with the scale of trade and influence available to communities, and how the ties of power between ethnic relationships are governed. McGuire’s example serves as a reminder that the simplistic application of ethnic determinations to whole archaeological assemblages, even from a short period of occupation, may be perilously complicated, and that if possible, every care should be taken to evaluate the record with every line of evidence available.

Chapter Summary

The study of ethnicity in archaeology has a long and storied history. The archaeology of ethnicity has created interest groups both past and present and has helped the discipline grow theoretically. It has provided discussion as to the boundaries of the scope of archaeological study, and the knowable past. The above sections provide a general history of the study of ethnicity by archaeologists, and offer a useful discussion of its current applicability in archaeological research. The use of the term ethnicity is often overburdened with bias and interpretive issues, and as a result many scholars have decided that more appropriate social concepts may be used to parse out parties of interest in the past. For historical archaeology, a convincing case has been made for the use of racialization, and the acts that accompany it to fill this void.

The study of the concept of racialization is advantageous because of its materiality in the archaeological record. Racist actions affect all forms of interaction for the racialized populations suffering from symbolic and overt violence. Thus, these interactions very often leave a material residue while the racialized population resists this violence. The above examples of Nativist
racism affecting nineteenth-century Irish Americans in New York City, Irish Americans in Indiana, Chinese Americans in California, and even Chinese immigrants living in Australia, are only a few instances of archaeological scholarship efficiently interpreting socially bound interest groups. Inclusion of the above examples adequately demonstrates that archaeological study can infer social boundaries and the application of the rules of culture as they are determined through time.

The potential for archaeological scholarship to evaluate the social pressures put on populations throughout history using racialization and its accompanying material refuse may be able to shed light upon the self-identifying groups in history who may otherwise remain invisible or merely restricted to speculation. However, the complications in relationships between interest groups can create challenges in archaeological interpretation. While research that has been presented above adequately shows the utility of archaeology in studying issues of identity and cultural pressures such as racism, every care must be taken to utilize all resources available to avoid simplistic misinterpretation of the record. With that said, the use of archaeology to tackle the issues of racism throughout history is incredibly important to our understanding of history and to the discipline. Economic barriers that prevent the majority of working class populations in a given area to consume in a different way than their neighbors define them as archaeological invisible as a socio-cultural group. Connections between access to market and economy become incredible important to the development of cultural hierarchy in a given environment, because the increase in the connection between the local economy and the larger regional market enable class distinctions to form where none had in the past. Because of the historical pressures of racialization, the disparity in economic position often lies upon the same dividing line of socially
disenfranchised groups, and therefore after the completion of free and easy access to market, those disenfranchised groups become archaeological visible.

While history is inherently incomplete, historical actions do leave archaeologists with the means to recreate the broad strokes of events and individuals that have been. Generations of scholars have wrestled with the interpretation of ethnic boundaries and interest groups. These efforts have been coached and corralled by the outside pressures of their own society’s parameters and politicians.

Today, archaeologists’ efforts to parse out social distinctions in the material record are met with the same challenges that have stumped archaeologists for the last one hundred and twenty years. Our current interpretations too, are invariably informed by our social, economic, and political environment. Despite this, the necessity of the study of these topics is paramount to our current and future understanding of the past.

To contribute to the ongoing discussion of the application of ethnicity in archaeology and to employ current archaeological methods of analyzing racism in the material record, scholars today interpret and reinterpret site files and case studies to better understand the past. The interpretations that result from this scholarship will be reevaluated in the future, and our efforts in studying ethnicity, or racism, in the archaeological record will also be scrutinized and used to better the theoretical grounding archaeologists employ when embarking on a new research topic.
CHAPTER THREE – PRACTICAL INTERPRETATION OF ETHNICITY

The use of material culture to comment on meaningful cultural practices in history has been the mission of archaeologists throughout the development of the discipline (Little 1994). The opaque relationship between material remains and the people who owned and traded them is an inadequate method for establishing the actions of the agents of history. An inherent assumption for much of the archaeological study that has been conducted is that the material items left behind by the individuals of history can, and do, provide vital information as to their actions, intent, and cultural beliefs. Luckily, within the bounds of historical archaeology, the documentary record and even oral tradition can provide some contrasting evidence to these very elusive topics of human interaction (Fennell 2017, Matthews 2010).

The use of goods to establish evidence of certain practices or beliefs often center around a few key concepts and cultural institutions that are cross cultural and diachronic; architecture, culinary tradition, religious iconography, clothing and adornment, economic goods and currency, and weaponry, are just a few examples (Mcguire 1982, Scham 2001, Shackel and Little 1992). The hope is that a combination of as many of these lines of evidence as possible can provide the resolution needed to repaint the portrait of history that has been lost to us in time.

Interestingly, the relationship between these various types of material and how archaeologists interpret them has been inconsistent at best (Fennell 2017, Little 1998). The use of various lines of evidence changes with the theoretical development of the discipline. The relationship between material and human beings is not something to be easily understood, but rather studied from as many angles as possible to establish the most likely historical scenario that fits with the evidence provided by the archaeological record through careful methodology (Fennell 2017, Orser 2010). Only through many lines of evidence, a great amount of time
invested in studying a particular site or area, and careful interpretation of the available material
culture can a convincing understanding of the past be obtained.

The power of objects to reflect this kind of complex cultural interaction is an intense and
variable attribute. Often the objects that are found in the archaeological record are commodities,
which may or may not hold sentimental value by their original owners. Complications can arise
with commodities when they are bought, sold, and resold many times over their useful lifespan.
The interpretation of objects like these to comment confidently on social distinctions such as
ethnicity need to consider the relationship between buyer, user, and seller/disposing user.
Kopytoff provides an extensive commentary on the relationship between objects and people, and
the power inherent in that relationship (1986). He produces two factors when discussing the
process of commoditization. The first is something becomes commoditized “(a) with respect to
each thing, by making it exchangeable for more and more other things”. The second is something
becomes commoditized “(b) with respect to the system as a whole, by making more and more
different things more widely exchangeable” (Kopytoff, 1986:73).

The inclusion of a certain object as a commodity is a result of the economic environment
in which it lives. If the object is so rare that to replace it would require great effort and travel, it
loses its status as a commodity because it remains untraded. In an opposite trend, if there are so
many of the objects on the market that it becomes untradeable it loses its value as a commodity.
The item being very exclusive does not guarantee its sacralization, but does create the
opportunity for it to occur. The sacralization of an item does not guarantee an exclusion from the
market for its entire lifespan, if the cultural agent that sacralized the item is removed from the
landscape, the item could fall back into being a commodity, despite remaining rare in terms of
economic availability (Kopytoff 1986).
The interaction between the object, the owner, and the market, creates a nuanced relationship. The object gains a story, social, economic, and even political power, and can represent a voluminous resource, a cultural icon, or both. The control of an object’s lifespan could have some control over that object’s potential power in society, and some government agencies have tried to curtail this factor. To address this problem, many different cultural institutions throughout history have used something called terminal commoditization (Kopytoff, 1986). Terminal commoditization is the sale of an item to a single party for the whole of the object’s lifespan. Government intervention with respect to legislation has made this a reality for a wide variety of goods from mattresses to books (Kopytoff, 1986). Like many of the other descriptive mechanisms for commodities discussed so far, terminal commodities can lose their terminality in times of war, or other social stresses that cause many traditionally consumable items to become trade goods.

Methodological approaches taken by archaeologists to understand ethnicity in the record vary widely across regions and time periods studied. Some geographic locales foster the preservation of textiles, human remains, and other biodegradable materials, while others do not foster such luxury. In much of the northeastern archaeological community, the use of ceramics, metal artifacts, architectural styles, and settlement or landscape data provide all that is available for the interpretation of ethnicity from the material record. This provides archaeologists with a difficult theoretical environment, from which any different alternate interpretations can be just as reliably concluded from the same data. As a result, in the historic period, the use of documentary evidence in tandem with the material culture resulting from archaeological excavation provides the best possible resolution for the historical picture of immigrant life in the American landscape.
Often the ethnic distinctions that are correlated with historical materials fall within some connection to class distinctions or differences between groups in terms of socio-economic status (Galke 2009; Bekken 2000). This is mainly because the differences in material culture that become apparent when these differences are present make the distinction between ethnic groups much more reliable. This is a symptom of a larger trend however, that assumes that the ethnic boundaries of the past align with the economic boundaries created by the capitalist system in place in North America. More importantly, the reason for that correlation are the racist actions taken by those in power, both economically and politically, throughout the development of the United States. Moreover, the possibility of ethnic interpretation of archaeological sites without this class distinction becomes less and less likely as the material culture between households, neighborhoods, and districts becomes homogeneous.

Social distinctions such as class which rely on economic position, but also popular trends within that subgroup concerning housing, clothing, food, occupation, and leisure activities, are invariably linked with the concept of ethnicity (Linn 2010, 2014). More practically, however, the successful act of accurately interpreting ethnicity is invariably tied to the concept and historical action of racism (Orser 2010). Class distinctions happen to be the most reliable means to establish a connection between material items and ethnicity solely because of the overt racist actions of those in power during the historical period in question. When discussing another social distinction, and using class as an example, the relationship between that distinction, ethnicity, and the actions taken by those governing the export and placement of material culture in the past create a specific cultural environment to examine. Self-identification through material culture is only possible when a variety of material culture exists from which to separate oneself from the larger group society, such as a small town or even rural region. It is the exceptions to this
primary assumption which prompt possible and even favorable interpretations of individualism and ethnicity within the context of a single site, or series of closely related sites.

An example of the material manifestation of resistance is brought up by Orser (2010) in the same article discussed above. Orser explains that Overseas Chinese immigrants in San Jose, California were berated by arsonists and often lost their homes and places of business. To make things worse, the local firefighting company ignored their pleas for help to the point where the immigrants dug wells and constructed their own fire hydrant system throughout their neighborhood to fight fires (Orser 2010). This adaptive construction in response to the structured racism felt by the Overseas Chinese community in this settlement left a large cache of material correlates that can comment on their plight as an immigrant population.

What are the differences between such approaches and other social distinctions such as class? The connection between ethnicity and class is held fast, but the application of further evidence for cultural identification beyond the simplistic determination of class boundaries is what illuminates ethnic and economic social distinctions. To that end, the inclusion of all material types that provide some evidence toward ethnic identification should be evaluated to completely understand those distinctions. Metal artifacts, ceramics, food refuse, textiles, personal items, isotopes, settlement data, architectural design, and historical documents are all included in this evaluation if the data is available. The goal of the following section is to review what is possible in terms of ethnic identification for each particular line of evidence, or material type, and at least one example of how they have been used to interpret archaeological material in a way that likely supports an accurate view of the ethnic community that left behind the material.

**Material Types and Their Relation to Ethnic Identification**
The following section serves to review the various material types commonly used for archaeological interpretations of ethnicity. Not all the material types included here have been used intensely, or at all, for this study. However, the material types evaluated below have important interpretive power concerning the ethnic and racialized identity of the agents of history. As seen in subsequent chapters, this dissertation uses ceramic data, personal items/small finds, and some food-related data to interpret the economic market access of a varied collection of settlements across the state of New York. Many of the archaeological data interpreted in this dissertation are the result of cultural resource management (CRM) Phase I, II, and III excavations across the state.

The interpretations discussed in the respective archaeological reports from those studies has pulled from metal and glass, as well as other material types present in those collections that is not further discussed in this dissertation. If those materials inform the economic development of the surrounding environment in which that CRM effort took place, they are described in the interpretation of that data in this dissertation. All of the collections included in this study have metal and glass components in addition to the ceramic assemblage, though these collections may not contribute to the discussion most germane to this dissertation, and as a result are not included in the interpretation chapter.

Despite this, the application of these material types is discussed and examples are given to establish a baseline understanding of how each material type can be used, and the potential interpretive power of a material type as a line of evidence. The following section serves to provide the reader with a single resource for evaluating the efficacy of a material type to discuss archaeological interpretations of ethnicity, or interpretations of class.

Metal
Metal artifacts possess a few key aspects that apply to material culture used as evidence to support ethnic identification. From family held heirloom jewelry to everyday metal tools and utensils, the trace of lifestyle and cultural tradition may be gleaned from the metal artifacts found during archaeological study (White 2005). Architectural metals for various different architectural styles change between cultures. Metal ties for structure types, nails, and plates are often found in the archaeological record. Often nails are diagnostic of various time periods and manufacturing traditions, but the industrially produced aspect of them does not provide much in the way of ethnic identification. However, if the layout of a certain building can be gleaned by the architectural metals used in construction, the cultural tradition of certain building layouts can help provide some insight into the occupants (Smith 2003). Further than that, if the construction of various buildings is controlled by a larger conglomerate force, such as a labor camp, it is very likely that connections between that labor camp and its labor force can provide evidence for ethnic identification.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, Australia experienced a massive influx of immigrants in response to the discovery of Gold. A large amount of those immigrants were Chinese. Australian archaeologists have attempted to parse out these Chinese occupations using interpretations of structure layouts at mining camps in the Australian alpine region. As discussed in Chapter Three, data recovered from excavations at Kiandra, a mining community with a distinct archaeological record that indicates a Chinese presence (Smith 2003). During the early nineteenth century, European explorations utilized this area for pasture, and soon established mining communities after discovery of precious metals. The vast increase in immigration, including from China, occurred after the winter of 1860, and lasted into the early twentieth century. Like those Chinese who immigrated to the United States, the goals of the immigrants
who arrived in Australia were to work in the gold mining trade to earn surplus wealth and return to China (Smith 2003). Groups of Chinese workers were organized by interested companies and investors in China and sent together to satisfy the interested party’s goals. Outside of these organized immigrant groups, individual Chinese immigrants followed these populations to create a support network of essential services. Chinese doctors, tailors, butchers and store keepers are all mentioned as being present in New South Wales during this period.

Although documentary evidence states that there were many isolated Chinese communities, an extensive archaeological survey could only parse out one. Despite this, some markers of the presence of these communities still remain, such as the descriptive typonomy of "Chinamans Flat" (Smith 2003:20). The site that is discussed in Smith's study consists of two stone dwellings which the author presents as in line with traditional vernacular Chinese architecture (Smith 2003). To further support the assertion of traditional Chinese architecture, Smith employs statistical analysis of living quarter volumes with similar structures in the two regions of China that a majority of the immigrants were relocated from. Smith also points out the use of tamped earth foundations and stone foundation linings as a very successful means of weatherproofing the structure. Smith relates these structural approaches with known Chinese sites in New Zealand, and other localities in the Pacific (Smith 2003). Some of the aspects of the construction of the Chinese dwellings are similar to Chinese occupied dwellings as far away as Idaho (Smith 2003).

Cultural influences in dwelling construction in the United States and in New Zealand changed a preference for chimneys to be placed within the structure for cooking. Interior chimneys were not present in the structures investigated by Smith, and the author argues that this may be because of a direct relationship to the hut building traditions in Eastern China (Smith
The structural hardware that would result in the archaeological assemblage from these distinct architectural designs could provide evidence of a certain building tradition that links diverse geographical locations such as Australia, New Zealand, and Idaho. While structural hardware like in the example described above is unlikely to appear in an Irish immigrant context in the northeast. The presence of modern hardware, or expensive building materials in a hinterland region of the state at the inception of their use (i.e. an early abandonment of hand wrought nails), could indicate a higher economic status, and as a result a more complete interpretation of a disenfranchised group. This particular scenario does arise in the data and interpretation chapters below with respect to very well-connected communities like those within the Hudson and Mohawk River valleys.

Jewelry, often of religious nature, can be used to delineate cultural affiliations and possibly ethnic identity. The nineteenth century is rife with religious conflict, even within the confines of Christianity, but certainly between Christianity and other organized religions. As Fennell points out, there is also a culture lasting into the nineteenth century of the belief, or superstition in magical objects (Fennell 2000).

Currency is also used beyond its intended practicality and in some contexts, is afforded magical properties after modification. Exchange rates and differences in a world of varying degrees of conversion between English and American currencies can provide some insight into the identity of those holding the coins. For much of the early nineteenth century, there are many regions, especially in rural areas that use a combination of English shillings and American dollars. It becomes problematic when understanding costs and demands of certain goods, but from one example in Delaware County, NY it can be seen that 8 shillings is roughly 1 dollar (Wakeman 1802).
Culinary metal artifacts will also be discussed in the foodways section below, but culinary traditions can provide an excellent level of insight into the ethnic identification of a particular population. Often culinary traditions are so stark in their contrast that certain implements of their preparation can vary widely. Using the Chinese as an example, a lack of European table cutlery would be an excellent indicator of an alternative culinary tradition and would provide one factor of evidence towards an ethnic identification archaeologically.

Clothing is one of the most reliable outward extensions of individuality. The quality, construction, and style of the clothing worn by Americans during the nineteenth century were a direct correlation to their socio-economic station, their heritage, and even their political beliefs. While many buttons, hooks, and fasteners are made of many different types of material, as will be discussed in the textile section below, gold, silver, and copper were all used to produce fasteners for clothing. If an individual has as much silver in his waistcoat as another earns in a month or more, the former individual is very clearly more influential economically and likely belongs to a different social group. When combined with other lines of evidence that connect things like class and ethnic boundaries, this type of distinction can provide the resolution necessary to delineate an ethnic group. Not only that, but certain types of clothing related artifacts, such as buckles for specific work-related clothing, would also be an indicator of the individual's economic position. Clothing clasps and personal items related to visible wealth do appear the archaeological record of the most economically development sites included in this study and will be discussed in Chapter 5 and 6 below.

Tooling/Occupational metal artifacts are related to clothing artifacts, but also represent the specialized tools needed for industrial careers that sprang to life during the nineteenth century. A rail workers toolkit is distinct among the environment of those working in a factory,
or even on a canal (Hungerford 1946). Each different type of industrialized transportation required different fields that would expand into the employee’s toolkit selection. For example, early railroad construction featured large excavation, which would be in common with canal excavation. Where the professions differ is that while building bridges for railroads the carpentry tools needed may be available archaeologically, lining retaining walls and buildings locks with creosote dipped timbers would yield a separate set of tools (Hungerford 1946; Sheriff 1996).

Military indicators are an excellent source of information when considering not only firearm components but also commendation medals, buttons, other standardized regalia. Furniture tacks and home goods that leave metal traces can also be interpreted as an aspect of wealth accumulation and identification.

_Ceramic_

Ceramics have been long used by archaeologists to provide an insight into the economic prowess of individuals by establishing their faculties and willingness to spend large sums of money on elaborate and expensive plate sets (Wall 1991; Brighton 2008). While ceramics may seem like an awkward correlate to material wealth, their extreme durability in the face of the deteriorations of time and soil make them the prime line of evidence for much of archaeological study, especially in Historical contexts.

The dependence on ceramics for an accurate insight into the economic position of any particular family history hinges on a few key assumptions on the part of the archaeologist. The first assumption is that a trend of conspicuous consumption is desired by the historical person. The will to spend large sums of money on a cultural ideal of a well-appointed home has been analyzed in detail by archaeologists over the last thirty years (Wall 1991, Brighton 2008). In
some cases, the social force that dictates the need for these items has been somewhat lessened by a resistance of families on the economic brink of the lower class, or by religious ideologies expressing a value not in material wealth, but rather the opposite.

The second assumption that this type of analysis takes on, is the blanket availability of these ceramics by all persons across geographical regions. This assumption combined with time deposition lag creates a blurred picture of the actual buying power, and worth, of certain ceramic sets within collections. For example, a logging town deep in the Adirondack wilderness is a much different context than an urban center. The access to markets in remote locations is so limited that certain mass-produced items, like ceramics, remain altogether scarce, and consumer choice in the type, pattern, and quality was extremely limited when compared to a Hudson River shipping port, or even New York City. The ceramic assemblage at the logging town would be scaled to represent a more modest choice of ceramics altogether, as well as be an indicator for the lack of reliable trading options to such a remote location.

Further, durability can factor into rural ceramic collections and their direct connection to economic wealth. For more rural locations, in terms of access somewhere between the Hudson River shipping port and the Adirondack logging town, the ceramic sets available to residents through trade were limited by the durability of the ware (Williamson 2006). Long distances covered over land demanded thorough precautions by ceramic dealers so that their cargo would not arrive in a number more considerable than when they set out. The systemic limitations for ceramic collections and their connection to economic status are extremely important when employing any interpretation of an archaeological site, rural or urban.

Ceramics remain one of the most important and reliable archaeological resources, and thus their use has sparked discussion within the discipline for the entirety of the development of
This discussion has provided ceramics with innovative employment to contribute to interpretations of ethnicity within archaeological sites. The great variety and access, even when considering the systemic limitations, can provide a conduit for consumer choice that may reveal social attributes that can be identified as likely to belong to a particular group of immigrants.

Within the context of a given economic system, and the documentary history of that context showing a particularly large density of an immigrant group with a unique country of origin, the archaeological visibility of economic hardship can provide some insight into the domestic life of that particular immigrant group. While not explicitly detailed a particular immigrant group, this economic approach can be used to delineate the presence of a disenfranchised group of people in the area. This disenfranchisement stems from racialization of that group by another, more economically prosperous group with some measure of social and political power. The intricacy of applying this archaeological interpretation is discussing the possibility of the identity of the group in question, whether they have been selected against because of religion, the color of their skin, or their language and cultural history.

The use of ceramics to discuss ethnicity, and other social distinctions is a constantly moving theoretical hurdle. Ferguson first discusses Indian-Colonoware with Noel Hume’s original definition of it to mean a pottery manufacturing tradition limited to Native American populations along the length of the United States’ east coast (1992). Ferguson agrees that this pottery tradition or style is manufactured by Native populations, but is also found in African Slave contexts and argues that it represents both, or either, a Native American presence or an Afro-American presence (1992). The use of a ceramic type to discuss ethnicity has been a common practice in archaeology for decades, as has been discussed above. This application of theory by Noel Hume and then by Ferguson is an interpretive leap to discuss the identity of the
manufacturers as well as the users of COLONOWARE. Not all archaeologists agree with this direct application of identity and material culture; Galke (2009) notes that colonoware’s usage as a prime example for ethnic identification in the record, is really just a class distinction between those enslaved, and those who have been freed. She supports this claim by relying on a number of examples of contexts where colonoware has been found specifically in slave related contexts while freed former slaves chose to completely exclude the use of colonoware is telling.

Further complicating the discussion Hauser and DeCorse (2003) have investigated the limitations and applications of using low-fired ceramics with alleged African ties as ethnic identifiers of Diaspora and societal interaction in archaeology. They note that direct or indirect analogy between the material item, its function, and its necessity in a culture represents the amount of confidence archaeologists may have in their interpretations of that object’s owners. Attempts to make connections between found material culture and contemporary African cultures have been made by a handful of scholars. However, the extreme variability in culture on small geographic scales in Africa make the likelihood of finding a correlation somewhat slim, especially considering that no culture remains static in the face of more than a century of cultural change and economic development.

Importantly, what the exchange between Ferguson, Noel Hume, Galke, Hauser and DeCorse exemplifies is the trend in archaeological study to instill power and identity into an object through various theoretical frameworks. The scholars listed here with the exception of Galke are attempting to use some level of analogy with an acceptance of error to establish ethnic or cultural markers in low fired earthenwares. Galke is taking a more Marxist approach using the economic status and trend data available to establish a link between the ceramic tradition and a certain economic level of production. Between the four different approaches seen here, the
colonoware problem is addressed by concluding that this particular ceramic trend is found in certain economic environments wherein populations that may or may not be inclined to define themselves as ethnically African American or Native American made, used, and deposited the material. Arguably the most useful of the distinctions available from this scholarship is the use of slavery as a decisive indicator of a population that have used colonoware, from there, the further identification of individuals remains as the only possible conclusive interpretation that can be related to ethnicity.

Food

Culinary tradition is one of the most marked ways that cultures can self-identify and create identity. The methods a culture uses to cook its food, the ingredients they use, as well as the pageantry and etiquette rules that agents within that culture observe are incredibly useful in determining difference between one population and the next. Archaeologically speaking, the material correlates of these differences can provide strong evidence for different cultural traditions, and in some sense, a strong correlation to ethnic identity (Orser 2010). Chinese examples of foodway difference have been successfully used to determine ethnic boundaries in towns in the western United States (Voss 2005). The presence of ceramics that foster Asian cuisine give insight to identity, such as small tea wares, an absence of plates, or vessels for particular liquids that much of the American tradition of cooking does not employ. However, the utilization of foodway related material culture to delineate ethnic boundaries is not an immutable method (Voss and Allen 2008).

Ethnicity being defined in terms of resistance against acculturation has been presented in the past as a reliable means of interpreting archaeological collections that were considered to be
ethnically Chinese. This mechanism, while useful for the development of our conversation of ethnic definition, somewhat limits the agency of immigrants to culturally adapt.

An article by Voss explores the materiality of foodways, and the construction of ethnic neighborhoods (2005). These neighborhoods were not solely inhabited by the ethnic group that initiated their consolidation and often led to cooperation between the immigrant group and the host community. Voss explains that “Close interactions between Chinese and non-Chinese extended beyond residential patterns” in reference to a historic San Jose Chinatown (Voss 2005:432). The Overseas Chinese populations in San Jose did take advantage of this ethnic neighborhood, which offered them both physical and emotional protection against outside influences and violence. The inclusion of their own housing within the boundaries of this ethnic neighborhood did not exclude non-Chinese populations from also living within these boundaries. To establish their integration even further, Voss points out that one about a third of the entire Chinese population in Santa Clara County actually lived in the Chinatown. The neighborhood was used by these external Overseas Chinese populations as a cultural touchstone during weekends and holidays, and many would travel there for social gatherings and events (Voss 2005).

Voss cites Wong 2002 to establish that this rural-urban settlement pattern was typical across Western North America (2005). This discussion of Chinese ethnicity relates to food ways through ceramic assemblages recovered from the Market Street excavations in San Jose. Seventy-three percent of all vessels that were recovered were of Asian Manufacture. 22 \% were of British and American manufacture. 5 \% are indeterminate. Solely using ceramic distributions to define ethnicity in any particular context is ill advised. What it does show, is a culinary pattern that includes both Asian and European traditions. These two cultural factors are not in opposition.
to each other, and much more likely indicate an integrated and developing cultural mixture between an immigrant community and the host community in which it flourishes. Both alcohol and opium consumption are legal during the time of heavy Chinese immigration to the United States. As a result, they are used universally for recreation, in addition to their medical uses, by Americans of any country of origin (Voss 2005). Voss notes that any interpretation of opium related material culture that assumes an ethnically Chinese presence is misguided (2005). The above use of ceramics exemplifies that foodways are also intrinsically connected to other lines of evidence such as isotope, ceramics, and glass analysis.

The inclusion of foodways in this study is to better evaluate economic position of certain food items with respect to their given context. For example, in Chapters Five and Six, there is some discussion of site details that include the inclusion of specific high value food items in more connected communities along the Hudson River. These specific contexts have access to higher priced cuts of meat, and seafood options that the other sites included in this study do not contain. This inclusion likely signifies a more development economic and societal stratigraphy in better connected (in terms of the regional and world market) archaeological contexts. Expensive food items are seen to be present in almost every archaeological context by the end of the nineteenth century to include material items like sugar (PAF 2010).

Textiles

Textiles can be immensely powerful in providing information on possible ethnic identification. The different mechanisms that textile analysis employs is somewhat foreign to most archaeological interpretations, partly it is expected because of the low material durability. If textiles are present in a collection however, DNA analysis, evaluations of structural markers or
stylistic differences may detail the origin, purchase price, and probable target market for a particular garment (Good 2001).

Functional aspects of textiles can be extremely useful in discerning what the textile was used for and its expected lifespan (Good 2001). Pseudomorphs are textile chemical residues on metal or ceramic objects. Metal objects are particularly useful because the chemical processes of deterioration leave a fossilized structure of the original fiber core. Pseudomorphs are useful for the reconstruction of both shape and function of particular textiles. Impressions are similar to pseudomorphs, these are the negative forms left in clays and other malleable environments that could provide insight into the form and function of particular textiles. Between these two methods, the object impressing upon a textile, or the object the textile is impressing upon can be gleaned from chemical residue analysis or structural analysis (Good 2001).

Textiles are not only limited to their overall function, such as a bonnet, or a blouse, but also to the micro-construction of the particular fibers of each garment or object. These fibers can give insight into the location and technology used to create them, as well as the raw materials used in some cases (Good 2001).

Fiber identifications can be inaccurate, or inadequate, because of poor preservation conditions or because the necessary information for proper identification was not sought out by the researching party. Animal derived products, like wool, can be identified through Protein, Lipid, or even DNA analysis on heavily degraded samples (Good 2001).

Good has said that "It is an almost universal maxim that social groups, and individual social stations within groups, are marked via cloth, clothing, and modes of dress" (2001:216). Like many other archaeological lines of evidence though, the use of Textiles is not fool-proof and comes with a variety of caveats. Interpretive problems are the most challenging aspect of
current research concerning textiles. For instance, a textile found in a very early excavation was touted to be a Chinese silk, despite the data showing no conclusive identification. This singular assumption spawned a large body of speculation on long distance trade, which may or may not have any truth in the actuality of history (Good 2001).

Using a specific example of textile analysis in an ethnic setting, LaRoche and McGowan published a paper on the implication of the textile record in the Five Points (2001). In the instance of the Five Points, the commercialization of the textile industry could lead to large numbers of bulk textiles found in archaeological investigation. During excavation of Five Points Block 160, feature J contained some 1000 pieces of textiles that were recovered, but the majority of them seemed to be associated with actual garments. There were no number of randomly shaped, cut edged waste scraps that would have been associated with the bulk factory setting (LaRoche and McGowan 2001).

A majority of the woolens recovered from Block 160 were twill in form. This form displays some insight as to their function. Twill was used for garments such as trousers or heavy jackets, the extreme number of this type of textile should come as no surprise considering the low economic position implying hard labor and the need for all season clothing at an affordable price (LaRoche and McGowan 2001).

While technological changes may help some textile investigation, the northeast textile manufacturing trade was not fueled by technological innovation, but rather, an unending torrent of cheap labor. Irish, Germans, Jews, and Italians entered the garment industry attempting to use it as a means to vault themselves from poverty to non-poverty. LaRoche and McGowan also note that African Americans could not move up, even with this industry, and the intense competition fostered by an unyielding work force pushed many African Americans from artisan trades.
altogether (2001). This forceful exemption was often perpetuated by newfound prejudices of European immigrants. The social necessity of those prejudices to remain economically viable in the manufacturing environment helps create the racial tensions between Irish, African, and Italian Americans.

By the 1850s, the overwhelming Irish population in Southern Manhattan, and its accompanying textile industry ties Irish female identity with work as seamstresses (Anbinder 2001; LaRoche and McGowan 2001). For the percentage breakdown for seamstresses, or textile driven occupations around 1860 the authors cite Ernst 1949. The production of textiles as a profession was not limited to adults. Many children in the Five Points helped provide for their families by being rag pickers. Rag pickers, an occupation defined exactly how it sounds, were very closely related with Five Points and poverty-stricken New York in general. Newspaper ads would offer cash price for any quantity of cotton linen or wool rags. The rags obtained by the pickers would be shredded down to shoddy and remade into recycled garments. In fact, many civil war uniforms were made from the material that results from this process (LaRoche and McGowan 2001). The still used term of ‘shoddy’, meant to describe something as sub-par originates with this practice (LaRoche and McGowan 2001).

*Isotopes*

While not utilized for this study, the use of isotope analysis to inform interpretations of archaeological data with respect to immigrant populations is an important line of evidence that should be considered when the data is available. Strontium isotopes can provide information on ethnic identity when in reference to migration of populations from one groundwater source to another (Slovak and Paytan 2012). The rock formations in New York State are of an extreme
age, and hold a very particular Strontium signature for those individuals ingesting the ground water. The Strontium signature that would result from consuming water from outside New York State, in Ireland, for example would provide a very different Strontium isotope signature.

Tissue regeneration in humans varies in time period depending on the tissue in question. For example, soft tissues are consistently replaced whereas bone structures like collagen are replaced every 20 years or thereabouts. Tooth enamel is only ever produced once. The childhood production of tooth enamel locks the Strontium, as well as other isotope signatures from our childhood into our molars. Isotope analysis of human tissues like molar enamel then gives us an insight as to whether or not an individual migrated between his or her childhood and his or her adulthood.

Another interesting indication of immigration, at least in early colonial periods, is the presence or absence of maize in the carbon isotope signatures of bodily tissues. Maize agriculture was practiced through much of the eastern United States before and during the colonial expanse (Hart, Anderson and Feranec 2011; Vogel and Van Der Merwe 1977). Those individuals who did not have access to this particular grain prior to arriving may exhibit a discrepancy in their C3 and C4 carbon levels. Because of the elemental makeup of Maize, many old world foodstuffs give off a much heavier δ13C isotope signature. Using the same tissue regeneration parameters that were used with Strontium isotopes, archaeologists have been able to exhibit a difference in δ13C values for immigrants to colonial Chesapeake (Ubelaker and Owsley 2003).

Isotope analysis can provide excellent resolution on proof that an individual person in history was an immigrant, and with a proper sampling, from a specific origin location. Such an amount of certainty is incredibly powerful for an archaeological interpretation of ethnicity. As
incredible as this is, isotope analysis requires the availability and testing ability on human remains. Those remains must include two or three types of tissues for childhood/adulthood comparison, bone collagen from a femur and a first molar for example. Beyond the hurdle of having the required remains, and funding for such testing, the isotope signatures on a region level for the origin and destination must be known for sample comparison, which can be acquired pulling from other disciplines such as geology and geography, depending on the regions in question. If the regional isotope signatures are not available from previously done research, the collection of that isotope signature may have to be done in order for any interpretation to occur.

**Personal Items**

Many archaeologists have mistakenly viewed personal items or items of adornment with a modern perspective (White 2008). Personal items, or adornment items, have to be analyzed in a way that permits their interpretation with the cultural definitions of the time period in which they were made. Interpreting personal items within a modern context may lead to some important items that can say much about a particular context to be ignored, while other more aesthetically interesting items are wrongfully held above the rest of the collection because of their value in curiosity alone (White 2005). This misappropriation of specialized attention has led to the use of personal items to discuss archaeologically relevant ethnicity to be viewed as an inconsistent practice.

The discussion of personal items somewhat conflates the textile and metal artifact categories by allowing costume to play an important role in defining perceived social boundaries for specific individuals (White 2005). For example, a person wearing 20 lbs worth of Sterling
Silver in their garments has a much higher position in the social and economic environment than a person wearing a wool shirt re-sewn from shoddy. The inclusion of personal items or adornment in discussion about costume, rather than discussing costume at length within the context of textiles is credited by the longevity of personal items of adornment in terms of preservation. This longevity is in direct contrast with much of the data available concerning textiles, as we have seen above.

White discusses the use of clothing, or costume, as a means of communication for people of all classes and social groups (2008). Items of adornment are used as a physical expression to demarcate internal definitions of gender and other hard to define social derivations into exterior space. White uses gender as an example because of its status as an incredibly intimate and personal state of mind which, like ethnicity, has to be clumsily extrapolated through material culture (2008). Materially, items of adornment or personal items may be defined in terms of bodily incorporation of material goods. Material goods that come in contact and remain in contact with the body with the purpose of being seen and interacted with by external agents can be considered incorporated communicative personal items (White 2008). The selection, arrangement, and length of wear of these items are dictated by the social constructions of appropriateness that are weighed personally by the wearer. Contributing factors to these rules of adornment expand across class, gender, ethnicity, age, occupation, and body shape.

White’s discussion of personal items in this manner creates the use of items of adornment as an incredibly powerful communication tool between the wearer and the society in which he or she wears these items. This communication is sometimes met with adversity, and the efficacy of these items to communicate internal values have even interrupted social norms in historical society. The reaction to this disruption can be seen in legal proceedings that restrict the use of
items of adornment or clothing styles that are socially deemed inappropriate (White 2008). Examples of such restrictions are embellishments on clothing such as embroidery, or the inclusion of precious metals if the wearer was deemed an inappropriate agent by their class, occupation, gender, or ethnicity. The presence of these legal proceedings grants insight into the power of personal items as a communicative device, but also their availability to transcend class, gender, and ethnic boundaries set by historic societies.

So what objects can be considered personal items or items of adornment? White defines four different categories of commonly found objects (2008): Clothing fasteners, jewelry, hair accessories, and miscellaneous artifacts. The first three of these are self-explanatory and include everything from wig curlers to buckles. The fourth category, miscellaneous, includes objects such as spurs, watches and watch accessories, cosmetic tools, and waist-hung appendages (White 2008).

Using historical documents to inform material analysis of racism and ethnic boundaries in history.

Historical documents provide an indispensable line of evidence that can comment on ethnic boundaries and racialized definitions of populations in history. Primary documents can give an individual’s perspective on the greater events in their surroundings. In many cases, the political and social environment is reflected in the musings of historical figures (Scham 2001). This trend is in part a connection between those privileged enough to write on a public scale, and the biases that are inherent with the middle and upper class. However, these biases are often self-evident, and lend archaeological scholarship to interpretations of interactions between these parties and the parent society.
The use of documents enables archaeologists to view the events of history, and the material left from those events, in the context of lived experiences. Written sources are unique in that they are always written by an individual, but provide information that spans many levels society in terms of scale. Diary entries and letters between correspondents are the most specific and individualistic of documents in terms of scale.

Newspaper editorials and court records represent a slightly larger, and more tempered reflection of historical life. Political cartoons and art represent a national or regional reflection of social and political practices, and finally maps represent both the national and international stage of social, cultural, and political interaction. Each of these document groups will be discussed below in a context where they have provided information for the identification of ethnicity in the archaeological record.

**Individual Correspondence**

Letters, journals, or store keepers’ ledgers containing information on the use of material culture to define and satisfy social obligations provide a great resource for the materials routinely bought and used by a community or sample of a community. Concerning New York State history there is a very large collection of primary documents available at the New York State Historical Association in Cooperstown, NY. In a specific example, general store records from all over New York State are held at the New York State Historical Association, they are separated by county and describe the purchases of goods and services from the most rural to the most urban of contexts for the nineteenth century.

Four account books held at this library have been evaluated and provide an excellent sample of the utilization of this type of document. To more completely account for the
differences in economic scale between the urban and rural parts of New York State four volumes of general store account books from Delaware, Oneida, and Albany counties were interpreted (Crawford 1827, Wakeman 1802, Mackey 1843, Dodge 1835).

Two volumes were from Delaware County representing a mid-south location and north-eastern location, one volume from a general store located in Utica, NY, and the last volume was from downtown Albany, NY. All four of these volumes include date ranges from 1820 to 1860. In these volumes the description of the items sold or the services rendered, as many loans and even coach transportation was handled by the general store owner in the more rural settings. The following two columns detail the price per unit for the service or trade good, and then the price paid or owed depending on the patrons line of credit or available funds. The data available become more consistent in the more urban environments because of more entries with more frequency in terms of day-in and day-out goods purchase trends. In the back pages of the Delaware County day book there are also descriptions of distances traveled for trade goods from major cities, as well as work habits and even descriptions of local businesses such as a distillery which accounts for a large amount of sugar being bought and sold from this particular store by the same man.

This type of historical document is useful to researchers hoping to evaluate ethnicity because of social distinctions linked between ethnicity, economics, and religion (Bekken 2000). Often, these interests are shaped and molded by the community as a whole, their individual correspondence with the shopkeeper, in his notes and ledgers there may be clues to their business practices, their trade relationships with other in the community (especially if that community is rural) and their travel patterns.
Journals also present an interesting opportunity to view the world through the eyes of an individual living in history. Specifically concerning the Young American Republic, there are available journal and diary entries in archive record libraries, but there are published volumes as well. One of the best examples of a published volume of lived experience during the mid-nineteenth-century is Charles Dickens’ *American Notes for Circulation*.

While Dickens is a celebrity in his own time, and does have some privileges that others may not, the people he meets and has interactions with provide an interesting perspective for archaeological interpretation of the Northeast specifically during the mid-nineteenth-century. Some examples of aspects of life that can be gleaned by Dickens’ novel are travel times through very rugged terrain, the treatment of inmates in both prisons and insane asylums, and the reception of British nationals like himself short on the heels of the war of 1812 (Dickens 1842).

Most importantly for a discussion of ethnic identity and its application in history, Dickens covers in detail conversations and relationships between English, French, American, and Native American individuals across an area that covers Connecticut to St. Louis (Dickens 1842). When considering the relationships between different ethnic groups and the social acceptances of various levels of economic development and cohabitation, the type of information that is available from journals like Dickens’ novel is incredibly useful. However, it is very specific information, so if a document such as *American Notes* does not exist for the particular site in question, the extrapolation of information in the same region may provide an example, but does not represent a perfect recreation of the past.
**Newspaper Publications and Court Records**

Jon Bekken evaluates social implications of foreign language press in Chicago at the end of the nineteenth century. In his arguments the aspects of ethnicity in social discourse are invariably linked to economic class. In 1880 half of Chicago’s population were first generation immigrants (Bekken 2000). Twenty years later, three quarters of the entire population were either first generation immigrants, or the children of first generation immigrants. As a result, Chicago has a strong foreign language press industry. Of those many immigrant groups represented, Bekken focuses on Polish communities (Bekken 2000).

Bekken notes that while class and ethnicity are linked, and that each factor can have a material basis, that both class and ethnicity are continually changing. Bekken argues that the result of the fluidity of ethnic identity as well as class boundaries leads to other non-ethnic means of communal solidarity. These other means of communal solidarity are illustrated in the landscape of the Polish foreign language press. What he is actually showing, are the many different social and cultural aspects of individual ethnicity through interest in publications that center on Polish nationalism, religion, and economics. Examples of the different organizations that Bekken pulls upon are labor unions and religious groups. Bekken notes that many believed that the Polish community in Chicago was consistently Catholic, however, Poles actually varied widely in religious ideology and political outlook (Bekken 2000). Foreign language newspapers published in Chicago are a reflection of the variety in Polish ethnic identity present at the turn of the twentieth century.
Table 1. Polish Language Newspapers in Chicago. Bekken 2000:8

In the table above Bekken shows the variability in Polish ethnicity by using six different newspapers, all established between 1868 and 1921. These six publications adhere to three major outlooks, or some combination of them. These three outlooks are religion, nationalism, or Polish economic progress; which he terms this “Class Struggle” (Bekken, 2000:8). Each newspaper can adhere to one of the three outlooks exclusively, such as the Dziennik Chicagoski. This newspaper is an independently produced publication that equates Polish ethnicity singularly to
the Catholic religion. In contrast the Dziennik Zwiazkowy Zgoda focuses on both Polish nationalism and Polish economic progress or class struggle.

These different publications are sponsored by and often published by various Polish Fraternal Societies. The subscription to these publications is an intensely personal attribution of identity and communal involvement that aligned with the individual's belief in what it means to be Polish (Bekken 2000). As useful as these subscriptions can be, they still distill the ethnic identity into these three different value sets, which can be in any way combined or left out. Even the limitation to these three value sets could exclude some Poles in Chicago that may not adhere to any of these values in their definition of Polish identity.

Chicago is not an anomaly on the historical stage for having a strong immigrant run press network. New York City had hundreds of ethnically specific publications printed during the nineteenth century (Anbinder 2001). Like the Polish language press in Chicago, these newspapers offered a means of solidarity and community strength. But also, they provided a forum for discussion that would be important to a specific ethnic group. For example, many of the Irish American newspapers in New York City that were published during the nineteenth-century commented on news from Ireland, local politics that affected the Irish people, and provided a voice for the educated Irishman that could transcend class boundaries between uptown and downtown neighborhoods (*Irish American* 1868).

When discussing ethnicity from an archaeological standpoint, the focus is put upon material culture that correlates to population groups. Newspapers like those found in Chicago or New York City give us some insight as to the trades those individuals are working in and their political and religious outlooks. What these concepts represent does not easily correspond to material items, but the advertising columns that accompany these topics in periodicals help the
historian as well as the archaeologist guess at the material culture most available and sought after for a particular community.

The most important aspect of these kinds of documents in terms of archaeological discussions of ethnicity however, are their readership zones, subscription information, and more general information as to the entire community that the publication serves. The scale of a newspaper publication is above the individual, but remains within a municipality, and with that information (in combination with many other lines of evidence) ethnic neighborhoods can be talked about confidently in historical and archaeological research.

*Political Cartoons and Art*

*Harper's Weekly* acts as a vehicle in which readers can experience tourism through the whole of industrializing America. The “conspicuous” (Prettyman 2001:24) topics of labor and immigrant relations provide provocative material while publicizing discourse and important social issues for the Young Republic. Thomas Nast was particularly important to this discourse. As the magazine’s head political cartoonist Nast enjoyed notoriety contemporaneous with his work and was regarded as an important voice in public opinion (Prettyman 2001). His efforts together with editor George William Curtis steered the magazine into historical relevancy.

Thomas Nast and his political cartoons helped Harper's Weekly to triple their readership during the Tweed power struggles of New York celebrity. He stayed on with the magazine until the early 1880s, when he left and was replaced with W.A. Rogers (Prettyman 2001). There was a period of overlap where they were cartooning together, but Rogers becomes much more prominent in the late 1880s and onward. This period is often regarded as the primary development of American advertising (Prettyman 2001).
The American magazine archetype from the end of the nineteenth century keeps a record of middle class American cultural understanding and discussion. These publications were seen to be conservative leaning, principled, and politically minded. Harper's Weekly in particular was aimed at the sophisticated, soon-to-be-defined American middle class, who are educated and receptive to cultural discussion (Prettyman 2001).

One of the most popular and regular subjects published on by Harper's Weekly were stories about immigrants. These stories and cartoons dealt with ethnic neighborhoods, political implications of immigrant communities, and the role of immigrant workers within the newly minted industrial landscape (Prettyman 2001). The texts that accompanied illustrations and satirical cartoons would often be segmented into multiple parts and published in seriation across weeks. This publication strategy kept readers not only interested, but engaged in these issues and promotes an active community ripe for discussion concerning some of the most important issues of that time period (Prettyman 2001).

George J. Manson wrote a series in the *Weekly* titled “The ‘Foreign Element’ in New York City”, which was first published in 1888. The pilot story of this series was titled “The Germans” (Prettyman 2001:27). “The Germans” was accompanied by a cartoon by W.A. Rogers in a documentary art style that is meant to depict a realistic still life of a cultural environment (Prettyman 2001). Manson acknowledges that he could not possibly exhaust the detailed definition of an entire immigrant culture in one magazine article. He instead sets out to “touch upon the most salient features of that life” (Prettyman 2001:27).

To accomplish this task of presenting the most important features of German life, Manson focuses on commerce and the arts. He details leisure activities such as music and theatre, as well as common religious practices and social groups. He defines these topics as those
aspects of life which are under direct control of the immigrant group and can be guided by their actions alone (Prettyman 2001). In later issues of the Weekly’s serial “The ‘Foreign Element’”, Manson covers other immigrant groups too, such as the Norwegians, the Swedes, the Danes, and the French. Interestingly this list of “Foreign Element[s]” excludes racialized immigrant groups such as the Italians, the Irish, the Overseas Chinese, the Poles, and the African Americans.

These racialized groups show up, not in their own series episode, but rather in the portraits painted within cartoons and one-off articles of curiosity. These portraits attempt to capture life from a particular perspective. Examples being “A Sicilian Cafe in New York” or “Sketches in a Bowery Restaurant” (Prettyman 2001:28). These scenes portray large immigrant groups that exhibit an alien quality, or spark profound curiosity in the middle-class reader as to the everyday activity of a certain demographic. The exoticism of these topics in comparison to the more in depth and humanized treatment of non-racialized immigrant groups is telling in terms of both political and social opinion concerning the racialized populations of the nineteenth century.

The separation of these two categories of immigrants is stark evidence in determining the mindset of the authors of the magazine. Not only the social values of the authors, but also those values of the middle-class culture that is their target audience are shown in this content separation. These late illustrations by Rogers that depict the racialized immigrant group category come into audience’s gaze contemporaneously with the serial expose’ on more socially appropriate groups like the Danes or the French (Prettyman 2001).

The inclusion of this type of historical document in an archaeological investigation with the goal of interpreting ethnicity is useful in that it provides a social relevance and level of comfort with the actions of a particular demographic of people in the past. The level of social
scale that a magazine like Harper’s Weekly shows us it very large, both in terms of readership and geographical coverage. Printed media was available coast to coast at the end of the nineteenth century, as a result the social insights that are provided through a publication like Harper’s Weekly show what the regional to national perception of a certain immigrant group may be, and how that perception is received on an individual, communal, or national level. This type of document provides a literary backdrop from which site-specific contrast can be pulled and the interplay between individual correspondence for example, archaeological collections, and a large-scale periodical may provide a more detailed interpretation of ethnic identity in a specific context.

Maps

Maps are viewed by many as a scientific medium of information that is devoid of historical biases and ambitions (Smith 2007). The political, social, and economic environment that the map is produced within colors the information portrayed with that map to appease the corporation or individual commissioning that map. Discussions of maps as vehicles of colonial power have appeared in archaeology in the past and maps have been used to explain the power of cartography to shape the physical landscape, as well as the cultural landscape (Jackson 1989). Because maps depict the physical world, they are often portrayed as being all-knowing and infallible by the party who commissioned them; this has strong implications in how they are used in power fluctuations, or even social engineering and collective consciousness (Smith 2007).

Smith calls this influence the representation of “authoritative truth” (Smith 2007:82). A more interesting and useful relationship with historic maps is to develop an understanding of them as an artifact rather than a scientific resource. The use of maps as an artifact lends itself to
studies and interpretations that can help explain the resistances and ambitions that each map represents and depicts. To extrapolate further, these resistances and ambitions can inform the interpretation of other kinds of artifacts in a particular archaeological study and help identity interest groups in history and possibly the racism that creates ethnic divisions in the greater landscape. That landscape, as a result is both depicted and informed by these maps.

Other disciplines that exclusively engage with the types of historical documents that support archaeological interpretation of ethnicity have had their own development process when considering the bias laden topic. Geographers, economists, historians, lawyers, and journalists have all had separate ethics development timelines to assess their disciplines contribution to history. Their interpretations of historical works provide an insight into the possible analysis an archaeologist can produce using these various lines of evidence.

Maps, for example, have changed to suit the political and economic environment as we have discussed (Jackson 1989). Geographers have contended with the issue of maps and atlas bias concerning political influence, as well as ethnocentrism, and perspective. The hope in assessing these biases within geography is to inform interpretations of past maps, but also, to reassess culturally informed maps that are produced in the modern age. While the physical reality of the world can be represented using computers empowered with satellite imagery, the placement of additional information upon those base maps is potentially laden with ethnocentrism, misunderstanding, and ignorance.

In an article from 1989, Peter Jackson contends with these issues that plague the discipline of geography. Jackson points out that “culture” is an entanglement of various interests and antagonisms. National culture definitions are better described as the whole of these interactions and any partially accurate simplification of those relationships must be carefully
applied to cartography. Jackson leans on Carl Sauer to explain that geography evaluates cultural landscapes in a “super organic” way (Jackson 1989:18).

Super organic in this context is defined as the whole of the relationships of culture interacting, developing, and living out life cycles. Jackson explains that geographers use materiality of these relationships to combat bias in politicizing landscapes, especially when dealing with ethnic and race related issues (Jackson 1989). In this discussion, the tie between social limitations and economic geography is very pronounced.

The political implications of maps that reflect a racialized landscape inform policy, and Jackson warns that even in the late 80s geographers must be aware of any implications their current work could do in terms of effecting modern populations and political strife (Jackson 1989). With the practice of geography and cartography being so burdened with pitfalls in the contemporary, the likelihood that historical geographers, as well as their creations, were so inclusive in their scope as to evaluate these biases is very low.

The use of maps by political parties in historical periods to establish and perpetuate class warfare, and racialization by extension, makes this particular type of historical document a telling piece of evidence that can contribute to the discussion on ethnicity. Also, the utilizing of the historical map in this way creates the map as an artifact, a tool used by the agents of history to create the social and economic environment deemed advantageous by the worldview of those in power during these time periods.

Chapter Summary

A confident interpretation of ethnic identity within a particular archaeological context can be understood in terms of material contrast between racialized immigrant groups and the greater
indoctrinated society. These delineations between what many archaeologists have termed above as an ethnic community is in many ways a material conversation of interaction between an immigrant group and the host environment. In the above chapter the methods used to make these distinctions are explained in the context of specific material types. These materials must operate in the entire environment on different scales of interaction.

In “Twenty-First-Century Historical Archaeology” the discussion of scale in terms of historical archaeological research decides that no matter how large the system theory is that the scholar is basing his or her analysis on, the site of focus is always the kernel from which the larger program of analysis grows (Orser 2010). Every piece of evidence, especially the lines of evidence related to the discipline of the historian relates back to the site in question, but in differing degrees of scale. Orser uses the example of the white smoking pipe, saying that it is found on many different continents in many different contexts, but ultimately, the majority of them are made in seventeenth-century Amsterdam, and follow the global movements of Dutch colonialism.

Not only are they found in contexts that could be defined as Dutch colonial, but also in contexts of others who interacted with those colonials. These interactions describe other populations that traded with them, warred with them, and lived with them. The parsing out of the details of these relationships, and the substantiation of the material culture that is defined as “Dutch” pipe, are usually best supported by documentary research which references the very specific, in terms of scale, context which is being studied. This particularistic approach serves to better define the site in question, but also relates back to the whole of the world system that allowed it to happen, and as a result further supports to the use of differing scales in historical archaeology.
What the above sections show are the utility of common archaeological material types, as well as commonly available historical documents, to depict an archaeological community as a certain *ethnicity*. The difficulty in discerning ethnicity through material culture, even with the assistance of historical documentation is frustrating, but it is also an indication of the complexity of the lived experience of immigrant groups in the Young American Republic. When discussing specific sites, artifacts, and documents, the scale of manufacture as well as use and reuse all need to be considered to know the lifecycle of that object or document. Like the ‘Dutch pipe’ each piece may be global in scale, and represent any number of individuals, communities, or ethnicities.

The interaction between that one artifact, the culture that manufactured it, where it was found, and what was said about it all combine to tell a story that is near the truth of historical occurrence. As an archaeologist studying these sites today, the experience of the owner of such a pipe is locked behind an opaque lens of documents and artifact categories, ceramics and maps. This is certainly not the clearest means to understand the actions, much less the identity of the groups of history, but it is the only mechanism that we have at our disposal to understand those who came before us.

The use of each kind of analysis, with the specific theory that has developed for each material type, as seen in the above sections show that while imperfect, the lived experience of immigrant groups in the nineteenth century can be confidently discussed if the historical conditions allow for a material trace of confrontation (racialization) or significant material indication of the building of identity (resistance to racialization, development of an outward facing self-ascribed identity). This utilization and interpretive power is restricted by each individual site and context, the amount and type of artifacts, and the available documentation.
Therefore, when assessing the *perceived* ethnic identity of any historical group in terms of archaeological research the entirety of the material culture available, both documentary and archaeological, must be considered within the framework of evaluating the effects of racialization and carefully interpreted with an understanding that the self-definition and personhood of an individual or group of individuals may never reveal itself in the material available.
CHAPTER FOUR – HISTORICAL CONTEXT AND BACKGROUND FOR THE REGIONS OF NEW YORK STATE

The following chapter details the historical context and background for each region analyzed in this dissertation. Chapter Four is meant to contextualize archaeological data presented in Chapter Five, and any interpretation of that data in Chapter Six. Each region covered by this dissertation will be discussed within a subsection below, and contains the settlement history of that region, the history of industries integral to that region’s economic growth, and the impact of arterial constructions of that region during the nineteenth century.

THE HUDSON, MOHAWK, AND SUSQUEHANNA RIVER VALLEYS

The Hudson, Mohawk, and Susquehanna River Valleys represent the locations of the earliest European settlement in New York State. In these river valleys, interactions with Native populations as well as between Dutch, English, and French political bodies shaped the relationships and economic structure of New York State. It is within this context that the earliest class, and by extension social, structures develop and are enforced by the colonial, and post-colonial culture. Below, the historical context of the three major river valleys will be detailed from contact into the early twentieth century. Data available through the New York State Museum and through the New York Cultural Resource Information System (CRIS) for each river valley will be presented and compared to evaluate the social, political, and economic environment in which archaeology may find the cycle of racialization visible. This visibility will be discussed for commonly under-represented groups in each region, such as Irish-Americans, Italian-Americans, Chinese-Americans, and African Americans. A regional interpretive
statement will detail the archaeological visibility of racialized groups in this context with respect to the data available and interpreted by this study will be provided in Chapter Six below.

\textit{Hudson and Mohawk Rivers}

The settlement of the Hudson and Mohawk Rivers began in the early seventeenth century with the initial exploration of the interior of the state by Henry Hudson (Huey, 1991). Hudson was employed by the Dutch to prospect a shipping passage to Asia. To complete this task he traveled up the Hudson River approximately half the distance from the Atlantic Ocean to present-day Albany. Following this initial exploration, the Dutch built Fort Orange along the river south of present-day Albany. This initial foothold in the region constructed by the Dutch dictated relationships between French missionaries descending south from Canada, as well as Palatine German settlers who located west of Albany along the Mohawk River in Palatine Bridge, New York. These three populations also had trade relationships with British interests in the New World as well as Mohawk settlements all along the Hudson River (Crouse 1915). These engagements between Dutch, English, French, English, and Native groups were not always restricted to trade, and often broke out in violence (Morgan 1993).

During the seventeenth century, much of the Hudson Valley was the territory of the Algonquian-speaking Mohican people. Clashes between this group and the Mohawks to the north led the Mohicans to relocate to Massachusetts in the early seventeenth century (Christoph 2005a). During their migration, they sold much of their land to Dutch settlers eager to develop the banks of the Hudson River. The Van Rensselaer family leased out farms along the Hudson River and Normanskill to settling populations, and this led to widespread construction of sawmills and dairy farms throughout the region (Christoph 2005b).
During the eighteenth-century the American Revolution had many key engagements along the Hudson and Mohawk Rivers that dictated the measure of the war in New York State. The Hudson River was laden with British Navy carrying reinforcements and supplies between New York Harbor and the fronts of battle prior to key defeats at Saratoga, Lake George, and Ticonderoga (Halsey 1910). The Mohawk River Valley was littered with English and Dutch military installations to facilitate the presence of European interests in Iroquoian, and Iroquoian-allied-French-Canadian territory throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These same installations were utilized in conflicts between European and American powers (Crouse 1915). It is around these forts that small cities following the American revolution established a history of settlement and a strong economic presence along the Mohawk River. The western frontier of the economically complicated settlements along the Mohawk River extended to Fulton and Montgomery Counties, facilitated in part by a long occupation of Palatine Germans in that area throughout the period. Cities to the west of this location along the Mohawk River, and later the Erie Canal, did not flourish until well into the nineteenth century. The land owned by British loyalists that was located along the Hudson and Mohawk Rivers was divided and sold to veterans of the Revolutionary War.

At the turn of the nineteenth century the Mohawk River Valley was utilized in large part by the leatherstocking and leatherworking industries. Leather goods, mills, and finished products were exported from the Mohawk River Valley from locations between present-day Utica and Albany (Ellsworth 1972). The Hudson River Valley in contrast was chiefly a shipping lane between Albany and New York City, but also had a strong dairy farm presence along the entire route (Wermuth 1998). After the completion of the Erie Canal in 1825, the Hudson and Mohawk river valleys become the most efficient means of moving people and goods from the east coast to
the frontier and great lakes (Sheriff 1996). From 1825 until the completion of many of the railroad systems that connected the country post-1860, the expansive commercial developments along this corridor made the communities along the Hudson and Erie Canal highly economically lucrative and powerful (Koeppel 2009).

**Susquehanna River Valley**

Early in the nineteenth century is the period in which Cooperstown, Oneonta, and the rest of Susquehanna River Valley received heavy immigration of European populations (Milener 1971). Many of the large cities along the Susquehanna River Valley only grew beyond the size of a small town of less than 1,000 souls after the completion of the Susquehanna railroad lines in the mid to late nineteenth century. The Susquehanna River Valley falls into the leather stocking trade in kind with the Mohawk River Valley to the north, but also like the Hudson does foster dairy farms as well.

After the completion of railroads along the Erie Canal, Hudson River, and Susquehanna River Routes, the identity of these three river valleys changes again. For the Hudson River, much of the lower section proximate to New York City becomes a suburban expansion from the metropolitan area as well as a tourist destination for city-goers who utilize the region for weekend recreation. As a result, early electric trains connected communities like Poughkeepsie to the main rail lines, and later, the Taconic Parkway. The Susquehanna River Valley flourishes after the completion and expansion of railway systems that follow its river. Oneonta quickly becomes a bustling town with the largest railroad roundhouse in the country. The use of this corridor between the capital region and Binghamton cause industry to boom by the beginning of the twentieth century. The Mohawk River Valley was extensively used by tradespeople
throughout the nineteenth century after the completion of the Erie Canal. Railroads later accompanied the canal to follow its course across the states and eventually would foster city growth in the way of Syracuse, Rochester, and Buffalo. These three cities will be discussed in the section below as frontier cities.

It is important to note that these consistent arterial renovations across these three river valleys create a lengthy occupation span and foster the widest variety of cultural difference and material signature. The same location in the Mohawk or Hudson River Valley could have been occupied by post-contact Mohawk, Dutch, German, French, English, and American families in as little as a single century. Then during the nineteenth century, these same contexts had the opportunity to house Irish, Italian, and Chinese immigrants. The continued economic investments into these regions, which represent some of the earliest European expansions into North America cause these contexts to be more accommodating in furnishing evidence to delineate a wide variety of groups of people throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

**Binghamton**

Broome County was settled by European-Americans at the turn of the nineteenth century. This was due to the displacement of the several Iroquoian groups who had resided there by the Clinton-Sullivan expedition in response to Iroquoian alliances with the British during the Revolutionary War (Rafferty and Ebeling 2001). Populations grew in Broome County during the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century after large tracts of land were purchased by settlers from New England, as well as widespread utilization of squatting. The City of Binghamton grew out of a rural county which focused on agriculture and lumber production for the first half of the nineteenth century. After the completion of the railroads along the
Susquehanna River and connects to Pennsylvania to the south facilitated an exponential population growth after about 1850 (PAF 2001). Despite Broome County, and Binghamton by extension, being located on a major navigable waterway in the Susquehanna River its delay in settlement was due to political and military mechanisms during the Revolutionary War. This combined with a lag in settlement by populations from Massachusetts describes Binghamton and the surrounding area as a frontier city rather than an early development like the cities described above.

FINGER LAKES, WESTERN NEW YORK, AND FRONTIER CITIES

This section presents the historical context of boom-towns and frontier cities across New York State’s wilder western territories during the early, mid, and late nineteenth century. These contexts in contrast with the section presented above on the Hudson, Mohawk, and Susquehanna River Valleys, represent the communities that were built by the completion of large public arterial projects like the Erie Canal, other smaller canal systems to the west, and the New York State Railway complex. Syracuse is the most notable of the cities and contexts discussed below because of the oddity of its treatment of immigrant populations but other cities that fall into the above described category include Watertown as well as small towns throughout the western plateau region. These contexts largely combine some resource extraction practices, chiefly lumber production, with agriculture and some manufacturing of goods necessary for those communities less connected that other New York towns located to the east.

*Syracuse and the Erie Canal*
Syracuse is located on the eastern end of Onondaga Lake was originally within the territory of the Onondaga Nation of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy. The Onondaga were initially neutral during the Revolutionary War but eventually sided with Britain to fight against the colonists. Following the conclusion of the war, and their subsequent defeat, many Onondaga people relocated to the Six Nations Reserve in Canada. It was at this point that the 1788 Treaty of Fort Schuyler, which was also known as Fort Stanwix, that New York State acquired the title to the land of present day Syracuse, as well as Cayuga, Onondaga, and Seneca Counties (Schein 1993, Landscape and Prospect 1993).

The New Military Tract was a 1.5 million-acre section of land set aside for soldiers of the Revolutionary War. This tract was surveyed and divided among settlers across what became 28 townships. Despite the land being reserved for veterans, many veterans neglected to claim their land or sold it to speculating parties enabling populations from the rest of New England and the Mid Atlantic to move to the area. Onondaga County was formally created in 1794 from Herkimer and Tioga Counties (Dieckmann 1986, Rivette 2005). Syracuse, often lovingly referred to as the ‘Salt City’ was famous for the production of salt at the Onondaga Lake salt flats along the lake shore. It was within the first 10 years of the nineteenth century that James Geddes, a surveyor and early Onondaga County settler, developed large sections of Syracuse to facilitate the salt production industry. Geddes, as well as Abraham Walton were integral players in the creation of the Onondaga Salt Springs Reservation. The Erie Canal was finished in Syracuse at around 1820, and it was at this critical moment that population, and investment, explodes in the region (Clark 1849). The completion of the canal made exporting salt from Syracuse much easier and allowed for extensive economic development in the area. Throughout the nineteenth century large populations of Irish born immigrants arrive via the Erie Canal, and later through
the New York Railroad system (United States Federal Census 1840, 1860, 1880). The large population growth, both Irish and non-Irish cause many of the public facilities in Syracuse to begin to falter. Onondaga Creek for example, was utilized throughout much of the south of the city as a primary means to rid households of waste. However, because of yearly flooding, the Creek annually killed many people and destroyed homes throughout the southern half of the city (New York State Assembly 1854). The majority of the Irish settlers who stayed in Syracuse after the completion of the Canal (as many of them were probably canal workers) established an ethnic neighborhood in western Syracuse, now called Tipp Hill. Tipp Hill is short for Tipperary Hill, named after County Tipperary in Ireland, where many of the populations that fostered Tipp Hill’s development are believed to be from. It is important to note that the Irish populations in Syracuse were not forced to be located, or even socially selected to be located in the depressed, often destroyed, and disease ridden south Syracuse neighborhoods. Syracuse even elects an Irish-American mayor by the 1890s. Despite this interesting trend, persecution of Irish Catholic populations was still seen in New York State throughout the early settlement era, from about 1820-1860, largely depending on religion (Kelly 2005).

Steuben County and Western Rural New York

Steuben County is situated at the base of the western Finger Lakes represents a region of New York State that can be considered to have connected to the larger arterial trade and travel network later than eastern cities and settlements discussed above. Steuben County was originally a large Phelps and Gorham Purchase at the end of eighteenth century. It was then surveyed and sold to Robert Morris in 1790. It was sold once more to Sir William Pulteney. Steuben County was officially established in 1796 as a function of being split from Ontario County (Clayton
At the beginning of the nineteenth century only about 1,000 people lived in the entirety of Steuben County. By 1820, that number grew to nearly 20,000. The county gained approximately 10,000 people per decade until the turn of the twentieth century, where it has stayed fairly stagnant.

Settlements throughout the county, which is mountainous agricultural land today, were situated along the river valleys and stage coach road junctions. Steuben County produced crops through agriculture and opportunities for resource extraction through lumber production. They utilized a canal and river system comprised of the Cohocton and Canisteo Rivers as well as Goff Creek to facilitate the movement of raw materials through the county, and to the north for export throughout the greater Northeast region. The explosive population growth seen in the early nineteenth century was due in part to the completion of the Erie Canal in 1825, and a general trend for populations to move westward, and into sparsely populated regions after that pivotal year. The Seneca Indian Nation that originally inhabited Steuben County has a long history of political and economic ties to European powers throughout the French and Indian War, as well as the Revolutionary War. These relationships eventually cost them access to the majority of the county, like in many other contexts throughout New York State, and with other Native Nations.

The completion of interregional railroads in Steuben County brought with it a consistent increase in population, but also, Irish and Italian immigrant communities (Pierce 1953). These populations took advantage of the sparsely populated landscape and the increase in travel and trade utility made possible by the completion of the railroads caused many hamlets and farmsteads to be built during the second half of the nineteenth century. Manufacturing industries complemented an agricultural and resource extraction trend in the region and provided many jobs for late arriving immigrant groups through the westward expansion of populations enabled
by arterial construction. During the twentieth century, however, an economic downturn caused many of these industries to stall and fail, leaving much of the county today relying on resource extraction and agriculture once again (Thrall 1942, Folts 1996).

ADIRONDACK AND CATSKILL MOUNTAIN RANGES

At the time of writing only 45 archaeological sites are recorded to be within Hamilton County. One out of these 45 is considered eligible for the National Register of Historic Places. It is described as a World War Two era plane crash site on a mountaintop. Two of the 45 sites are listed on the Register, but are standing structures and do not contain any archaeological data. Two of the 45 sites recorded in Hamilton County have been evaluated below together, these are limited in material signature, but represent the most well represented sites in the region. This complete lack of data in Hamilton County is a typical showing of what is available for the rest of the Adirondack State Park. This absence of available archaeological data is likely a result of a lack of continuing development in the region. To speak to this, the two sites included below resulted from a Department of Transportation survey for New York State Route 30.

The Catskills Mountains, and Delaware County specifically, are discussed below in the same chapter as the Adirondacks because of a distinct lack of dense settlements or cities that have caused extensive historical archaeology to have been accomplished. There is a lack of evidence within these contexts to support historical interpretations of the archaeological record. This is because the lack of historical construction within these contexts prevents any evidence from being found. The lack of historical construction in these contexts is a result of a relatively late settlement on the part of Euro-American settlers, and the lack of a thriving economy that
focuses on a sedentary industry. Euro-American settlement in the region focuses on resource extraction, low impact agriculture, and tourism. The result of this economic history is that a large class gap within the majority of the population does not develop during the nineteenth century in all but the most connected communities, causing material signatures of populations to be economically homogeneous.

*Hamilton County and the Adirondacks*

Hamilton County was created from Montgomery County in 1816, but did not function as an independent county until 1838. Hamilton County is located in the greater Adirondack mountain range, which is characterized by very steep ravines, high peaks, mountain lakes, and rivers. The main industries in Wells, a village in the southeast of Hamilton County, were lumber production, tanning, and some limited agriculture. The community of Wells is a typical settlement in the Adirondack region, and only consisted of 20 or so residences by 1872 (Hartgen 2008).

Resource extraction, mills, and limited agricultural production typify the Adirondack economy (Smith 2005). Settlements usually are situated on mountain lakes or river ravines. Like Wells, most settlements are limited in size, and even today are used by most of the population on a seasonal cycle only. The most important effect this has on archaeological data from Adirondack contexts is a profound lack of historic collections. As explained above, only a handful of artifact bearing Historic Sites exist in Hamilton County.

In a 1904 map of transportation corridors called the *Map of The Adirondack Wilderness* the naming of streams, rivers, and mountain lakes is the only indication that an increase in population may be beginning to happen in the region (Stoddard 1904). While Stoddard’s map
shows no buildings or landowner names, or even parcels, the naming conventions when compared to an earlier map from the nineteenth century does point to some settlement of the area. However, even in 1907, the USGS Sheets for Hamilton County show very low structure numbers. Connecting counties such as Saratoga County are much more connected to main economic corridors like the Hudson River, but the environmental barriers associated with the Adirondack Mountain range significantly hinder the permanent settlement in the area.

The Adirondacks have a deep history of resource extraction and the development of small, labor focused communities. Towns such as Moria, Mineville, Lyon Mountain, Tawas, Clifton, Star Lake, and Port Henry are just a few examples that were formed and dominated by an industry such as iron ore resources, or wood extraction (Smith 2005). Communities in the Adirondack Park are still in a desperate need to end the cyclical economic pattern of seasonal unemployment and limited income and the rising cost of municipal services and have been for 150 years. The story of the Adirondack region and the mines that keep it in economic prosperity is not unique, it is the same story told across United States in similar small communities (Smith 2005). The installation of boom towns in resource-rich regions of the United States have caused expansive resource extraction practices to stimulate the local economy. That economy is only stimulated during weather patterns and seasons in which the resource can be extracted effectively. In many Adirondack contexts, the mining of iron ore was undertaken in high or hard-to-reach places, such as the most remote municipalities in the Adirondack State Park. The use of local lumber resources as a means to smelt iron ore was only viable for a short amount of time at the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth century. After the installation of the Forever Wild initiative in the Adirondacks the iron ore industry was no longer able to effectively smelt its own
ore and transport it at a reasonable cost. It is at this time of the iron ore mines and titanium mines of the Adirondacks closed (Smith 2005).

Mining in the Adirondack community had an impact on the land and the demographics that surrounded it. The mine and the company that owned it, shaped entire communities in the daily lives and workers of its families (Ford 2011, Smith 2005). This, like many other industries that focus on resource extraction, similar to those in Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Vermont, and Kentucky, created entire communities that were based on the company town ideal. The Adirondack mining town shared many similar elements to coal mines and other iron ore mines copper ore mines and resource extraction facilities in Vermont and the rest of New England (Smith 2005).

Examples of this would be the majority of land and buildings in the town are owned by the company. The series of residences were built and owned by the company. A wide variety of nationalities as first-generation American immigrant working for very low wages (Smith 2005). A hotel or inn as well as a company store and churches were often built and financed by the company, the school was also built and financed by the company, the hospital was also placed near the mine constructed, funded, and maintained by the company. In these contexts, the life within the mining towns were completely subjected to the will of the company that owned the majority of the business and facilities in that mining town.

As an example of a mining community that imploded in the early 20th century, Lyon Mountain was first discovered in the 1820s. Like most Adirondack ore beds, although plentiful, the bed was very inaccessible and required a 13-mile long timber-plank-road to be constructed through the mountains and forest land to access it from Dannemora (Smith 2005). The overall movement of the ore to nearby railroads involved that or being transported by wagon to Upper
Chattaway Lake then transported by barge to forges or furnaces where it was melted, then transported via Ogdensburg and Lake Champlain railroad to Pennsylvania and Ohio plants where it was processed.

Although transporting ore was a difficult task the Lyon Mountain iron ore was renowned as among the finest in the world and was used for incredible projects early in the industrial age, such as the wire cables for the Brooklyn and George Washington Bridges in New York City as well as the Golden Gate Bridge in California (Smith 2005). Lyon Mountain ore was considered of the highest quality, and contained a high concentration of pure iron and a low amount of phosphorus and impurities. Due to the ore’s purity, processing took very little time and was relatively inexpensive. Clinton County featured many small mining operations and in 1845 the prison was opened in Dannemora to provide a steady stock of prisoner labor too many of the mines (Smith 2005). In 1880s the company realized its success was dependent on the accessibility of the raw materials and the connection of those materials to processing centers. To better facilitate this process rail service was brought to the site to improve access. In the late 1880s, the forges of Lyon Mountain were abandoned in favor of new blast furnaces that were located in the town of Standish (Smith 2005).

This sudden closure and relocation of a portion of the mining operation was common as resources diminish in one location and easier to access at another. This was a practice that was widely used in the Adirondacks when it proved destructive to the landscape. Archaeologically, this would result in many small boom towns that were moved with some frequency to follow what was strategically and logistically more appropriate as each iron ore mine produced its supply and the need for that supply to be delivered in an effective manner to a more metropolitan area either via the Champlain canal or the St. Lawrence Seaway.
By the turn of the century, ore deposits had proved to be exhausted or too expensive to process due to environmental pressures (Smith 2005). In 1903, the Delaware and Hudson Company took over operations and increased rail facilities in overall production capacities. The biggest change, however, was the transformation from charcoal furnaces to coke furnaces; a switch that is believed to have had a large impact on the Adirondack Forest, which at the time were already experiencing a high amount of timber harvesting, that was not sustainable. Expanded operations continued until 1914, when production shifted to a maximum daily output of iron products needed for World War 1 and exhausted the environmental carrying capacity for the industry, and so it collapsed.

Delaware County and the Catskill Mountains

The settlement of Delaware County starts with the Hardenburgh patent which was granted to Johannes Hardenburgh of Kingston in 1708. This deed included lands along the upper branches of the Delaware River, and was created through diplomatic determinations made at Fort Stanwix in 1768 (Hartgen 2012). Throughout the Revolutionary War period, the Delaware River and its adjacent lands were used by Iroquoian forces to military effect in raids on the Schoharie Valley as well as lands just to the west of the Hudson River. This military involvement, and a high density of violent populations moving around what is now Delaware County, causes the settlement of the county to be delayed until after the conclusion of the Revolutionary War. The county seat of Delaware County, Delhi, was only established in 1798. Hartgen notes that Munsell in 1880 describes the county seat in Delhi as a frontier community throughout the early nineteenth century (2012).
Interestingly, there is evidence to suggest that a large Scottish population immigrated to Delaware County during this period, arriving at the turn of the nineteenth century. Hartgen notes that in 1898, David Murray describes the mountains that run along either side of the Delaware River as the Scotch Mountains. In a quote from Murray, the sizable Scottish population is described as focused and industrious, utilizing the land from agriculture. It should be noted that Murray, waxing romantically nearly one hundred years later, is not to be taken at face value. Despite this he relays that populations that immigrated from Scotland found solace and comfort in the appearance of the Catskill Mountains at Delhi and around Delaware County as being similar to the ones that they had moved away from during their migration (Hartgen 2012).

Delaware County was heavily wooded with valuable hardwood upon settlement during the early nineteenth century. Many lumber manufacturing industries sprang up along the Delaware River, and the river afforded many of these industries a direct trade route into Pennsylvania.

Figure 10. Photograph showing Log Raft on East Branch of Delaware River. From the collection of the Colchester Historical Society.
Prosperity in Delaware County never develops beyond an agricultural focused economy, and many businesses there today still utilize the dairy farm industry to maintain small townships. There are no cities that compare to even the modest size of Oneonta in Delaware County, and the county still has a large focus on resource extraction. Archaeological visibility here too, is somewhat limited for historic resources that provide extensive artifact catalogues. In comparison to the Adirondack mountains, the Catskills are much more populated, despite the lack of any consistent industry. Many communities in the eastern Catskills (Sullivan County) focus on tourism from the tri-state area and New York City for income and as a result recreation is a key industry through campsites, skiing, and outdoor recreation. The low density of historical construction causes an imbalance in the archaeological record in Delaware County to favor prehistoric archaeological material. After analyzing the utilization of the area throughout the prehistoric period, and its use as a thoroughfare for the Revolutionary War period, it is easy to see why this is so.

MARKET BASKET OF AVAILABLE GOODS

The following section details the use of a ‘market basket’ to evaluate what consumer goods are available for purchase in New York State depending on region throughout the duration of the nineteenth century. The goal of this discussion is to establish a base understanding of the variety of goods that are available across the state of New York in markets that are considered high, medium, and low in terms of reliable accessibility.

In Christopher Fennel’s recent work on the availability of commercial goods, specifically the presence of imported ceramics throughout the states of Maryland and Virginia, he makes a
convincing argument that some ceramics can be traced through the advertisements in newspapers and account books (“Daybooks”) from the mid-eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries (2017). However, in evaluating that possibility, he also mentions that only a very small percentage of publications from those time periods even include specific references to foreign wares with descriptive names that could refer to aspects as specific as decoration. In many contexts, the foreign wares that are named are merely vague references to ‘Liverpool’ or ‘China’ without specific reference to manufacture type, decoration type, or vessel form. In other cases, simple descriptions of items sold in a general store context, or advertised in a newspaper consist of vessel forms only. Fennell notices that a trend among advertisers and merchants alike is to describe vessel forms only when describing domestically manufactured ceramics. Whenever foreign manufactured ceramics are mentioned they are usually accompanied by an adjective to let the reader know that they are indeed, imported (Fennell 2017).

Within the confines of Fennell’s conversation about the prevalence of advertisements and ledger items that include ceramics, he also points out that these forms of mercantile exchange are restricted to a limited middle class. While not specifically defining it as a middle class, Fennell explains that very wealthy individuals, even in rural areas, would have their own means to acquire goods and services, which would have included imported ceramics from England and China (2017). The poorest of families would resort to resellers, swap meets, and their interpersonal relationships for their goods, especially ancillary housewares such as imported ceramics. So, in the context of the stark lack of imported ceramics in general store ledger records, it comes as no surprise that the majority of ceramics sold in this manner are described using vessel forms only, implying that they were domestically produced (Fennell 2017).
This study has evaluated account books from Delaware, Otsego, Fulton, Albany, and Onondaga Counties (Dodge 1832, Hough 1829, Hough 1847, Mackey 1843, Wakeman 1802). Within these account books, time frames up to a year were evaluated from the middle of the nineteenth century to establish the amount and type of material available to would-be-customers across the state. In the most rural contexts, there were very few, if any, references to even simple vessel forms being sold by any merchant. In the context of Fennell’s research, this lack of any ceramics sold at general stores in Otsego, Fulton, and Delaware counties may reflect a lack of a ‘middle class’, that is, an economic class of individual that exists between the farming community, and the landed elite in those areas (i.e. important political figures and tycoons).

From account books in Albany county however, there is a presence of references to “china tea sets” and vessel form descriptions including “crock” being sold with regularity year-round (Dodge 1832, Hough 1829, Hough 1847, Mackey 1843, Wakeman 1802). In this context, there is a presence of a ‘middle class’, in that, there is an economic class of people residing in Albany County that fall between the lowest economic class and the ruling political elite. This affords archaeological assemblages in Albany County a wider range of economic interpretation, and as an extension, economic exclusion of population groups in a more populous and well-connected community.

As mentioned above, Fennell also evaluated newspaper advertisements for key terms that included imported ceramics. He found that, in the context of Virginia and Maryland that the frequency with which newspaper printed advertisements that specifically referenced imported ceramics was very low. When imported ceramics were referenced they were often referenced vaguely, and preceded by statements that resemble ‘offering the best in goods here and anywhere’. In evaluating newspaper advertisements in New York, this study has discovered a
similar trend. None of the newspapers that have been evaluated for this study have specifically mentioned particular types of ceramics or elite facing decorative goods. The newspaper advertisements only contain vague mentions of “crockery”. In many cases, the same advertisement is repeated across New York State along the Erie Canal corridor. This advertisement is for a swap-meet or flea-market to buy and trade goods to include ‘all kinds of crockery’ and points out that pewter and wooden vessels are also available.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper Title</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Albany Argus</td>
<td>Albany</td>
<td>1857</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steuben Courier</td>
<td>Bath</td>
<td>1849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steuben Advocate</td>
<td>Bath</td>
<td>1849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Broome Republican</td>
<td>Binghamton</td>
<td>1847</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buffalo Courier</td>
<td>Buffalo</td>
<td>1889</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wayne County Herald</td>
<td>Honesdale (PA)</td>
<td>1848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican Watchman</td>
<td>Monticello</td>
<td>1850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial Times</td>
<td>Oswego</td>
<td>1850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily Democrat</td>
<td>Rochester</td>
<td>1850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily Sentinel</td>
<td>Rome</td>
<td>1849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman Citizen</td>
<td>Rome</td>
<td>1849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evening Chronical</td>
<td>Syracuse</td>
<td>1855</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. Newspapers Evaluated for Market Basket

New York State newspapers from across the state, and general store account books from the central and eastern sections of New York State provide good insight into the goods that were available for purchase by communities across the state. The search for newspaper advertisements to use in this way utilized search terms for “store”, “crockery”, and “china”. Newspaper advertisement excerpts included in this analysis all date to between 1848 and 1860, with the majority occurring before 1855. Townships that newspaper directories featuring advertisements for “china” or “crockery” were used in the text included: Albany, Bath, Binghamton, Buffalo, Honesdale (Pennsylvania – The inclusion of Honesdale, Pennsylvania, and Wayne County generally, provides some insight into the availability of goods in northeastern Pennsylvania.
which is adjacent to the Catskills in a region that only recently was connected via railroad in the mid-nineteenth century [Shaughnessy 1997]), Monticello, Oswego, Rochester, Rome, and Syracuse. Newspaper excerpts were accessed using www.fultonhistory.com and general store account books were accessed at the New York State Historical Association research library at the Fenimore Art Museum in Cooperstown, New York and the New York State Archive in Albany, New York.

Considering a lack of documentary evidence to support specific ceramic manufacturers and their presence in the New York State ceramics market, it is difficult to establish the available goods in specific terms in each region of New York State during the early, middle, and late nineteenth century using documentation alone. It is more useful to evaluate each site and case study included in this study for the frequency of certain types of ceramics, and interpret a high level of relative connectivity after the conclusion of industrial artery construction projects including canals and railroads.

The actual availability of goods in these municipalities was perhaps stunted by a remote geographic location and expensive transportation costs, but there is no reliable documentary line of evidence to prove that is the case. It is also interesting to note that Fennell notices very little in the way of lack of access to market in rural contexts in Virginia and Maryland (Fennell 2017). This could be for a number of reasons outside of actual variety of consumer choice. First, the installation of higher economic status communities even in rural contexts in Virginia and Maryland could give a different result in the amount of material available to remote regions. The settlement of Virginia was undertaken early in the colonial occupation of the Americas and strong access to world market depends on early development and upkeep of important community relationships between the frontier and the trading centers on the coast (Fennell 2017).
Second, as mentioned above the relative prevalence of named ceramics in general store books and newspaper advertisements present in Virginian and Maryland based documentary research implicates a more stratified economic structure to include a ‘middle class’ economic body of purchasers that resource extraction zones of New York State (the most remote regions of the state) did not contain. The lack of any newspaper articles or general store account books mentioning specific imported vessels in these resource extraction zones implies a distinct lack of a purchasing class of customers that are suited to this consumption pattern.

With the above limitations kept in mind, the most convincing line of evidence for change in consumption patterns or product availability in any historical context during the nineteenth century is the archaeological assemblage of ceramics from that context. Ideally, a single municipality along an arterial development having three distinct sites from the early, middle, and late nineteenth century would provide the most convincing evidence of changing availability in household goods. These three examples would have to be congruent in every other variable to include economic and social standing, level of occupation, ethnic background, and religious affiliation. This specific contextual experiment is very difficult to acquire within the confines of archaeological study. What this study aims to do is create this type of contextual pattern interpretation at a larger, regional scale, with the collections available from sites that have already been excavated.

What can be seen in the Chapter Five below, is the archaeological data from sites across the State of New York. These data will be interpreted in Chapter Six, and evaluated according to the model created by this study to ascertain when certain communities are effectively connected to the larger regional and world market to facilitate the creation of extensive economic complexity. Social distinctions that are dependent on economic class difference then become
archaeologically visible due to the inclusion of a greater variety of material culture being readily available to a majority of the public. What can be seen, and will be pointed out below, is that the heaviest percentages of ceramic types in each of the regions reflects the period directly after the arterial construction and permanent settlement of that region.

For example, the earliest connected region, being the Hudson, Mohawk, and Susquehanna River Valleys contain many varied types of early ceramics to include yellowwares and decorated creamwares. The mid-nineteenth century sees the connection of the Erie Canal and many early railroads create boom towns in the middle of the state, in locations more difficult to navigate to in earlier time periods. This creates a boom in decorated pearlwares and whitewares from the mid nineteenth-century as the prominent ceramic type. In the hinterland mountainous regions, the chapters below will detail an access to market issue for these very rural communities, showing a majority of undecorated white earthenwares, hotel wares, and a myriad of non-ceramic artifacts showing an unreliable and late-stablizing access to market. Therefore, in the regions as they are defined within this study, there is a low variety, mid variety, and high variety of ceramic types due to differences in availability of choice due to a lack of consistent trade opportunities in the absence of reliable transportation (i.e. railway and canal packet ships which transported goods and people).
CHAPTER FIVE – ARCHAEOLOGICAL DATA

This chapter presents data for each of the regions covered by this dissertation. Below, data resulting from the archaeological investigation of sites in each region of New York State is presented in a narrative format with supporting tables. Important trends or interpretive artifacts will be pointed out preliminarily in this chapter. Chapter Six will evaluate the data and provide an interpretive statement on each region.

HUDSON, MOHAWK, AND SUSQUEHANNA RIVER VALLEYS

The following section details the archaeological data available from the Hudson, Mohawk, and Susquehanna River Valleys archaeological sites. These sites include: McClumpha Farm Site, Belknap-Montgomery Site, Railroad Avenue, and the Weaver-Demarest Site. Below in Table 3 which ceramic types found at each of these sites is detailed. Within that table, every ceramic type that was found across the entirety of the archaeological data interpreted in this dissertation is included so that direct comparison between regions could be facilitated. In some cases, this inclusion will cause a region, and the sites that represent it, not containing any of one type of ceramic to read “0” across the table for that particular ceramic type. The following section will detail decoration types that were applied to these ceramics (and present tables if the collated decoration data is available) as well as detail any auxiliary archaeological data resulting from the collection of differing artifact types outside of ceramics.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>McClumpha Farm</th>
<th>Belknap-Montgomery</th>
<th>Railroad Avenue</th>
<th>Weaver-Demarest</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agateware</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type</td>
<td>McClumpha Farm</td>
<td>Belknap-Montgomery</td>
<td>Railroad Avenue</td>
<td>Weaver-Demarest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buff Earthenware</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ceramic Bead</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clay Marble</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creamware</td>
<td>610</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dolls</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figurine</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ironstone</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaolin Pipe</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearlware</td>
<td>893</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>451</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Porcelain</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red Stoneware</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Redware</td>
<td>483</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>676</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-Vitreous China</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slip-Decorated Redware</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stoneware</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tile</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitional Whiteware</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Earthenware</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2779</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whiteware</td>
<td>1033</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>1813</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yellowware</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red Clay Pipe</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tin-Glazed Ware</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3. Hudson, Mohawk, and Susquehanna River Valley Ceramic Types

The Belknap-Montgomery Site

The Belknap-Montgomery Site is a nineteenth-century dairy farm and associated residence in Orange County located within the lower Hudson River Valley. The Belknap-Montgomery site complex is tied to the growth of family farming in Orange County during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Three distinct loci were identified, but only the central locus is representative of the nineteenth century residence and relevant to the current study. (NYSM 1987).

The Belknap family owned large amounts of land in Orange County, and the central locus site is one of a handful of residences operated in the area for dairy farming. One of the
most important aspects of the Belknap-Montgomery site complex is the overwhelming number of redware sherds present in the collection. Redware comprises 27% of the total ceramic collection. The materials at the New York State Museum suggest that this is attributed to technological innovations being adopted at the Belknap-Montgomery Site complex to utilize redware instead of pewter for the processing of dairy products on the farm. The inclusion of this sizable percentage within the larger ceramic assemblage does dislocate the Belknap-Montgomery site from the other sites within this section when processed with the cluster analysis mentioned in earlier chapters. A more in-depth analysis of these changes will follow in Chapter Six.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decoration</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>XI - undecorated whiteware</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>14.66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XGR - unglazed redware</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>11.28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XII - undecorated ironstone</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>9.77%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OGR - brown-glazed redware</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>8.27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XP - Undecorated Pearlware</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5.64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UTI - blue transfer-printed whiteware</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4.14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UBP - underglaze blue hand-painted pearlware</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3.76%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBS - buff salt-glazed stoneware, brown slip</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3.38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTBE - other buff earthenware</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3.01%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XC - Undecorated Creamware</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3.01%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGR - black-glazed redware</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3.01%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNZ - undecorated porcelain</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNR - unidentified redware</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PELC - Electrical Porcelain Object</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PINS - porcelain insulator, white</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CGR - clear-glazed redware</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OGS - grey salt-glazed stoneware, brown slip</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XY - undecorated yellowware</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UTP - blue transfer-printed pearlware</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABS - buff salt-glazed stoneware, Albany slip</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGS - grey salt-glazed stoneware, Albany slip</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTSW - other stoneware</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UDSW - unidentified stoneware</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOC - molded creamware</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.75%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4. Ceramic Decoration, Belknap Montgomery
In addition to the high redware count the ceramic assemblage at the Belknap-Montgomery site contains creamware, stoneware, whiteware, buff earthenwares, and yellowwares. This ceramic assemblage is an iconic mix of manufacture types to show that the level of access in Orange County for a family as wealthy as the Belknaps has gone unimpeded since the eighteenth century, and probably before considering their location along the Hudson River. As seen in the other sites in this development region, the long history of European occupation of the Hudson Valley afford trade materials to farmsteads and residences throughout the valley, and the indication of these can be seen in variance and difference of era exemplified by the collection at Belknap-Montgomery.

The Weaver-Demarest Site

The Weaver-Demarest Site is a historical archaeological site with material related to a residence in Saratoga County located along the Hudson and Champlain Canal corridor. Part of the Waterford excavations, the Weaver-Demarest Site represents an archaeological signature that includes significant percentages of porcelain, kaolin pipes, pearlware, creamware, white earthenware, whiteware and ironstone. The collection resulting from excavations at the Weaver-Demarest Site reflects an occupation history in the documentary record that spans between 1796 and 1919, and encapsulates the unrelenting economic growth of the Upper Hudson Valley during this time period.

High amounts of hand painted ceramics, as well as transfer print and other decoration types dominate the assemblage. Other artifact types that are represented across the Waterford excavations include faunal remains indicating a regular consumption of veal, shellfish, mutton, some glass artifacts indicating a preference for imported wines, and architectural materials for
the use of oil lamps. The study discussed by the New York State Museum (NYSM 1998) in their files indicates that major occupations of the site included guest quarters, a hotel, servants’ quarters, and separate kitchens for the seasons.

The report in the New York State Museum documentary collection details that a transition from a pre-industrial village to an industrial community is accompanied by changes in the structure of the layout of the buildings, and can be seen in the material acquired and used by the residents of the Weaver-Demarest site. In the early nineteenth century (from 1793 to 1841) the site is divided for use by socioeconomic class spatially, but at the mid-nineteenth century the NYSM report claims that this spatial segregation begins to occur, as the elite followed by the middle class moved out of the industrial zone of Waterford where the Weaver-Demarest Site is located (NYSM 1998). The ceramics included in the collection which are dated to after that move are likely related to a lower socioeconomic class inhabitation of the site. What the Weaver-Demarest Site shows is a multi-generational difference in status regardless of access to market factors. Due to the site’s advantageous position on the Upper Hudson River and having the Albany metropolitan area as an accessible port for goods and services, even the lower socioeconomic class noted in the spatial difference enjoys many creature comforts not available to the same economic class in more rural areas of the state.

Railroad Avenue

Railroad Avenue is a small multicomponent site located in Greene County. The ceramic assemblage resulting from excavations at Railroad Avenue resulted in a collection that is mostly whiteware (43%) but also includes significant percentages of porcelain, redware, yellowware and
creamware. This site, like the Belknap-Montgomery site above also included an unusually high amount of redware, and like the Belknap-Montgomery site above is located in the mid-to-lower Hudson Valley. The frequency of redware is not discussed in any materials available for the Railroad Avenue site but it could be an indication of the same technological changes seen in dairy farming and agriculture that were discussed in the context of Belknap-Montgomery.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decoration</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>XI - undecorated whiteware</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>38.33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABS - buff salt-glazed stoneware, Albany slip</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13.33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNR - unidentified redware</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UDSW - unidentified stoneware</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6.67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNZ - undecorated porcelain</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XGR - unglazed redware</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HPZ - handpainted porcelain</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOI - molded whiteware</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XC - undecorated creamware</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DOLL - ceramic doll part</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ONTC - other non-tableware ceramic</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEP - green edge-decorated pearlware</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SSP - stoneware sewer pipe frag</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATI - black transfer-printed whiteware</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OFI - flow brown whiteware</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UTI - blue transfer-printed whiteware</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XY - undecorated yellowware</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.67%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5. Ceramic Decoration, Railroad Avenue.

Despite its small size and very rural location, the Railroad Avenue site is located on the Hudson River, and also directly adjacent to a railroad corridor in Greene County. Greene County, like most of the mid-Hudson Valley has a long history of occupation by Dutch settlers after contact, which was later sold or taken by many English colonists, and continued on into the industrial and post-industrial age. The ceramic assemblage at Railroad Avenue while limited exemplifies this level of access to the global market by having high percentages of expensive ceramics like porcelain, and a wide variety of ceramics to include multiple time periods of consistent occupation on the site.
Information about the historic occupation of the Railroad Avenue site is limited, and the specific occupants of the site are unknown but it can be gleaned from the collection that socioeconomic status, at least initially, could be described as comfortable. It is unclear how the inhabitants of the site may have changed or been dislodged with the development of the corridors throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century. However, as discussed at the beginning of this chapter the Hudson Valley was nearly never left without a complete connection to even the least densely populated communities along its banks (NYSM 2000).

The McClumpha Farm Site

The McClumpha Farm Site represents a small affluent family farm dating to the early nineteenth century located along the Mohawk River in Montgomery County (Curtin 2006). In Curtin’s report, there is an interesting disparity between the conclusions that the literary and archaeological evidence available to interpret the McClumpha Farm Site afford. The documentary investigation that was originally completed examined deeds, census data, and historic maps. The Archaeological efforts resulted in sheet middens containing architectural, ceramic, and faunal material, as well as foundation features. Documentary evidence suggested that the residence was occupied by the McClumpha family after about 1830, but the archaeological data, and the Mean Ceramic Date pushes that occupation earlier. The ceramics indicate a major occupation period to be between 1801 and 1815 (Curtin 2006).

This disparity in the date of occupation of the property becomes more confusing when considering that archaeological efforts also recovered a 1786 Vermont copper penny. This artifact was found underneath a stone foundation/rubble feature in the front yard of the property and probably indicates that an earlier residence than the ones indicated in historical
documentation was placed on the site. Considering this continued occupation starting earlier in the late eighteenth century in the context of the other sites in this chapter, it is unsurprising to imagine that an earlier residence was being represented in the archaeological data. 17% of the ceramic collection recovered at McClumpha Farm was creamware, this is very high for an occupation that is documented in the historical record at 1850. There are also high percentages of whiteware, stoneware, pearlware, and ironstone in the ceramic collection. The variation of ceramics is in line with other sites evaluated in this chapter and conveys a wide level of access to the larger economic market throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth century.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decoration</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>XC - undecorated creamware</td>
<td>589</td>
<td>18.76%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI - undecorated whiteware</td>
<td>551</td>
<td>17.55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XGR - unglazed redware</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>6.18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XP - undecorated pearlware</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>4.59%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UTI - blue transfer-printed whiteware</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>3.22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CGR - clear-glazed redware</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>3.15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UTP - blue transfer-printed pearlware</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>2.99%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UFI - flow blue whiteware</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>2.68%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTI - brown transfer-printed whiteware</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>2.45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTFR - other fine red stoneware</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>2.39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UBP - underglaze blue hand-painted pearlware</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>2.29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BEP - blue edge-decorated pearlware</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>2.04%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTPW - other pearlware</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>1.94%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTRW - other redware</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>1.88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UPP - underglaze polychrome hand-painted pearlware</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>1.85%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANW - annular whiteware</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>1.82%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XY - undecorated yellowware</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>1.75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTHW - other whiteware</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>1.69%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANP - annular pearlware</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>1.47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DTR - redware field drainage pipe</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>1.21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNI - unidentified whiteware</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>1.08%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTSW - other stoneware</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>1.05%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OGR - brown-glazed redware</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>0.92%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBS - buff salt-glazed stoneware, brown slip</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>0.89%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UDSW - unidentified stoneware</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>0.89%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SDR - slip-decorated redware</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>0.86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNZ - undecorated porcelain</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>0.80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOI - molded whiteware</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>0.70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HPZ - handpainted porcelain</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0.64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OGS - grey salt-glazed stoneware, brown slip</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>0.61%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTC - other creamware</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0.51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decoration</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RTI - red transfer-printed whiteware</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0.45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RBY - Rockingham/Bennington yellowware</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0.45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGR - black-glazed redware</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0.38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABS - buff salt-glazed stoneware, Albany slip</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0.38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XSV - undecorated semi-vitreous china</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0.35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MTI - mulberry transfer-printed whiteware</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0.35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTYW - other yellowware</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0.32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UDZ - unidentified porcelain</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0.29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEP - green edge-decorated pearlware</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0.25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTP - brown transfer-printed pearlware</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0.25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JFR - Jackfield</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0.25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OOSW - brown salt-glazed stoneware, brown slip</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0.25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SDP - sponge-decorated pearlware</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0.22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OS - brown glazed slip-decorated redware</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0.22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XBS - buff salt-glazed stoneware, unslipped</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0.22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATI - black transfer-printed whiteware</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0.22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MDP - pearlware with molded designs</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0.19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MP - mocha pearlware</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0.19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GDZ - gilt-decorated porcelain</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0.19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FPR - flowerpot</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0.19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XOSW - brown salt-glazed stoneware, unslipped</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0.19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNR - unidentified redware</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CGS - grey salt-glazed stoneware, clear glazed</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XGS - grey salt-glazed stoneware, unslipped</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SDI - sponge-decorated whiteware</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTII - other ironstone</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UFP - flow blue pearlware</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTZ - other porcelain</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BOS - buff salt-glazed blue decorated stoneware, brown slipped</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RBS - buff salt-glazed stoneware, red slip</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HPW - underglaze polychrome hand-painted whiteware</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOCA - mocha whiteware</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TSV - transfer-printed semi-vitreous china</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OUS - grey salt-glazed blue decorated stoneware, brown slip</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XWS - white salt-glazed stoneware</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BEI - blue edge-decorated whiteware</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CGB - clear-glazed buff earthenware</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.06%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTBE - other buff earthenware</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.06%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNB - unidentified buff earthenware</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.06%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANC - annular creamware</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.06%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TSC - tortoise-shell creamware</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.06%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ARP - annular line-decorated pearlware rim</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.06%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YGR - yellow-glazed redware</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.06%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBS - buff salt-glazed stoneware, clear-glazed interior</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.06%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TBS - buff salt-glazed stoneware, tan slip</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.06%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decoration</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GDI - gild-decorated whiteware</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.06%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GTI - green transfer-printed whiteware</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.06%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HBW - underglaze blue hand-painted whiteware</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.06%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CDYB - brown-dotted/combed yellow lead-glazed buff earthenware</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.03%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XB - undecorated buff earthenware</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.03%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FAW - fine agateware</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.03%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CLC - clouded creamware</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.03%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XII - undecorated ironstone</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.03%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WTP - willow pattern transfer-printed pearlware</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.03%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PINS - porcelain insulator, white</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.03%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LFR - lustered Jackfield</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.03%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GGR - ginger-glazed redware</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.03%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GSV - gild-decorated semi-vitreous china</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.03%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTSL - other slip-decorated redware</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.03%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGS - grey salt-glazed stoneware, Albany slip</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.03%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AOSW - brown salt-glazed stoneware, Albany slip</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.03%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUS - grey salt-glazed blue decorated stoneware, Albany slip</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.03%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BBS - buff bodied stoneware, brown slip exterior, brown slip interior</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.03%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BRSW - Bristol-style glazed stoneware, buff bodied, clear glossy glaze, caramel colored near mouth of bottle, &quot;ginger beer style&quot;</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.03%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CGUS - grey salt-glazed blue decorated stoneware, clear slipped</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.03%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GGB - buff bodied stoneware, molded w/green glaze</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.03%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TGS - grey salt-glazed stoneware, tan slip</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.03%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XUS - grey salt-glazed blue decorated stoneware, unslipped</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.03%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6. Ceramic Decoration, McClumpha Farm

Montgomery County, as discussed above is conveniently placed on the Mohawk River west of Albany and represents one of the best connected rural counties in New York State. As seen in the map at the beginning of this chapter, the population of Montgomery County consists of a wide range of ethnicities and distinct social group interactions from the very earliest days of the prehistoric period through today. The contact between Native American populations with European colonists in Montgomery County started at the initiation of the fur trade and throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.
The following section details the archaeological data available from the Finger Lakes, Western New York, and Frontier Cities archaeological sites. These sites include: Dickerson Street Site, The Lansing Site, D. DeRailye Site, J. Marsh Site, Eggleston Site, and the J. Evans Site. Below is a table that details which ceramic types were found at each of these sites. Within that table, every ceramic type that was found across the entirety of the archaeological data interpreted in this dissertation is included so that direct comparison between regions could be facilitated. In some cases, this inclusion will cause a region, and the sites that represent it, not containing any of one type of ceramic to read “0” across the table for that particular ceramic type. The following section will detail decoration types that were applied to these ceramics (and present tables if the collated decoration data is available) as well as detail any auxiliary archaeological data resulting from the collection of differing artifact types outside of ceramics.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Dickerson Street Site</th>
<th>The Lansing Site</th>
<th>D. DeRailye Site</th>
<th>J. Marsh Site</th>
<th>Eggleston Site</th>
<th>J. Evans Site</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agateware</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buff Earthenware</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ceramic Bead</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clay Marble</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creamware</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dolls</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figurine</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ironstone</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaolin Pipe</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearlware</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Porcelain</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red Stoneware</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Redware</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-Vitreous China</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Dickerson Site is a commercial site in Onondaga County located on Dickerson Street in downtown Syracuse. Archaeological material found at the Dickerson Site by Hartgen in 2009 tells a story of daily activities and construction practices in the neighborhood surrounding the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western railroad yard. The area first developed during the mid-nineteenth century, along with the majority of Syracuse (Hartgen 2009). The housewares that were recovered from this site were undecorated whiteware, porcellaneous, and stoneware vessels for the majority of the assemblage. Hartgen notes that this indicates that the socioeconomic status of the families utilizing this site were middle class (Hartgen 2009). Food remains were also recovered at the site’s 12 features. The interpretation provided by Hartgen notes the faunal remains as being indicative of work-day, convenience based foods, not from full meals consumed within a home. This type of foodway refuse correlates to sites of workshops and retail businesses that were common after the turn of the twentieth century.

Considering this interpretation in the larger economic and social climate of Syracuse shows that working individuals were probably bringing convenience foods in undecorated
utilitarian wares from well settled homes from what could be viewed as comfortable socio-economic status. However, if we also consider that the types of ceramics recovered here combined with the foodway evidence to support a transient consuming population, not a residential one, the use of mass produced undecorated ceramics could be seen as being unclear in terms of socio-economic status, and certainly not an indication of a middle class at the conclusion of the nineteenth century.

Small find artifacts that could account for the professions of individuals using the above described ceramic assemblage would be tool kits for specific trades. Unfortunately, the trades represented are unclear. A small hand tool described as a punch or an awl was recovered as well as a glass medical thermometer, shoe leather upper with grommets from a women’s pair of boots, and a gas tank cap. These artifacts could be interpreted in many different ways, and the combination of the evidence provided through them with the ceramic and foodways described above does little to illustrate the actions or environment of the site (Hartgen 2009).

Luckily grantor records, census data, and advertisements from the turn of the twentieth century explain that the Dickerson Site was actually a conglomeration of residential and commercial occupations of a general space in the area south and adjacent to the railyard and Erie Canal to the north. The site contains archaeological evidence of all of these contexts, including the use of the area as an automobile repair shop and gasoline station later in the twentieth century. The interesting correlation that the Dickerson Site exemplifies is the use of the space there to facilitate transportation as the innovation of transportation occurs. Hartgen notes that the Dickerson Site facilitated the use of transportation within the city limits by providing hay, feed, and gasoline. The goods and services that the Dickerson Site provided correlated to the stages of
innovation in personal transportation from horses, wagons, and bicycles to limited automobile use, and eventually to full automobile use (Hartgen 2009).

The J Evans Site

The J Evans Site is the archaeological signature of a farmstead in Steuben County located on the southern border of the Finger Lakes. Artifacts were recovered in a low-density sheet midden consisting of a sizable ceramic assemblage with a Mean Ceramic Date of 1831. The house located at the J Evans Site was demolished in 1873 (PAF 2000). The farmhouse was built in 1804 and was used by a single family until 1862 when it was sold, and within 11 years it was destroyed. When it was sold in 1862, the party who bought the property used it to house tenant farmers. Consistent with other contexts in Steuben and Allegany County, the surroundings of the J Evans Site were typified by agriculture and raw material acquisition. Saw mills and dairy farms dot the landscape. The nearby railroad was completed in 1850, and at this point in the nineteenth century the connection of rural Steuben County to the larger economic market of the state becomes apparent (PAF 2000). It is in this context that the farmstead, utilized for the first three quarters of the nineteenth century moves from a single family to a tenant farmer archaeological signature.

The original owner of the J Evans site was born in England in 1778 and immigrated to Steuben County by 1804 (PAF 2000). After his death in 1854, the farm was split between his two sons, both of whom were living in their own respective households with their families. Their mother, who was twenty years younger than their father lived with one of the brothers until his death in 1865 at which point she moved in with the remaining brother. The tenant farmers who occupied the property in 1865 are noted in the census of that year as being the Brewster Family.
and the Brown family. It is likely that the tenant farmers, as well as the original owners of the house were all of English decent.

The artifact assemblage recovered at the J Evans Site comprises of 1,902 artifacts, of these 1902 artifacts 93 ceramic and glass vessels could be identified. Other artifact categories that were present including some clothing, faunal remains, architectural materials, and a very few smoking related artifacts. The ceramic assemblage was dominated by whiteware (60%) but also included a sizable percentage of pearlware (14%) and ironstone (12%). 3% of the vessels represented were tea cups, which is not insignificant when compared to the other farmstead sites in the Frontier Cities and Western New York region. Public Archaeology Facility (PAF) notes that many farmsteaders in the western part of the state that arrived after the American Revolution did so as entrepreneurs and speculators (2000). The fact that Evans’ wife was born in New England and Evans himself only immigrating at the turn of the nineteenth century indicates that the Evans family falls into this category of rural New Yorker. The presence of pearlware in the collection to an amount of 14% despite the long occupation history for 60 years indicates that the Evans family was likely comfortable economically, and the percentage of ironstone indicates that the tenant farmers from which that part of the collection emanates were not entirely disconnected from the economic apparatus of Western New York after the completion of the railroad in 1850.

The Eggleston Site

The Eggleston Site is a residence located at the intersection of five historic roads in Woodhull, Steuben County, New York. The house was built between 1857 and 1873 according to historical atlases of the area that show it present on the landscape. Four families owned the residence and accompanying agricultural lands: the Savage family, the Van Orsdale family, the
Swan family, and the Eggleston family. The property was sold to Thomas Swan in 1897, indicating that the Savage family and the Van Orsdale family owned and lived at the property during the nineteenth century. A total of 1574 food related, clothing, personal, lighting, smoking, agricultural, and faunal artifacts were recovered at the site. Two prehistoric artifacts were also recovered and consisted of a cortical flake and a beveled adze (PAF 2010).

The site consisted of two large sheet middens that were related to the early occupations of the property likely indicative of the Savage and Van Orsdale Family. The data produced by archaeological work at this location provides a window to a well-connected farmstead in a rural county on the periphery of economic development in the frontier cities and western New York region (PAF 2010). The location of this farmstead at the five corners intersection and a lack of evidence to support tenant occupation renders the ceramic and small find assemblage recovered here the ideal indication of the epitome of consumer choice throughout the late nineteenth century in a region at that time only recently connected to the economic system of the state through railroad construction (Pierce 1953).

Overwhelming the ceramic assemblage at the Eggleston Site consisted of Ironstone and Whiteware. White earthenwares consist of 87.5% of the total ceramic assemblage. A small amount of pearlware was also recovered at the site. PAF suggests that the pearlware supports historical accounts of residential occupation starts during the mid-nineteenth century. The large ironstone collection recovered at the site may represent a change of ownership of the property in the late nineteenth century from the Savage family to Van Orsdale family. Some redware and stoneware was recovered, but these ceramic types are interpreted as being utilitarian and used for food prep and storage. Forty-six percent of the entire ceramic assemblage was decorated with transfer print patterns. The other half of the ceramic assemblage was largely undecorated with
the exception of some molded and annular banded wares. It is likely that the tablewares that were
decorated with transfer print were similar enough to be used as complete sets. The data above
supports the assertion that the families that owned the Eggleston Site throughout the nineteenth
century were well connected economically, but even in this context the variation of ceramics
available only consist of decorated (with one decoration type) white earthenwares consisting of
only ironstone, whiteware, and very few pearlware sherds.

The D. DeRailye and J. Marsh Sites

The D. DeRailye and J. Marsh Sites are located at the western edge of Watertown along
Arsenal Street. These two historic period sites reflect upon the economic position of Watertown,
and by extension the Great Lake coastal region along the Black River. The settlement of
Watertown began around 1800. Built into the bank of the Black River, Watertown was settled for
the utilization of the river for water power (PAF 2006). Textile and paper mills sprang up there
within the first half of the nineteenth century, and fostered the most accelerated economic
development in Jefferson County. Jefferson County was separated from Oneida County in 1805,
Watertown, then only 5 years old, was selected as the county seat and remains as the only
incorporated city in Jefferson County today (PAF 2006). Throughout the nineteenth century
other businesses sprang up in Watertown including furniture manufacture, leather goods,
machinery, flour, and iron. According to PAF, Watertown industry boomed around the middle to
late nineteenth century with the construction of the Rome, Watertown, and Ogdensburgh
Railroad by 1874 (2006).

The D. DeRailye Site consists of 200+ historical artifacts but a limited ceramic
assemblage of 20 individual sherds. Five of these are unglazed redware sherds and are likely
flower pots. The other fifteen include stoneware, glazed redware, and whiteware fragments. The majority of ceramic artifacts recovered at the D. DeRailye site are undecorated. The D. DeRailye site is located along an unnamed creek and was situated on the landscape near a railroad line. Located outside of the city limits, the D. DeRailye site represents an early suburban landscape with access to convenient industrial arteries. Despite this, the material signature recovered there does not support a highly varied sweet of available consumer goods. The sample size of ceramics is low in this context, and it is unclear if the socio-economic status of the inhabitants of the D. DeRailye Site can be determined confidently.

Nearby, the J. Marsh Site represents a turn-of-the-twentieth century historic site which contained 400+ historic period artifacts. The ceramic assemblage at the J Marsh Site contains 59 individual sherds, and is dominated by ironstone. The ceramic assemblage does contain one porcelain tea cup handle, two whiteware sherds, one painted whiteware sherd, and three yellowware fragments. This assemblage does convey a more connected region, and is to be expected because of the estimated occupation date being so late. The presence of yellowware indicates that the residents of the J. Marsh Site were probably part of an emerging middle class in the only urban landscape in Jefferson County, due to the popularity and recent American-based production of the ceramic. Other artifact types found at the J Marsh Site that support this conclusion are faunal remains including beef cuts, and an antibacterial salve container indicating access to medical assistance (PAF 2006). In terms of comparison between the J Marsh and D. DeRailye site it can be seen that within the same context the difference in period of occupation from 1870 to 1900 makes a large difference in the available material for purchase. It is likely in their close proximity that each household would have similar access to market in terms of socio-
economic status. Details are unclear considering the specific inhabitants of each site in terms of ethnic background.

The Lansing Site

The Lansing Site is described as a mid-nineteenth century residence located at the northeast intersection of NY 19 and Crawford Creek, Town of Caneadea, Allegany County, NY. Archaeological materials recovered at the Lansing Site resulted from excavations of a mid-nineteenth century sheet refuse scatter associated with a residence located between the Genesee Valley Canal and the historical roadway that connected townships between Lake Ontario and Pennsylvania (PAF 1998). The associated structure was built between 1840 and the early 1850s during the construction of the canal. The residence was used by tenants and tenant farms who many have worked on the farms nearby. The residence is located within an arrangement of structures located north of the hamlet of Oramel. The residents of the Lansing Site were connected to the prosperity and decline of the Genesee Valley Canal and region that it serviced in the mid to late nineteenth-century.

Seventy-eight ceramic and glass vessels were recovered from excavations at the Lansing Site. The artifact assemblage recovered also included architectural materials and a dense faunal assemblage. The ceramic assemblage at the Lansing Site consists of a majority of white earthenwares, only 13.5 percent of which were completely undecorated. 32.4 percent of these white earthenwares were decorated with transfer print patterns. Other decorations that showed frequency include molded, edged, and spatter (PAF 1998). Very few high-status ceramics were recovered at the Lansing site such as porcelains, but teawares still account for nearly 14 percent of the total ceramic assemblage that could be identified to vessel type. PAF assert a comparison
between the Lansing Site and some other tenant occupied residences from the mid-nineteenth century and note that there is a socio-economic status difference due to the low number of transfer-printed wares likely resulting in unmatched, or place settings purchased second-hand (PAF 1998). PAF compared the Lansing Site to the Wilson-Lewis Site in Delaware, the Porter Site in Chenango County, the Keith Site in Chenango County, and the Carpenter Site in Chemung County. The Carpenter Site is the most apt comparison listed here because of a very similar context of being a 19th century farmstead located near an industrial artery, which in this case was also a canal.

While the Genesee Valley Canal facilitated the economic connection utilized at the Lansing Site, it also provided its demise. Frequent flooding damaged many of the surrounding residences during the latter half of the nineteenth century. It is believed that the original structure located at the Lansing Site had to be rebuilt due to flood damage, and it is at this point that PAF believe that the tenants took residence in lieu of the owner. The sheet middens that provide the Lansing Site its artifacts probably result from this later occupation by the tenants who took up residence and accounts for the socio-economic position that is indicated by the material.

It is interesting, that in this extremely well-connected context, the purchase of ceramics locally was limited to the types seen at the Lansing Site, but the assemblage detailed above is also limited by low economic mobility of the residents of the property. What the Lansing Site details as a result is the opportunity for the difference in economic status to be parsed out on a residence to residence basis along the fringes of the economically developed landscape of New York, as far west and rural as Allegany County. It is important to note, however, that this context is unique in its placement near a working canal very late into the nineteenth century.
ADIRONDACK AND CATSKILL MOUNTAIN RANGES

The following section details the archaeological data available from the Adirondack and Catskill Mountain Ranges archaeological sites. These sites include: Ploomy Morrison Site, Burham’s Store, T. Middlemast Historic Site, and the Masonville Survey. Below is a table that details which ceramic types were found at each of these sites. Within that table, every ceramic type that was found across the entirety of the archaeological data interpreted in this dissertation is included so that direct comparison between regions could be facilitated. In some cases this inclusion will cause a region, and the sites that represent it, not containing any of one type of ceramic to read “0” across the table for that particular ceramic type. The following section will detail decoration types that were applied to these ceramics (and present tables if the collated decoration data is available) as well as detail any auxiliary archaeological data resulting from the collection of differing artifact types outside of ceramics.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Ploomy Morrison</th>
<th>Burnham's Store</th>
<th>T. Middlemast Historic Site</th>
<th>Masonville Survey</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agateware</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buff Earthenware</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ceramic Bead</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clay Marble</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creamware</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dolls</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figurine</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ironstone</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaolin Pipe</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearlware</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>575</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Porcelain</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red Stoneware</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Redware</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-Vitreous China</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Slip-Decorated Redware | 0 | 0 | 54 | 0  
Stoneware | 2 | 0 | 70 | 1  
Tile | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0  
Transitional Whiteware | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0  
White Earthenware | 0 | 0 | 29 | 0  
Whiteware | 3 | 3 | 507 | 47  
Yellowware | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1  
Red Clay Pipe | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0  
Tin-Glazed Ware | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0  

Table 8. Adirondack and Catskill Mountain Ranges Ceramic Types.

Burnham’s Store Site & The Ploomy Morrison Site:

These two sites result from a New York State Department of Transportation renovation of a bridge in Wells, Hamilton County, New York. Between the two sites only a handful of ceramic artifacts are present, but the discussion of them in the greater context of the Adirondack region and Hamilton County in particular provides useful evidence for the environment of economic development in the region and the possibility for visibility of the material correlates of racialization in the region. Both of these sites contain nineteenth and early twentieth century materials including ceramics, window glass, nails, tobacco pipes, pieces of leather, vessel glass, and ferrous metal hardware. A mixture of buff-bodied stoneware, undecorated whiteware, and vessel glass typify the sites as utilitarian. Both the Burnham Store, and the Ploomy Morrison Site are affiliated with standing structures, and the artifacts recovered from archaeological efforts are typical to front yard deposits from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century (Hartgen 2008). It is important to note that there is no presence of early nineteenth or late eighteenth-century material in these contexts. This is likely due to a combination of the extremely limited sample available from within Hamilton County, and the lack of settlement in the area as discussed above.
The T. Middlemast Site is a historic residential site dating to the nineteenth century located in Delhi, New York, the county seat of Delaware County. As noted above, Delhi has some interesting peculiar settlement patterns after the turn of the nineteenth century and the grant of the land of much of Delaware County through treaties following the American Revolution. The T. Middlemast Site contains a wide variety of ceramic types with a mean ceramic date of 1831 (Hartgen 2012).

The T. Middlemast Site contained five features including a cobble chimney, cooking related features including faunal materials, architectural structures including cobble arrangements and a hand dug well. The earliest occupation of the site is interpreted by Hartgen to have started at approximately 1800, with the construction of a log home on the property. Hartgen notes that the site shows evidence of rapid increase in the socioeconomic standing of the residents (2012). The author supports this notion by pointing out that the initial log home was replaced soon after with a timber-frame structure. The ceramic assemblage too represents a rapid growth in economic standing. There were two distinct middens, one from an earlier deposit from the early nineteenth century, and one from the later nineteenth century. The earlier deposit contained pearlware and creamware ceramics in a wide variety of decorative styles, which Hartgen assumes ascribes a piecemeal approach to table settings, and probably relates to a secondhand acquisition. The author ascribes these earlier, and cheaper, ceramics to a tenant occupation.

The T. Middlemast Site shows evidence, both architecturally and within a ceramic assemblage, to support a progression from tenancy to owner-occupation of a mixed-use household. The earlier tenancy period occupation of the house occurred during a time of
discontent in land use policies and extended through the Anti-rent movement in Delaware County (Hartgen 2012). This movement is an important correlation between the early nineteenth-century contexts in the Catskill Mountains, and earlier similar movements in Ireland. The anti-rent movement is especially influential within the confines of Delhi, because it is the political epicenter of the county during this period.

Hartgen points out that the assemblage resulting from excavations at the T. Middlemast Site represent a well-connected community, and likely presents the only context for many miles in any direction that could accommodate this level of variety in consumer choice. While the other sites in this chapter do not possess the sheer number of artifacts available from the T. Middlemast Site, it can still be seen that the gradual shift from earlier decorated ceramics to later decorated ceramics is nearly never seen, but is instead relegated to undecorated, or plainly decorated whiteware assemblages.
The roadside survey in Masonville, New York at the intersection of New York State Route 206 and New York State Route 8 continues adjacent along Route 8 north towards Sidney.

The Masonville Survey found a number of prehistoric and historic resources that portray and accurate community level access to market through ceramic type assemblages. A church, parsonage, furniture manufacturer, and general store all make appearances within the confines of the survey. Completed in 1978, the survey facilitated the completion of New York State Department of Transportation renovations to both state routes.

The author of the archaeological report denotes that the hamlet of Masonville has a 180-year history, but also notes that the majority of the first half of that time was spent exclusively extracting valuable raw materials from the surrounding landscape of the Catskill Mountains (NYSMAS 1978). An initial settlement date for Euro-Americans in Masonville at the turn of the nineteenth century is consistent with other settlements in the area, and throughout the Catskill

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decoration</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>XI - undecorated whiteware</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>28.57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XC - undecorated creamware</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>23.08%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTHW - other whiteware</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>20.88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTC - other creamware</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGR - black-glazed redware</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XII - undecorated ironstone</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BEP - blue edge-decorated pearlware</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UTP - blue transfer-printed pearlware</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BEI - blue edge-decorated whiteware</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTBE - other buff earthenware</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XB - undecorated buff earthenware</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATC - black transfer-printed creamware</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTII - other ironstone</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEP - green edge-decorated pearlware</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTPW - other pearlware</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XP - undecorated pearlware</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTZ - other porcelain</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTRW - other redware</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AOSW - brown salt-glazed stoneware, Albany slip</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XY - undecorated yellowware</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.10%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9. Ceramic Decoration, Masonville Survey.
mountain range. Early industries that helped foster modest economic and demographic growth in Masonville include the production of lumber, and the extraction of stone. Nearby settlements like Deposit, to the south, also focus on these economic staples to remain profitable for a small population throughout the middle and late nineteenth century (NYSMAS 1978). Like other sites examined above in this chapter, the Masonville survey indicates an established hamlet early in the nineteenth century, but a lack of exponential growth that is seen in other larger settlements outside of the Catskill region limits the availability of variability in the ceramic material signature from this context.
CHAPTER SIX – INTERPRETATION OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL DATA

The following chapter presents the interpretations of the archaeological data presented above in Chapter Five. In order to provide a comprehensive interpretation of the regions, and all of the regions as a whole, the previous interpretations of the cultural resource management firms and archaeological teams whom excavated each of these sites is mentioned, and related to the larger economical model created by this dissertation. In order for the comparisons to have a basis in data, hierarchical cluster analysis has been performed on the ceramic collections of all 14 sites included in this study. Hierarchical cluster analysis is a multi-variate statistical analysis that creates and evaluates combinations of Euclidean distance matrices for two or more variables for a given dataset (Manly 2004).

In this case, hiearchical cluster analysis has been utilized to compare ceramic type frequency within each of the material culture catalogs for each of the sites included in this study, first by region, and then for the entirety of the state. The cluster analysis measures mathematical disparity distances between two like, or unlike subjects. Therefore, cluster analysis can be used to interpret archaeological data by grouping sites that are more alike than divergent and provide good representative archaeological signatures of their parent regions. If the cluster analysis that follows indicates that sites within regions are more alike than between regions, it is an important line of evidence to support the archaeological interpretation of a measurable difference between access to market for each region evaluated in this study.
Hierarchical Cluster Analysis

Figure 11. Cluster Analysis of Valley Ceramics.
The above dendrograms are the result of a hierarchical cluster analysis using the ceramic type assemblage present at each of the sites included in this chapter. The purpose of hierarchical cluster analysis is to measure the magnitude of dissimilarity between each collection. The three branches of the dendrogram show which sites cluster together to facilitate discussion on their differences and give insight into why they are similar in terms of access to market. Two dendrograms are included in each section to show the difference between unstandardized data and standardized data. The first dendrogram above shows unstandardized data and is more useful as a tool to delineate differences in collection sizes rather their typology. The standardized data

Figure 12. Cluster Analysis of Valley Ceramics (Standardized).
uses percentages of ceramic typologies to provide a more accurate picture of dissimilarity between the substance of each collection.

The above testing results detail that Weaver-Demarest is on its own in terms of dissimilarity from the other sites discussed in this chapter. Belknap-Montgomery and McClumpha farm are both farmsteads on major river valleys with occupation histories into the eighteenth century. It is discussed above about the wealthy families that owned both of these properties and their uses. Railroad Avenue is a small collection from another farmstead in the Hudson Valley, but is slightly dissimilar from the other two because of its late occupation period, and slightly lacking level of variance in ceramic types represented by the collection.

In all of these contexts, the variety of ceramics present, as well as other material culture discussed in their respective sections above, show an uninterrupted high level of access to the colonial and post-colonial international economy. It is unsurprising that the single family owned farmsteads in both Montgomery County and Orange County have a similar material signature. It is equally predictable that a wealthy town residence in Waterford in the Weaver-Demarest site separates itself from these rural contexts. What the above analysis shows is a difference between urban and rural contexts in the face of an unlimited access to market for consumer choice. It might also show a difference in the length of use for the rural versus urban sites. The utilization of the Weaver-Demarest site after the movement of the middleclass out of the urban landscape could separate it from the other sites discussed in this chapter by having a material signature correlating to a lower-class occupation, much later in the nineteenth century. This economic landscape is put into perspective with the other landscapes present in New York State in the nineteenth century in the sections to follow.
Hierarchical Cluster Analysis

Figure 13. Cluster Analysis of Frontier Ceramics
The above dendrograms are the result of a hierarchical cluster analysis using the ceramic type assemblage present at each of the six sites included in this section. The purpose of hierarchical cluster analysis is measuring dissimilarity between each collection and their respective ceramic collection while measuring dissimilarity between all of the collections present. This analysis was chosen due to its effectiveness in evaluating distinct trends within a specific dataset (Manly 2004). The hierarchical cluster analysis was performed using the
opensource statistical software suite named R. The entire dataset was imported into R using comma separated value sheets constructed in Microsoft Excel by creating distance matrices.

The three branches of the dendrogram show which sites cluster together to facilitate discussion on their differences and give insight into why they are similar in terms of access to market. The first dendrogram above shows unstandardized data and is more useful as a tool to delineate differences in collection sizes rather their typology. The standardized data uses percentages of ceramic typologies to provide a more accurate picture of dissimilarity between the substance of each collection. The following discussion relates to the standardized data dendrogram.

The result above shows that the Dickerson Street Site, the Lansing Site, and the J. Evans site all clustered together, with a subgroup of the Lansing and J Evans Sites. Interestingly this grouping provides a correlation between the sites which were perceived to be the most connected to the economic trade routes when compared to the other sites evaluated in this chapter. The Dickerson Street Site being located in Syracuse, and have a mid-to-late nineteenth century occupation period renders it the most economically connected site in this grouping, and the dendrogram depicts it as such. The Lansing Site and the J. Evans Sites are dissimilar in that the J. Evans Site was used by a single wealthy family for the majority of its lifespan as a farmstead and only housed tenant farmers for the last 10 years of its existence. The Lansing Site on the contrary housed tenants nearly the entire time it was utilized but was located directly adjacent to a working canal. The socioeconomic difference between these two use histories is nullified by a difference in access to market, and the ceramic assemblage similarity represents that here.

On the right side of the above dendrogram, the Eggleston site, the D. DeRailye site, and the J. Marsh site have all grouped to one side, with the J. Marsh on its own by a considerable
distance. This is an interesting pattern considering that the J. Marsh and D. DeRailye site are separated geographically by only a few meters, and the Eggleston site located far from Watertown in Steuben County. Reexamining the ceramic assemblage, the J. Marsh site is dominated by ironstone, whereas the other two sites have more emphasis on whitewares. The pattern seen here can be interpreted as Watertown being on a similar level of economic access as a rural farmstead in Steuben County. The farmstead discussed here is at the cross roads of 5 rural routes to connect communities throughout Steuben County, and as such is typically the best economically connected example of a farmstead in that county.

The above patterns describe a sliding level of access among the frontier communities and boom towns of New York State. Dickerson Street, while only a commercial installation and mixed-use history including a residence and a automobile repair shop, represents the most connected archaeological site discussed in this chapter. Clustered together, but apart from the Dickerson site, the J. Evans and Lansing site collections represent rural collections connected to the larger market by industrial arteries in the opening of a railroad for the J. Evans site, and a working canal for the Lansing site.

*Syracuse and Racialization*

From the sections above, it can be seen that the Dickerson Street site is defined as the most economically connected community evaluated in this chapter. As discussed at the beginning of this chapter, the heavy settlement of Syracuse did not start in earnest until the mid-nineteenth century with the completion of the Erie Canal. It was at this point, that a large number of immigrants were arriving from Ireland due to a number of factors including agricultural reform, economic depression, famine, and social oppression (Orser 2005). Syracuse was an
advantageous community to insert oneself in at this time as an Irish immigrant. There was a large community of Irish immigrants already established from canal workers in western Syracuse, who took advantage of a lack of intense investment in the city by English born settlers (Fahey 2014). As detailed in the chapter above, the gift of land to revolutionary veterans was often met with silence and many of these lots were sold to speculating parties from New England. This kept the settlement of Syracuse relatively low until the completion of the center and eastern sections of the Erie Canal. The heavy early settlement of Syracuse by Irish immigrants begins with the construction and subsequent improvements to the Erie Canal (Sheriff 1996). The majority of these Irish populations settle in western Syracuse, in what becomes later Geddes (Federal Census 1840). What happens during the mid-nineteenth century is a consistent stream of Irish immigrants to arrive in Syracuse and Geddes after during and after the Great Famine in the 1840s. This can be seen in the census records for Syracuse and Geddes which denote that Irish-Born citizens of Syracuse remain above 4,000 individuals and continue to climb from 1840 to 1880 (Federal Census 1850, 1860, 1870, 1880). Within the Town of Geddes the number of Irish born residents explodes from 500 to 3,000 by 1880. What this indicates, is that the settlement of Irish in western Syracuse promoted a continued Irish presence in the cultural landscape.

As has already been discussed above, the amount of access to the market economy in Syracuse was very high after the completion of the Erie Canal. It is at this point that material culture signatures within Syracuse could demarcate class structures if they present themselves at individual archaeological sites. It is unlikely however, due to the demographic evidence patterns, that racialization occurred against all Irish people. What is seen instead, is a religious specific persecution by the larger cultural in Syracuse against Catholic Irish immigrants. James Kennedy McGuire was elected Mayor of Syracuse in 1895 at age 27, his story is one typical of the Irish
community in Syracuse as detailed above. The community supported him, electing him to three
terms, and he is a good indication of the attitudes towards Irish descendents in Syracuse at the
turn of the twentieth century. But as a boy, born in the late 1860s his brother was killed by
drowning (Fahey 2014). It is believed that James’ brother Frankie died as a result of anti-
Catholic violence in Syracuse during the mid-to-late nineteenth century. This anti-Catholic
rhetoric is supported by discussions in newspapers such as the Syracuse Daily Journal in 1886
and 1891 when specifically discussing the Irish publicly. Often anti-Catholic sentiments were
brought to the surface when the public discourse steered towards land access and education bills,
as well as differences in support for political candidates from English descendants and Irish
descendants (Syracuse Daily Journal 1886).

In terms of archaeologically signature then, the difference between an Irish population
suffering violence, and Irish population that is not suffering violence in Syracuse is likely related
to the religious affiliation of that particular family. Also, as the election and re-election of Mayor
McGuire points out, these attitudes change as the nineteenth-century progresses. It is unlikely
that Catholic and Protestant families in Syracuse have differing level of access to market when it
comes to consumer choice. It is likely, while not evaluated by any interpretation of the Dickerson
site, that Protestant Irish families in Syracuse are likely archaeologically invisible when
compared to English or German descent groups because of a lack of drastic racialization due to
their power on the political and social landscape. Catholic Irish on the contrary are likely much
more visible in the archaeological record in Syracuse, as they were selected against by both non-
Irish immigrants, and Protestant Irish immigrants together.
Hierarchical Cluster Analysis

Figure 15. Cluster Analysis of Mountain Ceramics.
The above dendrograms produced by R represent a hierarchical cluster analysis run on the ceramic assemblage from all four of the mountainous region sites to see how each site is similar or dissimilar in terms of material signature. As the other sections above have pointed out,
one of these dendrograms is unstandardized and the other is standardized. The unstandardized figure shows the clusters as more a function of sample size than of context while the standardized figure shows the clusters as true dissimilarity between ceramic types.

Unsurprisingly, the T. Middlemast Historic Site is far and away different from the other three sites in this section. The T. Middlemast Historic Site as further discussed below was in a connected community with a long history of occupation and early emphasis on economic growth starting in the eighteenth century, whereas the Masonville Survey assemblage represents a much less connected community from the western half of the county. The high percentage of stoneware in the Ploomy Morrison collection is likely the cause of its break from the other Adirondack assemblage. However, as discussed above, and throughout this chapter the two Adirondack assemblages are very limited in size for ceramic material and are more indicative of an unsettled landscape rather than minute differences that could inform any sort of ethnic tradition determination or cultural insight.

Mountinous Regions, Access, and the Anti-Rent Wars of New York State

At the conclusion of the Revolutionary War many tracts of land across the state, including Delaware County, were divided up and given or sold to wealthy families, speculators, and important military and government operators. These parties divided their land into lots, and in some cases rented those lots to tenants who then were expected to clear the area and improve it for agriculture or business (Hartgen 2012). Leases were drawn up between the landowners and the tenants, and payments including an annual production or equivalent service such as carriage services or receiving a percentage of profits made through business utilizing the land. Mineral and water rights were also largely withheld from the tenants, but could be worked
for a percentage gain. Hartgen notes that leases were signed with terms that were described as
two to three lifetimes, or in some cases, in perpetuity for loyal tenants (2012).

Landlords often waived the price of rent for the initial year or two of a tenancy so to
attract new tenants when a vacancy was to be filled. However, in these cases the tenants often
had no incentive to improve the land they were renting. Failure to pay the rental agreement, in
whatever form agreed upon, found the tenants stolen from. The landlord had the right, in the
event of no receipt of payment, to confiscate the tenant’s belongings and even the property itself
to sell at auction to cover the perceived lost income (McCurdy 2001). These practices would not
have been unfamiliar to immigrating Irish families fleeing improvement based symbolic violence
in Ireland as covered in Chapter Three.

Often, tenants could not clear the land and bring it to profitable agricultural practice.
Hartgen notes that most tenants hardly reached subsistence levels for their own families by the
end of the fifth year of farming a particular property. For tenants placed on marginal agricultural
lands, producing a profitable amount of crops or product became an impossibility because of soil
exhaustion. This complex problem was mirrored in contexts that created the same lived
experience in Ireland (Guinnane and Miller 1996, Orser 2004). Anti-rent sentiment was not
uncommon across the state of New York, and usually followed the fringe of economic
development in border contexts like the one that Delhi produces. Hartgen notes that anti-rent
movements were extremely common in Columbia Coutny with the tenants of the Livingston
Patent, and those on the Rensselaer Patroonship (2012). This notation is interesting because it
includes a discussion that anti-rent movements in these areas starting as early as the 1750s, when
these areas were at the fringe of the economic frontier of the state.
After about 1830, the completion of reliable arterial connections in the Erie Canal and early west-east railroad system caused competition to drive prices extremely low in the tenant-farmer market. This market shift cornered the tenant-farmers into creating anti-rent associations and anti-rent movements exploded in Columbia, Rensselaer, Albany, and Delaware Counties (Hartgen 2012). All this said, only the eastern half of Delaware County ever really experienced the anti-renter movement. This was in part due to the ease of access to the Susquehanna river valley at the far western border of the county. Pendleton notes that those of Scottish ancestry in Delhi and to the eastern half of the county were among the first to rally the anti-rent movement (1974). In a final correlation, it is important to note that the distinction between populations in town, and populations out of town, does not exist in Delaware County during the nineteenth century (Hartgen 2012).

Many educated populations who operated businesses in town such as lawyers, doctors, and tradespeople also supported the anti-rent movement in an effort to support healthy business throughout the entire community. This distinction supports the Catskill Mountain context as being an economically homogeneous landscape. It speaks volumes that in counties like the ones discussed above erupted over agricultural exploitation, much in the same way as they had in Ireland before immigration. The discussion of Irish populations in Delaware County is not specifically addressed, but it can be assumed that during this period, especially after the diaspora explosion following the famine, the Irish too would have been subject to these economic and social shifts. Within this context though, it is difficult to parse out a material change between selected-for and selected-against populations. The Middlemasts were Scottish immigrants. The Middlemast family bought the farm in 1850 for 5,000 dollars. It was part of a tenant farm before that date, and owned by a wealthy family from Kingston. Alexander Leal was the long-term
tenant of the property while the Verplank family of Kingston owned the property. In terms of ceramic interpretation, the T. Middlemast Site provides level of access in what can be considered the best economically connected community in the region. Even within this community of consumer choice, the deposition of matching sets of ceramics indicating a more advantageous socioeconomic status does not occur until the Middlemast family, a moderately wealthy Scottish family, buys the farm in the mid-nineteenth century.

The presence of pearlware and creamware at the site in varied decorations and second-hand acquisitions shows that Delhi, while being the Catskill Mountains, still manages to maintain connections to the Capital Region in Albany and New York City, through Kingston and the Hudson River Valley. This is probably a function of area surveys to facilitate the land grants of Dutch political and economic interests during the eighteenth century. Evidence of this is seen at the T. Middlemast Site itself in its original ownership being the Verplank family of Kingston. The western half of the county is considered less economically connected, and as a result does not enjoy this level of consumer choice until railroad spurs, and the full exploitation of the Susquehanna River begin during the second half of the nineteenth century.

Without the advantage of having emphasis put upon settlement in this region early, the Adirondack mountain range in contrast shows no evidence of connected communities or cultural holdovers from earlier occupations of New York State from before the Revolutionary War. The distinct lack of material evidence available, through a function of a lack of current development sparking archaeological work to be completed and a lack of substantial permanent settlement throughout the colonial and post-colonial period, creates the Adirondack Mountain as an archaeological unknown in terms of access. It is safe to assume that the two sites that have been detailed above, which only total a few artifacts, can convey that a lack of consumer choice may
have been present. However, the sample size allowed above does not provide convincing evidence to firmly assert that assumption. Gateway communities along the Hudson and Mohawk Rivers would have certainly had access to a wide variety of material goods from early on in the development of the economic environment of the state (See above in each region’s respective section).

It is likely that populations utilizing the Adirondack Mountains for raw material extraction or recreation would have utilized these points for their material needs. However, the complete lack of settlements as detailed in the report for the two sites described above does provide some insight into the level of economic disparity among the residents of any particular settlement similar to Wells. The limitation of the entire community to 20 homes at its height in the late nineteenth century leaves very little room for an economic disparity between any of the families living in Wells during this time-period. It is therefore very unlikely that any racialized group (at this scale a single family) would be singled out materially from the community due to difference in social or economic class.
CHAPTER SEVEN – CONCLUSIONS AND SIGNIFICANCE

Key Comparisons and Conclusions

The following section details key comparisons that show good contrast between regions and levels of economic development that provide some insight into future interpretations of archaeological material from nineteenth century sites from across the state. The relationship between these comparisons and informs discussions of cyclical racialization of immigrant populations throughout New York State and their material correlations. What has been shown throughout this study is that there is evidence of a spectrum of archaeological visibility of ethnic groups without the situational provision of documentary records to support claims of ethnic neighborhoods or families of various specific nations of descent.

There is evidence to support that cyclical racialization, and the evidence that accompanies it happens in more dense population centers along the industrial improvement zones of the nineteenth century to include what has been defined here as Frontier and Western cities and communities. Evidence above supports even more access to market and visibility of racialized populations archaeologically along the earlier settlement regions of the state to include the Mohawk and Hudson River valleys specifically.

New York State can be seen as a gradient of inter-ethnic relationships which grows more and more frequent the closer one travels to New York City through the transportation routes and industrial arteries of the State. This trend rings true throughout the settlement history of the state, and only shifts when the frontier shifts along with it. It is during these shifts that gaps in the cycle of racialization can allow for a certain ethnic group to be skipped over, as in the case with the Protestant Irish in Syracuse. This environment of a fluid application of the effects of racialization needs to be considered when interpreting material culture that relates to racialization
through its practical correlates of social and economic status markers, e.g. ceramics, glass, personal items, architectural preferences, etc.

What has been illuminated in this study however, is that some non-industrial zones that have a long history of settlement and movement of populations early can also give a material signature that supports the variability needed to parse out racialized populations. Interpreting the data in the above chapters reveals that the opportunity of archaeological visibility of racialized groups in the archaeological record in the nineteenth century in New York State is a function of settlement history, economic development within a region, and expulsion pressures in immigration countries.
Figure 17. 1777 Major Holland’s The Provinces of New York and New Jersey.
The above atlas from 1777 shows the state of economic development in the Hudson and Mohawk River Valleys at the end of the eighteenth century. It is clear in the map that the development of settlements along the Hudson Valley bleeds into neighboring hills. What is also clear after interpreting the data from the T. Middlemast site is that the eastern Catskills, while never developing to a high level industrially during the nineteenth century, the utilization of that landscape in previous periods like the eighteenth century afford an established community and trade routes earlier than other rural parts of the state such as the western counties, or the Adirondacks.

Artifact assemblage at the T. Middlemast site is more like the artifact assemblages of the Hudson Valley than other mountainous regions covered in this study. The difference between class delineations between the Lansing and Eggleston sites, for example, better explains that in the western region the consumer choice and availability difference between the two classes are contingent on their location in the built landscape. The Lansing site is primarily occupied by tenant laborers and is located on a working canal. The Eggleston site is occupied by wealthy farming settlers of the region, but is limited to the economic market but only having access to regional coach roads.

The resulting difference between the two assemblages is a less than ten percent drop in decoration when moving from the Eggleston site to the Lansing site, an arguably very nuanced change. The T. Middlemast site on the contrary has a wide arrangement of ceramics present in addition to other artifact classes like smoking pipes and architectural indicators of a wealthy farming family in Delaware County. The railroad systems in Delaware County and Steuben County are completed around the same time, and in both instances the last installation of industrial business never occurs. The marked difference between the two areas is that in Steuben
County there was no eighteenth-century investment in the landscape, there were no atlases drawn or plots of land demarcated out before the turn of the nineteenth century.

This discrepancy in the lived experience and material indications of class structures has a profound effect on the ability to parse of ethnic differences, or racialized groups, in the archaeological record. Based on the evidence analyzed above, the class difference material signature in western New York State and the Adirondacks is lacking until very late into the nineteenth century. This causes a loss of archaeological invisibility for groups that through the cycle of racialization have been replaced by other incoming populations. For the Irish these other groups include African Americans as part of the Great Migration, and Italian Americans (Tolnay 2003).

In Syracuse, this shift in archaeological visibility takes place, and can be substantiated by newspaper articles, settlement and census data, as well as lasting demographic neighborhoods in the city. The bloom of Syracuse in the mid-nineteenth century fostered a large number of Irish immigrants to establish a power base after the completion and during subsequent improvements to the Erie Canal. As we have seen above that shift caused a cultural enclave of Irish-Americans to settle in western Syracuse and accrue political and social influence.

After the massive influx of immigrants, the Irish foundation in Syracuse afforded them some respite from Nativist influence seen in other regions of the state, like Albany or New York City. South Syracuse, which is the most depressed section of the city was not settled in majority by the Irish, but was instead settled by African Americans during and after the efforts to abate the flooding of Onondaga Creek which routinely destroyed that section of the city. The racialized violence that did occur in Syracuse towards the Irish was specific to Catholic Irish.
Hierarchical Cluster Analysis

Figure 18. Cluster Analysis of Ceramics from all Archaeological Sites.
The above hierarchical cluster analysis supports the individual analyses in the above chapters. The Hudson River sites with the exception of Railroad Avenue are clustered together at the right (Cluster 3). The T. Middlemast site clustered with these 18th century, extremely well-connected sites. When considering the settlement history of eastern Delaware County and the emphasis on Delaware County as possible land for Dutch Settlers as early as the beginning of the eighteenth century, it clearly marks a different material signature than the western part of the County. The Masonville Survey, which is western Delaware County clustered together with the frontier and western site zones (Cluster 2). The mountain, western, and frontier zones all
clustered together more closely than initially hypothesized. The nuances in material signature difference between sizes in these zones is much more localized and dependent on the construction of a nearby canal or railway. Using the cluster analysis dendrogram above, the most economically disconnected sites are the Eggleston site and the D. DeRailye site (Cluster 1). This result may be related to a different period of occupation being later in the century. However, the Eggleston site is documented to have been occupied in the mid-nineteenth century. In the light of this, the Eggleston Site, away from any railroad installation probably represents one of the most economically disconnected areas in the state. The two Adirondack sites clustered with the frontier region sites.

This result may be related to the very small sample size afforded by the ceramic assemblages at both sites. The Adirondack sites and their related documentation denote that Hamilton County and the Adirondack region is devoid of archaeological data for historical contexts. The lack of original economic development in much of the Adirondack mountains has created a vacuum of archaeological data to support any interpretation of racialized populations in the region. The main industry in Hamilton County and the remainder of the Adirondacks throughout the nineteenth century was resource extraction including lumber production, and the removal of iron ore. It is likely that the labor force for this industry employed Irish-American immigrants (USCB 1880). The material signatures in traditional residences that would have been in the region have, for the most part, never undergone excavation or are in many cases still standing and as a result not producing archaeological collections.

It is clear from the evidence evaluated in this dissertation that the material culture diversity required for a material culture oriented interpretation of racialization based on economic difference is not possible without extensive documentary evidence in settlements in
New York that were connected to the world market later than the mid to nineteenth century. It is clear that while important disenfranchised immigrant groups may have settled in the western and hinterland frontiers of New York prior to the mid-nineteenth century, a lack of material variability and the availability of distinct economic status differences, the archaeological signatures of those disenfranchised populations are left ephemeral in most scenarios. It is also clear from this study that interpretations of ceramic assemblages should be gauged on a continuum of availability considering the history of development in the area where archaeological scholarship occurs.

**Significance**

The significance of this study can be broken into four different categories. First, the evaluation of the archaeological presence of ethnicity, racism, and the immigrant population in the nineteenth-century is one of the most important social obligations of archaeology. This emphasis is merited because of the contributions that immigrant populations have made to the development of the country as a whole, and the state of New York specifically. Interpretations of ethnicity in archaeology are difficult to materially substantiate, and this study has contributed to the discussion of the possibility of evaluating ethnicity or racialization by using material culture. The consistently paced development of New York State and its industrial arteries provide an excellent conduit for a continuum of difference in terms of material culture as more and more consumer items become available across the state. This economic environment makes the differences in possession of items by varying populations within communities more pronounced, and this emphasis will be able to highlight ethnic difference, or at the very least racialized restriction in highly varied economic environments.
Second, this project contributes a significant means of assessing the economic structure of the development of New York State. An archaeological-material based study of the economic development of the state during this time period can provide data and complement discussion on the role of New York State in the larger United States economy during the nineteenth century. The completion of the Erie Canal and later the railroad system cemented New York as one of the most important economic states in the union by the mid nineteenth century. This study emphasizes that role using archaeological material, historical documents, and economic history, to detail the archaeological record development during the nineteenth century across New York State.

Third, the use of museum collections for further archaeological research is both important and exemplified in this study. With repositories, including the New York State Museum, operating at greater than ninety percent storage capacity, the utilization of previously excavated archaeological material to answer new questions has never been more important. This study utilizes collections available at the New York State Museum, many of which have not been reanalyzed. The use of these collections is important because it demonstrates the utility and research value of the material available from extant museum collections, and will hopefully encourage others in the future to utilize the collections at the New York State Museum and other repositories for comparative research.

Finally, the interpretations in this dissertation have provided a better understanding of the material limitations of social distinction across the whole of New York State during the nineteenth century. The development of racism as a cultural plague is often discussed in other disciplines (Roediger 2010), but the inclusion of this study’s interpretations could contribute to better understand how and when racist attitudes become visible in the archaeological record. This
study has provided results that may later be used to contextualize a greater understanding of the development of racism as a whole, and by extension provide conversation that an awful learned behavior can be unlearned in the future.

**Future Research**

While outside the practical scope of this study, the following research topics could provide additional information to the economic and cultural development of New York State. A bioarchaeological focus on immigrant populations in family burial grounds from specific areas of the state could provide isotopic data to support the movement of immigrants across the state. If this data were to be contrasted with the study detailed above, a greater resolution of the treatment, movement, and lives of immigrant populations in New York could be attained. Further, expanding the above study into the eighteenth century and including New England, and New York City could provide the archaeological basis for the seed of racism as an idea. This detail would be a great asset for the history of immigrant life in the United States relevant to our understanding of history in total. Beyond the time depth, and the inclusion of the greater region, the development of economy and social mechanisms like racism should be tracked archaeologically as they develop across the country. These developments could be detailed and viewed as growths that occur during the early historic period, and could contribute greatly to the overall discussion of immigrant identity, and ethnic interaction.
REFERENCES CITED

Anbinder, Tyler

Anonymous

Babson, David W.

Bekken, Jon

Bernstein, Peter L.

Blackmar, Elizabeth

Bourdieu, Pierre

Brighton, Stephen

Brown, Ann R.
1982 *Historic Ceramic Typology with Principal Dates of Manufacture and Descriptive Characteristics for Identification*. FHWA Federal Aid Project 1045(11) USDOT/DELDOT.

Christoph, Peter R.

Clayton, W. W.

Crawford, George
1827 Account Book, Albany, NYSHA Call Number BC1 C7182

Crouse, Nellis, M.

Curtin, Edward
2006. McClumpha Farm Site Notes. Administration and Publication Files accessed at the New York State Museum Archaeology Collection.

Dickens, Charles

Dodge, Daniel
1832 Account Book, Utica, NYSHA Call Number BC1 D72

Dornan, Jennifer L

Ellsworth, Lucius F.

Fahey, Joseph E.

Fennell, Christopher C.

Ferguson, Leland

Folts, James D.

Folts, James D.
Ford, Ben

Galke, Laura J.

Gomez, Michael A.

Good, Irene

Greenwood, Roberta S.

Guinnane, Timothy W. and Ronald I Miller

Halsey, Francis W.

Hart, John P., Lisa M. Anderson, and Robert S. Feranec

Hartgen Archaeological Associates (Hartgen)

Hauser, Mark W. and Christopher R. DeCourse
Hough, Azel
1829 *Daybook*. Ephratah General Store Account Bookkeeping records. Located at New York State Archive, Albany, NY

Huey, Paul.

Hungerford, Edward

Jackson, Peter

Kelly, Mary C.

Klejn, Leo

Koeppel, Gerard.

Kopytoff, Igor

LaRoche, Cheryl and Gary S. McGowan

Larsen, Eric

Linn, Meredith B.


Little, Barbara

Loucks, Jordon Douglas

Mackey, Solomon D.
1843 Account Book, Gilboa, NYSHA Call Number BC1 M157

Malina, Jaroslav and Zdeněk Vašíček

Manly, Bryan F.J.

Matthews, Christopher N.

McCurdy, Charles

McGuire, Randall H.
1982 The Study of Ethnicity in Historical Archaeology *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 1:159-178.

Morgan, Ted.

Morris, Annelise
Mullins, Paul R.  
*Historical Archaeology* 42(3):152-157.

New York State Museum  
1987 Belknap Central Locus (SUBi 1155, NYSM 11009. New York State Museum Collection of Records.  

New York State Museum Archaeological Survey (NYSMAS)  
1978 Archaeological Survey and Cultural Resource Assessment of PIN 9056.01 Masonville, New York. Submitted to the New York State Department of Transportation.

Orser, Charles E. Jr.  

Pendleton, Eldridge  

Perry, Warren and Robert Paynter  

Pierce, Harry H.  

Prettyman, Gib  

Public Archaeology Facility (PAF)  


2010. Cultural Resource Management Report, 2009-2010 Highway Program Site Examinations Eggleston Site (SUBi-2863; NYSM 11781) and Brotzman/Highup Road Site (SUBi-2862; NYSM 11780). Submitted to the New York State Museum State Education Department.

Rafferty, Sean and Mary Ebeling

Roediger, David R.

Rotman, Deborah L.

Scham, Sandra Arnold

Shackel, Paul
1993 Personal Discipline and Material Culture: An Archaeology of Annapolis, Maryland, 1619-1870. University of Tennessee, Knoxville.

Shackel, Paul A. and Barbara J. Little
1992 Post-Processual Approaches to Meanings and Uses of Material Culture in Historical Archaeology. Historical Archaeology 26(3):5-11.

Shaughnessy, Jim
1997 Delaware & Hudson: The history of an important railroad whose antecedent was a canal network to transport coal. Syracuse University Press, Syracuse.

Shennan, S.J.

Sheriff, Carol

Slovak, N. M. and A. Paytan
2012 Applications of Sr Isotopes in Archaeology, *Handbook of Environmental Isotope Geochemistry, Advances in Isotope Geochemistry*. 743-768.

Smith, Angele

Smith, Lindsay
2003 Identifying Chinese ethnicity through material culture: archaeological excavations at Kiandra, NSW. *Australasian Historical Archaeology* 21:18-29.

Smith, Meredithe

Stoddard, Seneca Ray

Symonds, J

Syracuse Daily Journal

Thrall, W. B.

Tolnay, Stewart E.

Ubelaker, Douglas H. and Douglas W. Owsley

United States Census Bureau (USCB)

Veit, Ulrich

Vogel, J.C. and Nikolaas Van Der Merwe

Voss, Barbara L. and Rebecca Allen

Voss, Barbara L.

Wakeman, Mr.
1802 Account Book, Delaware County. NYSHA Call Number BC1 W15

Wall, Diana

Wermuth, Thomas S.

White III, William A.

Williamson, Christine

White Carolyn L.