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I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Thomas Charles Stinson entitled "Gender Negotiation on the East Tennessee Frontier: An Example from the Bell Site." I have examined the final copy of this thesis for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, with a major in Anthropology.

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GENDER NEGOTIATION ON THE EAST TENNESSEE FRONTIER:

AN EXAMPLE FROM THE BELL SITE,

KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

A Thesis
Presented for the
Master of Arts Degree
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Thomas Charles Stinson
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ABSTRACT

Archaeological investigations involving questions of gender have become more prominent in recent years. Material recovered from the Bell Site (40KN202), the remains of an 18th-century log house in Knoxville, Tennessee is examined to determine the role of women on the East Tennessee frontier. Historical information concerning social structuring of gender roles in 18th and 19th century America is examined to determine the social factors involved in gender construction, and the impact these factors may have had on women living on the East Tennessee frontier. This documentary data is then compared with artifacts excavated at 40KN202. The role of women at the site may be seen by dividing material culture into "masculine" and "feminine" categories, allowing the investigator to better recognize women's presence in the archaeological record. This information is compared with other contemporary East Tennessee frontier sites to locate the occupants of the Bell Site within the social fabric in which they lived. The conclusion of this research indicate that women's role on the Appalachian frontier has been long ignored. Contrary to popular 18th and 19th-century notions of femininity, women on the frontier strove to negotiate strict social dictates of feminine behavior while surviving on the unpredictable frontier.

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CHAPTER 1:

INTRODUCTION, RESEARCH DESIGN, AND THEORETICAL ORIENTATION

INTRODUCTION

Within the last decade, questions involving gender have played an increasingly prominent role in archaeological research. Research has focused on the role of women in the field of archaeology and has placed an emphasis on attaining the emic view of women in prehistory and history. Specifically in historical archaeology, gender archaeology has enjoyed a prominent place in recent research (Gibb and King 1991; McKewan 1991; Seifert 1991, 1994; Scott 1994; Wall 1994). Additional investigation is needed to understand the ways that individuals negotiated social constructs of gender in specific times and places in American history. For example, archaeologists have rarely focused on the Appalachian region, choosing instead to address research on the Chesapeake region or the deep South (Gibb and King 1991; McKewan 1991). The Bell Site (40KN202), the remains of a farmstead dating 1793-1834 in Knoxville, Tennessee, provides a unique opportunity to examine ways that gender may be seen in the archaeological record of East Tennessee during the Frontier Period, defined here as encompassing the years between ca.1783 and 1840 (MacArthur 1976:2).

Use of the term "frontier" in this thesis follows Kenneth Lewis' (1977) work on the frontier model of archaeological investigation. Lewis defines the frontier as "a region in which the dispersal of settlement into a new territory takes place" (1977:154). This

term effectively describes East Tennessee during the latter years of the 18th century and the early years of the 19th century. The East Tennessee frontier was situated in the Ridge and Valley physiographic province, a geographical region extending southwest from eastern New York to central Alabama. The area is drained by the Tennessee River and its major tributaries, the French Broad, Holston, and Clinch rivers. A major portion of the land upon which Knoxville rests is located on the north bank of the Tennessee River (Rothrock, ed. 1946:12-14). As the western border of North Carolina, the area seceded from that state to become the short-lived state of Franklin from 1785-1789, returning to the control of North Carolina after 1789. The city of Knoxville was formally established in 1791-1792, when 64 half-acre lots were surveyed by Charles McClung (Abernethy 1957:120), and the lots distributed by lottery in October of 1791 (*Knoxville Gazette* 1791).

THE BELL SITE

The Bell Site (40KN202), located along Kingston Pike in Knoxville, Tennessee, represents the archaeological remains of a two-pen log saddlebag house constructed by William Bell during the 1790s (Figure 1). In early 1997, artifacts indicative of an early house site were found during surface collection at the construction site of the Tennessee Valley Unitarian Universalist Church along Kingston Pike. The site was scheduled to be destroyed by the construction of a driveway to the church, so salvage excavations at the site began in March of 1997.

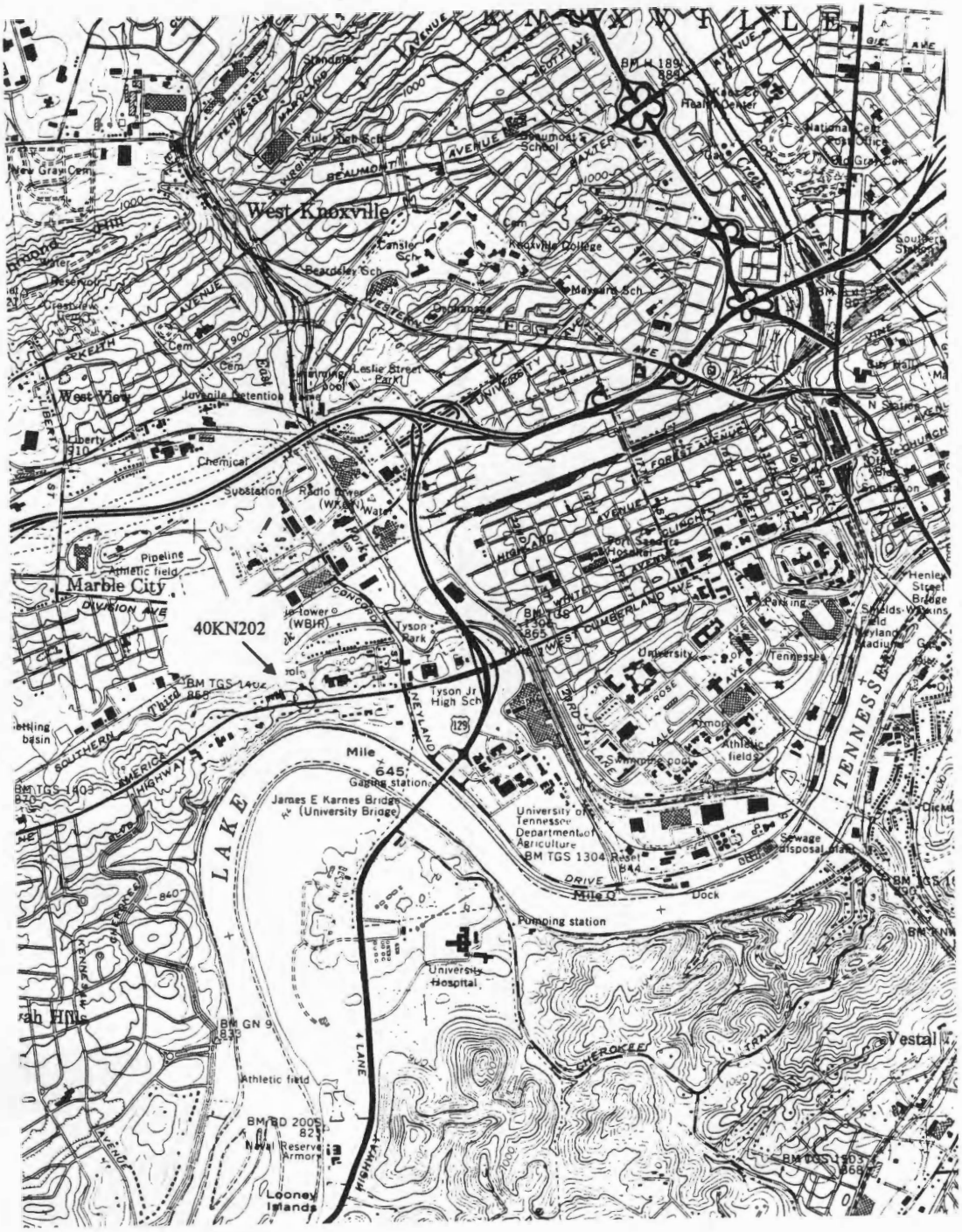

Figure 1. The Bell Site (40KN202)

Initial testing indicated that the house had been a log two-pen saddlebag house with central limestone chimney (Faulkner 1997). In May of 1997 further construction at the site revealed the profile of a large pit on the west edge of the chimney pad. An apparent cellar, the pit lent further credence to the hypothesis that the house had consisted of two pens. The remnant of this pit was excavated in November 1997. Once the danger from construction was allayed, excavations were suspended until June 1998, when a University of Tennessee archaeological field school was conducted to more thoroughly excavate the Bell Site.

THE BELL SITE: DOCUMENTARY DATA

Preliminary information about the site's early history has been provided by Morton Rose, a Knoxville resident conducting research on early landholdings along Kingston Pike. His research indicates that the house was built ca. 1793 by William Bell, who purchased a 500-acre tract of land (on which the house was constructed) in that year. William Bell died in 1813, and the house was sold by his son to John Clark in 1817. John Clark died in 1823, and it appears that one of his nephews may have lived in the house until 1834, when the property was sold to Drury Armstrong. Architectural remains from the site indicate that the house was probably razed sometime around 1834 (Stinson 1998).

Due to the relative antiquity of this site in Knox County, extensive documentary data concerning the occupants of the house has been difficult to obtain. In addition, the

reliability of the genealogical and historical information is not always strong. However, based on information gathered by Morton Rose and the author, a general identification of the inhabitants of the Bell house may be possible. It is hoped that documentary information about the house may aid in interpretation of the data, as well as provide a picture of the circumstances in which the families lived.

THE BELL FAMILY

Documentary evidence concerning William Bell is muddled at best. Early records place him in Augusta County, Virginia ca. 1740, although it is unclear whether this was the place of his birth. It is known that he married Anna Blake while still a resident of Virginia (Bell 1977:64). Early deed records from Knox County contain a record of Bell purchasing the 500-acre tract of land along the north bank of the Holston River, upon which the house stood, from John Hunt in 1793 for 120 pounds (Knox County Archives [KCA], 1793:99). It appears that William moved to Knox County (then Hawkins County) around the time of the land sale, although it is unclear whether Anna moved with him or remained in Virginia. Family records indicate that James and William, the Bell's two sons, were born in Virginia prior to 1800 (Bell 1977:64), although this is not definitive. Furthermore, tombstone records contain a reference to a James Bell, born July 31, 1796 in Falmouth, VA (the proposed birthplace of William Bell, Sr.) (Works Progress Administration [WPA] 1938:9). It is almost certain that Anna Bell had moved, with the rest of the family, to Knox County by 1800. In addition to the

two sons, the Bells had six daughters: Tamer, Anna, Margaret, Jane, Mary, and Elizabeth (McClung Collection [MC] 1953:37). In addition, by the time of William Bell's death in 1813, four slaves had been bought: Dirk, Febe, Mary, and [...]chaster (KCA 1813:67-69). In 1807, William Bell purchased an additional 100 acres from Hugh L. White along the east fork of Third Creek in Knox County (KCA 1807:138). Upon his death in 1813, William Bell, Sr. willed that this 100 acres be sold, with two hundred acres on the west of the remaining land willed to his oldest son, James Bell. Apparently this tract of land contained the house. To his wife Anna, among other belongings, William willed his slave Dirk (apparently not a grown man), bequeathed to James upon Anna's death, and his slave Febe (a young girl), bequeathed to Tamer upon Anna's death. The remaining two slaves were to be sold upon William's death. Although the house and the land upon which it stood were willed to James Bell, it is almost certain that Anna continued to live there, probably with William Bell, Jr. The will states that Tamer should receive her inheritance upon turning 16 years of age, and that if possible she should retain a residence in the house "with her mother or brother William" (KCA 1813:67-69).

Apparently, sometime between 1813 and 1817, James Bell sold his portion of the tract of land bought from Hugh White to Samuel Bell, brother of William Bell, Sr. In October of 1817, Samuel Bell sold the above 100 acres of William Bell's original tract of land, along with another 160-acre tract of land to John Clark of Augusta, Georgia, for $3500 (KCA 1817:175). Presumably the 100-acre plot of land contained the Bell house. Later, in 1819, William Bell, Jr. sold 175 acres of land adjacent to the above lot to John

Clark for $1100 (KCA 1819:293).

THE CLARK FAMILY

If little is known about the Bell family, even less is known about the Clarks. John Clark, of Augusta, Georgia, does not appear to have been married, at least not at the time of his death in October of 1823, and does not appear to have had any children, although a sizable extended family is evident from a reading of his will. He lists the following family members: seven nephews, three nieces, one brother, two sisters, one half sister, and his mother. It is possible that John Clark was Irish, as two sisters (Mary and Anna) resided in Co. Antrim, Ireland with their families. It is also possible that one of his nephews, John Campbell, son of William and Anna (Clark) Campbell, immigrated to the United States to attend the College of Athens, where he resided at the time of the writing of the will. John Clark's brother Samuel was a resident of Tennessee, along with three of his sons: Robert, William John, and James Clark.

Judging by his will, John Clark was a very wealthy man, although his occupation is unknown. In his will he left a total of $19,000, two houses and lots in Augusta, two improved lots in Augusta, four tracts of land in Knox Co., 140 shares of stock in Georgia, the mortgage from a property in West Tennessee, and three slaves to his various family members (KCA 1823:432-436). As noted above, Mr. Clark paid $4600 for the three tracts of land purchased from the Bell family. In addition, he had powerful friends: James Park, early merchant and mayor of Knoxville from 1818-1821 and 1824-26, was

asked to hold the Knox County properties in trust for his nephews (KCA 1823:434).

It is doubtful that John Clark ever lived in Knox County, although the fact that he had both relatives and friends in Tennessee, may indicate he frequented the area. Upon his death, John Clark willed his "four several tracts of land in the County of Knox" to his nephews William John and James Clark, to be held by them as tenants in common. They were to receive this inheritance upon reaching the age of twenty-one years (KCA 1823:434). Who actually lived in the house is unclear, but in 1831 James Clark purchased the lot upon which the house stood from his brother. In turn James sold this lot to Drury Armstrong in 1834 (Rose 1997:1). It is possible that both brothers lived in the house for a period, or that one or the other lived there with his family.

As yeoman farmers, neither the Bells nor the Clarks were especially wealthy members of Knoxville society, although neither were they poor. Thus, the Bell Site is an important indicator of the frontier life of middle class citizens of East Tennessee. Other early house sites excavated in the Knoxville area and dating from the Frontier Period include the James White Second Home site (40KN68) (Faulkner 1984), the Ramsey House (40KN120) (Roberts 1986), and the Gibbs Farmstead (40KN124) (Groover 1998). The White and Ramsey houses were residences of affluent members of the upper strata of Knoxville society. The Bell Site allows researchers a glimpse into the daily lives of less-wealthy East Tennesseans.

Domestic occupation on the tract of land on which the Bell house stood continued well into the 20th century (Cagle 1997). In 1889 the eastern half of the lot was purchased

from Lucy M. Thomas by the Keener family, who moved onto the lot in the same year. The Keeners occupied the Keener house until 1903, when the house was sold to the Day family, who lived there until 1905. The house was then sold to the Tate family, who occupied the house until 1915. In that year the house was sold to the Hacker family, who resided there until 1939, when the house was sold to the Fidelity Bankers Trust Co. In 1940 the Keener house was bought by Alexander Bonnyman, and it is probable that the house was razed late that year or sometime in 1941 (Cagle 1997).

The lot immediately adjacent to the original Keener property (to the west) was also owned by Lucy Thomas, and was sold to W.B. Keener (owner of the Keener house) and C.J. McClung, Jr. in 1889. In 1890 the property was sold to Rebecca Davis, who in turn sold the land to Henry Littlefield in 1908. In August of 1915 Alexander Bonnyman bought the property (to the immediate west of the Keener property) and commissioned a house to be built on the site. In 1916, construction was completed and the Bonnyman family took up residence in the Bonnyman house, an impressive Italian Renaissance Revival house (Knoxville Heritage, Inc., 1996; see also McAlester and McAlester 1997:396-407). In 1968 the Bonnyman property was sold to Teen Center, Inc. The Tennessee Valley Unitarian Church purchased the property in November 1995. The Bonnyman house was razed in 1996 (Cagle 1997).

RESEARCH DESIGN

This thesis will examine artifacts recovered during the 1997 salvage excavations at the Bell Site to determine ways that the presence of women at the site are represented in the archaeological assemblage, and to further understand the impact of social concepts of gender on the families' daily lifeways. Specific questions include 1) How did women living in the Bell house fit into East Tennessee frontier life as a whole? 2) How do the roles apparent in the archaeological record compare with popular notions of femininity of the 18th and 19th century, and 3) how do the roles of women apparent at the Bell Site compare with the roles seen at other prominent East Tennessee frontier sites? It is hoped that comparison with collections from the house sites of more-prominent Knoxvillians will shed light on ways that social ideas of gender may have differentially affected members of differing social status, as well as illuminate shared patterns of negotiating gender expectations; in other words, how did the changing notions of women's roles affect those of differing socioeconomic status? Physical necessities of living on the frontier contrasted strongly with cultural expectations of civilized, cultured women. Despite some changes in gender notions and ideas of proper roles for women, popular notions of female gentility persisted. With women's new role as moral provider for the family, cultural definitions of a "cultured woman" strove to contrast the rugged and unpredictable environment that was the Appalachian frontier. To meet all cultural requirements and remain a respectable lady, women of the Frontier Period were forced to

be cooks, farmers, housecleaners, occasional hunters, teachers, mothers, and overseers of household slaves (if there were any), as well as genteel, cultured hostesses bent on attending to every guest's need. In light of these contrasts, the ultimate goal of this research is to better understand the role of women on the East Tennessee frontier and to use the Bell Site assemblage as a source of insight into the ways that women in East Tennessee may have striven to make their daily lives easier by learning to negotiate social strictures on behavior such as gender expectations.

THEORETICAL ORIENTATION

The research presented here has been undertaken from a contextual, symbolic approach built primarily on the work of Ian Hodder (1982) and his students (Miller and Tilley 1984, for example). This approach gives primacy to material culture and its ability to function as an aid in understanding underlying social relations. Hodder's theoretical stance calls for the archaeologist to "contextualize" material culture in the overlying culture in which it was used; to place it within the broader social network. Here material culture is viewed as an "active element in group relations that can be used to disguise as well as reflect social relations" (Trigger 1989:348). To understand the artifact's function, one must understand the larger society in which it was produced, used, discarded, etc. (Martin 1996:75-76).

In contextualizing the material culture from the Bell Site, the ceramic assemblage has proved especially useful. By applying Hodder's framework, the goal is to understand

the intertwined nature of material culture and broader social relations. It is hoped that, by focusing on the larger framework of gender relations on the East Tennessee frontier, the archaeologist may be better able to understand the function served by ceramics (especially tea wares), and, in turn, extrapolate information leading to a better understanding of power relations in this period. The symbolic, ideological value of ceramics (their presence or absence, the quantity in which they are found, etc.) is used to better understand the social landscape in which those using the ceramics lived.

Material culture is thus attributed symbolic qualities, and it is in this aspect that similarities between contextual and Marxist archaeologies are seen. For Hodder, each context in which material culture is found must be studied and understood as a combination of meaning and symbolism to be negotiated and manipulated (Hodder 1982:218). Marxist archaeology places heavy emphasis on domination, resistance, and reproduction of social roles (see Paynter and McGuire 1991); roles that are interconnected and, when viewed in their totality, comprise the social whole (McGuire 1992:249). Material culture, in a contextual framework, is used to negotiate these relations. Furthermore, the emphasis on domination, resistance, and legitimization of roles provides a useful framework for examining underlying meaning in social relations (Spriggs 1984:4). It is hoped that from this framework will emerge an understanding of the symbolic and ideological functions of ceramics on the East Tennessee frontier: were ceramics used to legitimize or perpetuate a system that confined women to domesticity? Did the social prestige associated with fine tea sets (or even tea drinking) strengthen

socioeconomic stratifications on the frontier? These questions may be used to address differences or similarities between assemblages from the Bell Site and those from homes of wealthier Knoxvillians.

CHAPTER 2:

HISTORICAL CONSTRUCTS OF FEMININITY

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this historical survey is to address ways that women, while operating within the boundaries of femininity during the late 18th and early 19th centuries, performed their roles and created their environment. To this end, an understanding of the role of gender in defining the everyday life of early Americans is important. Gender is defined here in opposition to sex: sex constituting a biologically-based physical state, gender constituting a culturally-specific set of behaviors and ideas (often based on ideas of biological sexuality). While sex and gender are often correlated (female-feminine/male-masculine), they are not immutably so (Whitehead 1981; Fulton and Anderson 1992). In addition, gender, as socially-defined, is susceptible to shifts in culture, and in fact changes quite often in response to new social factors. In addressing gender on the East Tennessee frontier, discussion will focus on culturally-defined behavioral expectations of women during the late 18th and early 19th centuries and ways that these expectations, and therefore gender notions themselves, changed during that time.

This chapter will focus on the prevailing social definitions of femininity in East Tennessee from the period 1780-1840, and will address changes that occurred in these

notions of gender during that time. After describing the social norms, discussion will turn to ways that women on the East Tennessee frontier ascribed to or resisted these prevailing norms in their day-to-day lives.

WOMEN IN POST-REVOLUTIONARY AMERICA (1780 to 1815)

Throughout the 18th century, characteristics of "femininity" in America were defined by a patriarchal society with strong ties to traditional European views of gender relations (Riley 1987:11). Femininity was biologically-based and was exhibited through traits such as purity, tenderness, delicacy, irritability, affection, modesty, etc.; characteristics seen as inherent in women (Norton 1980:111- 112; Kierner 1998). In general, it appears that women acquiesced to the prevailing paternalistic views of their characteristics, and indeed perpetuated these definitions (Norton 1980:110; Kierner 1998:37). However, in the years immediately following the end of the American Revolution, both society's views of women and women's views of themselves began to change. In one sense, traditional conceptions of women's domestic destinies were strengthened as the idea of "separate spheres" gained popularity. Women continued to be viewed in a largely domestic light, limited in their roles of wife and mother (Riley 1987:37, 58). In another sense, however, traditional views of women were altered. Views of women as weak, incapable and inept began to lose popularity and women began gaining agency in marriages and other aspects of their lives (Norton 1980:228). For the most part, changes in perceptions of women were promulgated by younger

families, such as those founded after the mid-1770s (Norton 1980:238). By the early years of the 19th century, women were performing tasks not only as wives and mothers, but also as frontier laborers and factory workers.

Many changes concerning the status of women occurred in the last years of the 18th century and the early years of the 19th. Changes such as a decrease in family size, less stigmatization of single women, an increased number of women filing for divorce from their husbands, more female property-holders, and shifting family structures appeared as new ideas of companionate marriages gained popularity (Smith 1980:136; Riley 1987:48-49). Many of these changes in gender relations may be attributed to the rise of Republican sentiment in the years following the American Revolution. A defining characteristic of American life in the latter quarter of the 18th century was the idea that the new country could survive only on the basis of virtuous, righteous citizens. Thus, domestic life became a crucial factor in the formation of these virtuous citizens; the household became the ultimate source of virtue and stability - traits that would transfer to a successful government and successful nation (Norton 1980:243).

These years witnessed the beginnings of the idea of "separate spheres". Viewed in an ideal setting, women were to be concerned with the domestic, "private" sphere and men concerned with the outside, "public" sphere. The focus of women was to provide for the moral and civic education of children at home, while providing a quiet, peaceful respite for the man; a safe place to escape the evils of the public world (Degler 1980:26). Although it is important to note that these expectations were the ideal for women, their

obedience to social strictures depended upon a number of circumstances. The new notions of gender behavior constituted a shift from earlier notions of gendered roles that had accepted more fluidity during colonial times. Although social stereotypes described women as fragile, tender, and pure (Norton 1980:112), practicalities of colonial life occasionally forced women into the fields with their husbands to perform hard manual labor to help ensure survival of the family. With the emergence of the ideology of separate spheres, this practice largely ceased, as women were no longer expected to work outside the home (Degler 1980:28), and often, were no longer required to.

WOMEN AS WIVES

One of the most noticeable changes in gender development at this time applied to women's roles as wives. In colonial times, marriage was a near-universal for women (Berkin and Norton 1979:44). Many women were married in their teen years during the 17th century, although by the 18th century women were commonly marrying between the ages of 20 and 23 (Riley 1987:15). Marriage was not seen as a romantic partnership, but rather a convenience (almost a business relationship), and many marriages were manipulated so that women had little say in the choice of their mate (Riley 1987:46). Discussions of marriage often took a rather businesslike tone (Smith 1980:126; Lewis 1983:36). However, in the 50 years following the American Revolution, notions of marriage began to change so that marriage partners were more freely chosen (Degler 1980:9), and affection and loyalty among spouses were emphasized (Smith 1980;

Shammas 1980:4). Marriage became more of a companionate, egalitarian affair (Norton 1980:228-229). With the rise in industrialization and the emerging market economy, the ideology of separate spheres gained popularity, and the role of the wife focused largely on providing a quiet place of solace for the world-weary man, allowing him to recuperate from the rigors of work in the public sphere. The primary role of the Republican wife became that of psychological caretaker of the men of the new Republic.

WOMEN AS MOTHERS

From colonial times, the primary role of women was that of mother. Sexual characteristics and social role were intertwined as femininity was defined almost wholly in terms of a woman's childbearing abilities (Norton 1980:121). If they lived through the entirety of their childbearing years, colonial women raised, on average, between five and seven children (Norton 1980:72; Riley 1987:25). It is important to note, however, that child*rearing* was not the central focus of a woman's existence, but rather child*bearing*. Often colonial mothers were too busy with other household chores to make childcare a top priority (Riley 1987:46). For early American families, although the mothers played relatively prominent roles in childrearing, the ultimate authority in the family was the father. The husband oversaw all aspects of family life, and, although rarely a prominent presence in the day-to-day family business, his overall authority was omnipresent (Harari and Vinovskis 1989:387). The lack of emphasis on the mother's role of raising young children may be correlated with early views of children. Young children were seen less

as individuals in need of specialized care and instruction, but rather members of the family economy, expected to raise a hand in the family's survival (Demos 1986:97). As the family was a microcosm of outside productivity, children participated from an early age in farm production, helping in the care of domestic animals, gardening, and in household tasks. In short, children were miniature versions of their parents, and as such, were expected to pull their own weight in the family (Norton 1980:25).

During the post-Revolution years, the prevailing view of children as miniature adults began to change. Parents began perceiving their children as rational beings, each an individual and each in need of moral instruction and guidance (Riley 1987:48). Authority became more personalized as parents turned from the imposition of abstract authority to reasoning and rationalization to influence their children (Norton 1980:236; Lewis 1983). A shift in the idea of a mother's responsibility accompanied the shift in perceptions of childhood. In part, the added responsibility of extensive supervision of children and active participation in the education of young people may be traced to the emerging idea of separate spheres: as more men entered the "public" sphere, less energy could be spent by them on supervising household affairs, so childrearing was left in the already-busy hands of Republican mothers (Degler 1980:77; Riley 1987:47). It was their responsibility to raise moral, virtuous, and patriotic citizens who would grow and serve the new nation. As the father receded into the public sphere, his dominance over affairs within the household decreased, leaving the domestic household the domain of the mother. This led to a new importance being placed on the mother-son relationship, while

the mother-daughter relationship receded into the background (Norton 1980:248). In previous models of family relationships, once children passed infancy, sons had spent more time with fathers and women turned their attention to daughters. The role of mother was to instruct daughters in the tasks of women, such as cooking, sewing, baking, cleaning, and caring for the household (Norton 1980:25, 102). However, as attention shifted to the need for patriotic men, the education of sons became the primary concern. With more men leaving the home to work in the public sphere, women were left with the task of raising their sons.

One role of the Republican mother was that of educator: women were expected to educate their sons to allow them to function effectively in the public sphere, as well as to educate daughters to allow them to become, in turn, good mothers. Education began at home, with literate parents or older siblings teaching younger children basic reading and writing, as well as etiquette and good behavior. Usually firstborn children were taught by mothers (Norton 1980:257), who were expected to provide moral instruction for their children, as well. Women were expected to attend church on a regular basis, study the Bible, and instruct their children in morals and virtuous life (Norton 1980:126).

The roles of mother and wife described above were, in colonial and post-Revolutionary America, women's roles by default; the roles were theirs because they were women, consequences of their biological sex. However, women in early America played other important roles, such as frontiers-person, community member, and consumer.

WOMEN ON THE FRONTIER

In colonial-era America, a fluidity characterized gender-specific tasks as most women worked alongside male members of their families and communities to help ensure survival (Riley 1987:13). Women's ability to labor in both homes and fields to eke out existence did not go unnoticed; a journal entry of a 17th century southern planter praised a woman as attractive who could show no "ruggedness" or "immodesty" but who could also shoot, hunt, and perform other "masculine" duties (quoted in Riley 1987:19). Thus, it seems that attractiveness was tied to abilities to perform necessary tasks while remaining true to feminine ideals. As settlements grew and progressed, traditional ideas of femininity overtook the fluidity of earlier gender constructions (Riley 1987:27).

Study of the woman on the frontier provides interesting opportunities to view later gender ideals imposed on those in conditions similar to those of earlier, pre-Revolution America. In many ways the physical requirements of life in colonial times and the later frontier period are similar, but by addressing discussion to later American frontiers, one is able to see how the definitions of femininity differ with varying temporal settings. As in colonial times, women on the American frontiers in the late 18th century worked alongside men to perform the heavy manual labor necessary to establish frontier settlements (Riley 1987:27). Much of the heavy work was performed by women alone, as widows, or with men off trapping, hunting, or surveying. In addition to physical labor, women on the frontier worked to manage the house and children, as well as to oversee servants (Riley 1987:53). Women acted as merchants, as well. It is

clear from store ledgers and journals that frontier women held buying power, often doing the shopping for goods the family needed (Perkins 1991:494; 1998; Wall 1994:6). General stores in frontier towns provided an important service, often serving as the only reliable source of many goods for the town. Stores provided goods, as well as a place where agricultural surplus and excess game from the hunt could be sold or exchanged (Hardeman 1977:43). Journal entries note women exchanging eggs, butter, and vegetables for goods at the general store, although these areas are described as "masculine" areas of town where women did not completely fit in (Faragher 1979:115). It is clear, however, that the general store was one aspect of frontier society where women held some degree of autonomy, at times even holding their own accounts. Through shopping, women were able to stretch the boundaries of their domestic sphere and venture beyond the home (Perkins 1991:496).

WOMEN AS CONSUMERS

In an attempt to understand the extent of the consumer power of women, five store ledgers from East Tennessee were examined. Although no records from Knox County were extant, ledgers from Hamblen, Hawkins, and Blount counties were useful in providing a picture of daily commerce in East Tennessee. The ledgers were divided into two groups: those pre-dating 1815 and those post-dating 1815. Those in the former include store ledgers from the Bent Creek Store in Hamblen County, dating from May 1796 to September 1797; and Ledgers B and D of the Thomas Amis store in Hawkins

County (Gump 1997), dating 1782-1794 and 1794-1801, respectively. The third ledger of the group pre-dating 1815 is the Charles P. Nenney ledgers, dating 1793-1795. Comprising the second group of ledgers is Book D of the Bent Creek Store, dating 1816-1818; a second group of records from Charles P. Nenney, dating 1833-1840; the George Gannon ledgers from Blountville, Tennessee, dating 1816-1817; and finally, the Abraham Looney ledgers, also from Blountville, dating 1814-1816 and 1820-1821.

The ledgers were examined for the number of accounts held by women, as well as clues into the relationship between male purchasers and goods from the "feminine" sphere. It should be noted that problems arose in the examination of the ledgers: writing was occasionally illegible, pages were missing from some ledgers, and the identity of many customers was unclear. For example, when a woman is married and takes her husband's name, it is presumed that her name in the ledgers changes. Thus, there would be multiple entries over the years for the same woman: using one name when married, then entries with her married name. Also, the ledgers cover different amounts of time; some span a period of four years, others only span one year. To address this problem, one ledger from each group was sampled: one dating to the Bell occupation of the house, and one to the Clark occupation. Each of these two ledgers were sampled for a three-month period, with every transaction from that period recorded and special attention paid to the number of female account-holders.

THE BENT CREEK STORE LEDGERS (May 1796 - September 1797)

For the one year and four months covered by these records, a total of 37 women held accounts with the Bent Creek Store. Most of the women bought goods traditionally associated with the domestic sphere: ribbon, linens, thread, paper pins, thimbles, buttons, etc. In addition, women purchased consumable goods such as butter, oats, sugar, ginger, and even whiskey. There are a few examples of customers buying coffee accessories, but no mention of tea is made. Both men and women paid for goods in cash and notes, as well as through services exchanged for goods: mending shirts, work performed in the field, etc. In addition to Euro-American customers, the day book also records transactions of three slaves during this period.

THOMAS AMIS LEDGER, BOOK B (1782 - 1794) (Gump 1997)

Ledger B from the Thomas Amis stores contained the fewest numbers of women customers: two women purchased goods during this period. Mrs. Amy Campbell purchased goods once in 1788 and again in 1790, charging them to the account of her husband. Mrs. Mary Ashurste conducted 20 transactions in 1784, and two more in 1787. These women, both married, were the only two women to have transactions recorded in this ledger.

THOMAS AMIS LEDGER D (1794 - 1801) (Gump 1997)

As with the earlier ledger, very few women are recorded having accounts with

Thomas Amis: during this period three women are recorded; the latter two in 1796 are a widow and a "granny", while the third is a married woman.

THE CHARLES P. NENNEY LEDGERS (1793 - 1795)

During the two years recorded in these ledgers, 29 women held accounts at Charles Nenney's store. The women ranged in age from young girls to widows (although on the frontier there was often little distinction between these two), and bought mostly sewing and beauty products, as well as coffee, coffee pots, and tobacco on one occasion. There are a small number of slaves recorded in the ledger, as well, purchasing calico, gingham, sugar, coffee, soap, etc. Again, no mention of tea was found, although both men and women bought coffee, as well as ceramic cups, plates, and saucers.

THE BENT CREEK STORE LEDGER, BOOK D (1816 - 1818)

This later book from the Bent Creek store in Hamblen County contains at least 47 female account-holders; a number of pages are missing, so it is possible that more women were represented. Customers bought coffee, lots of "sundries" and merchandise, as well as an occasional spelling book.

GEORGE GANNON LEDGERS (June 1, 1816 - April 30, 1817)

The George Gannon store in Blountville, Tennessee kept records of 25 women holding accounts during this 11 month period. Much more tea was purchased in this

store, with approximately 30 instances of men buying tea and five instances of women purchasing tea. A large number of consumables were purchased by both men and women from this store: veal, sugar, bacon, pork, eggs, chicken, whiskey, coffee, tea, and beeswax.

CHARLES P. NENNEY LEDGERS (1833 - 1840)

During this seven year period, 37 women had accounts in the Charles Nenney store. Along with items mentioned in the earlier Nenney ledger, women bought stockings, lace, coffee, spelling books, etc. Notable in this later section of the Nenney ledger is a separate, smaller ledger of slave transactions, including records of purchases by 14 slaves, nine of whom were women, through 1837.

THE ABRAHAM LOONEY LEDGERS (Dec. 21, 1814 - Feb. 23, 1816)

This earlier portion of the Looney store ledgers from Blountville, Tennessee contains records of 69 women account-holders, buying similar products as their predecessors in other ledgers: butter, eggs, tableware, tobacco, coffee, tea, etc. There are occasional references to purchases of "testaments", as well.

THE ABRAHAM LOONEY LEDGERS (Nov. 1, 1820 - Oct. 12, 1821)

This latter portion, while shorter than the earlier section, contains accounts for 18

women, many of whom appear in the earlier records from the Looney store. Purchases at the store are similar to those in the earlier ledgers.

As stated above, two ledgers were sampled to obtain more detailed information concerning the number of women visiting and holding accounts with the stores. The period from June 1, 1796 until September 1, 1796 was sampled from the Bent Creek Ledger, with the period June 1, 1816 to September 1, 1816 sampled from the George Gannon Ledgers. For the earlier period, a total of 32 women held accounts at the Bent Creek Store, purchasing items such as coffee, spelling books, and sundry merchandise. In this respect, the Bent Creek Ledger is similar to others, with women buying things either related to "women's" work (sewing, educating children) or foodstuffs relating to their role as cook for the family. In contrast to the 32 women account-holders, there were 198 men who held accounts during the same time period. Not only did the men buy "masculine" items such as nails, lumber, whiskey, and tobacco, they also bought "female" items such as coffee, teaspoons, linen, clothes, buttons, etc.

The same time period was sampled for the George Gannon store in Blountville, Tennessee during the year 1816. During this time, 22 women held accounts while 218 men held accounts with the store. It is interesting to note that the increase in male account-holders may represent an increased population in Blountville, but the numbers of female account-holders decreased. The consumer goods purchased changed little over the 22 years between the samples. There are more instances of tea being purchased, but

coffee continued to be bought in great quantities, almost always with sugar (rarely were coffee and tea purchased together). Women bought more consumables at the Gannon store: veal, sugar, bacon, eggs, beeswax, coffee, tea, and chicken were all purchased at the store. However, women continued to buy "feminine" items such as linen, calico, thimbles, stockings, etc. Men also bought some of these "feminine" items, as well as sets of dinner plates, teaspoons, coffee pots, and cups and saucers.

A comparison of these ledgers indicates that no significant change occurred from the late 18th century to the early 19th century, although fewer women held accounts during the latter period. Although the domesticity of the home was the woman's territory, it appears that a majority of women allowed their husbands to purchase goods for them or at their behest. Thus, although women may have been instructing the men as to their purchases, ultimately it was the men conducting the commercial transactions in the "public" sphere for the family. In fact, the decrease in female account-holders in the latter years may be a reflection of strengthening notions of separate spheres. If the Cult of True Womanhood emphasized domesticity as one of its cardinal virtues, and the mark of a True Woman was to remain in the "private" sphere and provide a safe, warm haven for her husband (Welter 1977:189), then the practice of women venturing into the "masculine" world of commerce, even for her own goods, may have become increasingly stigmatized.

One may conclude that, to a certain extent, women did have power as consumers, insofar as they directed the purchases of the men in the family. However, relatively few

women held their own accounts or ventured out to do their own shopping. It seems that ideas of domesticity and the notion of separate spheres may have put a limit on the overt power of women, although, ultimately, they provided a "behind the scenes" influence on the consumer behavior of their husbands, sons, and brothers.

Despite the need for the performance of strenuous, "masculine" physical tasks, ideas of traditional femininity remained very strong. Women's primary duty was to home and children, and although special circumstances of the frontier made it necessary for them to cross gender lines in task performance, women's roles were still primarily based on biological sex characteristics. Ultimately, basic gender characteristics were perceived as God-given and unchangeable, as rooted in nature as physical sex characteristics (Faragher 1979:89), and geography alone could not change these basic assumptions.

THE CULT OF TRUE WOMANHOOD

Ideals of the Republican Woman continued to thrive well into the second decade of the 19th century. However, a number of changes began affecting the domestic life of Americans during this period. Perhaps foremost among these changes was an emphasis on growth and expansion that pervaded the American mindset. From 1816 until 1837, increased industrialization and a move for westward expansion brought vast changes to the social landscape of America (Berkin and Norton 1979:139; Riley 1987:63). For families, these changes brought about alterations in the patterns of household production and consumption, as well as shifts in traditional gender roles and characteristics.

Changes in behavior of women differed with social status. Increased industrialization in effect created a new class of women: those who left the home to enter the workforce (Riley 1987:63). These women often came from families of lower class status, where the increased income from a working woman was necessary. For women of higher socioeconomic status, day-to-day tasks changed very little; they were still expected to work at cooking, rearing children, and maintaining the household (Riley 1987:66). A major shift may be detected, however, in the increased attention paid to women's behavior. A plethora of guidebooks and etiquette manuals were now published to teach women how to manage their lifestyles, and an increased emphasis was placed upon women behaving as ladies (Riley 1987:67). The importance placed on proper behavior and lifestyle led to the age of "The Cult of True Womanhood", where attributes of "true women" were carefully spelled out for all to follow. The attributes were submissiveness, domesticity, piety, and purity (Welter 1977:179).

WOMEN AS WIVES

The primary purpose of woman as wife during this period was to remain at home and provide a warm, inviting place where a husband could recuperate from a day of battling in the "public" sphere (Riley 1987:67-68). In effect, a "true woman" was to remain unquestionably in the home, faithful to traditional values of femininity (Welter 1977:179). Domesticity was a natural task for women, and since a woman's natural goal

was to serve as a wife, domesticity and marriage went hand-in-hand as women's natural destinies.

Marriage was, for women, to be entered for the pure reason of love, and not for personal gain or any other impure motive (Welter 1977:195-196). Men, however, were not to bow to such emotions, and should marry for intellectual, physical, and moral improvement, with a constant eye to performing their duty to God and Man (Alcott 1972[1841]:31-32). God's natural order of authority placed the man as husband over the wife, and it is in perpetuation of the natural order of authority that the "submissiveness" of true womanhood was to be seen (Welter 1977:185-186). Although husbands and wives were to act as "partners", a husband, as the moral superior, was not to give her views equal weight with his (Alcott 1972[1841]:25-26). However, ironically, the task of the wife was to enact her natural virtues to draw men back to the family at the end of the day, and keep them from straying too far and becoming lost in the evils of the world (Friedman 1975:116; Welter 1977:189). It seems that by creating a sheltering domestic environment a wife could make her husband want to stay with his family and not abandon the marriage.

WOMEN AS MOTHERS

As in earlier times, the ultimate role of a mother was to raise virtuous, patriotic, and duty-bound children (especially sons) for future service to the burgeoning nation. For many 19th century Americans, childbirth was a woman's natural destiny, and they

were encouraged by the medical community to fulfill that destiny and be true to their natural domestic calling (Smith-Rosenberg and Rosenberg 1977:205). A woman's role in society was recapitulated in physiology: her instincts along with her natural childbearing abilities made her more nurturing and gentle (Smith-Rosenberg and Rosenberg 1977:206). Childrearing was one more way for women to increase their usefulness to the new nation, and the responsibility fell increasingly to women, as husbands receded deeper and deeper into the public sphere (Welter 1977:197). In short, motherhood fit neatly into the increased emphasis on domesticity for women: childrearing was merely another way for a woman to fulfill her natural (God-given) destiny and serve her husband and country.

WOMANLY ATTRIBUTES

As notions of gender behavior subtly shifted to stress notions of traditional (early Republic) femininity in the face of increased industrialization, women not only found their roles addressed, but also the notions of what were natural characteristics for them to exhibit. As noted above, four primary attributes of femininity were stressed: piety, purity, submissiveness, and domesticity. Women were to be submissive and domestic in the performance of the roles of ideal wives and mothers, respectively. However, the attributes of piety and purity superseded any particular roles, and affected all aspects of women's lives, touching on the very notion of femininity itself. Submission to these two

remaining characteristics rendered women the moral superiors of men, beyond the touch of the sinful world.

The emergence of the Cult of True Womanhood during the second decade of the 19th century reinforced the notion of women as the moral opposite of the public world; as the private sphere personified. As pious and pure, women were contrasted with sinful men. For example, piety was a woman's God-given, innate quality, and it served to counteract men's sinful natures. Furthermore, a true woman was pure; her virtue was her own, and she should fight all attempts of sinful men to assault this virtue (Welter 1977:179-182).

These ideal qualities of true women represent subtle shifts in earlier notions of femininity. From colonial times, women's piety was an important characteristic, and colonial women were expected to attend church regularly, to study the Bible, and to guard the state of their souls, as well as the souls of their children (Norton 1980:126). However, the family patriarch was the acknowledged head of the household, and his presence ensured his continued moral influence (Degler 1980). It seems that the renewed emphasis upon women's piety was a response to the growing isolation of men from the daily domestic life of the family. Concern over the moral instruction of the family in the void left by the father's absence was the main impetus for renewed calls for women's piety (Friedman 1975:114).

In addition, women's purity had always been an important notion in definitions of femininity, and the idea of a sullied virtue was joined with the threat of strict social

sanction (D'Emilio and Freedman 1988:5). However, earlier portrayals of women's sexuality focused not on women's virtue, but on women's strong passions and insatiable sexual appetites. Early marriage manuals made it the man's responsibility to ensure a woman's faithfulness by ensuring that his wife's strong sexual urges were never aroused because, once aroused, they were unsatisfiable. Later in the 18th century, marriage manuals placed heavy emphasis on the satisfaction of women's sexual urges, although women were encouraged to keep their strong passions from overwhelming those of their husbands (Degler 1980:250-251). By the early decades of the 19th century, the tide had turned and true women were considered no longer sexually voracious and unsatisfiable, but rather pure and unsensual, and therefore always to be on guard against men's attempts to take their inherent virtue (Matthews 1987:28; D'Emilio and Freedman 1988:57). These women were contrasted to the sexually promiscuous women of the lower classes (and those who followed the ideology of greater rights for women) who tempted men and led them from the path of family and goodness (Friedman 1975:135-136).

CONCLUSIONS

In retrospect, during the years 1780-1840, the roles of upper-class women changed little, although circumstances of individual women may have changed quite a bit. From the early post-Revolutionary years through the second and third decades of the 19th century, women were primarily domestic, serving as wives, mothers, workers, and helpers, performing a wide variety of necessary tasks to ensure the survival of the family.

Although women were first and foremost women, both in post-Revolution America and on the frontier, they found it necessary to be able to cross gender-specific boundaries of behavior to ensure survival. Thus, not only did women have a large hand in the daily operations of the household and the educational and moral development of the children, they also served as help-mates to their husbands, as traders and merchants, hunters, foragers, and occasional farmhands.

Essentially, it may be argued that the definitions of femininity served to ensure upper-class women's submission to their appropriate sphere. Despite the broad range of women's necessary abilities and men's growing isolation from the workings of the household itself, men remained the acknowledged heads of households throughout the period under discussion. Submission to a husband's desire and to the domestic sphere remained a constant trait throughout the early years of the 19th century, and longer for many women. Throughout the period from 1780-1840, one finds the common theme of women's greater purpose and moral responsibility lying with the family and their husbands. For women in the early Republic, the idea of Republican Motherhood ensured that women understood that submission to domesticity and the private sphere would serve a greater purpose: the rise and perpetuation of a patriotic, Godly nation. By this logic, women's sole and ultimate purpose was to serve family, God, and country as a mother and moral educator of the young. Later, during the early years of the 19th century, women's responsibility shifted from the Republic to focus on the institution of family and the economic development of the nation. For the family, women were to ensure their

husbands' faithfulness and the continuation of the institution of family by remaining true to the dictates of "True Womanhood". Each of the four principles of a "true woman", promoted heavily by men (Friedman 1975:116), served to preserve the status quo of upper class domestic relations in response to changing social mores. As the idea of separate spheres became more entrenched in the everyday reality of American families (as the public and private spheres grew farther and farther apart), rhetoric describing "True Womanhood" grew louder and louder. Not only did the rhetoric gain in volume, but also in strength, with the increase of marriage manuals and books on "womanly" behavior (Alcott 1972[1841]; Riley 1987:67). In the face of a changing social landscape, broad efforts were made to ensure that, upon threat of serious social censure, upper class women remained in the home and out of the public sphere.

It is important to note that the social norms described in this chapter apply largely to women of upper and upper-middle class America, and that norms for women of lower class (as well as norms for women of color and American Indian women) were vastly different. However, since the families under focus in this study were upper-middle class, discussion has been limited to women of that socioeconomic status. It should also be stressed that the rules of gender described here were ideals of behavior, and, as such, the degree of adherence to the ideals varied from individual to individual. Despite strong social pressure to ascribe to prevailing norms of femininity, not all women wholeheartedly accepted the requirements placed on their sex. A number of examples may be found of women actively resisting popular notions of femininity. For example,

although early American women were admired for their ability to perform a wide variety of tasks, both in the home and in the field, when necessary, the need to work to help harvest crops or hunt for food did not figure into later norms of "True Womanhood". Yet examples abound of women, traveling the overland trail westward with their families during the 1820s and 30s, performing tiresome, backbreaking physical labor to ensure the survival of the family (Faragher 1979; Riley 1987). In response to ideas of women's inherent nature, many women resisted notions of domesticity and motherhood. With the early rise of the idea of companionate marriages, more women found themselves empowered to end their marriages if they were not satisfied with their situation (Riley 1987:48-49). A woman's status as unwed lost some of its stigma. In addition, while children may have been seen as individuals in need of moral instruction and guidance at the hands of mothers, children were also viewed by many as economic assets; as extra hands in increasing the family's income (Craig 1993). Finally, the early 19th century saw a decrease in the average number of children per household (D'Emilio and Freedman 1988:58). While this decline may reflect increased power of women in the domestic sphere (D'Emilio and Freedman 1988:58), it also is indicative of increased usage of birth control. In short, women were resisting social pressure to fulfill their natural domestic calling by having as many children as God willed them to have. It is clear that, while many women may have ascribed to broader ideas of femininity when and where possible, physical necessity, economic changes, and particularistic circumstances led them to tailor their behavior in response to their needs.

CHAPTER 3:

THE BELL SITE: ARCHAEOLOGICAL DATA

THE BELL SITE (40KN202): AN INTRODUCTION

Early in 1997 artifacts indicative of an early house site were uncovered at the construction site of the Tennessee Valley Unitarian Universalist Church along Kingston Pike in Knoxville, Tennessee. Excavation began in March of 1997 with the initial gridding of the site and establishment of permanent datum points and benchmarks. Trenches running east-west and north-south were dug in increments of 3' x 1½' units, with larger 3' x 3' units excavated to more fully investigate features when encountered (Figure 2). Unless natural stratigraphic levels were present, units were excavated in two-tenths levels. All soil was hand-troweled and dry-screened through ¼-inch mesh. Based on initial artifacts recovered, indications were that the house had been a log two-pen saddlebag house with a central dressed limestone chimney, although construction eventually destroyed most of the west pen of the house, leaving only the eastern pen open to excavation. In May 1997, further construction at the site uncovered the profile of a large pit cellar on the west edge of the chimney pad. The remnants of the cellar measured approximately 15' x 4', and were excavated in November of 1997. The cellar was divided into three 3 x 3 foot units, designated the north, control, and south units. Each unit was excavated in natural levels, with all soil from the north and south units below the driveway fill (Feature 4) hand-troweled and dry-screened in ¼-inch mesh. All

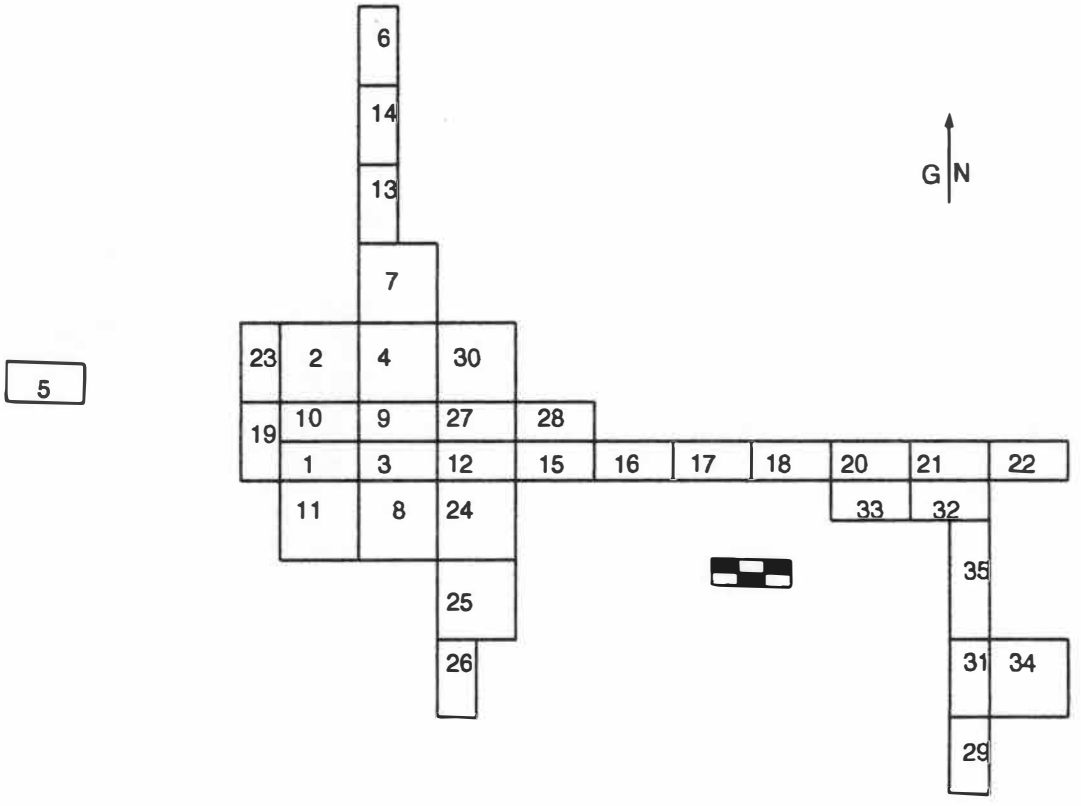

Figure 2. 1997 Excavation Units at 40KN202

soil from the lower levels in the control block was bagged for fine water screening and flotation. The cellar yielded early creamware and pearlware sherds, wrought and early cut nails, hand-made bricks, and thin window glass. In the summer of 1998 a University of Tennessee field school was held at the site, when more thorough and systematic excavations were conducted. This report focuses only on the material uncovered during the period March 1997 to November 1997.

Nine features were identified in the 1997 excavations. Feature 1 is the cut limestone chimney pad, uncovered early in the excavation. The feature was exposed in units 19, 23, 11, 1, 10, 2, 8, 3, 9, and 4, and measures approximately 7' x 7'. Feature 2 is a concentration of hammer-dressed limestone flakes and mortar found on top of Feature 1. Feature 3 is a densely-packed gravel pavement located in Unit 5. This appears to be the driveway fill that covered the cellar. Medicine bottle sherds and window glass were recovered in the fill above the feature. Feature 4 is the remains of a driveway dating to one of the later houses on the property. The driveway was gravelled with concrete curbs, and is situated to the southwest of the chimney pad. Feature 5 is a shallow basin uncovered in units 12 and 24. The basin yielded early ceramics, indicating that it dates to the occupation of the house. Brick fragments, hammer-dressed limestone flakes, and some charcoal fragments were also recovered from the feature. Feature 7 is a possible treefall located in the southeast corner of Unit 25, and Feature 6 is a recent posthole intruding on Feature 7. Feature 8 is a recent water pipe trench running north-south

throughout units 28 and 15. Finally, Feature 9 is the cellar located to the west of the chimney pad.

METHODS AND MATERIALS

Artifacts recovered during the 1997 test excavations at the Bell Site were examined in the Historical Archaeology Laboratory at the University of Tennessee and analysis was performed based largely on the work of Majewski and O'Brien (1987), South (1972, 1977) Miller (1991), Noel Hume (1970), and Price (1979). Functional classifications follow those proposed by Stanley South in his *Method and Theory in Historical Archaeology* (1977). After artifactual analysis was performed, special attention was paid to the ceramic assemblage. The ceramic collection was classified by vessel form and decoration, separating out individual plates, saucers, serving dishes, cups, mugs, and other tablewares. A minimum number of vessels was determined for each vessel form, and, when possible (using dates for ceramic decoration provided by Miller (1991) and South (1972)), attributed to either the Bell or Clark families. Once this was completed, contextualization of the ceramic assemblage within the broader framework of the East Tennessee frontier could be attempted.

South's classificatory model (1977), based on nine groups of artifacts, was the basis for artifact analysis. Forty-two classes are subsumed into these nine groups, with class assignment dependent upon artifact form (and occasionally function) (South 1977:93). The ultimate purpose of this classificatory system is to recognize patterning

within the archaeological record, yielding information on site function and identification (South 1977:31).

ARTIFACTS

KITCHEN GROUP

South's Kitchen Group is composed of artifacts whose function is related to kitchen activities; for example, ceramics, bottles, glass tumblers, tableware, and kitchen implements (South 1977:95). This group comprises 54 percent (n = 1,235) of the artifact assemblage, and is the best-represented of South's classes at the Bell Site.

CERAMICS (N = 918)

Creamware (n = 143)

Creamware was an early attempt by European ceramists to replicate the white porcelain wares produced by the Chinese. First produced ca. 1762, creamware appeared in the American colonies around 1769 (Noel Hume 1970:125-127), and was manufactured until the 1820s, when its popularity was eclipsed by pearlware. At the Bell Site, creamware comprises 16 percent of the total ceramic assemblage from preliminary testing. The collection is composed of 131 plain undecorated sherds, 8 annular sherds, 1 mocha sherd, and 2 sherds apparently decorated with either blue transfer print or underglaze blue decoration.

Plain undecorated sherds comprise the bulk of the creamware uncovered, representing 92 percent of all creamware. These plain sherds are later examples of creamware, appearing around 1775 and notable for their relatively light yellow color (Miller 1991:5). The sherds represent such vessels as plates, saucers, cups, and bowls, as well as serving platters, serving bowls and a possible muffineer and teapot.

Annular-decorated creamware sherds are the second most common type, comprising 6 percent of the creamware collection. Excavations unearthed sherds from one serving bowl and a possible mug, as well as sherds of unidentified hollow ware.

Mocha creamware is the least represented creamware type, comprising less than one percent of decorated creamware. The sherd is part of an unidentified hollow ware vessel.

Two creamware sherds are apparently decorated with some form of underglaze blue decoration, although the small size of the sherds makes definition of the design, as well as vessel and function, difficult. These sherds constitute the remaining one percent of the creamware collection.

Pearlware (n = 568)

Pearlware was manufactured as early as 1779 and imported to the United States by 1790 (Noel Hume 1970:128). This ware is the most frequently-recovered ware at the site; the 568 sherds represent 62 percent of the total ceramic assemblage. A majority (46%, n = 262) of the pearlware sherds are undecorated. These represent both flatware

and hollow ware vessels such as saucers and plates, bowls and teacups. In addition, two rim sherds of a pearlware chamber pot were recovered from Units 18 and 21, and a sherd from an apparent teapot was recovered from Unit 14. These vessels represent the functional variety of pearlware at this site.

Underglaze blue hand-painted pearlware was the second most commonly recovered pearlware type at 40KN202, representing 20 percent of all pearlware and 37 percent of all decorated pearlware. These sherds appear to be pieces of teaware sets, often decorated with blue floral patterns, such as the four-petaled flower on the bottom of a tea bowl from Unit 7, or a underglazed blue hand-painted teapot from Unit 24. In addition to these vessels, cups (both early tea bowls and later London-style cups post-dating 1810), saucers, serving platters and sherds of a possible small serving bowl are represented in the archaeological record.

Underglazed polychrome decorated pearlware is also present at the Bell Site. Indistinct polychrome comprises 2 percent of the pearlware (4% of the decorated sherds), with a distinction between fine-line (earlier) and broad-line (later) difficult to draw. However, 40 sherds (13% of decorated pearlware sherds) of pearlware were identified as underglaze polychrome fine-line, a style characterized by autumnal colors and fine-line decoration on the vessel (Faulkner 1984:68), popular from ca. 1795 through the 1820s (Miller 1991:8). Forty-six sherds of pearlware were identified as underglaze polychrome broad-line (15% of decorated pearlware sherds), notable for the use of bright colors and broad lines hand-painted beneath the glaze. This style replaced the fine-line decorations

on polychrome pearlware, and generally dates ca. 1820-1830+ (Noel Hume 1970:129; Miller 1991:8). The vessels decorated with underglaze polychrome are primarily teawares such as cups/bowls and saucers, as well as a teapot. Serving vessels are also represented in the ceramic assemblage; a serving set is suggested by the appearance of similarly-decorated large plate and bowl.

Shell-edged-decorated types were recovered, composing 15 percent (n = 45) of decorated pearlware. Noel Hume (1970:131) states that pearlware is "most commonly found in the form of shell-edged plates with rims painted in either blue or green", and the design was prevalent on plates from ca. 1795-1830. Shell-edged wares at the Bell Site are both green and blue shell-edged, and represent both the Rococo (1795-1810) and Neoclassical (1810-1830) styles. These types were extremely popular during their production, and were the cheapest decorated tableware available for much of the 19th century (Miller 1991:6). These sherds represent platters and soup plates, as well as dinner plates and dessert plates.

Edge-decorated types generally date later than the shell-edged designs, appearing during the 1820s and persisting in popularity until the 1860s (Majewski and O'Brien 1987:38). These designs were often embossed or molded along the rims, with green or blue enamel applied over the moldings (Faulkner 1984:68). At the Bell Site, edge-decorated sherds compose 7 percent (n = 22) of the decorated pearlware sherds. Their low representation may be a factor of the late appearance of edge-decorated wares; they did not become popular until near the end of the Clarks' ownership of the property.

By the time edge-decoration had reached its peak of popularity, human occupation of the house had probably ceased. Furthermore, it should be noted that the above assertion by Ivor Noel Hume concerning the prevalence of shell-edged designs may hold true for the Bell Site; shell-edged and edge-decorated wares may have been more common than represented in the assemblage of decorated sherds, as many of the plain pearlware sherds may be undecorated portions of shell-edged and edge-decorated plates.

Transfer-printed pearlware comprises 4 percent (n = 13) of the decorated pearlware assemblage. The transfer prints are blue and were used to decorate flatware pieces such as plates and saucers, although it appears that a few hollow ware pieces may have also been decorated with transfer prints. The decorations were applied over the face of flatware pieces, as well as along the sides of hollow ware vessels. Identifiable patterns are visible on some of the wares, such as the Blue Willow Pattern on a saucer from Unit 12, level 1.

Five sherds of annular pearlware and six sherds of mocha complete the range of decorated pearlware sherds (each comprising approximately 2 percent of the decorated pearlware). Annular sherds are decorated with rings of autumnal colors and appear to represent bowls, mugs, and other hollow ware pieces. These types were popular from 1795-1830 (Noel Hume 1970:131). The six mocha sherds also appear to be from large bowls, as well as other undefined hollow wares. These are decorated in solid earth tones, with one sherd showing the characteristic seaweed pattern notable on mocha wares (Noel

Hume 1970:132). During their manufacture, these wares were the cheapest hollow wares available (Miller 1991:6).

Whiteware (n = 44)

Whiteware is not well-represented at the Bell Site, comprising only 4% of the total ceramic assemblage. It is probable that this is a reflection of the relatively late appearance of whiteware in the 1820s, near the end of occupation of the Bell house. Noel Hume (1970:130) believes that pearlware was gradually replaced by whiteware in the 1820s, and Faulkner (1984:69) states that it did not appear in the Knoxville area until after 1821. These vessels could be associated with later occupation at the site, after the destruction of the Bell house. Nine types are identified in the Bell Site assemblage, ranging in dates from 1830 through the turn of the 20th century.

Plain undecorated whiteware (n = 13) represents 30 percent of the total whiteware recovered. Flatware appears to be well-represented in the assemblage, although a large number of sherds were too small to allow for effective identification of vessel form.

Underglaze blue hand-painted whitewares represent 29 percent (n = 9) of decorated whiteware in the assemblage. Dating ca. 1830-1870, the sherds are located largely around Feature 1, from the center to the southeastern corner of the feature. Teawares such as saucers appear to be represented, although once again a majority of sherds are too small to allow for vessel identification.

Underglazed polychrome stenciled sherds (n = 4) represent 13 percent of the

decorated whiteware sherds. Sherds with this decoration appear to cluster near the center of Feature 1, as well as near the northwestern corner of the feature. Notable for bright blue and green hues, the sherds are all fragments of a cup decorated with a stenciled floral pattern, dating from ca. 1830 until the last quarter of the 19th century (Majewski and O'Brien 1987:41). The cup provides a good example of wares produced during the transition from pearlware to whiteware, and probably dates to the Clark occupation of the house.

One sherd of underglaze polychrome broad-line was recovered at the site, comprising merely 3 percent of the decorated whiteware. The sherd is a piece of an unidentified hollow ware vessel.

Blue shell-edged flatware (n = 2) represents 6 percent of the decorated whiteware sherds. These sherds date ca. 1830-1860 (Majewski and O'Brien 1987:38), and represent dinner plates and serving platters and bowls. Two sherds of blue edge-decorated flatware were recovered, as well.

Annular decorated whiteware (n = 3) is present at the site, comprising 10 percent of the decorated sherds. The sherds appear to be pieces of a hollow ware container.

Two sherds of an apparent serving platter were recovered on the site, decorated with black transfer print. The sherds are too small to allow for identification of the pattern. There is no evidence that the platter is part of a set, since these two sherds are the only pieces of black transfer-printed whiteware recovered at the site. Black transfer designs date ca. 1830-1850 (Miller 1991:9). In addition, one sherd of blue transfer

printed whiteware, one sherd of purple transfer printed whiteware, and two sherds of red transfer printed whiteware were recovered. These sherds appear to represent small plates. The six transfer printed whitewares comprise 19 percent of decorated whiteware sherds.

One rim sherd of a decal-printed whiteware vessel, possibly a cup, was uncovered in the southwestern corner of Feature 1. The decal print is red, and dates later than the occupation of the Bell Site (1890-1900+) (Majewski and O'Brien 1987:36). The sherd is not large enough to permit vessel identification.

One sherd of gilded whiteware, post-dating 1855 (Majewski and O'Brien 1987:39), completes the summation of the whiteware assemblage. The sherd dates after the occupation of the Bell house, and vessel identification is unclear.

Two sherds of ironstone were unearthed in the preliminary excavations at the Bell Site (less than one percent of the ceramic assemblage). Both sherds are undecorated, and appear to be body and rim sherds of unidentified flatware vessels. Smith (1983) provides a mean ceramic date of 1870 for ironstone use and manufacture, with manufacture beginning ca. 1840, although Majewski and O'Brien (1987) argue for an earlier (1830) appearance of ironstone. It is doubtful that this sherd represents the remains of a vessel dating to the occupation of the Bell house.

Yellow Ware (n = 2)

Two sherds of annular-decorated yellow ware were unearthed at the Bell Site, possibly sherds from a large bowl. A date of 1830-1930 for plain yellow ware is given by

Smith (1983), although others place its manufacture squarely in the 19th century (Ramsay 1947). It is probable that the yellow ware on the Bell Site dates to the later occupation of the site, probably remnants of the Keener or Bonnyman house. Yellow ware comprises less than one percent of all ceramics from the site.

Stoneware (n = 18)

Stoneware vessels have been manufactured in the United States since its initial colonization in the 17th century, and manufacture continues today. A vitrified, non-porous ware, stoneware does not have to be glazed to hold liquid, although all of the stoneware sherds at the Bell Site are glazed in some form. At 40KN202, stoneware is present in four forms: salt glazed, Bristol glazed, Albany glazed, and black basaltes. Largely used in manufacture of utilitarian vessels (crocks, storage jugs, mixing bowls, etc.), stoneware comprises 2 percent of the ceramics from the Bell Site. Although this number is based only on preliminary excavations, it appears that stoneware was not widely used by the occupants of the Bell house.

Coarse Stoneware (n = 17)

Coarse stoneware comprises 2 percent of the ceramic assemblage, and 94 percent of the stoneware at the Bell Site.

Bristol glazed stoneware (n = 2) is characterized by a milky white glaze applied to the vessel prior to firing. During the firing process, the glaze melts onto the vessel,

forming an impenetrable glaze on the surface. One sherd appears to be the lid of a canning crock, while the second is a possible body sherd. Indentations are visible in the lid to hold a metal ring for a lightening-type closure, similar to that used in canning jars and beer bottles. Bristol glaze was first used in the late 19th century, and the lightening stopper was patented in the United States in 1882 (Lorrain 1968:42). Based on these late dates, this stoneware post-dates the occupation of the Bell Site, and is probably associated with the Keener or Bonnyman occupation of the site.

Albany glazed stoneware (n = 2) represents 11 percent of the stoneware assemblage. Decorated similarly to Bristol glazed, Albany glazed stoneware is the color of dark chocolate. The use of this glaze began in the 19th century and continued into the early 20th century (Ramsay 1947:139). This sherd does not represent a vessel used by occupants of the Bell house and can probably be attributed to the Keener or Bonnyman occupation.

Salt-glazed stoneware is the most well-represented stoneware on the site (n = 13, 72% of stoneware). This stoneware is glazed by the addition of table salt into the kiln during firing of the vessel. The salt vaporizes, with the vapor adhering to the surfaces exposed to the air inside the kiln. The salt forms a slightly bumpy surface over the vessel, giving it the appearance of the surface of an orange. Salt-glazed stoneware, like the Albany and Bristol glazed wares, was used in the manufacture of utilitarian vessels such as crocks and jugs. It is possible that the salt-glazed wares represented here may have been used by the Clark family, although they may also represent later activity on the site.

Samuel Smith, Jr. was a Knoxville stoneware potter maker during the latter years of the Bell house occupation, and probably manufactured the salt-glazed stoneware found at 40KN202 (see Faulkner 1984:77).

Refined Stoneware (n = 1)

One sherd of black basaltes refined stoneware was uncovered on the far eastern edge of the excavation (U34/L2). Black basaltes is a hard black stoneware made in Staffordshire, England, as early as 1740 and mass-marketed by Josiah Wedgewood in 1769 (Kovel and Kovel 1980:460). Wedgewood brought black basaltes to prominence after 1750 (Noel Hume 1970:121). The sherd from the Bell Site appears to be part of a teapot, and is decorated with relief floral designs (see Hughes n.d.:plate 21 for example of a basaltes teapot). The piece is probably the remnant of an heirloom piece owned by the Bell family.

Redware (n = 71)

As the name for this ware suggests, redware is a reddish-brown coarse earthenware usually used as a utilitarian ware, although redware has been used in more recent times in the production of flower pots and garden accessories. Lead glazed and unglazed redware are the two types uncovered at the Bell Site. Redware sherds comprise 8 percent of the total ceramic assemblage.

Sixty-seven sherds of redware show evidence of lead glazing, comprising the bulk

of the redware sherds (94 percent). It appears that lead-glazed redware was the dominant form of utilitarian vessel used on the site, eclipsing in number not only other types of redwares, but also stoneware vessels found in excavation. The redware sherds are distributed throughout the excavation area, although 13 sherds were recovered in Unit 2 among the rubble of the cut limestone chimney pad (Feature 1), forming a large part of the body and neck of a small redware jar. Three sherds of lead-glazed redware are glazed with manganese-infused glaze, possibly parts of a small pitcher. Three sherds are covered with a yellow glaze, while one lead-glazed sherd is black in color.

Unglazed redware (n = 4) is the least-represented type of redware found on the site. Representing 6 percent of the redware assemblage, the sherds are difficult to date because of the lack of specific treatment. Three of the four sherds appear to be the remains of a flower pot or some sort of garden pottery, and do not date to the occupation of the Bell house. The antiquity and original context of the fourth sherd is unclear.

Porcelain (n = 42)

Porcelain wares at the Bell Site represent both early imported porcelain from China and later European and American porcelain. Used mostly in the production of teawares such as cups and saucers, porcelain comprises 5 percent of the ceramic assemblage. It is generally an indication of high status, as porcelain is one of the most expensive ceramic wares available (Noel Hume 1970:257).

Twenty-four sherds have been identified as Chinese Export porcelain, generally

dating 1660-1820. Comprising 57 percent of the porcelain assemblage, this porcelain is hard-paste, made of a combination of kaolin clay and ground feldspathic rock, often notable for a thin, glossy glaze that is fused to the body (Noel Hume 1970:258). It is the original porcelain, upon which all other standards of European and American porcelain wares were based. Early Chinese porcelain recovered at the Bell Site includes 10 sherds decorated with an overglaze hand painting, often visible only as residue of the original painting, and one sherd is decorated with underglaze hand painting (of an undefined pattern). The remaining 13 Chinese porcelain sherds are undecorated. Vessels of this type represented at the Bell Site include two saucers decorated with red overglaze painting, a possible cup, and a large bowl decorated with red overglaze painting. It is probable that all date to the Bell family occupation.

Eighteen porcelain sherds are of later manufacture, probably dating from the mid-19th century through the turn of the 20th century. These were most likely imported from the European continent (although some of the later ones may have been manufactured in the United States), and are imitations of the original Chinese-produced porcelain. The European porcelain assemblage comprises 43 percent of the porcelain recovered at the Bell Site, and includes one sherd decorated with a decal print, one sherd decorated with a blue transfer print (decorated with the Blue Willow pattern), and one sherd with an embossed rim. The remaining 15 sherds are plain undecorated. At least one saucer is represented in this assemblage, although other attempts at vessel identification were inconclusive.

Refined Earthenware (n = 3)

Three sherds of refined earthenware were recovered at 40KN202. One sherd is relief-cast in a basket-weave pattern and is probably part of a teapot. A second sherd is a green-glazed earthenware; probably a sherd from a second earthenware teapot. Both of these sherds date from the late 18th century to ca. 1820 (Noel Hume 1970:124). The vessel form of the third refined earthenware sherd is undefined.

MARKED SHERDS

Few sherds from the initial excavation bear any form of maker's mark. One sherd of European-made hard paste porcelain decorated with a transfer print appears to bear some sort of undefined mark on the base, although the mark is not representative of any company believed to be involved in the manufacture of later porcelain wares. It appears to be the type of mark used by individual workers of the pottery to mark their products and separate their wares from those of their coworkers. Since many workers were paid by the number of vessels they produced, this practice appears to have been widespread. A similar impressed mark is found on another sherd of undecorated porcelaineous ware, possibly dating to the 20th century . A third sherd, the base of a underglaze polychrome-decorated pearlware serving dish, bears an underglazed "9"-shaped mark, although its meaning is unclear. Only one sherd unearthed thusfar bears any decipherable manufacturer's mark: a sherd of an underglaze blue hand-painted pearlware saucer marked with the letters "...hire. J A C...". The mark is a "Clews" mark, attributable

to the Cobridge Works of Staffordshire Potters, operating from 1818-1834 and producing pearlware goods largely for the American market (MacDonald-Taylor 1962:198; Godden 1964:151-152).

MEAN CERAMIC DATING

By examining the ceramics recovered at the Bell Site, a mean ceramic date may be obtained for the occupation of the site. For wares at 40KN202, the Mean Ceramic Date Formula discussed in South (1972, 1977) was used, with adjustments made (where possible) for later wares following Smith (1983). By considering all refined earthenwares. a mean ceramic date for the site is 1809.2. Following South (1977) the mean ceramic date (MCD) may be used to obtain a median occupation date for the site by using the formula, $Z = 235.5 + 0.87(MCD)$ where Z is the mean occupation date. A median occupation date of 1809.5 is obtained from this formula. Based on documentary data (Rose 1997) it is known that the house was dismantled ca. 1834, indicating a 24.5-year interval between the median occupation date and the terminal date of the house. This would indicate that occupation in the house began ca. 1785. Comparing this date with the known time frame of the Bell house, the median date appears a bit early. It should be remembered, however, that the date is merely an average date of occupation and not a solid indicator of duration of occupation.

CONTAINER GLASS

Wine Bottle Glass (n = 19)

Sherds from wine bottles comprise 10 percent of all container glass at 40KN202, and 26 percent of all positively identified bottle glass. Often olive green in color and made of thick glass, these bottles were fully-hand made until ca. 1790 (McKearin and McKearin 1948:425). In the glass-blowing process, a glass blower gathered a ball of molten glass on the end of a blowpipe, with the "gather" of glass then alternately blown and rolled onto an iron or marble table until the desired shape was reached. A pontil rod was then attached to the base of the bottle to hold the vessel while the blowpipe was cracked off of the top. The neck and lip of the bottle were then formed by hand. This process of hand-blowing bottles (especially wine bottles) continued until the early years of the 19th century, when two-piece molds called dip molds became popular. These molds allowed the blower to let the mold shape the body of the bottle. It is probable that the wine bottles represented in the artifact assemblage at the Bell Site were manufactured using a dip mold. The shoulders, neck, and mouth of the bottle were then shaped by hand. As early as 1820 3- and 4- piece molds were used to manufacture bottles, leaving only the lip of the bottle to be hand-made by the glass-blower (Jones and Sullivan 1989). The wine bottle glass recovered at the Bell Site probably dates to around the beginning of the 19th century. One dip molded push-up was recovered from the cellar fill, and the remainder of the wine bottle sherds are body sherds.

Other Beverage Bottles (n = 32)

Sherds from this category appear to date later than the occupation of the Bell house, and include sherds from 20th century soda and whiskey bottles.

Pharmaceutical Bottles (n = 22)

These bottle sherds represent medicinal bottles and those bottles with contents relating to health, including both early medicine bottles as well as later 19th and 20th bottles. Clear, leaded, and cobalt blue glass was included in this category, with identification based on color, thickness, and shape of the glass sherd. The base of a small blue vial was recovered, as were three additional hand-finished aqua vial finishes. Sherds of a leaded vial with a hand-formed finish were recovered, as well. These pre-date 1856, when the lipping tool was patented, allowing for uniform formation of bottle lips (Baugher-Perlin 1982:268). An additional sherd from a later 20th century graduated medicine bottle was also recovered.

Unidentified Container Glass (n = 126)

These sherds of container glass are unidentifiable as to function. Included are aqua, blue, clear, green, light aqua, and light green sherds.

GLASSWARE

Stemware (n = 14)

Sherds of various portions of glass stemware were recovered at 40KN202. Eleven stemware rim sherds were recovered, four of which were decorated by copper wheel engraving; an additional sherd notable for the presence of swirled ribbing was unearthed, as well. Four glassware sherds were leaded, with leaded sherds representing the bases and stems of wine glasses. Leaded glass was first developed in England in the 17th century and was used widely until ca. 1870. These sherds are probably remnants of the Bell house occupation.

Tumbler (n = 2)

Two sherds of glass tumblers were found, both portions of bases. One of these sherds was leaded.

Unidentified Glassware (n = 6)

Five unidentifiable glass sherds were recovered. Included in this assemblage is one pressed glass sherd, and one sherd of thick blue glass.

TABLEWARE

Fork (n = 2)

One two-tined fork with a broken handle was recovered from the second level of

Unit 30, while an incised bone fork handle was found in the second level of the cellar excavation. The handle has two holes for attachment, and is decorated with incised crosshatch pattern.

KITCHENWARE

Sheet Iron Containers

A number of pieces of cut sheet tin were recovered at 40KN202, and could possibly represent portions of tin cans, although the lack of crimping makes identification impossible. Due to their large number and small size, the pieces were not counted.

Bucket (n = 1)

A metal portion of a bucket was recovered from the fourth level of Unit 20.

Bail (n = 1)

A piece of an iron bail was found in Unit 20, level 2.

Bottle Cap (n = 1)

A crown type metal bottle closure was recovered. First patented in 1892, the crown cap is often used in soda-type bottles, and continues to be used today (Miller and Sullivan 1991:99)

ARCHITECTURE GROUP

Artifacts belonging to the Architecture Group include window glass, nails, spikes, construction hardware and door lock parts (South 1977:95, Table 4). There are 1,074 artifacts assigned to this group, constituting 47 percent of the artifact assemblage.

Window Glass (n = 559 sherds)

Little is known about glass from the Bell site. Early American attempts at glassmaking began during the 17th century, and by the 18th century a large number of glasshouses were in operation in the colonies. Major sites of flat glass production in the American colonies included Philadelphia, southern New Jersey, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Ohio (Palmer 1993).

Much work has been published on the importance of window glass in the interpretation of archaeological sites (Chance and Chance 1976; Roenke 1978; Moir 1987). Based on the premise that window glass panes produced through most of the 19th century gradually increased in thickness, Randall Moir (1987:80) derived an equation relating mean window glass thickness to construction date:

$$\text{Initial Construction Date} = (84.22 \times \text{mean thickness}) + 1712.7.$$

Applying Moir's formula to sherds in levels 3 and 4 of the Bell site (levels most likely to be related to occupation of the Bell house), an initial date of 1810.9 is obtained. While this date is considerably later than the hypothesized 1793 construction date of the

house, it should be noted that Moir's formula works best (provides the highest correlation between mean sherd thickness and construction date) between the years of 1810 and 1915; past research has indicated that the correlation between initial construction and mean thickness is poorer outside this time frame. When operating at the extremes of the date range, Moir indicates that it may be necessary to "bend" the ends of the least squares regression line representing the formula (Moir 1987:80, Tables 5-4 and 5-5). Clearly the nearer one comes to the extremes of Moir's date range, the less definitive the date becomes. Furthermore, it should be noted that a significant percentage of sherds (16 percent of the total sample) are of thickness between 0.9 mm and 1.0 mm, providing a median date of 1792.7. This most likely represents the initial construction of the house, while later glass represents later structural alterations.

Nails (n = 514)

A wide variety of nails and nail fragments was found at the Bell Site, from early hand wrought nails to later fully-machine cut nails.

Wrought nails (n = 85)

These hand-made nails represent 10 percent of the total sample of nails recovered. Manufacture of wrought nails was a cottage industry, consisting of hand heading iron nail rods. These nails could be tailor-made to suit any purpose, and were often manufactured on an as-needed basis (Loveday 1983).

Hand-headed Cut Nails (n = 85)

Hand-headed cut nails are the result of the first steps towards mechanized nail manufacture. These nails eliminated the need for the initial cutting of large rods of iron to be segmented into desired nail length. A machine cut pre-pointed segments of metal out of a sheet of iron. Plates were cut in desired lengths, then fed through a cutter which cut the nail from the end of the iron sheet. The blade of the cutter fell at an angle, cutting nails that were already tapered towards the distal end. These nails are recognizable as flat, rectangular nails with hand-made heads; the cutter only cut strips of iron, it did not head the nail. These nails began to be manufactured ca. 1785 and were popular until ca. 1815 (Loveday 1983:11-13). At the Bell Site they represent 17 percent of the total nail assemblage.

Early Machine-made Cut Nails (n = 125)

These nails are the most numerous on the site, comprising 24 percent of the nails. Early machine-made nails were produced through improvements made on the machine cutters. First produced ca. 1815-1830, these nails were machine-headed; they are notable for having irregular heads and compressions near the head where the still-hot nail was held by a vice during heading (Loveday 1983:17).

Fully Machine-made Cut Nails (n = 46)

These nails are similar to early machine-cut nails, although they lack the characteristic irregular heads and gripped neck. By ca. 1830 mechanisms were developed to flip the nail 90 degrees after cutting, and therefore be gripped along the wider, stronger edge of the nail, thus eliminating the characteristic compressions near the head. Full machine-cut nails dominated the nail market until ca. 1890 (Loveday 1983:18), and are slightly represented at the Bell Site, comprising 9 percent of the total nail assemblage.

Nail Length

An examination of nail size is useful in determining nail usage in construction. Based on nail analysis of log buildings conducted by Amy Young (1991), nails used in construction of three local historic log structures include those used for flooring (10d), siding (8d), roofing (4d), light framing (6d), heavy framing (10d+), and trim (8d) (Young 1991:32, Table 3.1). Although nails from the Bell Site were not measured for length in inches, when possible pennyweight lengths were noted. It is hoped that lengths of early machine-made nails (the most numerous at the site) will provide clues as to the method of construction of the house. For example, were there wooden floors? siding? a shake roof? Early machine-made flooring nails (10d) represent 13 percent of those nails for which pennyweights were available. Siding nails (8d) are the most common early machine-made nails present at the site (n = 9), comprising 23 percent of the total sample

of this type nail. The second most common nails of known sizes (9d, n = 6), may have also been used for siding, indicating that a full 38 percent of the early machine-made nails may have been used for siding the house. Other nail sizes prevalent at the site include 10d nails (n = 5), 4d (n = 5), 3d (n = 4), and 6d nails (n = 3), used for flooring, roofing (both 3d and 4d nails), and light framing, respectively. Cut nails of earlier manufacture (hand-headed) used in siding are also prevalent (n = 13, 43 percent of all cut nails of known pennyweight), as are flooring nails (10d, n=4), and light framing and/or siding nails (7d, n = 5). It should be noted that larger nails of known pennyweight are all of the hand-headed cut nail type: three of these cut nails are greater than 10d, used for heavy framing. It is possible that the low number of these nails is an indication that the house was not framed and was undoubtedly built of log, while finer details of construction (flooring, roofing, siding, and trim) necessarily involved usage of nails.

It is interesting to note that the most common nails recovered at the Bell Site all date in manufacture from 1815-1830, and, of the nails for which pennyweight could be determined, most of them are 8d and 9d nails, commonly used for siding. The date of manufacture and function of a large number of nails indicate that siding was possibly added to the house sometime during the second or third decade of the 19th century, around the time that John Clark purchased the house (1817). It is highly possible that siding was an addition made by Clark when he bought the house or an alteration made by the Bells in anticipation of selling the house.

The condition of the nails recovered during the initial investigations at 40KN202

provide clues to the ultimate fate of the Bell house. David Jurney argues that there are three ways for nails to enter the archaeological record: nails lost, bent, or discarded during construction, those loosened during weathering and daily life of the building, or nails discarded during razing or moving of the building, or during burning or collapse (Jurney 1987:83). During destruction of a building, nails are either pulled from boards or boards are pulled from the structure and the nails taken out of those boards that may be reused (Young 1991:15). This leads to a preponderance of bent (pulled) nails in the archaeological record. This practice is evident in the nail assemblage from the Bell Site: 78 percent of the nails from levels 3 and 4 for which condition may be clearly determined are bent, lending support to the hypothesis that the building was razed.

Bricks (n = 1077 fragments)

Brick fragments recovered at 40KN202 were weighed and, when possible, were classed as hand-made or machine-made. A total of 5,801.7 grams of brick was recovered. Bricks found at early historic sites in East Tennessee were hand-made and fired in large scove kilns near the construction site. Guymon (1990:49) claims that brick construction was not common in East Tennessee prior to the first quarter of the 19th century due to a paucity of individuals with the necessary skills to manufacture bricks, a lack of abundance of natural resources, and a tradition of stone and wood construction. In light of this argument it seems that brick found at the Bell Site may represent a small portion of material used to construct the house.

There appears to be a cluster of brick fragments directly to the east of the cut limestone chimney pad (Feature 1), possibly representing the remains of a brick hearth used for cooking and meal preparation. The greatest amount of brick was recovered in the cellar, directly to the west of the chimney pad. This reinforces the idea that brick was associated with the chimney, probably as a brick hearth.

Construction Hardware (n = 1)

A pintle, an L-shaped iron rod to which door hinges were attached, was recovered in Unit 32, level 4.

FURNITURE GROUP

South's Furniture Group is composed of hardware associated with household furniture: hinges, knobs, drawer pulls, handles, etc. (South 1977:95). For our purposes, some items not specifically mentioned in the South classification scheme will be grouped with furniture here. Fifteen artifacts were assigned to this group, comprising approximately one percent of the artifact assemblage.

Lamp Chimney Glass (n = 12 sherds)

The first lamp using an open flame enclosed by a clear glass cylinder was patented in England in 1784. Despite this early manufacture of lamp chimneys, Woodhead et al. (1984) argue that chimney glass does not appear archaeologically in

significant numbers until after the use of kerosene fuel gained widespread acceptance, which did not occur in the U.S. until around 1864 (Woodhead et al. 1984:58). Glass from lamp chimneys is usually clear and thin, giving it a markedly different appearance from other, thicker glass vessels. Only one sherd was recovered from a level deeper than 2, and it is doubtful that the sherds date to the occupation of the Bell house.

Drawer Pull (n = 1)

A plain undecorated drawer pull was recovered from Unit 15, level 1.

Drawer Handle (n = 1)

A metal piece, tentatively identified as a drawer handle, was found in Unit 14, level 1.

Face Plate (n = 1)

A possible metal faceplate for a piece of furniture was recovered in the first level of Unit 28. It appears undecorated, although corrosion makes definitive identification difficult.

ARMS GROUP

The Arms Group includes material related to weapons and their use and manufacture. Items such as musket balls, shot, gun parts, and gunflints are included here.

This group comprises less than one percent of the artifact assemblage (n = 4).

Musket Ball (n = 1)

One lead musket ball, pre-dating 1875, was recovered in Unit 12, level 3. Musket balls enjoyed widespread usage prior to the invention of the Minie Ball in 1850 (Noel Hume 1970:221).

Conical Shot (n = 1)

One .22 caliber short conical shot was recovered from the baulk at datum point 103N159W.

Cartridge (n = 1)

One .22 caliber cartridge, stamped with a "P" on the head, was found in the first level of Unit 4. The cartridge was manufactured by the Peters Cartridge Co. (1887-1934), and post-dates occupation of the Bell house.

Gunflint (n = 1)

One worn gray English gunflint was recovered at the site, in the fourth level of Unit 22. Used in a flintlock rifle, popular from the last quarter of the 17th century until the second quarter of the 19th century (Noel Hume 1970:213-214), the gunflint was probably left by one of the inhabitants of the Bell house.

It is interesting to note the lack of material from the Arms Group at 40KN202. Given the early occupation of the house and the dangerous nature of the frontier, one might expect a larger presence of gunflints, lead shot, and arms paraphernalia. However, material related to arms makes up only 0.7 percent of all material recovered from the Bell Site. This paucity of arms material is seen at other East Tennessee frontier sites, such as the James White Second Home, where arms material comprises 0.4 percent of the archaeological assemblage (Faulkner 1984). Reasons for this lack of expected material are unclear; perhaps most activities relating to arms were performed away from the home site, or perhaps arms-related artifacts have been gathered by looters and artifact scavengers. Although no signs of looters were observed during the initial excavations, the area was the site of a well-known Civil War skirmish, and has been subject to looters with metal-detectors in past years (Faulkner, personal communication, 1998).

CLOTHING GROUP

This group relates to the manufacture and use of clothing (South 1977:101). Associated artifacts include buttons, thimbles, buckles, straight pins, etc. A total of 11 clothing-related artifacts was recovered, comprising one-half of one percent of the assemblage.

Buttons (n = 6)

Five metal disc buttons were recovered at the site, one from Feature 9, one from

Feature 6, and one each in Units 24, 27, and 30. Four of these are one-piece buttons with soldered loops on the back, generally dating from the late 18th century until the early- to mid-19th century (South 1977:100). One metal button from the first level of Unit 27 was a two-piece button with a soldered back, probably dating to the early 19th century (South 1977:100). One bone button with a single hole was recovered. Probably originally covered with cloth, the button is undecorated.

Straight Pins (n = 4)

Four straight metal clothing pins were recovered at the site. Each had a wire-wound head, placing their manufacture before 1824 (Noel Hume 1970:254). These pins were undoubtedly used by the occupants of the Bell house. Interestingly, one pin from Unit 18, level 3 is bent in a fishhook-fashion, suggesting multiple uses for these pins.

Fasteners (n = 1)

An apparent metal clasp was found in the third level of the cellar excavation.

PERSONAL GROUP

This group is composed of items that might be carried with an individual on a daily basis, as well as items related to personal health and beauty. Associated artifacts include coins, keys, and personal items such as bone brushes, rings, watch fobs, watch

keys, etc. At the Bell Site, six artifacts were recovered belonging to this group, comprising less than one percent of the artifact assemblage.

Pocket Knife (n = 1)

One pocket knife was recovered near the chimney pad.

Jewelry (n = 1)

A stick pin, decorated with glass stones, was recovered from the first level of Unit 8.

Key (n = 1)

One key was found in the driveway fill overlaying Feature 1.

Coins (n = 1)

One 1890 V-head nickel was found in Unit 3, level 2.

Bone Comb (n = 1)

A portion of a bone hair comb was recovered from level 5 of the cellar excavation.

Watch Key (n = 1)

A metal watch key, possibly brass, was found in level 2 of the cellar excavation.

ACTIVITIES GROUP

These artifacts, comprising 2 percent (n = 50), serve a variety of functions. The Activities Group comprises a variety of artifacts related to specific activities or specific tasks. Included in this group is fishing gear, farm tools and construction tools, toys, stub-stemmed pipes, storage items, ethnobotanical remains, miscellaneous hardware, etc.

WOODWORKING TOOLS

Draw Knife (n = 1)

One piece of iron, possibly part of a draw knife, was recovered in Unit 14, level 2. Draw knives were used in the production of wooden shakes, as well as for planing wooden planks.

STABLE AND BARN

Horseshoes (n = 5)

Five horseshoes were recovered in Units 32, 33, and in Feature 1.

Harness Parts (n = 2)

A harness buckle and metal buggy attachment piece were recovered from Feature 1.

Fence Parts

Fencing wire and a u-staple, developed late in the 19th century, were found in the driveway fill and Unit 29, level 1, respectively. Wire u-staples were used following the invention of wire nail manufacture, ca. 1890 (Loveday 1983).

STORAGE

Iron Barrel Band (n = 1)

An iron barrel band was found in the cellar excavation, in the brown fill of the north excavation block.

FISHING GEAR

Fishhook (n = 1)

One small metal fishhook was recovered in the baulk between Units 8 and 24. The hook is made of bent wire.

STUB-STEMMED PIPES

Pipe (n = 1)

One stub-stemmed pipe bowl was recovered in Feature 8. Dating to the early 19th century, the pipe probably belonged to a resident of the Bell house.

MISCELLANEOUS HARDWARE

Chain Link (n = 2)

Two pieces of chain link were recovered in the first level of Units 7 and 16.

Copper Band (n = 1)

A copper band was found in level 2 of Unit 8.

Copper (n = 1)

Cut copper was unearthed from Unit 20, level 3.

Wire (n = 3)

Galvanized wire was recovered in Unit 11, level 1, as was a wire handle. A second piece of wire was found in Unit 9, level 2.

Hexagonal Bolt (n = 1)

A bolt with a six-faceted head was recovered from the first level of Unit 15.

Washers (n = 2)

Two washers were recovered: one in Unit 20, level 3 and a second in Unit 2, level 1.

Sand Shaker (n = 1)

A piece of perforated metal with a rivet in the center was recovered from the first level of Unit 30. This is tentatively identified as a piece of a sand shaker, used to shake sand over parchment, blotting puddles of loose ink.

Patch Plate (n = 1)

One piece of a possible metal patch plate was found in the third level of the control unit in the cellar excavation. This piece of metal was cut and perforated.

Cut Sheet Tin (n = 8)

Eight pieces of cut sheet tin were recovered in Units 8, 19, 21, and in levels 1 and 2 of Feature 1.

Cut Sheet Iron and Other Metal (n = 3)

Three pieces of iron and other sheet metal were recovered in Units 15, 30, and 33.

Unidentified Metal (n = 16)

Sixteen pieces of unidentified metal are included in the metal artifact assemblage.

CHAPTER 4

INTERPRETATION OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECORD

INTERPRETATION

The focus of this study of the archaeological assemblage at 40KN202 is to discern the presence and agency of women at the site. Towards this end, artifacts have been divided into "masculine" and "feminine" categories. It is acknowledged that these categories imply a "black and white" nature of material culture as well as gender categories, and, as such, are problematic. However, for purposes of uncovering the presence of women archaeologically, these categories are, at present, the most useful.

The material from the Bell Site was compared to artifacts recovered at other contemporary frontier sites in East Tennessee. The Ramsey and White house sites are homes of prominent Knoxvillians, while the Gibbs House is the resident of a yeoman farmer of German descent (Groover 1998). Material from Tellico Blockhouse (Polhemus 1977) and Fort Southwest Point (Smith, ed. 1993) is included to control for the presence of women. Fort Southwest Point is a former Federal-era military post used as military garrison, the site of the Cherokee Indian Agency, and headquarters for the Military Agent for Tennessee's federal troops. The site was occupied from 1779 until 1811 (Smith 1993:13). The Tellico Blockhouse was a Federal-era military and trade complex established by William Blount in 1794. The site was occupied until 1807 (Polhemus

1977:1-2). The relative absence of women at the military sites allows for a more graphic depiction of their presence on domestic sites. The artifacts addressed are more numerous at these other sites. "Feminine" artifacts include teawares, glass candlesticks, beads, bale seals, pins, thimbles, earrings, and candlestick trimmers (Faulkner 1998). "Masculine" artifacts include alcohol bottle sherds, stemware, decanters, arms material, tobacco pipes, watch paraphernalia, axe blades, hammers, awls, wrought chain, chisel, and draw knife (Faulkner 1998). The results of this comparison are depicted in Table 1.

Women's presence on the domestic sites is clearly seen in the comparison. The greatest discrepancy between "feminine" and "masculine" artifacts is seen in the James White assemblage, where the "feminine" artifacts comprise 82 percent of the assemblage and "masculine" artifacts comprise 18 percent (Faulkner 1998). The difference is not quite as drastic at the Ramsey House (Roberts 1986), and is reversed at the Gibbs House (Groover 1998), where "feminine " artifacts compose 40 percent of the assemblage and "masculine" comprise 60 percent. This may be a reflection of ethnic traditions or lower socioeconomic status relative to the Whites or Ramseys, although, since the same pattern is not repeated in the Bell assemblage, the latter explanation seems doubtful. It is interesting to note that the Gibbs assemblage is notable for a prevalence of redware over imported ceramics (Groover 1998:719). This lack of imported ceramics in part explains the unusual ratio of "masculine" to "feminine" artifacts.

Material from the military sites provides an interesting counter to the domestic sites. At Fort Southwest Point, where few women were present on a regular basis, the

Table1: Percentages of Gendered Artifacts at Contemporary East Tennessee Sites

	% Female	% Male
James White Second Home (Faulkner 1984)	82	18
Ramsey House (Roberts 1986)	72	28
Gibbs House (Groover 1998)	40	60
Tellico Blockhouse (Polhemus 1973)	73	27
Fort Southwest Point (Smith 1993)	39	61
Bell Site	61	39

ratio of "feminine" to "masculine" artifact percentages is 39 to 61, almost exactly that seen in the Gibbs assemblage. The prevalence of military items (n = 81) and alcohol paraphernalia (n = 817) far outweigh the presence of teawares (n = 602) and other "feminine" artifacts (although it should be noted that guns and gun hardware were excluded from the "masculine" category in all cases). Tellico Blockhouse exhibits a contrary percentage ratio, with "feminine" artifacts comprising 73 percent of the gendered artifact assemblage. However, a greater civilian and non-military presence at the Tellico Blockhouse, a reflection of its status as a trading complex (Polhemus

1977:11-13, 283), helps explain the apparent discrepancy.

By combining archaeological data with historic records and documentation, it is hoped that one may be able to create what archaeologist Robert Schuyler terms "historic ethnography" (Schuyler 1988:41) for the Bell Site. Implicit in this ethnography is an understanding of the daily lifeways of the inhabitants of the Bell house. Furthermore, a women-focused or "gynocentric" archaeology may look to these varied sources to learn what history and archaeology combined may tell investigators of the daily lifeways of women. At 40KN202, examination of "feminine" artifacts is an important facet of a gynocentric examination of the archaeological record.

Sixty-one percent of the artifacts recovered in and around the Bell house during the 1997 excavations are related to women and the domestic sphere. Using historical data (see Chapter 2) it is known that women during the period of the Bell house occupation were largely confined to the domestic sphere as mothers, wives, and homemakers. An examination of artifactual material relating to the "feminine" spheres may provide an insight into that world.

TEA CONSUMPTION

In the above comparison of various East Tennessee frontier sites, differences in the percentage ratios between “masculine” and “feminine” artifacts may be attributed to a large degree to the presence or absence of teawares. The presence or absence of sewing implements, jewelry, or other “feminine” artifacts makes little difference compared to

the weight teawares carry. Furthermore, an examination of the ceramic artifacts from the Bell Site indicates that, out of a minimum 111 known vessels, 49 (44%) are related to tea and its service. Historical documentation has shown that tea consumption was a popular practice in America by the middle of the 18th century (de Crevecoeur 1925:136), and its consumption was accompanied by a number of prescribed behaviors and equipage. Taking tea provided an opportunity for family cohesion as well as community socializing (Crevecoeur 1925:124; Wall 1991:79)). Rodris Roth (1961) has argued that tea drinking was a custom largely limited to the upper classes during the 18th century, and, as such, was a prestige custom (Roth 1961:64), with individuals striving to perform expected behaviors and keep abreast of changing styles of teawares (Roth 1961:74). A contextual analysis of material culture allows archaeologists to view material culture as laden with symbolic meaning (Martin 1996:74). In viewing material culture as such, one can see teawares as symbolic of high social standing; ownership of a (or many) tea set(s) and ability to correctly perform the tea ceremony were requirements of those with high social standing (Roth 1961). Thus, those wishing to improve their social standing may have striven to mimic the behavior of those with higher class standing by purchasing tea accouterments; symbols of the social class they were striving to become.

However, it is also possible that tea was not the only beverage consumed from tea sets. An examination of accounts held by men and women in the late 18th and early 19th century in East Tennessee indicates that tea was not a frequently-purchased item (see Chapter 2). Coffee was purchased much more frequently than tea, and it is possible that

coffee consumption exceeded that of tea in the early 19th century. Diana Wall (1991) notes that during the latter part of the 19th century, two forms of tea were taken during the day. Women served one form at breakfast. This was an informal affair, involving just the family, and often coffee was served in place of tea. The second form of tea was taken later in the afternoon, and was a more formal affair. These were social gatherings, allowing women to come together and socialize, as well as display fancy tea sets and knowledge of the tea ceremony. It was during the afternoon tea that the expensive teawares were used (Wall 1991:79).

Although Wall's analysis is focused on mid-19th century New York, similar practices may have been occurring in East Tennessee. If tea was served more frequently on special, more formal occasions, then coffee may have served as the common morning drink for the family. It is likely that the daily morning consumption was more frequent than more formal afternoon teas, and this may explain the relative abundance of coffee purchases in East Tennessee store ledgers. Thus, although teawares are present in large quantities at the Bell Site, it is possible that these are a reflection of the inhabitants' abilities to display their status during more formal occasions, and should not be assumed to indicate daily tea consumption.

FAMILY CONSTITUTION

By examining the archaeological assemblage in light of "masculine" and "feminine" distinctions, information may be garnered concerning the families inhabiting the Bell house. As mentioned earlier, it is known that the Bell household consisted of seven female and three male family members, as well as two female and two male slaves. The constitution of the Clark household is unknown. By examining the artifacts, specifically the ceramics, related to each family, differences between the two may be discerned. The year 1815 provides a useful date to separate both the households and ceramic assemblage; the Bell house was sold to the Clarks in 1817, while stylistic changes in ceramic decoration provide convenient benchmarks by which the assemblage may be divided by household ownership. It is acknowledged that this method is subjective and some wares may be misassigned, although it is believed that a majority of vessels have been correctly assigned to their original owners.

Based on similarity of decorative design, sherds were grouped into two dating categories: pre-1815 and 1815-1835, with the previous category corresponding to the Bell occupation and the latter corresponding to the Clark occupation of the Bell house. A minimum number of vessels was then determined for sherds in each category. In the earlier Bell occupation, 77 vessels were identified. Of these, vessels, 42 percent (n = 33) are related to teawares, 21 percent (n = 16) are service pieces, 1.3 percent (n = 1) is non-food related, 2.6 percent (n = 2) is of unknown function, and the remaining 32.5 percent (n = 25) are tablewares such as plates, bowls, and mugs. In contrast, 36 vessels

were identified as belonging to the Clark family. Teawares comprise 44 percent (n = 16) of these vessels, while 19 percent (n = 7) are service pieces, and 22 percent (n = 8) are tablewares, while 14 percent (n = 5) are of unknown function.

While the vessel composition of the ceramic assemblages for each family is not significantly different, the wares composing each assemblage offer clues into the material circumstances of each family. For the Bell family assemblage, porcelain teawares comprise 5 percent (n = 4) of the 75 vessels identified. Creamware represents approximately one-quarter of the vessels identified (n = 19), while pearlware vessels comprise 71 percent of the vessels. In addition, two refined earthenware teapots were identified, as well as one early black basaltes stoneware teapot, possibly an heirloom item brought from Virginia. In contrast, the ceramic assemblage attributed to the Clark family is composed of pearlware and whiteware. Of these vessels, 32 percent are shell-edged, the cheapest vessel type available during the period of the Clark occupation (Miller 1980:3-4).

By comparing the ceramic assemblages of each occupation, it appears that the Bell family owned a more diverse ceramic collection than did the Clarks, and, based on the presence of four separate teapots, the Bells may have participated in more formal tea drinking. Adams and Boling (1989) interpret a diverse ceramic assemblage as a sign of higher class status; "Work at various plantations at Kings Bay [Georgia] suggested that the wealthier planter had a greater variety of vessel forms for ceramics... rather than simply more expensive ones" (1989:94). The Bell assemblage indicates a higher status

for the Bells not only in the diverse wares and types comprising the assemblage, but also the presence of porcelain teawares. These were the most expensive vessel types available for tea service, and it appears that the Clarks owned none of the porcelain recovered thusfar. It should be noted, however, that the Clarks were not poor; the presence of transfer-printed pearlware and whiteware, as well as a large percentage of service pieces indicate that they were a middle class family, at least.

An examination of historical data related to each family provides more information explaining the variances apparent in the ceramic assemblages. Based on William Bell's landholdings, his economic status is rather certain. Although the artifact assemblage is not characterized by a large number of especially high-status items, it is possible that a good deal of available capital was invested in landholdings, livestock, and dwelling improvements. This pattern was repeated at the Gibbs House (Groover 1998) and is discussed in the work of Friedlander (1991) and Cabak and Inkrot (1998). Bell's initial purchase of land occurred in 1793, when 500 acres were purchased for 120 pounds. Later in 1807 another land purchase was conducted, when Bell obtained an additional 100 acres from Hugh L. White (the cost of this land is unknown). By the second decade of the 19th century, William Bell's landholdings were sizable, indicating that a significant amount of money had been invested in his landholdings.

By contrast, it is likely that the later inhabitants of the Bell house did not actually own the house. Bought by William Clark in 1817, the house was later willed to his two nephews William John and James Clark. When the will was written in 1822, neither

nephew was yet 21 years old. Thus, if one of the occupants of the house after its sale to Clark was a nephew of William Clark, it is highly possible that he and any family he might have had were very young.

Meyer Fortes' work on the developmental cycles of families divides a domestic group's developmental cycle into three stages: expansion, dispersion, and replacement (Fortes 1958:4-5). It is likely that the early Clark household was undergoing expansion during the occupation of the Bell house: This stage lasts from a couple's marriage until the completion of their procreation. All offspring are dependent upon the parents for survival (Fortes 1958:4). This may be evident in the archaeological evidence indicating that the house was altered sometime around John Clark's purchase of the house. Analysis of window glass thickness indicates that windows were possibly added or replaced ca. 1815, while the prevalence of early machine-made siding nails, first manufactured ca. 1815, indicates that siding was added sometime around the sale of the house (Stinson 1998). This might be expected if the young family was expanding in numbers. In addition, one might expect to find archaeological material indicative of a less-wealthy household, as available resources might be involved in establishing the family and household. Additionally, labor may be less available as sons are too young to aid in production. In contrast, the Bell family's occupation at the house seems to coincide with the first and second of Fortes' stages: expansion and dispersion. The latter begins with the marriage of the oldest child and continues until all children are married (Fortes 1958:5). The dispersion phase would probably allow for more material gains, as a family's labor

force has increased with the availability of sons to help in the fields and daughters to aid in household chores. Thus, available capital might be greater.

Lee Craig (1993) has worked extensively in researching the relationship between childbearing and farm productivity. He divides the development of households into five stages: 1) husband and wife are childless but have their own household separate from their parents, 2) the household contains only young children under 13 years of age, 3) the household contains young children and teenagers, all younger than 18, 4) the household contains only teenagers, and 5) the household contains no children but has a household head over 40 years old (Craig 1993:55). For purposes of household production and capital, the third and fourth stages of development are defined with only male children in mind. According to this scheme, the Bell family may have spanned stages two through four during its occupation of the Bell house, and, according to Craig's work (albeit in the antebellum north), rural families in stage three owned the largest farms (Craig 1993:56, Table 3.2). By contrast, the Clark family might have spanned stages one and two at most, limiting their productivity and material opportunities.

By combining historical data on household development with documentary information on the families in the Bell house, a tentative picture of the material circumstances may be drawn. Based on early artifactual information, it appears that the Bell family was probably wealthier than the Clarks, and could probably be characterized as upper-middle class by today's standards. During their occupation of the Bell house from 1793-1817, the family was in a period of growth, able to exploit the sons' labor in

the fields and the daughters' labor in the house, while obtaining the capital to allow the purchasing of four slaves. Although the material culture from the period is not indicative of wealth, it is possible that the family invested available capital in purchasing additional land and possibly livestock.

In contrast, the Clark family appears to have been less wealthy than the Bells. The household was able to purchase service wares, but only the cheapest available. It is known that when William Clark willed the land to his nephews, neither had attained the age of 21, so it is possible that the household was in the early stages of development, unable to use family labor to aid in accumulation of capital. In comparison to the Bell family, the Clarks, lacking money to invest in landholdings or alterations to the house, may have used available capital to maintain a certain level of material comfort (see Groover 1998:459).

CHAPTER 5:

CONTEXTUALIZATION OF THE BELL SITE

In an effort to place the inhabitants of the Bell house in the social landscape of the East Tennessee frontier, the ceramic assemblage from 40KN202 is now compared to those assemblages recovered at other East Tennessee frontier sites. The Bell assemblage is compared to the ceramics recovered at the James White Second Home (40KN68) and the Ramsey House (40KN120) to determine differences between the material culture excavated at a yeoman farmer site and that recovered at the home of wealthy landowners. The Bell assemblage is then compared to that from the Gibbs House (40KN124) in an effort to understand the assemblage of a similarly situated household. While the occupation periods for these sites differ, only shared material was compared; ceramics not dating to the occupation of the Bell house were not used in this comparison. Counts of sherds were recorded, and the percentage of the entire ceramic assemblage comprised of each ware was noted. Decoration types were then compared, with note made of the percentage of each ware's assemblage comprised of each decoration type.

Each of the sites to which the Bell house was compared was established late in the 18th century, and, although occupation at some of the sites continued as late as the mid-20th century, only ceramics dating through the mid-19th century were used. The James White Second Home Site constitutes a home site, occupied from the late 18th century through the mid 19th century, and probably razed around 1852 (Faulkner

1984:189). The house was the first residence of James White, member of the legislature of the State of Franklin, representative to the North Carolina legislature, senator to the first General Assembly of Tennessee, and Speaker of the Senate in 1797 (Faulkner 1986). The site was excavated from October 1981 through October 1982.

The Ramsey House, an early East Tennessee residence, was built in 1797 for Colonel Francis Alexander Ramsey, a prominent politician and businessman in the early ill-fated State of Franklin, as well as in the early years of the state of Tennessee. The stone house was constructed under the direction of English architect Thomas Hope (Tate 1972). Occupation of the house continued through the middle of the 20th century. The ceramic assemblage addressed here was recovered during the 1985 field season (Roberts 1986).

The Gibbs Farmstead was inhabited by the Gibbs family between ca. 1792 and 1913. Nicholas Gibbs, the original occupant of the farmstead, emigrated from Germany to America in the 1750s, finally arriving in Knox County in 1792. He served as a veteran of the French and Indian War as well as the American Revolution. In North Carolina Gibbs served as Justice of the Peace in 1791, and, after moving to Tennessee, was appointed Justice of the Peace in 1795. Gibbs owned extensive landholdings, owning 1,300 acres of land in Tennessee by 1796 (Groover 1998:114-180). The artifactual material discussed here was recovered during excavations conducted by the University of Tennessee between 1987 and 1996 (Groover 1998:213).

ARTIFACTUAL EVIDENCE OF CLASS DIFFERENTIATION

The results of the comparison are depicted in Table 2. Creamware played a much more prominent role in the ceramic assemblage at the Bell Site, comprising over 15 percent of the assemblage, compared to a low of 2 percent at the Gibbs House and 5 percent at the James White Second Home. The low percentage of creamware at the Gibbs House is probably a function of a pewter tableware set Nicholas Gibbs is known to have owned (Groover 1998:652). However, despite this anomaly, the amount of

Table 2: Comparison of Ceramic Assemblages

WARE	James White Second Home Faulkner 1984 %	Ramsey House Roberts 1986 %	Gibbs House Groover 1998 %	Bell House %
Creamware	**6.2**	**5.01**	**2**	**15.46**
(plain)	80	91.18	95.59	91.61
(mocha)	0.37	2.94	0	0.7
(annular)	14.81	0	0	5.59
Pearlware	**44.9**	**17.82**	**10**	**61.73**
(plain)	47.9	48.35	51.79	45.88
(underglaze blue)	14.91	9.5	12.05	19.79
(underglaze polychrome)	7.43	19.01	16.29	17.34
(edge decorated)	12.09	11.16	14.98	11.73
(transfer printed)	10.4	9.92	0	3.33
(mocha)	0.36	1.24	0	1.05
(annular)	6.82	0	1.63	0.88
Porcelain	**5**	**6.26**	**1**	**4.54**
Chinese Export	18.26	4.71	*	57.14
(decorated)	10.05	1.18	*	45.83
(undecorated)	8.22	0	*	54.17
English	81.74	18.82	*	0
Unknown	0	75.29	*	0

* Distribution of types not given

creamware recovered at the Bell Site far exceeds that found at either the James White Second Home or the Ramsey House. In all cases, plain undecorated creamware makes up an overwhelming majority of the creamware assemblage.

Pearlware comprises a greater proportion of the Bell assemblage than any other site to which it is compared, although the contrast is not as striking as with the creamware assemblage. This is somewhat misleading, since occupation at both the Ramsey House and Gibbs House continues later. Therefore the ceramic assemblages for these sites contain more whiteware than either the Bell Site or James White House. However, pearlware comprises 62 percent of the ceramics recovered from the Bell Site, while only 45 percent of the assemblage from 40KN68. During the period of the Bell Site occupation, pearlware was the most common and easily available ceramic ware, although the decorated types varied a great deal in cost (Noel-Hume 1970:130; Miller 1980). The least expensive (edge-decorated), comprises about the same percentage of the pearlware assemblages at each of the sites, while the most expensive (transfer-printed) comprises a much greater proportion of the assemblages from the wealthier homesites: 10 percent at James White and 10 percent at the Ramsey House, while only 3 percent at the Bell Site.

Porcelain is a good indicator of status due to its relative high cost when compared to other wares (Miller 1980). While early porcelain makes up only 4 percent of the Bell assemblage, it comprises over 6 percent of the assemblage from Ramsey house, and 5 percent of the ceramics at the James White Second Home. The only site with a lower percentage of porcelain wares is the Gibbs House, with one percent of the assemblage

composed of porcelain. These percentages are indicative of at least an upper-middle class status of the Bell occupants.

By comparing the assemblages from each of the early frontier-period sites, it is evident that differences characterize the artifactual material. An inverse relation occurs as one looks from creamware to porcelain; the less wealthy sites (the Bell Site and Gibbs House) have greater proportions of creamware than the wealthier sites (James White and Ramsey House), while both groups have approximately the same percentage of pearlware. Although the Ramsey assemblage has considerably less pearlware than the other sites, this is undoubtedly a reflection of its continued occupation through the early 20th century. Finally, when examining porcelain, the most valuable and expensive ceramic class in the assemblages, the wealthier Bells, Ramseys, and Whites owned a higher percentage than the less-wealthy Gibbs did.

In relating the Bell Site to these other East Tennessee frontier sites, it seems, based on comparison of ceramic assemblages, that the occupants were wealthier than the occupants of the Gibbs house, and approximately as well-off as the Ramseys and Whites. However, the assemblage from the Gibbs excavations suffers from the early presence of a pewter tableware set, reducing the amount of early pearlware and creamware in the assemblage. Thus, it is possible that the Gibbs family was of higher class status than is indicated in the ceramic assemblage. It is interesting to note that, although differences in the assemblages are noticeable, they are not great. In his doctoral dissertation on the Gibbs House excavations, Mark Groover (1998) surmises that many wealthy East

Tennesseeans invested available excess money in increasing landholdings, building amounts of livestock, and improving the home in which the family lived rather than investing in greater material evidence of wealth. It is possible that this phenomenon affected the material evidence of the Ramseys', Whites', and Bells' wealth. A general level of material comfort was achieved by settlers across class lines, while status differences were more evident in less archaeologically-visible items such as landholdings and livestock.

By referring back to Table 1, the relationship between female-associated artifacts and class status may be seen. For the sites mentioned above that exhibit higher class status based on ceramic percentage, the differences in percentages of "masculine" and "feminine" artifacts are most striking. "Female" artifacts comprise approximately 80 percent of the gendered artifacts identified at the James White Second Home, 70 percent of those at the Ramsey House and, and 60 percent of those at 40KN202. As mentioned earlier, teawares play a dominant role in the composition of "feminine" artifact assemblages. Thus, the presence of women in the archaeological record is correlated with high socioeconomic status indicators. As Roth (1961) and Wall (1991) indicate, performance of the tea ceremony was an important part of exhibiting one's degree of gentility and civility on the unpredictable East Tennessee frontier. The ownership of expensive ceramic tea sets was a central part of establishing a family's class identity. As the Cult of True Womanhood gained strength in the early 19th century, the importance of providing a gentile, civil domestic environment became more important, not only for

providing shelter from the rough public sphere, but also for legitimizing one's class status. Families living on the frontier strove to separate themselves from the dangerous and unpredictable environment in which they lived, and ownership of socially "correct" items and performance of socially "correct" behaviors went a long way towards this separation. Thus, artifacts relating to social aspects of the domestic sphere, such as tea sets and ceramic serving pieces were under the women's domain and reflect their power in maintaining (or creating the illusion of, in some cases) the family's social standing.

CHAPTER 6:

CONCLUSIONS

The original questions upon which this research has been based addressed ways that women at the Bell Site fit into the East Tennessee frontier as a whole. By combining archaeological data with historical accounts of women in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, it is hoped that a more complete picture of the daily lives of East Tennessee women may be drawn. Women of the Bell family, an apparently upper-middle class family on the East Tennessee frontier, occupied the Bell house from 1793 until 1817. Anna Bell, married to William Bell before their move to East Tennessee, made the journey from Virginia to Knox County to establish a household on the frontier with her husband and young children. She served as wife, mother, and overseer of slaves, in addition to performing roles necessitated by life in her new environment. As a product of post-Revolutionary marital values, it is possible that Anna and William freely chose each other for a marriage based on mutual affection and loyalty. However, it is likely that Anna separated herself from the "public" sphere in which William operated, and strove to create a "private" home in which he could be sheltered from the rigors of the world.

Anna raised eight children in a time of strong Republican sentiment; it is likely that she was the primary caregiver as well as daily authoritarian in the Bell household. Her duties as mother might have included educating the boys to be good citizens, and, once they were old enough to help with labor in the fields, Anna might have turned her

attention fully to her daughters, teaching them the tasks young women needed to perform: cooking, sewing, baking, cleaning, etc. (Norton 1980).

As mother and wife, Anna may have played out prevailing notions of femininity. However, as a woman on the East Tennessee frontier, it is likely that some of her roles ran against the dominant ideals of feminine behavior. Historical research has shown that frontier women were valued for their ability to perform fluid roles: acting as gentile, feminine women at times, but also performing more masculine-associated roles when necessary. It is possible that Anna occasionally worked in the fields to help harvest crops, as well as participated in slaughtering animals and tending crops. Based on data contained in the ledgers discussed in Chapter 2, it is likely that Anna ventured into the "masculine" public sphere as consumer, purchasing goods for the household as well as for her own enjoyment.

Based on the archaeological assemblage from the 1997 excavations, it is known that entertaining was a part of the Bell household. Remnants of five teapots dating to the Bell occupation of the house were recovered: one creamware, one pearlware, one black basaltes, and two refined earthenware. Formal tea drinking was a common upper-class practice in the 18th century (Roth 1961), providing an opportunity to commune with friends and neighbors, as well as an opportunity for host and hostess to exhibit their culture and civility in knowledge of the tea ceremony. The proportion of service vessels identified as belonging to the Bells bolsters the idea that gentile entertaining was a priority.

The Clark occupation of the house coincided with a rise in notions of True Womanhood and the Cult of Domesticity. As such, many of the earlier expectations of feminine behavior did not change, but intensified. The doctrine of separate spheres grew stronger as industrialization expanded and westward migration became more widespread, and women of the Clark household may have tried to adhere to the practice of establishing the home as a shelter for the man from the outside world. With the increasing popularity of the doctrine of separate spheres the focus on the domestic sphere intensified and behavioral strictures for upper and upper-middle class women became more strident. Even if the Clark household was less wealthy than the Bell family, it is likely that women in the Clark family were cognizant of these notions of ideal women.

Domesticity enjoyed a prominent place among the cardinal virtues of "true womanhood", and an important part of domesticity was entertaining. Archaeologically this is evident at 40KN202 in the high proportion of serving pieces in the Clark ceramic assemblage, as well as the presence of expensive transfer-printed wares (Miller 1980). Although the Clarks may not have been able to afford expensive tea wares and had little if any porcelain, they were able to purchase expensive serving pieces. As nephew of a wealthy uncle, William John Clark was assuredly familiar with the expectations and behaviors of those of the upper class, and at least a portion of the money the Clarks had went towards the purchase of symbolic representations of femininity and high class status. From a contextual stance, it is evident that dominant societal norms of feminine and masculine behavior carry much weight, and subscribing and acquiescing to these

expectations on the early American frontier proved a difficult endeavor. One could argue that ceramics served as a symbol of an ideology that relegated women to their domestic roles; women who did not or could not follow the prescribed behavioral norms suffered severe social consequences. The social prestige associated with formal tea consumption provided a standard towards which women strove. The perpetuation of the ideology of separates spheres legitimized the subjugation of women into their biologically-determined roles. Gentility and civility were high priorities for the upper-class inhabitants of the East Tennessee frontier, and an important part of exhibiting those qualities involved adhering to notions of femininity.

Although little is known of the individuals living at the Bell house, it is highly possible, given their apparent class and socioeconomic status, that the women of each family strove to meet these expectations. An examination of the artifactual evidence from 40KN202 indicates that the families worked to obtain the goods needed to create an inviting and appropriately "feminine" domestic environment. Terry Klein (1991) argues that women in the house determined the purchase and use of ceramic tablewares and teawares in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Given the importance of femininity in maintaining civility and gentility on the frontier, this seems a likely possibility. Thus, one may argue that women on the East Tennessee frontier had a great deal of power in their lives, evidenced by the prevalence and variance of ceramics recovered at historic East Tennessee domestic sites. These ceramic vessels were symbolic of the superior class status of their owners, and served to reinforce images of wealth, class, and gentility.

Despite ultimately acquiescing to a dominant ideology that relegated women to the domestic sphere and their biological selves, women on the frontier wielded the influence to control, in part, the consumer behavior of their husbands, as well as to affect the social standing of the family as a whole.

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