

Chapter 3: Methods and Data

by Deborah L. Rotman

Source materials for this research project include a broad spectrum of evidentiary classes. The 2010 pilot project (which will continue in 2011) utilized a cultural study in Ireland, artifacts and architecture, oral history, and archival resources; each of which will also be used for the proposed project during subsequent years of investigation.

Cultural study in Ireland. In partnership with *an tAcadamh na hOllscolaíochta Gaeilge*, National University of Ireland, Carna, County Galway, we will begin each field season with a week-long cultural study in Western Ireland. (Cultural studies may also include visits to Árainn Mhór, County Donegal, but this could not be arranged for the pilot project.) The primary learning goals for the cultural study are for students to develop an understanding of:

1) *The richness of Irish culture – music, storytelling, social organization, language, religious practice, history/tradition, and the like with a particular emphasis on those aspects of Irish culture that emigrants would have brought with them to America.* Through the cultural study, students begin to understand social practices, rituals, meanings, and how objects were used in their original contexts in Ireland. An immersion into Irish culture also greatly assists students in comprehending the human behaviors and social aspects of the artifacts that are recovered archaeologically. They begin to understand that artifacts really are “material culture.”

2) *The historical contexts for emigration from Ireland as well as their consequences.* Emigration was shaped by a variety of political, social, economic, religious, and other factors, which varied both through time and across space. One consequence of the colonial experience in Ireland is that Irish-American experiences tend to be homogenized. The stereotype of the impoverished slum-dwelling factory worker immigrant tends to dominate understandings of Irish experiences in the US, but the reality was much more varied, diverse, and dynamic. Students will become aware of temporal and regional variations as well develop a transnational perspective on Irish immigration. Students will come away from the cultural excursion with a better understanding of the contexts from which Irish immigrants came and the complexities of their experiences.

Previous excavations. To date, 201 archaeological sites have been identified in Charlevoix County, Michigan, including 41 sites on Beaver Island. Most of these were documented during surveys of the island by James Fitting (1973) and Joseph Chartkoff (1989, 1993). Our investigation of the Gallagher homestead (20CX201) was the first controlled excavation of an Irish-American site on the island. Excavation revealed stratified middens, discrete features such as building foundations and trash pits, and extant architecture, including a mid-19th century log cabin, sheds, and other outbuildings.

There has been very little development on the island, particularly outside of the village of St. James, and so preservation of archaeological deposits is excellent. The homesteads that will serve as the focus of this project are: (1) The Peter Doney Gallagher homestead (20CX201), the site of the 2010 pilot project, had a diverse occupation representing many cultural groups on the island. Built by Mormons in the 1840s, the cabin was occupied by a German family immediately following the Mormon eviction. Beginning in the 1880s, it was then occupied by multiple generations of two Irish families (the Earlys and the Gallaghers) up through the early 21st century. The occupational history of this homelot provides a wonderful cross-section of lived cultural experiences on the island. A second field season of excavation will occur in 2011. (2) The Bonner Centennial Farm (20CX70) was occupied by multiple generations of the same Irish immigrant family from the 1850s through the early 20th century; whereas (3) the Gillespie Homestead (20CX116) was built by an Irish immigrant family at about the same time as the Bonner Farm, but was continuously occupied by *different* Irish families up through the early 21st century. As such, the occupational histories of these households provide data for Irish identity and ethnogenesis that spans the Mormon period, through the peak Irish occupation during the second half of the 19th century, and then through the transitional history of the island as it became increasingly culturally diverse. Finally, (4) the Protar Homestead (20CX69) was built and occupied by an Irish immigrant family in 1857 during the immediate post-Mormon period. From 1892-1925, the house was home to Feodor Protar, a German gentleman who emigrated from Russia and served as an island physician. Following his death, the house was occupied by a series of families from a variety of

cultural backgrounds. The specific history of this house provides data for both Irish and non-Irish occupation of the island during the late 19th century as well as the transitional period on the island of increasing cultural diversity in the early decades of the 20th century.

Oral histories. In conjunction with the field excavation, we will collect oral histories both on Beaver Island and in Ireland. Oral history is also one important dimension of collaboration with descent communities. It is an important means of enhancing our understanding of immigrant experiences as well as providing opportunities for Irish Americans to contribute to the telling of their own histories.

Through oral histories, both in Ireland and on Beaver Island, we have connected to the very personal and intimate narratives of national and global phenomena. Individualized accounts have added detail and texture to history that is often understood in anonymous terms. Through local media outlets (the *Beaver Beacon* and the *Northern Islander*), postings in prominent public places on the island, and word of mouth, we have successfully identified many informants who have shared their family histories with us and still others will be able to contribute their stories via the project web site (<http://irishstories.crc.nd.edu>, which is still under construction).

Archival resources. An abundance of archival resources are available for understanding Irish-American experiences and identity. Helen Collar conducted research on Beaver Island for many years and all of her research notes are housed at Central Michigan University (some of which are available online). The Beaver Island Historical Society and the Beaver Island Community Library also have a spectrum of historical records related to human occupation on the island, including Native American, Irish, German, and other cultural groups. In addition, there are a variety of documents pertaining to the Mormon history of the island that are curated by the Church of Latter Day Saints in Nauvoo, Illinois as well as in Racine, Burlington, and Voree, Wisconsin. Land deeds and other public records are on file with Charlevoix County Municipal offices. Archival resources relevant to the project are similarly available in Ireland, including but not limited to the University College Dublin Folklore Collection, the National Archives, the National Library, and the Quaker/Friends Library and Archives, with additional local resources at the *Árainn Mhór* Community Center. Research in these various archives both in Ireland and the US has already begun, the results of which has explicated land ownership, illuminated the socio-economic and cultural history of the islands, elucidated changes to the landscape through cartographic data, and otherwise revealed aspects of daily life for Irish and other island residents. Continued archival research will expand this knowledge base. Follow-up historical research will also occur in response to questions generated by the archaeological field work.

Each of these data classes and what we learned from them will be discussed in greater detail in subsequent chapters. The data presented here represents only preliminary research results as a second field season of excavation is planned at the Gallagher homestead for 2011. Additional years of field work, archival research, and oral history collection for other homesites on the island are expected to continue through at least 2015.

Chapter 4: Social Relations and Cultural Landscapes

by Deborah L. Rotman

The purpose of this project is to investigate the landscapes of Irish immigrants to the Midwest. This document outlines the historical background of the Irish Diaspora both nationally and regionally as well as provides the theoretical and methodological framework in which this project will be undertaken.

This research program will investigate the dynamic social relations of class, gender, and ethnicity by analyzing the structure of landscape features, the spatial relationships of associated artifacts, and types of material culture used by Irish immigrants in the Midwest. The ethnogenesis of Irish identity is of particular interest. This project will investigate the uses of nineteenth- and twentieth-century landscapes in northern Michigan through historical and archaeological investigations, with particular interest in how these uses were constructed through the negotiation of social relations, how they changed, and why. These changes will be examined in the context of the economic, political, and social development of Charlevoix County as well as the region under industrial capitalism.

The constructions and negotiations of social relations has been of interest to anthropologists from all sub-disciplines (e.g., Bleier 1984; Ferguson 1989; Gero and Conkey 1991; Jacobs and Roberts 1989; Kryder-Reid 1994; Moore 1988; Morgen 1989; Scott 1994; Vance 1984; Walby 1990; Whelan 1991; Wylie 1991). Similarly, studies of cultural landscapes are of interest to scholars in other disciplines, such as history, geography, architecture, urban planning, and literary criticism, among others (e.g., Fabricant 1979; Franck 1989; Groag-Bell 1990; Hayden 1980; Jackson 1984; Labbe 1998; Massey 1994; Merchant 1980; Rose 1993; Spain 1992).

This multi-year historical archaeological investigation will explore the cultural landscapes of Irish-American immigrants of Beaver Island, Michigan. The proposed activities will have an intellectual impact upon the discipline of anthropology as well as build important infrastructure for future historical and archaeological research on the Irish Diaspora.

Studying Cultural Landscapes in the Midwestern United States

At present, the cultural landscapes and associated changes of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in the Midwest are known primarily through the written record. Relatively little archaeological investigation of historic sites has been undertaken in the state. Consequently, the Department of Natural Resources, Division of Historic Preservation and Archaeology listed the historic period among the highest priorities for archaeological research for the State of Michigan during the 2006 fiscal year (DNR 2005). By comparing and contrasting the documentary records with data sets obtained through archaeological scientific investigations, landscape archaeologists can discover how the built environment was constructed to express identities, reinforce status, negotiate social relations, and empower individuals. This study will contribute to a growing body of scholarly literature on social relationships and the built environment in the United States as well as elucidate historic Michigan and the Midwest.

Midwesterners have experienced significant social, economic, political, and cultural changes since the early nineteenth century (Woods and Martin 1992). Over a period of a few decades, many cities developed from small frontier towns into important hubs of transportation and commerce via the Ohio River, canals, and/or railroads. In addition, the economic focus of the state shifted from an agricultural base to industrial one. These developments spawned numerous changes in wealth distribution and gender roles. Increased immigration also changed the ethnic composition of the state's residents. Urbanization, industrialization, and other processes of the nineteenth century also shaped social relations and the landscapes on which they operated.

Mercantile and industrial capitalism were each unique in terms of their social relations and uses of space (see Braudel 1981; Harvey 1973; McGuire and Paynter 1991; Mrozowski 1991). The former juxtaposed productive and reproductive activities in adjacent spaces and was often marked by tensions between rural agriculturalists and urban merchants and artisans. The latter was characterized by a clear separation of economic and domestic activities, which was manifested in distinct spatial organization and rigid social hierarchy (albeit a hierarchy that is continuously being challenged by social agents). The

settlement and growth of Charlevoix County and the surrounding area spanned the transition to industrial capitalism and, therefore, its landscapes reflect these material and ideological changes.

Landscape Archaeology

The study of landscapes is relatively new in anthropological research and has brought historical archaeology into intersection with other disciplines invested in landscapes, such as geography and landscape architecture. Landscapes are of interest to anthropologists studying the relationships between different peoples and the world they inhabit. Landscapes not only help us to understand ourselves (Meinig 1979:2), but also provide “the context for other people’s lives in other times” (Yamin and Methany 1996:xiii; see also Lowenthal 1985). Three aspects of landscapes are particularly imperative to their interpretation.

First, landscapes are material, complex, and meaningful. It is often difficult, if not impossible, to delineate where one landscape ends and another begins. There does not exist “an unquestionable autonomy or rigid separation between . . . spaces (physical, mental, social), for they interrelate and overlap” (Soja 1989:120; see also Harvey 1996). This complexity is central to understanding and interpreting historical landscapes. Moreover, these intricate interrelationships are meaningful for the human agents who create and reproduce them.

Second, the relationships between people and landscapes are infinitely complex. The landscapes and spaces that “people build and occupy are endowed with multiple meanings, meanings that change with social situations, and that change through time . . . [In addition,] material landscapes both shape and reflect social relations” (Delle 1998:14). These fluid and changing landscapes – as well as the social roles and relations embedded within them – are differentially interpreted and understood. Analysts need to be cognizant of the fluidity of landscapes and their plurality of meanings.

Third, landscapes can encompass both unique and collective experiences. Knapp and Ashmore (1999:1-21) use the concept of “nested landscapes”, which is particularly useful in landscape studies since it acknowledges “the diversity of experience and meanings held by the socially varied people who co-inhabit the land” (Knapp and Ashmore 1999:16-18; see also Meskell 1998a, 1998b). It is important to note, however, that landscapes are not only experienced in unique ways by individuals and groups, but they can also serve as “the infrastructure or background for our *collective* existence” (Jackson 1984:7-8, emphasis added).

The creation of the landscape supports and maintains social organization and cultural identity. The nature and relative location of structures within a city, as one example, create differential access to strategic resources and unequal transportation costs (Paynter 1982:31). Consequently, the greater the distance from economically essential goods and services the higher the cost to acquire them. In a stratified society, the elite may attempt to dominate other segments of the population through settlement patterns that favor themselves, thereby asserting and reproducing their status. Similarly, the floor plans of residential dwellings, distinctive patterns of refuse disposal, the location of a well, and the regional settlement pattern are all organized to facilitate the activities and movements of some individuals, while simultaneously constraining others. These and other dimensions of the material world are differentially acknowledged and resisted by various members of society, because individuals occupy multiple roles simultaneously (e.g., Irish, female, immigrant). Social, political, and economic forces have shaped the built environment of northern Michigan, the negotiation of which is discernable through the investigation of cultural landscapes.

Paynter’s observation regarding costs incurred in the acquisition of resources can be applied not only to groups but also to interactions between individuals. As Hautaniemi and Rotman (2003) observe, wells were an operating source of water and essential elements in the daily routine of nineteenth-century women. Water was required for preparing meals, washing dishes, laundering clothes, and bathing children, all very time-consuming tasks. Consequently, “tensions between husbands and wives often surfaced when farm women had to travel long distances to an outdoor well” (Borish 1995:89-92). Changes in the location of a well may express struggles between men and women over the organization of residential landscapes. Issues of access to resources and control of domestic space can also be observed in the arrival of municipal water to a village, the areas of the homelot served by this amenity, and the role of men and women in negotiating the

implementation of this service (Rotman and Hautaniemi 2000). Thus, spatial organization elucidates the relationships between individuals as well as groups.

Mrozowski (1991) also observed that class distinctions were expressed and maintained through spatial features and activities upon landscapes (see also Delle 2000; Hood 1996; Leone et al. 1987; Perry 2000; Wall 1991, 1994, 1999, 2000; Yentsch 1991). In the corporate communities of nineteenth-century New England industrialists, the front and side yards of mill agents' dwellings were maintained in carefully manicured lawns and landscaping, whereas all areas around the boarding houses of mill workers were intensively utilized for a variety of domestic tasks. In addition, the mill agents' homes were placed between the factory and boarding houses, in full view of factory workers. Therefore, the varied use of space and overall organization of the village served to reinforce social differences (see also Delle 2000; Jenkins 1994).

Ornamental flower gardens, like manicured lawns, also reproduced class distinctions and reinforced underlying ideologies. Leone (1984) noted that the deliberate manipulation and geometrical organization of plants and flowers in the eighteenth-century created the illusion that the arbitrary nature of the social order was actually natural and even inevitable. By constructing a garden and controlling the plants within in, wealthy elites "could take themselves and their position as granted and convince others that the way things are is the way they had always been and should remain; for the order was natural and had always been so" (Leone 1984:34).

Material culture is yet another form of meaningful social expression which provides insights into the processes of resistance, domination, power, and space. The refuse within a household well on Barrack Street in Cape Town, South Africa, for example, illustrates the ways in which everyday items are used as a form of resistance (Hall et al. 1990). The archaeological assemblage from this feature reveals the persistent use of Oriental, rather than British, ceramics at the site well into the nineteenth century. The occupants of the house resisted the dominant social and political structure by refusing to purchase ceramics of the elite.

These examples from the scholarly literature illustrate that social relations operate on multiple meaningful levels – at an individual homelot, within communities and regions, and nationally. Class, gender, and ethnicity are expressed through a variety of forms – the spatial organization of the built environment, features on the landscape, and material culture. These multiple scales and expressions of social interaction in northern Michigan will be examined to illuminate the differential experiences of the women and men who created and inhabited cultural landscapes. The theories and methods of landscape archaeology are uniquely suited to read the text of American life from the observed changes in the material world. The comparative analysis of landscape patterning and material objects, from the household to the region, provides an independent source of data that complements and sometimes contradicts the written word. The historical archaeological investigation of cultural landscapes of the Irish Diaspora will significantly contribute to the growing body of literature in this important research arena and have general anthropological application to studies of social relations and the material world.

Framework for the Investigation of the Irish Diaspora in the Midwest

The proposed project draws upon a broad spectrum of scholarly literature. Archaeological and historical investigations of the Irish Diaspora in the Midwest will explore (1) urban farmsteads and landscape change over time; (2) the social relations of class, gender, and ethnicity; and (3) the cultural, economic, political, social, and religious identities of Irish immigrants in the city. The ideas, methods, theories, models, and previous studies of these topics that will guide our exploration are briefly summarized below.

Urban Farmsteads and Changes to the Landscape

Stewart-Abernathy (1986) observed dynamic spatial organization when he examined the landscape of an antebellum house in Arkansas. This urban homelot possessed "a complex assemblage of buildings and spaces that paralleled the inventory and structures of rural farmsteads" (Stewart-Abernathy 1986:5). The concept of "urban farmstead" was employed as a way of expressing the interrelation of rural and urban elements on a single landscape (see also Rotman 1995; Rotman and Nassaney 1997). Using this model, we will consider how the landscapes of the Irish Diaspora in the Midwest were created and modified in reaction

and response to the socially dynamic world of which it was a part. Both historical and archaeological evidence will be used to reconstruct these landscapes and understand their social contexts.

Distinguishing between “rural” and “urban” has been problematic in archaeological research (Wurst 1993). Researchers have often defined and understood rural and urban landscapes in opposition to one another. Rural is characterized as agricultural, family oriented, and egalitarian, while urban represents the opposite – industrial, profit oriented, and stratified. Many landscapes embody aspects of both categories and, therefore, any simple dichotomy is lacking. Rural and urban are not mutually exclusive, but constituted poles of a continuum. Part of the difficulty in characterizing rural and urban landscapes stems from the fact that many of the attributes once thought to be distinctly rural are also found in urban settings (Hahn and Prude 1985:9). Among historical archaeologists, Stewart-Abernathy (1986:6) notes that a “parallel exists between some of the activities carried out on a rural farmstead and some aspects of urban occupation.”

This parallel is particularly apparent during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. For it is during this time that many farm families were not only responsible for the production of agricultural goods for market exchange as well as limited production of goods for consumption by farm residents, but also for tending to their daily needs of sanitation and trash disposal. The same was often true for urban households for whom the services of supermarkets, wastewater systems, and garbage collectors had yet to be realized. Hence, Stewart-Abernathy (1986:6) the concept of an urban farmstead “represents in three dimensions the result of a process through which the household in a nucleated settlement supplied many of its own needs . . . by grow[ing] some of its own food, feed[ing] and car[ing] for some of its own animals, acquir[ing] its own water through wells, dispos[ing] of its own organic and inorganic waste, and stor[ing] its own fuel for cooking and heating.”

Economic pursuits outside the home provided for the family’s livelihood. Combining domestic farm tasks and other employment muddles the separation of rural and urban activities. Moreover, “in small town America, the urban farmstead never totally disappeared, although many of its elements have been stripped away by the extension of urban services, town ordinances, and the spread of the ideal of green lawn” (Stewart-Abernathy 1986:13).

The urban farmstead model brings some of the landscape changes observed in this study into better focus. For example, there are five factors which can account for the abandonment of farmstead elements of the urban landscape (Stewart-Abernathy 1986:12-13). The first is infilling, whereby larger land holdings are divided into smaller parcels to permit the building of more houses. Second is the development of municipal services. As public utilities such as water and sewers became available, the need for recharge basins and privies, for instance, was eliminated. The third factor is zoning. Building codes and city ordinances often banished the keeping of chickens and other livestock on the urban farmstead on the grounds of sanitation and avoiding a public nuisance. Transportation improvements, the fourth factor, led to the elimination of the horse and other associated landscape features or resulted in architectural changes to buildings. Finally, innovations in the transportation, storage, and packaging of food goods directly affected, and often replaced, food production at the property.

There were three types of modifications – additive, subtractive, and substitutive – which can be made to landscapes as a result of these five factors (Stewart-Abernathy 1986). Additive adjustments include the construction of new landscape features, such as the addition of a kitchen or bathroom wing to the house. Subtractive adjustments include the removal of landscape elements. Privies or other obsolete waste disposal systems were often eliminated once they were no longer needed. Finally, the replacement of one building with another is a substitutive adjustment including, for example, the construction of a garage following the demolition of the barn.

In sum, the urban farmstead model has utility in deconstructing the rural-urban dichotomy by pointing to similarities between activities carried out on a rural farmstead and in more urban settings. Yet while this model can explain the presence or abandonment of elements on the landscape, it does not suggest why the environment is constructed or modified in a particular way. Landscape changes are not merely adaptations to the external world. Rather, they embody aspects of social relationships. The built environment is not merely a static entity, but actively expresses the dynamics of the social relations of class and gender.

Social Relations of Class

The material world of the historic period was experienced in a variety of ways in the United States, by people from different classes, genders, and ethnicities. Thus, the social actions that built, used, modified, and led to the abandonment of cultural landscapes can be understood only in relation to these structured positions (Paynter 1990:11). Brodtkin-Sacks (1989), Scott (1994), and Delle et al. (2000), furthermore, stress the importance of class, gender, and ethnicities as mutually-related social forces – such that one cannot be understood without consideration of the others. Although class relations and gender ideologies serve as the primary entry points in this project, ethnicity will also be elucidated. Each of these social relations was a powerful force in the Midwest, forming the bases of group identity and identities (see also Rotman and Clay 2008).

Class analysis based on material remains can be a difficult undertaking. It involves complex sets of social relations including “theoretical and empirical studies of class process, class structure, and class formation” (Paynter 1999:184). Furthermore, historical archaeologists are frequently divided as to what class actually *is* and how to define it. Marx and Weber are commonly associated with two differing, yet overlapping, understandings of this subject (Paynter 1999:185-186). Marx theorized class as an “economic relationship.” That is, class was a *qualitative* position defined by where an individual was situated within a wage-labor capitalist system and the process of extracting surplus. Weber, on the other hand, viewed class as a *quantitative* position, such that class is defined “in terms of the assets an individual brings to a series of market situations.” Notions of class analysis become even more complex when one understands that class relations are historically constituted, fluid, and constantly changing (Wurst 1999:9; Wurst and Fitts 1999).

As with investigations of power, a number of historical contexts have been investigated in an effort to understand class relations, including plantations (e.g., Delle 1996, 1998; Orser 1992; Young 2003), cemeteries (e.g., McGuire 1988, 1991), city and regional studies (e.g., Paynter et al. 1987; Perry 1999), and homelots (e.g., Hautaniemi and Rotman 2003; Nassaney et al. 2001; Paynter 1990; Rotman 1995, 2001, 2003, 2006; Rotman and Nassaney 1997; Yentsch 1996), utopian communities (Savulis 2003), city parks (Spencer-Wood 2003), schoolhouses (Gibb and Beisaw 2001; Rotman 2004, 2005), and industrial sites (Rotman and Staicer 2001), among others (see Delle et al. 2000; Rotman and Savulis 2003). Mrozowski (1991), for example, observed that class distinctions and other social relations were often expressed and maintained through spatial features of and activities carried out upon the landscape (see also Hood 1996; Leone 1984; Leone et al. 1987; Rotman 1998, 2001, 2003, 2006; Rotman and Black 2005; Wall 1991, 1994; Yentsch 1991).

Historically, class differences, however, were not universally emphasized. In some contexts, expressing superior social position was either unwanted or unnecessary. In the case of the Burghardts, a family who owned a specialty production firm in Upper Lisle, New York, “emphasizing social mobility was not relevant since the immigrant laborers [who comprised their work force] had very little hope of ever owning their own tannery” (Wurst 1999:13).

Additionally, class, as a relational concept, has been observed as being partially performance based. Mullins (1999:27) recognized that status for African-Americans in Annapolis, Maryland (1850-1930) was expressed through genteel social performance and espoused values such as self-control and rational morality. Fitts (1999:49) noted that, for Victorian Brooklyn, a mastery of dining etiquette was imperative in respectable middle class social circles. For turn-of-the-century farmers in North Carolina, character attributes such as being “crooked,” slovenly or lazy were more important than class, occupation or racial category (Stine 1991:49). A similar phenomenon was observed at the Schroeder saddle tree factory and residence in Madison, Indiana (1879-1972). As the proprietors, “the Schroeders owned the means of production, were active members of the community, and had a reputation for being good, kind-hearted people. Their status was explicit and, therefore, not asserted materially” (Rotman and Staicer 2001:106).

Social Relations of Gender

Discussions of gendered social relations are also relatively new in anthropological discourse. Margaret Purser (1991:7) notes that the “debate over issues of definition has focused as much on specifying what gender is *not* as what it is.” She stresses that gender is not the same as sex nor should it be equated with

women only, particularly in isolation from larger social and ideological milieus. Gender is of particular interest to this study.

Joan Scott (1986:1053) provides a useful definition of gender as “the social organization of the relationship between the sexes.” It is not bound to a binary categorization of sex as men and women nor by particular delimited contexts such as private, domestic, household or kinship (Scott 1986:1069-1071). Such a definition, however, tends to link gender and sexuality. Consequently, people outside the parameters of biological reproduction (i.e., children, the elderly, those who choose celibacy, gay and lesbian individuals) are often not considered.

This biological deterministic connection has been debunked in recent studies (e.g., Bleier 1984; Conkey and Gero 1991; Ferguson 1989; Jacobs and Roberts 1989; Kryder-Reid 1994; Moore 1988; Morgen 1989; Scott 1994; Vance 1984; Walby 1990; Wall 1994; Whelan 1991; Wylie 1991). In his review of gender in archaeology, Paynter (2000a:186-197) observed that this scholarship “emphasizes the systematic interrelations between men and women, that is, gender systems; studies the significance of gender relations in the workplace and the state as well as the family; and contemplates the notion of gender beyond the two-category system of dominant Western ideology” (see also Paynter 2000b). This understanding of gender allows for the dynamic interpretation of gender relations within a vast array of social, political, economic, geographical, and temporal settings.

Gender research is inherently multidisciplinary (see Rotman 2003, 2006; Rotman and Savulis 2003). As such, historical archaeologists have enhanced their understandings of the past by engaging in conversations with historians, geographers, architects, urban planners, and literary critics, among others (i.e., Fabricant 1979; Franck 1989; Groag-Bell 1990; Hayden 1980; Massey 1994; Merchant 1980; Rose 1993; Spain 1992). Nineteenth-century gender ideologies in America represents one area of historical archaeological research that has been enriched by these cross-disciplinary discussions and the body of literature with regard to the material and spatial expressions of gender continues to grow.

The archaeology of gendered landscapes constitutes a small portion of anthropological research to date. Theoretical explorations of gender have taken many forms. Much research has been undertaken to understand how women have become associated with nature, as opposed to men, who have been associated with culture. Merchant (1980) explored the ideas of “women as nature” in Greek philosophy, Christianity, Renaissance literature, and the writings of Chaucer, Shakespeare, and daVinci (among others). Fabricant (1979) analyzed eighteenth-century poetry, literature, and linguistics to illustrate the association of women with nature and the codification of landscapes as female. Ortner (1974) added another dimension to this dialogue through her investigation of women’s subordination to men, stressing that gender relations are cultural constructions and not natural facts. McGirr (1996, 2003) examined the Vietnam Veterans Memorial as a gendered landscape, bringing these issues out of the past and into contemporary life.

Gender research has been concerned not only with the construction of gender but also with the impact of colonialism and capitalism (i.e., Coontz 1988; Morgan 1989). Brodtkin (Brodtkin-Sacks 1989) notes three major points of view that are central to studies of gender relations and these powerful forces. According to the first position, domestic labor is primary. Consequently, under this model, domestic exploitation under capitalism is universal and pre-capitalist conditions of social existence are at the root of women’s exploitation under capitalism. According to the second point of view, the very organization of waged labor under capitalism excluded women and devalued the domestic labor to which women were relegated. Finally, a dual systems theory combines both positions, attributing the subordination of women to the interaction of patriarchy and the capitalist mode of production.

Some scholarly researchers have resisted assumptions about the subordination of women by seeking a female presence on “male” landscapes. Conkey (1991) took a feminist perspective when she debunks some of the “mythical qualities” of archaeology, specifically the notion that women were not involved in prehistoric productive activities. Her research revealed that, while harpoons for hunting were used by men, the required cordage was produced by women. Groag-Bell (1990) reviewed the omission of women in eighteenth-century garden history. Gardens from this era were usually depicted as having been constructed exclusively by men and passively experienced by women. Yet evidence (from diary entries and fiction about schools for training women gardeners) revealed that women were actively engaged in creating and enjoying gardens. Women have also been excluded from the history of the logging industry in West Virginia. Brashler

(1991) re-evaluated the historical, oral, and archaeological data from logging camps in this area to illustrate that women and children were present in and vital to some logging contexts. Starbuck (1994) reported similar findings from his investigations of military camps.

Other analyses have investigated male-dominated or exclusively male contexts in their research to demonstrate that the study of gender relations encompasses men as well as women. For example, Kryder-Reid (1994) examined a cloistered, religious training center in Annapolis, Maryland, while Rotman and Staicer (2001) investigated the role of corporate paternalism at the Schroeder Saddletree Factory, a locus of specialty production in Madison, Indiana.

Examinations of gender relations have often focused upon domestic spaces. Residential architecture and the landscapes of homelots have been given particular attention in the scholarly literature (i.e., Agnew 1995; Massey 1994; Rose 1993). Homes in urban (i.e., Clark 1988; Wright 1981) and rural (i.e., Adams 1990; McMurry 1988; Rotman and Nassaney 1997; Rotman 2006) settings were transformed over time as ideologies of gender relations shaped and reshaped the organization and utilization of interior and exterior spaces (i.e., Borish 1995; Nylander 1994; Spain 1992).

Some research has focused on the association of women with particular aspects of culture (i.e., family, reproduction) to the virtual exclusion of all else. A few studies have stretched our understanding of men and women beyond the home. Spain (1992) examined educational institutions and work places and their role in codifying and reproducing social relations. Weisman (1992) investigated department stores, shopping malls, and maternity hospitals to understand how public architecture functions in defining social status and gender roles.

There are also interesting studies of material culture and its impact in various settings on gendered landscapes. For instance, Yentsch (1991), in her exploration of the varied uses of stonewares and refined earthenwares within the domestic sphere, has looked at the ways in which these ceramics expressed social rank and their symbolic role in gender relations. Wall (1994) has examined the decorative motifs of ceramic tablewares as expressions of moral and social authority. Forty (1986) observed that objects are associated with particular spaces (i.e., bathrooms, kitchens), social ranking (i.e., parlors, servants' quarters), and even age groups (i.e., nurseries), thus serving to reinforce social relations.

Interdisciplinary research has broadened our understanding of how gender relations are created, codified, and reproduced through the material world. The following sections detail the socio-historical context within which gender ideologies of the recent historic period operated.

Understanding Gender Ideologies: During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in America, gender relations were structured primarily by the cult of domesticity, equal rights feminism, domestic reform, and feminine mystique (Giele 1995). These ideologies can be imagined as intersecting clouds, discrete entities with diffuse edges which can, under certain conditions, overlap. Their development and interrelationships were not linear and should not be considered analogous to a spectrum.

Nevertheless, each ideology was distinctive in terms of its primary purpose. The cult of domesticity, first codified in the 1830s, sought to elevate women's status through the domestic sphere, while equal rights feminism rejected the domestic arena and embraced public politics as a vehicle for instituting social change. Domestic reform included a variety of social movements of the mid- to late nineteenth century that were, like the cult of domesticity and equal rights feminism, interested in improving the condition of women's lives and elevating their status vis-à-vis men. Spencer-Wood (1991:233) asserted that "domestic reformers resisted the male-dominated cultural categorization of women's work as inferior to men's work . . . [and] successfully empowered female dominance in a wide range of professional occupations." In this way, domestic reformers occupied the "middle ground" between the public and private spheres by negotiating a place for women in each of them. Feminine mystique was a gender ideology that emerged in the 1920s and 1930s and was both a continuation of previous ideologies as well as a unique ideological construct. Although developed nearly a century later, the ideology of feminine mystique was very similar to that of domesticity. It differed, however, in some of the prescriptive details (see more below).

The adoption and implementation of each of these ideologies (and others), varied, however, according to time and space, financial and social circumstances, and the abilities and desires of human agents. Consequently, although the cult of domesticity, equal rights feminism, domestic reform, and equal

rights feminism were ideologically separate entities, these distinctions were often blurred in the actual lived experiences of individuals.

The nineteenth century was an economically, politically, and socially dynamic time. Social historians and anthropologists have discussed how the arrival of industrial capitalism restructured class and gender relations (e.g., Brodtkin-Sacks 1989; Coontz 1988; Dudden 1983; Kessler-Harris 1982; Margolis 1984; Reiter 1975; Rotman 2005, 2006; Ryan 1981, 1985; Wall 1994). Families in rural and urban settings were differentially situated in the changing social and economic world. Consequently, gender roles and relations were also differentially defined.

In urban settings, the private home became separated from the commercial workplace, effectively ending the integrated family economy and creating a consumer economy for the middle class (Wall 1994:19). The mid-century ideal “stressed the separation of public and private, the protective role of the household, and the importance of order and hierarchy in domestic life” (Spain 1992:124). Residential homelots in urban areas became physical manifestations of these conceptualized ideals. Spaces were “reorganized making new areas in houses and yards more isolated and private (i.e., feminized)” (Yentsch 1991:196). The separation of the home and workplace affected women’s power and status. In the context of society as a whole, particularly in political and economic arenas, women’s power declined. However, within the home and family, their symbolic power was enhanced (Wall 1994:9).

This economic transformation and related consequences for gender relations had implications for rural families as well. The physical and economic interdependence of home and farm in subsistence farming precluded the establishment of rigid boundaries between the spheres of men and women seen in urban settings (McMurry 1988:57). In addition, women’s role in farm production (particularly with regard to agricultural products for market sale) was economically significant (McMurry 1988:61). The contribution of farm women to the domestic economy created complementary gender relations and resulted in their relatively high status vis-à-vis men (Rotman 1995:78, 2005, 2009; Rotman and Nassaney 1997).

Over the course of the nineteenth century, however, farm production became progressively more specialized. Tasks formerly completed by women, such as butter and cheese making, were appropriated by men as these activities became more significant to farm revenues (McMurry 1988:61). In addition, as standards of housekeeping rose, women directed their energies away from non-mechanized farm work and toward fulfilling new ideals of domesticity. During the latter half of the nineteenth century, the separation between work and family on specialized farms grew even more pronounced (McMurry 1988:6).

Families in rural and urban settings had different productive needs. Gender roles and relations within these households were defined accordingly, resulting in a multiplicity of material, spatial, and demographic expressions.

The Cult of Domesticity: The cult of domesticity has been the most widely studied of nineteenth-century gender ideologies (i.e., Beetham 1996; Hayden 1995:54-63; Ryan 1985; Sklar 1973). Although domestic ideals were in circulation as early as the 1820s, the publication of *The Treatise on Domestic Economy* by Catharine Beecher in 1841 defined and embellished the art of domestic virtue (Giele 1995:36; Sklar 1973:136; see also Cott 1977). The ideals of “true womanhood” elaborated women’s position within the private sphere and celebrated qualities such as piety, purity, submissiveness, and domesticity (Giele 1995:36). This ideology segregated male and female responsibilities and assigned women “traditional roles in the home, education, and community service” (Russell 1981:3). The widespread acceptance of this ideal was due in part to the belief that there was a biological basis for a separation (Lavender 1999:3). This social order was so powerful and so pervasive that historians have referred to it as a “cult” (Matthews 1987:6).

This ideology glorified women’s potential and aimed to elevate their status by encouraging the development of their moral, intellectual, and patriotic qualities. Proponents of this position, such as Catherine Beecher, were referred to as domestic feminists. They “sought to build a sphere of female hegemony by encouraging gender-based roles and responsibilities” (Russell 1981:3). Women were expected to be devoutly religious, sexually pure, conservative in dress, and successful in creating a household that served as a peaceful refuge from the hostile world.

The religious and moral instruction of children was an especially important aspect of true womanhood, so much so that it was referred to as “evangelical motherhood” (Coontz 1988:180). These

women were also vocal about temperance and active in a variety of benevolent and missionary societies and other charities (e.g., Cott 1977; Giele 1995; Sklar 1973).

The cult of domesticity has been much maligned and often misunderstood. For example, the separation of male and female spheres has been attributed to industrialization. However, in pre-industrial America, men and women worked in close physical proximity to one another, but performed highly differentiated tasks. Men tended the orchards, but women preserved the fruit; men chopped the firewood, but women tended the fire (Matthews 1987:4; see also Stewart-Abernathy 1992). Wall (1994:11, 162-163) observed that the divergence of male and female spheres began *before* marketplace activities were removed from the home. Clearly, gender separation did not begin with the cult of domesticity.

Contemporaneous advocates for equal rights feminism argued that true womanhood resulted in decreased power and status for women. They asserted that the emphasis upon women's domestic roles restricted or excluded them from their rightful place in the public sphere, keeping them out of higher education, the professions, courts of law and legislatures, and the voting booth (Giele 1995:47). Susan B. Anthony believed that the problems of domesticity began with marriage:

Marriage has ever and always will be a one-sided matter, resting most unequally upon the sexes. By marrying, man gains all – woman loses all; tyrant law and lust remain supreme with him – meek submission, and cheerful, ready obedience, alone befit her. Woman has never been consulted . . . By law, public sentiment and religion, from the time of Moses down to the present day, woman has never been thought of other than a piece of property, to be disposed of at the will and pleasure of man (Ward and Burns 1999:92).

However, domesticity in its ideal form was intended to raise the status of women in society by elaborating and valuing the domestic sphere and women's roles within it (Matthews 1987:6). The home became the center of culture and each mother in her home became the locus of moral authority. Although women were relegated to a separate domestic sphere, it was a sphere that was at least envisioned to be central to the larger cultural context (Matthews 1987:xiii).

Domesticity has also been misunderstood as a bourgeois rationalization for the capitalist separation of work and home. However, the cult of true womanhood, as argued by Coontz (1988:193), was actually a strategy for *resisting* too complete a separation of these two dimensions of life. The historical development of this ideology was complex and one in which middle-class women played a central role.

The entanglement of gender and class in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is a complex phenomenon. Many authors have taken on this subject (i.e., Adams 1990; Agnew 1995; Hautaniemi 1994, 1999; Hautaniemi and Paynter 1999; Matthews 1987; McMurry 1988; Rotman 2005, 2009; Wall 1994). The late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries represented a dynamic time, marked by fluctuating geographical mobility, urbanization, and industrialization. Productive relations were restructured and strategies for social and personal reproduction were questioned. The primary mechanism of upper-class domination had resided in social and political institutions rather than economic ones (Coontz 1988:174). Consequently, as the basis of the economic system became industrial rather than agricultural, "the old ruling class, based on landed and mercantile wealth and exercising power through personal, political, and social ties was challenged by rising sections of a new middle class, whose power was based on the ability to increase productivity and compete in a modern market" (Coontz 1988:169).

An increased dependence upon wage labor transformed work relations and was accompanied by changes in homes and families. Some women's labor became increasingly peripheral to the family economy. At the same time, patriarchal authority was weakened as fathers became unable to pass on viable farms and their children sought economic opportunities elsewhere. The previously clear control and structure of the family began to unravel and gender became the primary means of redefining and reestablishing order (Coontz 1988:189).

Middle-class women were active historical agents in this process. Although they were increasingly excluded from political and economic transactions, new opportunities for education and wage work for young women and new responsibilities in child-rearing raised women's aspirations. "Female leadership in religion and reform [was] an active attempt to claim a distinctive space in American society. Women sought

power and influence in religious associations, new family ideologies, and a rearranged domestic order that gave them control over reproduction and moral ascendancy over men” (Coontz 1988:186).

The middle class played an important role in the restructuring and separation of public and private life. Wage labor created a distinction between a class that owned the means of production (the business class) and a class that increasingly had nothing to sell but its own labor power (the working class) (Coontz 1988:187). The middle class – consisting of professionals, small farmers or businessmen, managers, writers, ministers, and, in the nineteenth century, clerks – was constantly shaped by the dynamics of capitalist competition and the changing relations between the business and working classes. The middle class had an identity that was distinct from the working class below – since they had been relatively successful in avoiding the worst insecurities and indignities of wage labor – as well as from the capitalists above – since they did not own the means of production (Coontz 1988:188). The middle class came into crisis during the economic transition and needed organizational and ideological strategies to survive. Women, in particular, had “a vital role in the elaboration and organization of middle-class values and behavior patterns. . . . [T]hey were specially situated to perceive problems of reproducing class position in a changing society and to develop family strategies that responded to those problems” (Coontz 1988:190).

The nuclear family was the basis of the social order in America and the ideal community was a collection of separate families. As interpersonal indicators of social position lost their effectiveness, “family patterns and values, especially the sexual division of labor, took on special importance as indicators and determinants of class” (Coontz 1988:193).

Family size became one such marker of status. Sexual purity and self-control were central to the cult of domesticity. Women were expected to be passionless and husbands were counseled to curb their sexual appetites (Matthews 1987:28). These new behaviors resulted in smaller families. Having few children demonstrated one’s self-control and became a status marker, while having many children illustrated the lack of self-control and resulted in lowered status.

With smaller families, women (theoretically) had more time to invest in the religious and moral instruction of each child, the maintenance of a proper home, maternal and benevolent societies, and other activities deemed necessary for “true women.” Advocating lower fertility also had consequences for children, who became sentimentalized at the same time they tied mothers to the home (Schneider and Schneider 1996:194).

True womanhood, as part of a larger milieu of cultural change, found expression in multiple ways. Domestic spaces were reorganized, material objects were used as meaningful symbols in social rituals, the composition of the population was altered, and behaviors were transformed. All of these occurrences were potentially visible in the historical and archaeological records.

Residential architecture, among other landscape features, “reflects ideals and realities about relationships between men and women within the family and society” (Spain 1992:7; see also Moore 1996). The spatial organization of the home also expresses attitudes about how the activities of daily life should be ordered (e.g., Barber 1994; Bourdieu 1973; Glassie 1975; Johnson 1993). Dwellings are designed to accommodate occupants and reflect the size and economic status of the social groups that reside there. Domestic space was an especially important arena in which the changing ideals of gender and family manifested themselves.

Both the exterior appearance and interior arrangement of homes were transformed. Clark (1988:536) notes that the “Classical Revival homes, long associated with the virtuous republicanism of the American Revolution, were replaced by picturesque gothic revival cottages and Italianate villas.” The stylish chimneys, high gabled roofs with deep eaves, and delicate ornamentation of the new domestic architecture were designed “to evoke feelings of a welcoming home and reinforce the religious ties of a Christian home” (Wright 1981:83). This architectural style was believed to be ideally suited for the moral education of children, an important dimension of the cult of domesticity.

The historian John Higham (1969) saw this movement as a reaction against the hectic economic growth and rapid mobility that were fueled by the general expansion of cities, westward movement, and the growth of industrialization. The home became “an island of stability in an increasingly restless society” (Clark 1988:538). Although romantic architecture had been built in America as early as the turn of the nineteenth century, this style did not receive widespread attention until the 1840s. The proliferation of this

ideal was facilitated by Louis Antoine Godey (*Godey's Ladies Magazine*, 1846-1898); Andrew Jackson Downing (*Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening . . . With Remarks on Rural Architecture*, 1841 and *Cottage Residences; or, A Series of Designs for Rural Cottages and Cottage Villas*, 1842); and Henry Hudson Holly (*Modern Dwellings in Town and Country: Adapted to American Wants and Climate with a Treatise on Furniture and Decoration*, 1878). These domestic reformers published hundreds of house patterns that exemplified the ideals of the proper home and family. The agricultural presses of the time – *American Agriculturist* (New York), *Prairie Farmer* (Chicago), *Rural Affairs* (Albany), and *New England Farmer* (Boston), just to name a few – published plans specifically for farmhouses. These works “codified the aesthetic theory of the new movement and provided examples of the different kinds of revival houses that could be built” (Clark 1988:536).

Gender ideologies such as the cult of domesticity found expression in new housing forms as well. Residential architecture in the Gothic Revival style increased in popularity as women became separated from the mode of production and glorified in their roles as the moral guardians of children (Vlach 1995:142). This architectural form, previously associated mainly with churches, possessed “natural” (that is, asymmetrical) floor plans. The symbolic associations of the architectural style with nature and religion became inextricably linked with the natural and religious ideals of the cult of domesticity (Sklar 1973:173).

Home interiors also underwent a transformation. The economic and productive needs of rural farm families, however, differed from those of wage laborers in nucleated settlements. Consequently, some aspects of the cult of domesticity were given primacy over others depending on the setting. Farmhouse plans – some of which had been designed by women – often put a premium on efficiency for the sake of greater productivity, with children’s nurseries placed close to the kitchen, and special rooms designated rooms for farm “helps.” This contrasted with the urban ideal in which the “home as an asylum” was emphasized. Children’s spaces were prominent, kitchens were isolated or hidden, and home and work were sharply differentiated (Adams 1990:96; McMurry 1988:5).

Domestic space was central to the reorganization and redefinition of the family and gender roles within it. Equally important were the material objects and rituals performed within domestic spaces. Ceramic tablewares, food choices, and home furnishings, were implicated in reproducing the ideals of the cult of domesticity. Even the clothing women wore was an important symbolic expression of their true womanhood.

Wall (1991, 1994) examined ceramic assemblages from middle class households in New York City to understand how these objects were used to construct domestic worlds in the mid-nineteenth century. Her analysis focused upon decorative patterns, types of ware, and the number and kinds of specialized serving pieces. These vessels, she noted “were used in two different domestic arenas: tea, where non-family members were entertained, and family meals, where participation was usually limited to family members” (Wall 1991:75). Wall concluded that women at the poorer and wealthier ends of the middle-class spectrum used ceramic tablewares (large plates and twifflers) and teawares (cups and saucers) differently.

The Romantic-Gothic style of domestic architecture had its counterpoints in the material culture of these everyday rituals. Approximately half of the tablewares from each household were of a pattern known as Gothic in the ceramic literature white granite ironstone with paneled rims. Gothic style dishes and furnishings correlated with the sanctity and community of Gothic churches and contrasted with the competitive capitalist marketplace (Wall 1991:79). These vessels were used within the ritual of family meals and enhanced the sacred aspect of women’s domestic roles.

The assemblages from these households differed rather dramatically with regard to teawares. Whereas poorer families continued to use the Gothic, paneled dishes for serving tea, wealthier families used decorative wares, such as gilded and pedestaled porcelain. The differences in ceramics indicated a difference in the purpose of afternoon tea. For wealthy families, this ritual exhibited family status and the dishes used were part of a competitive display by the mistress of the house “designed to impress her friends and acquaintances with the refined gentility of her family” (Wall 1991:79). However, for poorer families, only those equated with family and community would be invited for tea. Thus, competition in this arena was unnecessary. Gothic teawares “may have served to elicit the almost sacred values of community and mutual help – values which could be very useful for those at the lower end of the middle-class spectrum – among the women who were gathering together for tea” (Wall 1991:79). Ceramic teawares and tablewares were

differentially used in mid-nineteenth century New York City to create the domestic worlds of middle class families.

Wall (1994:125) observed that, over the course of the nineteenth century in New York City, the social context and meaning of family meals changed. Breakfast and family supper continued to be somewhat informal meals. Lunch became the midday meal in homes where men were absent during the day. Dinner became a ritualized meal and the occasion for a daily family reunion, the focal point of the woman's sphere. The structure of dinner was particularly interesting since both the foods served and the table settings became highly ordered, specialized, and elaborated. Tea continued to be a social gathering for both sexes and for the display of household status. However, by mid-century, this meal became an afternoon social event by and for women only. Meals were symbolic social rituals and the decorative patterns, the type of ware, and the number and kind of specialized serving pieces were all utilized to develop a woman's sphere, to reproduce gender relations, and to define the position of families within the larger social order.

Family meals were transformed in rural settings as well. Multi-course menus appeared in farm journals, but they represented an elevated standard of eating rather than a ritualization of dining. Farm women began to serve their families cookies, puddings, oysters, neck of veal, and curried rabbit (McMurry 1988:97). These dietary changes indicated that farm women were now performing domestic services rather than economically productive tasks. The role of ceramic tablewares in the reproduction of gender relations in rural settings remains unstudied and poorly understood.

Beginning at about the mid-nineteenth century until approximately World War I, a trend toward increased elaboration in mortuary displays, as one example, was emerging. Randy McGuire (1988) discussed this transformation within the mortuary contexts of Broome County, New York. After the mid-century, however, grave markers became increasingly varied and highly decorated. Elaborately ornamented family obelisks and mausoleums replaced simple rectangular marble grave markers. Sears (1989:115) asserts that these material displays within rural cemeteries "intensified and reflected back the emerging fashion-conscious, status-oriented, property-owning culture of the time." Elaboration of the material world also manifested itself in the garish ornamentation of Queen Anne architectural styles and other forms of conspicuous consumption (Howard 1989). Sears (1989:99) observed these material trends in virtually all cities and villages in the eastern United States during this period.

Therefore, although Wall did not analyze ceramic assemblages that post-dated the 1870s, it was expected that the trend toward an increased elaboration seen elsewhere in the material world – grave markers and architecture – would have a parallel expression in ceramic vessels, tablewares, and teawares. Of the 12 tableware sets illustrated in the 1897 Sears catalog, all but one has some form of floral decoration (Israel 1968). The wells (the interior portions of the plates and other dishes), however, were sometimes undecorated and elaborate floral decorations – mostly decals and transfer prints – were confined to the marley of the vessel.

Fitts (1999) extended the analysis of middle class domesticity by focusing specifically on the presence and number of tableware and teaware sets. Fundamental aspects of middle-class culture included a single-family home and limiting family size as well as the mastery of dining etiquette. A person's table manners were viewed as a direct reflection of his or her morality. Meals were an important aspect of childhood training and regarded as "three opportunities a day for teaching 'punctuality, order, neatness, temperance, self-denial, kindness, generosity, and hospitality'" (Mathews 1987:25; see also Fitts 1999). Furthermore, the matching sets of dishes used in these daily rituals "affirmed their [the middle class] faith in the power of science and rational thought to transform the world through the products of an industrial society" (Williams 1985:90; see also Fitts 1999). A variety of specialized vessel forms was also a hallmark of genteel dining etiquette (e.g., Shackel 1993). As with table manners, the presence or absence of proper table and tea wares were also viewed as an expression of one's morality, which again was inextricably linked with class position.

Also by about mid-century, women were using household furnishings with floral and naturalistic motifs in their efforts to create a home environment as a sanctuary that would instill Christian values in their children and provide refuge for their husbands from the outside world (Fitts 1999:47, 49). Children were given their own special tablewares for family meals (often with pictures or the alphabet on them) as well as play tea sets, both of which were intended to instill genteel dining behaviors in their users. Therefore, other

material classes – in addition to Gothic style ceramics – can be viewed as indicators of gentility operating within a household. Flower pots, miniature ceramic tea sets, and specialized dining vessels for children express the middle-class Victorian ideals that guided daily life for site occupants.

Fitts (1999) also includes ethnicity as an aspect of his analyses of tablewares and teawares. He asserts “that in the mid-19th century, gentility was not the sole criteria for membership in [the Victorian middle] class; occupation, religion, ethnicity, and race were also important criteria. At this time, the white-collar middle class was dominated by native-born white Protestants who strongly associated gentility with Protestant Christianity” (Fitts 1999:41). Consequently, non-Protestants as well as other ethnic groups were often excluded, although each of these groups also had their own middling class.

Other significant objects within the home included furnishings. For urban families, where the separation of work and home was most dramatic, the home was defined as feminine and decorated accordingly. Lavender (1999:3) observes that “the nineteenth-century household was cluttered with beautiful, ornate objects – elaborate patterns in cloth covering walls, ornate furniture, pianos, paintings, and brick-abrack. Colors were muted – dark and velvety – all to surround, darken, and deepen the quiet of the home, and to accentuate the softness, submissiveness, and leisure of the woman within it, the angel of the house.” Home furnishings for farm families have received little attention in the scholarly literature and much remains to be learned.

Piety, purity, submissiveness, and domesticity – the hallmarks of true womanhood – were also expressed through other material objects and activities (Giele 1995:36; Welter 1976:21-41). Restrictive clothing included tight corsets, large numbers of undergarments, and weighty over dresses all assured submissiveness and passivity by limiting a woman’s physical mobility (Ward and Burns 1999:70-71).

Morally uplifting tasks included needlework and crafts which “kept women in the home, busy about her tasks of wifely duties and childcare, keeping the home a cheerful, peaceful place which would attract men away from the evils of the outside world” (Lavender 1999:3). The religious education and moral instruction of children were other key activities of true women.

The transformation of ideas regarding social relations during the nineteenth century had spatial and material expressions. In addition, the gender ideology codified by the cult of domesticity was accompanied by an important demographic transformation. A critical examination of birth rates, while currently underutilized by historical archaeologists, can inform our understanding of gender ideologies that advocate reduced family size. Multiple forces appear to have shaped fertility behavior.

During the nineteenth century, the demography of populations was changing rapidly. For example, life expectancy improved from approximately 35 years of age at the time of the American Revolution to over 50 years for individuals born in the 1880s (Giele 1995:36). People were less geographically mobile, with proportionately more individuals living in or adjacent to their state of birth in the 1880s than in the 1850s (Coontz 1988:261-262). Similarly, the birth rate between 1800 and 1860 dropped from 278 to 184 per thousand women of childbearing age (Giele 1995:36) and continued to decline by an additional 40 percent between 1855 and 1915 (Coontz 1988:260).

Wall (1994:89-93) highlighted some of the factors that may have contributed to the decline in fertility. Industrialization and urbanization have often been cited as the origins of this trend. However, this assessment is not entirely accurate since birthrates began to decline decades before these processes really accelerated during the late nineteenth century. In rural areas, the paucity of agricultural land meant fathers could not assist their sons with establishing their own farms. In cities, the loci of production were removed from the home during the growth of industrial capitalism and men could no longer pass on a family business to their children. Regardless of the context, parents began having fewer children.

Other scholars have also explored the relationship between fertility and ideals of domesticity. Matthews (1989:28) noted that family size became a status marker before mid-century in America. Sexual purity and self-control were central tenets of domesticity and women who bore many children were viewed as lacking these qualities. Furthermore, having fewer children meant (ideally) that women were more devoted to each individual child, particularly with regard to their religious and moral instruction, which resulted in highly sentimentalized views of children (Beetham 1996:56; Child 1831, 1833; Cott 1977:47; Lasch 1997:132-133; see also Schneider and Schneider 1996:194 for a cross-cultural example).

In addition to declining birth rates, other demographic changes occurred during the nineteenth century. There was an increase in the length of time that young people stayed at home. Young single women entered the paid labor force in increasing numbers, while there was a decrease in wives who did so (Coontz 1988:175). Families were also becoming less geographically mobile; native-born heads of households who resided in states not adjacent to their state of birth decreased from 47 percent in 1850 to 35 percent in 1880 (Coontz 1988:261-262).

In the Eastern United States, the onset of industrialization and the decline of agriculture as an economically viable pursuit also contributed to the changing population structure. With the decreasing importance of farming, men moved away from rural areas to seek jobs in the surrounding towns and cities; yet the economic opportunities for women who stayed at home remained virtually the same (Paynter 1990:5-6). Consequently, some rural areas became increasingly female, including places like Deerfield, Massachusetts (Miller and Lanning 1994:436). An awareness of the factors affecting population changes is essential for understanding the social, political, and economic milieu for gender relations in the nineteenth century.

Nearly a century after the cult of domesticity was first codified, another similar gender ideology – the feminine mystique – emerged on the cultural landscape. Since equal rights feminism and domestic reform structured gender relations in the nineteenth century and feminine mystique did not develop until the twentieth century, these gender ideologies were presented chronologically below.

Equal Rights Feminism: There was a second gender ideology that was prominent during the nineteenth century. By 1850, equal rights feminism had emerged out of, and was a reaction to, domesticity (Giele 1995:47). Nineteenth-century feminists saw “true womanhood” as oppressive and were concerned about women’s dependence upon men for their economic and physical livelihood.

Dissatisfied with women’s roles that they believed were too narrowly defined, these women sought equality with men within as well as outside of the home. The leadership of this group – women such as Isabella Beecher Hooker, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Susan B. Anthony – sought to free American women from the cult of true womanhood, the suffocating customs and oppressive laws that they believed kept women powerless and confined to home and family.

The true woman, explained Anthony, will not be exponent of another, or allow another to be such for her. She will be her own individual self . . . Stand or fall by her own individual wisdom and strength . . . She will proclaim the ‘glad tidings of good news’ to all women, that woman equally with man was made for her own individual happiness, to develop . . . every talent given to her by God, in the great work of life” (Ward and Burns 1999:76).

Political activism was one of the hallmarks of equal rights feminism. These women “were interested in establishing rights and equality through property reform, control of earnings, educational and work opportunities, labor regulations, guardianship rights over their children, and equal legal status” (Russell 1981:8). They worked passionately on a variety of political issues, both those that benefited themselves directly (i.e., suffrage), but other causes as well (i.e., abolitionism). Indeed, origins of the movement can be traced to the World Anti-Slavery Convention in London in 1840. It was there that Elizabeth Cady Stanton – through her conversations with Lucreita Mott, a well-known abolitionist, and other convention delegates – began to see parallels between the status of women and that of slaves (Ward and Burns 1999:30).

The spatial, material, and demographic expressions of equal rights feminism remain poorly understood. Historians and other researchers have given much less scholarly attention to this arena than they have to expressions of domesticity, with a few notable exceptions (e.g., DuBois 1978; Flexner 1968; Giele 1995; Gurko 1974; Marilley 1996; Ward and Burns 1999) and anthropologists have not yet undertaken its exploration to any substantial depth. The challenge in identifying manifestations of equal rights feminism may lie in its inherent nature. Whereas the cult of domesticity was localized in the homes of thousands of anonymous families, equal rights feminism appeared on a national scale in the very public life stories of a small number of advocates, such as the Grimke sister, Ernestine Rose, Fanny Wright, and Lucy Stone (Giele 1995:47).

Since few expressions of equal rights feminism are known, it becomes necessary to speculate about its material implications (Marla Miller, pers. comm. 2001). It would be reasonable to expect that since many aspects of the cult of domesticity and equal rights feminism were in opposition to one another, so too were their spatial, material, and demographic manifestations. Only a few concrete examples, however, are discussed in the extant literature.

It is known that domestic feminists advocated restrictive clothing such as corsets, multiple undergarments, and weighty over-dresses. In contrast, the equal rights feminists of the 1850s promoted an alternative ideal of “dressing sensibly” in clothing that eschewed restriction and weight and was comfortable as well as practical (Giele 1995:53).

Similarly, it is documented that domestic feminists used Gothic-style ironstone at family meals as an expression of their sacred roles as moral guardian of family members (Wall 1994:160). It might be expected that women who rejected a narrowly defined domestic role for women also rejected the material objects – namely Gothic-style tablewares – that embodied this ideology and were used in its reproduction. This might also be true for Gothic Revival-style architecture. It is also likely that women who were critical of women’s service to men might have avoided the practice of having domestic servants in their homes.

Little is known about the fertility of gender ideologies other than the cult of domesticity. However, one critique of equal rights feminism, for example, is that these advocates focused upon improving women’s status in the political arena and failed to address the deeply gendered and unequal division of labor within the family. As a result, women’s suffrage became a substitute for issues feminists were unwilling to address, such as the structure of marriage and sexual practices (see Giele 1995:173, 183).

The materiality and spatiality of equal rights feminism have been rather elusive. This may again be attributed to the fact that, unlike the cult of domesticity that was localized in individual homes, equal rights feminism was a national phenomenon. Similar difficulties were encountered in attempting to identify the material and spatial expressions of domestic reform.

Domestic Reform: Although the cult of domesticity and equal rights feminism were discrete entities in their ideal forms, the distinctions were blurred in actual practice. Domestic reform movements illustrate how nineteenth-century gender ideologies did not fit neatly into clearly defined categories.

Like equal rights feminism and unlike the cult of domesticity, domestic reform was not localized in individual households. Rather, this gender ideology was a neighborhood phenomenon and, consequently, its materiality and spatiality have often been understood in opposition to domesticity.

As previously indicated, many housing reformers advocated new architectural forms to codify the social ideals of the time. Gothic Revival architecture, for example, epitomized the cult of domesticity and the home as moral haven. However, not all domestic reformers were satisfied with architectural plans and arrangements that symbolized woman’s honor and encouraged their domesticity. Some, particularly “Yankee women with an interest in some form of communitarian socialism, women of strong will and intelligence, . . . hoped to transform all American cities and towns by material strategies designed to promote women’s economic power” (Hayden 1995:63). Melusina Fay Pierce, for example, published plans for cooperative homes and kitchenless apartments.

Pierce’s ideas were not popular with either domestic or equal rights feminists. The former “found her emphasis on women’s economic power distasteful, while [the latter] were frustrated by her insistence that women deal first with the issues raised in their domestic lives” (Hayden 1995:89). Pierce’s visions for domestic architecture clearly illustrated that neither true womanhood nor equal rights feminism were universally accepted. Alternative perspectives which incorporated aspects of both positions were available, although perhaps held by a minority of the population.

Other domestic reformers sought to expand women’s roles into “domestic” areas of the public sphere by professionalizing housework occupations both in the home and in the public sphere (Spencer-Wood 1991:275). Where they were active and successful, these groups and individuals redefined the domestic arena so that increasingly it overlapped with public ones. They created working-class neighborhood housework cooperatives, day nurseries, kitchen gardens, and kindergartens. These domestic reformers “argued that just as women’s natural abilities uniquely suited them for taking care of the family and home, so they also

made women best suited for taking care of the wider family of the community, and its homes” (Spencer-Wood 1991:234; see also Clinton 1984; Strasser 1982).

In *The Grand Domestic Revolution: A History of Feminist Designs for American Homes, Neighborhoods, and Cities*, Dolores Hayden (1995:5) asserted that these movements “held the intellectual ground between the other feminists’ campaigns directed at housewives’ autonomy in domestic life or at women’s autonomy in the urban community.” Material feminists, as Hayden called them, fell between the work of Marxist socialism and feminism. Whereas “the Marxists lost sight of the necessary labor of one half of the population [that of women]; the feminists lost sight of class structure under capitalism and addressed most of their demands to the state” (Hayden 1995:7). Material feminism sought to address the issues of class and gender as well as production and reproduction and, consequently, included such diverse movements as utopian socialist communities (e.g., the Shakers) and cooperative housekeeping efforts. Hayden’s work is particularly important in that it acknowledges that artificial categorization of these movements masks their inherent similarities:

The overarching theme of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century feminist movement was to overcome the split between domestic life and public life created by industrial capitalism, as it affected women. Every feminist campaign for women’s autonomy must be seen in this light. Yet scholars have tended to divide this coherent struggle into separate factions. Typological labels such as suffragist, social feminist, and domestic feminist distinguish too sharply between women who worked on public, or social, issues from those who worked on private, or family, issues. Most feminists wished to increase women’s rights in the home and simultaneously bring homelike nurturing into public life (Hayden 1995:4-5).

This broad definition allows for a range of movements and gender ideologies all aimed at improving women’s status. It highlights the complexities of gender roles and relations as they were operationalized in different times and places as they intersected with the social relations of class and ethnicity (Hayden 1995:21).

The practices of domestic reformers fell somewhere between the cult of domesticity and equal rights feminism in their purest forms. Furthermore, they illustrate that there was a multiplicity of gender ideologies operating in American society during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Feminine Mystique: Another gender ideology emerged in the early twentieth century and was known as the feminine mystique. Betty Friedan (1963) attributed it to social and cultural changes of the 1940s and 1950s; however, Ruth Schwartz Cowan (1973) suggested that it actually emerged decades earlier in the 1920s.

According to Cowan (1973), the feminine mystique replaced the ideology of domesticity. Although unique from domesticity, the mystique shared some common attributes with the ideals of true womanhood:

The mystique makers of the 1920s and 1930s believed that women were purely domestic creatures, that the goal of each normal woman’s life was the acquisition of a husband, a family and a home, that women who worked outside their homes did so only under duress or because they were “odd” (for which read “ugly,” “frustrated,” “compulsive,” or “single”) and that this state of affairs was sanctioned by the tenets of religion, biology, psychology, and patriotism (Cowan 1973:148).

The matron of the house now did everything without the assistance of servants. Technological revolutions of the time, such as electricity, fueled a change in household labor with a variety of “labor-saving devices” (Cowan 1982). Laundering, preparation of meals, and cleaning were all redefined not only by the tools with which women could complete these tasks, but were also given new social meaning. Diapering the baby, for example, was no longer just diapering, but a time to build the baby’s sense of security; cleaning the bathroom sink was not just cleaning, but an exercise for the maternal instincts, protecting the family from disease” (Cowan 1982:151). The new housewife under the feminine mystique became a significant consumer

of manufactured goods. These included household appliances, cleaning supplies, new items for interior decorating, and prepackaged foods.

The material and spatial correlates of the feminine mystique are very poorly understood. Indeed, no previous archaeological studies of this gender ideology could be located for comparison with this research project. However, it appeared that the family in this study was outside of this emerging gender ideal since they were working rather than middle class.

Expressions of class status, however, were inextricably linked to notions of ethnic identities as well as the ideologies that shaped gender roles (Brodkin-Sacks 1989). The role of domestic servants in middle class households at the turn of the twentieth century is a particularly interesting aspect of social relations at the intersection of class and gender.

Social Relations of Ethnicity

Historical archaeology attempts to understand the materiality of group identity. The first step toward interpreting ethnic variation from the material record is to assess what constitutes ethnicity. Fredrick Barth (1969:10-11) defined an ethnic group as a population that, “is largely biologically self-perpetuating; shares fundamental cultural values, realized in overt unity in cultural forms; makes up a field of communication and interaction; and has a membership which identifies itself, and is identified by others.” Barth also wrote, “practically all anthropological reasoning rests on the premise that cultural variation is discontinuous; that there are aggregates of people who essentially share a common culture, and interconnected differences that distinguish each such discrete culture from all others, and that there are discrete groups of people, such as ethnic groups, to correspond to each culture” (Barth 1969:9). Thus, each ethnic group will have its own structure of organization and ideology.

These different ideologies will manifest themselves in many different material traits, such as artifact functions, styles, spatial relations, architecture, and symbols. James Deetz (1988:221) defined ideology as the “way people perceived their world and their place within it and how that place can be secured by shaping it physically to provide comfortable accommodation.” That is, members in a particular ethnic group will identify each other and others will identify them via dress, language, styles, action, food ways, biological characteristics, and other traits.

Although variations among members as to the number of identifiers displayed exist, the members will maintain their overlying belief system of ideology because they wish to remain as members of the group. In other words, material forms express ethnic identity. If these material forms are preserved in the archaeological record, then ethnic variation will be discernable. Researchers have attempted to examine ethnicity through analyses of specific material classes – including, for example, faunal remains and food ways (Cheek and Frielander 1990; Stewart-Abernathy and Ruff 1989), ceramics (Day 1996; Ferguson 1992), and firearms (Hunt 1993). Features on the landscape – such as pit cellars (Kimmel 1993; Young 1997) and domed rock ovens (Wegars 1991) – have also been investigated for possible ethnic correlates.

The archaeological record, however, is often difficult to interpret. The following three points should be kept in mind when attempting to interpret ethnicity from the material data. First, ethnicity coexists with other social identifications such as class, occupation, and gender and these boundaries may crosscut or override ethnicity. Second, materials typically associated with an ethnic group may change or be replaced and yet the group identity is still maintained (Spicer 1975:41). Third, attempts to associate fixed ethnic identifiers with a particular ethnic group can obscure ethnic change and emergence.

The effects of industrialization and homogenization can blur ethnic identity in the material record. Items once produced by traditional methods and techniques become replaced by factory made items. Different ethnic groups begin to buy and use the same materials. In addition, new ideologies of wage labor and cash economy begin to replace the older ideologies.

Industrialization compelled many ethnic groups to become quickly assimilated, acculturated, and/or accommodated by the capitalistic culture of their employers. Employees were persuaded and often forced by availability and economics to wear the same clothes, eat the same food, buy the same housewares, and speak the same language (Leone and Silberman 1995; Skibo et al. 1995; Takaki 1993). Ethnic groups cast off many of their ethnic identities in an attempt not to be singled out and exploited as a minority group.

Resistance to the homogenizing effort also existed; ethnic-based exploitation led to ethnic-based revolts, secret organizations, and labor unions. Many ethnic groups and individuals may not have exhibited their ethnicity publicly for these reasons, but they may have exhibited it in the privacy of their own homes and religious centers. It is important to keep in mind that a reduction or change in the material identifiers of an ethnic group does not necessarily correlate in any way with a breakdown in ethnic identity. Attempts to establish fixed ethnic identifiers or to place too much weight upon them during interpretation can obscure the processes of social, political, economic or cultural change within a group. Ethnic groups are fluid and change over time. Their ethnic identifiers may also change with them, but this does not mean that the group has become less cohesive.

The Irish Diaspora in America

The scholarly literature for understanding nineteenth and twentieth century urban America is well developed. There are numerous models to utilize for interpreting social relations, landscape changes over time, and the like. Archaeological and historical investigations specifically of the Irish Diaspora in America are more elusive. The most visible examples come from analyses conducted in the Five Points Neighborhood in New York City.

Five Points was a multi-racial, multi-ethnic nineteenth-century district in New York in very close proximity to the “Negro Burial Ground” that became the African Burial Ground Project. Five Points was home to a large population of African-American families and newly arrived immigrants, including Germans and Irish who worked in the city’s garment industries. It has often been characterized as a “slum” and working class neighborhood (Yamin 2001). The results of excavation at several houselots from this area provided valuable insights into the material correlates of the Irish immigrant experience in America.

Irish immigrants in Five Points, along with Germans, Jews, and Italians often found employment in the garment manufacturing or needletrades (LaRoche and McGowan 2001:69). A steady trickle of Irish and others into the city provided a source of labor that was both cheap and plentiful for the rapidly expanding ready-to-wear industry of the 1840s and 1850s. The textile fragments recovered from Irish households included a mix of homemade and commercially-made garments. Although these immigrants saw their employment in the needletrades as a means out of poverty, in reality, the low wages were barely enough to sustain a family.

In addition, more than half of the women living on Block 160 in Five Points were widows or unmarried (Griggs 2001:83). This unique demography was attributed to high mortality rates of men, late marriage rates for women, and the high proportion of Irish women to men which made finding an Irish husband in New York particularly challenging. These women often participated in “rag picking” – that is, scavenging cloth scraps from the garment industry and other commercial venues to make rugs for sale to supplement the household income.

Interestingly, rag picking also provided an avenue for emulating gentility and middle class values. By the late nineteenth century, rugs had become “a symbolic representation, an icon, of the high American standard of living” (Stott 1990:173). To not have a rug was to be poor indeed (LaRoche and McGowan 2001:71-72). With the money Irish families saved by reusing commercial items prior to their disposal and with their earnings from rug making, many households purchased fancy tea and tablewares.

Brighton (2001) analyzed the ceramic assemblages from adjacent households. Importantly, he observed that ceramic tea and tablewares were used to “communicate Irish cultural traditions and middle-class Victorian values” (Brighton 2001:21). Protestant missionaries in the city strongly encouraged newly arrived Irish immigrants to assimilate into American culture and emulate the behaviors of Victoriana. Consequently, the material assemblages associated with their households often contained matched sets and iconographic Gothic paneled ironstone. Interestingly, however, their use of these fancy ceramics did indeed create the outward appearance of gentility, but were not necessarily assigned the same symbolic meanings given by other middle-class families. Rather, these Irish immigrants “adopted elements of Victorianism and fused them with their own concepts of morality.” Some of the ceramics were clearly designed for children and would have been important instruments in training boys and girls for their culturally prescribed roles in society.

In addition, the cultural rituals of which ceramic tea and tablewares were a part were also transformed for Irish families. Outwardly, tea drinking was a very Victorian middle-class activity, yet it inwardly served to reinforce the cultural tradition of the *ceili* – a nighttime gathering of neighbors for the sharing of food and stories. In this way, immigrant families utilized distinctly American material culture and behaviors to engage in authentically Irish practices.

It is interesting to note too that, despite the poverty in which many families in the Five Points neighborhood lived, CC indices for ceramic assemblages associated with Irish immigrants were comparable to the lower end of the middle class spectrum. Brighton (2001:18) attributed this relatively high index value to the easy access of consumer goods in metropolitan New York.

Brighton also examined figurines and bric-a-brac as social symbols of gentility. He observed that certain knick-knacks, such as those depicting temperance, were displayed in some Irish-American homes (Brighton 2001:25). Such objects would have depicted Victorian values of hard work, diligence and perseverance. Equally important, these display items would have been important ways for Catholics to illustrate that they – like their Protestant counterparts – also knew that these values were a path to salvation.

Other artifacts recovered that were of significance and interest included clay flower pots. “Beautifying” one’s home and creating a “natural” environment was also an important tenant of Victorian ideals. These objects may have been used to grow herbs or possibly homeopathic medicines

Bonasera and Reymer (2001) specifically analyzed the botanical remains and other evidence from Five Points to understand medicinal practices in Irish immigrant households. Patent medicines were widely available for treatments such as rheumatism, sprains, and similar ailments. It is not surprising, therefore, that empty bottles from these remedies would be found in association with households of manual laborers, such as the Irish (Bonasera and Reymer 2001:59).

Irish-Americans appeared to prefer inexpensive remedies, notably soda and mineral waters. These tonics could be ingested or used for soaking aching joints. Bonasera and Reymer (2001:60) asserted that the relatively high representation of medicinal vessels is assemblages associated with Irish immigrants may indicate that: (1) The Irish had more health problems due to diet, living conditions, dangerous occupational hazards or other factors. (2) Or perhaps were using patent and other medicines was a customary practice. Since they would have been well acquainted with institutional medicine from Ireland, perhaps immigrants expected the same upon arriving in America. Medicinal practices may have also been essential given that many Irish immigrants were generally in poor health as newcomers.

Faunal remains also provided important clues into Irish immigrant lifeways in nineteenth-century New York. Cuts of meat suggested that families consumed a relatively large amount of pork, a traditional Irish food (Griggs 2001:85). Little evidence for consuming fish was identified, even though fish was much less expensive.

It cannot be overstated that the communities in which Irish immigrants settled were instrumental in the maintenance of their physical well beings as well as in the formation of group identity. In Five Points, this was often linked to the family’s parish, trade unions, and common political causes. Consequently, material symbols were a critical data set that included imagery on tobacco smoking pipes, such as the crest of the local volunteer fire department or those embossed with “Home Rule,” a reference to the Irish nationalist movement (Reckner 2001:106, 111). Interestingly, American patriotic symbolism – such as the American flag or eagles – were virtually absent from the assemblages investigated.

The historical and archaeological investigations of the Five Points neighborhood in New York City provide significant comparative data sets for the examination of Irish immigrant enclaves in the Midwest. Additional comparative studies will be incorporated into this project as they come to our attention.

Unique Contributions of this Project

This project promises to make a significant contribution to our understanding of identity, ethnogenesis, and social relations by examining changes in material culture, foodways, and uses of space as Irish families continued traditions from their homeland, incorporated new cultural norms and practices through interaction with non-Irish groups, and otherwise navigated the multifaceted and dynamic social landscapes in which they lived.

Contribution to scholarship. One of the most salient aspects of the literature on ethnogenesis has been its emphasis on delineating particular historical and social contexts in order to describe the ways in which New World identities have emerged through global interaction (i.e., Voss 2008). In understanding the materialization of the Irish immigrant community on Beaver Island, lessons from the archaeology of the African and Chinese diasporas and creolization have been useful in elucidating the social relations within and between these diasporic communities as well as references to homelands of the imagination (e.g., Blakey and Rankin-Hill 2004; Bograd and Singleton 1997; Singleton 1999).

Cross-cultural encounter is primary in the historical experience of colonialism; ethnogenesis exists at the intersection of negotiated identities and colonial forces and is defined by its social relations (Rotman and Hauser 2006). Implicit is the simultaneity of sameness and otherness. While different historical contingencies were at work for the displacement of Irish laborers and the enslavement of Africans, the histories of these peoples are two threads of the same colonial narrative. Central to the colonial condition of Ireland was the displacement of Catholics over a successive number of generations. This displacement did not strip individuals of culture, rather it acted as a crucible in which peoples with varied heritage – including belief systems, class backgrounds, and ways of doing things – became aggregated and placed in new social landscapes. Within these contexts, social relations and identities were repositioned. In the migration from Ireland to America, unique regional and cultural variations in the homeland were homogenized in the perceptions of these immigrants by the dominant communities into which they were absorbed. Ethnogenesis elucidates the ways in which New World identities from displaced populations are created, transformed, and maintained. The proposed research on Irish-America then will contribute to the interdisciplinary study of these important questions on ethnogenesis, displaced and diasporic peoples, and the materiality of identity and culture contact.

This project includes a micro-historical approach to successive generations of the Irish Diaspora with particular focus on the documentary record, material culture, and social landscapes (Mullins and Paynter 2000). Domestic households are key loci of social reproduction and, consequently, significant locations for archaeological research (Ludlow Collective 2001:95). Notably, “the home was an important locale where institutional policies and practices interfaced with small-scale interpersonal relationships” (Voss 2008:209). For Irish immigrant families on Beaver Island, their home was the place wherein the larger social and cultural worlds were negotiated, strategically accepted or rejected (either in whole or in part), and a meaningful family life created.

As Irish identities and experiences on Beaver Island were transformed through cultural interaction with non-Irish groups so too were their material and social worlds. At present, relatively little is known about the ethnogenesis of Irish-American identity away from large urban centers, such as Boston and New York. In addition, no archaeological research has been conducted on the historic period occupation of Beaver Island (with the notable exception of this 2010 excavation). As such, this material study will make a significant contribution to the comparative literature on Irish-America and ethnogenesis as well as the regional literature in historical archaeology. In addition, the results of the archaeological excavations will undoubtedly shape the ways in which contemporary populations perceive their own “Irishness” by providing additional sources of historical knowledge.

Contribution to student audiences. This project will serve as an important vehicle for interdisciplinary training for students, who will actively participate in all aspects of the project (cultural study, field excavation, archival research, oral history collection, laboratory analyses, and public outreach). They will also engage with the relevant scholarly literature, contribute to project web sites, and produce other scholarly products (such as senior theses, conference papers/posters, and co-authored articles for publication) as part of their professional development.

The required reading for the cultural study will cover aspects of Irish life, including céilí dancing, sean-nós storytelling, religion, political history, agricultural lifeways, and the like. The texts for the field excavation module will explicate the history of the site and region under study, frame the theoretical position from which we will conduct the project, and provide comparative examples in history and historical archaeology. Students will also be assigned a series of readings on oral history and oral tradition specifically relevant to the Irish diaspora and the other cultural groups on the island. The literature for the laboratory module will explore analyses of different artifact classes and interpretation. We will discuss these articles

both formally and informally in the classroom, field, and laboratory. Students will also be required to keep a daily journal in which they will reflect on their activities and accompanying readings, engage with intellectual themes, and synthesize their experiences. Students will be encouraged throughout the cultural study, excavation, and laboratory processing/analyses to think critically, holistically, cross-culturally, and transnationally about Irish-American immigration, ethnogenesis, and identity.

Students are also required to select a subset of the research program to investigate more deeply. For instance, students might seek to answer a particular question about gendered divisions of labor or consumer choices or the roles of children at a site. Students each develop and publish a web page that discusses their chosen research question, the data they used to answer it, and their preliminary research results (see blogs.nd.edu/irishstories for examples of preliminary research results from the 2010 field season). Students also make an oral report to their peers at the end of the field season. In addition, students are encouraged to continue with their research during the subsequent academic year. Past products of student work have included senior theses, papers and posters presented at conferences, museum displays developed for the local public library, and co-authored publications. These professional development activities give students real world experience in archaeological inquiry and help make them compelling candidates for graduate school or post-baccalaureate employment.

Contribution to general audiences in the humanities. The historical and archaeological investigation of ethnogenesis and Irish-America will enrich public understandings not only of a unique chapter in local history, but of the culturally-diverse roots of the American Republic. Members of the Beaver Island Historical Society and the general public were invited to volunteer on the excavation and in the lab under student supervision in 2010. The site was also open to visitors from the general public every day along with a formal open house that took place during the Beaver Island Historical Society's annual "Museum Week." In addition, two lectures were given at the Beaver Island Community Center. These opportunities for observation and engagement will continue to be available during the excavations conducted under this proposed project. The public may also participate by contributing their family oral histories (both in person and through the website <http://irishstories.crc.nd.edu>) as well as by providing input on the project web site (blogs.nd.edu/irishstories).

The involvement of the local community creates invaluable educational opportunities. Often individuals from the public are only familiar with archaeology through Indiana Jones movies or cultural resource management work completed in conjunction with local development. In the former case, the public rarely understands the true scientific nature of archaeology, believing that the recovery of "things" is the only purpose of excavation, without understanding the importance of other data and their contexts. In the latter case, the public often has the misperception that archaeology only precipitates from and holds up construction. In both scenarios, public education facilitates a dialogue about the importance of scientific recovery of archaeological materials and the significance of interpreting and preserving the past.

Chapter 5: Annotated Summary of Research Visit to Co. Donegal, Northern Ireland, and Dublin, May 2010

by Deborah L. Rotman and Rhiannon Duke

The summer 2010 field season began with a research trip to Árainn Mhór, Co. Donegal, Northern Ireland (Ulster Province), and Dublin to explore archival and other resources of potential relevance to the project. The notes from that exploration are summarized in this section.

Research activity while on Árainn Mhór

Gallagher, B. and A. Gallagher. 2004, *Arranmore Links, National Library of Ireland, Taisce Árrain, Teoranta, Dublin.*

p. 5: “When they could afford it, many Arranmore people emigrated to America. One member of the family got a loan, usually from a shopkeeper, walked to Derry 60 miles away and went on the Derry boat. The journey lasted two weeks at least, in miserable conditions in the steerage. As the boat passed a few miles off Arranmore lighthouse it was not unusual to go out in a small boat and board midstream.

“Beaver Island, and later Chicago, was the first place that most Arranmore people headed for. To this day their descendants are still to be found on Beaver. The first family member who went out earned passage for the remaining members and for relations.”

The bulk of the text is organized by surname with a plethora of genealogy information. It could be a very useful acquisition for the project. Bill Cashman of Beaver Island Historical Society appears to have been a collaborator.

p. 7—“In 1927 the parish church in Kincasslagh burned to the ground and with it went the local records for Templecrone parish, which includes Arranmore.”

“It was the custom to name the first son after the paternal grandfather and the second son after the maternal grandfather. This often led to a multitude of boys with similar names. For example, there were 13 Phil Boyles, all cousins, and all named after the same grandfather or great grandfather...e.g., Charlie Mickey Charlie Hughdie Gallagher was the Charlie, the son of Mickey, grandson of Charlie, great-grandson of Hughdie Gallagher.”

p. 8—“When a child died very young the next child of the same sex might get the same name.”

Other descriptors:

Og = oge = young or junior

Mór = more = old or senior or big

Beag = little or junior

Rua = ruadh = red haired

Bán = bawn = white or blonde hair

Dubh = dhu = black/dark (haired)

Wee = small or junior

Some versions of commonly used names:

Rose = Roshia = Rosie

Con = Connie = Condy = Conchubhar = Cruthar

Wendy = Mandy

Oona = Una = Winifred

Manus = Maney

Roonie = Rory = Ruaidhri = Rodger = Roderick = Roddy

Owen = Eoin = Eoghan = Eoghainin = John = Owenie = Johnny = Johnndy = Johnndan = Jack = Seán

Aodh = Hugh = Hughie = Hughdan = Hughd = Hughdie

Maura = Máire = Mia = Mhia = Mary

Sara = Sarah = Soracha = Saraha

Grace = Gracie = Grania = Grainne

Bridget = Biddy = Brid = Breid = Bridin = Brideen
Dan = Den = Danny
Kitty = Kate = Katie = Katherine = Caitriona = Christina
Madge = Maggie = Madgie = Margaret = Peggy = Meabha = Maeve=Maighread=Maired
Sophia = Sobha
Anthoin = Anthony = Tony
Pat = Paddy = Padraic = Padraig = Paidin = Padeen = Padeen

p. 49—“Tommy Thomas Boyle was married to Grace, surname unknown. All his family emigrated to Beaver Island and Tommy himself spent some years there. In fact, the manner of his departure for Beaver is part of Arranmore oral tradition.

“He wore a homespun suit and a knitted gersey, hobnailed boots and sou’wester (oilskin hat). Apparently he forgot to wash his face before leaving home and he just stepped onto the stream at Gortgarra and completed his ablutions. “You go home,” he advised his son Joe who was seeing him off, “and put some seaweed on the sally garden, I’m going to America,” and off he went, quite unconcerned about what must have been a hazardous enough journey in those days.” (no date of this story available).

Tommy’s Family:

- Joe Tommy Boyle, married 14 February 1888
 Brigid Manus Coll of Cloughcor (daughter of Manus Coll and Mary Gallagher)
- Tom Joe Tommy Boyle
- Mary Joe Tommy Boyle married Mike Bonar of Dungloe
- Hannah Joe Tommy Boyle married a McDowell
- Kate Tommy Boyle married Jack Sabha Boyle

[Etc. = The genealogy is fantastically complicated. See the original text for more details.]

p. 86—Mick Charlie McCauley was drowned in Beaver Island (no date given). His parents were Anna Johnny Rua Early and Charlie Sean McCauley of Aphort. Anna’s parents were Johnny Rua Early and Nora Eamonn Doalty Gallgher.

p. 170—Map that shows Pollawaddy

*Note—The text contains many general references to emigrating to the USA, a fair number of specific references to Chicago, but very few specific mentions of Beaver Island.

p. 219—The local midwife was known as “the handy woman.”

p. 226—poorhouse in Glenties, Co. Donegal

p. 229—new landlord replaced Marquis Conyngham in 1847 names Walter Charley (or known as Charlie Beag to the Islanders) of Belfast

p. 229—Arranmore given status as its own Poor-law district under the Poor-law Act

p. 231—mentions relief provided by the Quakers in 1847—“The Albert” and “The Scourge” government steamers from Liverpool that brought food to Arranmore and the coast of Donegal
-report written by William Bennett in March 1847 (but full citation not provided)

p. 238—“Irish immigrants settled on America’s Beaver Island before the Mormon occupation, only to be driven off in 1852.”

p. 238—“Several were in the 80-man mob that ‘swept the Beavers clean’ in 1856, creating a vacuum that pulled in new residents, many of whom were Irish from Arranmore.”

p. 243—207 families in 1823 living on Arranmore—105 with stock, 102 without stock; total of 135 cows, 55 horses, 356 sheep. (Pollawaddy is not listed as a townland).

O’Callaghan, T. 2006, Oileán Árainn Mhóir/ Arranmore Island, Comharchumann Oileán Árain Mhóir, Browne Printers Ltd., Letterkenny, Co. Donegal.

- p. 2—“Many of the first islanders sent to Beaver Island by the landlord John Stoupe Charley, were from [the townland] of Poolawaddy.”
-Irish spelling *Poll a' mhadaidh*
- p. 16—also mentions the RIC (Royal Irish Constabulary) barracks in Pollawaddy
- p. 24—mentions “Monk Gibbons,” a famous author who wrote about Arranmore
- p. 92—2nd Marquis of Conyngham ran estate in mid 19th century; main agent was John Benbow, his subagent was Francis Forester (who lived in Roshire Lodge, Burtonport)
-estate sold to John Stoupe Charley of Finnaghy, Belfast on 29 June 1849 (which contradicts the 1847 date cited in the other text)
- p. 94—in 1847, all subtenants were evicted (March 1851, 160 subtenants total)
-80 taken by boat to Donegal Town; 80 taken to Burtonport and then traveled by land to Derry; set sail for Canada on the ship “Countess of Arran” in late March 1851
-they arrived in Quebec on 5 June 1851
-a second ‘batch’ of them appear to have sailed from Londonderry on “The Deborah,” which arrived in Quebec on 30 May 1851
-From there they moved to Toronto and Montreal
- p. 96—those who were sent to Donegal Town never sailed as the ship never arrived; they were left to fend for themselves and their fates are unknown
-John Stoupe Charley remained landlord until his death in 1878/ His family left the island in 1893, when the Irish Land Commission bought the island from the Charley family and the land was returned to the tenants. (Interestingly, in between there, in 1884, was when the Quakers assisted 96 people in emigrating from Arranmore directly to Beaver Island)
- p. 100—“In the late 1840s, prior to the arrival of the Irish, a Mormon colony had been set up in Beaver [...] In 1848, a year after Strang had discovered Beaver Island, he brought his followers to the island and set about establishing his Mormon kingdom. The Mormons took control of the island and its surrounding waters by forcing its inhabitants to leave. They were in control for the following eight years until 1856. Strang became unpopular for his practices; polygamy being one of them. He was attacked by two of his own people and later died from his injuries.”
- p. 106—spoke “Gaelic” including the second generation; in 1866 an Irish-speaking priest was appointed; a Catholic Church had been build on Beaver Island in 1860

Conversation with Séamus Bonner, Director of the Arranmore Community Center

Séamus mentioned several possible informants: John O’Hara (Charlie O’Hara’s brother), Andrew Early (Jerry’s dad)—Séamus will send a transcription of an interview with a Beaver Island family, Ann Walsh (has done work with genealogy and is currently working on a book), Philly-the Glen-Boyle, Tony Gallagher, John O’Hara (Charlie O’Hara’s cousin), Billy Shannon. He also pointed out on a map where the Pollawaddy townland is. Séamus said that he does not know of many recorded stories. Michael Daley, the editor of the *Donegal Democrat*, would be a good person to contact in order to get the word out that we are looking for family stories. Other resources to check out include the website Donegalhistory.com as well as the Donegal Historical Society. They produced a Donegal Annual with an article titled, “Beaver Island: The American Arranmore.”

Ask John O’Hara about letters sent back from Beaver Island.

Séamus referred to a book written by an American woman who traveled around Donegal during the Famine, including a visit to Arranmore in the late 1840s. She wrote reports describing the conditions on the ground and later published them in a book, which is now out of print.

Transcription of our conversation

(19:07)

DR: “So Séamus, would those early emigrants during the Famine and in the 1880s that were assisted by the Quakers, would they have retained contacts back home? Or would they have had either no means or not enough family back here?”

SB: “Well they probably would’ve had family I would say. And I know writing was difficult. Some of them might not have been educated up until, because they left very young to work. You know, the seasonal migration. There was regular seasonal migration here from the island to Scotland for harvesting, the different harvests, potatoes. They’d be sort of migrant laborers. That happened up until my father’s time. He was away, like they left school when they were 12 or 13. Went away to work for the summers.”

DR: “Why Scotland?”

SB: “Well Scotland is pretty close to here, first of all. There used to be a boat leaving from Derry. And, I suppose, there’s always been a strong connection between Ireland and Scotland. It’s physically close and I suppose they’re pretty similar in their ways as well, the Scottish and the Irish. But they would’ve been working on farms in the east of Co. Donegal as well. It’s an area called the Lagan Valley. Again, they would go for a part of the summer and then they would come back and cut turf and plant potatoes and whatever else needed to be done at home.

“But there were hiring fairs in the bigger towns where you would go and you’d be hired off for part of the year. It was a hard enough life. Andrew (Early) will be able to fill you in on more of the details. It was a little before my time.

(21:38)

“Even today, there are still people where the dad is working in London. He might come home every few weeks. That’s quite common now because there’s still a lack of employment in the County overall. And I suppose it’s a necessity, really. It’s been done for a long time, I suppose. People don’t think as much of it as they might do elsewhere. It’s the same in a lot of areas on the West Coast. Achill Island as well. There’s a strong connection between Arranmore and Achill because they would’ve been migrating to the same areas in Scotland. And then they would meet there and they’d be marrying.”

DR: “Because they were going by boat?”

SB: “Well, they were going to the same sort of regions, where the work was, and they would meet there. Mickey, who works here in the Community Center, his dad used to organize a lot of the seasonal migration. He’d take squads away for the harvest and the planting. He might be able to fill you in. I’m just trying to think, specific to Beaver Island, which families were...the O’Haras, you know, John. There’s two John O’Haras, they’re cousins, and they live over in Pollawaddy as well.”

DR: “And Philly the Glen would be perfect too because there are lots of Boyles on Beaver Island.”

SB: “Yeah, he’s got relatives on Beaver Island as far as I know.”

DR: “There are lots of Gallaghers on the Island as well. Are there Gallaghers here?”

SB: “Oh yeah, there are, yeah.”

(23:43)

DR: “Who might I speak to?”

SB: “That depends. I’d need to check which Gallagher branches. Have you seen *Arranmore Links*? I’ll get you a copy.”

(26:02)

DR: “It’s hard to imagine, I know that there’s a tradition of when a family member would emigrate to America that they would earn the passage for subsequent family members to come. It’s a little hard to imagine, though, that that would’ve been the system on Beaver Island because it seems like they would’ve been really engaged in subsistence agriculture. But do you know if that was, it might’ve taken a long while, but do you know if that was a trend here as well?”

SB: “I think it was. Even more than the money, though, the sort of network of supports as well. You know, when people arrived over, they might’ve had a job waiting for them or they put a good word in for them or something. If they were fishing on the lake, they might’ve had a place for them on a boat. Something like that. Rather than going over without knowing anybody. I think the sort of cluster of Islanders, it works the

same way still, like in Chicago. If people are going over there, you'll have family and friends that'll help you out if possible."

DR: "Can you tell me more about the connection to Chicago?"

SB: "Yeah, well, again, I think that sort of predates, I could be wrong but, the Beaver Island one. Probably because it was one of the bigger cities and you would've had work."

Séamus mentioned a book by someone named Duffy, from Inishfree, who wrote a book on the early days of emigration and the sequence of where they went and what they did.

(28:04)

SB: "It was the railroads, I think, that were one of the jobs that navvies were doing, not only in the States but in the UK as well. And the tunnels, as I mentioned earlier, when they were building hydroelectric schemes after the war. Sort of specialists in that kind of work. And again, they were sort of close-knit. It was dangerous work and you had to trust the people that you were sort of working along with. I think because there were sort of family units, it was harder to sort of break into that kind of work unless you knew somebody."

DR: "I know in South Bend, many of the Irish laborers had originally come as part of the canal building and then stayed in South Bend rather than continuing on working on the project. There's a long history of construction in Ireland."

SB: "Well, I suppose it was sort of semi-skilled labor. It didn't happen overnight, you know. They probably built the connections and the name over the years."

(29:28)

DR: "Was that preferred to fishing, to do construction?"

SB: "Probably one of the big attractions to it was that it was dangerous work, so it was well-paid in comparison to fishing."

DR: "Well, arguably fishing is dangerous work as well."

SB: "It is, yeah. Plus, you're away from home. A lot of them would stay at camps... Actually I just thought of another name who worked on the hydroelectric: Tony Gallagher. He would be a good person to talk to. It was dangerous, but it sort of suited the migrant aspect of it where you could come back, you know, and do what needed to be done at home. Digging the crops or cut the turf, that sort of a thing."

(33:06)

DR: "So what kind of traditions, Séamus, would have gone with the Islanders? What kind of defines Arranmore? Is there something about this island that is unique?"

SB: "A lot of it would sort of center around the language, Gaelic. Maybe storytelling, music as well, would've been strong. Particular to the island now, I'm just trying to think of what would be totally unique to here. I mean, there are sort of stories, it was not that long ago since Irish was spoken/was heard on Beaver Island. But I wouldn't have the facts and figures. Have you spoken to some of the Islanders up there?"

DR: "Yes, actually, I've been working with some of there as well. Bill McDonough is one of my contacts. Bill Cashman, of course, of the Historical Society there. The Historical Society is actually one of our partners for the excavation this summer... But I figured, while I had the chance, I would come a visit Arranmore and see what I could learn about this place so that while we're there, looking for parallels... What you say about language is one of the reasons I'm very interested in Beaver Island as a research project because language is culture. From what I've been able to tell, from the 1850s up until 1903 or so, it was almost exclusively Irish was the spoken language, every day, business transactions, that sort of thing. And it wasn't until the Beaver Island Lumber Company came in in the very early 20th century, they brought with them Polish and German workers where English became widely spoken."

Séamus was not personally aware of any stories in the local repertoire, but he was almost certain that John (O'Hara) and local historians would know of plenty. He also mentioned that the traditions of storytelling and visiting houses are less common now with other forms of entertainment like television and the internet.

Pete Sweeney was a songwriter who lived in Chicago in the 1950s and 60s. Anna Gallagher made a CD of his songs about Arranmore. Pete also did a radio interview with Raidió na Gaeltachta. His son, Patsy Sweeney, lives on Arranmore and would be another good person to contact.

In reference to the religious practices of Arranmore Islanders, Séamus explained that the Church would have had a lot of influence on Irish society during the period in question (1880-1910). To provide a possible explanation as to why Mass attendance was so low on Beaver Island, Séamus suggested that the immigrants might not have wanted to get back into that same system. When Dr. Rotman mentioned accounts of Beaver Island's similarity to the "Wild West," Séamus suggested that the low Mass attendance "might have been a throw back. They might've been rebelling against authority just because they still would've been under British rule here in those years. And maybe the Church was a sort of authority as well. Plus, islands in general are usually a wee bit, a different mentality than the mainland. They think that those rules don't really apply as much here, as they would on the mainland."

(44:39)

In response to Dr. Rotman's inquiry about healthcare on Arranmore, Séamus explained that there would have been midwives as well as a doctor named Dr. William Smythe. He lived in Dungloe but he had his own boat to get to Arranmore. He had a regular clinic but he would also come in times of crisis.

(47:09)

Dr. Rotman referenced islands like Inis Airc off the coast of Co. Galway that were evacuated by the government due to inaccessibility during bad weather. Séamus explained that during the 1950s there was an official government scheme to relocate some islanders to the mainland. Inishfree and Rutland (where some Beaver Islanders came from) are now completely abandoned, except for one or two residents. During this time, however, there was no initiative to relocate residents of Arranmore to the mainland because it was one of the better islands in terms of access and facilities. In fact, Arranmore was one of the first places in the county to get electricity (ca. 1955).

(52:00)

While discussing emigrants' attachment to the homeland, Séamus mentioned the tradition of the American Wake and how the event truly might have been the last time an emigrant's family would have seen them. However, in the 1970s and 80s, travel between America and Ireland was much easier and emigration was not nearly as final.

(56:28)

Dr. Rotman inquired about the agricultural cycle, specifically if there were certain times of the year when Arranmore islanders would not have been able to fish. Séamus explained that due to weather and smaller boats (max. 25 feet), fishing was indeed seasonal work. Additionally, a lot of the fishing was herring fishing, which come up at night to follow the plankton. Séamus referred to an article called "The Silver Harvest," written by Fr. McDermott, a priest who lived on the island. Salmon fishing was also important seasonal work on the island. Islanders also fished crab, but not lobsters because there was no market for them. Finally, Séamus explained that they were not just fishermen. They also planted and harvested crops as well as performed migrant labor in order to have money to buy tools and shoes.

(1:02:00)

During a discussion about visiting houses and drinking, Séamus explained that most islanders would not have gone to pubs because it was too expensive. They would sometimes go on a market day if they had sold an animal. Dr. Rotman asked about póitín and Séamus clarified and said that there were certain houses that

were known for their póitín expertise. They would be the houses that would run out of turf since distilling requires a lot of fuel. He also referenced the book, *Donegal Póitín: A History*, that mentions Arranmore a few times. There were “crackdowns” on póitín production on the mainland, but there “were over 20 stills on the island at one stage.”

(1:02:45)

Dr. Rotman inquired about women’s labor. She referenced the communal aspect of agricultural labor and asked if women would perform other tasks in groups, like knitting. Séamus explained that the women were doing a lot of the agricultural work since the men were often away doing migrant labor in Scotland. He also mentioned an agricultural cooperative, Templecrone Coop., started by a man named Paddy the Coop in the early 1900s. Séamus explained that there was a tailor on Arranmore and most people did not make their own cloth. He said that knitting seemed to happen automatically because the women were so efficient, but to his knowledge, there was not much weaving on the island.

Séamus referred Dr. Rotman to the Day Center on Arranmore, where there are a lot of older residents who might be great informants.

(1:14:00)

Finally, while discussing self-reliance and the local economy on Arranmore, Séamus shared a local turn of phrase that expresses the communal, generous spirit of the island: “The house whose cow has run dry has the most milk.”

(end)

*Ua Cnáimhsí, Pádraig. 2009, Róise Rua: An Island Memoir, Mercier Press, Blackrock, Co. Dublin.
Translated by J.J. Keaveny.*

p. 19—Róise was the wife of Séamus Mac Grianna—lived near Pollawaddy

p. 21—The Folk Music Society published some of her songs

p. 27—RE: widows and the loss of their spouses “He [Róise’s grandfather] left behind my grandmother and two children and, as we all know, people like her had no income of any kind in those days. It was totally different from the way things are today: no money was available to them—no dole, no pension, no school money, no security, nothing like that at all. No wonder widows were devastated when their husbands died for there was nothing to keep her from the poorhouse and ending their days there. Because of that, many widows tried to find another husband to ward off hunger and starvation for themselves and their children.”

[Róise was born in 1879, so this story was likely from the 1850s or maybe earlier.]

p. 32—Róise recounts how her mother always carried knitting with her—even walking the great distance to the Glenties to visit her husband in the hospital there; knitting was the way to make extra income and “every penny was sorely needed.”

p. 41—Róise’s oldest sister Kitty did not go to school. She was “hired out to earn a few pennies to help my mother bring us up.” [That is, Róise and her sister Máire.]

p. 42—“My mother had her own spinning wheel and that was a great help to us all. Every year she spun the sheep’s wool, and spinning and knitting for us kept her busy throughout the winter.”

p. 46—Róise was nine years old “when I first left school to be hired.”

p. 49—tasks for children: herding the cattle, drawing loads with the donkey in the spring, milking the cows, bedding them, working at the hay or corn in autumn, gathering potatoes

p. 50—“In my childhood, the only people who had watches were the priest, the schoolmaster, a policeman, and the men who manned the lighthouses.”

p. 52—at age 9, Róise’s first job was as a servant girl for cousins in Ilion—she earned 15 shillings for three months work

p. 56—Dr. Smyth “held his surgery in Arranmore once a week”

p. 58—Much of labor was collaborative, i.e., kelp was cut by men, but women contributed by spreading, turning, drying, burning it, etc.; kelp kilns were on the beach

- p. 66—When Róise was sent away to work, her mother sent the following “blessed objects” with her: “rosary beads, a little prayer book she had bought for me at the mission, two little bottles—one with holy water, the other with water from the Doon Well.”
- p. 67—Her mother also sat by the fire “busily stitching a blessed medal and an Agnus Dei onto the clothes I’d be wearing in the land of strangers”
- p. 93—Families would sell excess butter and eggs to purchase tea, sugar, pork, biscuits and other groceries
- p/ 97—Tea not widely consumed: “Tea was a novelty for us; I still remember we had tea after our supper of mashed potatoes only two times a year—Hallowe’ en night and on the eve of St. Brigid’s Day, February 1.”

Drive to Poll a’Mhadaidh

Following Séamus Bonner’s directions, Dr. Rotman found Poll a’Mhadaidh. It is north of the ferry port at Leabgarrow. It appears to have its own quay. There are a fair number of ruins there, much like the southern end of the island at Ilion. The main habitation is clearly clustered along the eastern shore, with a few homes scattered up the hillside. The maps seem to bear this out, which makes sense because this shore faces the mainland.

Dr. Rotman visited the graveyard near the church. Most of the interments seems recent—1950s and 60s, and more recent still. There are a few burials at the northern end, western corner from the 1910s.

MacCárthaigh, Crístóir. 2008, Traditional Boats of Ireland: History, Folklore, and Construction, The Collins Press, Cork.

This is a beautifully illustrated book, but somewhat tangential to the project.

Transactions of the Central Relief Committee of the Society of Friends During the Famine in Ireland, in 1846 and 1847, With an index by Rob Goodbody. Dublin by Éamonn de Búrca for Edmund Burke Publisher, 1996.

- Index item Arranmore—no items
- Glenties (workhouse)—no items
- Dunfanaghy—no items
- Emigration—no items
- Templecrone (parish), Donegal—no items
- Scanned complete index, no other promising items
- Skimmed text (500+ pages), no other bits of relevance

Dr. Johnny Duffy in Galway

Dr. Duffy’s aunt Mary was the last Irish-speaking resident on Beaver Island (1960s). Pat Early says the family also has a connection to Chicago. Dr. Duffy spent summers on the island and currently lives in Galway City.

Notes from meeting with Jerry Early, Early’s Pub

- Culture that felt familiar—“closest he would get to home,” not the physical environment, but the people who were like “clones” from home
- Bill’s (McDonough) father-in-law has lots of the old stories from the island (Beaver)
- Connections to Beaver—growing up remembers people from Beaver coming to stay; one-way ticket, Beaver people come looking for something—spiritual
- Island people more stand-offish
- Fishing lifeways would have been really important; as well as faith
- re-watch documentary—more for American-Irish (?) audience than Irish audience

Summary thoughts on visit to Árainn Mhór

When Dr. Rotman spoke to folks about Beaver Island, many remarked that there are not many people/families still around who had direct connections to Beaver. Her feeling is that when families left—

especially in the 19th century—they may not maintained active connections back to Arranmore or perhaps emigrated from the island entirely (some to America, others within Ireland or elsewhere around the world) or perhaps even died out since the mid-19th century. Séamus mentioned high rates of illiteracy, which would have precluded letter writing. Although there appears to have been some chain migration, this may have ended with the Quaker assisted migration of 1884. Discussions of recent and more contemporary migration seems to have been to Chicago.

With regard to maintaining transnational connections, her feeling is that this is a very recent creation. Indeed the twinning ceremony was held in 2000. She suspects that the connection was re-established at that time. This does not diminish the reality that Beaver Island had a strong Irish presence in the late 19th century nor does it lessen the importance of these more recent connections between the islands. It does, however, require a new perspective on the transatlantic connections—which should be viewed as part of the “imagined Ireland” of the diaspora, which are nonetheless profoundly meaningful.

Elsewhere in Co. Donegal

Dunfanaghy Workhouse, Co. Donegal

Visited this attraction as a possible venue/site to see during the week-long cultural study with students. The museum depicts the story of Hannah Herry (b. 1835 or 1836), a young girl who survived the Famine. The exhibit was very well done for a small museum, but not compelling enough to include in the cultural study, particularly given its somewhat remote location.

Visit to Northern Ireland

Ulster American Folk Park, Co. Tyrone

This is an extraordinarily well done living history museum. It was a bit surreal to see Pennsylvania so convincingly recreated in Co. Tyrone. If we do visit Árainn Mhór, this would be well worth including while we are in the relative neighborhood.

Meeting with Brian Lambkin, Paddy Fitzgerald, and others at Centre for Migration Studies:

This extraordinary center is associated with the Ulster American Folk Park. I had a chance to chat with a group of scholars in residence, who shared their interests in migration studies with me. They offered a variety of potential resources, including those listed below.

Wilson, C. Tenant Land Lease

- But not direct parallel—too closely linked to mainland
- Paddy will send citation

Keough, Willeen (2008) The Slender Thread: Irish Women on the Southern Avalon, 1750-1860. Columbia University Press, New York.

Traces migration from Co. Down to Amherst Island (1820-1860) in Ontario. May be of interest in terms of Island adaptation in North America.

Breathnach, Ciara (2005) The Congested Districts Board of Ireland, 1891-1923: poverty and development in the west of Ireland. Four Courts Press, Dublin.

Seasonal migration—precursor to permanent. Great discussion of conditions in Ireland, i.e., poultry, selling of eggs for additional household revenue; also fishing; a couple of specific mentions to Arranmore; no Beaver Island items

McLaughlin, Jim, ed. (2007) Donegal: the making of a northern county. Four Courts Press, Dublin.

Interdisciplinary essays on the physical and cultural landscapes.

Ó Gráda, Cormac (2006) Ireland's Great Famine: interdisciplinary perspectives. University College Dublin Press, Dublin.

Interdisciplinary collection of essays; none specific to Beaver Island and Arranmore, but could be of general use.

Moran, Gerard P. (2004) Sending out Ireland's Poor: assisted emigration to North America in the nineteenth century. Four Courts Press, Dublin.

Addresses assisted emigration, some specific mentions of Beaver Island and Arranmore. Nothing particularly new, however, could be a useful resource.

Searchable Database at Centre for Migration Studies

-Three hits for Arranmore:

-*Forest Monarch* shipwreck of Monday, 27 November 1848

-Re-opening of Transatlantic Route: Friday, 21 August 1863

-Landlord and Tenant—Ireland

1 July 1881; citing Arranmore as an especially cruel example of landlord/tenant relations

-No hits for Árainn Mhór

-No hits for Beaver Island

-341 hits for Michigan—too many to discern relevance

-No hits for Charlevoix, Michigan

-No hits for South Bend, Indiana

GIS maps with Brian Lambkin

-Dunglow has library with robust resources

-Schools could be key collaborators

-Utility for Beaver Island

Other notes and thoughts

Brian Lambkin and Paddy Fitzgerald (of the Centre for Migration Studies) will be important resources for additional articles, review of manuscripts for publication, and potentially as mentors for students who may be interested in pursuing an internship at either the Centre or the Park.

Conversation with Colin Breen and Wes Forsythe, University of Ulster

Very productive. As historical archaeologists working in Ireland—and particularly with maritime/island/coastal landscapes—they will also be terrific resources as we seek to interpret the material record of Beaver Island. They also provided names of several researchers working on related questions/issues, which we can ferret out independently as follow up with Colin and Wes for more specific citation information.

Conversation with Colm Donnelly and Eileen Murphy, Queen's University-Belfast

Colm is working directly with Irish migration by collaborating with the University of Massachusetts, Lowell on a project in Boston. Colm was also part of early conversations about excavating at Beaver Island. The faculty at Queen's will be excellent partners for student exchange on the historical archaeology of the Irish diaspora as well as great intellectual collaborators for reviewing articles for publication, etc.

Visit to Dublin

Quaker Library, Stocking Lane, Rathfarnham

-Howard Hodgkin = H. Hodgkin

=64/14 Genealogical File

=two hits for Famine

-Letters are 1964; one is from

Mr. C. Hargreaves

202 Heywood Old Road

Bowlee, Middleton Lanes, England

- Working on his M.A. thesis “An economic and social survey of Inishbofin Island (Co. Galway) and Arranmore Island (Co. Donegal)”
- In the box, there is another letter from Edward H. (Ted) Milligan, librarian, Library of the Society of Friends, Euston Road, London NW1 (Euston 3601), which mentions “a volume (MS vol. S. 254) containing 43 copies of letters by and to James Hack Tuke and Howard Hodgkin, 1880-1895, end stress in Ireland and emigration to Australia and Canada”
- Something relevant to Arranmore may be included
 - =no hits on James Dormer
 - =no hits on Mr. Harvey
 - =search for Captain Ruttledge-Fair, also yielded no hits
 - = Rev. Father Nugent = no hits

Harrison, Richard S. 2008, *A Biographical Dictionary of Irish Quakers. 2nd Edition*, Four Courts Press, Dublin

- Dormer and Howard do not appear
- nor do Ruttledge-Fair or Nugent

Goodbody, Robin B. 1995. *Quaker relief work in Ireland's Great Hunger*, Quaker Tapestry Books, Dublin.

- p. 11—“Jacob Harvey, a Friend in New York” was involved in Central Relief Committee fund-raising efforts in America
- p. 21—He was “the principal contact in America for the relief committees in Britain and Ireland. He also worked long hours with the Irish immigrants who were pouring into New York and he eventually broke his health through overwork and died in the spring of 1848.”
 - Clearly this is not the same Mr. Harvey involved in the assisted emigration from Arranmore, but could well be the son or grandson.

Goodbody, Robin B. 1995. *A Suitable Channel: Quaker Relief in the Great Famine*, Pale Publishing, Bray, Ireland.

- Other possible Harveys from the index: James, Joseph, Joshua, Dr. (M.D.) Joshua, Thomas, and William
- Unclear how they may be connected to the Arranmore emigration of 1884, but were active in the CRC (Central Relief Committee) in the late 1840s, so may have also been involved in relief efforts later in the century

Notes from Visit to Quaker Library

The visit was largely unproductive, but it did provide a sound lead for letters in the Friends Library in London that may be relevant.

Archival Research back in South Bend

Preliminary Census summary for Beaver Island—individuals (nativity)

1850—440 inhabitants; 8 Irish (2%)
1860—493; 173 Irish (35%)
1870—287; 125 Irish (44%)
1880—534; 178 Irish (33%)
1900—722; 108 Irish (15%)
1910—929; 89 Irish (10%)
1920—779; 40 Irish (5%)
1930—499; 17 Irish (3%)

Preliminary Census summary—households (dwellings)

1850—77; 0 Irish (0%)
1860—109; 60 Irish (55%)
1870—48; 45 Irish (94%)

1880—84; 81 Irish (96%)
1900—142; 99 Irish (70%)
1910—185; 82 Irish (44%)
1920—164; 69 Irish (42%)
1930—109; 43 Irish (39%)

Preliminary Census summary—families

1850—89; Irish (0%)
1860—109; 60 Irish (55%)
1870—48; 45 Irish (94%)
1880—84; 81 Irish (96%)
1900—142; 99 Irish (70%)
1910—186; 83 Irish (43%)
1920—173; 69 Irish (40%)
1930—114; 43 Irish (38%)

1850—Irish are scattered throughout the island. No household or family even has two people of Irish nativity.

1860—Six vacant homes on the island. The number of dwellings and number of families is the same. There is very definitely clustering of Irish households together and non-Irish households clustering together. Sixty of the 109 families had at least one parent of Irish nativity (55%) of all families.

1870—Number of dwellings also equals the number of families in this enumeration year. Only **three** households/families on the island did not have at least one parent of Irish nativity and the majority of them were both of Irish nativity.

1880—Dwellings again co-terminus with families. Again, only **three** households did not have at least one parent of Irish nativity and for the majority most were both of Irish nativity.

1900—For the first time, the census enumeration includes schedules for the Indian population—120 individuals. These have not been included in tabulations only because they will skew percentages, given that Native Americans were likely living on the island previously and simply not enumerated.

This is also the first census enumeration that shows Peaine Township separate from St. James. The Irish are very much clustered outside the main habitation around the harbor: 82 of the 372 residents of Peaine Township are Irish (22%), whereas only 26 of the 350 residents of St. James Township are Irish (7%); by households 65 of 74 households/families in Peaine Township are Irish (88%) vs. 34 of 68 households in St. James Township (50%).

The demography is definitely changing with more households having only one rather than both parents of Irish nativity. Households where neither parent is of Irish nativity, but all grandparents are, were counted as Irish households; i.e., both parents born in Michigan, but both of the man's parents were born in Ireland and both of the woman's parents were born in Ireland. These are clearly second-generation Irish immigrant families.

1910—The demography continues to shift with the Irish presence continuing to decrease proportionately and the Irish families concentrated in the Peaine Township:

59 of 362 residents Irish (16%)

50 of 76 families Irish (66%)

Compared to St. James Township:

30 of 567 residents Irish (5%)

33 of 110 families Irish (30%)

1920—The trends observed in 1900 and 1910 continue for Peaine Township in this enumeration year, there are:

29 Irish-born among 243 total residents for a total of (12%)

43 Irish families among 62 total families for a total of (69%)

For St. James Township, there are:

11 Irish-born among its 536 total residents for a total of (2%)

26 Irish families among its 111 families for a total of (23%)

The Irish are getting a little harder to see as we get into the third generation. There are families with very clearly Irish surnames—Gallagher, Bonner, McDonagh—but for whom the nativity of the parents and grandparents is Michigan. These families may well still identify as “Irish” even though they are now three generations removed from Ireland.

1930—Interestingly, the place of nativity for the lion’s share of Irish people in this enumeration is “Northern Ireland,” perhaps reflecting Co. Donegal’s inclusion in the Ulster Province or perhaps ambiguity/confusion of Co. Donegal’s place in the new Republic. There are also a handful of references to the “Irish Free State.” But overwhelmingly the immigrants and their parents originated in the north.

Peaine Township had 15 of 170 residents who were Irish-born (9%) and 28 of 45 families who were Irish (62%). St. James Township had 2 of 329 residents who were Irish-born (1%) and 15 of 69 families who were Irish (22%).

Passenger Lists and Ships’ Manifests

Trying to find our emigrants assisted by the Quakers in April/May 1884

= Does not appear to be “Prussian”—arrived in Boston, May 1884. No Michigan or Beaver Island or Buffalo listed intended destination.

= Does not appear to be “Buenos Ayrean”—arrived in Quebec, May 1884. Same as above.

= Also not the “Canadian”—arrived Boston, April 1884. Same as above.

= Also not the “Phonician”—arrived in Boston, May 1884. Same as above.

= Also not the “Corean”—arrived Quebec, May 1884. Same as above.

= Also not the “Scandinavian”—arrived Boston, May 1884. Same as above.

= Also not the “Canadian”—arrived Boston, June 1884. Same as above.

= Also not the “Prussian”—arrived Boston, June 1884. Same as above.

= Nor the “Manitoban”—arrived Boston, June 1884. Same as above.

These passenger lists were re-checked by “Native Country”—Ireland. Still no sign of the Quaker-assisted emigrants. Coller (1976, *Journal of Beaver Island History*) states they landed in Boston; also another group came directly from Arranmore/Rutland in 1866. “Transatlantic Migration 1858-1870” was checked and the names could not be found.

Gallagher Homestead

Summary of occupation per census

1860—Joseph and Mary Warner

1870-1910—John and Margaret Early

1920-1930—Patrick and Mary Early

1880 Beaver Island Census

Could not find John and Margaret Early enumerated.

Based on 1870-1910 censuses, however, John and Margaret would have both been 40 years old; their son Patrick would have been 7; no way to know if there were others in the household.

1900 Beaver Island Census

123/123 Early, John Head; b. 1839; 61 y.o.; m. 32 years; born in Ireland; both parents born in Ireland; emigrated 1866, naturalized citizen; farmer, owns farm (farm schedule 56); cannot read/write; can speak English

Early, Margaret Wife; b. 1836; 63 y.o.; m. 32 years; 2 children; 1 living; born in Ireland; both parents born in Ireland; emigrated 1866; **not** a naturalized citizen; cannot read/write; can speak English

Early, Patrick Son; b. 1873; 17 y.o.; born in Michigan; farm laborer; can read/write/speak English

Transfer of ownership

David Curtis from Government	7/22/1856
to P. and J. McShinley (?)	1/6/1857
to Joseph Warner	10/11/1858
from Mary Warner to John Early	5/1/1882
to Margaret Early (100)	10/15/1888
(100)	4/1/1892
from Margaret Early to John Early (1)	4/5/1910
(Lot 4. At death of 2 nd Party. Patrick Early, son of Margaret Early becomes owner. Early cannot sell without consent of Patrick Early.)	
from John Early (widower) to Patrick Early (600)	4/29/1912
est. Patrick Early to widow Mary	1/4/1967
from Mary Early to Peter and Dolores Gallagher	4/28/1967
from Gallagher to LTC	6/9/1994

Preliminary Summary of Occupation

David Curtis—1856-1857
P. and J. McShinley—1857-1858
Joseph and Mary Warner—1858-1882 (24)
John and Margaret Early—1882-1912 (30)
Patrick and Mary Early—1912-1967 (55)
Peter and Dolores Gallagher—1967-1994 (27)
Little Traverse Conservancy—1994-present

*Two earliest transactions likely speculation

*Patrick in house with John and Margaret in 1910

More Beaver Island Census Summary

1866 emigrants (from 1900 census)

73/75 Owen Gallagher
87/87 John McCauley
88/90 Owen McCauley
122/124 Peter Greene
123/125 John Early
Margaret Early
8/8 Mary E. Gallagher

*many from 1865-1867; may be misremembering date of emigration as it is self-reported

1866 emigrants (from 1910 census)

none enumerated

1866 emigrants (from 1920 census)

157/166 Owen Gallagher
Hannah Gallagher (wife)

Irish-born residents who could not speak English (from 1900 census)

124/ 126 Catherine Gallagher, MIL of Conn McCauley; age 98; emigrated in 1870, been in US 30 years

81/83 Edward Boyle, FIL of John O'Donnell; age 84; emigrated 1859, in US 40 years

Bridget Boyle, Edwards wife; also 84; also emigrated 1859 and in US 40 years—**both** naturalized citizens

82/84 Bernard O'Donnell; age 72; emigrated 1860, in US 40 years; naturalized citizen; farmer

Frank O'Donnell, Bernard's brother; age 76; emigrated 1852, in US 47 years; naturalized citizen; tailor

83/85 Nancy O'Donnell, wife of Michael; age 52; emigrated 1884, in US 16 years

70/70 Mary Mooney, mother of John Mooney; age 63; emigrated 1863, in US 36 years

74/76 Alice McCauley, wife of James McCauley; age 60; emigrated 1863, in US 36 years
75/77 Catherine Boyle, wife of Daniel Boyle; age 70; emigrated 1851, in US 48 years
40/40 James McCann, head; born in Canada; age 41; emigrated 1876, in US 23 years; naturalized citizen

1884 emigrants (from 1900 census)

83/85 Nancy O'Donnell
84/86 Elizabeth O'Donnell
128/128 Daniel Gallagher
Mary Gallagher
Hugh Gallagher
Annie Gallagher
35/35 Mary Gallagher
40/40 Annie Gallagher

*many from 1883-1885, may be misremembering year of emigration as it is self-reported

1884 emigrants (from 1910 census)

135/135 Daniel Gallagher
Mary Gallagher (wife)
Daniel Gallagher (son)
Hugh Gallagher (son)
Mary Gallagher (daughter)
43/43 Rose McCann
70/70 Frank Miller
153/162 Jos(eph?) McDonagh

Irish-born residents who could not speak English (from 1910 census)

none specifically enumerated as speaking Irish
many left blank
only one foreign language recorded—Danish

1884 emigrants (from 1920 census)

117/120 Isabella O'Donnell
148/ 157 Bridget McCauley

Persons for whom Irish is their "mother tongue" (from 1920 census)

117/120 Isabella O'Donnell, wife of Daniel B. O'Donnell; 56 years; emigrated 1884; naturalized citizen
118/127 Hugh and Anna Boyle; ages 63 and 60; both emigrated 1856; naturalized citizens since 1871
120/129 Hannah Mooney, head; age 67; emigrated 1878; naturalized citizen since 1882
124/133 Barney McCafferty; age 64; emigrated 1863; naturalized citizen since 1884
125/134 Emma O'Donnell, wife of John B. O'Donnell; age 58; emigrated 1867; naturalized citizen since 1875
126/135 Hannah Johnson, head; age 63; emigrated 1873; naturalized citizen since unknown date
128/137 Peter McCauley, father-in-law of Fred Nukumonk (?); age 84; emigrated 1857; naturalized citizen since 1861
131/140 Hugh Boyle; age 88; emigrated 1851; naturalized citizen since 1865
135/144 Bridget Green, head; age 67; emigrated 1851; naturalized citizen since unknown date
148/157 Bridget McCauley, wife of Frank; age 59; emigrated 1884; naturalized citizen since unknown date
149/158 Thomas McDonagh; age 62; emigrated 1880; naturalized citizen since 1884
150/159 Mary Early, wife of Patrick; age 42; emigrated 1885; naturalized citizen since 1889
151/160 John and Mary Malloy; ages 62 and 63; emigrated 1860 and 1870; both aliens
also Thomas Malloy (brother); age 69; emigrated 1860; alien
also Mary O'Donnell (MIL); age 84; emigrated 1867; alien

- 152/161 Hugh Gallagher; age 46; emigrated 1885; naturalized citizen since 1889
also his parents, Dan and Mary Gallagher; ages 85 and 83; also emigrated in 1885; naturalized
citizens since 1889
- 153/162 Jos(eph) McDonagh; age 51; emigrated 1884; naturalized citizen since 1889
- 154/163 Dan and Mary Gallagher; ages 56 and 53; emigrated 1883 and 1910; both naturalized citizens; Dan
since 1891; Mary since unknown date
- 155/164 Phillip and Bridget Gallagher (parents of Daniel P. Gallagher); ages 82 and 77; emigrated both in
1855 and both naturalized citizens since 1865
- 156/165 John Mooney; age 52; emigrated 1871; naturalized citizen since 1898
- 157/166 Owen and Hannah Gallagher; ages both 72; both emigrated 1866; both naturalized citizens since
1870
- 161/170 Catherine Gallagher, wife of John B.; age 65; emigrated 1882; alien
- 32/32 Nora (?) Gallagher, wife of Peter D.; age 43; emigrated 1881; naturalized citizen since 1896
- 36/36 Francis and Bridget Donlery (?); ages 73 and 65; emigrated unknown dates; both aliens
- 46/47 James McCann; age 81; emigrated 1853; naturalized citizen since 1861
- 50/51 Jos(eph?) Donlery (?); age 75; emigrated 1870; naturalized citizen 1876
- 50/52 Anna Donlery, wife of John; age 63; emigrated unknown year; naturalized citizen, but no date given
- 54/57 Bridget McDonagh, wife of Lawrence; age 64; emigrated unknown year; naturalized citizen, but no
date given
- 56/61 Mary Gallagher, wife of William J. Jr.; age 29; emigrated unknown year; naturalized citizen, but no
date given
- 58/63 Mary McCauley, wife of Owen C.; age 48; emigrated in unknown year; naturalized citizen, but no date
given
- 66/72 Rev. Dennis Harper and his niece Nellie Landeck; ages 68 and ??; emigrated 1869 and 1889; both
naturalized citizens; Dennis since 1877; Nellie unknown date
- **Check 1930 for 1866/1884 emigrants as well as Irish-speakers

Beaver Island Community Library

Recordings of Beaver Island Cemeteries, Charlevoix County, Michigan. Compiled by Irene Vander Meulen
Reidsma. (1984) local binding.

*excellent genealogical information

- p. 8—Boner, John; b. Donegal 15 September 1817; d. 3 May 1887 (W Catherine)
Bonner, John; b. Rutland 15 August 1821; d. 26 September 1894
- p. 9—Boyle, Daniel; b. Co. Donegal 15 April 1832; d. 18 December 19??
Boyle, Hannah nee Gallagher, wife of Hugh Boyle; b. 19 June 1830; d. 7 April 1896
Boyle, Patrick P.; b. Auronmore (n.d.); d. 28 June 1903
- p. 11—Early, Margaret, wife of John; b. Runafesta, Co. Donegal 15 August 1834; d. 5 April 1910
Early, Mary; b. 13 March 1877; d. 20 July 1977
Early, Patrick; b. 17 March 1874; d. 11 January 1950
no John Early
no Joseph or Mary Warner
no Peter or Dolores Gallagher
- p. 12—Gallagher, Bernard; b. Ireland 25 January 1840; d. 15 January 1889
Gallagher, Catherine; b. Co. Donegal (n.d.); d. 17 February 1905 (103 years)
- p. 13—Gallagher, Grace A., wife of Cornelius; b. Burtonport, Co. Donegal 5 May 1826; d. 12 June 1910
Gallagher, Hannah, mother, wife of Hugh Boyle; b. Co. Denagale 19 June 1830; d. 7 April 1896
- p. 14—Gallagher, Neil C.; b. Ireland 12 November 1869; d. 18 April 1891
Gallagher, Phillip C.; b. 4 August 1852; d. 19 December 1910 (AOH marker)
- p. 16—Kane, Michael; b. Ireland 29 September 1836; d. 15 January 1901
- p. 19—McCauley, Connell; b. Donegal Col. 15 November 1826; d. 9 January 1902

- p. 20—McCauley, Frank, son of Patrick and Mary; b. Arranmore, Co. Donegal (n.d.); d. 7 July 1886; age 15 years
McDonald, Raymond; b. 8 February 1874; d. 17 May 1908 (AOH)
- p. 21—O'Donnell, Hannah, wife of Michael F.; b. Rutland, Co. Donegal (n.d.); d. 24 May 1868; age 24 years
- p. 22—O'Donnell, Margaret, wife of Bernard, a native of Ireland (n.d.); d. 28 November 1883; age 44 years
- p. 23—Roddy, Mary E., wife of Bernard Gallagher; b. Rutland 5 May 1843; d. 28 July 1903
- p. 27—Boyle, Owen (married), son of Jack Boyle; b. Ireland (n.d.); d. 31 March 1907; age 61 years
- * Copied entire collection from Beaver Island Community Library

Final Thoughts on Beaver Island—June 2010 Visit

- * 1852 Mormon Land History—Doney site occupied by “G. Preston”
- * Check out Strang’s *Ancient and Modern Michilimackinac* in reference section of BI District Library
- * The 1852 Greig map shows “G. Preston” as owning the south half of the southwest quarter of Section 35. “D. Adams” is shown as owning the north half.
Our parcel includes the east half of the southwest quarter...or the southeast quarter of the southwest quarter—once owned by “G. Preston.”
- ? Are there records from Alva Cable’s or the North West Trading Company?
- ? Do the Sanborn maps cover St. James?

A Historical Sketch of Holy Cross Parish—Beaver Island, 1860-1985. No other publication date. No page numbers.

- Winter’s ice—crossing by dog and horse sled; took 4-17 hours depending on weather conditions.
- 1832—first recorded Mass said by Fr. Frederic Beraga (missionary career 1831-1868)
- 1832—Fr. Beraga observed eight Indian houses or huts on Beaver Island
 - all of Michigan was Diocese of Cincinnati; 1833 Diocese of Detroit founded; 1857 Diocese of Upper Peninsula and adjacent islands but did not include Beaver; 1882 Diocese of Grand Rapids; 1971 Diocese of Gaylord
- Bishop Beraga first resident pastor;
 - 1860—Fr. Patrick Murray—1866
 - 1866—Fr. Peter Gallagher
 - 1898—Fr. Bruno Torke
 - 1899—Fr. Alexander Zugelder
 - 1907—Fr. Norbert Wilhelm
 - 1913—Fr. Edward Jewell
 - 1921—Rev. Leo McManmon
 - 1928—Fr. Edward Neubecker
 - 1931—Fr. Frank L. McLaughlin

This preliminary archival research has helped to clarify landownership, elucidate the social histories of the two islands, and raised additional questions to be pursued. Archival research will continue throughout the project to clarify existing data and ferret out answers to new questions as they arise.