Abstract

As Irish immigrants from Árainn Mhór off the coast of County Donegal created new lives for themselves on Beaver Island in northern Michigan, their identities and social worlds were profoundly shaped by their interactions with a Mormon community that first settled on the island, Native Americans who lived elsewhere in the archipelago, and other ethnic groups with whom they interacted. This technical report documents the 2010-2011 pilot project of an archaeological and historical investigation of the Irish diaspora, ethnogenesis, and identity on Beaver Island.

Early occupation of the island was an eclectic mix of Irish, German, Native American, and other families scattered on subsistence farms around its perimeter (pre-1847). The population was then dominated by a Mormon sect during the mid-century until their leader was assassinated in 1856 and they were forcibly removed by Irish immigrants reclaiming Beaver Island for themselves. During the second half of the 19th century, nearly 95% of the families on the island were of Irish descent. The Beaver Island Lumber Company altered the cultural landscape by bringing an influx of foreign laborers in 1903.

Rather than simply representing demographic shifts in the island's population, the cultural exchanges that accompanied each of these transitions profoundly shaped Irish identity and *ethnogenesis* (the process of forming new cultural identities). Ethnic identities were defined and solidified through contact with other peoples. Instead of a straight line of one group becoming like another, however, interactions between these entities represented a series of negotiations in which some ethnic traditions continued, individual choices and adaptations made, and cultural norms rejected or subverted.

As Irish identities and lived experiences on Beaver Island were transformed through cultural interaction with non-Irish groups so too were their material and social worlds. By examining syncretic processes in material culture, dietary changes, and uses of the built environment, this interdisciplinary and collaborative project investigates the ways in which Irish families continued traditions from their homeland, incorporated new cultural norms and practices, and otherwise navigated the multifaceted and ever-changing social landscapes in which they lived.

This technical report documents the research activity from the 2010-2011 field seasons. It includes a summary of cultural studies in Ireland, archaeological excavations at the Gallagher Homesite (20CX201) on Beaver Island, documentary research, and oral history collection. This report is intended to document the data and preliminary results of analyses. Historical and archaeological investigations of Irish immigrant experiences on the island are on-going. As new data is collected, the preliminary interpretations presented here will undoubtedly be revised and refined.

Interested individuals may follow the team's work and progress by visit our blog at

http://blogs.nd.edu/irishstories

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Chapter 1: Project Introduction

by Deborah L. Rotman

As Irish immigrants from Árainn Mhór off the coast of County Donegal (Figure 1.1) began new lives for themselves on Beaver Island in northern Michigan (Figure 1.2), their identities and social worlds were significantly shaped by their interactions with a variety of cultural groups, including Mormons, Native Americans, and others with whom they had contact. This interdisciplinary project began in 2010 and will undertake archaeological and historical investigations of a series of 19th-century homesteads associated with Irish immigrants on Beaver Island, Michigan over the next several years.

Transnational research, including the use of archival resources and collection of oral histories in both the United States and Ireland, will be central to the project as will the incorporation of undergraduate students as active collaborators on all phases of this research endeavor. By examining changes in material culture, dietary preferences, and uses of the built environment, the team will investigate the ways in which Irish families continued traditions from their homeland, incorporated new cultural norms and practices, and otherwise negotiated their ever-changing social worlds. The results of this work will contribute significantly to the scholarly discourse on diaspora, ethnogenesis, and identity.

The research began will consist of the following components each year: (1) a week-long cultural study in Ireland, (2) three weeks of intensive field excavation on Beaver Island, (3) laboratory processing and preliminary analyses of artifacts recovered during the excavation, (4) archival research, (5) oral history collection, (6) continued specialty and other analyses as warranted by the research questions (specifically botanical, faunal, ceramic, glass, other artifacts, and uses of domestic space), and (7) public outreach, report writing, and dissemination of research results through web sites, public lectures, conference presentations, and peer-reviewed journal articles.

This document records our research activities from the 2010-2011 pilot project at the Peter Doney Gallagher homestead (20CX201) on Beaver Island, Michigan. It includes a brief historical background, a review of the relevant literature, and a summary of the oral history, archival, and archaeological data collected. Preliminary interpretations of the data are also presented.

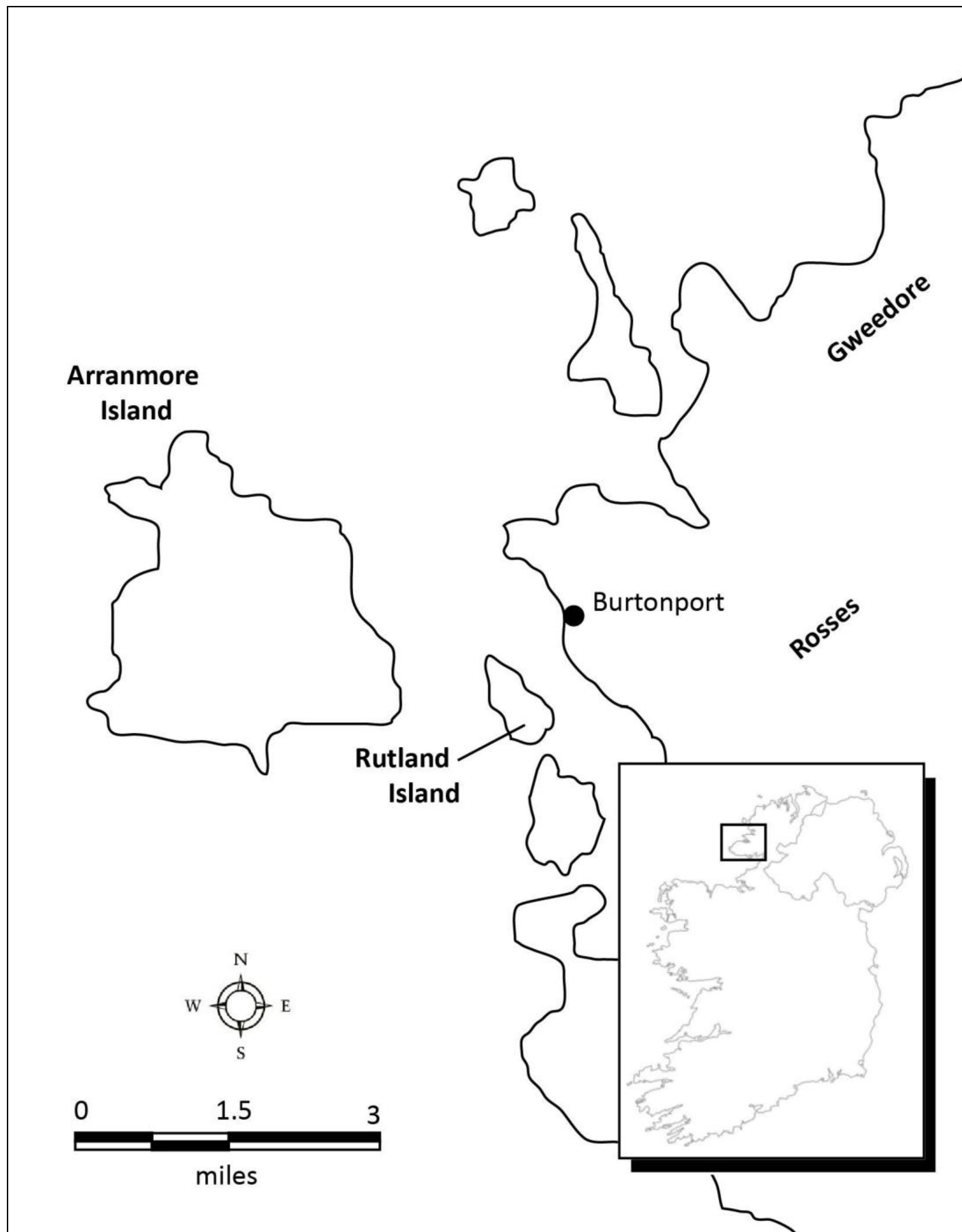

Figure 1.1. Location of Árainn Mhór off the coast of Co. Donegal, Ireland. Image inspired by Connors (1999:56). Drawn by Elizabeth Maurath.

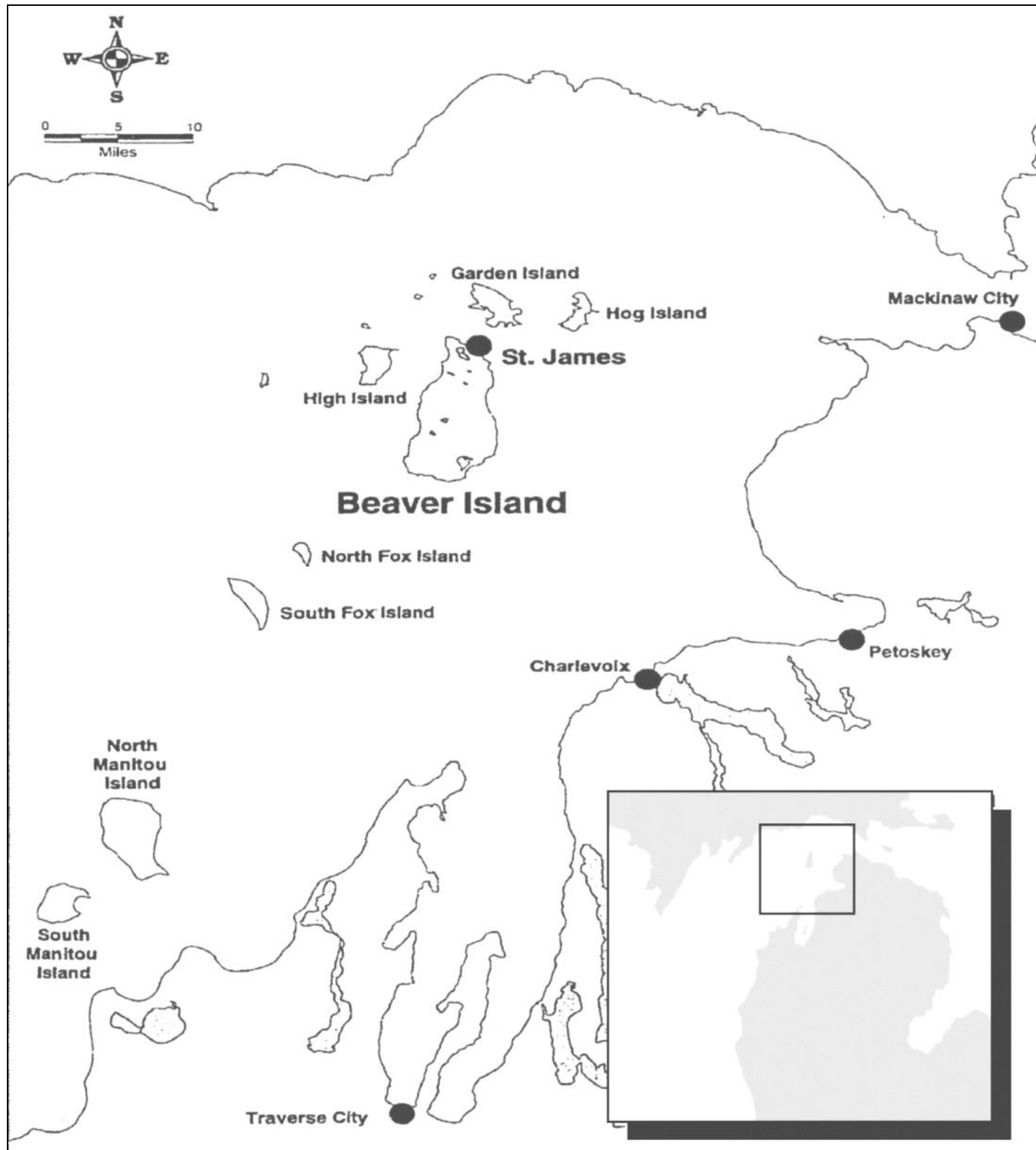

Figure 1.2. Location of Beaver Island off the mainland of Michigan. Image inspired by Connors (1999:57). Drawn by Elizabeth Maurath.

Chapter 2: Brief History of Irish Immigration and the Project Area

by Deborah L. Rotman

Between 1815 and the Civil War, five million people immigrated to the United States; 40% of these – nearly two million – were from Ireland (Bodnar 1996:2). Prior to 1845, experiences of Irish immigrants varied widely according to place of origin, family circumstances, and other factors. After 1845, however, the lives of Irish immigrants were united by the commonalities of: (1) the Great Famine and general agricultural decline in their homeland; (2) the changed power of Catholicism in America with the significant influx of Irish Catholics; (3) an emerging Irish nationalist ideology and communal identity; and (4) the concentration of immigrants into American urban and industrial landscapes (Doyle 2006:213).

At present, the lives of Irish immigrants in America are understood almost exclusively from investigations of large urban centers like Boston and New York (e.g., Adams 1967; Brighton 2009; Diner 1983; Donnelly 2001; Gallagher 1982; Kinealy 1995; McCaffrey 1976, 1997; Meagher 2001; Miller 1985; O'Connor 1995; O'Grady 1973; O'Toole 2000). Historical accounts of immigration tend to homogenize individual experiences; thus, the incredible variation of immigrant stories both in Ireland and the US is often veiled in anonymous tellings of emigration and resettlement. Stereotypes of Irish immigrants are frequently based upon expatriates in the densely occupied tenements of unskilled laborers in large cities on the East Coast, but life in these ethnic enclaves is not wholly representative of Irish experiences in America (Doyle 2006:219). Many Irish immigrants settled beyond the eastern seaboard of North America; however, their lives are much less well understood (exceptions include Emmons 1989 and Smith 2004). Smaller communities in the Midwest, for example, had economic, social, and political structures that were more fluid than those of the long-established urban enclaves (Esslinger 1975). As such, those who settled in less urban and less industrial places – such as Beaver Island, Michigan – were afforded, for better or worse, different opportunities than their counterparts in large cities (Doyle 2006:230). Consequently, archaeological and historical investigations of these smaller and more isolated communities will contribute significantly to our understanding of the Irish Diaspora in America by elucidating lived experiences in small towns and rural fishing villages not previously explored.

Emigrating Irish families encountered profound discrimination in America, particularly those arriving during the second half of the 19th century (Orser 2001:10). The sheer volume of immigrants fleeing *an Gorta Mór* (the Great Hunger) along with their frequent state of destitution and anxiety resulted in poor public perception (Doyle 2006:216). Nativists feared that newly arrived immigrants would "outbreed, outvote, and overwhelm the 'old' native stock" (Bailey and Kennedy 1983:300). There were tensions that the Irish would replace Yankee workers in mills (Kulik 1988:400), a justifiable concern as increasingly cheap foreign labor displaced native-born help (Gross 1988:529). The fear of losing jobs was particularly acute in the Midwest. The Know-Nothing Party was a nativist political movement with a strong presence in the region (Tucker 2004:32). When Irish and German workers came to the Midwest during the building of canals in the 19th century, many citizens joined the Know-Nothing organization and denounced these immigrant laborers (Bodnar 1996:9).

There were divisions between Protestants and Catholics in the Midwest and elsewhere in the United States that were intimately linked to the nativist/non-nativist dialogue (Giffen 1996:248). The presence of the Roman Catholic Church in America was significantly changed by the tide of immigration in the 19th century. There were 1.1 million Catholics in United States in 1845 and 3.1 million in 1860 – about one half of which can be attributed to Irish immigrants during that time (Doyle 2006: 240). The numbers of congregants continued to grow to 6.3 million in 1880 (Doyle 2006:241).

Irish Catholics were further discriminated against as they were often associated with racially-marginalized African Americans (Mullins 2001:163). The Irish developed a monopoly on unskilled labor in construction work and factory employment, which put them in rather fierce competition with American Blacks (Wolf 1982:364). Being "white" for the Irish meant engaging in dominant institutions of society, from which they had largely been excluded in colonized Ireland (Paynter 2001:136).

Brief Summary of Beaver Island History

The history of the island is well documented in the *Journal of Beaver Island History*, which is published by the Beaver Island Historical Society. Interested individuals are encouraged to seek out this exceptional publication series for more detailed information. The summary presented here is intended only to serve as a brief sketch of the local history.

Árainn Mhór is the largest of the islands in the west coast of Rosses, Co. Donegal (Hargreaves 1962). The population of the island has consistently been about 500 people, who made their living at fishing and small-scale farming. Communities were organized in *clachans*, small-clusters of households that were often related. The island was hard-hit by the Great Hunger. Many island inhabitants were forcibly removed by landlords during the Famine or left under Quaker-assisted emigration schemes (Tuke 1885). Some of these individuals and families first settled along the eastern seaboard, while others – particularly during the late nineteenth century – came directly to Beaver Island.

With its sparse population and relatively remote location, Beaver Island created unique opportunities for individuals and families seeking to build new lives for themselves in America (Connors 1999). The island was not "a blank slate," however, as Irish immigrants interacted with a variety of other cultural groups throughout their history. Prior to 1847, occupation on the island was a varied mix of Irish, Native American, Germans, Swedes, and other families who were scattered on subsistence farms around the island's periphery (Metress and Metress 2006). Encounters with French fur traders, commercial fisherman, and crews of cargo ships transporting goods between Buffalo, New York and Chicago were also not uncommon (Collar 1980). The principal business on the island was "a trading establishment on the north side of the harbor. Its owners were some [Buffalo] New York men, who, under the name of the North West Trading Company, were engaged in trading with the Indians and fishermen of the adjoining regions" (Quaife 1930:81). This "relatively peaceful multicultural society" was comprised of not more than a couple of hundred residents (Connors 1999:60). Like Árainn Mhór, farming and fishing were the principal means by which families subsisted and earned their living (Case 1938:2).

The social dynamics of the island were radically altered beginning in 1847. After a dispute with Brigham Young over leadership of the Mormon Church, James Strang " wanted more territory, more privileges… so he began to look about for a place where he could establish a kingdom over which he could rule with undisputed sway" (Williams 1905:61). He discovered Beaver Island while traveling to Wisconsin when the steamer on which he was aboard sought shelter in the harbor during a storm. Shortly thereafter, he brought his followers to the island and established the Kingdom of St. James (Weeks 1976:10). He coronated himself king and, under his leadership, St. James became one of the most important ports in northern Lake Michigan (Case 1938:20). Beaver Island "possessed a seemingly inexhaustible supply of timber, it was on the main steamboat route from Buffalo to Chicago, it was in the very center of the richest fishing grounds of Lake Michigan, and it possessed a splendid, landlocked harbor" (Quaife 1930:81). These attributes positioned the island socially and economically within the region, the nation, and the world.

The development of infrastructure on the island under Strang's leadership was considerable. Roads were cleared to farm the interior and a variety of construction projects were undertaken, including a steam sawmill, a tabernacle, docks, and "kindred improvements [that] contributed to the comfort of the settlers" (Backus 1955:29-30). A school for white and Indian children was also opened (Quaife 1930:84). By 1852, "a portion of Paradise Bay was designated as a quarantine station; a hospital for the care of persons afflicted with contagious diseases was established; elaborate provisions governing the keeping and control of dogs, domestic animals, and gunpowder were enacted; [and] a board of health was charged with a periodical inspection of the fishing stations" (Quaife 1930:142).

All property on the island was considered "the lands of the Church" and was "apportioned among its members" (Backus 1955:30). Each "inheritance" consisted of a village lot and from 40 to 160 acres of farm land (Quaife 1930:139; Van Noord 1988:109). Inheritances were not free; rather "those who joined the kingdom could not receive an inheritance until they gave the king a tenth of all they possessed" (Van Noord 1988:110). The inheritance of Wingfield Watson, as one example, was described as "about midway of the island [sic], in the midst of the untamed wilderness, several miles from St. James. Here a cabin was built, a well dug, and fruit trees set out; in short, with no accumulated capital, by the hardest of manual labor during the ensuing four years, the foundations of a modest homestead were reared" (Quaife 1930:175). Mormon

houses were typically "two stories high and built of squared logs, whitewashed outside and in" (Van Noord 1988:73). Presumably, the king's cottage represented an ideal Mormon residence. It was described as

> a sturdy two-story frame home with a porch across the length of the front. Massive doors at the front and rear were connected by a hallway through the center of the home. There was a large room on either side of the first floor, with two bedrooms and closets upstairs. The house was built in a grove of hardwoods and scattered evergreens on a level area just below the bluff where the log house stood. [The original crude log dwelling in which the king and his family had resided when they first arrived on the island.] There was a view of the harbor and Lake Michigan beyond. A white picket fence surrounded the yard (Van Noord 1988:167).

Interestingly, with the establishment of the Mormon kingdom on Beaver Island, the communalism that had characterized their lives in Illinois and Wisconsin was abandoned. Although "groups of Mormons were encouraged to associate themselves under the patronage of a chosen leader, sharing his table and house" (Quaife 1933:139), fewer than 10% of dwellings in 1850 were comprised of more than one nuclear family (United States Bureau of the Census 1850). Even the delimiting of the houselot with a fence signaled a significant shift away from communalism toward a new emphasis on individual households.

Mormon dietary prescriptions forbade the use of wine, strong drinks, tobacco, and hot drinks (tea and coffee), while herbs, fruits, "flesh of beasts and fowls of the air" were to be used "with prudence and thanksgiving" (Word of Wisdom 89). Beaver Island has "small potentialities of the land for agricultural use" (Case 1938:55). Consequently, large-scale crop production was somewhat limited, although clover and other forage crops (such as alfalfa and timothy hay) were grown along with some corn, oats, and rye. During the Mormon occupation, "Strang encouraged sheep husbandry as a means of supplying homespun" (Case 1938:89). A typical farmstead also consisted of a small orchard and vegetable garden. Mormon occupation of the island was focused on the northernmost quarter of the island, around the harbor and the farmland immediately outside the village of St. James, such as around Font Lake and along Darkey Town and Sloptown roads (Case 1938:55).

Almost immediately upon his arrival on Beaver, Strang seized near complete control of political and economic interests on the island, which created considerable animosity between Mormons and non-Mormons (Case 1938:3). In 1847, Beaver Island had been incorporated into the township of Peaine; "although part of Emmet County, the township was attached to Mackinac for judicial purposes, to Newaygo for the election of state representative, and to Lapeer for the election of state senator" (Quaife 1930:141). The remote location of the island coupled with these unique political circumstances gave the Mormons near complete control of the island and the archipelago. Strang even managed to get himself elected to the State Assembly in 1852 (Quaife 1930).

The 1850 census enumeration reveals the varied nature of Mormon society (United States Bureau of the Census 1850) (Table 2.1). About half of the men (49.7%) were engaged in farming and fishing as occupations, while the other half provided skilled trades and other services to their community. The composition of occupations parallels that of urban places and appears to represent the recreation of the urban-oriented life the Mormons led in elsewhere in the Midwest before settling on Beaver Island. Furthermore, it illustrates the economic and social interdependence of community members with one another. The median household size in 1850 was five, with 90% of households having eight or fewer members (United States Bureau of the Census 1850). The overwhelming majority of these households (75%+) were composed of married couples, nuclear families (married couples with children), and nuclear families with other boarders (many of whom appear to have been related to the head of household).

Strang's autocratic rule created considerable tensions with non-Mormons on the island. Collar (2011a:1) reported that non-Mormon merchants, such as Alva Cable at Whiskey Point, "would sell no provisions to the Mormons," which forced Strang and his people to purchase goods from Chicago. In response to the increasing hostility, many Irish families migrated away from the harbor and main habitation center at the northeast corner of the island to the southernmost point at Cable's Bay, particularly during the winter of 1851-1852 (Connors 1999:98). Eventually, however, nearly all Irish and other non-Mormon

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Table 2.1. Census Summary ~ 1850; entire island, largely Mormon occupation

General Category	Specific Occupation	Number of men	% of labor force
Agriculture	Farmer	44	28.0
Maritime	Seaman	14	21.7
	Ship carpenter	4	
	Fisherman/fish	16	
Lumbering	Lumberman/lumber	21	14.1
	Sawyer	1	
Skilled Trades	Carpenter	10	21.1
	Carpenter & joiner	4	
	Cooper	9	
	Shingles	1	
	Cabinet (maker)	1	
	Tailor	1	
	Shoemaker	3	
	Mason	1	
	Couch maker	1	
	Brick maker	1	
	Blacksmith	1	
Services	Merchant	9	12.1
	Clerk	2	
	Warehouse	1	
	Minister	3	
	Lawyer (Strang)	1	
	Cook	1	
	Meat market	1	
	Teamster	1	
General Labor	Laborer	5	3.0

families moved from the island altogether. The departure of 20 non-Mormon families from Beaver Island in 1852 was reported in the *Green Bay Spectator* as the "Flight of the Gentiles."

Afterward, only eight non-Mormon families remained (Van Noord 1988:176), but Strang was determined to remove these families as well. Williams (1905:143) reported that "one morning on the first of November [1852?] a messenger came to every Gentile family with a letter from the king, saying every Gentile family must come to the harbor and be baptized into the Church of Zion or leave the island within ten days after receiving the notice." Thus by 1856, the island was inhabited almost exclusively by Mormons

Disaffection for Strang's ecclesiastical theocracy, however, also permeated his followers. At issue were disputes over the practice of polygamy, harsh punishment (including horsewhipping) meted out for violating local laws, and even proscriptions for women to wear short skirts with pantalet trousers (Quaife 1930). In June 16 of that year, two disgruntled Mormons attacked Strang as he was disembarking from a ship in the harbor (Collar 1972:118; Quaife 1930:174). Mortally wounded, Strang was transported back to Voree, Wisconsin where he died at his parents' home July 9 (Backus 1955:38).

Former island residents, many of whom were Irish, returned to evict the Mormons and reclaim Beaver Island for themselves (Weeks 1976:9). Mormon "homesteads and improvements were seized and occupied" (Backus 1955:38). Case (1938:3, 16) reported that

> All of the property of the [estimated] 2,500-2,600 Mormon inhabitants of the Island was confiscated, and the Mormons themselves were removed from their farms and their town homes, and by boat were carried to Milwaukee and Chicago…. More than a hundred head of cattle, horses, and mules were taken as well as boats, nets, fishermen's supplies, and

furniture. Three stores and the printing office were rifled. The tabernacle was burned, and the "royal palace" was sacked.

It is believed that Strang inflated the numbers of Mormons in his flock as a way of securing financial resources and political power for the island (Case 1938: 4). Thus it is unclear exactly how many Mormons were evicted. The *Northern Islander*, the Mormon newspaper printed on Beaver, reported a population of 2,608 residents in 1854 (Quaife 1930:174). The federal census taker in 1860, however, documented only 115 dwellings, six of which were vacant (United States Bureau of the Census 1860). Even if it there had been twice as many houses on the island in 1850 as were enumerated ten years later, each Mormon dwelling would have had to house an average of 11 people – more than twice their median household size in 1850 – in order to accommodate such a large population. Furthermore, between 1850 and 1856, the Mormons would also have needed to transform their residential patterning, moving from an emphasis on nuclear families to one of combined households of two or more families. This seems unlikely, however, given that communism was not practiced on the island. Consequently, the numbers of Mormons actually evicted by the returning Irish to Beaver Island as well as the number of abandoned homesteads for Irish families to occupy is unknown, but is likely fewer than has been reported (Metress and Metress 2006:33).

One oral history of the Mormon eviction recounts that "the Dan Boyles moved into a house where the hearth was still warm and the cow still in the barn" (Collar 1976:41). "Black John" Bonner is reported to have dismantled the logs from several Mormon homes and used them to construct his own homestead in the spring of 1857 (Connors 1999:124). The returning Irish also benefited from the infrastructure that Strang and his followers had developed around the harbor and in the village of St. James, which included residences, retail stores, a hotel, sawmills, numerous fishing sheds and drying racks as well as piers and wharves lining the waterfront (Case 1938:20). Although it is easy to imagine the Irish taking over these buildings and businesses in much the same way as they occupied former Mormon homes, definitive evidence that they did so is elusive.

Island life for the returning Irish immigrants had a very different focus than that of their Mormon counterparts. The 1860 census enumeration shows that about 1/3 of men (35.7%) were engaged in farming and fishing occupations, but the overwhelming majority were listed as "laborers" (Table 2.2). These laborers almost always appeared in families where the head of the household was listed as a "farmer" or "fisherman." In all likelihood, these young men worked as farm laborers or on fishing boats, although some may have also performed odd jobs and other tasks. Interestingly, a reliance on lumber is completely absent as an economic

Table 2.2. Census Summary ~ 1860; entire island, largely Irish immigrant occupation

General Category	Specific Occupation	Number of men	% of labor force
Agriculture	Farmer	16	10.4
Maritime	Fisherman	34	25.3
	Sailor	3	
	Lighthouse Keeper	2	
Other	Fisherman & farmer	2	1.3
Skilled Trades	Carpenter	4	14.3
	Cooper	14	
	Shoemaker	3	
	Tanner (?)	1	
Services	Merchant	3	3.9
	Clerk	1	
	Boarding House	1	
	Tavern Keeper	1	
General Labor	Laborer	69	44.8

focus during this time and doesn't appear as an occupation again until 1880. The relatively few full-time skilled tradesmen and service providers illustrates the large degree of self-sufficiency of these Irish fishermen and farmers. Island trout and whitefish were salted, packed in barrels, and shipped to Buffalo, Mackinac, and the Sault where they were either consumed, sold to traders or repacked and sent to even more distant markets (Collar 2011b:1, 3). Commercial fishing activity was facilitated by local merchants, such as Peter McKinley (1850s), Charles R. Wright (1850s through 1870s), and James and Allen Dormer (1870s to the turn of the century) (Collar 2011c).

Significantly, the census data suggests that the Irish were recreating the fishing, farming, and rural lifeways of Ireland – which was very different from the Mormons who had recreated a more-urban-like community during their occupation on Beaver. Importantly too, such a high degree of self-sufficiency would have required women to make substantial contributions to the domestic economy of each household and, as a result, their status vis-à-vis men would likely have been higher than their Mormon and/or urban counterparts.

Interestingly, however, Irish households on Beaver Island strongly resembled Mormon ones. The median household size in 1860 was four, with 89% of households having seven or fewer members (United States Bureau of the Census 1860). The overwhelming majority of these households (82%+) were composed of married couples, nuclear families (married couples with children), and nuclear families with other boarders (many of whom appear to have been related to the head of household).

Farmsteads continued to have orchards and vegetable gardens, providing much of families' dietary needs. Canned goods from purchased at the village store supplemented what households could produce (Case 1938:68). Although there were a few sheep farms, about half of Irish farms focused on cattle, while the other half were more general in their agricultural practices (Case 1938:60). The crops grown included clover, timothy hay, alfalfa, oats, corn, and potatoes (Case 1938:68).

The habitation of the island had gone from being almost exclusively Mormon to almost exclusively Irish in less than a generation. Indeed during the second half of the 19th century, nearly 95% of the families on the island were of Irish descent (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1870, 1880, 1900) and most of these families had ancestral ties to Árainn Mhór (Connors 1999:116). Árainn Mhór Irish who had initially settled elsewhere in North America also migrated to Beaver Island in large numbers in the immediate post-Mormon period. "Black John" Bonner facilitated the relocation of a group from New York City, while Charlie O'Donnell assisted another large group from Toronto, Canada at about the same time. Some Árainn Mhór Irish even came via the coalfields of Pennsylvania, where they "wished to escape the oppressive work conditions of the dangerous mines and the vicious coercive tactics of the mine owners and their private armies" (Metress and Metress 2006:35). These individuals and families were told that an island had been found that "was remarkably like Arranmore, and full of empty houses which had been abandoned by the Mormons and could be had by any who simply walked into them" (Collar 1976:40).

With such marketing of Beaver Island (albeit somewhat exaggerated), it is perhaps not surprising that the second half of the nineteenth century was the period during which chain migration direct from County Donegal was most active. Large groups of families came in 1866 and 1884, the latter of which received financial and logistical assistance from British and Irish Quakers (Collar 1976:35; Tuke 1885). At the peak of Irish immigration, Beaver Island was a *Gaeltacht*, one of only a few Irish-speaking enclaves in the United States (Sullivan 2010:65). Island colonization was predicated on the many interrelated families from Árainn Mhór, "who spoke the same dialect, lived the same lifestyle, and shared memories of the past" (Connors 1999:122).

Given the cultural homogeneity of the island, non-Irish families were pressured to integrate into Irish culture. Edward and Rosalie DeBriae were French Canadians. They were invited by their New York City Irish neighbors to join them in relocating to Beaver Island in 1857. According to island tradition, the surname DeBriae was difficult for the Irish to pronounce. Someone reportedly proclaimed, "Oh hell, DeBriae is just French for O'Brien!" and the name stuck (Collar 1976:37-38). The family appears with their Irish surname in land records and census enumerations and, although Rosalie's headstone in Holy Cross Cemetery shows her as DeBriae, two of her children were buried as O'Briens (Connors 1999:142).

The physical isolation of the Island served to preserve important elements of traditional Irish culture (Collar 1976:49). Many aspects of their lives on Árainn Mhór persisted in northern Michigan, including subsistence fishing and farming (Tables 2.3 and 2.4), endogamous marriage practices and traditional

Table 2.3. Census Summary ~ 1870; entire island, largely Irish immigrant occupation

General Category	Specific Occupation	# of men Chandler (north)	# of men Peaine (middle)	# of men Gallilee (south)	% of labor force
Agriculture	Farmer	9	32	8	33.8
Maritime	Fisherman	5	7	18	24.1
	Sailor	3	1		
	Lighthouse Keeper			1	
Skilled Trades	Carpenter	3			11.0
	Cooper	7	1		
	Shoemaker	2			
	Blacksmith	1			
	Wagon maker		2		
Services	Merchant (dry goods)	2			6.2
	Clerk	1	1		
	Hotel Keeper	3			
	Teaching school		1		
	Catholic priest		1		
General Labor	Laborer	11	15	10	24.9

Table 2.4. Census Summary ~ 1880; entire island, largely Irish immigrant occupation

General Category	Specific Occupation	# of men Chandler (north)	# of men Peaine (middle)	# of men Gallilee (south)	% of labor force
Agriculture	Farmer	2	59	16	33.3
	Farm laborer	1	7		
Maritime	Fisherman	7	14	5	14.9
	Sailor	4	4		
	Wholesale fish	1			
	Fish inspector	1	1		
	Lighthouse Keeper			1	
Lumbering	Lumberman/lumber	1			0.4
Skilled Trades	Carpenter	3	3		7.8
	Cooper	10			
	Shoemaker	1	2		
	Blacksmith	1			
	Wagon maker				
Services	Retail grocer	5	1		6.3
	Retail dry goods	1			
	Clerk	2	1		
	Bookkeeper in store	1			
	Bookkeeper	1		1	
	Schoolteacher		1	1	
	Clergyman		1		
General Labor	Laborer	3	59	33	37.3

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gender roles, commitments to clan and community, their Catholic faith and Irish language, and patriarchal authority. All these factors contributed to group stability and cohesiveness, which stands in marked contrast to the extreme transience and instability observed in many other, more urban Irish immigrant populations. The island's remote location also meant that the issues of great importance to urban ethnic ghettos, such as Irish nationalism, Catholic-Protestant tensions, and Democratic machine politics, "had virtually no bearing on the Beaver Irish" (Connors 1999:146). Islanders were also at least somewhat removed from "nativist xenophobia, assimilative pressures, and inter-ethnic conflict arising from socioeconomic inequality in the industrial occupational structure" that characterized urban enclaves (Connors 1999:149).

This is not to say that Beaver Island was entirely beyond the social, political, economic, and cultural influences of the mainland. St. James continued to be an important port along the Great Lakes shipping lanes well into the twentieth century. Consequently, the Beaver Island Irish were well connected to the outside world through this dynamic commercial activity.

During the first four decades of the post-Mormon occupation of the island (1856-1896), the Irish consisted predominately of foreign-born immigrants who had transplanted religious, economic, and cultural practices from Árainn Mhór to Beaver Island. Traditional lifeways were further reinforced by the appointment of Fr. Peter Gallagher, C.S.C., who served on the island from 1866 until his death in 1898 (Pike and Vreeland 1988:173). As a native Irish speaker, Fr. Gallagher was a welcome addition to the Beaver Island community. Indeed at least one parishioner believed the priest was heaven-sent, as she had prayed that she would not die until "an Irish priest would hear her confession in Irish" (Gallagher 1929-1930:201-202). Fr. Gallagher said Mass in Irish and conducted the religious business of the island in ways that helped to perpetuate the social and cultural structures from Árainn Mhór (Connors 1999:290).

By the 1890s, American-born descendants of the founding Irish families were coming of age and challenging the parochial worldview that had dominated island life. Connors (1999:275) asserts that second-generation Irish "aimed to topple the entrenched oligarchy and dismantle the Old World, hierarchical social system" and inspired by "true participatory democracy, market driven capitalism, and materialism,…planned to take advantage of the benefits that further integration with the mainland would provide."

This generational shift was facilitated in part by the overwhelming success of the fishing industry during the late nineteenth century, but which represented a paradox for Beaver Irish (Table 2.5). The ample household incomes which fishing generated resulted in a stable island economy and "nurtured the continuance of familiar, pre-migration subsistence agricultural practices," which in turn "provided for the cultural transference of a conservative, patriarchal village clan structure" (Connors 1999:290). Yet simultaneously, commercial fishing meant engaging with a market economy, emerging class consciousness, a spirit of individualized entrepreneurialism, and increasing social stratification – all of which directly challenged traditional communal values and social organization. Before these differences of tradition and modernity could be fully reconciled between the generations of island Irish, however, the fishing industry began to decline due to both overfishing and state regulations that undermined fishing as a viable livelihood. Children no longer followed their fathers into the profession (Cashman 1976:86) and a pattern of out-migration and exogamy began to characterize the lives of American-born Irish on the island (Duke and Rotman 2012).

The Beaver Island Lumber Company further altered the cultural and economic landscape of the island by bringing an influx of foreign laborers in 1903 (Gladish 1976) (Tables 2.6, 2.7 and 2.8). Although the Irish continued to have a strong presence, the logging camps were occupied by lumberjacks and millers from Germany, Denmark, Norway, France, Austria, England, and even India (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1910). Lumbering also assumed prominence in the economy, accounting for more than one-quarter of all men's jobs on the island. The cultural influence of the Beaver Irish began to wane and the *Gaeltacht* faded into history as English became the language through which daily business was transacted.

Although the Beaver Island lumber company ceased operations ca. 1915, lumber-related industries continued on the island into the 1970s (Gladish 1976:101). The multicultural society that developed as the result of timber in the early 20th century has persisted to present day. Only about a third of current island residents claim Irish ancestry.

The pattern of self-sufficiency that was established in the immediate post-Mormon period by returning Irish fishermen and farmers persisted well into the 20th century. Although the proportions of

Table 2.5. Census Summary ~ 1900; entire island, largely Irish immigrant occupation, but beginning to change

General Category	Specific Occupation	# of men St. James (north)	# of men Peaine (middle, south)	% of labor force
Agriculture	Farmer		60	40.1
	Farm laborer		47	
Maritime	Fisherman	56	18	42.2
	Captain (steam boat)	1		
	Captain (lake)	5		
	Captain (marine)	4		
	Engineer (boat, marine, lake)	3		
	Foreman (marine)	2		
	Sailor	5	6	
	Cook (boat)	3		
	Agent (dock)	1		
	Life saving station		1	
	Lighthouse Keeper	5	3	
Lumbering	Foreman (camp)		1	8.1
	Foreman (saw mill)	1		
	Watchman (saw mill)	1		
	Raftsman	2	2	
	Woodsman	2	12	
	Cook in camp		1	
Skilled Trades	Carpenter (house)	3		2.5
	Carpenter		2	
	Cooper	2		
Services	Merchant (general store)	1		7.1
	Salesman (general store)	1		
	Grocer/Merchant (grocery)	2		
	Merchant (furniture)	1		
	Clerk (dry goods)	1		
	Bookkeeper in store	2		
	Schoolteacher	2	1	
	Music teacher	1		
	Cook	2		
	Teamster	1		
	Saloon Keeper	1		
	Hotel Keeper	1		
	Postmaster	1		

Table 2.6. Census Summary ~ 1910; entire island, multicultural society

General Category	Specific Occupation	# of men St. James (north)	# of men Peaine (middle, south)	% of labor force
Agriculture	Farmer	4	60	29.4
	Farm laborer (at home)		37	
	Farm laborer (working out)		5	
Maritime	Fisherman (gill net)	24		15.8
	Fisherman (pound net)	5		
	Buyer (fish)	2		
	Carpenter (boat builder)	3		
	Engineer (boat, marine, lake)	4	1	
	Foreman (marine)	1		
	Sailor (own vessel)	1		
	Sailor (merchant vessel)	1	2	
	Pilot (fish tug)	3		
	Pilot (towing tug)	1		
	Mender (gill net)	3		
	Life saving station	1		
	Lighthouse Keeper	2	3	
Lumbering	Superintendent (lumber co)	1	2	26.5
	Foreman (lumber mill)	3		
	Sawyer (lumber mill, lumber camp)	1	5	
	Woodchopper (lumber camp)	2	16	
	Cook in camp	1	1	
	Machinist (lumber mill)	1		
	Saw filer (lumber mill)	1		
	Blacksmith (lumber co)	2		
	Teamster (lumber mill, lumber camp)	3	3	
	Engineer (lumber mill)	1		
	Laborer (lumber mill)	36		
	Car loader (lumber camp)		2	
	Barn boss (lumber camp)		1	
	Laborer (camp)	3		
	Bookkeeper (lumber co)	1		
	Foreman (railroad)	3		
	Laborer (railroad)	3		
	Brakeman (railroad)	2		
	Engineer (locomotive)	1		
	Illegible (lumber mill)	1		
Skilled Trades	Carpenter (house)	6		4.3
	Cooper (apple barrels)	1		
	Blacksmith (own shop)	1		
	Painter (house)	1		
	Tailor (own shop)	1		
	Bolter (shingle mill)	1		
	Laborer (shingle mill)	4		

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General Category	Specific Occupation	# of men St. James (north)	# of men Peaine (middle, south)	% of labor force
	Mason (bricklayer)		1	
Services	Salesman (grocery store)	1		7.9
	Wagon driver (groceries)	1		
	Grocer/Merchant (grocery)	1		
	Butcher (own shop)	1		
	Bookkeeper in store	1		
	Physician (general practice)	1		
	Schoolteacher	2	6 (nuns)	
	Musician (violin)	1		
	Music teacher		1	
	Proprietor (livery barn)	1		
	Teamster	1		
	Hotel Keeper	1		
	Barber (own shop)	1		
	Barber (working out)	1		
	Keeper (ice cream parlor)	2		
	Keeper (billiard room)	1		
	Postmaster	1		
	Dpt. oil inspector (state)	1		
	Catholic priest, clergyman (brother)		2	
General Labor	Laborer (odd jobs)	39	18	16.1
	Laborer	1		

Table 2.7. Census Summary ~ 1920; entire island, multicultural society

General Category	Specific Occupation	# of men St. James (north)	# of men Peaine (middle, south)	% of labor force
Agriculture	Farmer	5	58	38.6
	Farm laborer (at home)	12	21	
	Farm laborer (working out)	2	5	33.8
Maritime	Fisherman (Fish Co.)	4		
	Fisherman (own tug)	54		
	Fisherman (fish tug)	3		
	Owner (fish tug)	3		
	Engineer (fish tug)	3		
	Bookkeeper (steam ships)	1		
	Cook (steam boat)	1		
	Dock laborer (boat dock)	1		
	Buyer (fish)	2		
	Carpenter (ship yard)	1		
	Sailor (Great Lakes)	2		
	Sailor (merchant vessel)	7		
	Life saving station	3		
	Lighthouse Keeper	4	1	

General Category	Specific Occupation	# of men St. James (north)	# of men Peaine (middle, south)	% of labor force
Other	Farmer & fisherman	1		0.3
Lumbering	Laborer (lumber mill)	3		3.7
	Wood chopper (lumber camp)	1		
	Foreman (woods)	1		
	Woodsman (lumber camp)	2		
	Lumberman (lumber camp)	1		
	Manufacturer (lumber)	1	1	
Skilled Trades	Carpenter (house)	6		12.7
	Mason (house)	1		
	Blacksmith (own shop)	3		
	Painter (house)	1		
	Bricklayer	1		
	Shipping clerk (auto post)		1	
	Manager (auto rep shop)		1	
	Laborer (box factory)		19	
	Machinist (box factory)		1	
Services	Grocer/Merchant (grocery)	1		10.9
	Retail Merchant (general merchandise)		5	
	Bookkeeper in store	1		
	Real estate & insurance		1	
	Schoolteacher	2	8 (nuns)	
	Baker (in bakery)		1	
	Illustrator house artist		1	
	Proprietor (livery barn, dray line)	2		
	Hotel Keeper	1		
	Keeper (billiard room)	1		
	Postmaster, clerk in post office	1		
	Catholic priest, clergyman; sexton, minister	2	2	

Table 2.8. Census Summary ~ 1930; entire island, multicultural society

General Category	Specific Occupation	# of men St. James (north)	# of men Peaine (middle, south)	% of labor force
Agriculture	Farmer	4	40	34.7
	Farm laborer, helper (general farm)	1	14	
Maritime	Fisherman (commercial)	55		42.8
	Engineer (marine)	5		
	Cook (steam boat)	1		
	Buyer (fish)	1		

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	Laborer (fish packer)	1		
	Carpenter (ship yard)	2		
	Watchman (boat)	1		
	Fireman (boat)	1		
	Helper (shore hand)	1		
	Life saving station	2		
	Lighthouse Keeper	3		
Lumbering	Laborer (lumber camp or log camp)	4	4	7.6
	Lumberman (wholesale)	1		
	Foreman (saw mill)	1		
	Superintendent (lumber camp)		1	
	Laborer (saw mill)		1	
	Cable splicer (lumber camp)		1	
Skilled Trades	Carpenter (house)	2		2.9
	Engineer (stationary)	1		
	Mechanic (general)	1		
	Laborer (U.S. Construction)	1		
Services	Schoolteacher	1	5 (nuns)	10.6
	Chauffeur (taxi co.)	1		
	Merchant (retail, dry goods)	3		
	Orderly (hospital)	1		
	Warden (fire)	1		
	Physician (medical)	1		
	Butcher (meat)	1		
	Postmaster, clerk in post office	3		
	Catholic priest, clergyman; sexton, minister		1	
General Labor	Laborer (garden)	1		1.2
	Laborer (coal mine)	1		

fishermen, farmers, and laborers varied from census enumeration to census enumeration, the overall percentage of skilled trades and service occupations on the island remained relatively low (Table 2.9). From 1860 to 1880, skilled trades and services represented less than 20% of public economic activity and even declined between each of these decennial census years (from 18.2% in 1860 to 17.2% in 187 to 14.1% in 1880). These occupations were at their lowest levels during the 1900 and 1910 enumerations when they were 9.6% and 12.2%, respectively. The slight increase by 1910 may be a reflection of an increased need for skilled trades and services that accompanied the arrival of the Beaver Island Company in 1903. Indeed, by 1920, nearly one-quarter (23.6%) of all male occupations on the island fell in this category, but declined again by the 1930 enumeration to 13.5%.

The high degree of self-sufficiency for more than seven decades would have had important implications for individual households. Each family would have had to produce much of their own food, dispose of their own waste, and met most of their other needs within the household in a customary pattern for rural households (Stewart-Abernathy 1986; Rotman and Nassaney 1997). Importantly, women would have made significant contributions to the domestic economy and, therefore, had relatively high status vis-à-vis men on the island (Rotman 2009).

Rather than simply representing demographic shifts in the island's population, the cultural exchanges that accompanied each of these transitions profoundly shaped Irish identity and *ethnogenesis* (the process of

Table 2.9. Summary by percentage of male occupations ~ 1860-1930.

General Category	1860	1870	1880	1900	1910	1920	1930
Agriculture	10.4	33.8	33.3	40.1	29.4	38.6	34.7
Maritime	25.3	24.1	14.9	42.2	15.8	33.8	42.8
Combined Fisher/Farmer	1.3					0.3	
Lumbering			0.4	8.1	26.5	3.7	7.6
Skilled Trades	14.3	11.0	7.8	2.5	4.3	12.7	2.9
Services	3.9	6.2	6.3	7.1	7.9	10.9	10.6
General Labor	44.8	24.9	37.3		16.1		1.2

forming new cultural identities). Ethnic identities were defined and solidified through contact with other peoples. Instead of a straight line of one group becoming like another, however, interactions between these entities represented a series of negotiations in which some ethnic traditions continued, individual choices and adaptations made, and cultural norms rejected or subverted.

As Irish identities and lived experiences on Beaver Island were transformed through cultural interaction with non-Irish groups so too were their material and social worlds. Through these varied cultural contacts, such as with the Mormons in the mid-nineteenth century and the multiethnic workforce of the Beaver Island Lumber Company in the early twentieth century, Irish families continued traditions from their homeland, incorporated new cultural norms and practices, and otherwise navigated the multifaceted and ever-changing social landscapes in which they lived.

Research Questions of Interest

Rather than simply representing demographic shifts in the island's population, the cultural exchanges that accompanied each of these transitions profoundly shaped Irish identity and *ethnogenesis* (the process of forming new cultural identities). Ethnic identities were defined and solidified through contact with other peoples. Instead of a straight line of one group becoming like another, however, interactions between these entities represented a series of negotiations in which some ethnic traditions continued, individual choices and adaptations made, and cultural norms rejected or subverted.

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It is these varied cultural contacts between circa 1840 and circa 1920 that are the foci of this project. Identity is contrastive by nature: 'we' exist by reference to a distinguishing 'them' (Newton 2010:96). How was Irish identity and ethnogenesis (the process of forming new cultural identities) shaped by interaction with peoples of varied ethnicities? How was "Irishness" performed when the island was occupied by disparate cultural groups, such as Native Americans and Mormons? How was identity mediated in the second half of the 19th century when the island was so homogenously Irish? How were consumer choices, food ways, and uses of space shaped and transformed as Irish immigrants on Beaver Island navigated the multifaceted social worlds in which they lived?

Assimilation of cultural groups into new surroundings is a process; one that means both "to make like" as well as "to take up and incorporate" (Kivisto 2004:155). Rather than a straight line of one group becoming like another, it is a series of complex negotiations in which some ethnic traditions may continue, individual choices and adaptations made (Greenwood and Slawson 2008:77), and cultural norms rejected or subverted (Joseph 2004:19). Murray (2006:6) describes this process as that of *becoming* or *devenir*; "Becoming never stops yet occasionally changes its direction, or ripples in turbulent flows, forever following its course towards a new identity."

Issues of identity and culture contact are of key importance to other scholars interested in ethnogenesis and the experiences of other diasporic peoples. This proposed project investigating Irish-

America on Beaver Island, therefore, will both draw from and contribute to these interdisciplinary discourses. Research at Fort Michilimackinac, for example, has focused on interactions between the areas indigenous people and the French and British soldiers and fur traders at the Fort. Scott's (2001) investigation of the site, however, revealed that Fort Michilimackinac was a multicultural place occupied by German Jews, French Canadians, Native Americans, African Americans, and Métis. Each of these groups "used religion, language, dress, food, and house style to emphasize their cultural traditions" (Scott 2001:32). In this context of colonialism, uses of the material world were both symbols of ethnic identity and overt displays intended to reinforce superior-inferior statuses among the colonizers and the colonized. Consequently, the process of ethnogenesis at the fort was not about acculturation, but rather the reassertion of traditional cultural norms in response to conflict among highly varied ethnic groups.

Franklin (2001) observed a similar phenomenon in colonial Virginia. Foodways were used as a vehicle for racial and cultural identity, to construct and maintain group boundaries. Although the Afro-Virginians in her study were enslaved on Tidewater plantations, they were able to use their resources and knowledge to produce foodways that both demonstrated some measure of autonomous cultural production within the context of slavery as well as their own within-group construct of identity.

An isolated marine community of Overseas Chinese along the central California coast was studied by Greenwood and Slawson (2008). Their analyses revealed both continuity and change in this immigrant enclave. Foodways and traditional dishes persisted in their use, while architectural changes to houses and associated furnishing were somewhat more malleable through time. Rather than simply "measuring assimilation according to percentages of imported vs. domestic manufactured items, [critical analyses of the material world of this village] illuminated broader issues such as evidence of continued ethnic traditions, resistance to American cultural norms, individual adaptations, and the persistence of a small but distinctive culture with its own values and behaviors" (Greenwood and Slawson 2008:77; see also Joseph 2004:19). Importantly, their study highlights the complex negotiations that constitute the process of *becoming* and the ways in which identity is selectively mediated through material culture, often with reference to both the world people currently inhabit and the worlds they left behind upon emigrating.

A transnational perspective is imperative for understanding continuity and change in Irish immigrant experiences. Significantly, "processes of dispersion were historically and socially distinctive for captive Africans, Irish migrants, and the Overseas Chinese, but scholarship on all these diasporas centers around the articulated, constructed, and unrecognized connections displaced peoples have with their origins" (Mullins 2008:155). In addition, "social networks consist of the local and Ireland" and that "it is important to understand that their *Ireland* (not the geographical but the one in their minds) has been relocated" to their new communities (Murray 2006:16, emphasis in the original). Much of this constructed identity on Beaver Island continues to be reified by local historians, oral traditions, and popular institutions, but has not yet been informed by the archaeological record. This interdisciplinary and collaborative project will investigate 19th-century homesteads associated with Irish immigrants on Beaver Island and explore the process of becoming Irish-Americans.

Chapter 3: Methods and Data

by Deborah L. Rotman

Source materials for this research project include a broad spectrum of evidentiary classes. The 2010-2011 pilot project 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, 204 archaeological sites have been identified in Charlevoix County, Michigan, including 44 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 2010-2011 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. (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

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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. Additional years of field work, archival research, and oral history collection for other homesites on the island are expected to continue through at least 2017.

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 Paynter1991; 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 it 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.

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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). Brodkin-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 saddletree 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 Paytner 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). Brodkin (Brodkin-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.

<u>Understanding Gender Ideologies</u>: 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., Brodkin-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.

<u>The Cult of Domesticity</u>: 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

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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

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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

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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.

<u>Equal Rights Feminism</u>: 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).

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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.

<u>Domestic Reform</u>: 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.

<u>Feminine Mystique</u>: 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

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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 ethic 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.

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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 2010-2011 excavations). 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 serves 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 covers 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 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 are 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 explores analyses of different artifact classes and interpretation. We discuss these articles both

formally and informally in the classroom, field, and laboratory. Students are 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 are 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 2010-2011 field seasons). 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. The site was 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, four 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.