

**The Archaeology of Texas Freedmen Descendants, Antioch Colony (41HY491)**

Katelyn Marie Kitch

ANT679HB

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Maria Franklin  
Department of Anthropology  
Supervising Professor

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Enrique Rodriguez-Alegría  
Department of Anthropology  
Second Reader

## **Abstract**

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Katelyn Kitch, B.A. Anthropology

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Supervisor: Maria Franklin

This thesis presents the results of a ceramic analysis on the ceramic artifacts recovered from the Anderson House site within the larger Antioch Colony Site, a freedmen community established in Buda, Texas shortly after emancipation. Two main research questions were explored. First, I address the depositional history of the site and the formation processes that acted on it. To do this, I conducted a crossmend analysis and ascertained the minimum number of vessel count, and analyzed this evidence within the context of Schiffer's cultural and environmental formation processes. Second, I discuss the consumer behaviors of the Anderson family and how they relate to the larger consumer culture of the twentieth century. I also discuss how these behaviors are related to their identities as both black and rural consumers. To do this, I analyzed the abundance and variety of artifact types and decorations represented in the ceramic assemblage based off of the MNV analysis, and within the context of the larger consumer culture that characterized American society at large during the first half of the twentieth century.

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## **Chapter 1: Introduction**

This thesis presents the results of a ceramic analysis associated with archaeological research at the Freedman's site of Antioch Colony (41HY491). The initial investigation into the colony began in 2009 as a part of the larger Williams Farmstead Project. The scope of this investigation has since expanded into a larger multidisciplinary project that incorporates archaeological, historical, and oral history research in order to provide a comprehensive understanding of the lifeways of rural African Americans in Hays County in the decades following the Civil War (Franklin 2012).

More specifically, I conducted an analysis of the ceramics excavated from one of two domestic sites excavated by the University of Texas. Mary and George Anderson, along with their son Louis, occupied the site in question during the early twentieth century. I was interested in the Anderson family's experiences as consumers, and how their specific consumer behaviors were related to the formation of their racial and rural identities. In the process of analyzing the ceramics to address that question, I also considered the depositional history of the site (Franklin 2018). The recovery of a relatively high number of ceramic artifacts from the site and their analytical use in studying consumer behavior (Mullins 1999b: 147) paved the way for this study.

While there exists extensive literature concerning ceramics, especially in regards to consumer behavior, this literature is somewhat limited in its scope. A large percentage of the historic archaeological studies conducted have been done for eighteenth- and nineteenth-century assemblages. In addition, many of these studies focused on the consumer practices of white, urban, middle-class households (See Wall 1991; Lucas

1994; Fitts 1999). Thus, this present study led to an opportunity of contributing to the sparse literature of not only rural households, but black rural households of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. By incorporating the approaches and interpretations related to studies of nineteenth-century consumerism, urban African-American consumers, and white rural farmsteads, I was able to propose how ceramic consumption related to the identities of rural black households during the early twentieth century.

This opportunity to contribute to the literature concerning not only African-American historic sites, but historic freedmen sites in particular, was very important. The archaeology of Texas freedmen sites is largely underrepresented in the literature. This is due in large part to the silencing of black history. Not until the late 1960s was the field of African American archaeology even embraced as an academic and professional discipline. The Civil Rights and Black Power movements, along with the passage of the National Preservation Act of 1966, legitimized the study of African American history and culture as an important aspect of the larger American history. However, much of the early African American archaeology focused on plantation studies (Barile 2004). The research on postbellum black households and communities is a more recent phenomenon (Scott 2012: 6; Leone et al. 2005; Barnes 2011). The inclusion of postbellum sites, and especially freedmen community sites, is essential, as these studies broaden our understanding of the African American experience and of our larger American history. These sites represent the success of African Americans to purchase land and establish independent settlements in spite of harsh social and economic barriers. Therefore, by undertaking this thesis project, it was my hope to contribute to this uncovering of African



American historical achievements and to provide a more robust and inclusive understanding of our history.

In Chapter Two, I first relate the history of Texas freedmen in order to provide the historical context. freedmen sites like the Antioch Colony were rural African-American communities that were settled in the South after emancipation by newly-freed slaves. Because of the virulent anti-black racism that erupted in response to African Americans earning their legal freedom, these freedmen faced many social and economic hardships due to discriminatory practices and behaviors. With the passage of the “Black Codes” in Texas and other states in the South, African Americans were economically suppressed and heavily restricted in their mobility (Barnes 1998). These codes were designed to disenfranchise newly-freed African Americans and restrict them into sharecropping and tenant farming, thus trapping them in a cycle of debt and dependence on white landowners. However, even though it was exceedingly difficult for freedmen to escape the oppressive control of Whites, it is historically known that some African Americans were successful in purchasing their own land in Texas. By purchasing land adjacent to one another, these African Americans formed their own colonies (Sitton and Conrad 2005: 1-3).

Even though nearly one-third of African-American farmers were able to purchase their own land, little academic attention has been given to these achievements. Instead, most archaeological studies have focused on antebellum plantation sites, or on postbellum farmstead sites that belonged to white landowners (Barile 2004). This had led to a biased historical perspective of Southern farmers and landowners after the Civil War

and of life for African Americans post-slavery, in general (Sitton and Conrad 2005: 2-3). However, in recent decades, the broadening of the scope of African-American archaeology has taken on increasing importance. A few significant studies have been conducted on Texas freedmen sites, including the Ransom and Sarah Williams site (Boyd et al. 2015), the Rubin Hancock site (Blake and Myers 1999), and the Friendship Community site (Green 1996). These studies focus on the resistance of African Americans against oppression, and have provided new insights into the struggle of African Americans in asserting their own identities outside of white domination (Wilkie 2004; Leone et al. 2005; Barnes 2011). As such, they have contributed to a more robust and accurate understanding of our complex and diverse history (Franklin 2012: 4-5).

After providing a historical and archaeological background to Texas freedmen sites, I then discuss the history and archeology of Antioch Colony. The history of Antioch Colony extends all the way back to emancipation, with census and deed documentation showing settlement at the site as having occurred by 1870. The quick establishment of Antioch Colony after the Civil War was made possible by Joseph Rowley, the original property owner who unlike most whites, sold land to African Americans after emancipation. Rowley was unique in his motivation to help freedmen establish their own community; he split up and sold adjacent parcels of his land in quick succession exclusively to the founders of the colony (Franklin 2012: 35-36; Myers 2015: 59-64).

Many of the original founders of the Antioch Colony already had ties to one another through a shared history and kinship dating back to slavery. This bond helped in forming a tightly-knit community that flourished for many decades. Antioch Colony

became a large and self-sufficient community that peaked in 1930 with 21 households and over 100 individuals, and lasted until the 1950s (Sitton and Conrad 2005: 3; Myers 2015: 65, 92-93). The Anderson family was one of these households. Mary Peoples Anderson was a second-generation resident of the Antioch Colony, and along with her husband George and son Louis, the family lived there from circa 1920 to 1950 (Franklin 2018).

Between the summers of 2013 and 2016, Dr. Franklin and her students excavated thousands of artifacts from Antioch Colony, which includes the Kate (Friend) Bunton site and its associated midden, the late nineteenth-century School and Church site, and the Anderson site. The focus of this thesis, the Anderson site, includes the remains of a house in the form of wooden posts. The site measures approximately 16 x 30 feet, and totals 125 1x1 meter and 13 1x 2 meter units. Of these 125 excavation units, 114 of them yielded 1,104 ceramic artifacts, most of which were analyzed for this thesis (Scott 2016 49-50; Franklin 2016: 3).

In Chapter Three, I discuss the influence of formation processes of the Anderson House site and the pattern of ceramic depositions. As put forth by Schiffer (1987), formation processes are cultural and physical processes that transform material artifacts when they are deposited and after. These transformations affect the pattern of artifact distribution in a way that may be unrelated to past behaviors we are attempting to study and, therefore, must be accounted for. The variability in the archaeological record can be viewed as the end product of a series of processes transforming the state of the artifacts (Schiffer 1987: page 10-11; Joyce and Johannessen 1993:138; Tani 1995: 232).

Formation processes can be divided into two categories; cultural and environmental (or natural) formation processes. Cultural processes are a set of behavioral activities that alter the state of artifacts after their initial period of use. They also include the depositional practices of site occupants. Environmental processes include all of the non-cultural processes of the natural environment that affect artifacts after they enter the archaeological record (Schiffer 1987: 7).

In this chapter, I first summarize the methods I used to classify and catalog the ceramic artifacts. In order to identify the formation processes that led to the creation of the archaeological record at the Anderson House site, I focused on the fragmentation of the ceramic sherds, the patterns of crossmends between the different excavation units and levels, and the distribution of the ceramic sherds across the site (LeeDecker 1994: 356). Lastly, I discuss the standards used for ascertaining the minimum number of vessel (MNV) count.

The crossmend data revealed that the ceramics did not appear to have moved significantly after deposition in the spatial dimension. Most of the ceramic vessels were reconstructed from sherds that were in close proximity to one another, either in the same level and unit, or in contiguous units. Thus, formation processes did not have a large effect in moving ceramics post deposition. However, the MNV count revealed the highly-fragmented nature of the ceramic assemblage that produced few re-constructible vessels. Of the total 1,053 domestic ceramic sherds, only 319 were classified as vessels, and only 79 were able to be cross-mended. This high level of fragmentation was inferred to have been caused by a number of formation processes. First, the ceramics were likely

deposited as secondary refuse, which likely caused the initial breakage. After being deposited, the ceramic sherds likely experienced even further fragmentation due to an environmental formation processes called faunal turbanation. After the site was abandoned in the 1950s, the main agents moving through the site were animals, who probably trampled over the artifacts as they were grazing.

In Chapter Four, I discuss the consumer behaviors of the Anderson family and how they relate to the larger consumer culture of the twentieth century. I also discuss how these behaviors are related to their identities as both black and rural consumers. First, I define consumer behavior and give a brief history on the study of consumer practices in archaeology. Next, I provide the theoretical framework I chose to interpret consumer behavior and define American consumer culture of the twentieth century in order to contextualize the Anderson's consumer behavior. Consumer behavior involves the patterns of spending and purchases made at the individual, household, or community level at a site. It considers the acquisition, use, and discard of material culture (LeeDecker 1994: 346). In this thesis, consumer behavior is analyzed as a social act of meaningful shopping. Consumption is a ritual activity rich in symbolic meaning, and shifting in its values (Cook et al. 1996: 60). Through this social act of shopping, consumers actively acquire material things than confirm or assert who we are or who we want to be. By consuming particular materials, one can thus display their social identities (Mullins 2011: 2).

In the early twentieth century, it was the acquiring of mass-produced goods that symbolized one's status and identity. Following the expansion of the industrial revolution

during the late nineteenth century, technological innovations lead to improvements in the quantity of products as well as the distribution of said products to consumers. As a consequence, publically-shared expectations of standards of living arose (Spencer-Wood 1987: 297; Mullins 1999b: 34; Orser 2002: 143; Bednarchuk 2006: 1; McGovern 2006: 97; Feit and Jones 2007: 181). Compounded by the effects of marketing and advertising, this expectation led to a new consumer culture of mass consumption and material aspiration. By the 1920s, Americans embraced mass material standards as a mode of social empowerment in place of previous ideals such as religion, nationalism, and labor identity. Material wealth came to symbolize social expectation, improved standards of living, and served as an expression of one's social standing and identity (Mullins 1999c: 34; Orser 2002 143; Bednarchuk 2006: 1; Feit and Jones 2007: 181, Brighton 2011; 32).

After providing the framework for analyzing the particular behaviors of the Anderson family, I then provide the relevant ceramic data that was used in the analysis. This includes the relative abundance of different material types, the diversity of decorative techniques, and the presence of certain vessel types. Within the Anderson 's ceramic assemblage, only the foodways- related ceramics were analyzed. These were ceramics used for serving and consumption, food storage, and food preparation.

Finally, I then analyze the specific characteristics of these ceramics as they relate to the purchasing patterns of the Anderson household within the context of the broader consumer culture of the early twentieth century. I found that the Andersons, while still maintaining some rural consumer behaviors, largely participated in the broader American consumer culture. While the Andersons purchased tableware that appeared to be popular

during that time period, they also acquired tableware informally and held onto food storage vessels that were mainly used for traditional, rural foodways practices. This employment of both rural and urban consumer behaviors suggests that the Andersons maintained a sense of rural identity while also aspiring to adopt the larger consumer ideology of mass consumption and material affluence. They did so despite the racist nature of American consumer space, where “whiteness” was both advertised and promised through the racialized discourse.

This thesis ends with Chapter 5, where I reiterate my research questions, summarize the results of my study, and indicate what this research contributes to the existing scholarship on African American archaeology.

## **Chapter 2: History and Archaeology of Texas Freedmen**

### **Texas Freedmen Sites**

#### *History of Texas Freedmen*

The transition from slavery to freedom after the Civil war did not occur immediately after the declaration of emancipation for all enslaved African Americans. The process by which African Americans attained freedom was slow and fraught with numerous obstacles over many decades following emancipation. This turbulent time period was marked by oppression, as discriminatory policies were continuously enacted by whites in order to impede African-American mobility and progress (Franklin 2012: XV). African Americans who remained in the rural plantation system were forced to adapt to new and uncertain social and economic relationships between themselves and their white neighbors. These new power dynamics between former slaves and former slave owners were developed within the context of a postbellum South that found itself economically depressed as a consequence of the Civil War. These economic constraints had a major influence on the balance of power between African Americans and whites within the agricultural economy and on the adaptive behaviors that African Americans would be required to adopt in order to succeed in the changing economic landscape (Brown 1998).

The end of the Civil War and the resulting emancipation of millions of African Americans created many legal and economic problems for Southern landowners. For these landowners, the post-war economic landscape was bleak; saddled with debt and with their assets held in now worthless Confederate currency, emancipation and the



subsequent loss of the enslaved workforce threatened the fragile Southern agricultural economy with collapse (Barnes 1998). This lack of financial security led to the fragmentation of Southern plantations and made the implementation of the crop-lien system, sharecropping, and tenant farming necessary in order to cover the costs of labor and the means of production on these smaller farms. These systems however, trapped many African Americans in a cycle of debt as monopolistic creditors and merchants refused to extend credit and forced them to pledge future crops as collateral to finance loans needed for supplies. These policies were implemented as a mechanism in which white Southerners could maintain social and economic control of the agricultural system and of the rapid influx of free African Americans (Ranson and Sutch 1972: 641-642; Brown 1998).

Even though African Americans had attained “freedom” in the legal sense, the new sharecropping economy that emerged and the laws passed to support it were meant as a continuation of white dominance and black oppression, albeit in a manner less overt than slavery. The “Black Codes” that were passed by the Texas Legislature and other southern states were designed to economically suppress freedmen by restricting their newfound freedom and mobility (Barnes 1998). These laws favored white employers by enforcing strict vagrancy laws and labor contracts on African Americans, thereby forcing them into “a system of indentured servitude” (Sitton and Conrad 2005: 12) on white plantations. By advocating for these government policies designed to disenfranchise free African Americans, white Southerners were able to maintain ownership of most farming land and enforce low wage rates (Barnes 1998; Sitton and Conrad 2005: 11-12).

Trapped in a cycle of debt, it was exceedingly difficult for freedmen to escape the oppressive control of whites over land and the low economic stability maintained through discriminatory wages. Perpetually indebted to white lenders and unable to amass any significant savings, African American sharecroppers and farm laborers again found themselves with little hope of upward mobility as they labored on white-owned plantations reminiscent of their time as slaves (Barnes 1998; Sitton and Conrad 2005: 1-2). However, even during this “shadow of slavery,” a “counter-movement” (Sitton and Conrad 2005: 2) of success for some freedmen was nonetheless able to persevere and make forward progress. The first step towards obtaining true social and economic freedom for some African Americans was the acquisition of their own land. Owning land led to financial security and ended the cycle of dependence on white employers (Franklin 2012: 33). Since most African Americans in Texas had been enslaved on plantations, they already possessed the agricultural skills needed for farming one’s own land. However, financial insolvency, lack of government assistance, and the unwillingness of entrenched white landowners to sell land to African Americans acted as barriers between African Americans and their dreams of economic self-sufficiency (Schweninger 1989: 47).

In spite of these oppressive efforts, it is historically known that some former slaves were able to purchase farm land in Texas, whether through the assistance of former masters or from years of saving up money working as farm laborers. In addition, many of these landowners acquired land adjacent to one another, forming their own freedmen colonies. These colonies were communities of African-American farm owners

dispersed mainly throughout the eastern half of Texas. Settled largely on cheap land in wilderness areas, the communities were positioned far away from white plantation districts in order to insulate their residents from white authority (Schweninger 1989: 47; Sitton and Conrad 2005: 1-3). These isolated locations were ideal as they were safer from the oppressive and hostile actions of groups such as the KKK, which formed post-war in order to keep freedmen “in their place.” Here, freedmen could practice subsistence farming within a community structure that would allow them to minimize interactions with whites (Myers 2015: 58-59, 65).

Relative to other states in the South, Texas was a good place for newly freed African Americans to become landowning farmers in the decades following emancipation. Landownership rose more sharply here than in any other southern state. Between 1870 and 1890, nearly twenty-six percent of African-American farmers in the state successfully purchased their own land, with many joining or establishing freedmen communities. This percentage continued to grow and peaked at 31 percent at the beginning of the 1900s. However, the majority of these historic farm sites have yet to be discovered or investigated (Sitton and Conrad 2005: 2; Boyd and Norment 2015: 3).

The decades following emancipation have been significantly underrepresented in the archaeological and historical record. American archaeologists have thoroughly investigated sites associated with enslaved African Americans during the antebellum period (Singleton and Bograd 1995), but little study has been conducted on African-American sites that were occupied post-Civil War (Boyd et al. 2015: XV). Of the post-Civil War investigations that have occurred, most have focused on the racial oppression

that African Americans faced when entering sharecropping or tenancy arrangements rather than on successful efforts by African Americans to become independent and self-sufficient (Sitton and Conrad 2005: 2; Franklin 2012: 33). In particular, attention was focused on the rise of the sharecropping system as “debt slavery” (Sitton and Conrad 2005: 2) and the resulting era of degradation and segregation during the time of Jim Crow (Sitton and Conrad 2005: 3).

Little academic attention has been placed on the success that was achieved by nearly one-third of African American farmers who were able to purchase their own land and successfully establish independent settlements. In spite of economic and social barriers, these freedmen were able to create and maintain their own sense of community and identity within a dominant white society. The dozens of historic farmstead sites that have been the subjects of previous archaeological and historical investigations across Texas have largely been focused on white landowners. This imbalance of historical and archaeological data has led to a biased historical perspective of farmers and landowners in the South after the Civil War, and of African Americans life in general (Barile 2004; Sitton and Conrad 2005: 2-3; Boyd and Norment.2015: 3).

Due to of this skewed perspective, it is important that the success stories of African-American freedmen are studied and documented in order to provide a more balanced view of the complex and diverse history of post-emancipation Texas. Because African-American stories have a history of being ignored in official records and histories, as is the case for many minority groups, the recovery and analysis of material culture from historically African-American settlement sites are critical to providing the missing

evidence needed for a more robust and accurate understanding of our history. Thus, it is important that these freedmen sites continue to be investigated archaeologically in order to uncover these important historical achievements (Sitton and Conrad 2005: 3-5; Franklin 2012: 4-5).

### *Archaeology of Texas Freedmen*

The archaeology of Texas freedmen sites has been underrepresented in the archaeological literature, largely due to the fact that African American archaeology was not embraced as an academic and professional sub-discipline until the late 1960s. Not until after the Civil Rights movement was the study of African American history and culture deemed a relevant and necessary discipline that contributed to the representation of American history. In addition to this broader intellectual movement, the National Historic Preservation Act was passed in 1966 which preserves historical and archaeological sites in the United States. This broader national movement towards African-American inclusion along with the passage of the act legitimized the field of African-American archaeology (Scott 2012: 4-5; Boyd and Norment 2015: 5).

The beginnings of African American archaeology however, focused mainly on plantation sites that were occupied during the era of slavery (Singleton 1985; Adams 1987; Babson 1990; Epperson 1990; McDavid 1997; Franklin and McKee 2004). These studies have provided great insight into the origin and evolution of slavery in America as well as the exploitation of African-American labor, the lasting implications of which can still be seen in the oppression and inequality faced by African Americans to this day. This narrow focus however, limited the understanding of African-American history by

neglecting to explore it outside of the context of white domination and isolation. This focus overemphasized and simplified the African-American experience as one solely defined by oppression (Wilkie 2004: 110-111; Scott 2012: 4-6; Leone et al. 2005: 577).

While these studies are very important to our understanding and representation of our national history, the broadening of the scope of African-American archaeology to include investigations of the African diaspora in general has taken on increasing importance in recent decades. This shift in focus not only encompasses the resistance of African Americans against post-emancipation oppression, but also explores the broader socio-cultural contexts of the period. By broadening the scope of archaeological investigations to include African-American communities following slavery, new insights can be drawn on the experiences of African Americans and their struggle to assert their own identities and realize their own aspirations. As a part of this progression in African-American archaeology, investigations of freedmen sites have risen in recent decades (Wilkie 2004 110-111; Leone et al. 2005: 577; Barnes 2011; Brown 2013; Lee 2014; Boyd et al. 2015; Scott 2016).

Significant archaeological studies have been conducted on Texas freedmen's settlements within the last several decades; chiefly among these are the Ransom Williams Farmstead near Austin (4TV1051), the Rubin Hancock Farmstead in Austin (41TV875), and the Friendship Community in southwest Delta County (41DT102, 41DT208, 41DT249). These studies investigated the lifestyles and successes of freedmen living in these rural areas following the abolition of slavery (Green et al. 1996; Blake and Myers 1999; Boyd et al. 2015).

The Williams Farmstead project was an interdisciplinary investigation conducted in the late 2000s on a post-emancipation farmstead. This farmstead was owned and occupied by Sarah and Ransom Williams, and their children from about 1871-1905. By taking into account both the archaeological results of the investigation as well as archival data and oral history research, this interdisciplinary team was able to compile a multi-faceted report of the daily lives of the Williams family. These complementary forms of evidence taken together provided a holistic overview of the life of freedmen farmers as they adjusted to emancipation and the rise of industrialization (Boyd et al. 2015: 1-8)

The archaeological investigation of the Williams Farmstead project uncovered remnants of a 45-acre farmstead, and yielded a material culture assemblage consisting of more than 26,000 artifacts. The robust artifact assemblage and accompanying historical research provide multiple lines of insight into the daily life of this rural African-American family. The conclusions produced from this expansive study portray a rural family that experienced the national trend of technological industrialization and mass consumption while also retaining some traditional farming behaviors. The Williams' were efficient and successful farmers who used their 45-acre farm to its fullest potential for over three decades. They did so by embracing the attitude of self-sufficiency common among freedmen during the late 19th century. The material culture recovered from the Williams Farmstead reflects the economic success the Williams enjoyed as a result of their skill and success in farming. The family's moderate wealth and their status as landowners, an important identifier of social status during the late 19th century, reveal that the Williams family were financially stable and, despite their race, may have had a

relatively high social status amongst the members of their farming community (Boyd et al. 2015: 537-642).

Another important freedmen site that was investigated throughout the late 1980s and 1990s is the Rubin Hancock Farmstead in north Austin. By also incorporating archival data, oral histories, and archaeological data, this interdisciplinary project provided deep insight into the lives of the Hancock family, who occupied the farm site from about 1880-1916. Rubin Hancock and his three brothers became landowning farmers upon emancipation and settled in an area of north Austin that would become the small African-American community of Duval. The archaeological investigation undertaken on the farmstead resulted in the excavation of 87 units and the identification of a house foundation, which altogether yielded over 9,000 artifacts. This expansive assemblage of material culture, examined in the context of extensive archival and historical research, led investigators to establish inferences regarding the consumer behavior and socio-cultural status of the Hancock family (Blake and Myers 1999: 1-4).

The combined data from this interdisciplinary project revealed the group of brothers as having been self-sufficient in subsistence farming and of having little dependency on the outside market economy. Their status as landowners and success as farmers, earned in spite of the rampantly discriminatory and hostile climate characteristic of the South, allowed them a comfortable and respectable lifestyle. This lifestyle served as evidence of their defiance against white hegemony, as they were able to achieve a lifestyle almost equal to that of their white counterparts (Blake and Myers 1999: 53-92).



A third important freedmen investigation conducted in the early 1990s was the investigation of the Friendship Community. This small African-American community was established on the Prairie Margin of northeast Texas in Delta County during the post-Reconstruction era. The investigation, conducted on three farmsteads within the Friendship community, also included historical, archival, and archaeological research. The culminating data that resulted from this investigation provided evidence of the lifestyles of the rural African-American families within this community as well as their socio-economic positions within the larger historic context (Green et al. 1996: 1-4).

The Friendship Community was established on land purchased from the descendants of the original white settlers. Despite the rise in racial hostility and populism in the post-Reconstruction era, some white farmers in Upland Texas were nonetheless willing to sell land to African Americans. The Friendship settlers acquired some level of acceptance from these traditional Upland Southerners. This was likely due to two facts: many whites from the upland South did not heavily rely on slave labor, and my extension, were not significantly impacted financially by emancipation (Green et al. 1996: 27-39).

The three farmstead sites investigated were the John Derrick Farmstead (41DT192), the John Hancock Farmstead (41DT208), and the Wallace Carter Farmstead (41DT249). The artifact assemblages recovered from these farmsteads, numbering over 3,000 artifacts, revealed similar consumer and cultural behaviors as those observed at the other freedmen sites previously discussed. With cotton as their predominant cash crop, these farmers also engaged in subsistence farming as a primary means of providing food

for their households. However, despite their ability to remain largely self-sufficient, many Friendship community members maintained economic ties with the nearby white city of Klondike, engaging in commerce on a semi-regular basis. This engagement with the city for commercial endeavors reflects a less hostile and more egalitarian, though not equal, relationship that existed between the Friendship community and the white community of Klondike (Green et al. 1996: 27-76).

These multidisciplinary investigations conducted within the past several decades have contributed greatly to the sparse but growing literature on African-American freedmen sites in historical archaeology. They provide needed insight into the struggles and successes of African-American farm owners as they attempted to carve out their own niche within the white-dominated agricultural economy in the racially oppressive South.

### **Antioch Colony**

Following a similar pattern as the studies discussed above, archaeological investigations of the Antioch Colony (in Buda, Hays County; Figure 2.1) began in 2012 as a part of an ongoing multidisciplinary project that incorporates historical data and oral history research. Although the focus of this thesis is on the second generation of Antioch inhabitants, and more specifically on the Anderson family and the material culture recovered from their farmstead, a historical overview of the colony will help to contextualize this research.

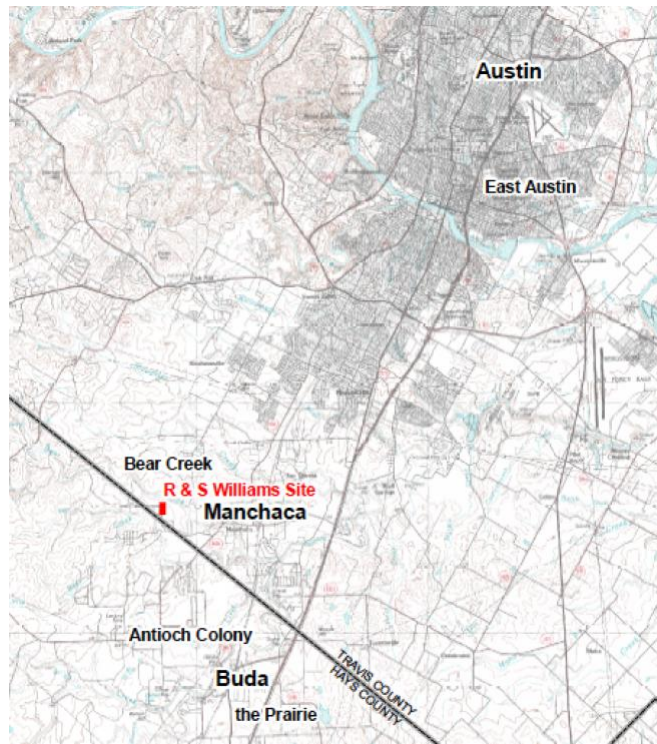


Figure 2.1 Map of the Antioch Colony and surrounding cities (Franklin 2018).

### *History of Antioch Colony*

Although the official records of the Hays County Clerk's office show that freedmen first filed deeds in 1870, there is evidence that these newly emancipated African Americans actually began settling the rural community of Antioch Colony between 1865 and 1869. Census records and registers of livestock brands dating prior to the 1870 deeds contain the names of some of the founding members of Antioch (Myers 2015: 61-63). One of the founding settlers, Elias Bunton, registered his livestock in 1868, appeared in the 1870 census, and filed an existing house on his land deed later that year. This suggests that Bunton's household and the other 12 families that founded Antioch Colony must have occupied and built on the land several years before attaining their

official deeds. Thus, a small community had already settled within the bounds of Antioch Colony by 1870 (Franklin 2012: 35-36; Myers 2015: 59-60).

The quick establishment of Antioch Colony after the Civil War was made possible by an agreement with the original property owner, Joseph Rowley. Rowley likely allowed early colony settlers to move onto and work the land years before the official purchase was registered. While most white Southerners refused to sell land to African Americans post-emancipation, Rowley was unique in his motivation to help them establish their own settlement. He owned a large tract of land and split it up into parcels adjacent to one another, selling them in succession exclusively to the founders of the colony for \$5 an acre (Myers 2015: 60-64). In order to protect these new and vulnerable land owners from losing their land to “unscrupulous speculators” (Myers 2015: 60) who did not want former slaves owning land, Rowley inserted a stipulation in their deeds prohibiting the sale of their property without his consent (Franklin 2012: 35-36; Myers 2015: 4).

Originally a native of Virginia, Joseph Rowley lived and traveled throughout the nation before ending up in Texas, where he engaged in real estate brokerage in the years immediately preceding the Civil War. After refusing to fight for the Confederacy and fleeing to Mexico for the duration of the war, he returned to Texas in 1869 and resumed his venture into real estate. It was then that he purchased the land in the P.J. Allen League that would eventually be sold to the Antioch settlers (Myers 2015: 60-64). By 1880, the Antioch community consisted of at least 16 households ranging over 500 acres of land, including land in the J. Brown League. These 500 acres were essentially located in the

wilderness and in isolation from the white urban centers, like many other freedmen settlements established throughout the South (Sitton and Conrad 2005: 22; Franklin 2012: 36; Myers 2015: 73).

While part of the success of the colony can be attributed to its distance and safety from the violence and lawlessness that permeated the south in the early post-war years, the strong social bonds that were forged within the community further strengthened the colony and allowed it to grow and flourish for decades. Several of these households already had ties to one another through a shared history or kinship dating back into slavery (Sitton and Conrad 2005: 3; Myers 2015: 65). Bound by the common experience of a life of slavery and an arduous journey from emancipation to the establishment of a new settlement in “untamed land” (Myers 2015: 65), these freedmen coalesced into a tightly-knit community.

This largely self-sufficient community continued to grow and flourish for several decades during the early twentieth century. The establishment of a school and church, as well as the subsistence farming and skilled training employed by the community members, allowed for the colony to operate almost independently (Franklin 2012: 42). At its peak in 1920, the thriving colony consisted of 21 households and numbered over 100 individuals. The community started to decline by the 1940s, however, as small-scale farming began its decline causing many residents to leave in search of better opportunities in the growing manufacturing industry and in service jobs. Compounding the effects of the loss of manpower, a series of droughts and infestations throughout the 20s and 30s forced many of the farmers to mortgage their land and crops and others to

sell their land and take up tenant farming. By the 1950s, the community was essentially abandoned (Franklin 2012: 42; Myers 2015: 84, 92-93).

### *History of the Anderson House*

The focus of this thesis is on the Anderson House site, one of the areas of domestic residency discovered within the Antioch Colony. This site is the general area where the home of Mary and George Anderson and their son Louis was once located. Mary Anderson appears in the census records of 1920, where she is listed as the wife of George Anderson. The 1920 census (Myers 2015: 85-87) lists George as an illiterate farmer who was a renter rather than a landowner. Mary is listed as his wife, but no occupation for her is mentioned. The 1930 census however, shows that in the intervening decade, George Anderson purchased his own farmland and learned to read and write. George and Mary's son Louis also appears in this census as a young boy attending school (Myers 2015: 89-92). Thus, they clearly began living at the site sometime between 1920 and 1930.

George and Mary Anderson lived at this house site for decades, until Mary Anderson moved to Austin in 1957 to live with her son and his wife, Nell. By that time, she was a widow. George and Mary's home was never re-occupied, and the year of abandonment – 1957 – is largely supported by the glass artifact terminus post quem. According to Louis's widow, Nell Anderson, her mother-in-law Mary Anderson eventually moved into a nursing home where she died in 1965. Louis inherited the land, where he resided with his wife Nell in a house they moved from Austin to Antioch in the

1960s. After Louis's death in 1994, Nell Anderson continued in residence at Antioch until 2014 (Franklin 2016).

Mary Peoples Anderson (Figure 2.2) was a second-generation inhabitant of Antioch Colony, and the daughter of Newton Peoples and Sally Bunton (Figure 2.3). Newton and Sally, along with their eldest daughter Dora, appear in the 1880 census records with Newton listed as a farmer and Sally as one who "keeps house" (Myers 2015: 70-72). Newton Peoples, like most of the inhabitants of Antioch in its early years, was born outside of Texas in the Upper South. This was similar to patterns found at surrounding white farms; many of those farmers were also immigrants from other states who brought their enslaved laborers with them to Texas. The couple, who did not own their own land and presumably rented, lived near George Champ, one of the original settlers of the colony who owned his own farmland (Myers 2015: 67-74). Mary Anderson was the granddaughter of Mary and Dave Bunton, one of the founding families of the colony (Myers 2015: 50-55). Before founding Antioch Colony, the Buntons were former slaves of the Buntons of nearby Mountain City (Myers 2015: 49).



Figure 2.2 Mary Peoples (b. 1883, d. 1960). Photo courtesy of LeeDell Bunton.



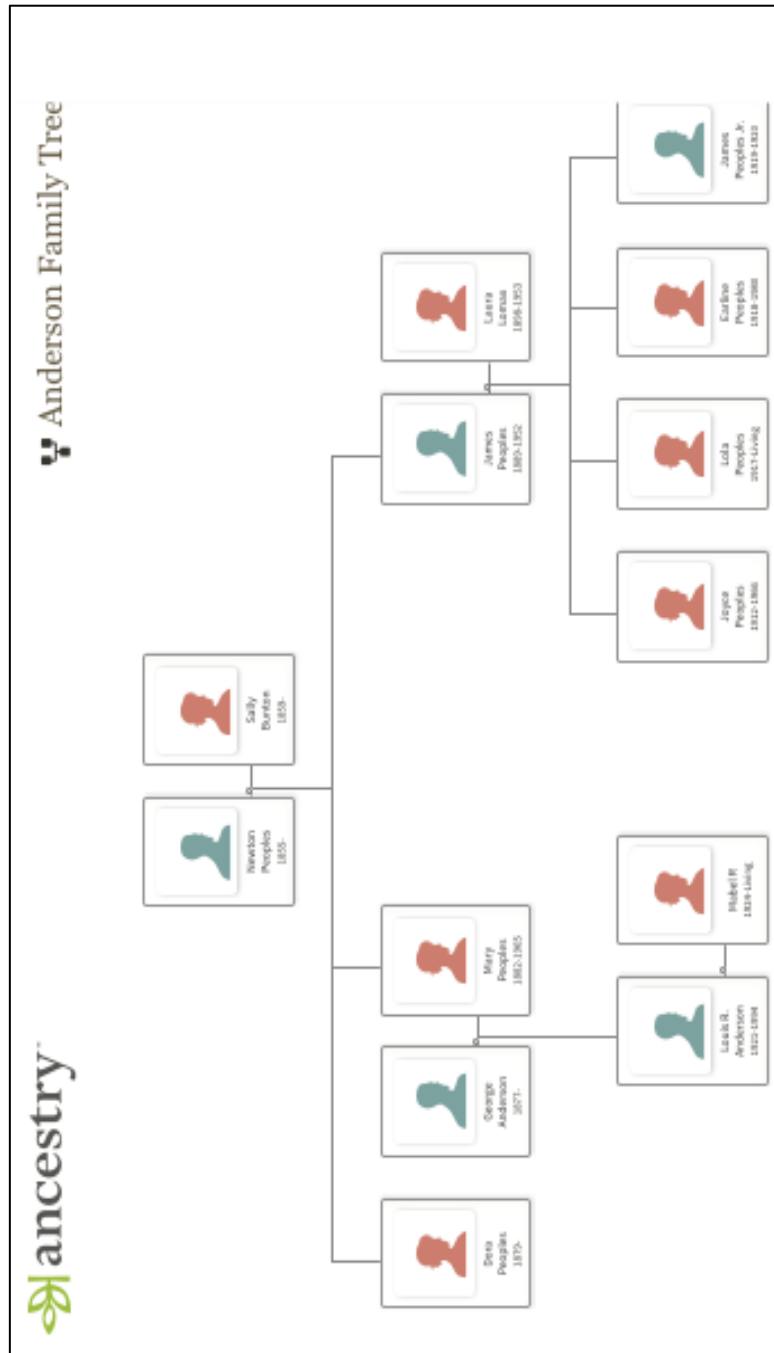


Figure 2.3 The Anderson family tree (from Ancestry.com)

### *Archaeology of the Site*

The initial investigation of Antioch Colony began in 2009 via the oral history project that emerged as a part of the larger Williams Farmstead Project (discussed above). These oral histories were gathered mainly through interviews with the descendants of the African-American community, many of whom grew up in the rural areas surrounding the Williams Farmstead (Franklin 2012: xii-xvi).

Of the descendants interviewed as a part of the Williams Farmstead project, LeeDell Bunton, Sr., was especially important. He made it possible for further investigation into the Antioch Colony as he was a direct descendant of the Bunton family and introduced Dr. Franklin to other Antioch Colony descendants. Of the 27 people interviewed, 12 were Antioch Colony descendants. In addition to the oral history component, historian Terri Myers expanded her historical research on the Williams Farmstead to include the history of the Antioch Colony and the larger African-American communities of Buda and Manchaca (Franklin 2012: xiii, 7; Franklin 2016: 3).

With the compilation of historical and oral history research on Antioch, Dr. Franklin was then able to initiate a separate, but related, investigation of the colony by developing an archaeological field school at the University of Texas at Austin. After a surface collection and a pedestrian survey were conducted as preliminary research in 2012, Dr. Franklin implemented the summer UT Field School. Between the summers of 2013 and 2016, the field school excavated multiple features and structures at the site, which includes five site components: the Antioch Cemetery, Kate (Friend) Bunton Site

and its associated midden, the Pete and Mary Bunton site, the School and Church site, and the Anderson site (Figure 2.4).



Figure 2.4 Locations of the excavated sites within the Antioch Colony (Scott 2016).

The Anderson homestead was first identified due to the presence of 18 wooden posts, the remnants of a former house (Figure 2.5). Additional archaeological evidence for the presence of a house includes a lightning rod, roof tiles, fragments of screened windows and/or a door, a high density of nails, and sash window hardware (Scott 2016: 49-50, 60-63; Franklin 2016:3). The posts that the house sat on are in situ, and most of them have modern wire nails driven into them. This indicates that the house was built

sometime after 1890 (Nelson 1968). According to former Antioch resident, LeeDell Bunton, it was a well-built, two-story wood-framed house that was painted white.

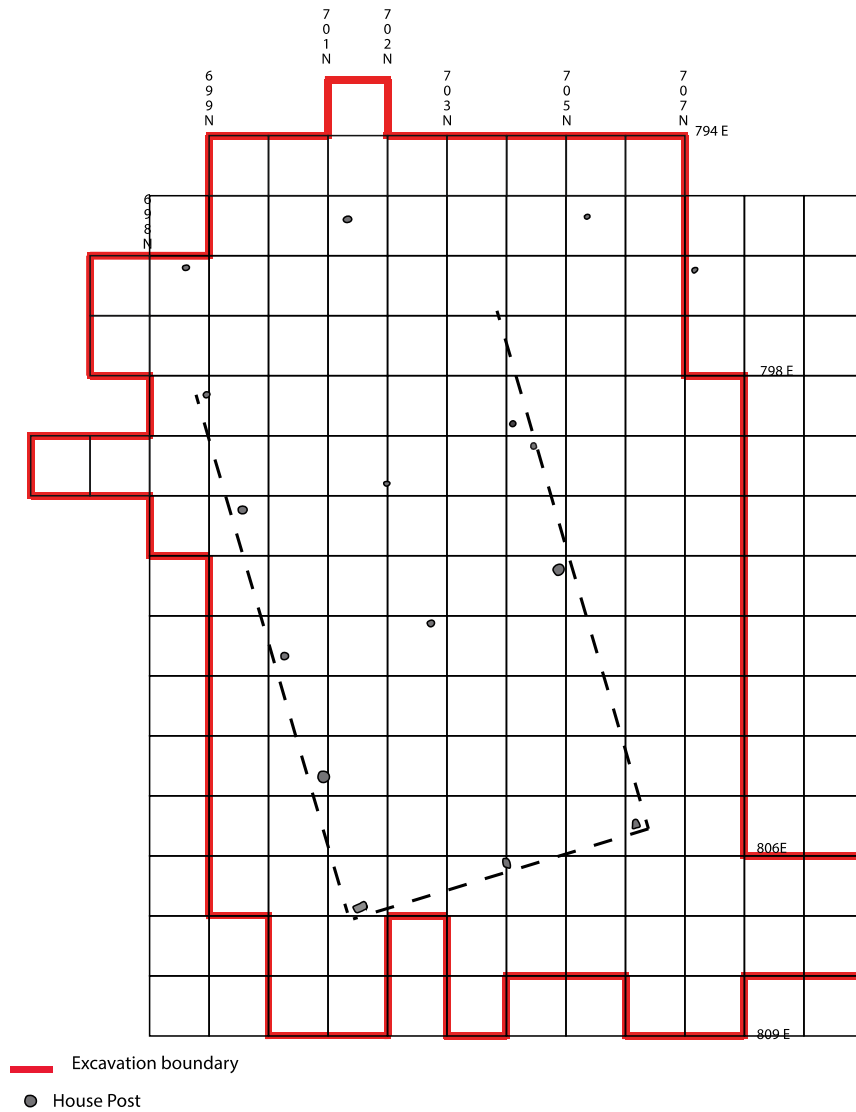


Figure 2.5 The Anderson Site map with post holes

The Anderson house (designated Structure 5) measures approximately 16 x 30 feet based on the distance between the wooden posts. While the excavation grid measured approximately 16 x 14 m sq., artifacts were scattered beyond the immediate area of excavation. In this area, a total of 112 1x1 meter units and 13 1 x 2 meter units were surface collected and/or excavated. With some units only being surface collected and others being dug down into the third level, 169 lots were excavated in total (Figure 2.6; Table 2.1). Approximately 25,000 artifacts were recovered from the Anderson site during two field seasons. Identification and cataloging of approximately 20 percent of the assemblage has been completed. For the purposes of this thesis, all ceramic artifacts (n=1,104) from the Anderson site were cataloged and analyzed.

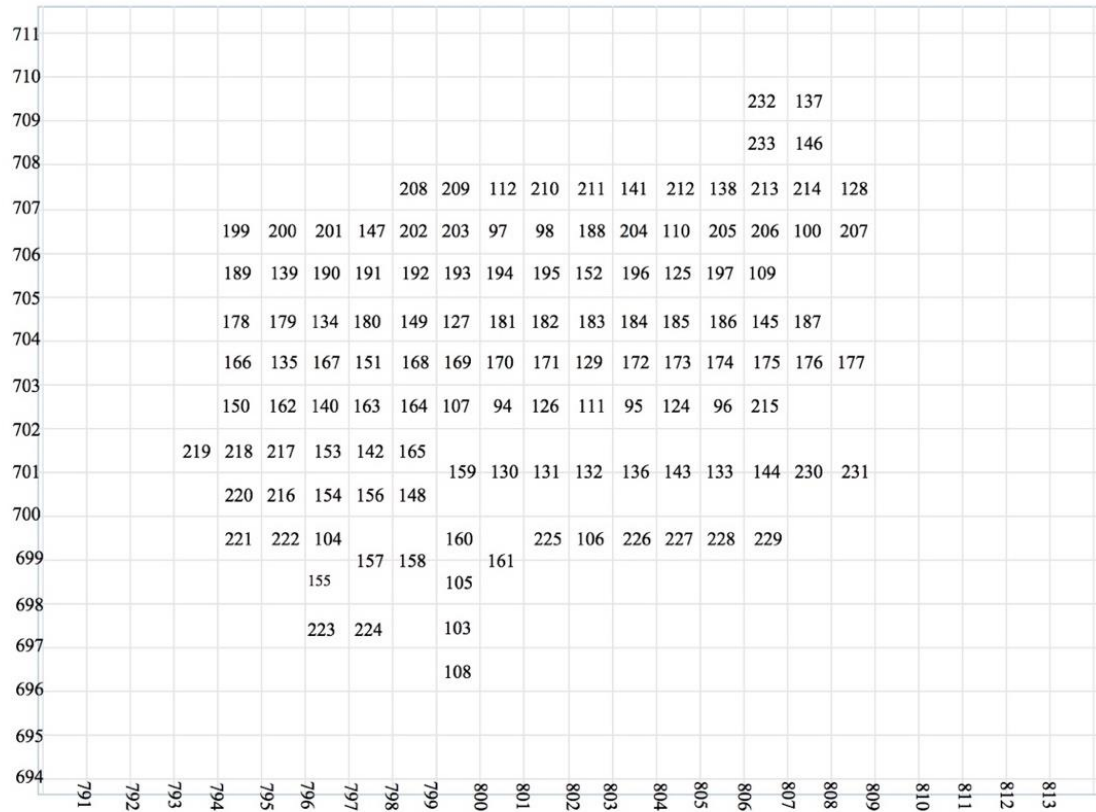


Figure 2.6 The Anderson House excavation unit grid

Excavation Levels	# of Lots
0 (surface collection)	122
1 (10 cm below grade)	41
2 (20 com below grade)	4
3 (30 cm below grade)	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>169</b>

Table 2.1 The Anderson House excavation levels

The Anderson House site represents one of the many families that flourished within the tightly-knit and self-sufficient community of Antioch Colony. The Anderson family appears as a couple in 1920, at the peak of the colony, when over 100 individuals and 21 households resided there. They lived there for three decades, during which subsistence farming and skilled training by community members allowed for the colony to operate almost independently. This historical context is important, as it is essential for the analysis of consumer behavior. As a rural black family in the early twentieth century, the Andersons were influenced by many forces. These include the expansion of U.S. market consumerism into southern communities, rural lifestyles, and anti-black racism within the Jim Crow system. It is through these converging influences that the Andersons' consumer culture can be explored. Before analyzing consumer behavior, however, the depositional history of the site was first inferred. In the following chapter, a crossmend analysis and a minimum number of vessel count were conducted and analyzed within the context of Schiffer's cultural and environmental formation processes.

### **Chapter 3: Formation Processes**

One of the major goals of this thesis was to use the ceramic evidence to interpret how the Anderson House site and the artifact assemblage formed over time. One of the factors related to this is the activities that the Andersons took part in that led to the patterns of ceramic deposition at the site. These activities constitute what are called formation processes. The analysis of formation processes is essential in answering questions about site formation and depositional history. Formation processes, both cultural and environmental, are major factors that shape the deposition and formation of historical archaeological assemblages. Once deposited, artifacts are affected by these processes both in physical properties and movement. A systematic understanding of formation processes provides the “inferential bridge” between artifact patterns in the archaeological record and the patterns of past human behavior (Joyce and Johannessen 1993:138), and must be understood in order to interpret the historical and behavioral context of a deposit (LeeDecker 1994:356). This chapter presents an overview of site formation processes, the methods used to analyze the ceramic assemblage in order to answer questions about site formation, and the results of the ceramic analysis.

As proposed by Schiffer (1987), the principles of formation processes should be used as the theoretical framework in which to interpret archaeological deposits. He argues that one cannot simply read behavior directly from patterns discovered in the archaeological record; formation processes, both cultural and physical, transform material artifacts when they are deposited and long after. The variability in the archaeological record is viewed as the end product of a series of processes transforming the state of the



artifacts. Without accounting for the effects of these transformation processes, one cannot make inferences on past behavior based on the material evidence (Schiffer 1987:10-11; Tani 1995: 232).

Formation processes can transform artifacts formally, spatially, quantitatively, and relationally. These transformations can affect the pattern of artifact distribution in a way that may be unrelated to the past behaviors we are attempting to study. However, formation processes express some regularity and can therefore be analyzed (Schiffer 1987:11). These expressions can be analyzed due to the traces that formation processes leave behind on the artifact assemblage. During the life history of each artifact, recurrent activities and processes transform the artifacts during different stages of that life history. These activities that occur in each stage generally leave different or specific modifications on the artifact. These specific traces allow for generalizations to be made about the stages of the artifacts as they pass from the systemic (or behavioral) to the archaeological context (Schiffer 1987:13-15). The systemic context is usually associated with past site occupants, and the behaviors and activities that impacted artifacts. This is contrasted with the archaeological context which specifically relates to artifacts after their deposition. Artifacts can, however, move from the archaeological to the systemic context through recycling and salvaging, for instance (Schiffer 1987: 3-4, 99).

One of the artifact dimensions that formation processes can transform is the formal dimension. This dimension pertains to physical properties of the artifact that can be measured or described. Examples relevant to a ceramic assemblage would be size and abrasion. This dimension can be transformed by multiple formation processes, including

weathering and trampling (Schiffer 1987: 15-16). Another artifact dimension affected by transformation processes is the spatial dimension. This dimension refers to the location of the artifact either within the archaeological or systemic (behavioral) context. During site occupation, behaviorally-specific concepts of space, like “activity areas and domains of various social Units” (Schiffer 1987: 17) will determine where artifacts are, for example, thrown out as refuse. Following site abandonment, artifact proveniences, which are the spatial locations in an archaeological context, relate to the last place of repose of the artifact. This spatial location is affected by both cultural and environmental processes, as both can move artifacts throughout their life history (Schiffer 1987:17-18).

The quantity, or frequency, dimension has to do with the number of occurrences of a specific type of artifact. While quantity appears to be a straightforward variable, it can actually be difficult to infer. This is true especially for ceramic artifacts; in the archaeological context, the ceramics consist mainly of sherds, with whole vessels rarely being found. The sherd count can be problematic, as it does not directly reflect the actual number of vessels once used in the systemic context. This artifact dimension can be affected by many different formation processes, including weathering, trampling, and discard (Schiffer 1987: 18-19). The last artifact dimension, relational, refers to the pattern of co-occurrence of different artifacts. These associations, while they may represent activity patterns, can also be affected by formation processes. Instead of simply assuming that artifacts found together were used together in the systemic context, one has to take into account processes that may disrupt or create correlations between artifacts. Differing discard practices as well as post-depositional movement due to, for example,

construction, and weather (wind and rain) can profoundly affect the relational patterning between artifacts (Schiffer 1987: 19-21).

The types of formation processes, mentioned above through different examples, that can transform artifacts are divided into two categories. The first, cultural processes, are a set of behavioral activities that alter the state of material artifacts in the systemic and archaeological contexts after their initial period of use. Cultural formation processes do not occur randomly, but are related to certain behavioral activities and their characteristics. Once cultural formation processes are observed in the archaeological record, the activities that affect these processes can be inferred (Schiffer 1987: 7).

The major cultural formation processes that have likely altered the patterning of the Anderson household, are the depositional processes of discard (Schiffer 1987: 46). Discard processes transfer materials from a systemic to the archaeological context during the site occupation. The dominant discard process through which materials enter the archaeological context of domestic sites is secondary refuse disposal. This refers to the discard of refuse in a location other than where it was used (the latter is referred to as “primary refuse disposal”) (Schiffer 1987: 58). This refuse is usually discarded in places that are “out-of-the-way” (Joyce and Johannessen 1993: 138). This process of being left behind in certain areas generally produces a clustering pattern within the archaeological context (Schiffer 1987: 58-62).

Other depositional processes that may have occurred at the Anderson house site are the abandonment processes. Abandonment occurs when an entire place (i.e. structure or settlement) is transformed to the archaeological context through the processes of de

facto refuse and curate behavior (Schiffer 1987: 89). De facto refuse deposition includes structures and cultural materials that, while still usable, were left behind when the site was abandoned. In the case of rapid site abandonment, the type of de facto refuse left behind will include items that have low “curate probabilities” (Schiffer 1987: 96). These artifacts are characterized as having less portability (they are too heavy to move), less utility (they likely will not be needed at the new home site), and/or a low replacement cost (Schiffer 1987 95-96). In contrast, when sites were abandoned gradually, residents had more time to move belongings and may have chosen to pack up items like furniture even if they had low curate probabilities. This is an example of curate behavior; the process of removing and transporting usable or repairable items from the abandoned area for future use elsewhere (Schiffer 1987: 90). At the Anderson site, it appears that the site was abandoned gradually with few usable belongings left behind.

These depositional processes of discard and abandonment represent the initial formation processes that help to create the archaeological record. Additional cultural formation processes, however, can affect artifacts in size, shape, and number after they have entered the archaeological context (Tani 1995: 234-235). These include maintenance activities and disturbance processes. Such activities can further break down the discarded artifacts into smaller pieces as well as displace them spatially, thereby creating additional artifact patterns or disturbing old ones (Schiffer 1987:121, 126-129; Tani 1995: 235).

Because the site was not re-occupied after abandonment, one can infer that other maintenance activities, such as cleaning, sweeping, and raking (Tani 1995: 235), did not

affect the site's artifacts. However, that the Anderson House site did likely experience disturbance processes after abandonment. The main disturbance process that likely affected the ceramics at the Anderson site following their deposition is trampling. Trampling is a ubiquitous process that is generally expected at all abandoned settlements (Schiffer 1987: 126). Human movement disturbs previously deposited artifacts on and near the ground surface. The specific effects of trampling on artifacts are on their form and location. Artifacts can become laterally and vertically displaced, based on the level of penetrability of the land. Trampling can also result in breakage and size reduction, as well as random abrasion or striation on the surfaces of the artifacts (Schiffer 1987:126-129).

The second type of formation processes, environmental processes, include all of the non-cultural processes related to the natural environment that impact the site and the artifacts left behind (Schiffer 1987: 7). Environmental formation processes act upon artifacts in both the systemic and archaeological contexts by contributing material to and modifying archaeological deposits. Thus, environmental processes can alter culturally-created patterns (Schiffer 1987:143-146). The likely environmental processes that affected the formation of the artifact assemblage at the Anderson House site include the natural deposition of soil over time, weathering, faunalurbation, and floralurbation (Schiffer 1987: 200, 207, 210).

Soil is not a static feature, but a dynamic one that is heavily influenced by formation processes in both its modification and transportation. After the abandonment of a settlement, natural processes disorganize the soil patterns created by human behavior. In addition to new soil being transported and deposited onto a site by weathering (e.g.,

wind and rain), the soil already present at a site may also be moved by these same processes. Environmental processes that affect the movement and transportation of soil also act to move the artifacts and disturb the features within it (Wood and Johnson 1978: 316-318; Schiffer 1987:200-206).

Faunalturbation, or the disturbance of animals, was also evidenced at the Anderson site. For example, burrowing animals can mix soils and move artifact deposits below the surface, while other animals can disturb the ground surface by moving, trampling, or collecting surface artifacts (Wood and Johnson 1978: 318; Schiffer 1987: 207-210). Similar effects to these can also be created by floralturbation, the disturbance of plants. The main process that mixes and moves soil is root action. Growing tree roots exert enormous pressure on buried artifacts and can cause them to be moved aside. When a root decays, it leaves behind krotovina-like structures called root casts. After death however, trees cause the largest disturbance when they fall. When dead trees naturally fall due to forces such as the wind, their structure of underground roots is forced upward, bringing masses of dirt to the surface. This movement of soil will gradually redeposit any artifacts that may have been rigidly held in place by these roots to the surface (Wood and Johnson 1978: 328; Schiffer 1987: 210-212).

My goal in this chapter was to identify the site formation processes that played a role in creating the archaeological record at the Anderson site by analyzing the ceramic assemblage. The method employed focused on the level of sherd fragmentation, the patterns of crossmends within and between the different excavation units and levels, and the quantity and diversity of the ceramics recovered from the site (LeeDecker 1994: 356).

Specifically, the relative fragmentation of the ceramic sherds as well as the overall sherd count were analyzed in order to identify the formation processes that acted on the formal dimension. The crossmend data can also help in the analysis of the formal dimension of the ceramics. After determining the minimum number of vessel (MNV) count, the ratio of re-constructible vessels to the overall vessel count (which includes single sherds) can indicate the level of fragmentation for the assemblage.

The crossmend data were also analyzed in order to infer about the spatial dimension of the ceramic artifacts. The patterns found for the sherds able to be reconstructed into vessels can tell us about the formation processes that may have moved these artifacts. This spatial dimension of the ceramics was also analyzed by the density counts. The possible clustering of areas with a high density of ceramics can tell us where the artifacts were possibly deposited. The MNV count is also used to determine the frequency dimension. After calculating the minimum number of vessels, the quantity of ceramics at the Anderson house was inferred.

### **Ceramic Analysis**

This section summarizes the methods used to catalog and analyze the ceramic artifacts. The first part is a discussion of the artifact classification system used for all of the artifacts recovered from Antioch Colony. I then provide an overview of the crossmending process, and how the minimum number of vessels (MNV) was determined.

#### *Classification of Ceramics*

The first step in the research process was the classification and cataloging of each ceramic sherd recovered from the Anderson site. For this cataloging effort, I referenced

the Artifact Classification System, which is a hierarchical classification system used in the lab for the Antioch Colony Project (Appendix B). The Artifact Classification System classifies all finds, including ceramic artifacts, based on their common functions. This classification system was designed to be comparable to those employed for other historic domestic sites, with the aim of facilitating comparative analysis.

The Artifact Classification System for Antioch is a modified and extended version of classification systems previously used, such as the Sonoma Historic Artifact Research Database (Gibson et al. 2009), the Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery (DAACS 2006) and other schemes used by historical archaeologists for domestic sites (Green et al. 1996; Beaudry et al. 1983; Boyd et al. 2015). Since the artifacts recovered from the Antioch Colony date mainly to circa 1900-1960, (i.e. more recent than the sites typically investigated by archaeologists), there are some uncommon artifact groups and categories in order to encompass the more modern material culture from the site (e.g., automotive parts, electrical parts etc.). There are 14 major functional groups: Domestic, Hygiene and Grooming, Leisure and Play, Health Care, Firearms, Transportation, Clothing and Adornment, Structural, Tools and Hardware, Lithics, Botanical, Faunal, Office and School, and Unidentified. Finally, within these main artifact groups, there exists many subgroups in the form of artifact categories. Within these artifact categories, artifacts are further designated by specific artifact types.

For ceramics, there were additional criteria for cataloging, including material (ceramic paste), ware type, decorative technique, and exclusively for foodways-related ceramics, vessel form (hollow versus flat). Before assigning artifact groups, categories,



and types, I first divided each fragment by material, ware type (Yellow Ware, white refined earthenware, terracotta, etc.), decorative technique applied, and then by the general vessel form it represented. These classifications are important as different wares and vessel forms were generally used for different functions. All three general materials, or pastes, that are commonly found at historic sites in the U.S. were represented within this ceramic assemblage: stoneware, porcelain, and earthenware, which were further divided into coarse earthenware and refined earthenware (Appendix A) (Horn 2005).

For ceramics related to foodways, I further recorded sherds as either a rim, body, base, or handle fragment. For these, an identification of either flat or hollow was decided based on the shape and angle curvature that the rim or base displayed. This classification of either flat (e.g., plates or saucers) or hollow (e.g., tea cups or bowls) if applicable, helped in the identification of the artifact type. A classification of unidentifiable was usually given to body sherds with shapes that were indiscernible. The classification of “Other” was given to ceramics that did not represent vessels (e.g., tiles, toys, house wiring components, and decorative figurines). With the combined classifications of material, ware type, and assumed vessel form, I was then able to assign each sherd or group of sherds a specific artifact type based on intended function (Orton and Hughes 2013), or categorize them more generally as either “Unidentified Tableware” or “Unidentified Utilitarian.” These artifact types were based off of the Potomac Typological System (Beaudry et al. 1983).

Importantly, in addition to cataloging material, ware type, vessel form, and artifact type for each ceramic sherd, I also reordered any evidence of decoration. The

decorative techniques identified represented the common forms of decoration that were applied to ceramics during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Appendix A). The specific decorations were most helpful in crossmending and in determining the MNV. I recorded all of the diagnostic features listed above on individual Artifact ID cataloging sheets (Appendix C) for each ceramic sherd or, when sharing the same traits, batched sherds. On these cataloging sheets, I also gave each artifact or batched artifacts a unique Artifact ID number that contains the lot number, material type number, and individual specimen numbers. Lot numbers were assigned to all artifacts from each specific archaeological context (usually by excavation unit and level). Material numbers were assigned to each different artifact material type. Ceramic was designated as number 1, glass was designated as 2, metal was designated as 3, and the other less frequent artifact material types (e.g., lithics, plastic, rubber, bone, etc.) were designated with numbers 4-11. I then entered all of this data into an Excel spreadsheet.

Within each lot, I assigned arbitrary specimen numbers starting with “1” and in sequence to each of the differing sherds or group of sherds. For example, the Artifact ID of 332-1-4 translates to artifacts excavated from unit 108, level 1 of the Anderson site (the archaeological context for Lot 332), ceramics (the second number of “1” designating the material class of ceramics), and the fourth ceramic(s) cataloged from Lot 332. For curation, I bagged each specimen with an Artifact ID tag containing information corresponding to an entry on an Artifact ID sheet. These tags included the Artifact ID number, site name, site trinomial, archaeological context (Feature, Structure, Unit, etc.), Artifact Category, count, and the date cataloged.

### *Crossmending*

Once all of the ceramics from the Anderson site were cataloged, I proceeded with crossmending which served two purposes. First, reconstructing vessels provides a basis on which to determine the minimum number of vessels represented in an assemblage. Second, crossmending is one of the most important methods for interpreting site formation processes. The pattern of crossmends within and between different excavation units and levels can help to identify the effects of formation processes, as it reveals how and where different vessels were deposited (LeeDecker 1994: 359).

After first gathering all of the ceramics from the Anderson site assemblage and organizing them based on material, ware type, and decoration, I then attempted to piece together any contiguous fragments. I glued these crossmended vessels and other ceramic objects together using a Paraloid B-72 solution (Klein 2012). After being reconstructed, I assigned each crossmended object a unique object number. I then recorded this number, along with the diagnostic features of each vessel or other object and provenience information of the fragments that made up each of them, on individual object forms (Appendix C) and into a ceramic object Excel spreadsheet for later entry into an Access database.

### *Minimum Number of Vessels*

The crossmending of ceramic sherds is the first step needed in the identification of the minimum number of vessels count. Because of the non-uniform effects of breakage on ceramic sherds, sherd count alone cannot characterize the overall assemblage. Since raw sherd counts can inflate the actual number of vessels represented in an assemblage,

the MNV is used to estimate a more accurate number of vessels present. Archaeological studies often base percentages of ware and decoration types on the MNV counts (Bednarchuk 2006), as they help to correct the biases in sherd counts (Voss and Allen 2010).

The specific MNV method utilized for this study was selected by considering the specific needs of the ceramic assemblage under present analysis, and by taking into account which methods are most commonly employed in other ceramic studies. However, when researching the most appropriate method, there were multiple methods represented in the literature with little rationale provided for the specific decisions regarding what counted as a vessel (e.g., Groover 1998; Park 2001; Groover 2005; Estey 2013; McMillan et al. 2014). It appears that archeologists used some of the same criteria, such as dividing sherds into ware types first and eliminating body sherds from the MNV counts. From there, they differed in their approach. Some counted rim sherds only, while others counted both rims and bases. Others included unique diagnostic sherds regardless of the part of the vessel they originated from (Voss and Allen 2010; McMillan et al. 2014). For the purpose of this study, it was decided that rims, bases, handles, and unique (by decorative type) body sherds would each count as a “vessel”, and that this would likely result in a minimum number of vessels count that was lower than the number of vessels actually present in the assemblage. It was determined that different vessel parts (i.e., a rim and a base) were unlikely to represent the same vessel, because the Anderson ceramics were highly fragmented and represented a long period of occupation. This

MNV count was ascertained following the crossmending process, and only included ceramics that were identified as foodways-related.

### **Results of the Ceramic Analysis**

One hundred and fourteen of the 125 1x1 m units that were excavated at the Anderson house site yielded ceramic artifacts. The intensity of data recovery for units varied, with some only surface collected (designated Level 0), while others were excavated using arbitrary 10-cm levels with anywhere from one to three levels (Levels 1-3) dug per unit. Artifacts recovered from each level within a unit were assigned a unique lot number, and there were 142 in all. A total of 1,104 ceramic fragments were recovered. Of these, 1,055 were classified within the Domestic Artifact Group and 49 were identified as other kinds of artifacts (Table 3.1).

<b>Artifact Groups</b>	<b>Artifact Category</b>	<b>Count</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Domestic	Serving and Consumption	843	76.4%
	Food Preparation or Storage	60	5.4%
	Unidentified	58	5.3%
	Food Storage	47	4.3%
	Furnishing	23	2.1%
	Yard	18	1.6%
	Food Preparation	6	0.5%
<b>Domestic Totals</b>		<b>1055</b>	<b>95.6%</b>
Structural	Architectural	12	1.1%
	Electrical	8	0.7%
	Plumbing	2	0.2%
<b>Structural Totals</b>		<b>22</b>	<b>2.0%</b>
Unidentified	Unidentified	19	1.7%
<b>Unidentified Totals</b>		<b>19</b>	<b>1.7%</b>
Leisure & Play	Toys	8	0.7%
<b>Leisure &amp; Play Totals</b>		<b>8</b>	<b>0.7%</b>
<b>Grand Total</b>		<b>1104</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

Table 3.1 Artifact groups and categories represented by the ceramic assemblage

Of the total area that was excavated, the units that contained ceramic artifacts spanned almost the entire site. There does, however, appear to be some instances of clustering for the units that contained the highest number of ceramic sherds. While most of the excavation units were surface collected and excavated down 10 cm from the ground surface (i.e., Level 1), three units were excavated down through Level 2 (10-20cm), and one was dug 20-30 cm below the surface (Level 3). These units however, only account for two of the eight units with the highest ceramic densities. The remaining six units with the most ceramics were only surface collected (Figure 3.1). Thus, these areas of relative clustering may actually represent refuse disposal patterns. (Schiffer

1987: 281). The units with the highest densities of ceramic are likely the areas where these artifacts were tossed out by the occupants of the site as trash, just north and west of the house. As previously discussed, this secondary refuse disposal in out of the way places may have created the pattern of clustering found at the site (Schiffer 1987:4)

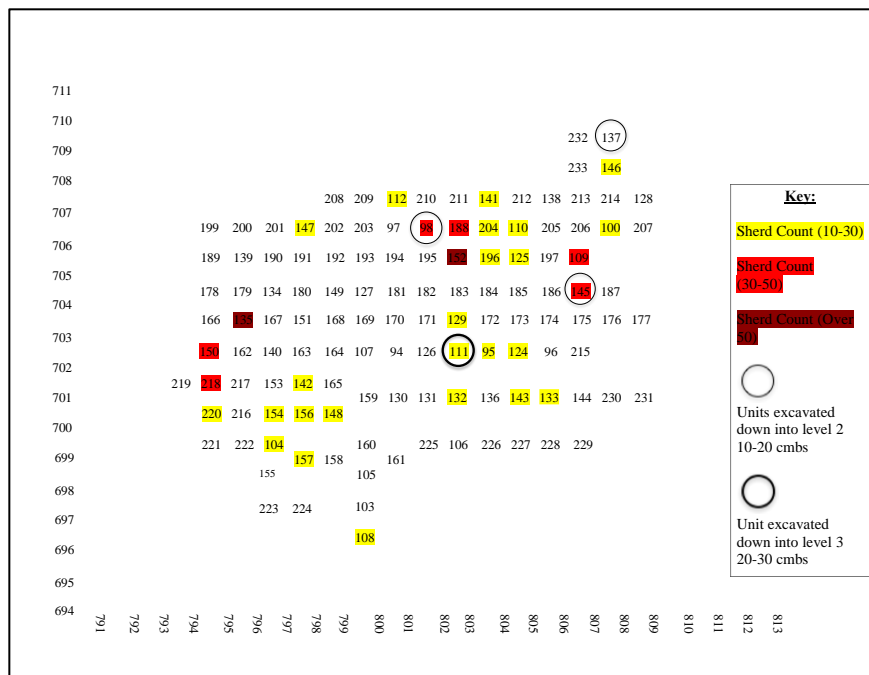


Figure 3.1 Sherd count densities within the excavation units at the Anderson House Site.

\*Number groups arbitrarily chosen

### *Crossmend Data*

Of the total 1,104 ceramic sherds, only 79 (7.2 percent) were re-constructible vessel fragments. These 79 sherds made up 27 different objects, however, only 19 of them were further classified as vessels for the MNV. These included either rims, bases, handles, or unique body sherds. The remaining ten crossmended objects consisted only of

non-diagnostic body sherds. However, they were still useful in the analysis of the depositional history of the site. Although the 27 crossmended objects were reconstructed from many different sherds, these sherds were very small in size. In fact, all but one of the crossmended objects were reconstructed into less than 50 percent of the original vessel.

All of the crossmended sherds were excavated from levels 0 and 1, and were recovered from 28 different excavation units. (see Table 3.2). Of these, 25 contained crossmends from only one level, and the remaining three units contained crossmends from two levels within the same unit. The units containing crossmended sherds represent about 25 percent of all of the excavation units that contained ceramic artifacts. The units that the crossmended sherds were excavated from are located across the entire site, with slightly more concentration on the western half of the site (see Figure 3.2).

<b>Units</b>	<b># of Units</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Units with Crossmends	28	24.6%
Units without Crossmends	86	75.4%
<b>Total</b>	<b>114</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

Table 3.2 Percentage of excavation units that contained crossmended sherds



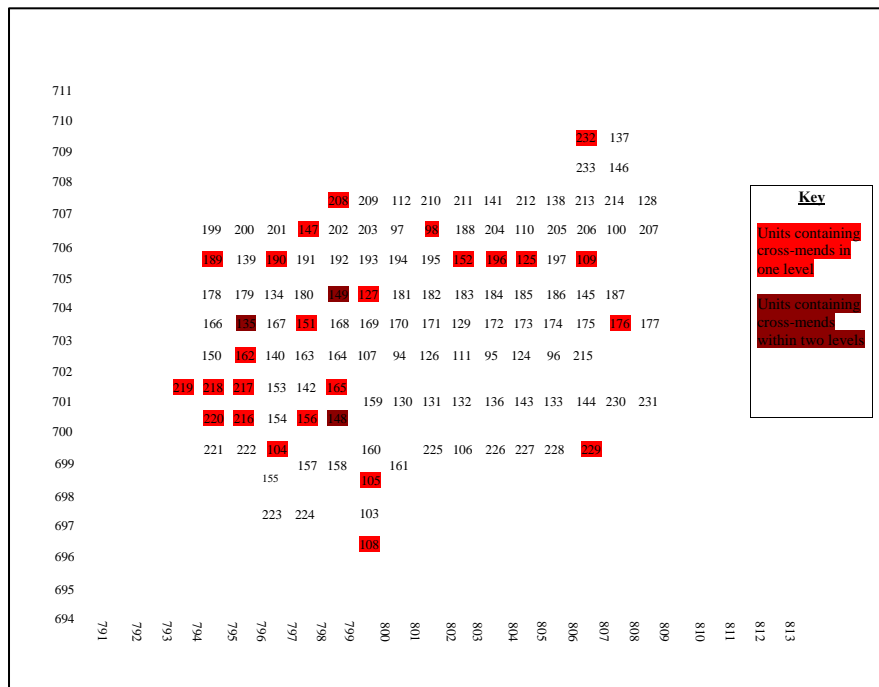


Figure 3.2 Units containing crossmended sherds at the Anderson House Site

The majority of the crossmends appear to have been distributed close to one another, either in the same level of a unit, or close by in neighboring units. One of the units in particular, Unit 135, contained the highest concentration of crossmended sherds; seven different crossmended vessels and non-vessels were reconstructed from ceramic fragments from the surface and the Level 1 of this unit (Table 3.3).

Location of Crossmends	Count	Percentage
Crossmends from the same unit same level	10	37.10%
Crossmends from the same unit but different levels	4	14.80%
Crossmends from different but adjacent units	8	29.60%
Crossmends from different units not adjacent	5	18.50%
<b>Total</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>100.00%</b>

Table 3.3 Location of crossmended ceramic fragments (*The Crossmended piece than contained sherds from both contiguous and non-contiguous units was added to the Multiple units, contiguous count*).

The crossmend data gives insight into the patterns of discard of the ceramic artifacts as well as their movement spatially after deposition. As shown above, the crossmended objects do not appear to have moved significantly, either horizontally or vertically, after deposition. This is suggested by the fact that most of the objects were reconstructed from sherds or fragments that were in close proximity to one another, either in the same level and unit, or in units contiguous with one another. This strongly indicates that environmental formation processes such as faunalturbation and floralturbation did not have a large effect on the spatial dimension of the ceramic artifacts through post-depositional movement of the artifacts. However, as explained below, the formal dimension of the ceramics was impacted by post-depositional processes

#### *MNV Count*

By including all the rims, bases, handles, and unique body sherds that were parts of vessels, the minimum number of vessel count was 300. This number accounts for about thirty-one percent of all the foodways related ceramics (Table 3.4). The MNV count was ascertained by looking at these 956 ceramic sherds, because only ceramics related to foodways can be classified as vessels.

<b>Vessel Part</b>	<b>Count</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Not included in MNV count	656	72.8%
Rim	192	17.4%
Base	94	8.5%
Handle	12	1.1%
Unique Body	2	0.2%
<b>Total</b>	<b>956</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 3.4 Vessel part percentages of the foodways-related ceramics

The low crossmend count relative to the MNV count indicates that there were few re-constructible vessels. This was due to the highly-fragmented nature of the ceramic assemblage, as shown in the crossmended sherds that represented less than 50 percent of the original vessel. This high level of fragmentation can be attributed to a number of formation processes that acted upon the Anderson House site. As mentioned earlier, secondary refuse is one of the cultural formation processes that occurred at the site. In addition to this process resulting in the clustering pattern of the ceramic assemblage, it likely also contributed to the fragmented state of the artifacts. When depositing as secondary refuse, these ceramic artifacts were tossed out by the occupants who lived there. This process of being tossed out of the way helped to cause the initial breakage.

After being deposited, the ceramic sherds experienced further fragmentation due to other formation processes. The main process that causes breakage and fragmentation of artifacts is trampling. At the Anderson House site, trampling was most likely due to faunal disturbance. Because the site was not re-occupied after the Andersons abandoned in the 1950s, the main agents moving through the site were likely animals, and more specifically cows. The continuous grazing of cows in the many years after abandonment probably resulted in the highly-fragmented state of the ceramic assemblage.

## **Chapter 4: Consumer Behavior**

Consumer behavior is the pattern of spending that can be studied at the individual, household, or community level. More specifically, it involved the acquisition, use, and discard of material culture (LeeDecker 1994: 346). In the early studies on consumer behavior, which were largely focused on seventeenth- and eighteenth-century sites, archaeologists approached consumption as a way of studying the socioeconomic status of the sites' occupants. Early theoretical approaches, including the consumer choice school, and consumer behavior studies, largely employed quantitative methods to measure economic status and patterns of expenditure. However, these approaches left out the qualitative aspects of consumption, such as the symbolism fostered through meaningful shopping (Cook et al. 1996: 53-54). These historical archaeologists tended to ignore the shopping done by their subjects of study, and seldom approached consumers as social actors exercising choice. This act of choice in shopping and the reason for consumption were largely absent in analyses that were more focused on what was actually bought and later thrown out. In the context of these studies, choice was seen as economically determined and only passively voiced within the mass culture (Cook et al. 1996: 50; Orser 2002: 143; Mullins 2011: 5).

By the 1990s however, with the inclusion of nineteenth- and twentieth-century sites in historical archaeological analyses, the interpretation of consumption shifted from merely reflecting patterns in the availability of goods and resources or socio-economic stratification to human agency and consumer choice as seen in the salient changes in the acquisition of material goods. With the rise of industrial capitalism as a result of the

industrial revolution, a new “consumer society” was formed, wherein mass consumption took place in America that allowed for even rural areas to obtain increased access to goods that were previously associated with the upper class. This increased access, due to mass production and lowered costs, meant that consumption could not be analyzed strictly as an economic and utilitarian action (Cook et al. 1996: 51-54, Orser 2002: 143; Mullins 2011: 11).

The act of choosing and buying goods is a social phenomenon; Americans communicated information and ideas about their identities through the acquisition and use of material culture. The choices made by consumers are not a reflection of their degree of access to goods or wealth, but instead reflect the desires and needs of the consumer to assert their identities (Orser 2002: 143; Mullins 2011: 11). Commonplace goods were thus distinguished to symbolize different social realities among its consumers, including class and ethnic expression. As such, the class and ethnic diversity of the occupants of these sites allowed for investigation into how these identities were expressed through material culture (Cook et al. 1996: 51-54; Orser 2002: 143).

It is within this theoretical framework, the focus on consumption as the social act of meaningful shopping, that the Anderson House site ceramics were analyzed as indicators of consumer behavior (Cook et al. 1996: 60). Consumption is a ritual activity rich in symbolic meaning and shifting in its values. Through this social act of shopping, consumers actively acquire material things that “confirm, display, accent, mask, and imagine who we are and whom we wish to be (Mullins 2011: 2).” Material consumption can thus display social status, ethnic identity, gender, and other forms of collective

identification that one negotiates in their social life. Therefore, as social identities are mediated through the use of material culture, one can interpret how patterns of material consumption can “reveal, reflect, and confirm” these social identities through an archaeological and historical analysis of material artifacts (Spencer-Wood 1987: 362; Orser 2002; 143-144; Mullins 2011: 2).

This present chapter aims to do just that; through the analysis of the ceramic artifacts recovered from the Anderson house site in conjunction with relevant historical sources concerning the time period of occupation, I will infer aspects of the consumer behavior of the Anderson family that lived there during the first half of the twentieth century. In particular, I aim to reveal how consumer behavior in the form of shopping for ceramic tableware can be indicative of their social identities. The following analysis considers the abundance and variety of artifact types represented in the assemblage based on an MNV analysis, and within the context of the larger consumer culture that characterized American society at large during the first half of the twentieth century. Because the country had already entered an era of mass consumption and materialism during this time period, I hypothesize that the Anderson couple and their child, despite the constraints of southern racism and a rural lifestyle, participated in the consumer market in much the same ways that one would expect from urban or white consumers.

### *Historical Context*

In order to proceed from the analysis of site formation and depositional history to the analysis of consumer behavior, one first has to situate the site historically. Artifact remains from domestic sites are usually considered to have formed due to the disposal

patterns of a household caused by the accumulation of consumption activities that took place there. Therefore, having established the identity of a site's occupants, one can then use historical documents and oral history research in order to provide information on ownership, patterns of land use, and the occupation period of the site. These lines of evidence help place the occupants of the site within a specific time period and location, thereby establishing the social and economic landscape of the site as well (LeeDecker 1994: 346-348, Orser 2002: 142).

As previously mentioned (see Chapter 2), the household under investigation is a turn-of-the-century home that belonged to an African American couple who lived with their son within a larger rural freedmen colony in central Texas. As such, the historical context in which this family lived can be characterized by the expansion of U.S. market consumerism and its effect on southern black communities, where agricultural work and Jim Crow heavily influenced the everyday lives of the Antioch community. It is through these converging influences, a rural lifestyle, effects of mass consumerism on material consumption, and anti-black racism, that the Anderson's consumer culture can be explored.

#### *Consumer Culture of the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century*

Following the expansion of the industrial revolution during the late nineteenth century, industrialization, mass production of consumer goods, and urbanization escalated throughout the country and had somewhat democratizing effects on American consumers (Orser 2002: 143; Feit and Jones 2007: 181). Technological innovations led to improvements in the quantity and quality of products in a number of industries, as well as

the development of new groups of industries. This caused businesses and factories to increase in size in order to decrease unit transportation costs and increase sales. At the same time, railroads increased distribution throughout the country, allowing for national advertising and marketing and the creation of brand name goods. National competition between these businesses thus emerged and resulted in a greater variety of available goods. As a consequence, publicly-shared expectations of mass standards of living arose due to this emergence of mass-produced goods and extensive advertising and marketing, as well as from increased wages with decreased labor hours that also arose during this time period (Spencer-Wood 1987: 297; Mullins 1999b: 34). Advertisers helped shape the idea that America was a nation in which goods were both the measure and source of social equality (McGovern 2006: 97).

A new, broader consumer ideology characterized by mass consumption and material aspiration thus emerged and replaced the past ideology of material asceticism (Mullins 1999b: 1). The middle-class ethos of work, saving, civil responsibility, and self-denial was replaced with values of leisure, spending, and individual fulfillment (Lears 1983: 1; Cook et al. 1996: 56). By the 1920s, Americans embraced mass material standards as a mode of social empowerment in place of previous ideals such as religion, nationalism, and labor identity. This emergent consumer culture transformed socio-political aspiration into one characterized by material consumption and affluence. Commodities took on a set of “social attributes,” as material wealth came to symbolize social expectation, improved standards of living, and an expression of one’s social identity and standing (Mullins 1999c: 34; Orser 2002 143; Bednarchuk 2006: 1; Feit and



Jones 2007: 181, Brighton 2011; 32). Consumption thus became the manifestation of American identity, with material goods as the foundation. In this nationalist ethos of consumption, a vision of the United States as a distinct culture of people emerged, wherein goods embody the “binding ideals of Americanness” (McGovern 2006: 103-104).

As a consequence of reducing class status to the possession of material goods, social inequality was recast as marketplace diversity. The new nationalist consumer culture placed consumption at the foundation of citizenship, where one’s membership was reliant on ownership (McGovern 2006: 99). However, social inequality was very much still racially defined, as various racial and socio-economic groups within American society had unequal access to these societal changes in consumer space. The realities of inequality and alienation in the economic and social sphere due to social stratification and marginalization greatly affected one’s ability to obtain material culture. The most fundamental cornerstone of consumer culture in this era was the fact that mass standards of living and the ideology of social value in mass consumerism were controlled by white public politics. Racialized ideology during the era of Jim Crow segregation resulted in the imposition of racially-based rules over entry and participation in consumer spaces, and by extension, the acquisition of material affluence. As such, African Americans were restricted both in the workplace and the consumer market from obtaining economic leverage. Jim Crow racism systematically denied labor and material opportunities to African Americans in order to maintain the ideology of social and genetic inferiority to whites (Mullins 1999b: 1; Bednarchuk 2006: 1-2, Brighton 2011; 31).

Even though African Americans critiqued American consumerism during this time period, they resisted the inherent anti-black racism in consumer space by actually conforming to the dominant consumer aspirations through the consumption of popular goods. This desire to equitably participate in shopping was fundamental to the class struggle of African Americans against the racially-exclusive civil privileges perpetuated by institutionalized racism (Mullins 1999c: 33-35; Orser 2002: 144). To them, citizen privilege was equally determined by securing consumer rights as it was by securing labor and production rights. Therefore, despite the economic deprivation, political disenfranchisement, and even racist assault from the advertising industry, African Americans were increasingly able to accumulate wealth and assets in the early twentieth century. A culture of resistance was a critical dimension of African-American class struggle (Weems 1998: 8; Mullins 1999c: 24).

African Americans believed in the capacity of material goods to improve their lives, as they understood the privilege symbolized by participating in consumer practices. The commodification of objects reflected larger social identities and class relations, as well as the ideology of unrestricted access to the market. The goods one chose to buy were acts of self-expression, of who one was or who one wanted to be (Mullins 1999b; 189; Mullins 2011; 2; Feit and Jones 2007: 181-182; Brighton 2011: 31). The meanings associated with specific material culture were used to negotiate power relationships as well as their racial identity (Orser 2002: 144). By purchasing such goods, African Americans displayed their attempts to pursue social and material self-determination in consumer space and gain equitable footing with White consumers. This aspiration for full

“consumer citizenship” fought against White privilege of social and material dominance and penetrated the illusion of White-exclusive consumerism (Weems 1998: 60; Mullins 1999b: 182-183).

### **Ceramic Evidence**

Through the examination of ceramic material, form, and decoration, one can infer about three fundamental factors in consumer analysis: “cost, quality, and value” (Crook 2011: 583). That is, the price, the assessment of physical characteristics, and the reason for the purchase and use of the ceramic good (Crook 2005: 15). These principles are essential to consumer behavior analysis, because they increasingly influenced consumer decision-making as the country entered the industrial era (Crook 2011: 583). Thus, in what follows, I analyze the Anderson ceramics with regard to the relative abundance of different types of wares (that is stoneware, earthenware, and porcelain), the form or type of ceramics represented, and the patterns of decorative types. The ceramics recovered from the Anderson house site are represented by the following major Artifact Groups: Domestic, Structural, Leisure and Play, and Unidentified (Table 4.1). However, for the analysis of consumer behavior, only foodways-related ceramics from the Domestic Group were considered. These ceramics include those further classified under the Serving and Consumption, Food Preparation or Storage (specifically, unidentified utilitarian wares that could be for either purpose), Food Preparation, and Food Storage artifact categories (Table 4.1).

<b>Artifact Groups</b>	<b>Artifact Category</b>	<b>Count</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Domestic	Serving and Consumption	843	76.4%
	Food Preparation or Storage	60	5.4%
	Unidentified	58	5.3%
	Food Storage	47	4.3%
	Furnishing	23	2.1%
	Yard	18	1.6%
	Food Preparation	6	0.5%
<b>Domestic Total</b>		<b>1053</b>	<b>95.6%</b>
Structural	Architectural	12	1.1%
	Electrical	8	0.7%
	Plumbing	2	0.2%
<b>Structural Total</b>		<b>22</b>	<b>2.0%</b>
Unidentified	Unidentified	19	1.7%
<b>Unidentified Total</b>		<b>19</b>	<b>1.7%</b>
Leisure & Play	Toys	8	0.7%
<b>Leisure &amp; Play Total</b>		<b>8</b>	<b>0.7%</b>
<b>Grand Total</b>		<b>1104</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

Table 4.1 Ceramic artifact groups and categories, Anderson House site. (The counts are based on all sherds, including those that were subsequently identified as vessels).

This decision to focus on foodways-related ceramics for the analysis of consumer behavior was based on a number of reasons. First, historic ceramic materials at large are used by archaeologists in analysis due to their relative abundance within an archaeological assemblage, and the existence of extensive historical sources related to them (Majewski and O'Brien 1987: 98-98,186). Ceramic tablewares are some of the most widely used and mass-produced commodities. They are essential to food preparation, consumption, and preparation, so they are found on virtually every domestic archaeological site. Consumers could purchase ceramics from many different marketing outlets, especially by mail-order catalogs like the Sears and Roebuck Company catalogs. Moreover, as with many of the other mass-produced goods, increased availability, production, and advertisement made it so that ceramic tableware was sold for somewhat

modest and stable prices (Mullins 1999b: 147). Therefore, because of increasing availability of mass produced ceramic goods, there exists valuable documentary information on the manufacturing and marketing of these items (Majewski and O'Brien 1987: 102-103, 185-186; Sweitz 2012). Furthermore, these artifacts do not decompose and when broken, are discarded rather than re-used. In terms of the archaeological record, their changes in use and styles can be well-documented (Leone 1999).

Second, as nineteenth century and more recent sites were increasingly included in archaeological analysis with the advent of federally-funded cultural resources management projects in the 1970s, there have been many studies done on material culture from this time period regarding the lifeways and consumer behaviors of both rural and urban communities (Majewski and O'Brien 1987: 98). These early studies were heavily influenced by Miller's (1980, 1991, 2000) "CC-index values" model, which allowed for different types of ceramic tableware to be scaled in terms of expenditure. This classification system was used to rank certain ceramic types or forms available from the 1700s to the early 1900s by relative cost. Thus, variability between archaeological assemblages on the presence, absence, or frequency of certain types of ceramics was thought to translate into variability in socio-economic status and race (Majewski and O'Brien 1987: 131-133; Hull 2007: 83; see also Spencer-Wood 1984, Spencer-Wood 1987; Wall 1991). While this assumption of the correlation between socio-economic status and ceramic types was later challenged in the archaeological literature (Mullins 1999b; Orser 2004), they nonetheless contributed to and influenced the emergent literature on consumer behavior based on ceramic tableware analysis.

In addition to the extensive historical record concerning the manufacturing and marketing of ceramic tableware and the resulting literature regarding its implications for consumer behavior, the inclusion of ceramic tableware in this specific analysis was also based on the relative abundance of ceramic artifacts at the Anderson House site. There were 1104 ceramic artifacts excavated from the site, with 95 percent of them cataloged in the Domestic Artifact Group and 90 percent of the domestic artifacts being foodways-related tableware (Table 4.1). Furthermore, food-ways related ceramics that were identified as vessels during the crossmending and MNV analysis equaled 300 (see Chapter 3). As such, this group of ceramic artifacts generated sufficient data that could be used for analyzing consumer behavior patterns for the Anderson Family.

#### *Overview of the Ceramic Assemblage*

Only the foodways-related vessel sherds that were identified by the MNV analysis were used for the analysis of consumer behavior (see Chapter 3). As summarized in Chapter 3, the minimum number of vessel count calculated for the Anderson House site is 300; 27 percent of the entire ceramic assemblage prior to crossmending (see Table 4.2).

<b>Artifact Category</b>	<b>Count</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Serving and Consumption	274	91.3%
Food Storage	14	4.7%
Food Preparation or Storage	9	3.0%
Food Preparation	3	1.0%
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>300</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

Table 4.2 Artifact Categories represented in the Domestic Artifact Group.

Of all of the foodways-related artifact categories, Serving and Consumption had by far the most abundant and diverse ceramics; represented by 13 different artifact types and constituting over 90 percent of the ceramics classified in the Domestic Group (see Table 4.3). This is largely due to function: vessels for table service became increasingly diversified following the eighteenth century. In contrast, those for food preparation and storage during the late nineteenth century and into the early twentieth century were far less varied, consisting mainly of crocks, butter churns, and jugs (Greer 2005: 57-58; Franklin 2018). The Serving and Consumption artifact category is characterized by different artifact types pertaining to the daily consumption of food and beverages. The most common type is the plate, which represents over 40 percent (n=131) of the foodways-related ceramics. Due to the highly-fragmented state of the ceramic assemblage (see Chapter 3), the second highest quantity in this category is Unidentifiable Tableware. All other artifact types each make up less than six percent of the foodways-related ceramics (Table 4.3).

<b>Artifact Category</b>	<b>Artifact Type</b>	<b>Count</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Serving and Consumption	Plate	120	40.0%
	Unidentifiable Tableware	91	30.3%
	Bowl	18	6.0%
	Tea Cup	15	5.0%
	Pitcher	8	2.7%
	Serving Dish (Covered)	6	2.0%
	Lid	5	1.7%
	Sugar Bowl	3	1.0%
	Mug	2	0.7%
	Platter	2	0.7%
	Plate or Saucer	2	0.7%
	Serving Dish	1	0.3%
	Cup	1	0.3%
<b>Serving and Consumption Total</b>		<b>274</b>	<b>91.3%</b>
Food Storage	Crock	14	4.7%
<b>Food Storage Total</b>		<b>14</b>	<b>4.7%</b>
Food Preparation or Storage	Unidentifiable Utilitarian	9	3.0%
<b>Food Preparation or Storage Total</b>		<b>9</b>	<b>3.0%</b>
Food Preparation	Bowl	3	1.0%
<b>Food Preparation Total</b>		<b>3</b>	<b>1.0%</b>
<b>Grand Total</b>		<b>300</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

Table 4.3 Artifact Types represented in the Foodways-related Artifact Groups.

The different types of ceramics in the Serving and Consumption category are essential to the analysis of consumer behavior, as they can provide information on the types of tableware that the Andersons invested in. These ceramics consist mostly of refined earthenware, followed by porcelain, and exhibit a diverse set of decorative techniques. While over half of the ceramics were classified as undecorated (though many may have once been a part of a decorated vessel), almost 35 percent of the Serving and Consumption ceramics were visibly decorated (see Table 4.4). In addition to vessel form, the range of decorations are essential to the interpretation of consumer behavior as they are indicative of the style preferences in tableware expressed by the Andersons.



Artifact Category	Material	Decoration Type	Count	Percentage
Serving and Consumption	Refined Earthenware	Undecorated	162	54.0%
		Molded	43	14.3%
		Hand-painted	15	5.0%
		Decal	12	4.0%
		Transferprint	12	4.0%
		Stencilled	3	1.0%
		Decal / Molded	3	1.0%
		Colored Glaze	2	0.7%
		Decal / Hand-painted	1	0.3%
		Decal / Gilded	1	0.3%
		Gilding	1	0.3%
	<b>Refined Earthenware Total</b>		<b>255</b>	<b>85.0%</b>
	Porcelain	Undecorated	18	6.0%
		Gilding	1	0.3%
	<b>Porcelain Total</b>		<b>19</b>	<b>6.3%</b>
<b>Serving and Consumption Total</b>			<b>274</b>	<b>91.3%</b>
Food Storage	Stoneware	Bristol glaze (ext)/Bristol glaze (int)	9	3.0%
		Albany-like slip (ext)/Albany-like slip (int)	4	1.3%
		Bristol glaze (ext)/Albany-like slip (int)	1	0.3%
	<b>Stoneware Total</b>		<b>14</b>	<b>4.7%</b>
<b>Food Storage Total</b>			<b>14</b>	<b>4.7%</b>
Food Preparation or Storage	Stoneware	Bristol glaze (ext)/Bristol glaze (int)	4	1.3%
		Undecorated	2	0.7%
		Albany-like slip (ext)/Albany-like slip (int)	1	0.3%
		Bristol glaze (ext)	1	0.3%
		Bristol glaze (ext)/Albany-like slip (int)	1	0.3%
	<b>Stoneware Total</b>		<b>9</b>	<b>3.0%</b>
<b>Food Preparation or Storage Total</b>			<b>9</b>	<b>3.0%</b>
Food Preparation	Stoneware	Bristol glaze (ext)/Bristol glaze (int)	3	1.0%
	<b>Stoneware Total</b>		<b>3</b>	<b>1.0%</b>
<b>Food Preparation Total</b>			<b>3</b>	<b>1.0%</b>
<b>Grand Total</b>			<b>300</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

Table 4.4 Decoration Techniques grouped by Artifact Category and Material (or paste).

## **Analysis and Interpretation**

After discerning the historical context, the prevailing consumer culture in which the Andersons participated in, and ceramic evidence, I was then able to interpret the household's consumer behavior and its implications in identity formation, especially with regard to race and class in a rural community. Social status and identity are not concrete categories, but the outcome of social relations that are historically situated (Mrozowski 2006: 13; Walker 2008: 108, 116). By comparing the Anderson's ceramics to those widely available to Americans more generally, the relationship between the Anderson's consumer behavior and the broader American consumer culture was revealed. I first conducted a comparative analysis between the household's tableware and the popular tableware of the historical time period. The sources used for determining the popularity of certain ceramic tablewares were period mail-order catalogs as well as related archeological research into nineteenth- and early twentieth-century ceramics. Next, I considered the Anderson's food storage vessels to determine the extent to which the households retained rural food storage practices. The sources used for determining the relationship between stoneware food storage vessels and rural consumer practices were relevant archaeological research on American stonewares.

In the analysis below, I propose that the presence of certain vessel types and decorative patterns from the Anderson House site can be indicative of certain consumer behavior patterns, related to the consumer identity that the Anderson family expressed. When comparing these food-ways-related ceramics to those sold in popular Sears catalogs, it appeared that the Andersons adopted mainstream American consumer choices

by purchasing ceramics that were heavily advertised and popular at that time. In addition, however, it also revealed that the Andersons retained some traditional rural consumer behavior patterns, as they possessed ceramic vessels that were likely obtained through secondary exchange as well as food storage vessels used to store home-produced consumables. After identifying the presence of evidence for both traditional and new consumer behaviors and comparing these results with previous archaeological studies of nineteenth- and twentieth-century sites, my interpretation is that the Andersons practiced different consumer strategies related to identity formation. The consumer practices employed by the Anderson household reveal a simultaneous local rural and broader American identity.

#### *Previous Research on Consumer Behavior*

While I was interested in the relationship between ceramic vessels and consumer behavior and culture in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the literature on this topic is sparse (Cook et al. 1996; Blake and Myers 1999; Groover 2008). Most of the existing literature focused on nineteenth-century sites, and of those, most largely focused on white middle-class households. As such, the conclusions drawn from this analysis are based on multiple but related interpretations of nineteenth-century rural and urban consumer behaviors, as well as twentieth-century material culture. My objective was to form an interpretive model that took into account how ceramic evidence can be used to reveal consumer behaviors, how this is influenced by a rural farmstead context, and more specifically, how these consumer behaviors might differ due to the unique African-American experience during the Jim Crow era.

The first line of evidence I researched was how ceramics have been used in other studies to interpret consumer behavior among specific groups within the broader context of American consumer culture. In a number of studies (See Wall 1991, Lucas 1994, Shackel 1996, Leone 1999; Fitts 1999; Wall 2001; Mrozowski 2006), the nature of production and distribution of goods heavily influenced what kinds of material culture researchers could use to interpret consumer behavior and culture. For example, as mass production and marketplace access increased during the nineteenth-century and after, the diversity of glass and ceramic goods rose. Thus, archaeologists have posited that changes in glass and ceramic forms and decorative types over time are related to social transformation. A household that purchased tablewares with vessels for specific function or as a matching, decorative set can indicate the family's relative degree of access to the marketplace and their social standing within American society. Thus, accumulating non-essential goods represents the ideology of collective consumerism and expressions of respectability and modernity (Brighton 2011: 32-33; See Wall 1991, Lucas 1994, Shackel 1996, Leone 1999; Fitts 1999; Wall 2001).

However, most of these studies were focused on white middle-class households from urban areas (See Wall 1991; Lucas 1994; Fitts 1999). The consumer culture of the nineteenth-century emerged from the Protestant middle class, with the access and obtainment of material goods being equated to social position and morality. This meant that "American identity" was tied to material signs of Christian piety, whiteness, and respectability. This ideology of respectability was meant to maintain the social and economic power of white Americans, as they had knowledge of and access to the "right"

forms of tableware to express their morality and respectability. Thus, with the establishment of the white middle-class, citizenship was predicated on the ability to obtain certain types of material goods, and the differential access to them in the marketplace legitimized a system of social hierarchy in the United States (Brighton 2011: 34; See Wall 1991; Lucas 1994; Fitts 1999).

While Brighton (2011) and other archaeologists interpreted material culture as representing a sector of Americans demographically different from the Andersons, one can make the argument that some of the conclusions drawn from these studies can also be applied to consumer groups outside of the white middle class, even in the context of twentieth-century consumerism. First, mass consumerism continued to expand and exert influence into the early twentieth-century. As such, the theory of ceramics and other material goods as representative of marketplace access and participation in the larger consumer culture can be applied to the more recent past. Second, the fact that the consumer culture represented white America was also true for the early twentieth-century, where “material nationalism” as defined through advertising was depicted by whiteness and excluded minorities from its representation (McGovern 2006: 104). However, this does not mean it necessarily excluded non-white consumers from its influence or from participating in the consumer market (Praetzellis and Praetzellis 2001). This is also supported by Mullins (1999a, 1999b, 1999c, 2001) studies on urban African American consumers during the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

In *Race and the Genteel Consumer: Class and African-American Consumption, 1850-1930* (Mullins 1999c), Mullins asserts that participation in consumer practices

indicated one's expectation and aspiration to obtain the fundamental rights of American citizenship, and the right to equal access to the consumer market. For African Americans, citizenship was tied to securing consumer rights just as much as securing labor and production rights. After the Civil War, affluent genteel whites as well as the working-class whites feared a rising African-American middle class following emancipation, and the possibility of them achieving equal footing to whites. In order to prevent this, there was a dramatic expansion of anti-black racism within the labor structure and consumer market. By demeaning African Americans and restricting their freedoms, white elites were able to maintain racial difference as being the fundamental structuring of American society. In the process, they were able to rationalize elite control over labor and production, as class consciousness was masked by a prevailing sense of white privilege. Racist assumptions about African Americans allowed for whites, even if they shared the same economic conditions as African Americans, to assume they were of a higher social status and had access to racially-exclusive privileges (Mullins 1999c: 23-24).

The demeaning of African Americans in popular discourse through racial caricatures, such as in advertising and marketing, created a white ideal that was in clear contrast to that characterization. This white racial ideal, which included certain behaviors and consumption choices, was what white Americans strove to reproduce in order to maintain white privilege (Mullins 1999c: 23). However, as Mullins asserts, even though African Americans were positioned within this racist mode of production and equally racist consumer space, they actively resisted the anti-black nature of consumerism by

actually pursuing these same material goods. While advertisers were marketing to white consumers through highly-racialized discourse, African Americans still purchased goods that represented “whiteness.” As such, Mullins suggests that African Americans saw consumer culture as a space to assert their social aspirations, and that this desire to equitably participate in consumer space and acquire consumer goods was a fundamental element of their class struggle (Mullins 1999c: 34-35).

Even though Mullins’ (1999b, 199c) research focused on urban Annapolis, Maryland, similar racist conditions in the labor structure and consumer space existed for all African American consumers during the early twentieth century. Racism was an essential component to U.S. society, and by extension, consumer culture (Mullins 1999c: 35). This consumer culture reached even small rural communities (Groover 2008), including the Antioch Colony. Mark Groover (2008) maintains that advances in technology and the rise of popular culture materially transformed farm life during the early twentieth century. During this time period, mass-produced goods, including processed foods and national brands, became increasingly popular and affordable to larger segments of the rural population. This was due in large part to the establishment of mail-order retailers, such as the Sears and Roebuck Company (Groover 2008: 97). This company, the most successful one from the late nineteenth to the mid twentieth-century, offered rural consumers unprecedented access to consumer goods, and revolutionized consumerism with their home-delivery options. The advent of home deliveries was especially important for African-American consumers, as it eliminated the need for “going into town” and confronting racist store owners or salesmen (Roell 2004: 2).

Groover (2008) notes that many farm families actively participated in consumer culture. Industrialization resulted in the standardized production of manufactured goods, which led to their mass distribution and consumption. As such, artifacts recovered from historic farmsteads should reflect these larger trends in material production, and how they influenced the daily life and consumer behaviors of rural households (Groover 2008: 105-106, 108-109). However, households differed in their specific consumer behaviors during this era. In his comparative study of the Porter Farm in New York to other farmsteads in New York, Tennessee, and South Carolina, Groover (2008) discovered that different households made noticeably different consumer decisions. These decisions may have been influenced by differences in race and socio-economic status, and as such, he notes that it is the challenge of historical archaeologists to identify and interpret how identity relates to consumer practices (Groover 2008: 104-106).

My analysis and interpretations of the Anderson household's ceramics were influenced by the case studies discussed above. The rural African-American residents of the Antioch colony, including the Anderson Family, were active consumers. The characteristics of the foodways related ceramics, including the presence of certain vessel types and decorative styles, are evidence of the Anderson's consumer choices. Their degree of participation within the larger consumer culture is indicative of their identity, which I suggest was located along a spectrum from a rural identity which was more local and conservative, to a broader, national American consumer identity that attempted to crosscut race and class.



### *Consumer Behaviors of the Andersons*

An overall adherence to the larger consumer culture of the early twentieth-century was indicated by the analysis of the ceramic assemblage from the Anderson House site. This is largely revealed by the high percentage of refined white earthenware (Hull 2007: 83), as well as the diverse set of vessel forms and decorative styles represented (Sweitz 2012: 241). More specifically, the Anderson ceramic assemblage contained multiple vessels types including tea cups, serving dishes, sugar bowls, platters, saucers, and serving dishes; these are all vessel forms that are typically represented within tableware sets sold during the time period. In addition, these vessels exhibited evidence of a range of decorative techniques, including “blue willow” transferprint, floral patterned decal, and others (See Figure 4.1). The presence of these vessel forms as well as multiple decorative patterns indicates that the Andersons may have bought entire matching tableware sets. This was impossible to determine with certainty however, as the ceramics were highly fragmented due to the effects of multiple formation processes, such as trampling (see Chapter 3). As such, it may be that the Andersons purchased individual ceramic vessels that varied in decoration rather than sets. Yet, it is more likely that the family purchased full sets of different tableware styles over time since they lived at the site for at least 20-30 years.




Figure 4.1 Tableware from the Anderson House site: bowl with decal (top left), porcelain tea cup (top right), platter with “Willow” Ttransferprint (bottom left), and molded serving dish lid (bottom right).

Certain vessel forms like sugar bowls and decorative techniques like transferprint represent more elaborate dining ware, which was more expensive than basic and plain tableware (especially plates and bowls) used for everyday consumption (Miller 1980; Walker 2008: 128; Groover 2008: 281, 284-185). The presence of these non-essential tableware vessels reflects the influence of popular material trends in consumer culture (Groover 2008: 284-185). This is supported by the mail-order catalogs used during the site’s occupation. In these catalogs, multiple sets of tablewares were advertised, with many of them decorated with the “blue willow” design or some variant of a floral design

(Figure 4.2 and Table 4.5). The purchase and use of vessels with specialized purposes, and ones with high-stylized décor, reveal the Andersons' desire to obtain the fundamental rights of American citizenship, which they expressed by securing consumer rights in the larger American marketplace (Weems 1998: 27; Mullins 1999c: 22; Groover 2005). Yet there is another possible interpretation of the ceramics.


**Imported English Semi-Porcelain Dinnerware**

**31-Piece Set \$5.95**




**English Blue Willow Dinner Set**  
The Blue Willow Dinner, centuries old, still exercises its alluring charm today. Particularly in the set shown here, where the rare beauty of the pattern is combined with the undoubted high quality of England's best dinnerware. The set is made of English semi-porcelain, the same as that of the famous Willow pattern. The set is made of English semi-porcelain, the same as that of the famous Willow pattern. The set is made of English semi-porcelain, the same as that of the famous Willow pattern.

**32-Piece Set \$7.25**




**English Blue Paneled Dinner Set**  
True to England's traditions of "correctness," this Blue Paneled Dinner Set possesses the delicate refinement required by unerring good taste. The royal blue floral design, contrasting with the subdued ivory tint of the ware, will never lose its strong appeal. The dinner set is a product of the famous English semi-porcelain. It will serve you for years. Handle and wash as usual with soap. Shape is the new Fagoda.

**32-Piece Set \$10.25**




**English Floral Spray Dinner Set**  
An unusual touch of exquisite coloring comes to your table in this English Floral Spray Dinner Set. The old-fashioned garden flowers in natural colors are treated so masterfully that they actually appear to be hand painted. The edges of each piece are traced in light green, as are the handles and knobs. The set is made of English semi-porcelain, the same as that of the famous Willow pattern. The set is made of English semi-porcelain, the same as that of the famous Willow pattern.

**32-Piece Set \$12.25**




**English Fruit Pattern Dinnerware**  
The clear brilliancy of turquoise, yellow and blue in the small fruit peeling from these saucers on the border—brings individual charm to each piece, while the borders, in turn, give just enough contrast for elegant effect. The set is made of English semi-porcelain, the same as that of the famous Willow pattern. The set is made of English semi-porcelain, the same as that of the famous Willow pattern.

**32-Piece Set \$10.25**



**English Blue Willow Dinner Set**  
The Blue Willow Dinner, centuries old, still exercises its alluring charm today. Particularly in the set shown here, where the rare beauty of the pattern is combined with the undoubted high quality of England's best dinnerware. The set is made of English semi-porcelain, the same as that of the famous Willow pattern. The set is made of English semi-porcelain, the same as that of the famous Willow pattern.

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**English Blue Paneled Dinner Set**  
True to England's traditions of "correctness," this Blue Paneled Dinner Set possesses the delicate refinement required by unerring good taste. The royal blue floral design, contrasting with the subdued ivory tint of the ware, will never lose its strong appeal. The dinner set is a product of the famous English semi-porcelain. It will serve you for years. Handle and wash as usual with soap. Shape is the new Fagoda.

**SEARS, ROEBUCK AND CO. The World's Largest Store**

Figure 4.2 Ceramic tableware advertised in a Sears, Roebuck and Co. catalog (1927).

<b>Tableware Vessel Type</b>	<b>Anderson House Site</b>	<b>1927 Sears, Roebuck and Co.</b>	<b>1938 Sears, Roebuck and Co.</b>	<b>1946-1947 Sears, Roebuck and Co.</b>
Bowl	x	x	x	
Cup (other)	x	x	x	
Pitcher	x	x		
Mug	x	x	x	
Plate	x	x	x	x
Platter	x	x	x	x
Serving Dish	x	x	x	x
Serving Dish (Covered)	x	x	x	x
Sugar Bowl	x	x	x	x
Saucer	x	x	x	x
Tea Cup	x	x	x	x
Sauce/Gravy Boat		x	x	x
Dish (other)		x	x	x

Table 4.5 Vessels found at the Anderson House site and in different Sears, Roebuck and Co. catalogs over time.

The presence of transferprint ceramics may also indicate that the Andersons did not purchase all of their tableware. Transfer-print ceramics were produced until nearing the end of the nineteenth century (Miller et al. 2000: 12), which suggests that the Andersons obtained them through informal means, as an inheritance or gift. There are few transfer-printed ceramics; only four percent (n=12) of the 300 vessels. Yet their presence as possible heirlooms suggests that these rural residents had a distinctive attitude toward the consumer culture. By holding onto and using ceramic that were not representative of the current popular tablewares, the Andersons were maintaining ties to past and familial values. Moreover, as rural farmers living in a close-knit community, the Andersons were not fully beholden to conspicuous consumption and retained a rural

identity that emphasized self-sufficiency and frugality (Mullins 1999c: 181-182; Groover 2008: 104).

In addition to the high frequency of decorated refined earthenwares and a diverse set of tableware types, the percentages of stoneware is also important in inferring the consumer behavior of the Anderson family. Stoneware vessels represent almost nine percent of the food-ways related ceramics, and are classified under the Food Preparation and Food Storage categories (Table 4.4). Rural residents commonly prepared foods for storage through pickling and preserving, including canning. Stoneware crocks and jugs, and glass canning jars, were used for long-term storage (Greer 2005: 22; Feit and Jones 2007: 171-172) (See Figure 4.3).



Figure 4.3 Stoneware vessels: Meyer Pottery preserve jar with Albany-like Slip (top) and crock with Bristol glaze (bottom).

The presence of stoneware crocks and jugs within the Anderson ceramic collection suggest that the Anderson family still maintained some rural production practices by canning home grown produce and storing long-term items such as butter or pickled vegetables within stoneware vessels (and glass canning jars). These items were purchased, but rather than interpret them as representative of American consumerism, the Andersons used them to maintain their subsistence traditions, which is representative of their more local, rural identity. On the other hand, this small number of food preparation and storage vessels may suggest that they increasingly purchased store-bought. Once local and regional markets began to sell produce and the more readily available and cheaper processed foods, it became more desirable and convenient to purchase groceries than to produce their own food (Groover 2008: 105; Franklin 2018). Together, this suggests that the urban and rural divide within consumer behavior was collapsing. The Andersons consciously adopted foodways and food consumption patterns that were more common across rural and urban areas as they participated in the market economy. By the early twentieth century, the distinction between country living and city dwelling styles of foodways related consumption had weakened as everyone started consuming a lot of the same things (ex: pre-packaged food) (Feit and Jones 2007: 171-172).

When considering all of the evidence for the Anderson's consumer behavior, it can be asserted that while this family made choices that spoke to their agrarian roots and traditions, they largely participated in the broader American consumer culture. The Andersons used out of fashion tableware and recycled stoneware vessels that were mainly used for rural food preparation and storage practices. However, even though they lived

during segregation and within a somewhat isolated rural community, they nonetheless took advantage of the greater access to the larger consumer market as well. This access meant that the Andersons could adopt new consumer behaviors that were presented to them through national advertisement. Even though the consumer market was advertised to “white America,” they did not prescribe to a racialized idea of consumerism. By purchasing items that were popular at the time, such as decorated tableware sets, the Andersons embraced the larger consumer culture of the early twentieth-century and adopted a larger American consumer identity.

## **Chapter 5: Conclusion**

The Anderson family was one of dozens of African American families who resided at Antioch Colony, a freedmen's settlement founded in the 1860s. They owned the six acres they lived on, and oral history, historical, and archaeological evidence suggest that they lived there from about 1920 to the 1950s. The research conducted in this thesis addressed two questions: What was the depositional history of the Anderson House site, and what was the relationship between their consumer practices and their identity? These questions were addressed using the ceramic artifacts excavated from the Anderson house site as a primary line of evidence. More specifically, the depositional history of the site was determined based on a crossmend analysis and minimum number of vessel count, and the consumer behaviors were interpreted based on ceramic vessel types and decorations and the relative abundance of different material types.

The crossmend analysis revealed that the ceramic artifacts were likely deposited as secondary refuse, a cultural formation process. This conclusion was based upon the pattern of clustering, where some excavation units had a higher density of ceramics than others. These areas appeared to be where refuse, including worn out or broken ceramics, was routinely thrown away. The crossmend analysis also revealed that the ceramic artifacts did not move significantly, either vertically or horizontally, after deposition. Crossmended objects were reconstructed from sherds that were in close proximity to one another, either in the same level and unit, or in units contiguous with one another.

The minimum number of vessel count revealed the highly-fragmented nature of the ceramic assemblage. The MNV count of 300 only represented 27 percent of the entire



ceramic assemblage prior to crossmending. In addition, the crossmend count, which only equaled 27 reconstructed pieces, was also low relative to the MNV count. This high level of fragmentation can be attributed to a number of formation processes that occurred at the Anderson House site. Secondary refuse disposal contributed to the initial breakage of the artifacts as they were tossed out. After being deposited, the main process that caused further breakage and fragmentation of the artifacts was trampling due to faunal disturbance. Because the site was not re-occupied after the Andersons abandoned it in the 1950s, the main agents moving through the site were animals, and more specifically, cows.

The diversity in decoration and vessel types as well as the relative abundance of different ware types within the ceramic assemblage revealed the employment of both rural and mainstream consumer behaviors by the Anderson family. An adherence to the larger consumer culture of the early twentieth century was suggested based on the high percentage of refined white earthenware, and the diversity of vessel forms and decorative styles. The retaining of some traditional, rural behaviors was inferred based on the presence of stoneware crocks and jugs, and the presence of transferprinted tableware, an outmoded style of ceramics during the twentieth century.

The diversity in vessel forms and decorative styles as well as the high percentage of white refined earthenware indicate consumer behaviors that reflect the larger consumer culture of the early twentieth century, when Americans were purchasing complete tableware sets. The Anderson ceramic assemblage included multiple vessel types including tea cups, serving dishes, sugar bowls, platters, saucers, and serving dishes; these are all vessel forms that are typically represented within tableware sets sold during

the time period. In addition, these vessels exhibited evidence of a range of decorative techniques, including floral-patterned decals, decorative molding, and others. The presence of these vessel forms as well as multiple decorative patterns indicates that the Andersons may have bought entire matching tableware sets.

The presence of these non-essential tableware vessels, like sugar bowls, reflects the influence of popular material trends in consumer culture (Groover 2008: 284-185). This is supported by the mail-order catalogs used during the site's occupation. In these catalogs, multiple sets of tablewares were advertised, with many of them decorated with some variant of a floral design (See Figure 4.2 and Table 4.5; Sears, Roebuck and Co. 1927). The purchase and use of vessels with specialized purposes, and ones with high-stylized décor, reveal the Andersons' desire to obtain the fundamental rights of American citizenship, which they expressed by securing consumer rights in the larger American marketplace (Weems 1998: 27; Mullins 1999c: 22; Groover 2005).

The presence of stoneware crocks and jugs within the ceramic assemblage indicate consumer behaviors that reflect traditional and rural values, because these vessels were commonly used in rural areas for canning and long-term storage of home grown produce. These items were purchased, but rather than interpret them as representative of American consumerism, the Andersons used them to maintain their subsistence traditions, which is representative of their more local, rural identity. Their continued use well into the twentieth century indicates a rural identity characterized by self-sufficiency (Greer 2005: 22; Feit and Jones 2007: 171-172).

The presence of transferprinted tableware also indicates the retaining of traditional, rural values. First, they may indicate that the Andersons did not purchase all of their tableware. Transferprinted ceramics were produced until nearing the end of the nineteenth century (Miller 2000), which suggests that the Andersons obtained them through informal means, as an inheritance or gift. Their presence as possible heirlooms suggests that these rural residents had a distinctive attitude toward the consumer culture. By holding onto and using ceramics that were not representative of the current popular tablewares, the Andersons were maintaining ties to the past and familial values. Moreover, as rural farmers living in a close-knit community, the Andersons were not fully beholden to conspicuous consumption and retained a rural identity that emphasized self-sufficiency and frugality (Mullins 1999c: 181-182; Groover 2008: 104).

When considering all of the evidence for the Andersons' consumer behavior, it can be asserted that while this family made choices that spoke to their agrarian roots and traditions, they simultaneously participated in the broader American consumer culture. While the Andersons purchased tableware that was popular during the time, they also used out of fashion tableware and recycled stoneware vessels that were mainly used for rural food preparation and storage practices. Thus, the Andersons maintained a sense of rural identity as characterized by self-sufficiency while also adopting the larger consumer ideology of mass-consumption and material affluence. Even though the consumer market was advertised to "white America," they did not prescribe to a racialized idea of consumerism. By purchasing items that were popular at the time, the Andersons

embraced the larger consumer culture of the early twentieth century, and adopted a larger American consumer identity.

This research project contributed to the small but growing literature on African-American archaeology. African American archaeology has been underrepresented in archaeological literature largely due to the fact that it was not embraced as an academic and professional sub-discipline until the late 1960s. Not until after the Civil Rights movement was the study of African American history and culture deemed a relevant and necessary discipline that contributed to the representation of American history. In addition to this broader intellectual movement, the National Historic Preservation Act was passed in 1966 which preserves historical and archaeological sites in the United States. This broader national movement towards African-American inclusion in our nation's past along with the passage of the act legitimized the field of African-American archaeology (Scott 2012: 4-5; Boyd and Norment 2015: 5).

This project is especially important however, because it has contributed to the literature on Texas freedmen sites specifically. The beginnings of African American archaeology focused mainly on plantation sites that were occupied during the era of slavery (Singleton 1985; Adams 1987; Babson 1990; Epperson 1990; McDavid 1997; Franklin and McKee 2004). These studies have provided great insight into the origin and evolution of slavery in America as well as the exploitation of African-American labor. This narrow focus however, limited the understanding of African-American history by neglecting to explore it outside of the context of white domination and isolation. This

focus overemphasized and simplified the African-American experience as one solely defined by oppression (Wilkie 2004: 110-111; Scott 2012: 4-6; Leone et al. 2005: 577).

While these studies are very important to our understanding and representation of our national history, the broadening of the scope of African-American archaeology has taken on greater importance in recent decades. This shift in focus has encompassed the resistance of African Americans against post-emancipation oppression as well as the broader socio-cultural contexts of the period. By broadening the scope of archaeological investigations to include African-American communities following slavery, new insights have been drawn on the experiences of African Americans and their struggle to assert their own identities. As a part of this progression in African-American archaeology, this study and others on Texas freedmen sites have seen increasing amounts of archaeological investigation in recent decades (Wilkie 2004: 110-111; Leone et al. 2005: 577; Barnes 2011; Brown 2013; Lee 2014; Boyd et al: 2015; Scott 2016).

## APPENDIX A: TABLES

Table A.1 Historic artifact dating for ceramic ware types

Ceramic Ware Types		Date Range	Source
<b>Coarse Earthenware</b>	<i>Terra Cotta</i>	1835 - Present	Miller et al. 2000: 11
	<i>Yellow Ware</i>	1830 - 1940	Miller et al. 2000: 12
<b>Refined Earthenware</b>		No Date	
<b>Stoneware</b>	Albany-Like Slip / Albany-Like Slip	1875 - 1915	Greer 1981: 264
	Bristol Glaze / Albany-Like Slip	c. 1850 - 1915	Ketchum 1991: 11, Greer 1981: 264
	Bristol Glaze / Bristol Glaze	1915 - 1940	Greer 1981: 264
<b>Porcelain</b>		No Date	

Table A.2 Historic artifact dating for ceramic decorative techniques

Decorative Techniques	Date Range	Source
Decalomania (Decalware)	TPQ 1890	Miller et al 2000: 14
Gilding	1870 - present	Miller et al. 2000: 13
Spongeware	1845 - 1930	Miller et al. 2000: 13
Transfer Print	1791 - 1890	Miller et al. 2000: 14

## APPENDIX B: CLASSIFICATION SYSTEM

Classification System B.1 Artifact classification for the Antioch Colony (41HY491)

ARTIFACT GROUP	ARTIFACT CATEGORY	TYPE
DOMESTIC	Beverage Container	<i>Beer Bottle</i>
		<i>Juice Bottle</i>
		<i>Liquor Bottle</i>
		<i>Milk Bottle</i>
		<i>Soda Bottle</i>
	Food Preparation & Storage	<i>Aluminium Foil</i>
		<i>Butter Churn</i>
		<i>Can</i>
		<i>Canning Jar</i>
		<i>Cast Iron Pot</i>
		<i>Condiment Bottle or Jar</i>
		<i>Crock</i>
		<i>Jar</i>
		<i>Jug</i>
		<i>Key Wind</i>
		<i>Mixing Bowl</i>
		<i>Oven Dish</i>
		<i>Reamer</i>
		<i>Refrigerator Dish</i>
		<i>UID (Unidentifiable) Utilitarian</i>
	Serving and Consumption	<i>Bowl</i>
		<i>Cruet</i>
		<i>Fork</i>
		<i>Knife</i>
		<i>Lid</i>
		<i>Mug</i>
		<i>Plate</i>
		<i>Platter</i>
		<i>Saucer</i>
		<i>Spoon</i>
		<i>Tea cup</i>
		<i>Tumbler</i>
		<i>Wine Goblet</i>
		<i>UID (Unidentifiable) Tableware</i>
	Appliance	<i>Stove Parts</i>

Classification System B.1, *continued*

ARTIFACT GROUP	ARTIFACT CATEGORY	TYPE
DOMESTIC	Furnishing	Caster
		Ceramic Figurine
		Furniture Part (specify type)
		Lamp Glass
		Tablecloth/Placemat
		Upholstery Tack
		Vase
	Yard	Flower Pot
	Cleaning	Clothes Pin
		Clorox Bottle
	Container Glass	Jar or Bottle Glass
	Lighting	Light Bulb
	Unidentified	UID
FAUNAL	Mammal	unspecified
	Avian	unspecified
OTHER	Money	Coin
OFFICE & SCHOOL	Writing Supplies	Pencil
		Pen
		Inkwell
LITHICS	Tool	Utilized Flake
		Projectile Point
	Core	Core
	Debitage	Flakes and Shatter
HYGIENE & GROOMING	Oral Hygiene	Toothbrush
	Hair and Skin Care	Bleaching Cream
		Cold Cream
		Comb or Brush
		Nail File
		Nail Polish Bottle
		Perfume Bottle
		Petroleum Jelly
		Razor Blades
	Cosmetics	Lip Stick Case
	Unidentified	UID
	Mirror	Mirror



Classification System B.1, *continued*

ARTIFACT GROUP	ARTIFACT CATEGORY	TYPE
LEISURE & PLAY	Music	<i>Harmonica Reed</i>
		<i>Vinyl Record</i>
	Toys	<i>Marble</i>
		<i>Doll or Doll Parts</i>
		<i>Toy Gun</i>
		<i>Minature Dish Set</i>
		<i>Car</i>
	Tobacco	<i>Snuff Bottle</i>
	Unidentified	<i>UID</i>
HEALTH CARE	Medicinal	<i>Medicine Bottle</i>
		<i>Dropper</i>
FIREARMS	Ammunition	<i>Lead Shot</i>
		<i>Cartridge Case</i>
		<i>Bullet</i>
	Gun	<i>Gun Parts</i>
TRANSPORTATION	Animal Husbandry	<i>Mule Shoe</i>
		<i>Harness</i>
		<i>Tack</i>
	Automotive	<i>Car Part</i>
UNIDENTIFIED	Unidentified	<i>UID</i>
	Container Glass	<i>Jar or Bottle</i>
BOTANICAL	Plant	<i>Seed</i>
CLOTHING & ADORNMENT	Jewelry	<i>Earring</i>
		<i>Brooch</i>
		<i>Bead</i>
	Clothes Fastener	<i>Hook and Eye</i>
		<i>Button</i>
		<i>Cufflink</i>
		<i>Rivet</i>
	Hair Accessory	<i>Hair Comb</i>
		<i>Hair Pin</i>
	Shoe	<i>Sole</i>
		<i>Grommet</i>
	Suspenders	<i>Buckle</i>
	Unidentified	<i>UID</i>

Classification System B.1, *continued*

ARTIFACT GROUP	ARTIFACT CATEGORY	TYPE
STRUCTURAL	Architectural	<i>Brick</i>
		<i>Wire nail</i>
		<i>Cut nail</i>
		<i>Hinge</i>
		<i>Drawer/Cabinet Pull</i>
		<i>Roofing Tile</i>
		<i>Tile</i>
		<i>Door Knob</i>
		<i>Key</i>
		<i>Window Glass</i>
	Fencing	<i>Staple</i>
		<i>Wire</i>
	Plumbing	<i>Copper Pipe</i>
		<i>Spigot</i>
	Electrical	<i>Insulator</i>
		<i>Knob and Tube</i>
		<i>Light Fixture</i>
	Unidentified	<i>UID</i>
TOOLS & HARDWARE	Agricultural	<i>Rake</i>
		<i>Hoe</i>
		<i>Plow</i>
	General	<i>Saw</i>
		<i>Hammer</i>
		<i>Hook</i>
		<i>Wrench</i>
		<i>File</i>
		<i>Screw</i>
		<i>Chain</i>
		<i>Spike</i>
		<i>Washer</i>
		<i>Nuts</i>

## APPENDIX C: FORMS

### Form C.1 Artifact ID form for ceramics

<b>41HY491 - ANTIOCH COLONY</b>										
<b>Site Component:</b>		Kate Bunton		Anderson		Church&School				
<b>Structure:</b>		<b>Feature:</b>		<b>Unit# or STP# (circle one):</b>		<b>Level:</b>				
<b>Artifact ID:</b>	<b>Lot#</b>	<b>Material# 1</b>		<b>Specimen#</b>						
Artifact Group:										
Artifact Category:										
Artifact Type:				Material:		RE	ST	PO	CE	UID
Ware:				Vessels only:		Flat	Hollow	Unid		
Circle & enter counts for all that apply:		Rim		Body		Base				
		Handle Decorative Technique(s):								
		Motif:								
Decorative Color(s):				Condition:		Burned Glaze missing				
Crossmend(s):		Contiguous	Non-contiguous	Both		Decal Faded				
Additional Traits (makers' mark, ceramic pattern):										
Date Range:		TPQ:		Date based on:						
Sources:										
Total count:		Photo #:								
Comments:										
Date:		Recorder:								
Checked by:		Entered into Excel:								

Form C.2 Ceramic crossmend form

Vessel No. <b>41HY491 Antioch Colony</b>				
Site Component:		Kate Bunton	Anderson	Church & School
Specific Mat.: RE ST PO CE UNID			Vessel Form: Flat Hollow UNID	
Ware:				
Decorative Technique(s):			Color(s):	
Motif(s):			Maker's Mark:	
TPQ:		Comments:		
Contiguous Mends				
Lot No.	Feature	Unit	Level	Count
Non-contiguous Mends				
Lot No.	Feature	Unit	Level	Count

Form C.3 Ceramic vessel form

<b>41HY491 - ANTIOCH COLONY</b>			<b>Vessel No. 1-</b>		
<b>Site Component:</b>	Kate Bunton	Anderson	Church&School		
<b>Associated Lots, Units, &amp; Levels:</b>					
Artifact Group:					
Artifact Category:					
Artifact Type:		Specific Mat.:	RE CE	ST	PO      UID
Ware:		Form:	Flat	Hollow	UID
Vesellized based on:		Rim	Base	Handle	Spout      Uniqueness
Decorative Technique(s):					
Motif:		Decorative Color(s):			
Sherd Count:					
Rim Diameter (cm):		Base Diameter (cm):		Height (cm):	
Diagnostic markings, traits (including makers' mark):					
Date Range:		TPQ:	Date based on:		
Sources:					
Notes:					
Photo #s:		Recorder:			
Date:					
Checked by:		Entered into Excel on:			

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