Early Nineteenth Century Consumer Preferences at the Mount Pleasant Site (46Jf215) Jefferson County, West Virginia: An Interpretation of a Rural Farmstead

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ABSTRACT

At the turn of the nineteenth century, consumer preference for purchasable items among European Americans was being influenced by many factors including the Industrial Revolution, the ascendancy of Romanticism, Jeffersonian republicanism and by extension the Enlightenment. The Mount Pleasant Site (46Jf215) located in the Route 9 highway corridor of Jefferson County, West Virginia, was an extended Phase II excavation that exposed a late eighteenth to early nineteenth century house site and accompanying rock quarry. The extensive assemblage of over 35,000 artifacts and corresponding excavation of 172 1 x 1 m (3.3 x 3.3 ft.) units allows for further interpretation of material remains to augment the analysis of the final report. Possible motivational influences on the inhabitant's buying preferences as reflected in observable consumption patterns are explored. Comparisons are made with several sites reported in the immediate vicinity including Harpers Ferry and a still extant eighteenth century German-American house site. Percentages of ceramic types with datable periods of popularity are used as a proxy for comparing consumption patterns at the Mount Pleasant Site with these other locations. Decoration frequencies indicate a possible acceptance of the ceramic fashion cycle with rural conservatism also a playing a role.

INTRODUCTION

Archaeology has as a central tenet the interpretation of patterns in the material remains of past cultures. These patterns need not be limited to typologies and traits recorded by the material remains. Patterns of behavior for a given culture, especially in historical archaeology, have the potential to clarify some of the origins of behavior in our present culture. Consumer behavior is an ongoing topic in the field of historical archaeology. The motivation of people in the past to acquire what they did genuinely has relevance in our current climate of mass produced culture. We can look back to the early decades of the nineteenth century when industrialization was expanding and Romanticism, as an emotional response to the lofty self-deprecating ideals of Jeffersonian republicanism and the rationalism of the Enlightenment, was beginning to influence consumer behavior. Changing patterns of consumption by various groups within society resulted from either embracing or resisting societal change and these patterns are reflected in the archeological record.

The Mount Pleasant Site (46Jf215) in Jefferson County, West Virginia, dating circa 1770's to the 1830's (McAndrews et al. 2003), offers an opportunity to compare material remains with those recovered at several sites in the lower Shenandoah Valley region, most notable Harpers Ferry, which lies approximately ten miles from the site described in this study as well as further comparison with an historically attested German-American site (Figures 1 and 2). Specifically, the question being addressed is whether the assemblage of ceramics at the Mount Pleasant Site are reflective of these other regional sites and thus similar consumer preferences. Paul Shackel (1993, 1996) has written extensively on the excavation of Harpers Ferry households associated with its national armory. In particular, he examined consumption patterns in the households of two Master Armorers and armory workers. It is from his work that this paper takes its inspiration. A comparison of relative frequencies of ceramic wares and decoration types will indicate similarity in one instance, but in general show different preferences for the individuals who inhabited the Mount Pleasant Site.

The questions for contextual control are not as insurmountable as one may suppose given that this paper takes on the issue of consumer motivations. Issues such as the effects of economic status, heritage, and geographical location are addressed to better understand how the Mount Pleasant Site differs from the sites located in the industrializing Harpers Ferry and German-American site. Researchers have at their disposal various written sources that augment the archaeological record. These include probate records, titles and deeds, records of tithables (men of

age that may or may not be landed), daybook ledgers of local stores, along with advertisements and records of sale. These last two categories of records help contextualize material remains that can be interpreted as a reflection on consumer behavior. In a general sense we have records for the sale of items that in turn give us a sense of the demand and desires of the inhabitants of this region by comparing relative prices of different categories and classes of goods. The material remains reflect these preferences through the lens of depositional processes (Schiffer 1987).

Harpers Ferry was one of two of the original national armories that were established in the new Republic after post Revolutionary War disputes between England and France led to the need for non-imported war materiel (Shackel 1996: 29-33). Established in 1796, with the first rifle produced in 1800, this backwater industrial center would later become infamous for the John Brown Raid of 1859. At the beginning of the nineteenth century however it was the scene of a change in attitudes of workers and elites regarding changing methods of production. Shackel explores these themes in his book *Culture Change and the New Technology* (1996). In it he describes how the ideas of self-sufficiency and Jeffersonian republicanism were manifested in the working relationships between those who started out as skilled crafters of entire rifles to those workers who ended up by the 1840's as interchangeable machinery operators. Industrialization and standardization were introduced concomitantly with the ascendancy of the Romantic reaction to the dehumanizing forces, growing subjugation and lack of freedom that workers where beginning to experience. Consumer preference is then seen as the result of the interplay between these forces.

Romanticism and its relation to consumption patterns in the early nineteenth century are addressed by Shackel (1996) as a possible factor that shapes the archaeological assemblages. While the younger generations were beginning to lose connection with republican ideals of self sufficiency and modesty in their displays of wealth, Shackel points out that "[r]omanticism served to facilitate the emergence of modern consumer behavior in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries" (Shackel 1996: 23). Using the work of sociologist Colin Campbell (1987) as a framework, the typical assumption that the Protestant Ethic was the single driving force for the emergence of an industrial society is incorrect and is in fact in opposition to consumerism if taken in isolation. "The spirit of modern consumerism is more than materialistic; it is a growth of modern, autonomous, imaginative indulgence" (Shackel 1996: 23). It legitimatized the pursuit of novelty and found the impetus not on some insatiable desire to buy, but rather to materially experience those desires that were already imagined through the media of the day such as novels and newsprint.

How these forces are represented in the archaeological record is a shift in the types of items, the complexity of non-utilitarian decoration, and multiplicity of ceramic vessel forms. For example, ceramics were considered more than utilitarian objects to those holding Romantically inspired notions of identity building through consumer goods. They were representative markers of an imagined lifestyle in physical form. Acceptance of novel trends in ceramic production that required new or greater skill to produce would be considered more valuable by these customers and were priced to reflect this consumerist demand (Miller 1980, 1991).

This paper attempts to explicate spatial and temporal factors to better define the archaeological assemblage. Through a discussion of general regional history along with specific historical information on the property, what develops is an interpretation that will at least attempt to give a substantiated discussion of possible factors that led to the recovery of certain classes of artifacts and their relative abundances. What has great promise is the ability to correlate general societal forces with the archaeological record. Rather than leaving the question of why a particular distribution of artifacts was recovered to simple site specific contexts, this deep perspective takes the discussion from Mount Pleasant to the pottery kilns of Staffordshire England and back.
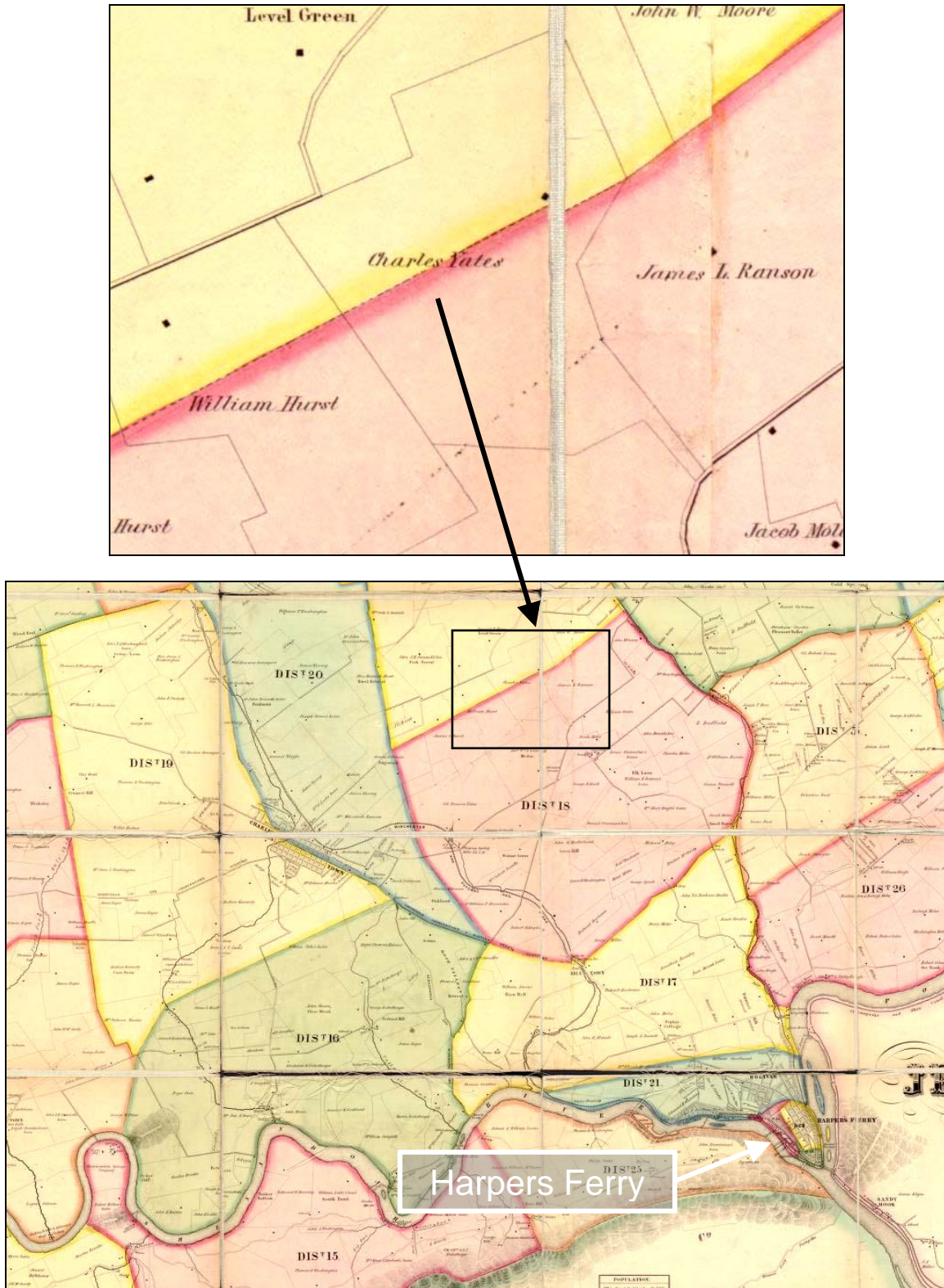
Figure 1. 1852 map showing the Mount Pleasant Locality including Harpers Ferry
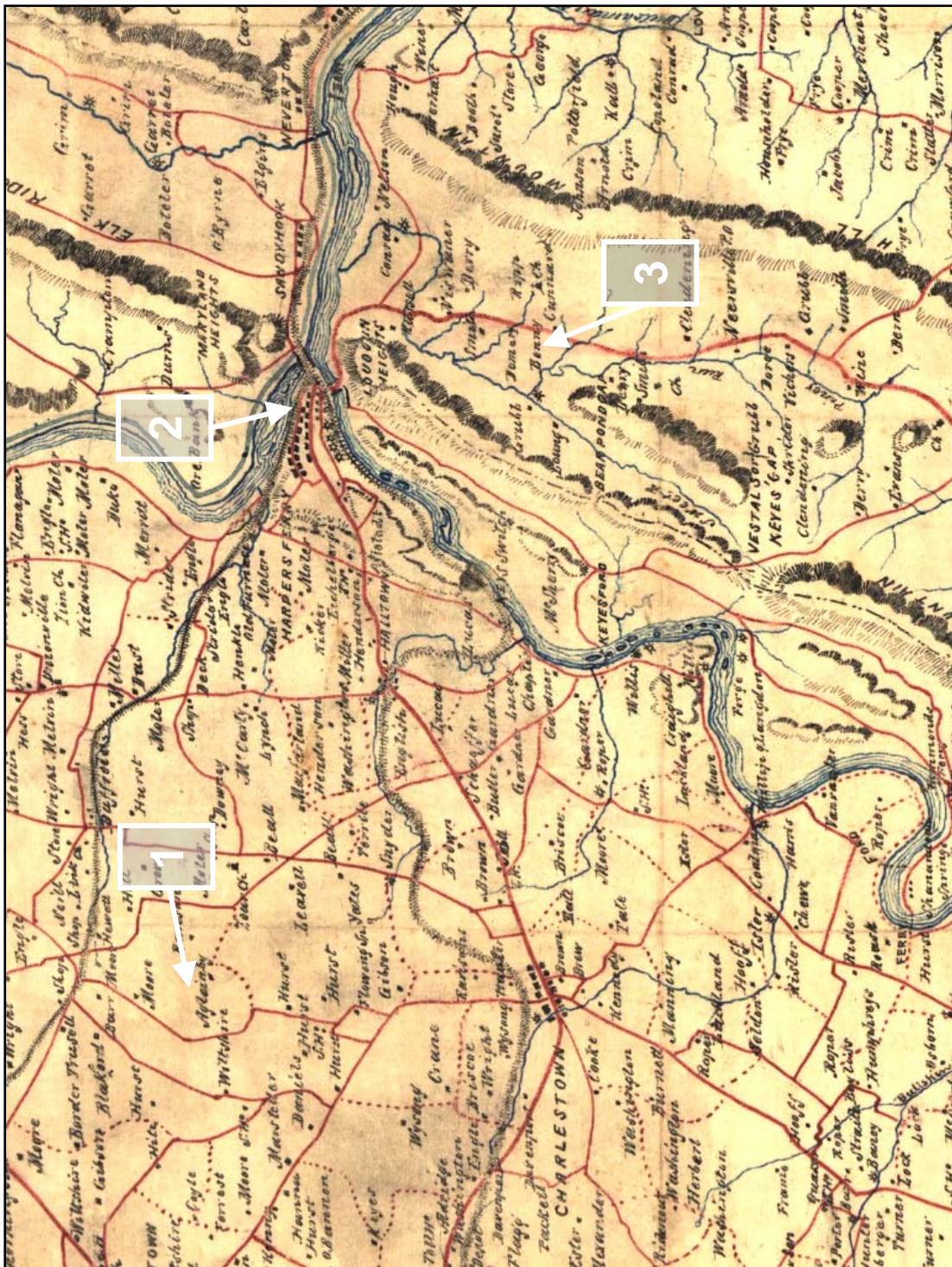(Library of Congress Archives).

Figure 2. 1864 regional map showing Mount Pleasant (1), Harpers Ferry (2) and the Demory Site (3) (Library of Congress Archives).

METHODS

To understand the role that consumer preference had at the Mount Pleasant Site, several lines of inquiry must be developed in relation to the greater socio-cultural environment. Regional geography also may have played a role in the ability of consumer goods to reach the area. For this study there will be extensive revisiting of data already developed in the final site report of Mount Pleasant (McAndrews et al. 2003). Documentary sources trace the known likely inhabitants of the property to Anglo-American backgrounds as opposed to German-American, African-American, or Scotch-Irish Americans. Paul Shackel's (1996) description of the Master Armor's Household along with a description of workers households at Harpers Ferry during the same period allow a comparison and contrast with this rural household. In conjunction with these two more 'urbanized' households another rural site of most likely German-American affiliation will note any difference and similarities (Fennell 2003).

The access of potential inhabitants of the Mount Pleasant Site roughly from 1770-1830 to the latest fashions and styles due to geographical constraints is recognized as a potential limiting factor in the subsequent makeup of the artifact assemblage. Through documentation of the specific people that occupied the land and description of the regional transportation system, this issue will not be dismissed but assessed as part of the interpretation. Rural lifestyles that reflect a more conservative leaning will also be considered.

Ceramics as an indicator of status and wealth has been written extensively by many authors (Miller 1980, 1984; Lucas 1993; Shackel 1996; Fennell 2003; Spencer-Wood 1987; South 1977; Wall 1987). Indications of status and class relate to the particular makeup of certain diagnostic pottery wares, vessel forms and decoration types. Miller (1980, 1991) developed a ceramics index that allowed for analysis of consumer choice based upon relative pricing compared to the most basic refined cream-colored (CC) earthenware. Factors such as production cost and cost to consumer are developed into an index of relative pricing. Ware types and level of complexity in decoration are compared resulting in four broad categories. These are the baseline creamwares without decoration, minimally decorated wares, the ceramics painted by skilled workers with the ability to reproduce specific pattern and designs, and finally, transfer printing.

This study then develops an interpretation based on an analysis of the percentages of ware types in conjunction with deferentially valued decoration styles. The interpretive value of the Harpers Ferry sites performed by Lucas (1993, 1994) and Shackel (1994, 1996) for this paper derives from the percentage of ware types and decoration rather than vessel forms although further study into vessel types at the Mount Pleasant Site would augment these results.

The Mount Pleasant assemblage analysis will use sherd count as a basis for quantifying the relative percentage of ware and decoration types. This is done as a consequence of the relative similarity in breakability of wares with those that are being analyzed. Breakability significantly different, as in the case of thick walled coarse earthenwares and other utility and storage vessel types, would tend to lower counts. This situation does not affect the results of this study given the wares being considered for analysis of consumer preference are all refined earthenware; however, the use of sherd count may bias the results in comparison to other quantification methods used in ceramic analysis. Many studies including those performed by Lucas (1993, 1994) base their percentage of ware and decoration types on minimum vessel number (MVN) rather the sherd count. This method determines, based on the number of rim and base fragments of discernable difference, the number of vessels represented in the assemblage (Rice 1987). This method is widely used but not universal. Another technique proposed by Orton et al. (1993) uses a procedure to quantify estimated vessel equivalents. Using rim fragments to determine the percentage remaining of particular vessels, these percentages are combined to arrive at an equivalence number. Other methods use sherd with sherd categories or a sherd weight number for quantification. Sherd counts were used by Baugher and Venables (1987) to study eighteenth century New York state sites while sherd counts were also used by McBride and McBride (1987) to interpret a late nineteenth century site where data was lacking on vessel form. The latter study also demonstrated the use of a modified Miller (1980, 1991) CC index that aggregated the various indices for vessel forms into a general index of price. This has practical application in situations were the practicalities of obtaining MVN's are not possible. Consideration in this study is of the percentages of ware and decoration types, not how many quantified examples of those vessels are present.

Site dating and specifically ceramic dating are taken directly from the final site report. The existing final report contains tabular data on the Mount Pleasant Site that was made available in a Microsoft Access database format allowing for the necessary ceramic information regarding the assemblage to be queried and tabulated. Historical documentation specific to the Mount Pleasant Site was also included in the final report. To compliment these resources surveys conducted by Fennell (2003), Wall (1994) and Lucas (1993) of store daybooks and advertisements from period newspapers along with comparative site reports for the Harpers Ferry and Demory sites round out primary source materials.

CERAMICS IN THE LATE EIGHTEENTH AND EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

This interpretation of consumer preferences starts with the development of industrial pottery manufacturing and its marketing to the middle classes in English and Anglo-American culture. As McKendrick et al. (1982: 100) point out "Most people know of the way in which the Dutch in the seventeenth century were caught in the fever of speculation over the possession and price of tulip bulbs, but very few are familiar with the far more important and far more pervasive china mania of the eighteenth century." Our 'take it for granted' attitude can not be directly applied to ceramics and their meaning to those in the past. Ascription of value and worth then was more than an application of utility. What was developing then was an industrial fashion cycle that saw one of its first manifestations in the production of popular pottery. The man most associated with this development is Josiah Wedgwood. His kilns in Staffordshire England saw the combination of industrial efficiency and effective marketing to position English pottery as the touchstone of beauty and status. He was by no means the only potter, for there were hundreds of other kilns that produced imitations and their own innovations in technique and style. It was his application early on in the middle eighteenth century of mass production processes with marketing savvy that gave his name status above others.

For the purposes of this paper, there are several ware types and decoration styles that had periods of popularity through the fashion cycle. These points of popularity are given a broad timeframe and compared with the assemblages specifically addressed herein. Comparison of the assemblages to the popular fashion of the time is taken as an indicator of an acceptance or rejection of popular trends through the filtering effects of heritage, geographical, and economic constraints or biases. All of the following wares are considered refined earthenware which was a soft water absorbent paste made impermeable by the application of various clear or opaque glazes (Snyder 1997: 7). Coarse earthenwares by contrast were usually of red paste with a grittier temper.

The first popular mass produced ware type is creamware. Improved upon by Josiah Wedgwood in the 1760's, the name is taken from the cream-colored paste used in its manufacture. Transparent glazes of green and blue were used to make the earthenware appealing to the masses by attempting to emulate the desirable qualities of the much more expensive porcelain from chiefly China, but also locally produced in England in small quantities. The popularity of creamware can be attributed to Wedgwood's effective use of a commission he won from Queen Charlotte to make a tea set for the royal household as well as one from Catherine the Great of Russia for a table service of 952 pieces (McKendrick et al. 1982: 110). He was given the title of the Queen's Potter and was able to affix the royal seal of approval to his wares. Creamware during the eighteenth century was also known as Queensware for his efforts. The term Queensware eventually lost its specificity to Wedgwood and became a common term for refined earthenware (Fennell 2003: 275-277; Lucas 1993: 8-8). From this start, the fashion cycle continued.

The next innovation to ascend in popularity was Pearlware, mass produced and perfected by Wedgwood. The term has a more diagnostic value to historical archaeologists than as a historically specific type. As had been the case with creamware, pearlware improved on the imitation of expensive porcelain by the introduction of cobalt into the glaze to whiten or blue the finished pieces. During its period of popularity around the turn of the nineteenth century, it went by many names such as pearl white, pearl china, or simply pearl (Noel Hume 1970: 128-130; Miller 1991: 19; Sussman 1977).

At the turn of the nineteenth century inclusion of cobalt in the paste itself had the effect of producing truly white pottery and was appropriately known as whiteware. Other types of wares that developed at this time as a result of the increasing competition among Staffordshire potters were Spode's "Stone China" and Charles James Mason's "Ironstone China" patented in 1813 (Synder 1997: 8). Ironstone has been used by archaeologist as a general category for a thicker style of ware that includes Mason's patented line, but is more broadly defined. The ambiguity afforded to this and the other whitewares makes separating the various subtype type problematic.

While this progression of ware types serves as the foundation for valuation in this study, other more utilitarian wares are recovered in the archaeological record as well as local copies of imported refined earthenwares. Yelloware was an American example of local imitation using available fabrics. Redware and Stoneware were more typical of American ceramics. These types of wares were not used typically for tableware or tea sets but for storage and kitchen containers. Local innovation did attempt to compete with the English kilns but American pottery would play second to the likes of Spode and Wedgwood well into the middle of the nineteenth century.

The progression of ware types served as a media for innovations in decoration types that by the nineteenth century were better indicators of value than wares. Miller (1980) as mentioned previously through a detailed study of Staffordshire price fixing charts developed an index of ceramic values based on decoration type. Decoration types crossed wares in some cases, but had distinctions that allow for diagnostic analysis that accounts for change over time. Embossing or molding consisted of raised relief typically applied to a vessel's rim. The most popular

being the shell-edged molding. In many cases in association with creamware through whiteware, cobalt blue or green tinting was applied to the outer edge of the piece.

Transfer printing involves the application to the vessel of a design initially created on copper plate through a special paper medium. The innovation of transfer printing led to the consistency of design through a whole table setting of various pieces, shapes, and sizes that were extremely difficult when hand painting the vessels. Initially the print was applied over the glaze, especially for black on creamware during the eighteenth century. It became apparent that the print easily wore off after continual use leading to an underglaze technique. This however limited the color to cobalt blue due to it stability at high temperatures. Pearlware typically has this dark blue. Later multiple firing techniques and improvements in ink added mulberry, sepia, green and red to designs when whiteware was popular starting in the 1820's. Another associated technique found also after 1820 was the flowing of ink to create halos of diffused color around patterns for what is now termed 'flown' decoration (Snyder 1997).

Lower in valuation were the hand painted pieces. Generic floral motifs and annular decoration rings of different colors were typical. Initially used as an underglaze technique the colors were limited to blue, but eventually included a small palette of appealing colors as in the case with transfer printing. For purposes of this study it is important to recognize that even though this decoration type was not the most expensive it was still considered popular. The different designs and the general decoration that was indicative of this and the more expensive transfer printing contrasted with older edged dipped or plain table wares that were more popular in the later part of the eighteenth century.

This listing of ware and decoration types is not exhaustive but reflects the major styles that allow for the comparison of consumer preference as well as favored fashions by the inhabitants of Mount Pleasant and the other sites described. Other types of ceramics include ironstone introduced in the first decade of the nineteenth century and decalcomania or decals introduced in the latter half of the century. The focus on the particular wares and decoration then is an attempt to understand how they may be used as indicators of preference in the assemblages under consideration.

THE MOUNT PLEASANT SITE

The Mount Pleasant Site is located at the base of a hill on a toe spur in a coalluvial wash approximately 200 meters (665 feet) from an existing stone house on the historic Mount Pleasant property along West Virginia Highway 9 approximately 5 km (3 miles) north of Charles Town, West Virginia. The reason for the excavation of this site was compliance of Section 106 regulations in the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 necessitated by the federal undertaking of the construction of a four lane highway from Charles Town to Martinsburg, West Virginia. Excavations were completed in 1999. The following discussion is derived from information contained in the final report (McAndrews et al. 2003).
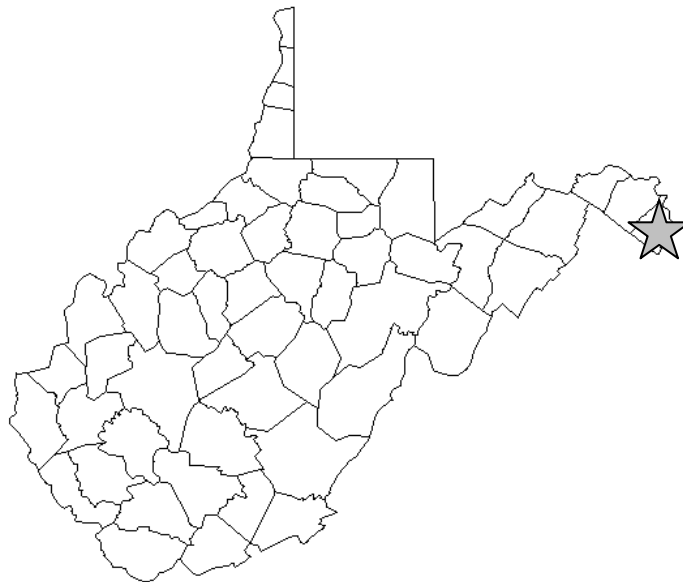

Figure 3. Location of the Mount Pleasant Site.

Results from the excavation uncovered an extensive assemblage of historical artifacts and thirteen subsurface features. A few prehistoric artifacts were recovered from the site but were considered as indicators of an ephemeral occupation. Historical documentation for the site contained results from a review of tax, probate, and deed books from Jefferson, Berkeley, and Fredrick Counties. Records were dispersed over these counties due to the splitting off of Berkeley from Fredrick in 1772 and Jefferson from Berkeley in 1801.

On the basis of historical documentation, this summary account then describes those persons who may have played a role in the creation of the assemblage recovered at the Mount Pleasant Site. The first known inhabitant of the Mount Pleasant Site was Moses Tullis and his family beginning on August 2, 1762 with his purchase of 346 acres from Lawrence Hanson. Prior to this, the property containing the Mount Pleasant Site was owned by Jacob Hite and before him was part of the extensive holdings of Thomas Lord Fairfax. Moses Tullis was born in 1730 as the son of Welsh or Scottish parents. He was married to Mary Elizabeth VanDyke or Vandike, daughter of Jan and Margaret Barcolo VanDyke, while still living in New Jersey in 1750 or 1751. Between them they had 14 children. Records indicate that the Tullis family had moved to then Berkeley County prior to the purchase of their farm that would eventually be known as Mount Pleasant. In 1770, Moses Tullis was recorded as a trustee of the Elk Branch Presbyterian Congregation, the precise location of which is unknown. He was also noted for being one of some 100 protesters of the election of a member of the state convention in 1775. Moses Tullis died in 1777 dividing his estate between his second born son Aaron and Moses Tullis' own wife Mary Elizabeth; two thirds went to Aaron and one third to Mary. A curious statement seems to contradict this by indicating that the estate was to be divided equally among the children or their heirs. The perplexing wishes of the will were not long abided by. Mary Elizabeth was indeed bequeathed her dower rights to 120 acres (latter determined to include only 100 acres) that included the Mount Pleasant Site, but Moses' first born son Moses Jr. bought out the interest of his living siblings for the remainder of the property in 1778. At the same time he sold the property that Mary held dower rights to Robert Rutherford while still recognizing Mary's right to the same (McAndrews et al. 2003: 34-36).

A conveyance in 1786 indicated that Mary Elizabeth Tullis had married and was living on the Mount Pleasant property. Quoting the county deed book it stated that "the dower right of Elizabeth Timmons late Elizabeth Tullis tenant in possession during her natural life" retained the interest still (McAndrews et al. 2003: 36). Records do not indicate directly who her new husband was but other records indicated that only a Bryan Tymmons of rural Berkely County had such a similar surname. In 1796 Mary Elizabeth sold her dower rights to a Charles Yates. Prior to this Robert Rutherford had sold the Mount Pleasant property to Charles Yates in 1786 to pay off a debt. In both cases of the latter land owners, Robert Rutherford and Charles Yates, records indicate that neither of these men actually lived on the Mount Pleasant property.

Charles Yates was a well to do land holder, farmer, trader in agricultural products and importer. He had emigrated from England in 1752 and prospered from his residence in Fredericksburg, Virginia. His land holdings west of the Blue Ridge were approximately 1000 acres including the Mount Pleasant farm, one of six others. Family records indicate he liked to visit the property, but never resided there on a permanent basis. His status in the higher levels of society can be inferred not only by the vast holding of lands but also by his possession of 25 slaves, one of the larger holdings in the county.

While records indicate that Charles Yates himself did not live on the Mount Pleasant farm, his overseer Benjamin Wiltshire most likely did. Charles Yates died in 1806 leaving his vast holding to his nephew John Yates. John Yates like his uncle didn't live at Mount Pleasant but on an adjoining farm called Walnut Grove. Records indicate that Benjamin Wiltshire signed a lease with John Yates for the 170 acres that include the Mount Pleasant Site in 1811. He lived there with his wife and children until his death in 1816. Further occupation by his family has not been documented but is nevertheless possible.

In summary, the personages associated with the Mount Pleasant Site in the historical records are not over whelming. Moses Tullis and his wife and their family, Mary Elizabeth Tullis Timmons' new family and husband and the overseer Benjamin Wiltshire make up the direct group. The land owners of Robert Rutherford and Charles and John Yates were absentee gentlemen farmers whose wealth put them into the 'middling classes' of society. As a large slave holder in the county Charles Yates had need of an overseer for his operations in the Great Valley over the Blue Ridge from Fredericksburg. Most likely Benjamin Wiltshire and his family along with Moses Tullis, his family and the slaves that may have worked the surrounding fields would have contributed to the assemblage of artifacts unearthed at the Mount Pleasant Site.

The excavations revealed thirteen subsurface features that indicated a possible structure, most likely a house with a westward facing lean-to area for storage. South of the structure area was a quarry area of limestone. The extant house nearby based on architecture indicates a construction in the late eighteenth to early nineteenth century. This places the extant stone house within the period of this paper's purview. The Mount Pleasant excavation

revealed a house site without evidence for a stone foundation. The indication is that this structure predated the extant structure. Spatially, the stone house and the excavation area indicating the earlier or temporary structure show a hierarchy of placement. The stone house occupies the highest ground in the area, while the structure evident in the excavation was set back and partially obscured in the lower elevation on the toe spur.
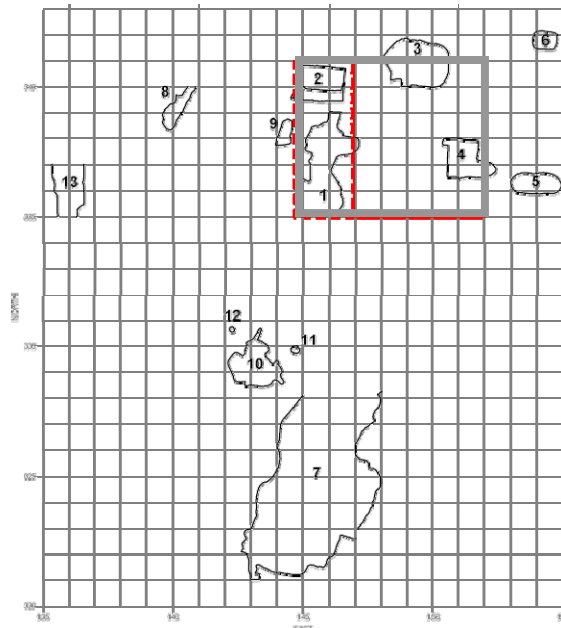

Figure 4. Feature distribution with gray rectangle indicating possible house site
(from McAndrews et al. 2003: 60).

The artifact assemblage amounted to over 35,000 objects, including over 18,000 pottery sherds which are the focus of this study. One of the issues in the interpretation of the site is the long time frame of occupation inferred from the assemblage and the historical documentation. Narrowing down the dating may aid in the overall interpretation. This may be possible by looking at the spatial distribution of the faunal remains associated with the area immediately around the house site. Four features were exposed to delimit the house site; a cold storage, dry storage, a chimney and stove pad. The summary of the feature interpretations in the Phase II report is shown in the following table

Table 1. Feature table of Mount Pleasant Site (from McAndrews et al. 2003: 61).

Feature	Proposed Function	Location within Site
Feature 1	Dry-goods storage	North central
Feature 2	Cold storage	North central
Feature 3	Stone foundation of firebox/chimney	Northeast
Feature 4	Platform for heating stove	Northeast
Feature 5	Possible borrow pit infilled with nondomestic refuse	Northeast
Feature 6	Unknown	Northeast
Feature 7	Limestone bedrock quarry	Central south
Feature 8	Limestone bedrock removal	Northwest
Feature 9	Limestone bedrock removal	North central
Feature 10	Possibly associated with quarry	South central
Feature 11	Shovel test probe	South central
Feature 12	Rodent burrow	South central
Feature 13	Infilled ditch	West

Using the distribution of faunal remains, what becomes evident is the greatest concentration of bones recovered is from the house's dry goods storage pit feature (Figure 5). This type of concentration would not be typical during an occupation, given the immediate location next to the structure. Stanley South (1977: 47-50) recognized a typical pattern of English discard of refuse in his studies of North Carolina sites. Animal remains would have been discarded away from the occupied structure in a peripheral secondary refuse midden to avoid the unpleasantness of decaying animal matter. Assuming a similar pattern for the Mount Pleasant Site, the assemblage of artifacts would be biased towards the latter part of the occupation; namely the period after the occupation by Benjamin Wiltshire most likely ending in 1816. Suffice it to say that there is a mingling of the occupational primary refuse and the secondary refuse that overlay it.
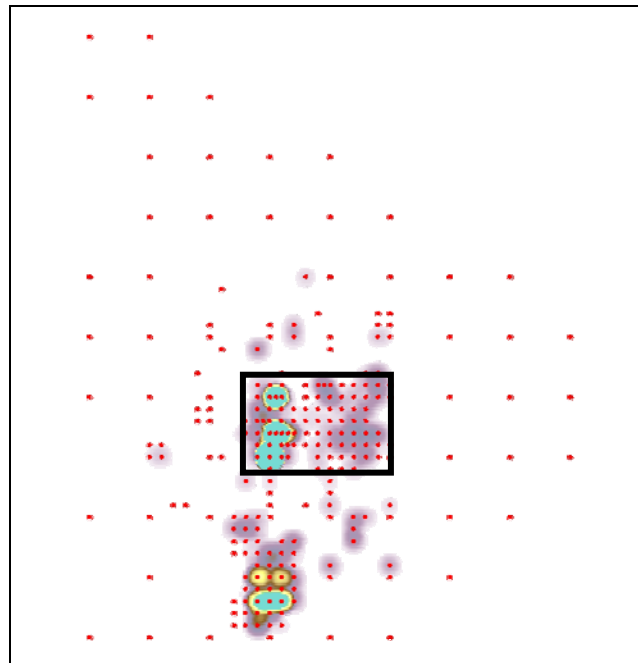

Figure 5. Faunal density of the Mount Pleasant Site.
Black rectangle indicates house site.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Colonial history of the lower Shenandoah Valley goes back to the first land grants by both Lord Fairfax and the Commonwealth of Virginia in the early part of the 18th century. During the 1730's and 40's, a dispute between Lord Fairfax and the Virginia colony raged as to which held title to lands that were know as the Northern Neck. This area was bounded by the Potomac and the Rappahannock Rivers from the Atlantic to their "first heads or springs" (Mitchell 1977: 9-11). What was at stake was the ability of Lord Fairfax to continue his land speculation enterprise. The ambiguous charter from Charles II given back in 1649 was contested in a very visible way by the grants of lands given to the likes of Jost Hite and the von Metre brothers by the colony of Virginia. The Crown was nevertheless looking for expansion of settlement further into the hinterlands past the Blue Ridge Mountains. The settlers indeed came and by the decade prior to the Revolutionary War there were several different European groups that were expanding into the region namely the English, Scotch-Irish and Germans. During this time social cohesion among the ethnic groups led to a patchwork of ethnic concentrations. Progress in the expansion of settlement was hampered by geographical and political constraints. There were to the west in the Ohio Valley outbreaks of Native American resistance to the ever expanding European presence. Through peace treaty and outright buyout of lands the amount of skirmishes by Native American was minimal. Another factor in this lack of attacks on the settlers was the Shenandoah Valley's position as a transportation corridor between various tribes and not widely settled. Accounts from the time noted the passage of various Native groups without confrontation with settlers (Mitchell 1972: 466).

During this period there were outbreaks of resistance in nearby regions and the entire area reverted to a forward area during the French and Indian war until 1763. It was also during this conflict that George Washington as head of British forces in the region began to develop an interest in the lower Shenandoah (Fennell 2003: 215-217). The line of fortification he commanded to the immediate west of the valley protected the area from attack. To move troops in and out of the region, a 'primitive' trail system that had existed prior to European settlement was improved and in turn led to the further expansion of European settlement.

Native American trails were improved beginning with the earliest settlers. East-west routes through the various gaps in the Blue Ridge started in the late 1730's. The backbone of transportation was the Great Wagon Road established after 1745 following the valley in its general southwest northeast orientation ending up in the city of Philadelphia. During the first decades the trail was increasingly less passable by wagons the further southwest travel was attempted. The tough going of the early years nevertheless allowed for settlement along the Shenandoah Valley as far as the southern part of Augusta County roughly 170 kilometers (105 miles) from the Mount Pleasant locality. Improvements in the road system during the middle part of the eighteen century spurred on by increasing settlement and logistical necessities of the French and Indian War increased the population of the region to unprecedented levels (Mitchell 1972).

Distinctive rural populations existed based upon rank and status in the economy. While indeed there were the individual families of all persuasions that settled 'small' family farms amounting to less than 400 acres, there were also the influx of gentry from the Piedmont and Tidewater areas further east that found the lower priced lands beneficial to their economic position. These men of means and status were large land holders that during the period following the Revolutionary War were continually increasing their holdings in the region as smaller farms were acquired in the inflationary period following the cessation of hostilities. Their lands in many cases were additions to holdings maintained as plantations in the Piedmont and Tidewater. The privileged position made them the typical slave owner. While many grew the slave driven production crops of tobacco and hemp, the lower Shenandoah Valley had itself little cultivation of tobacco. In this regard the meager 300 to 400 acres under cultivation of this crop may have persisted as a means to pay tax obligations and not as an export crop (McAndrews et al. 2003: 30; Mitchell 1977: 179).

With the war over the lower Shenandoah Valley saw the steady increase in rural farmsteads. As backcountry to the regional economy, there developed at roughly similar intervals along the Great Wagon Road towns that served the function of trade centers. It was in these small towns that rural farmers went to sell their produce of wheat, corn and for the gentry tobacco in exchange for goods that were needed. Economic centers would continue being augmented with more stores and services as the population increased catering not only to locals, but also to those making stops along the Shenandoah Valley which served as a major route for settlement expansion into the Ohio Valley. Towns developed slowly. As an example, Winchester in nearby Shenandoah County was incorporated in 1791 and at that time had merely 1650 persons (Mitchell 1977: 198-9).

General merchandise stores both in towns as well as those in isolated rural locations were as imagined small entrepreneurial family enterprises selling various necessities and desirables in this backcounty area. Exchange of goods was in many cases two ways with payment taken in produce from the farmers for goods and supplies not available locally. Of the commodities in constant demand were basics such as salt and sugar, fabrics and tools, glassware and pottery. All these necessities had to be brought in along the Great Wagon Road or as they developed east- west gap routes through the Blue Ridge Mountains. Commerce increased throughout the eighteenth century leading the region away from a frontier to a regional crossroads for settlements in the west.

By the period of occupation for the Mount Pleasant Site, the lower Shenandoah Valley was an integral part of a regional economy. Far from the remoteness of a frontier, at the turn of the nineteenth century, it was a well established region that was playing an ever increasing role as the major conduit for settlers moving out west into the Ohio Valley. The period following the turn of the nineteenth century continued trends in this increasingly diversified rural economy only during this time other options for transportation and industry were developing. Wagon roads and turnpikes had been the backbones of transportation for most of the eighteenth century. There was awareness since the end of the Revolutionary War by those in the new "Federal City" (Washington D.C.) that for trade and commerce to expand into the region as well as further west in the Ohio Valley transportation must be made easier and more cost effective. George Washington said as much in a letter from 1784 as quoted by Fennell (2003: 217).

"Extend the inland navigation of the Eastern waters, communicate them as near as possible (by excellent Roads) with those that run westward. Open these to the Ohio, and such others as extend from the Ohio towards Lake Erie: and we shall not only draw the produce of the western Settlers, but the Fur and pelty trade of the lakes also, to our Ports (being the nearest, and the easiest of transportation) to the amazing encrease (sic.) of our Exports, while we bind those people to us by a chain which can never be broken."

As the lower Shenandoah Valley and, more specifically, the Potomac River were between these vast new territories and the ports of international trade, Washington had a keen interest to see the region developed. He had been an absentee landowner in the valley for many years but as the turn of the nineteenth century grew near, the nation needed two critical elements for national survival; increased trade and war materiel for the United States government.

During these first decades the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, and then in the 1830's the introduction of several railroads including the Baltimore and Ohio reduced travel times and lowered shipment costs for commodities both into and out of the west. Transportation was becoming easier and with the ease, consumer choices began to multiply for the inhabitants. Larger harvests could now use the improving infrastructure to get to market. Economies of scale were evident in both the lowering costs of shipment and the concentration of land into fewer hands. Slavery was confined to only the wealthiest landholders that grew labor intensive crops like tobacco and hemp. This Virginia backwater was in the midst of great changes during the period in which the Mount Pleasant Site was occupied.

As for the necessity of war materiel, Washington was instrumental in the establishment of Harpers Ferry (Fennell 2003: 215) as one of the two national armories, the other being located in Springfield, Massachusetts. Only ten miles from the Mount Pleasant Site, Harpers Ferry was chosen due to its location at the confluence of the Shenandoah and Potomac Rivers. This in turn allowed for the establishment of a newly formed commercial center that would take advantage of the river routes for transportation. Military concerns also made the site strategic being far removed from attack by other colonial powers.

Fennell (2003) discovered was that the established road networks were not so much of a hindrance on the diversity and availability of goods in the region as one would assume. His conclusion was that river based transportation could have made the trade interaction more complicated. Rather than bringing efficiency to the trade system in the region the road system allowed for a simpler trade process. This was demonstrated by noting that farmers with product would have to deal with several middlemen including the wagon team to the river dock, the boat owners, and the wagon team at the end leg of the journey to East Coast cities where the product was sold. Not to mention the return journey could have been just as complicated with goods in tow.

The lack of a rail infrastructure during the early development of the region may have not been as acute an impediment to the diversity of goods as first presumed. It is true that railroads were not limited to predetermined river corridors, but their expansion could have accounted for quicker availability along established trade networks rather than increasing diversity. River towns like Harpers Ferry included both the river trade traffic and connections with the expanding rail network making them increasingly important as the nineteenth century progressed.

Goods from as far as China and Britain were commonly found in rural sites in the region and had been from the middle part of the eighteenth century (Fennell 2003: 293). The diversity of goods did not change dramatically with the introduction of these new networks. In both Fennell's (2003) and Lucas' (1993) works, newspaper advertisements were studied to determine what types of goods were mentioned. As examples similar to those two studies, two period advertisements (Figures 6 and 7) taken from a Fredrick Town (Maryland) Herald of June 15, 1816 from an online collection are indicative.

Figure 6. Newspaper advertisement from Fredrick Maryland (Fredrick Town Herald, 15 June 1816 [1]).

In this instance there is a reference to Queensware for pottery items. As was noted this term for pottery changed from its initial usage in the 1760's for a specific potter's line of wares to a more generalized usage for imported British pottery in the nineteenth century.
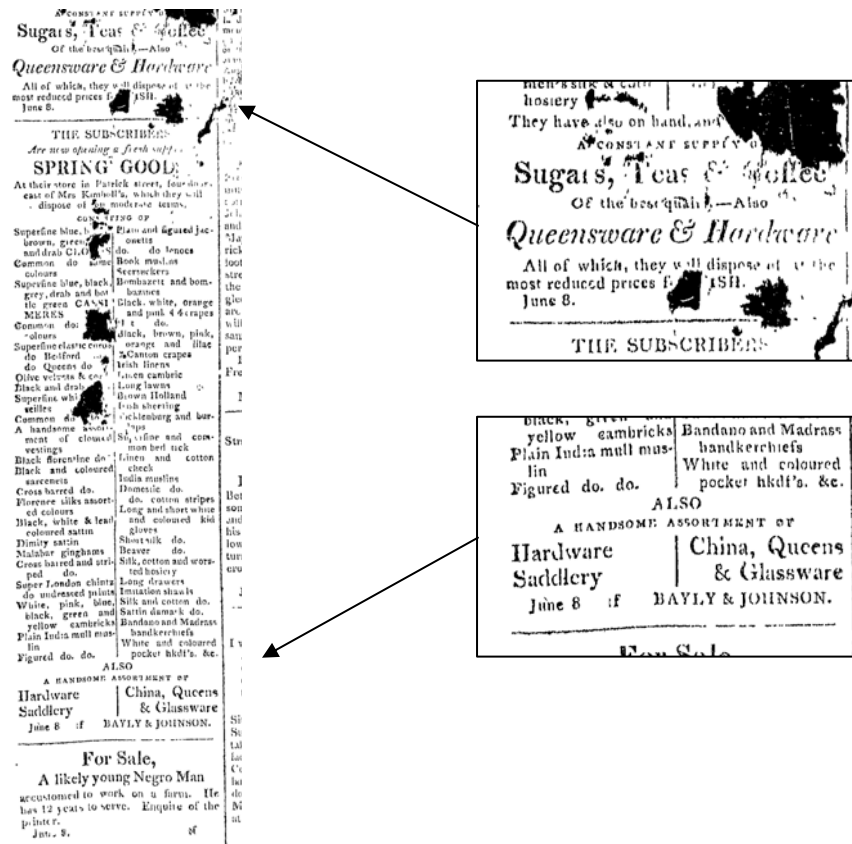

Figure 7. Newspaper advertisements from Fredrick, Maryland (Fredrick Town Herald, 15 June 1816 [1]).

In Figure 7 is another two instances of different merchants using the term Queensware with the second differentiating this type of ceramics from China.

More importantly Fennell (2003) and Lucas (1993) also looked at store daybooks to determine what types of goods were being bought and by whom. Entries for 20 regional stores in Fennell (2003) and a store in Harpers Ferry by Lucas (1993) showed that typically sales for pottery and tablewares amounted to only a small percentage of total sales, in the range of one to three percent.

ANGLO-AMERICAN CONSUMERS AND THE ROMANTIC ETHIC

Having discussed the economic, historical, and geographic factors that made up the region around the Mount Pleasant Site, an underlying current of this period is the change in attitudes witnessed in regards to the consumption of goods. Status markers were equated with certain categories of consumer goods. These trends were not new but at the end of the eighteenth and into the nineteenth century what set this period apart from times past was the rapidity of change in styles and forms that was taking place. These indicators of style and status transcended the aristocratic levels of society into what was regarded as the 'middling classes.' These *nouveaux riches* consisted of the artisans, tradesmen, the well to do farmers and clerks.

The Protestant Ethic as described by Max Weber (1958) was seen as the catalyst for the emergence of the Industrial Revolution; however, his study did not address the complementary aspect of industrialization, namely the necessity of an insatiable demand for the products being produced. Weber (1958) in his book *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* traces the roots of the Protestant Ethic back to the Civil War in Britain and the emergence of Puritanism as a movement that decried luxury, idleness, and frivolity. Their strict ascetic temperament allowed for the use of time and talent only on those endeavors that were practical, encouraged industriousness and avoided the temptation of the senses.

Sociologist Colin Campbell, as noted by Shackel (1996) in his study of Harpers Ferry, has taken to developing a complementary theory for the consumption side of the economic equation of the modern Western industrialized economy. His book in homage to Max Weber is titled *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Consumerism* (1987). His discussion revolves around addressing a fundamental weakness in the interpretations given for the emergence of a consumer culture in England and by extension Anglo-American culture. Previous works have attempted to justify the emergent consumerism on ideas that revolved around emulation of higher classes in society and 'conspicuous consumption' as most prominently espoused by Thorstein Veblen in his work *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1994). He finds this reasoning lacking for a basic contradiction; the same classes that were supposed to be emulating the aristocracy were also the same groups that associated themselves with the traditions of the Protestant/Puritan Ethic. The same group was to shun luxury on the one hand and on the other was seen as embracing the latest fashions and indulgences (Campbell 1987: 31). Weber's (1958) description of the Protestant Ethic also was noted to end during the seventeenth century. This truncation in his analysis left the question open as to why there was a 'consumer revolution' (McKendrick et al. 1982) in the latter part of the eighteenth century.

Campbell (1987, 1993) addresses this deficiency by proposing that Romanticism played a key role in spurring on the demand side of the economic equation. Romanticism was a reaction to the Enlightenment. The dominance of rational thought, the elevation of reason to cultic status and the use of empiricism to delineate worth and truth were cast aside in a rebellious furor of emotion that questioned the abilities to grasp the truth of life through such means. Romantics looked for the judgment of truth, goodness, and beauty in the individual's feelings towards an object whether idea, person place or thing (Campbell 1987: 180-181,185). Finding its origins in the Sentimentalism of the mid-eighteenth century, Romanticism, Campbell posits, was a result of the transformation of certain Puritan proclivities that were not addressed in the more widely held view of Weber's 'Protestant Ethic;' namely the emotional response of benevolent action along with the Pietistic aspects of Puritan theology. Concern for the poor from an emotionally experienced religious convection was transformed by the weakening of deeply held beliefs in some into a form of emotionalism that was recognized as proper by the upper classes. This eventually led to recognition that outwardly other oriented sentimentality lacked in many cases authentic sincerity and the replacement by the external for the inner development of a pleasure-seeking hedonistic point of view shifted the wellspring of emotions (Campbell 1987: 205). This point is critical as Campbell writes:

> It is now possible to state the general nature of the conclusion reached concerning the relationship between the romantic ethic and the spirit of modern consumerism. The latter labeled self-illusionary hedonism is characterized by a longing to experience in reality those pleasures created and enjoyed in the imagination, a longing which results in the ceaseless consumption of novelty (Campbell 1987: 205).

Modern pleasure seeking then seeks not 'pleasures' themselves but the pleasure state detached and differed from basic physiologic sensations (Campbell 1987: 69-70). This progression of internalization and the individual's own judgment of worth based on an emotional response allowed for a value to be placed on the perceived pleasure of that which is not yet attained but longed for (Campbell 1987: 85-88). Pondering or day dreaming about what is yet to be experienced is what drives the need for something new and different. The promise of 'differed gratification' by the yet unattained leads to the desire of the new and innovative, while also explaining, as hadn't been accounted effectively, why once a person obtains what they desire ceasing to connect the emotional response to it. The person's daydreams are already on the next object of desire.

Of course the Romantics of the period frowned highly on the simple seeking of pleasures that were manifest in the frivolity of the consumptive patterns of the middling classes. The pedestrian notions of pleasure seeking through the emotional release of a gothic novel or an acquisition of finer style of clothes or table settings would find little favor in the likes of Rousseau. Campbell (1987) notes in his conclusion the irony of Romanticism as espoused by the literary and artistic elite leading to the endless striving for goods and services. The Romantic Ethic then was a translation by the middle classes of the cultural Romanticism's focus on the centrality of personal emotional judgment. Similarly, Luther or Calvin would have never approved of how capitalism's goal of greater profits started as the ascetic discipline of a deeply held religious conviction (Campbell 1987: 207).

How the Protestant Ethic and Romantic Ethic exist together then is the application of this theory to the material culture of the modern consumer society starting in the late eighteenth century. Rather than being in opposition, these seemingly divergent views are held in the culture together most commonly in the dispositions of the genders of the traditional middle-class nuclear family. Romantic fiction, child care, welfare work, and notions of taste and fashion have traditionally been recognized as the realm of women while the male role has had a greater utilitarian function in society. Emotional sensitivity has been considered a feminine virtue. This also led women to have "the

primary aesthetic responsibility, especially with regard to furnishing and dress" (Campbell 1987: 225). In a patriarchal culture this "minority ethic" has nevertheless had great influence. Simply put "if one sex is viewed as the principal carrier of 'puritan' values and the other the carrier of 'romantic' ones then it becomes a little easier to understand how these two apparently incompatible cultures have come to be incorporated into the experience of a single class" (Campbell 1987: 225). Therefore both ethics are transmitted to the next generation. The symbiosis between the two ethics is what perpetuates that capitalist system by complimenting production and consumption. For this study what is important to acknowledge is the centrality of the imagined status or prestige that something not possessed has on the archaeological assemblage. A consumer's self valuation may be tied with the acquisition of the latest fashion or motif of ceramics in the present case.

COMPARATIVE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES IN THE REGION

As part of this interpretation, comparison of three other sites in the region supports the premise that consumers in this region had access to the latest fashion in ceramics. Shackel (1996) relates the history of two master Armorers that occupied the Master Armorers residence during the first half of the nineteenth century. Armistead Beckham's household from 1815-1832 and Benjamin Moor from 1832-1852 constitute two distinct families but also constitute two distinct views of the emerging consumer patterns and industrialization. Beckham was characterized by Shackel (1996) as a resister to the ever increasing demand by the government to standardize and mechanize the process for gun production. His period was noted for the ability of armorers to craft piecework of guns rather than being simple minimally skilled machine operators. This is significant given that piece work took more skill and allowed more independence for the workers who performed the task based on quotas rather than wages. Beckham's self-appointed role then was maintaining this piecework for as long as he could through corruptive means if necessary. What is important to gather from the description of Beckham is the resistance he had to the changing mechanization that was taking place at Harpers Ferry. Beckham is contrasted with the latter household of Benjamin Moor. Shackel (1996) characterizes his period as Master Armorer as one that was favorable to the newer trends in assembly line production and by implication the larger trends of industrialization and innovation. The archaeological site of the Master Armorer had diachronic stratigraphy due to the periodic flooding of the valley which fortuitously roughly paralleled the household periods of the Master Armorers.

The next site, also found in Harpers Ferry, was a residence of Armory workers. Paralleling the Master Armorer residence, the earlier phase of the excavation corresponded to the period when guns were fabricated through piece work. The assemblage indicated relative affluence by these workers as indicated in ceramics that were fashionable than the later phases of occupation. Independence and the ability to set ones own schedule for completion of required number of components differentiated these yet craftsmen from the latter wage earners. These latter workers at the armory were described as having lost much of their value as skilled craftsmen. Their 'interchangeability' led to lower wages that in turn reduced their consumption to basic necessities (Shackel 1996). Reflection of their economic condition was inferred from the lack of currently fashionable pottery styles and a preponderance of earlier ware types.

Finally, the Mount Pleasant Site assemblage is compared with the Demory Site in Loudoun County, Virginia, approximately fifteen kilometers (nine miles) east and across the Shenandoah River. This site excavated by Christopher Fennell (2003) from 1993 to 1999 was an extant German-American log home and its surroundings. Occupation for the site spanned from the late eighteenth to the early twentieth centuries. His ethnic characterization of the site is based not only on historical documentation but also as result of comparison of architectural similarities found with known German American home sites in the region.

RESULTS

Results show that the ceramics of the Mount Pleasant Site (Table 2) have an analog with the assemblage of the Master Armorer Beckham's household. The amount of pearlware is markedly less than that recovered in the workers households in Harpers Ferry during its first phase of occupation. The Master Armorer's household, while being characterized by Shackel as reflecting conservative biases that resisted the latest innovations, has even less pearlware than is found in the Mount Pleasant Site.

Table 2. Mount Pleasant Site Ceramic Ware Percentages (McAndrews et al. 2003).

Type	Subtype	Count	Percentage
Coarse Earthenware	Buff-bodied Earthenware	84	<1
Coarse Earthenware	Redware	5024	28
Porcelain	Porcelain	32	<1
Refined Earthenware	Creamware	3977	22
Refined Earthenware	Pearlware	8408	47
Refined Earthenware	Semi-Vitreous Ware	12	<1
Refined Earthenware	UID[1] Refined Earthenware	18	<1
Refined Earthenware	White Earthenware	18	<1
Refined Earthenware	Whiteware	370	2
Stoneware	Buff-bodied Stoneware	7	<1
Stoneware	Gray Stoneware	56	<1
Stoneware	UID Stoneware	1	<1
UID	UID	20	<1
Total Sherd Count		18027	100

[1]UID: Unidentified

In the case of Mount Pleasant there are basically three ware types that make up the majority of the assemblage. Coarse redware is associated with local production and kitchen storage vessels while the two types of refined earthenware the earlier late eighteenth century creamware and the 1800 to 1820's period popular pearlware.

Table 3. Master Armorer's Ceramic Ware Type Percentages (adapted from Shackel 1996, Lucas 1993).

Type	Subtype	1821-3	1830-50
Coarse Earthenware	Buff-bodied Earthenware	0	0
Coarse Earthenware	Redware	29	13
Porcelain	Porcelain	6	0
Refined Earthenware	Creamware	19	0
Refined Earthenware	Pearlware	27	45
Refined Earthenware	Semi-Vitreous Ware	0	0
Refined Earthenware	UID[1] Refined Earthenware	2	2
Refined Earthenware	White Earthenware	0	0
Refined Earthenware	Whiteware	0	27
Stoneware	Buff-bodied Stoneware	0	0
Stoneware	Gray Stoneware	0	0
Stoneware	UID Stoneware	15	7
UID	UID	0	0
Refined Earthenware	Refined Redware	0	3
Coarse Earthenware	Yellowware	0	0

UID: Unidentified

Table 3 of the Master Armorer shows a distinct difference in the ware percentage from the earlier Beckham household to the later Moor household. There is a distinct high percentage of creamware in this early part of the nineteenth century assemblage given the popularity of pearlware and its availability since the 1770's. Also noted by Shackel (1996) was the high percentage of redware indicating perhaps a greater emphasis on the storage of foodstuff in the period when Harpers Ferry was being established and incorporated into the regional trading network. Regarding the later Moor household, the complete absence of creamware and the introduction of whiteware indicated also to Shackel (1996) that popular trends were being more closely followed.

While similar trends might be expected in the Armory worker's assemblages (Table 4) this was not the case. The earlier assemblage deposited by the piece-workers shows the popular pearlware styles as the highest percentage rather than creamware found for the Beckham's household. The later 1841-52 assemblage also has pearlware as the highest category. As mentioned briefly, Shackel (1996) explained these results as an indication of wage laborers lacking the resources to maintain conformity with current trends in fashion. By this time whiteware and stoneware pottery were fashionable leaving these results to indicate possible curation of earlier styles or recycling older styles that were less expensive.

Table 4. Armory Laborer's Ceramic Ware Type Percentages (adapted from Shackel 1996, Lucas 1993).

Type	Subtype	1821-41	1841-52
Coarse Earthenware	Buff-bodied Earthenware	0	0
Coarse Earthenware	Redware	17	16
Porcelain	Porcelain	13	7
Refined Earthenware	Creamware	6	11
Refined Earthenware	Pearlware	61	62
Refined Earthenware	Semi-Vitreous Ware	0	0
Refined Earthenware	UID[1] Refined Earthenware	0	0
Refined Earthenware	White Earthenware	0	0
Refined Earthenware	Whiteware	0	2
Stoneware	Buff-bodied Stoneware	0	0
Stoneware	Gray Stoneware	0	0
Stoneware	UID Stoneware	3	2
UID	UID	0	0
Refined Earthenware	Refined Redware	<1	0
Coarse Earthenware	Yellowware	0	0

UID: Unidentified

The last comparative example, the rural Demory Site (Table 5), is rather unique compared to the other three in that for a site that had an occupation for over a century overall there was little in ceramics recorded for the site (Fennell 2003). This could have several possible explanations of which refuse from the early period was simply disposed of in a peripheral secondary refuse midden away from the site itself. More striking is the lack of any appreciable amounts of pearlware or creamware. Less than a dozen sherds that would typify ceramic assemblages in the first half of the nineteenth century are simply not present. In this case comparison with the Mount Pleasant Site assemblage indicates the vast difference found between similar site locations. If however the resultant assemblage is to be taken as indicative of the actual disposal patterns of the inhabitants, a consideration then can be made for non-ceramic tablewares that typically were pewter and are rarely found in archaeological assemblages (Martin 1991). Conservation of pewter objects could account for the lack of ceramics while also possibly indicating ethnic differences in buying patterns for those who had not fully embraced the Anglo-American fashion cycle or were without the desire to acquire new goods that were redundant in their purpose.

Table 5. Demory Site Ceramic Ware Type Percentages (adapted from Fennell 2003: 331).

Type	Subtype	Count	Percentage
Coarse Earthenware	Buff-bodied Earthenware	97	7
Coarse Earthenware	Redware	0	0
Porcelain	Porcelain	162	11
Refined Earthenware	Creamware	7	<1
Refined Earthenware	Pearlware	3	<1
Refined Earthenware	Semi-Vitreous Ware	0	0
Refined Earthenware	UID[1] Refined Earthenware	25	2
Refined Earthenware	White Earthenware	0	0
Refined Earthenware	Whiteware	683	46
Stoneware	Buff-bodied Stoneware	0	0
Stoneware	Gray Stoneware	0	0
Stoneware	UID Stoneware	513	34
UID	UID	0	0
Total		1490	100

UID: Unidentified

Regarding decoration type the analysis of these attributes proved more difficult for the Mount Pleasant Site. While studies that use minimum vessel numbers account for undecorated vessels in a sherd count analysis, these undecorated pieces are aggregated with body sherds making the underlying query unrepresentative of the actual percentages involved. However an attempt was made to account for this discrepancy by querying both ware types as well as limiting to only fragments that included part of the rim given that decoration of refined earthenware usually has a rim aspect involved. The results (Table 6) indicated that undecorated and hand painted styles are the most common types found in the assemblage.

Table 6. Mount Pleasant Decoration Percentages (McAndrews et al. 2003).

Decoration type	Count	Percentage
Undecorated	688	34
Shell Edged	353	18
Molded	159	8
Slipped	138	7
Hand Painted	589	29
Transfer Print	61	3
UID	13	<1
Total	2001	100

UID: Unidentified

Comparison with decoration types found in the Harpers Ferry sites are as follows.

Table 7. Master Armorer's Household Decoration Percentages (Shackel 1996, Lucas 1993).

Decoration type	1821-1830	1830-1850
Undecorated	32	4
Shell Edged	21	32
Molded	11	4
Slipped	0	0
Hand Painted	25	13
Transfer Print	4	42
UID	2	2

UID: Unidentified

Table 8. Laborer's Household Decoration Percentages (Shackel 1996, Lucas 1994).

Decoration type	1821-1841	1841-1852
Undecorated	5.8	13
Shell Edged	14.0	21
Molded	.8	2
Slipped	0	0
Hand Painted	23.1	27
Transfer Print	38.8	28
UID	0	0

UID: Unidentified

These numbers (Tables 7 and 8) show important differences regarding the acceptance and preference of popular trends in decoration. The comparison of decoration shows distinct similarity between the Master Armorer Beckham's household decoration preferences and that found at the Mount Pleasant Site. Whereas in the laborer's household of the earlier 1821-41 period had a preference for the latest and most expensive types of ceramics indicated by the high percentage of transfer printing, both the Beckham household and the Mount Pleasant house show a preference for undecorated and hand-painted motifs.

DISCUSSION

Indicators of consumer preference and status affinity at the Mount Pleasant Site rest firmly on the question of whose status and self image was represented in the assemblage. There are several possibilities based on geographical, economic and sociological factors. Given Campbell's (1987) discussion regarding the role of women as the arbiters of tastes and style, it is likely that the women who lived at Mount Pleasant selected the ceramic styles. Daybooks from regional stores indicate many instances where pottery items were either bought by or bought for women (Fennell 2003: 305-310). Diana diZerega Wall's paper (1994) concluded that women's roles were changing during this period from contributing overall to the economy to focusing on domestic cohesion. Gone was the family unit that worked and played together throughout the entire day. As industrialization took hold and education for children increased, both the man of the house and the children were gone for most of the day. Dinner, which had usually taken place during the day, was pushed to the evening to accommodate the new regimen. These greater times of separation also made the family meal take on more ritual significance for the cohesion of the family. The trend that diZerega Wall (1994: 268-271) notices is an increase in the value and differentiation of courses and settings. The apparent increase in valuation would compare with more stylistically popular ceramics, especially tableware. Teawares were always more upscale as they served a public function in entertaining guests even in pre-industrial contexts.

The comparison with the role of pewter (Martin 1991) and this study would indicate that at the rural Mount Pleasant Site, there was an acceptance by the 'status keeper/trend follower' of current fashions, but not to the point of allowing the most expensive trends to dictate choice. Pewter tableware had been used throughout the period alongside or in lieu of ceramic tableware. Martin's study showed, through the use of store and probate records, the decline in the availability of pewter in local stores, but the persistence of pewter tableware into the early nineteenth century. At Mount Pleasant then, the mixing of rural conservative proclivities along with ready access to the newest fashions in ceramics spurred on by the temptations of the Romantic Ethic influenced purchasing patterns as reflected in the assemblage.

Even so, the high amount of creamware relative to the early nineteenth century Mount Pleasant occupation indicates a lag or perhaps a resistance to the fashionable trends seen in more 'urban' areas. This result agrees with Fennell's (2003) observation that rural areas tended to follow the fashion cycle with less fervency than tidewater communities. The comparable percentages of decorative styles with the Beckham household may also indicate that the conservative values of a rural lifestyle were present or even a deeper at the Mount Pleasant Site. Less expensive hand painted Pearlware was found in the assemblage indicating their acceptance of current consumer trends. If the pottery buyer of the Mount Pleasant Site was part of the family of Benjamin Wiltshire then his position as overseer for Charles Yates would have allowed them the ability to buy the latest fashions. In comparison, the Demory Site, interpreted as a German-American household that resisted purchasing any great quantities of refined earthenware, may show an indication that the consumption patterns of Anglo-Americans may not have transferred as quickly to

other culture groups (Fennell 2003). From Martin's 1994 study of pewter, the frivolity of buying the latest fashions might be represented in the lack of fashionable ceramics for the Demory Site. A less than complete acceptance of fashion trends at the Mount Pleasant Site might be indicated by the hand painted Pearlware or simply may show a stylistic preference that also cost less. Finally, the final report of the Mount Pleasant Site lists two probate records for the Mount Pleasant Site (McAndrews et al. 2003: 34-35, 39-40), one for Moses Tullis and one for Benjamin Wiltshire. The former records 14 pewter dishes and other plates, while the latter records a china cabinet with Queensware. This may indicate that the assemblage of ceramics more represented the purchases of the Wiltshire household over those of the Tullis household. Lacking are records that would indicate the estate of Mary Elizabeth Timmons who remarried after the death of Moses Tullis. Trying to discriminate between these households proves to be only speculation. In the context of this paper, what is evident is that general trends seen in Anglo-American consumer habits were being followed to the extent that conservatism would dictate without being overly extravagant. One or two factors alone can not determine who specifically purchased pottery or why certain ceramic styles were found at the Mount Pleasant Site, but this discussion aids in considering those factors that most likely influenced the decisions made and the propensities of the purchasers who made them.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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