Beyond the Walls: New Perspectives on the Archaeology of Historical Households

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Since Richard Wilk's and William Rathje's original article in *American Behavioral Scientist* 30 years ago, archaeological studies of the household have proven to be a fruitful inquiry into this basic social unit. This volume expands this inquiry with a series of papers presented at the 46th Annual Conference of the Society for Historical Archaeology in Leicester, England, in 2013. Mary Beaudry opens this volume, exploring studies that include architecture, landscapes, and refuse disposal. These topics are pursued through a range of analytical forms from the cultural geographers' perspective of discourse materialized, to multiscalar levels ranging from microhistory to global reform movements. Beaudry extends the reach of household studies, raising points of materiality and habitus within the assemblages and then exploring their meanings.

In several of the papers in this volume, multiscalar analysis establishes connectivity through widening levels of cultural interaction. Matthew Reeves expands the inquiry into slave household assemblages using studies at community, regional, and national levels. He compares the effect of trade networks on ceramic assemblages from Virginia slave quarters in the Montpelier Plantation to slave settlements in Jamaica. A comparison of ceramic and window glass assemblages found ceramic trading patterns between local markets the same, but they differed at the national level. Drawing wider comparisons found these patterns to be attributed to different market conditions between merchants supplying a slave population in Jamaica compared to those serving a white population in the Chesapeake. Using scalar analysis on window glass, Reeves compared its frequency from the households of enslaved domestics to those of enslaved artisans. Proximity to the plantation house appears to have been a determining factor as to whether slave quarters of domestics or artisans had glazed windows, raised floors, masonry chimneys, and other structural amenities in keeping with published reform treatises on clean and well managed slave quarters.

Nicole Isenbarger and Andrew Agha also exercise a multiscalar approach in their insightful approach to the analysis of colonoware from trash deposits at a single duplex cabin on the Dean Hall Plantation of South Carolina. Household analysis of midden deposits from adjoining slave quarters identified household-based colonoware production as well as locally available commercial ceramics. Isenbarger and Agha suggest that choices by the occupants for colonoware cooking vessels over other ceramic styles or iron cookware are indicators of a preference for traditional African foodways.

Kevin R. Fogle takes a discourse materialized approach to the effect of proslavery reforms on the landscape of slave households on a South Carolina plantation.

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Architectural modifications to slave quarters created a reformist landscape intended to improve the morality and sanitation among slaves. In reality, they removed a level of privacy from the lives of the slaves, opening a sheltered landscape to the inspection of overseers and drivers, which put more control over their lives while protecting the investment of their owners.

Using correspondence analysis and a multiscalar perspective, Ashley Peles studied the foodways of aggregated households during a period of resettlement and shifts in intergroup hierarchies for native people in the North Carolina Piedmont from the mid-16th to early 18th century. Lacking specific household sites of attribution, she applied a broad scale analysis to food remains from five sites in the Dan and Eno River areas. Overall, subtle differences were seen in subsistence strategies, and while no specific resources were omitted, some subsistence strategies were emphasized over others. Peles's work demonstrates how nonspecific aggregate collections may inform local and regional patterns of change and emphasis in resource practices.

James A. Nyman and Brooke Kenline bring an important holistic perspective to the content and distribution of refuse within the landscape (*landschaft*) of George Washington's Ferry Farm in Virginia, a revered place within the context of U.S. history. The importance of this site is its history as the early residence of George Washington. This context became a part of the personal identity for its residents and was manifest in the refuse disposal patterns by its various owners.

Benjamin Barna discusses the socialization of immigrant ranch workers (*paniolo*) in Hawaii. Identifying the ethnic and social origins of being "Local" in Hawaii, he analyzes the material remains of two post-1850 ranch stations, assessing evidence for the interaction and incorporation of polyethnic immigrant ranch workers. Practices of traditional Hawaiian ranch management incorporated multiple ethnicities into the ranch workforce under the concept of "Ohana." In contrast, management practices by European managers on sugar plantations acted to segregate working and living conditions of immigrants along ethnic lines, race, or national origin, limiting employment opportunities and social standing. Barna notes that changes in building materials and forms signal shifts in cultural meanings of social interaction and cultural hybridity. Excavating two ranch cabins in the Humu'ula district, he found the earliest, Old Lummai'a (ca. 1860–ca. 1876), was built in a part-Hawaiian style, incorporating stonewalls into its construction, a break with temporary or seasonal shelters of the upper forests. A later cabin site, Lummai'a (1870s–1950s), was constructed with wood battens and a mix of architectural elements, some part-Hawaiian, that reflected an increase in westernization. Two ceramic assemblages of Western and Japanese style export porcelain cups, and fragments of bottles once containing alcohol, resulted from the excavations of a trash deposit behind the Lummai'a cabin. Historical documents and the results of excavation are proposed as possible indicators of both tea and alcohol consumption. Both are associated with late-19th- to early-20th-century social and ritual drinking that served to develop and reinforce bonds among workers and bring them into the network of "Ohana."

Similar to the households of Barna's study, Emily Dale analyzes household artifact assemblages from Chinese immigrants in the

mining town of Aurora, Nevada. Her study focuses on architecture, demographics, and consumptive behavior to characterize Chinese residents relegated to occupying western style structures in a segregated space in Aurora. The Chinese used goods and food from their home country and their adopted homes.

Charles R. Cobb provides commentary in the final chapter, bringing our attention to the "spooky entanglements" that encompass the interactive relations between the larger global world of the modern era and the household. He addresses the vantage point of microhistory and the effect of European and North American reform trends on slave quarters and slaveholder identity in the works of Fogle and Isenbarger and Agha.

This is a useful volume presenting new and original essays derived from the remnants of households. Many of the authors creatively extrapolate information from the sites, some with sparse material remains, in an effort to find cultural patterns and practices within households. In sum, this publication provides a useful collection of essays and is appropriate for upper division undergraduate and graduate students in historical archaeology.

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