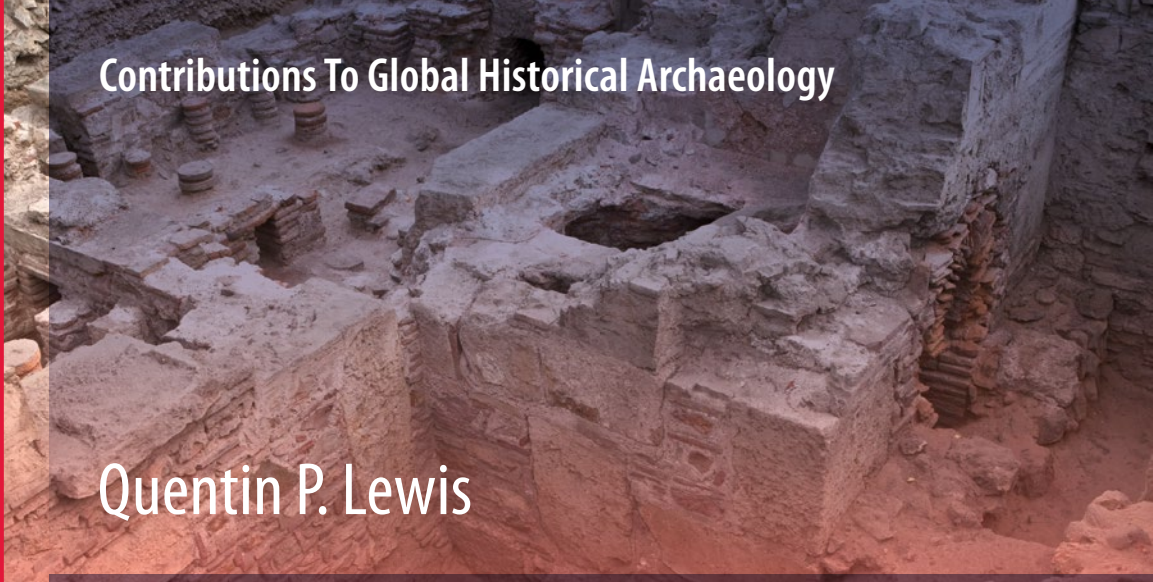
Contributions To Global Historical Archaeology



Quentin P. Lewis

An Archaeology of Improvement in Rural Massachusetts

Landscapes of Profit and Betterment at the Dawn of the 19th century

Springer

Contributions To Global Historical Archaeology

Series Editor:

Charles E. Orser Jr.
Vanderbilt University
Nashville, TN, USA

More information about this series at http://www.springer.com/series/5734

Quentin P. Lewis

An Archaeology of Improvement in Rural Massachusetts

Landscapes of Profit and Betterment at the Dawn of the 19th century

Springer

Quentin P. Lewis
Durham University
Durham, UK

ISSN 1574-0439
Contributions To Global Historical Archaeology
ISBN 978-3-319-22104-5 ISBN 978-3-319-22105-2 (eBook)
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-22105-2

Library of Congress Control Number: 2015950856

Springer Cham Heidelberg New York Dordrecht London

Printed on acid-free paper

Springer International Publishing AG Switzerland is part of Springer Science+Business Media (www.springer.com)

Preface

This book has emerged out of a long personal engagement with rural New England, as a place and as an idea. I have visited western Massachusetts since I was a child, when my parents brought me out to visit family friends and to scout out innumerable antique shops and markets. The landscape I encountered, in the 1980s, was of course a complex and heterogeneous one, but to my young eyes, the wooded and hilly regions of Worcester and Hampshire counties represented a romantic and symbolic home. My emotional attachment to rural New England was immediate and profound, a not uncommon inspiring impulse for archaeologists. Rural New England was different than other places for me. It was wild, authentic, and culturally rich. My later engagement with New England literature, particularly the nineteenth-century transcendentalists and twentieth-century fantasy writers such as H.P. Lovecraft cemented the deep emotional, intellectual, and cultural importance that western Massachusetts had for me.

This, of course, says as much about me and my social position as it does about New England. I was raised middle class by two parents who were the first in their families to go to college, and for whom the engagement with humanities represented a means of expanding and escaping the parochial conditions of their Iowa upbringings. They imparted to me a long and complex cultivation in the idea of New England as a historical and cultural home. I carried this sense of New England as a cultural home with me through high school, and when time came to choose a university, I applied exclusively to schools in the Northeast. I ultimately chose Boston University but visited western Massachusetts many times to recharge my cultural batteries. I gravitated to historical archaeology largely because of its long engagement with the material culture of New England, as well as its growing sense that material things and spaces were multivalent and contextually meaningful and powerful.

Coming to UMass for my Ph.D. required that I begin the long process of taking apart my romanticism. This book is foremost an attempt to operationalize a deconstruction of that romantic sentiment with which I grew up. I wanted to situate rural New England as a dynamic place, as opposed to the rather patronizing cultural nest which I had painted it. This involved peeling back the material and symbolic

landscape in which I lived, through excavation and dialectical abstraction. What I came to understand is that the idea of New England as a cultural home for me was tied to a certain idea about middle-class identity and a White racial identity that saw the region as a core in the racialized geography of the United States. As I came to understand, these processes and sentiments were not unique to me, but reverberated back through many previous landscapes of western Massachusetts.

Archaeology was integral to that deconstruction. Archaeology is predicated on the idea that the past and the present are separated by disjuncture—that the layers of soil under the earth represent a fundamental break with the contemporary land surface. And archaeology's essential metaphor of context—the idea that the relationship between data is a structural characteristic of that data—requires a recognition of the interconnected nature of the social world. It is impossible to see the rural world as timeless, authentic, or disconnected from the development of modernity. Even seemingly mundane objects such as English-made ceramics in seventeenth-century Deerfield require a recognition of the connection between this isolated village and the Atlantic world.

Improvement was a term of great importance to rural Massachusetts, and to the Atlantic world more generally, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. It presents a seemingly unusual reconfiguration of traditional epistemic binaries like mental-material, nature-culture, rural-urban, and traditional-progressive. It allowed me both a window into the dramatic changes to the built environment that were taking place in the archaeological, architectural, and documentary records of the time and to situate my own immediate and emotional understanding of New England as part of a longer genealogical tail. The wealthy merchants, lawyers, and landlords who embraced improvement at the turn of the nineteenth century saw rural Massachusetts as wild, authentic, and in need of intellectual rationalism and organization. I in turn saw rural New England as a place that could improve me. And I began to understand some unwelcome kinship between myself and those whose reactions I had inverted.

What are the implications and contradictions inherent in improving spaces and people? This book is an attempt to answer that question, for archaeology and for myself.

Durham, UK Quentin P. Lewis

Acknowledgments

This book has benefited from a long series of dialogs across decades with innumerable individuals. Nevertheless, I want to highlight some people who worked to make it possible here.

The first thanks should go to Robert Paynter, who, aside from setting me on this research path, has been a great mentor and friend over many years. He also provided commentary and advice while preparing this manuscript, and I thank him for sharing his incredibly compressed time with me. This book is based on my 2013 doctoral dissertation, completed at the University of Massachusetts. The members of my doctoral committee, Charlie Schweik and Michael Sugerman, were both incredibly supportive of this project and pushed me outside of my comfort zones to make it more robust, interesting, and relevant than it would otherwise have been.

Thanks to Christa Beranek, Elizabeth Chilton, Ritchie Garrison, David Glassberg, Siobhan Hart, John Henris, Christopher Matthews, Marla Miller, Ronan O'Donnell, and Kevin Sweeney for providing information or references that found their way into this book. Thanks to David Bosse, Claire Carlson, Bill Flynt, Anne Lanning, Susan Macgowan, and Jessica Neuwirth at the PVMA and Historic Deerfield, Inc. for being so welcoming of me and of archaeology. I also want to thank Mary Beaudry, Lyzann Harlow, Mitch Mulholland, Paul Mullins, Warren Perry, and Linda Ziegenbein for their comradeship and support over the years. Matthew Mosher and Martyn Hudson read and commented thoughtfully on chapters of this book, and I have incorporated as many of their useful suggestions as I could. Christopher Douyard deserves special commendation for providing me with his collection of the Williams Deeds, as well as answering many plodding questions on the finer points of early nineteenth-century financial relations. He's been a fantastic friend, colleague, and sounding board over many years at UMass and beyond.

While working on this book, I had an institutional home in the Department of Archaeology at Durham University, and I want to acknowledge the department's generosity in welcoming me. Tony Wilkinson provided some information and citations on early manuring practices, as well as a general enthusiasm for my work. Though he passed away while this manuscript was being written, I would like to think he would have enjoyed this book as much as I enjoyed talking to him about it. I particularly

want to thank David Petts and Tom Yarrow for championing me at Durham and for innumerable conversations and advice. Much of this book was written drawing on the resources of the Toronto Public Library system, and I thank the staff and administration of the library for providing such a congenial work atmosphere.

Thanks to Chuck Orser for his support of this project and to Teresa Krauss and Hana Nagdimov for shepherding it through its editorial stages. A version of Chap. 8, on manuring and nineteenth-century soil politics appears in the *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* Volume 18:2. I would like to thank LouAnn Wurst and Steve Mrozowski for including me in that wonderful collection of papers, as well as thank LouAnn and Margaret Wood for close readings and editorial comments. Two anonymous reviewers of the proposal shaped how the manuscript took form, and I am thankful for their insights, all of which I have tried to incorporate.

Pam, Ken, and Conner Lewis have been supportive, curious, and excited by my research career and by the writing of this book, and I cannot thank them enough for everything they have done and continue to do for me. Oleh Rudzik and Eileen Pyne-Rudzik have been extremely helpful in making time for me, as well as incredibly supportive. Finally, my endless thanks to Alanna Rudzik, who was equal parts patient, supportive, and prodding when each was needed. I could not have finished this without her, and her help along the way of every stage of this process is uncountable, as is my love and respect for her. My son, Dominic, was perplexed and intrigued by my constant attention to my computer as I finished this manuscript, and I owe him many more trips to the park than I can ever repay.

If this book has any particularly glowing or insightful passages, it is due to those listed above, while the defects are mine alone.

Contents

About the Author

Quentin P. Lewis received his B.A. in Archaeology from Boston University and his M.A. and Ph.D. from the University of Massachusetts. He has conducted archaeological work in the Midwestern and Northeastern United States, as well as in the North of England, where he is currently an Honorary Research Fellow in Archaeology at Durham University. He has continued his lifelong personal and scholarly fascination with New England with research on historical memory and the development of capitalism. His newest research project involves studying the impacts of the Great Depression on the landscapes of the Northeast of England.

Part I
Improvement as Archaeological Subject

Chapter 1
Rural Life and Historical Archaeology

Introduction

Visitors who come to the rural village of Deerfield, Massachusetts, today find a mile-long street of old, strikingly beautiful houses, along with museums, libraries, and schools whose livelihood and cultural cache reverberate from these houses. Situated in the fertile floodplain of the Connecticut River Valley, Deerfield today is sandwiched between the busy Interstate 91 and Massachusetts highway 5, which runs from New Haven, Connecticut, to the Canadian border in Vermont. At the North end of this mile-long street sits the Ebenezer Hinsdale and Anna Williams' house (see Fig. 1.1). It is a stately, white house, large in size, and situated on a gently sloping green lawn. A large, unpainted barn sits behind it, at the end of a paved driveway along the north side of the house. The house is open to visitors to Historic Deerfield and the interior is interpreted to the 1820s–1830s. Like many historic museums, the Ebenezer Hinsdale and Anna Williams' house and Historic Deerfield, Inc. more generally "play a trick with time" (Paynter 2002, p. S86), collapsing temporality and suggesting continuity between the past and the present. Historic Deerfield itself proclaims its "authenticity" and timeless qualities on its published materials and website (http://www.historic-deerfield.org/ accessed 18 April 2015).

In 1834, Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams (hereafter E.H.) put an advertisement in the *Franklin Freeman* newspaper (which he had helped co-found) for the sale of a great many of his not inconsiderable properties, including the house in Deerfield. The advertisement provides a snapshot description of the Williamses' life, livelihood, and landscape in the 1830s:

Q.P. Lewis, *An Archaeology of Improvement in Rural Massachusetts*, Contributions
To Global Historical Archaeology, DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-22105-2_1

Fig. 1.1 The Ebenezer Hinsdale and Anna Williams' House in Deerfield, Massachusetts. Image courtesy of University of Massachusetts Archaeological Field School. Used With Permission

VALUABLE REAL ESTATE FOR SALE

The Subscriber offers for sale his Real Estate in Deerfield, Franklin Co., Mass. consisting in part of the homestead in Deerfield (north village) where he now resides, on which is a spacious and convenient house in perfect repair, a large barn and out buildings, together with about seven acres of land in a high state of cultivation with a variety of choice fruit trees.

Also—The Tavern Stand and about four and one half acres of land, now occupied and improved by Mr. Alvan Lawrence, situated in the center of said village. The buildings have been thoroughly repaired within the last year. The house has a good run of custom, —is on the route of the Boston and Albany, and, also the Hanover and Hartford Stages, and is worthy of the attention of any person who wishes to obtain a pleasant and profitable public house.

Also—the noted "Carter's Land" Farm, about two miles from the Meeting house in said Deerfield, and now improved by David Barnard, containing about Three Hundred Acres, well apportioned into Woodland, mowing and tillage land, with a large variety of apple and other fruit trees. Upon it, is a commodious house—two large barns, one of them 90 feet in length, a cider-mill, and all the conveniences requisite for an independent farmer.

The above premises, or either, will be sold on fair terms, and easy for the purchaser.

Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams

Deerfield, March 1, 1834 (from Miller 1986, p. 3)

Much could be said about these properties and their description, and in the subsequent chapters, I will contextualize the Williamses' social position and economic activities, particularly at their home, described first in the advertisement. But for now, it is important to note that both of the subsequent properties in the advertisement are characterized as "Improved."

Around the same time that Williams placed this advertisement in the *Franklin Freeman*, another Deerfield resident, Henry Colman, was travelling the state, taking stock of agricultural practices and trends and interviewing farmers. Colman was a minister, agricultural reformer, and the newly appointed Massachusetts Commissioner on agriculture, who ultimately made recommendations to the state government on how to support Massachusetts farmers (Colman 1837, 1841; see also Marti 1977 for a biographical view). Colman wrote brief descriptions of every town in the state, noting its productive activities, and commenting upon its general character. Not surprisingly, given his origins there, Colman spoke well of Franklin County, and of Deerfield in particular, noting that "The condition of the population is that of comfort and prosperity. They are intelligent and improved" (Colman 1841, p. 5).

Again, we see this reference to the word "Improvement", both times in reference to rural areas, but describing land in the first instance, and people in the second. The word stands out to our modern eyes and calls to mind methods and morals. By what measures were both Williams' land and the people of Deerfield improved? From what condition were both improved? Did the meanings of Improvement of land and Improvement of people coincide? How can we countenance the shift in state implied by the word Improvement with the seeming timelessness of the Williams' house and Deerfield today? The use of the words, in essentially the same time period, applied to different phenomena presents an ambiguity which begs these questions.

This book attempts to address these questions by sketching an archaeology of Improvement in rural Massachusetts at the dawn of the nineteenth century. Improvement was an uneven cultural formation that emerged in the broader European world at the transition from an economy based primarily on mercantile Feudalism to one based around Industrial Capitalism. It functioned in peripheral areas like New England to re-establish economic and social links between rural and urban areas, symbolically or materially collapsing spatial distance. Improvement manifested across a wide variety of material, spatial, symbolic, and social domains across the Atlantic world in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as Tarlow notes (2007, pp. 10–11). In the New England region of the United States, and particularly in rural areas, it was ideologically constituted through publications, pamphlets, and societies. But materially, its logics, ideologies, and moralizing tendencies were more widespread and diffuse than a simple distribution of documents might suggest. Improvement was a kind of cultural logic that organized the highly dynamic and unstable social relations that manifested in the northeast at the turn of the nineteenth century. It was a language and a set of practices for implementing the rural transition to capitalism.

This is perhaps a provocative claim, and will be elaborated upon in the next chapter. But the study of Improvement touches on a number of issues of significance

and relative novelty in historical archaeology, including the materiality of capitalism, rural life, the relationship between ideas and material things and spaces, and the multi-scalar nature of structural phenomena. Because of Improvement's ubiquity and broad constitution across the social field, as well as its complicated relationship with capitalist production, an archaeological approach to improvement is well suited to foreground such issues within the discipline. Indeed, archaeology may be the best way to see the spread of Improvement's diffusion, which extended far beyond what its presence in publications and agricultural societies might suggest.

The study of Improvement certainly overlaps with the study of capitalism. The next two chapters will address this issue in more detail, but suffice it to say, Improvement has historically been associated with attempts to increase the agricultural productivity of landowners, along with concomitant expropriation, expulsion, or conflict with non-owners (Tarlow 2007, pp. 36–50; Tawney and Richard 1912, pp. 213–230; Wallerstein 1974, pp. 249–253). It was explicitly developed within the rise of capitalism in England, and as it was formalized into the scientific management of agriculture by wealthy farmers, merchants, and nobility, it travelled to North America (Zilberstein 2008, pp. 9–10). As enacted by enlightenment thinkers, the cultural logic of Improvement required the drawing of harsh juxtapositions between nature and culture. However, this relationship to Enlightenment thought, so suffused with an investment in individual rationalism, choice, and progress, positioned Improvement within a moralized framework that paralleled and reconfigured its drives for profit into generalized betterment. Thus, in the early nineteenth century, Improvement's meaning was not fixed, but unstable, vacillating between profit and betterment.

Studying Improvement as it manifested in rural Massachusetts from an archaeological perspective thus requires that we take into consideration economic and social factors. Doing so does not mean jettisoning a class-analysis, but rather integrating such analysis with a cultural analysis that articulates political-economic and meaning systems. I utilize a landscape approach, drawing on the insights of post-processual archaeology and Marxian geography to show how spatial and material formations fragment and cohere within periods of social stability and instability. Such an approach, which acknowledges that space is simultaneously material and symbolic, allows an integration of documentary and material data into a coherent social analysis of the past.

Landscapes as Archaeological Subjects and Objects

Understanding landscape change has been a primary goal in New England Historical archaeology (Beaudry 1986; Paynter et al. 1987; Reinke et al. 1987). Archaeologists in the region have explored a number of arenas in which landscape change occurred in New England including house orientation (Paynter 2007; Paynter and Stigers 2003), settlement pattern (Hood 1996; Mires 1993; Paynter 1982), agricultural buildings and features (Beaudry 1986, 2001; Ford 2008; Garrison 1996; Mascia 1996, 2005), military landscapes (Coe 2006; Harrington

1977; Reinke and Hood 2009), racial landscapes (Baron et al. 1996; Fitts 1996; Hutchins-Keim 2013; McBride 1990, 1993; Paynter et al. 1994; Perry and Woodruff 2003; Silliman 2009; Woodruff 2001; Woodruff et al. 2007), gendered landscapes (Hautaniemi and Rotman 2003; Rotman 2001, 2005, 2009), industrial landscapes (Beaudry 1989; Beaudry and Mrozowski 1989; Mrozowski et al. 1996; Nassaney and Abel 2000; Starbuck 2005), educational landscapes (e.g. Baram 1989), and utopian landscapes (Savulis 1992; Starbuck 1984; Ziegenbein 2009), as well as landscapes of memory and commemoration (Beranek 2011; Harlow 2013; Parno 2013).

Overshadowing these studies is Deetz's (1988, 1990, 1996, Deetz and Deetz 2000) structuralist view of material culture change as a result of changing cultural mindsets. Deetz's pioneering work that focused on the Plymouth Colony utilized artifact assemblage patterns across a variety of material culture forms (for example, gravestones, table settings, and house forms) and linked those forms to cultural mindsets. His work showed the presence of a medieval worldview in the earliest English colonists transitioning into a folk culture, and eventually a Georgian culture (Deetz 1996). While not strictly referring to the Connecticut River valley interior, Deetz's tripartite model of the relationship between material culture and worldview remains a touchstone of New England Archaeology (Deetz 1996, pp. 182–186).

This model has been critiqued, expanded, and refined by a number of subsequent studies (Hall 1992; Kelso 1992; Leone 1988; Loren and Beaudry 2006; Paynter 2000; Yentsch and Beaudry 1992, 2001). Critiques of Deetz's model have largely focused on change and transition between the three world-views and the processes under-girding those changes. For example, Leone (1988) argues that the Georgian order is the order of mercantile capitalism and that it should be analyzed not as a cultural mindset, but as a power-laden ideology. William Kelso (1992) found that there are continuities and changes that cross-cut Deetz's tripartite schema. And Paynter (1988) sees Deetz's patterns emerging from the forces of the changing European world system and notes empirical issues that arise in applying it to other settler colonies (Paynter 2000, p. 8). So, while Deetz's framework has revealed interesting points of cultural coherence, it has been less useful in understanding variation in that coherence, and in understanding the processes by which particular material and spatial forms cohere when and how they do.

I draw on these studies in my focus on the landscapes of Improvement. In particular, I utilize post-processual formulations of landscape as having both material and symbolic manifestations (Bender 1998, 2002; Johnson 2006; Tilley 1994, 2004). To ground these analytical insights in the social structure of the early nineteenth century, I draw on Harvey's tripartite conception of landscapes as built environments, representations of space, and spaces of representation (Harvey 1990, pp. 218–225), and in particular the subtle but powerful relationships between space, time, and capitalist dynamics. Such a theoretical and analytical framework allows for a conception of the ways in which ideas and material things are implicated in Improvement. An additional layer of analytical insight for this project comes from understanding the complex historical symbolism of rural life and the dialectics of urban–rural relations.

Analyzing Rural Life

Rural Massachusetts has long been a focus of archaeological research (Zimmerman et al. 1988, pp. 19–24). Even prior to the formalization of historical archaeology, the region has seen extensive work from avocationalists who focused on early colonial and industrial sites such as Roland Wells Robbins (Largy and Mulholland 2010; Linebaugh 2004), to the more generalized collection, relic hunting, and looting by nineteenth and early twentieth century amateur and specialized scholars (Bruchac 2007, pp. 127–195; e.g. Paynter et al. 2007, p. 1). But suffice it to say, the idea of rural Massachusetts as a place of "Improvement" has not largely been the focus of scholarly inquiry in historical archaeology. Improvement has been a focus of archaeological studies in England (e.g. Tarlow 2007; Thomas 2005) and Ireland (Forsythe 2007; e.g. Orser 2005). There have been some explicit archaeological studies of Improvement in rural Massachusetts (Beaudry 2001; Beranek et al. 2013; e.g. Larkin 1992), but these studies are few and far between and have not broadly approached Improvement as a multi-scalar phenomena.

"The rural" is generally thought of and conceptualized in spatial terms—it includes farms, countrysides, lower population densities, and juxtaposition with cities. But the rural is also social, located within symbolic formations of tradition, authenticity, and community. Rurality is thus a socio-spatial-temporal construct—it is a symbolically rich phenomenon that can be deployed to denote space, time, and the complexities of human behavior and thought. This social dimension likewise reveals and articulates with temporal understandings of the rural—the rural world and rural society are in the past, and the city is the future. This was one of the many points made about rural life by Raymond Williams in his masterful study of English literary landscapes *The Country and the City* (Williams 1973). Williams argued that "country" and "city" are constitutive structures of modern life, cutting across ideology, social relations like class, in addition to more prosaic geographical distinctions like population density or settlement pattern. As he noted, "On the country has gathered the idea of a natural way of life: of peace, innocence, and simple virtue. On the city has gathered the idea of an achieved centre: of learning, communication, light." (Williams 1973) His book, *The Country and the City*, is a masterpiece of dialectical history, showing the interweaving of these two socio-cultural forms in England since the end of the Middle Ages. Williams also suggests that they have broader world implications, and that aspects of the country–city relationship may be generalizable, particularly with the creation of the British world system since the 1700s (Williams 1973, p. 2). Williams articulated a method for writing a rural history that consisted of "[tracing] historically and critically, the various forms of the ideas," which make up the literary landscapes of England (Williams 1973, p. 290). In doing this, he was essentially tracing the development of various representations of space in literature. But he argued that this is only the first step. The second step is to articulate how those ideas associate with other ideas that are common at the time and to "put these ideas to the historical realities: at times to be confirmed, at times denied" (Williams 1973, p. 291).

This is particularly significant to the study of rural Improvement, and why archaeological analysis is so important. Because rural life has been symbolically constituted as timeless, traditional, and unchanging, Improvement represents a cognitive dissonance within this symbolic organization. If the past was simply the same as the present, what need was there to constitute an Improvement of lands and people in the early nineteenth century? And yet, because of its subtle manifestations, Improvement could easily be articulated as simply an evolutionary step in rural social and material phenomena. But improvement was not simply a uniformitarian process of material and social change over time. This is because its practitioners consciously and vocally articulated it as a break with previous practice—rural Massachusetts as it existed had to be improved, and the techniques for enacting that transformation were styled as "new". But more structurally, Improvement was constituted within the unstable social relations of early nineteenth century rural capitalism. Class inequality, the tension between competing forms of surplus exchange, the symbolic tensions between countryside and cities, and the relationship of New England to the United States were important factors in how improvement's ideals were constructed, disseminated, and consumed. Thus, Improvement plays with the complicated metaphors of continuity and change, touching on problems raised by other archaeologists trying to understand nineteenth century social dynamics (e.g. Silliman 2009). Applying Williams' analytical framework requires being cognizant of the ways in which the rural was simultaneously a geographical, economic, and symbolic formation.

Perhaps the dearth of such studies on the broad social constitution of rural Improvement comes from a continued uncritical investment in the idealized character of rural life. The great myth of American rural life is the isolated, self-sufficient farmstead (Marx 1964, pp. 141–143). This idea of a lone, independent farmer has considerable ideological attraction and has since at least the time when Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams described his Carter's Land farm as having all "the conveniences requisite for an independent farmer." It also forms a central plank of America's history about itself—America began as a nation of independent farmers who were gradually integrated (or corrupted, depending upon the teller of the tale) into increasing networks of modernity which reduced their number and power.

Such a tale is belied by even the most cursory examination of archaeological material from any rural farmstead in the United States, which inevitably contains a variety of goods produced at regional, national, or even international distance (Rafferty 2000; Rinehart 2010; Wurst 1993, 2002). Deetz's work at Plymouth (e.g. Deetz 1973) reveals European material culture from the earliest colonial occupations, the amount of which only grows through time. Recent archaeological scholarship has expanded upon this basic insight to document and explore the ways in which rural farmsteads and other sites were integrated into broader social, political, and economic relationships. However, there has been little agreement on the nature of the relationship between urban and rural life in archaeological literature. Deetz's initial recognition of cross-spatial patterns in early American material culture was rooted in a diffusionist model that saw cultural traits moving from the city to the countryside, or rural cultural traits emerging in response to urban trends

(Deetz 1996, pp. 89–124). Other early models stressed the regional uniqueness of rural material culture patterns (e.g. St. George 1985). Some early studies also drew on the World Systems theory of Wallerstein (1974, 1974, 1980, 1989) to locate rural America within core-periphery relationships (Lewis 1984; Paynter 1982, 1985). More recent studies have foregrounded capitalism as a structural process in linking the countryside and the city in the rural Northeast (and contributions to Hart and Fischer 2000; Rafferty 2000; Rinehart 2010; Wurst 1993, 2006), while others have stood against broad socio-structural processes with an interpretive approach that foregrounds meaning (Beaudry 1995, 2001; Beranek et al. 2013; Beranek 2009; Mascia 1996).

Rural culture change can be situated within a class-structural framework. Class analysis in historical archaeology, though not a unified paradigm, has been fruitful at uncovering the linkages of material culture, landscape change, and class struggle and negotiation. The literature is too vast to list here, but representative approaches can be found (Beaudry et al. 1991; Johnson 1996; Leone 1984; Leone and Potter 1999; Matthews 2012; Mrozowski 2000; Orser 1996; Paynter 1988, 1999; Saitta 2007; Wurst 1999). At the same time, the dynamism of capitalism and its interdigitation with other modes of production (Wolf 1997, pp. 73–77) and "non-class" socio-historical processes (cf. Resnick and Wolff 1987, p. 116) produces incredible socio-cultural variability. Theoretical frameworks must be robust enough to engage simultaneously with capitalism's durability and its variability. Treating capitalism as a "thing" which has starting points obscures its processual nature (cf. Harvey 2010, p. 40) and creates problems for identifying capitalist processes in the archaeological past (Wylie 1999).[1] At the same time, studies that push against capitalism as a structural framework for understanding social life in the past (e.g. Wilkie and Bartoy 2000) risk reducing social life in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to a series of fragmentary contexts, independent of productive relations or other structural forces.

Scholarship on the social relations of nineteenth century farms have likewise suggested that capitalism and market agriculture were significant factors that undercut the ideology of the isolated farmstead. Sally McMurry's magisterial study of Pennsylvania farmers through their architectural changes in the nineteenth century suggests that the sense of experimentation and "progressive" agriculture offered by Improvement was given a heightened dimension by the necessity of market engagement (McMurry 1997, p. 48). At the same time, McMurry makes clear that

[1] Kulikoff (1992) noted a similar problem in historical studies, which he identifies as the difference between "market" and "social" historians. The former sees a relatively undifferentiated change from simple to complex market integrations, with nineteenth century industrial capitalism as a kind of fluorescence of these pre-existing processes (New Englandcentered examples include Lemon 1967; Martin 1991; Rothenberg 1992, 2000; contributions to Temin 2000). The latter seeks moments of rupture in the past, before which there was no capitalism and after which capitalism emerges, fully formed in a class society (e.g., Clark 1975; Henretta 1978; Merrill 1977). He argued for syntheses, which has been attempted in New England by Clark (1990) and Lamoreaux (2003).

Improvement had more subtle implications and consequences, which a focus on purely economic activities might analytically subdue—farmhouses were reconfigured to promote images of domesticity, frugality, and efficiency—not merely out of an interest in profit maximizing. Likewise, Garrison's descriptive historical and architectural accounting of early nineteenth century landscape changes in rural Massachusetts focuses attention upon capitalism as a source of that change (Garrison 1991, pp. 3–4; see also Small 2003).

This gets to one of the central problems that frequents archaeological studies of capitalism—the extent of the relationship between ideas (or ideologies) and material things and spaces. This debate is actually quite old in the discipline, touching on the relationship between artifact pattern and cultural process argued by Binford and Bordes in the 1960s (Binford 1965, 1966; Bordes 1972). But more recent debates in historical archaeology have argued over the nature of the transmission of ideas situated within unequal power relations (Beaudry et al. 1991; Leone 1984; Orser 1996; Wilkie and Bartoy 2000), framed as a discussion about Marx's so-called "dominant ideology thesis" (K. Marx and Engels 1966, p. 39). Camps in this debate largely agree about the structural nature of shared cultural formations, the existence of social inequality in the past, and the extent to which material things and spaces are implicated in human behavior and sociality. What differences emerge focus on the extent to which such ideas are broadly generative of action or unquestionable, and despite vociferous debates, this is perhaps best understood as a question of scale, rather than of binary formulation.

Improvement was clearly ideological, in the sense of being a set of ideas organized and undergirded by power and located within shared social interests (Wolf 1999, p. 4). But the nature of that organization shifted and mutated in differing contexts and at different scales. Improvement, as discussed in Chap. 2, drew on European Enlightenment metaphors of the perfectibility of the human condition and of the triumph of culture over nature, but this was grafted onto another meaning concerning the transformation of land to increase yields and reduce costs. Tensions between these two meanings were tensions within the Enlightenment itself, between human equality and the real material, and ideological differences that continued and continue to separate and segregate human populations. Such tensions must be worked out in local contextual situations. Thus, Improvement, as it manifested in New England specifically, served to reconfigure the relations between inland farmers and broadly connected merchants after a period of disconnection following the Revolutionary war. It presented an achievable subjectivity, but it positioned differences in ecology and class as individual, moral problems, rather than broadly constituted structural phenomena. Ideology does represent interests of the powerful, but if those interests are themselves contradictory, the ideology will likewise manifest such contradictions. An archaeology of Improvement must therefore take into consideration the material and symbolic aspects of rural life, the role of capitalism as a motor of landscape change, and the multi-scalar relationship between ideologies, structural forces, and individual experiences (see Chap. 2).

Research Focus

Part of the dilemma of studying Improvement is its broad constitution within western thinking and activity in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Improvement was a deliberate set of practices acted upon land and people, an ideology relating human rationality to material and social transformation, and a set of metaphors that organized such practices and ideologies. Rather than being a systematic accounting of every aspect of New England's Improvement, this book takes the landscapes and materiality of rural New England as its focal point and articulates how the broad processes of Improvement reverberated throughout and across them. It uses the Ebenezer Hinsdale and Anna Williams' house in Deerfield, Massachusetts, as a dialectical vantage point (cf. Ollman 1993, pp. 38–39) from which to engage with the processes of Improvement and rural landscape change. As such, there are some arenas of prominence in this book and others which I do not approach. For instance, this book does not focus on civic improvement, and the massive reorganization of streets, town centers, and parks that dramatically reconfigured public spaces in the nineteenth century (Paynter 2002, pp. S87–S88; Tarlow 2007, pp. 90–123). Good summaries of these changes can be found in the works of Bushman (1993, pp. 372–373) and Wood (1991). Indeed, part of my contention is that the ideas of Improvement reverberated throughout Massachusetts' social, political, economic, and material life in the early nineteenth century. A descriptive accounting of Improvement's manifestations would end up being too diffuse to be analytically useful. As an alternative, I conceptualize Improvement as a dialectical process reverberating throughout society and utilize Marx's dialectical method as described by Bertell Ollman (1993). Ollman argues that Marx's analytical insight was his understanding that discrete phenomena can be characterized by their connections to broader processes. Indeed, particularly when social analysis is undertaken, a study of discrete phenomena often obscures and masks the general movement characteristic of social formations. Ollman lays out a process of abstraction of discrete phenomena from the larger social totality, as a way of showing their internal structural formation, before they are reintegrated back into that totality. Improvement was thus a constituted process, and manifestations of it in publications, yards, households, social relations, and other phenomena can be seen as analytical "moments" of this process, abstracted to reveal their internal relational coherence and interconnection.

In particular, I focus attention on two arenas in which landscape formation, reconfiguration, and maintenance were prevalent—Massachusetts Improvement literature and homes. I focus particular attention on the journal *New England Farmer*, published in Boston after 1822, but also touch on the writings of the Massachusetts Society for the Promotion of Agriculture (MSPA), who published the *Massachusetts Agricultural Repository and Journal* (after 1799) and other publications such as Samuel Deane's *Georgical Dictionary* (1797), perhaps the first significant New England-centered Improvement manual. Roughly speaking, the MSPA represented landed elite urban interests, while the contributors to *New England Farmer* saw those interests combined with a burgeoning rural middle class. This literature is read as a symbolic landscape, depicting an idealized "improved" rural Massachusetts

advocated by Improvers, as well as discussions on the state of people they were trying to Improve—it thus crosscuts Improvement's focus on people and spaces, and I analyze it archaeologically, looking for contextual relationships between objects, spaces, and social relations.

To ground this symbolic analysis, I pay particular attention to the built environment of the E.H. and Anna Williams' house, described at the beginning of this chapter. Williams was an Improver, and an analysis of the interior and exterior materialities of his homelot landscape reveals the contours of his investment in Improvement logics, as well as the ways in which such logics manifested in contradiction when enacted in the built environment. I draw on the documentary record of Williams' life, the architectural features of his house, and the archaeological record excavated from his yard, discussed in detail in the Appendix.

These two bodies of data force us to tack back and forth between the general and the particular (cf. Wylie 1999), and recognize that socially constituted phenomena manifest differently at consecutive scales—Ollman refers to this as abstractions of "level of generality" (Ollman 1993, pp. 55–56). The Williams' homelot was a discrete, bounded space. But, as we shall see, there are a variety of architectural, material, and landscape changes that solidified its distinction as a separate space from the street, and these changes were broadly constituted within Massachusetts society. Likewise, the practices and moralized discourses articulated in the pages of *New England Farmer* were not merely disinterred offerings or idealistic opinions, but were rooted in the particular social and material contexts of early nineteenth century Massachusetts.

Early nineteenth century Massachusetts provides an excellent context for studying Improvement, despite its long historical tail extending back into Medieval Europe. As will be discussed more extensively in Chaps. 3 and 4, the growth of agricultural publications and societies in Massachusetts exploded in the decades following the War of American Independence. The relationship between rural and urban Massachusetts was structured by tensions between competing economic frameworks. New England Improvement, as it emerged at the dawn of the nineteenth century, solidified this relationship, with publications urging farmers to engage with the growing mercantile economy while simultaneously maintaining their moralized status as independent, authentic farmers. Quite apart from this ideological feint, there was a tremendous amount of landscape and material change in rural Massachusetts at the turn of the nineteenth century, and both of these phenomena must be understood together, as part of a broader alignment of rural Massachusetts to the economy and cultural framework of capitalism.

Organization

The book is divided into three parts, each containing multiple chapters. Part I, including this and the following chapter, sketch Improvement as an archaeological subject. Chapter 2 begins with the historical definitions of the term "Improvement"

and shows how the related, but differing meanings of the term were historically deployed. Improvement was both a means to profit and a source of betterment, and these twin meanings overlapped in the nineteenth century. As a way of encompassing the material transformations and ideological reconfigurations of Improvement, I explore the concept of *landscape* as a means of analysis and as a way of thinking through the complexities of Improvement's uneven geographical and temporal development.

Part II focuses on New England and rural Massachusetts in particular as historical and analytical subjects, as well as on the idea of Improvement as it manifested in that context. It includes Chaps. 3, 4, and 5. There were two waves of Improvement in New England, with the first focused around clearance, enclosure, and profiting from agriculture, and the second combining this with individual economic, social, and moral betterment. Chapter 3 begins with the natural environment of the Connecticut River Valley in western Massachusetts, the primary setting for much of the archaeological material in this book. What becomes immediately apparent is that the natural landscape of the valley is not natural, but was made and remade according to different conceptions of use over the last thousand years. This chapter then highlights the historical landscape changes in the Connecticut River Valley over the last millennia, paying particular attention to the ways in which land and space were utilized, deployed, and managed. Moving from Native American conceptions of space and land as fluid, dynamic arenas, this chapter highlights how the first waves of Improvement of Massachusetts involved violently enclosing this fluidity and conquering the "natural" wilderness it implied. From there, I survey the landscape changes in rural Massachusetts in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, paying attention to the ways in which economy, space, and social relations mutually constituted each other, and how tensions and contradictions in those phenomena spurred changes in rural social life.

Chapter 4 surveys the world of rural Massachusetts in 1800, after the initial colonization and conquest of the region by English settlers. I pay particular attention to the material conditions of agricultural production in the Connecticut River Valley, highlighting how architecture, farming, and social life were interdigitated. I also detail how progressive or scientific agriculture formed the institutional framework of rural Improvement and discuss how urban elites attempted to implement such an improvement of rural landscapes. I also highlight some of the fundamental tension inherent in rural Massachusetts at the dawn of the nineteenth century, highlighting how an age of rural Improvement was likewise an age of instability, dislocation, and class formation.

Chapter 5 explores how Improvers saw the people they were trying to Improve. It begins with the figure of the Yeoman, an abstract character from the pages of *New England Farmer*, the premier journal of Improvement in the Northeast. Improvers saw themselves as trying to move rural New England out of the past and into the future, and they envisioned an Improved landscape, populated with Improved Yeoman. This figure was constituted by an assemblage of material things and spatial practices, and I elaborate on these, using depictions from the journal. However, there were social tensions and contradictions inherent in this character, and in the landscape called New England that Improvers depicted. Freedom, as a fundamental

characteristic of the Yeoman, served as a discursive foil to unify New England, against European tyranny and southern blackness and slavery.

The final part of the book locates Improvement within the materiality of the Ebenezer Hinsdale and Anna Williams' house in Deerfield, Massachusetts. Chapter 6 introduces the Williamses by focusing on their interior materiality. Using the interior of the Williams' house and the probate inventory taken at his death in 1838, I show how the Williams' home subtly plays with light, space, and labor. Improvement's aesthetic attachment to visibility structures how the Williamses organized their interior space. Likewise, profit motives are visible inside the house that linked the Williamses to broader economic and social forces at a variety of scales.

Chapter 7 moves outward from the house and into the Williams' yard. Yards were particularly salient spatial formations to Improvers, and they discussed the appropriate organization of yards frequently. The Williams' yard itself was subject to many seasons of archaeological investigation, and these investigations have revealed that the tensions between profit and betterment, visible in the house's interior, expanded into the exterior. What we will see is that the Williams family negotiated these tensions through some clever reconfiguration of common New England farm yard organization. In short, the yard was in tension between the publicly oriented front yard and the private (in both the personal and the economic sense) barn yard.

Chapter 8 takes a feature from the Williams' yard—a cobble platform near the barn—and uses it to discuss the ecological consequences of Improvement's emphasis on profit. This platform points to Williams' involvement in broader economic and ecological interactions, as it was a platform for storing manure. Manuring and soil politics were the most important and prominent subjects of concern to nineteenth century Improvers, and the contradictions of the economy and society in the transition to rural capitalism necessitated the Improvement of New England's soil. This Improvement was uneven, and poorer farmers could not take advantage of its benefits.

Finally, Chap. 9 concludes with some thoughts on the relationship between Improvement and contemporary agricultural politics, particularly agri-business and organic farming, both of which can trace their origins to the words and actions of Improvers. I discuss my scepticism at the idea of rural timelessness and authenticity, particularly as such a trope continues in contemporary American society. I also evaluate the Williams data in light of archaeological studies of rural life and suggest that we continue to relocate our gaze at the global reach of capitalism.

A Note on Terminology

The term "New England" denotes a regionally bounded, but fluid landscape and a scale of action that it entailed. New England is a nebulous symbolic space (see Chap. 5) which has empowered and enacted a variety of complex meanings over the last four centuries. Some of these included the conquest and colonialism of Native

space in the seventeenth century, the color line between African-descent people and European-descent people in the early nineteenth century, and the retreat of urban elite culture into the rejuvenating countryside in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. I also refer to other spatial entities including Massachusetts, the Connecticut River Valley, and the Northeastern United States. The processes analyzed in this book simultaneously reinforced or fragmented the boundaries of these spatial units, at given historical moments. I use the terms not to denote fixed spatial identities, but rather as a heuristic device for organizing a set of spatially integrated practices, which were, at the same time, dynamic, unstable, and fluid.

References

Baram, U. (1989). *"Boys, be ambitious": Landscape manipulation in nineteenth-century western Massachusetts.* Master's thesis, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA.

Baron, D. K., Hood, J. E., & Izard, H. V. (1996). They were here all along: The native American presence in lower-central New England in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. *William and Mary Quarterly, LIII*(3), 561–586.

Beaudry, M. C. (1986). The archaeology of historical land use in Massachusetts. *Historical Archaeology, 20*, 38–46.

Beaudry, M. C. (1989). The Lowell Boott Mills Complex and its housing: Material expressions of corporate ideology. *Historical Archaeology, 23*(1), 18–32.

Beaudry, M. C. (1995). Scratching the surface: Seven seasons at the Spencer-Peirce-Little Farm, Newbury, Massachusetts. *Northeast Historical Archaeology, 24*, 19–50.

Beaudry, M. C. (2001). Trying to think progressively about 19th century farms. *Northeast Historical Archaeology, 30–31*, 129–142.

Beaudry, M. C., Cook, L. J., Mrozowski, S. A. (1991). Artifacts and active voices: Material culture as social discourse. In R. H. McGuire & R. Paynter (Eds.), *The Archaeology of Inequality*. Oxford, England: Basil Blackwell, pp. 150–191.

Beaudry, M. C., & Mrozowski, S. A. (1989). The archaeology of work and home life in Lowell, Massachusetts: An interdisciplinary study of the Boott Cotton Mills Corporation. *IA, The Journal of the Society for Industrial Archaeology, 14*(2), 1–22.

Bender, B. (1998). *Stonehenge: Making space*. New York: Berg.

Bender, B. (2002). Time and landscape. *Current Anthropology, 43*, 103–112.

Beranek, C. M. (2009). Beyond consumption: Social relationships, material culture, and identity. In C. L. White (Ed.), *The materiality of individuality: Archaeological studies of individual lives*. Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Springer (pp. 163–184).

Beranek, C. M. (2011). Founding narratives: Revolutionary stories at historic houses. *International Journal of Heritage Studies, 17*(2), 102–115. doi:10.1080/13527258.2011.541064.

Beranek, C., Smith, J. N., Steinberg, J., & Garman, M. (2013). Growing things "rare, foreign, and tender": The early nineteenth-century Greenhouse at Gore Place, Waltham Massachusetts. *Northeast Historical Archaeology, 38*(1). Retrieved from http://digitalcommons.buffalostate.edu/neha/vol38/iss1/4

Binford, L. R. (1965). Systematics and the study of culture process. *American Antiquity, 31*, 203–210.

Binford, L. R. (1966). A preliminary analysis of functional variability in the Mousterian of Levallois Facies. *American Anthropologist, 68*, 238–295.

Bordes, F. (1972). *A tale of two caves*. New York: Harper & Row.

Bruchac, M. M. (2007). *Historical erasure and cultural recovery: Indigenous people in the Connecticut River Valley*. Ph.D. Thesis, University of Massachusetts Amherst, United States—

Massachusetts. Retrieved from http://search.proquest.com.silk.library.umass.edu/docview/304849021/abstract?accountid=14572
Bushman, R. L. (1993). *The refinement of America: Persons, houses, cities*. New York: Vintage Books.
Clark, C. (1975). Household economy, market exchange, and the rise of capitalism in the Connecticut River Valley, 1800–1860. *Journal of Social History, 13*, 169–189.
Clark, C. (1990). *The roots of rural capitalism*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
Coe, M. D. (2006). *The Line of Forts: Historical Archaeology on the Colonial Frontier of Massachusetts*. Hanover: University Press of New England.
Colman, H. (1837). *First report of the Agriculture of Massachusetts: Counties of Essex and Berkshire*. Boston: Dutton and Wentworth, State Printers.
Colman, H. (1841). *Fourth report of the Agriculture of Massachusetts: Counties of Franklin and Middlesex*. Boston: Dutton and Wentworth, State Printers.
Deetz, J. F. (1973). Ceramics from Plymouth, 1635-1835: The archeological evidence. In I. M. G. Quimby (Ed.), *Ceramics in America* (pp. 15–40). Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press.
Deetz, J. F. (1988). Material culture and worldview in colonial Anglo-America. In M. P. Leone & P. B. J. Potter, Jr. (Eds.), *The Recovery of Meaning: Historical Archaeology in the Eastern United States* (pp. 219–233). Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.
Deetz, J. F. (1990). Prologue: Landscapes as cultural statements. In W. Kelso & R. Most (Eds.), *Earth Patterns: Essays in Landscape Archaeology* (pp. 1–4). Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia.
Deetz, J. F. (1996). *In small things forgotten: An archaeology of early American life. Expanded and revised*. New York: Anchor Books.
Deetz, J. F., & Deetz, P. S. (2000). *The times of their lives: Life, love, and death in Plymouth colony*. New York: W. H. Freeman.
Fitts, R. K. (1996). The landscapes of northern bondage. *Historical Archaeology, 30*(2), 54–73.
Ford, B. (2008). The presentation of self in rural life: The use of space at a connected farmstead. *Historical Archaeology, 42*(4), 59–75.
Forsythe, W. (2007). On the edge of improvement: Rathlin Island and the modern world. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology, 11*, 221–240.
Garrison, J. R. (1991). *Landscape and material life in Franklin County, Massachusetts, 1770-1860*. Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press.
Garrison, J. R. (1996). Remaking the barnyard: The archaeology of farm outbuildings in the Connecticut River Valley of Massachusetts, 1770-1870. In L. A. De Cunzo & B. L. Herman (Eds.), *Historical Archaeology and the Study of American Culture* (pp. 359–394). Wintherthur, DE: The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum.
St. George, R. B. (1985). Artifacts of regional consciousness in the Connecticut River Valley, 1700-1780. In G. W. R. West & J. W. N. Hosley (Eds.), *The great river: Art and society of the Connecticut Valley, 1635-1820* (pp. 29–40). Hartford, CT: Wadsworth Atheneum.
Hall, M. (1992). Small things and the mobile, conflictual fusion of power, fear, and desire. In A. E. Yentsch & M. C. Beaudry (Eds.), *The Art and Mystery of Historical Archaeology: Essays in Honor of James Deetz* (pp. 373–399). Boca Raton, FL: CRC Press.
Harlow, E. (2013). *Mind the gap: Materiality of gendered landscapes in Deerfield, Massachusetts, ca. 1870-ca. 1920.* Dissertation, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA.
Harrington, W. L. (1977). Fort Dummer: An archaeological investigation of the First Permanent English Settlement in Vermont. In P. Benes (Ed.), *New England Historical Archaeology* (pp. 86–94).
Hart, J. P., & Fischer, C. L. (Eds.). (2000). *Nineteenth- and early twentieth-century domestic site archaeology in New York State*. Albany, NY: New York State Education Department, State University of New York.
Harvey, D. (1990). *The condition of postmodernity*. Oxford, England: Basil Blackwell.
Harvey, D. (2010). *The enigma of capital: And the crises of capitalism*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Hautaniemi, S. I., & Rotman, D. L. (2003). To the hogs or to the house? Municipal water and gender relations at the Moors Site in Deerfield, Massachusetts. In D. L. Rotman & E.-R. Savulis (Eds.), *Shared Spaces and Divided Places: Material Dimensions of Gender Relations and the American Historical Landscape* (pp. 135–159). Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press.

Henretta, J. A. (1978). Families and farms: Mentalite in pre-industrial America. *William and Mary Quarterly, 35*, 3–32.

Hood, J. E. (1996). Social relations and the cultural landscape. In R. Yamin, K. B. Metheny (Eds.), *Landscape Archaeology: Reading and Interpreting the American Historical Landscape* (pp. 121–146). Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press.

Hutchins-Keim, K. (2013). *In pursuit of full freedom: An archaeological and historical study of the free African-American community at parting ways, Massachusetts, 1779–1900.* Dissertation, Boston University, Boston.

Johnson, M. (1996). *An archaeology of capitalism*. Cambridge, MA: Basil Blackwell.

Johnson, M. (2006). *Ideas of landscape*. London, England: Wiley-Blackwell.

Kelso, W. M. (1992). Big things remembered: Anglo-Virginian Houses, Armorial Devices and the impact of common sense. In A. E. Yentsch & M. C. Beaudry (Eds.), *The Art and Mystery of Historical Archaeology: Essays in Honor of James Deetz* (pp. 127–145). Boca Raton, FL: CRC Press.

Kulikoff, A. (1992). *The agrarian origins of American capitalism*. Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia.

Lamoreaux, N. R. (2003). Rethinking the transition to capitalism in the early American Northeast. *The Journal of American History, 90*(2), 437–461. doi:10.2307/3659440.

Largy, T. B., & Mulholland, M. T. (2010). Pilgrim subsistence: A seventeenth-century profile from the John and Priscilla Alden House, Duxbury, Massachusetts. In E. S. Chilton & M. L. Rainey (Eds.), *Nantucket and other native places: The legacy of Elizabeth Alden Little* (pp. 103–118). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Larkin, J. (1992). From' country mediocrity to "rural improvement": Transforming the slovenly countryside in Central Massachusetts, 1775–1840. In K. M. Hutchins (Ed.), *Everyday life in the early Republic*. Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press.

Lemon, J. T. (1967). Household consumption in eighteenth century America and its relationship to production and trade. *Agricultural History, 41*, 59–70.

Leone, M. P. (1984). Interpreting ideology in historical archeology: The William Paca Garden in Annapolis, Maryland. In D. Miller & C. Tilley (Eds.). *Ideology, Power, and Prehistory* Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, pp. 25–35.

Leone, M. P. (1988). The Georgian order as the order of merchant capitalism in Annapolis, Maryland. In M. P. Leone, J. Parker B. Potter, Jr. (Eds.) *The Recovery of Meaning: Historical Archaeology in the Eastern United States* (pp. 235–261). Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Leone, M. P., & Potter, P. (1999). *Historical archaeologies of capitalism*. New York: Kluwer Academic.

Lewis, K. E. (1984). *The American frontier: An archaeological study of settlement pattern and process*. Orlando, FL: Academic Press.

Linebaugh, D. (2004). *The man who found Thoreau: Roland W. Robbins and the rise of historical archaeology in America*. New Hampshire, England: New Hampshire University Press.

Loren, D. D., & Beaudry, M. C. (2006). Becoming American: Small things remembered. In M. Hall & S. W. Silliman (Eds.), *Historical Archaeology* (pp. 251–271). Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Marti, D. B. (1977). The Reverend Henry Colman's agricultural ministry. *Agricultural History, 51*(3), 524–539.

Martin, J. F. (1991). *Profits in the wilderness: Entrepreneurship and the founding of New England towns in the seventeenth century*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.

Marx, L. (1964). *The machine in the garden: Technology and the pastoral ideal in America*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.

Marx, K., & Engels, F. (1966). *The German ideology*. New York: International.

Mascia, S. F. (1996). "One of the best farms in Essex County": The changing domestic landscape of a tenant who became an owner. In R. Yamin & D. B. Metheney (Eds.), *Landscape Archaeology: Reading and Interpreting the American Historical Landscape* (pp. 147–174). Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press.

Mascia, S. F. (2005). The archaeology of agricultural life. In L. A. De Cunzo & J. H. Jameson (Eds.), *Unlocking the past: Celebrating historical archaeology in North America*. Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press.

Matthews, C. N. (2012). *The archaeology of American Capitalism* (Reprintth ed.). Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida.

McBride, K. (1990). The historical archaeology of the Mashantucket Pequots, 1637-1900: A preliminary analysis. In L. M. Hauptman & J. D. Wherry (Eds.), *The Pequots of Southern New England* (pp. 96–116). Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press.

McBride, K. (1993). "Ancient and Crazie": Pequot lifeways during the historic period. In P. Benes (Ed.), *Algonkians of New England: Past and Present* (pp. 63–75). Boston: Boston University Press.

McMurry, S. (1997). *Families and farmhouses in nineteenth-century America: Vernacular design and social change*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Merrill, M. (1977). Cash is good to eat: Self-sufficiency and exchange in the rural economy of the U.S. *Radical History Review, 19*, 42–71.

Miller, A. F. (1986). The bittersweet life of E.H. Williams, 1761-1838. Deerfield, MA.: Ms. on File, Historic Deerfield.

Mires, P. B. (1993). The importance of aspect to historic farmstead site location in the green mountains of Vermont. *Historical Archaeology, 27*(4), 82–91.

Mrozowski, S. A. (2000). The growth of managerial capitalism and the subtleties of class analysis in historical archaeology. In J. A. Delle, S. A. Mrozowski, & R. Paynter (Eds.), *Lines that divide: Historical archaeologies of race, class, and gender* (pp. 276–306). Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press.

Mrozowski, S. A., Ziesing, G. H., & Beaudry, M. C. (1996). *Living on the Boott: Historical archaeology at the Boott Mills boardinghouses, Lowell, Massachusetts*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press.

Nassaney, M. S., & Abel, M. (2000). Urban spaces, labor organization, and social control: Lessons from New England's nineteenth-century cutlery industry. In J. Delle, S. A. Mrozowski, & R. Paynter (Eds.), *Lines that divide: Historical archaeologies of race, class, and gender* (pp. 239–275). Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press.

Ollman, B. (1993). *Dialectical investigations*. London, England: Routledge.

Orser, C. E. (1996). *A historical archaeology of the modern world*. New York: Plenum Press.

Orser, C. E. (2005). Symbolic violence, resistance, and the vectors of improvement in early nineteenth-century Ireland. *World Archaeology, 37*(3), 392–407.

Parno, T. G. (2013). *"With the quiet sturdy strength of the folk of an older time": An archaeological approach to time, place-making, and heritage construction at the Fairbanks House, Dedham, Massachusetts.* Dissertation, Boston University, Boston.

Paynter, R. (1982). *Models of spatial inequality*. New York: Academic Press.

Paynter, R. (1985). Surplus flow between frontiers and homelands. In S. W. Green & S. Perlman (Eds.), *The archeology of frontiers and boundaries* (pp. 163–211). Orlando, FL: Academic Press.

Paynter, R. (1988). Steps to an archaeology of capitalism. In M. P. Leone & P. B. J. Potter, Jr. (Eds.), *The Recovery of Meaning: Historical Archaeology in the Eastern United States* (pp. 407–433). Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Paynter, R. (1999). Epilogue: Class analysis and historical archaeology. *Historical Archaeology, 33*(1), 184–195.

Paynter, R. (2000). Historical and anthropological archaeology: Forging alliances. *Journal of Archaeological Research, 8*(1), 1–37.

Paynter, R. (2002). Time in the valley: Narratives about rural New England. *Current Anthropology, 43*, S85–S101.

Paynter, R. (2007). The orientation of houses in the village of Deerfield: Archaeological and documentary evidence of a change in the 18th century. In *Vernacular Architecture Forum, New England chapter*. Sturbridge, MA.

Paynter, R., Bruchac, M. M., Castonguay, L., Hart, S. M., & Labrador, A. (2007). *Summary of findings regarding the cultural affiliation of native American collections from the middle Connecticut River Valley in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA*. Report Prepared by members of the , Repatriation Committee, Department of Anthropology, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA.

Paynter, R., Hautaniemi, S. I., & Muller, N. (1994). The landscapes of the W. E. B. Du Bois Boyhood Homesite: An agenda for an archaeology of the color line. In S. Gregory & R. Sanjek (Eds.), *Race* (pp. 285–318). New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Paynter, R., Reinke, R., Garrison, J. R., Hood, E., Miller, A., & McGowan, S. (1987). *Vernacular landscapes in western Massachusetts*. Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology, Savannah, GA.

Paynter, R., & Stigers, T. (2003). Making and Remaking the Rural New England Village: The Case of Deerfield, Massachusetts. *Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology*, Providence, RI

Perry, W. R., & Woodruff, J. (2003). *African spiritual practices in the Diaspora: Looking at Connecticut*. Hartford, CT: Connecticut Historical Commission.

Rafferty, S. (2000). A farmhouse view: The porter site. In J. P. Hart & C. L. Fischer (Eds.), *Nineteenth- and early twentieth-century domestic site archaeology in New York state* (pp. 125–148). Albany, NY: New York State Education Department, State University of New York.

Reinke, R., Garrison, J. R., Hood, J. E., Paynter, R., Miller, A., & McGowan, S. (1987). *Transformations of Landscape: Historical Archaeology at Deerfield. Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Northeastern Anthropological Association*, Amherst, MA.

Reinke, R., & Hood, J. E. (2009). The fortification of Hadley in the seventeenth century. In *Cultivating the past: Essays on the history of Hadley, Massachusetts* (pp. 68–90). Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press.

Resnick, S. A., & Wolff, R. D. (1987). *Knowledge and class: A Marxian critique of political economy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Rinehart, N. (2010). Staying clean, close to home, and rural in late nineteenth-century southeastern Vermont. *The Journal of Vermont Archaeology, 10*, 24–35.

Rothenberg, W. B. (1992). *From market-places to a market economy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Rothenberg, W. B. (2000). The invention of American capitalism: The economy of New England in the Federal period. In P. Temin (Ed.). *Engines of Enterprise*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Rotman, D. L. (2001). *Beyond the cult of domesticity: Exploring the material and spatial expressions of multiple gender ideologies in Deerfield, Massachusetts, ca. 1750-1882*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Amherst.

Rotman, D. L. (2005). Newlyweds, young families, and spinsters: A consideration of developmental cycle in historical archaeologies of gender. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology, 9*(1), 1–36.

Rotman, D. L. (2009). *Historical archaeology of gendered lives*. Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Springer.

Saitta, D. J. (2007). *The archaeology of collective action*. Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida.

Savulis, E.-R. (1992). Alternative visions and landscapes: Archaeology of the shaker social order and built environment. In B. Little (Ed.) *Text-Aided Archaeology*, (pp. 195–203). Boca Raton, FL: CRC Press.

Silliman, S. W. (2009). Change and continuity, practice and memory: Native American persistence in colonial New England. *American Antiquity, 74*(2), 211–230.

Small, N. P. (2003). *Beauty and convenience: Architecture and order in the New Republic*. Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press.

Starbuck, D. (1984). The shaker concept of household. *Man in the Northeast, 28*, 73–86.

Starbuck, D. R. (2005). The archaeology of rural Industry. In L. A. De Cunzo & J. H. Jameson (Eds.), *Unlocking the past: Celebrating historical archaeology in North America*. Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press.

Tarlow, S. (2007). *The archaeology of improvement in Britain, 1750-1850*. Cambridge, NY: Cambridge University Press.
Tawney, R. H., & Richard, H. (1912). *The agrarian problem in the sixteenth century*. London, England: Longmans, Green.
Temin, P. (2000). *Engines of enterprise: An economic history of New England*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
Thomas, R. (2005). Zooarchaeology, improvement and the British Agricultural Revolution. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology, 9*(2), 71–88.
Tilley, C. (1994). *A phenomenology of landscape*. Oxford, England: Berg.
Tilley, C. (2004). *The materiality of stone: Explorations in landscape phenomenology*. Oxford, England: Berg.
Wallerstein, I. (1974). *The modern world-system I: Capitalist agriculture and the origins of the European world-economy in the 16th century*. New York: Academic Press.
Wallerstein, I. (1980). *The modern world-system II: Mercantilism and the consolidation of the European world-economy, 1600-1750*. New York: Academic Press.
Wallerstein, I. (1989). *The modern world-system III: The second Era of great expansion of the capitalist world-economy, 1730-1840s*. Orlando, FL: Academic Press.
Wilkie, L. A., & Bartoy, K. M. (2000). A critical archaeology revisited. *Current Anthropology, 41*(5), 747–777.
Williams, R. (1973). *The country and the city*. New York: Oxford University Press.
Wolf, E. R. (1997). *Europe and the people without history*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
Wolf, E. R. (1999). *Envisioning power: Ideologies of dominance and crisis*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
Wood, J. S. (1991). "Build, therefore, your OWN world": The New England village as settlement ideal. *Annals of the American Association of Geographers, 81*(1), 32–50.
Woodruff, J. (2001). Lighthouse, incorporated: Re-examining the village of outcasts. MS on File at Department of Anthropology, Central Connecticut State University.
Woodruff, J., Sawyer, G., & Perry, W. R. (2007). How archaeology exposes the nature of African captivity and freedom in eighteenth and nineteenth-century Connecticut. *Connecticut History, 45*(2).
Wurst, L. (1993). *Living their own history: Class, agriculture and industry in a 19th century rural community.* Dissertation, State University of New York at Binghamton.
Wurst, L. (1999). Internalizing class in historical archaeology. *Historical Archaeology, 33*(1), 7–21.
Wurst, L. (2002). "For the Means of Your Subsistence…Look Under God to Your Own Industry and Frugality": Life and labor in Gerrit Smith's Peterboro. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology, 6*(3), 159–172.
Wurst, L. (2006). A class all its own: Explorations of class formation and conflict. In M. Hall & S. W. Silliman (Eds.) (pp. 190–206). Malden, MA: Blackwell.
Wylie, A. (1999). Why should historical archaeologists study capitalism? The logic of question and answer and the challenge of systemic analysis. In M. P. Leone & P. B. J. Potter, Jr. (Eds.), *Historical Archaeologies of Capitalism*, (pp. 23–50). New York: Kluwer Academic.
Yentsch, A. E., & Beaudry, M. C. (1992). *The art and mystery of historical archaeology: Essays in honor of James Deetz.* Boca Raton, FL: CRC Press.
Yentsch, A. E., & Beaudry, M. C. (2001). American material culture in mind, thought, and deed. In I. Hodder (Ed.) *Archaeological Theory Today* (pp. 214–240). Oxford, England: Polity.
Ziegenbein, L. (2009). Inhabiting *spaces, making places: Creating a spatial and material biography of* David Ruggles. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA.
Zilberstein, A. (2008). *Planting improvement: The rhetoric and practice of scientific agriculture in northern British America, 1670–1820.* Dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
Zimmerman, S., DePaoli, N., Krim, A. J., Stott, P., Bradley, J. W., & Brady, D. (1988). *Historic & archaeological resources of the Connecticut River Valley: A framework for preservation decisions (management framework)*. Boston: Massachusetts Historical Commission.

Chapter 2
Improvement, Capitalism, and Landscape Change

When the last chapter began, we saw that the word "Improvement" was deployed in early nineteenth century rural Massachusetts in an ambiguous and fluid way. On one hand, it denoted the condition of people and their affective circumstances and social qualities. On the other, it referred to valuable land, acted on by people. If we understand Improvement to be a constituting phenomenon of the rural world of early nineteenth century Massachusetts, how can it be categorized and identified?

In her book *The Archaeology of Improvement in Britain* (2007), Sarah Tarlow provides a compelling description of the material culture of Improvement in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Casting a wide net, she focuses attention on the material and spatial transformations that are visible in Britain in the post-medieval period, and how those are related to and constituted within a broader framework of Improvement. Tarlow likewise provides a spirited defense of broadly synthetic analyses and stands against more descriptive parochial studies common in British archaeology (Tarlow 2007, pp. 27–28). At the same time, Tarlow is more muted on why a specifically archaeological approach to Improvement is an important intervention, aside from a generalized assertion that "the material aspects of human life are meaningful and constitute, in part, our values, identities and relationships" (Tarlow 2007, p. 29). While undoubtedly true, it seems prudent to ask why Improvement, and not other turn-of-the-nineteenth-century phenomena, would be appropriate archaeological subjects.

The answer is that Improvement, as a philosophical framework, was distinctly material, and especially spatial. Indeed, the broad range of material and landscape evidence which Tarlow marshals in her book provides an object lesson for this very truth. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Improvement was a word that was directly applied to both land and people. In the former, space is clearly a subject of Improvement, to be acted upon directly, transformed, and reconfigured. However, we must also not lose sight of the important spatial and material connotations of the Improvement of people. Tarlow's masterful chapter "The Right Stuff" (Tarlow 2007, pp. 163–189) shows how even the most mundane objects were constituted

Q.P. Lewis, *An Archaeology of Improvement in Rural Massachusetts*, Contributions To Global Historical Archaeology, DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-22105-2_2

within an ideological framework of Improvement. For example, glass allowed the increase of light in rooms, which was seen to produce transformative and positive mental and physical effects and made possible the large shop-front window that allowed consumer subjectivity to develop. Likewise, bleached ceramics and rubbish pits were material enactments of a moralistic turn away towards whiteness, cleanliness, and order (2007, pp. 165–190), particularly when juxtaposed against older practices like the broadcast scattering of trash (e.g., Deetz 1996, p. 172). The Improvement of subjects thus required objects and demanded material interventions (Wobst 1999, p. 120). Such objects had to be utilized contextually, in a spatially significant way, rendering them visible to those with the ability to distinguish what they represented. Improvement can thus be understood as a spatially constituted phenomenon, whether that space was an agricultural landscape, or a symbolic constellation of things and people spatially organized.

One useful approach, which I deploy here, is to use the concept of "landscape" as a theoretical framework for thinking about human socio-material dynamics. Landscape, as archaeologists have come to understand, is a way of understanding how human behavior is simultaneously material and symbolic. A landscape is both a real, sensual, tangible thing, and it is also a partial, perceived, and ideologically charged symbolic formation. This will necessitate a discussion of the archaeological deployment of landscape as a theoretical concept. Landscape studies have provided a robust framework for analyzing past human behavior, environmental interaction, and social dynamics. My understanding of landscape comes from post-processual approaches to landscape which meld symbolic and material interpretations, as well as critical Marxian approaches that link change and transition to underlying tensions and contradictions within unequal social formations. From there, I will provide a brief review of literature on both the idea of Improvement and historical case studies that probe its geographical and cultural manifestations. The literature on Improvement is vast, and this chapter will not provide a complete and bounded discussion. Rather, key material and spatial aspects of Improvement will be highlighted, such that Improvement in Massachusetts can be analyzed archaeologically. Finally, I will identify the primary landscapes which I will be scrutinizing in order to understand how improvement was manifested within early nineteenth century Massachusetts.

Analyzing Space and Social Dynamics

Since the 1950s, and the moving outward from site-level analysis, archaeological studies have grappled with the complexity and variability of human spatial behavior (Trigger 1989, pp. 279–286). The debates between Binford and Bordes in the 1960s were in large part about the extent to which human spatiality might produce variable or contingent archaeological assemblages as a function of seasonal adaptive strategies, or whether such variability was a function of divergent kinship or cultural ties (Binford 1972; Bordes 1972). Regions or areas were thus subjects of archaeological scrutiny, as they might suggest information about cultural process, rather than simply

cultural identification. Processual archaeologists largely conceptualized space as a container for human action, with human-environmental relations being the key variables which spurred socio-cultural change. The post-processual turn in archaeology led many archaeologists to reassess space within cultural and symbolic frameworks, and to locate spatializing processes within the archaeological record. Works by Bender (1993, 1998, 1999, 2002), Johnson (2006), and Tilley (1994, 2004) have pointed archaeologists towards exploring the cultural and symbolic dimensions of space.

The nature of such spatializations is not at all straightforward or intuitive. Human beings have always had some kind of spatial impact on the built environment, building settlements, planting crops, depositing waste, or burying the dead. These are the active spatial practices that have made up the majority of the archaeological record. But human beings also envision spaces in their heads, drawing on the built environment as well as cultural and social symbols, and representing those spaces through the creation of maps, paintings, utopian plans, travel narratives, and myths. Space is both a necessary container of human behavior and a constitutive social force in and of itself. All human behaviors require space to occur, and all human behaviors rely on spatial understandings, metaphors, and possibilities to be actualized. To paraphrase the French social theorist Michel De Certeau, "[human behaviors] are not localized; it is rather that they spatialize" (de Certeau 1984, p. PGS)

Both ideas of landscape have been helpfully parsed and historicized by Denis Cosgrove. In the former, landscapes are a product of conscious human behavior, and conceivably, archaeologists can find human behavior through careful and thoughtful excavation. In the latter, landscape "denotes the external world mediated through subjective human experience"—landscapes are both tangible material things, and also are selected, organized, and bounded through a viewpoint and from a perspective (Cosgrove 1998, p. 13). This implicates human aesthetics and values, which are ambiguous and mediated through broader social structures and tensions within economic, political, and symbolic formations. For Cosgrove (1998, p. 64), and for others, a study of landscapes in the recent and historical past requires a recognition of the constitutive role of the prominent social formations existing during those times.

Thus, space is implicated in, and constituted within, broader socio-structural processes. However, the relationship between spatial-material manifestations (artifacts, landscapes, structures, etc. …), ideas like Improvement, and social structures is not a simplistic one either. Geographer David Harvey has built an extensive body of robust and sophisticated theoretical concepts for tackling these questions (Harvey 1973, 1990, 1996, 2000, 2007a, b, 2010a, b). Though not an archaeologist, his work comments directly on the relationships between ideas and material things, the constitutive nature of those relationships in historical social structures, and the role of power and inequality as fundamental drivers of cultural formations. Additionally, his work has proven useful to historical archaeologists seeking to understand the materiality of capitalist dynamics (cf. Delle 1998; Nassaney and Abel 2000).

Broadly, Harvey sets out to articulate a theory of culture change rooted in capitalism's enactment in, and engagement with space. In *The Condition of Postmodernity* (Harvey 1990), he provides the clearest explication of the relationship between material space, cultural/symbolic phenomena, and social formations and dynamics.

Though his context of analysis is the transition from Fordist modernity to neoliberal/flexible post-modernity in the twentieth century, his insights into the sensitivity of landscapes to spatial phenomena are more broadly applicable to the study of Improvement. Harvey integrates the aforementioned archaeological divergence between material and symbolic analyses by working with insights derived from Lefebvre's 1974 work *The Production of Space* (1991). Harvey categorizes three manifestations of space in social life, namely *built environments, representations of space, and spaces of representation* (1990, pp. 218–225). Built environments are the material stuff of the human world, consisting of biotic and abiotic (or "natural") spaces, buildings, and infrastructures created or encountered by human beings. In addition to built environments, *representations of space* are cultural depictions of geographies and include things like maps, travel guides, and stories about places which abstract the complexity of the material world for some specific purpose and in some specific medium. *Spaces of representation* are cultural visions of potential or symbolic places and include utopian plans, fictional landscapes, and idealized places.

Undergirding both Cosgrove and Harvey's theorizations is an attempt to understand capitalism, as a socio-historical process. Cosgrove's magisterial study of landscapes takes as its fundamental dynamic the transition to capitalism from feudal society (Cosgrove 1998, pp. 41–45). Likewise, Harvey's key insight is that space itself is particularly sensitive to the fundamental class dynamics of capitalist social formations.

Capitalism has been a common subject of inquiry in historical archaeology for at least 20 years (Johnson 1996; Leone 1988, 1999; Leone et al. 1987; Leone and Potter 1999; Mrozowski 2000; Paynter 1988; Wylie 1999). Definitions of capitalism abound in the social sciences, and there is often little agreement about what capitalism is and isn't. Definitions of capitalism in historical archaeology are varied (see Paynter 2000a, pp. 172–173 for a survey of definitions in the discipline of archaeology). I draw on the work of anthropologist Eric Wolf, who follows a Marxian framework to argue that capitalism is a *mode of production*—a socially constituted framework for the production, distribution, and consumption of social surplus (Wolf 1997, pp. 73–100). It is not a type of society but a process (see also Harvey 1990, p. 343) by which socially necessary goods circulate. Wolf highlights three key aspects of the capitalist mode of production. First, capitalism is predicated upon a fundamental distinction between those who own means of producing socially necessary goods and those who do not own such means. This is a distinction between owners and workers (or in classical Marxian sense, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat). This social divide is a class divide and is fundamental to capitalism's continued maintenance (Resnick and Wolff 1987, pp. 115–120). The second aspect of capitalism is its reliance on wage labor. Owners pay workers a wage for their work, but owe them no other obligations. Finally, the third aspect is that goods circulate and are ultimately consumed through the use of markets, where prices are determined largely (though not exclusively) by laws of supply and demand. There are high degrees of variation for each of these aspects historically and geographically, as a function of tensions within the capitalist mode of production

itself, as well as its interrelations with other modes, particularly kin-ordered and tributary modes. There are also variations based on geography, ecology, and political organization. Thus, there is no "capitalist society," but rather there are societies in which "the capitalist mode of production predominates" (Marx 1990, p. 125) over other modes.

But perhaps the most important characteristic of capitalism is its inherent instability. Capitalism is inherently unstable, beset by tensions between labor and capital, and between capitalist modes of production and other modes (Wolf 1997, pp. 299–309), and periodically punctuated by crises (Harvey 2010b, pp. 70–71). These tensions can manifest in new forms of cultural production (Wolf 1997, pp. 386–387) and key for archaeology, moments of landscape change. For example, modes organized around kinship relations (Wolf 1997, pp. 88–99), or relations of tribute (Wolf 1997, pp. 79–88), such as those which characterize European feudalism, tend to spatialize boundaries (e.g., inclusive and exclusive kin, the borders of tributary states), while capitalist modes tend to press through boundaries (e.g., the mobility of capital vs. the fixity of labor).

This last point is key for archaeological analyses of capitalism. Harvey makes the key point that Marx understood capitalism as a spatially dynamic system and said so in his Grundrisse notes:

> While on the one hand capital must thus seek to pull down every local barrier to commerce … in order to capture the whole world as its market, on the other hand it strives to destroy space by means of time, i.e., to restrict to a minimum the time required for movement from one place to another (Marx 1993, p. 119).

Harvey uses this insight to explore the contradictory nature of capitalist spatiality. On one hand, capitalism permeates other modes of economy in order to expand markets, while on the other hand, it must constantly revolutionize its own interior spaces to increase turnover time, and therefore, profit. As we will see, both of these practices were operating in rural Massachusetts at the turn of the nineteenth century.

But this insight of Marx also suggests that space is particularly sensitive to changes in capitalist productive relations. This is because, at a broad level of abstraction, capitalism is predicated upon a contradiction. On one hand, capitalism requires a constant expansion externally (e.g., opening up new markets, utilizing new resources in production) and internally (e.g., reconfiguring existing productive relations for new outputs, consolidating related firms into conglomerates). On the other hand, there is a necessity of a static maintenance of existing productive relations to continue the accumulation of profit. The dynamics of these two processes and the tensions between them manifest in the production of new landscapes out of the existing built environment. But Harvey also argues that because of the centrality of space to the maintenance of capitalism, human conceptions of space and time are ultimately as implicated in capitalist dynamics as are physical landscapes. In short, capitalism is a social system that manifests, impacts, and reconfigures material and symbolic spaces. Under Harvey's (1990, pp. 214–217) reading, what we often call "culture" is in part a set of shared symbolic experiences of space and time, and therefore, non-material or aesthetic categories will be implicated in how social life is envisioned, planned, and ultimately deployed.

At a more subtle level, and returning to Cosgrove's assertion of landscapes as partial and based on viewpoint, the organization and arrangement of space can have powerful symbolic connotations, even outside of traditionally capitalist spaces such as workplaces. The organization of the visual field has always been constituted through some measure of power relationships at least since the Renaissance in Europe (e.g., Berger 1972, pp. 83–127; Epperson 2000; Leone and Hurry 1998) and arguably in earlier ancient state and non-state social formations (e.g., Ashmore and Sabloff 2002; contributions to Pearson and Richards 2003). Pierre Bourdieu captured this idea in his discussion of the aesthetic gaze. He argued that an aesthetic gaze is a particular situated way of understanding the world. It is not merely the act of taking in visual information, but rather a discriminatory way of ordering space, objects, and people into distinct and moralized categories. He called the aesthetic gaze "the infinitely varied art of marking distances" (Bourdieu 1984, p. 66). Households, yards, public spaces, and other non-work locations may be reorganized not specifically to aid in the circulation of capital or the production of commodities, but within the more nebulous terrains of the symbolic articulations between kin-ordered, tributary, and capitalist productive modes as they manifest in given historical moments. This theme will emerge more dramatically when we examine Improvement's variable engagement with the visual field.

We can see how landscapes caught up in capitalist dynamics might have particular valences or characteristics. Under capitalism, control over space allows social actors to "fix certain basic rules of the social game" of capital accumulation (1990, p. 226), and Harvey provides numerous examples of this attempt at control (1990, pp. 227–228) from the point of view of both capitalists and workers. The idea of annihilating space through time also suggests interesting landscape processes. One way to facilitate this is to collapse spatial barriers and boundaries. This can be accomplished, for example, by investment in transportation infrastructures that speed up the movement of goods, communication infrastructures that move information quickly and allow for coordination of units across space, the deskilling of the production process such that commodities can be produced more quickly and cheaply, and other forms of spatial reorganization. These are, in turn, contested by individuals and groups who do not receive the benefits of these spatial practices, and especially those who are invested in preexisting spatial relationships—the landscapes on which capitalist reorganization unfolds. Specifically, the instability of capitalism's fundamental contradictions may lead individuals and groups to construct new landscapes as a means of addressing or ameliorating such instability. Thus, built environments are contested terrains in this network of instability, and the churning over of space in this contest creates new built environments which supercede them. Indeed, archaeologist Christopher Matthews has eloquently argued that the archaeological record of North America is "a layered set of dangerous times" (Matthews 2002, p. 136), with layers of soil change delineating moments in which the habitus of everyday life is disrupted and new landscapes emerge from older ones.

Given this instability, and the wide range of spatial and material phenomena associated with Improvement, it seems prudent to ask how to identify and analyze

landscapes related to Improvement. Improvement manifested in a whole host of seemingly mundane, everyday phenomena, even as it was being consciously enacted on farms, in towns, and through institutions. Likewise, how are we to understand Improvement landscapes as in some way a function of capitalism, while not simply replicating the study of capitalism under a slightly different name?

The answer is to see landscapes not as a kind of fall-out of other cultural processes (cf. Paynter 2000b, p. 11), but as active in the constitution of those processes. Because Improvement had an ambiguous meaning, it was not simply a tool of capitalist exploitation, though it was in certain times and places. It was simultaneously a set of practices (Improvements) and a way of thinking about the world (Improved/Unimproved). In certain contexts, individuals and groups with an investment in Improvement logics reordered space to serve the ends of profit-making, capital circulation, and class oppression. In other contexts, other individuals may have manipulated space as a way to stabilize and ameliorate the instabilities and dynamics wrought by the first process, even if they were not actively oppositional to capitalist forces. But such a bifurcation demands a great accounting of Improvement's historical meanings and deployments.

Conceptual Origins and Historical Meanings

A central issue in understanding Improvement is the ambiguity of the word itself. It is neither historically uniform in meaning, nor is its current meaning fixed. It was a term used in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by people who embraced it, but it also describes activities in which it was not consciously deployed. Therefore, it is useful to begin with some basic definitions. The modern meaning of the word "Improvement" rests in the idea of betterment (Williams 1983, p. 161) and can apply generally to almost any subject, from technology, to land, to people. This meaning of betterment, as Williams notes, emerged in the seventeenth century, but gained great traction and broader usage in the early nineteenth century. Even in its generalized contemporary meaning, it implies movement, transition, chronology, and separation—there is that which has been improved and that which remains unimproved. Improvement is both the process and the finality. It implies time, transition, and movement.

But Williams notes that this meaning of Improvement as betterment clouds some of the word's historical origins. This is because Improvement shares its derivation with the word *profit*. In its initial meaning, Improvement was specifically concerned with the idea of profit (Williams 1983, p. 160) and the wealth to be generated through the application of industry and rationalism, especially to agriculture. Almost universally, this term was applied to land, as the primary means for the generation of new wealth up until the arrival of industrialization. This meaning of the term was prominent in the sixteenth–eighteenth centuries, and importantly for the present study, overlapped with the generalized meaning of betterment in the nineteenth century. Thus, in the English speaking world in the nineteenth century (the period

under analysis in this book), one could speak of *Improvement*, and simultaneously mean the act of profit-making, and the act of making something better. The former implies a practical task or set of practices that generate wealth, while the latter is more nebulous, symbolic, and abstract, even theoretical, and whose practical content is contextual and lies apart from its meaning. This division of Improvement, as a term meaning a set of practices to increase profits and productivity versus a term implying a set of symbols or abstractions, is a theme that we shall return to over and over again. Arguably, the overlapping nature of these meanings in the period under study emerges from the particular social relations and forces that find confluence at this time, in places like rural Massachusetts. Despite the easy parsing of Improvement as profit-oriented practices versus Improvement as a set of moral or symbolic ideas, both meanings overlapped across a variety of material, discursive, social, and symbolic domains. And the landscapes manifested under the circumstances of these competing definitions likewise exhibit such overlap. This discursive bifurcation will become more relevant once we begin to explore the writings of eighteenth and nineteenth century Improvers in New England in Chaps. 4 and 5 and the built environments of Improvement in Chaps. 6, 7, and 8.

Of course, the genealogy of terminology removes words from their specific historical contexts. Williams' tracing of keywords can provide us with an abstract trajectory, but especially with variable terms like *Improvement*, meanings emerge from their deployment in social and historical moments. Even within his bifurcation between profit and betterment, there may be massive historical and geographical variation. Williams' bifurcation of meanings points to a diversity of phenomena, and, to a degree, an ambiguity. What exactly can one study, if one studies Improvement? Was improvement a social constituted phenomenon, broadly accepted? Was it an elite ideology? Was it a more nebulous cultural logic, embraced or repelled by degrees according to social position? At a more material level, will Improvement be visible in archaeological assemblages and other data or will its processes be refracted, invisible, or so mundane as to be ubiquitous?

One answer is to look at the archaeological and historical literature on Improvement, to see how it has manifested in scholarly studies. Therefore, it is necessary to look to scholarly literature to ask—how was Improvement (the idea) deployed as Improvement (the practices)? How was it unified and how was it variable? To make sense of this, it is worth exploring the ways in which scholars have studied each aspect of Improvement.

Improvement as Betterment

Sarah Tarlow's work on the archaeology of Improvement (2007) provides a broad overview of Improvement as a form of betterment. Tarlow sees Improvement as being part of a broader discourse from the Enlightenment (2007, pp. 13–20). It was a concept that was in the air in England in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth

centuries and formed a part of the intellectual discussion in printed texts. *Improvement* paralleled the idea of *progress*, but where progress was how philosophers of the Enlightenment theorized history, as a movement from primitive barbarism to enlightened civilization, Improvement was how they understood agency within that history (Tarlow 2007, pp. 18–19). The use of the intellect, combined with the right material things, could lead to the betterment of individuals and societies. She focuses on Improvement operating in scientific and model farms, urban institutional and educational organizations, as well as in more prosaic material things such as white-bodied ceramics, window glass, and the privying of trash.

Improvement as betterment manifested in a variety of forms across the Atlantic world. There were Improvers in rural New England villages that "cleared commons, moved churches, and built town halls to give a sense of nucleation … " (Paynter 2002, pp. S87–S88). Likewise, Dobkin-Hall has persuasively argued that the growth of Massachusetts libraries, intellectual societies, and educational institutions fit into the ethic of Improvement as betterment (Dobkin-Hall 1984, pp. 87–88). Learning, knowledge, and commitment to deploy through institutional frameworks would change the character of all people through diffusion. Larkin argues that the cleanup of yardspaces was itself a characteristic of Improvement's push towards individual betterment, representing the family within as rational and ordered (Larkin 1992).

In an Irish case study, Orser (2005) likewise locates the term "Improvement" within broader enlightenment philosophical discourses about progress. Orser is more explicit than Tarlow about the role that social relations, and particularly the class relations between Irish peasants and English and anglicized landlords, played in manifesting the materiality of Improvement. Orser highlights how the belief in the application of industriousness and hard work to agricultural production moralized the social order between individuals who worked and were rational, and those who did not, or were not, regardless of their social position or status (Orser 2005, p. 395). This is a manifestation of the bifurcation of the generalized and specific meanings of Improvement mentioned above, and a version of it appears in the New England Improvement literature in the early nineteenth century (see Chap. 5).

The importance of understanding social relations as a structural framework is also a point made by Dalglish (2007) in his study of Improvement in Scotland. The productivity enhancements advocated by Improvers could only be enacted within social relations that were conducive to those enhancements. For the Highland Scots studied by Dalglish, this meant dismantling the clan system and shifting land tenure and ownership away from the familial and the communal and toward the private. As with enclosure, there were necessary state interventions that had to be undertaken in Scotland, which transitioned from one set of social relations to another before scientific and rational Improvement could take place. Such transformations were highly moralized, with the Enlightenment and the Age of Commerce taken as superior chronological periods to which all should aspire (Dalglish 2007, p. 138).

Aesthetic logics, or belief in reason and progress as standing against tradition or backwardness, are always enacted through broader social forms, cultural patterns, or institutions. Improvement as betterment was not an individually constituted phenomenon, despite the variability of its geographical and material manifesta-

tions. As part of a broader framework of the Enlightenment, it found a home with the educated, organizationally minded, or profit-oriented elements of society—in other words, with the mercantile or landed wealthy, or the middle-classes who took up positions that supported, circulated, and managed such wealth. And this suggests that Improvement's emphasis on betterment and progress was not merely benign moral logics. As Eric Wolf noted, "The appeal to reason, however, entailed consequences. One must not forget to ask who is using reason, rationality, logic, and emotional neutrality to do what to whom" (Wolf 1999, p. 25). As advocates of betterment occupied or came to occupy positions of authority, this metric was used to organize, evaluate, and discipline populations and individuals who would not or could not accept this standard.

Likewise, Eric Hobsbawm argued explicitly that the idea of betterment was allied with a new social formation called the middle class—a diverse group that interfaced and managed the relationship between workers and owners and which emerged as a cultural and economic force in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Improvement was an ethic associated with this group, for whom advancement would came via "the career open to talent." (Hobsbawm 1962, pp. 224–238). Hobsbawm saw this as a function of the revolutionary overthrow of the aristocracy, the forces of medieval backwardness and ignorance, and the "triumph of merit over birth and connection" (1962, p. 234). The dark side of this triumph was the bifurcation of all people into improved and unimproved:

> The middle-class world was freely open to all. Those who failed to enter its gates therefore demonstrated a lack of personal intelligence, moral force or energy which automatically condemned them … or else they would have already made use of their opportunities (Hobsbawm 1962, p. 242)

Not surprisingly, such bifurcation fell along lines of social division, particularly class. Modest wealth could be parlayed into status through the application of knowledge and work, while a lack of the former would prevent access to the latter. Briggs too made this clear when he indicated that "Room was left for individual mobility … but not everyone could move. There still had to be poor, but it was increasingly easy to say that they were poor … . because they lacked the requisite gifts of character and perseverance" (Briggs 1959, p. 65). It was in this arena that Improvement as betterment overlapped with Improvement as profit.

Improvement as Profit

It is easy to see discourses of science as a disinterested practice as providing ideological ammunition to enclosure and expropriation, but the relationship between the practices and the ideas that undergirded those practices is not linear or causative. For many elite Gentlemen farmers in England, Improvement was a necessary competitive step in maintaining their landholdings, while for poorer farmers or peasants, access to Improved techniques provided an independence

and distance from the often parochial and tradition-bound world of the village. At the same time, we must not lose sight of the twin logics of betterment and profit at the heart of Improvement. What was happening in England (and would happen in rural Massachusetts as well) was a central plank of the rise of capitalism, and the shift from a feudal, tributary world to a mercantile capitalist world.

If the meaning of Improvement were determined by its historical duration, the word would be synonymous with profit. From the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries, Improvement referred to the act of applying techniques, tools, and practices to agricultural production for the purpose of increasing the value of its products. Following the Black Death and the feudal crises of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (Moore 2003, pp. 313–315; Wolf 1997, p. 108), western European peasants fought for and received substantial rights relative to tributary elites (European lords, kings, and others).[1] This had a number of profound social and ecological consequences. One social consequence was the fragmentation and hierarchicalization of the peasantry. Peasants who could now sell the produce of their land without elite oversight invested in productivity increases or were assisted by wealth-eager landlords. This created a bifurcated peasantry. Some peasants became referred to as Yeoman (independent, market-oriented farmers). This term was reconfigured in early nineteenth century New England around issues of moral authenticity and regional identity (see Chap. 5). In contrast, poorer medieval peasants struggled to hang on to subsistence farms or were ejected off them altogether, becoming landless (Wolf 1997, p. 266). Some of these landless moved to cities to work in proto-industrial workshops, spurring massive urbanization as well as an increased demand for market agriculture (De Vries 1976, pp. 105–107, 158–164).

Rising wealth in the hands of a market-oriented peasantry also spurred increased consumption of manufactured goods, particularly clothes. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries saw the rise of the beaver-fur hat, in a variety of styles, sweep across every stratum of European society (Wolf 1997, p. 159). This would have important consequences for the beaver-rich areas of the Northeastern United States. Control of the Beaver trade was central to European wealth production and resulted in geopolitical conflicts between the French, English, and Dutch, as well as with the Haudenosaunee Confederacy and various Algonkian Communities in the seventeenth century (see Chap. 3). Finally, intensification and economic growth spurred the power of merchants in English society. Merchants began mobilizing labor in urban workshops through a variety of means and also interacted with European States to fund expeditions. Such expeditions had the added benefit of providing an outlet for restless landless populations, dissident groups, and other people that troubled the English state (Newell 1998, pp. 17–19). Others were middling and poorer rural farmers—lower yeoman, landless peasants, and transient laborers who came to North American colonies angered by centuries of enclosure

[1] More substantive and data-rich discussions of these processes can be found in historical sources (Aston and Philpin 1985; Brenner 1977; Tawney 1912, pp. 213–230; Wallerstein 1974, pp. 249–253)

and the disintegration of feudal land rights and seeking a new start (Kulikoff 2000, pp. 40–41).

Formerly common lands and waste-grounds were enclosed and privatized for mercantile agriculture, as early as the fourteenth century (Tarlow 2007, pp. 37–50). Enclosure involved the taking of land that had been used and managed by peasants and lords under custom and common-law, and transforming it into arable, plantable land. Such land included forests, grazing fields, and marshes in particular, which were harvested, fenced, drained, and otherwise transformed into spaces that could be farmed with crops, or turned into grazing lands for sheep and cattle, largely for commercial farming. In many cases, such land was often referred to in England as "waste", though Tarlow notes that this should in no way suggest that it was unproductive (Tarlow 2007, p. 46). Swamps and marshes were home to water fowl and fish, while forests provided a whole nutritive, medicinal, and symbolic ecosystem upon which medieval and early modern peasants frequently drew (Scott 1998, pp. 12–14). This contrast between waste and productivity would become particularly acute in the colonization of the Connecticut River Valley in the seventeenth century (see Chap. 3).

Enclosure often required the force of the state, either through the ejection of peasants with historical claims to the land, or through legislation that took whole parcels out of common access (Tarlow 2007, p. 36). This points to the simultaneous role played by both the state and private wealth in the activity of Improvement. It also suggests that Improvement has an origin in which violence and expropriation are either implicit or explicit. Enclosure was essentially about aligning what Appadurai calls competing "regimes of value" (Appadurai 1986, p. 4). From the standpoint of market-oriented Gentlemen Farmers and landlords, waste-grounds, common fields, and other types of land were unproductive of actual value, whereas for peasants, they were not only productive, but essential material and symbolic spaces caught up in village productive relations. Despite the very different legal and political circumstances, this proved true in Massachusetts as well as Indigenous land-uses and relations of production were acquired, enclosed, and in many cases, violently expropriated in order for them to be aligned with English notions of productivity (see Chap. 3). One impact of this intensification and class formation was environmental degradation. As Moore and Pomeranz each note (Moore 2000, p. 134, 2003, pp. 319–320; Pomeranz 2000, pp. 219–223), the commercialization of agriculture in the late medieval and early modern periods led to widespread deforestation of much of Western Europe. Deforestation was likewise followed by soil exhaustion in some parts of Europe, and aside from some small areas of reclamation, this problem continued into the eighteenth century. This too would become a significant problem in rural Massachusetts in the nineteenth century (see Chap. 8).

These medieval enclosure origins were grafted onto scientific enlightenment discourses in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The interest in farming using scientific techniques emerged within elite discourses that favored experimentation, inquiry, and the sharing of knowledge (Tarlow 2007, p. 36). The growth of books, periodicals, and other publications related to agriculture increased dramatically in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as did the rise of agricultural societies, begin-

ning with the Society for the Improving of Knowledge in Agriculture in Edinburgh in 1723 (Zilberstein 2008, p. 9). These networks of agriculture Improvement extended into North America, and "forged and maintained ties with one another as members of a broad imperial and international network of government officials, landowners, speculators, intellectuals, and families convinced of the virtue of their progressive leadership" (Zilberstein 2008, p. 38). These connections and networks were deeply implicated in the structure of Massachusetts society (see Chap. 4).

Improvement's two meanings overlap in the control and manipulation of land. The management, use, and manipulation of land were of paramount importance to those who subscribed to Improvement and its specific definition as profit, and even its more general definition as progress. As Orser notes, in discussing Irish Improvement:

> A central feature of improvement philosophy was a precise conception of the land, because its proponents perceived that land could be consciously refashioned in a manner that would simultaneously increase its value and transfigure the human condition. (Orser 2005, p. 394)

Under feudal/tributary modes of production (such as in medieval and early modern England), land was the "original source of all wealth" (Marx 1990, p. 638) and the primary means of producing profit. But with the rise of Improvement, the manipulation of land became a central symbolic attribute, reflecting and reflective of human behavior. This idea that changing the land could change people is a thread that will run throughout this study. Essential to understanding the social relations of Massachusetts is an understanding that land and its manipulation were deeply embedded social practices, part of economic and social relationships. Denis Cosgrove argues that the discovery of the American continents spurred this philosophical impetus, both at intellectual and at economic levels. Economically, land in North America allowed Europeans to gain "for themselves a level of material comfort and a status of citizenship unattainable by the majority of Europeans … . [land] was a concrete reality to be transformed from wilderness waste to a cultivated garden" (Cosgrove 1998, p. 161). This point is also made by Pomerantz, who sees American biotic resources as the savior of England's ecological and economic contradictions (Pomeranz 2000, p. 211). Simultaneous to this economic interest, American land provided an intellectual stimulus to thinkers influenced by the Renaissance and the Enlightenment, "American land seemed to offer a chance to realize one or other of a multitude of ideals, beliefs, and values … In a new physical world a new human world might be created." (Cosgrove 1998, p. 161). Improvement was thus in part a theory of spatiality, of the relationship between humans, built environments, and symbolic and discursive formations that mediate and mutually constitute those relationships.

To summarize, Improvement was a concept that had two meanings (profit and betterment), and those meanings changed chronologically, with the decisive shift occurring in the period under examination here—the turn of the nineteenth century. Improvement acted upon space (creating fenced yards, erecting farm outbuildings, and planting fields), but also created new kinds of spatial categories (Improved vs. unimproved land, or crop-divided fields versus undifferentiated agricultural plots).

Improvement manifested within an enlightenment framework that sought to visualize a future which was progressive and in which through Improvement "a new Human world might be created." Improvement involved a constellation of social groups (particularly classes), spaces, and objects and operated at multiple scales from individuals and their households up to entire regions. Thus, despite my attempt to pin down some of its meanings and valences, Improvement remains a nebulous term, as it seems to have encompassed such a wide range of activities, which were never static in their meaning or implementation. Improvement, in its very definition, involved change and transition, while in its implementation, it manifested as stability, boundedness, and organization. It straddled between being and becoming (cf. Harvey 1990, pp. 207–210) and the two definitions of profit and betterment sat in tension in the nineteenth century.

Operationalizing the Study of Improvement Landscapes in Massachusetts

The purpose of the above theoretical discussion is to chart an analytical course for understanding Improvement from an archaeological perspective. To evaluate Improvement archaeologically requires a methodology that considers continuity and change together, foregrounds multiscalar analysis, highlights the material and symbolic aspects of space, and recognizes the ways in which social perspective organizes categorization. Improvement was broadly socially constituted in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, manifesting across discourses, practices, institutions, and through broader social processes such as capitalism.

To focus such a framework on concrete realities, I utilize a dialectical methodology (Ollman 1993). The principle of Ollman's method is that human social life is fluid, dynamic, and interconnected. Drawing on, and elaborating, Marx's method in *Capital* (1990), Ollman argues that dialectics is "a way of thinking that brings into focus the full range of changes and interactions that occur in the world." (1993, p. 10). The method consists of identifying moments within a totality and analyzing how they are internally related (coherent and contradictory), as well as how they relate to the broader totality. This method takes as a given the idea that human social formations are interconnected across space, through time, and at multiple scales. The individual parts such as human beings, objects, and spaces are always connected through and to broader structural formations such as class, race, gender, state institutions, families, and religious cosmologies. Thus, an examination of discrete formations within a totality (a part) should reveal its relationships to the totality (the whole) and thereby reveal something about the totality itself. Dialectics has been fruitfully deployed by archaeologists as a way of encompassing social and material phenomena in a non-reductionist fashion (Crumley 1987; Marquardt 1992; McGuire 1992; Mrozowski 1993; Saitta 1995; Singleton 2001;

Wurst 1999), avoiding the deterministic traps of positivist nomothetics that characterized processual archaeology, as well as the nebulous free signification of post-structuralism and post-modernism common in many post-processual archaeologies. Even beyond the specific application of dialectics, this kind of thinking is not entirely alien to archaeology. One of archaeology's longstanding central metaphors is *context* (Lucas 2002), in which individual artifacts reveal human behaviors and social meanings only through their spatial interrelationship. Archaeology's great strength has been its recognition that individual objects are never isolated from their social contexts, just as they are always buried in a spatial context. Dialectics takes this principle of the interrelationship of whole and parts and transfers it onto the social world, as a means of analysis.

In the present study, the totality is turn-of-the-nineteenth century rural Massachusetts. This was a place and time of immense change and transformation, socially, economically, materially, and spatially. Two landscapes, consisting of various types of data with spatial valences, are abstracted from that totality in the present study. They are described and analyzed in subsequent chapters, both for how they are internally coherent and/or in tension, as well as how they are related to the broader totality.

Landscapes of Rural Massachusetts

The social world in the last decades of the eighteenth centuries and the first decades of the nineteenth were periods of profound social and economic change. Part of this change was the development of capitalism, a social phenomenon that reverberated across nearly every aspect of life in the western world during this period. Because of capitalism's instability, and its stark implications for inequality in social life, the landscapes formed in and through Improvement's emphasis on profit should manifest these tensions. Likewise, Improvement's emphasis on betterment and the contradictions of that ideal described above should also be visible in the abstracted landscapes under study. Improvement in early nineteenth century Massachusetts should therefore be visible in the material landscapes of the archaeological record, and the built environment, as well as in the representational and symbolic landscapes of the documentary record. It emerged as a result of certain unstable historical conditions related to the development of capitalism and its articulation with other productive modes in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and its deployment should also manifest tensions and contradictions.

The primary data will be an analysis of two landscapes—the symbolic and representational landscape of New England depicted in Improvement literature and journals, and the built environment of the E.H. and Anna Williams' House in Deerfield, Massachusetts. A brief overview of these landscapes will provide some initial framework for understanding them.

The E.H. and Anna Williams' Homelot: Built Environment of Improvement

The primary and exemplary landscape is the built environment of the E.H. and Anna Williams' house in Deerfield, Massachusetts. Williams was an agribusiness farmer who lived in Deerfield, Massachusetts, for much of his adult life, and in the house that bears his name from 1816 until his death in 1838 (Bograd 1989, p. 15). Williams had a large amount of capital to make significant alterations to his property, homelot, and landholdings during the period in question. His economic activities were quite diverse and included a substantial amount of land speculation. The archaeological record of the Williamses' use of the landscape includes an archaeological assemblage of tens of thousands of artifacts and numerous subsurface features including privies, buried land-surfaces, and agricultural structures. In addition, the documentary records of the lot including the deed chain (McGowan and Miller 1996) and of Williams and his family (Gordineer 1981; Miller 1986; Proper 1990; Rassam 1998; Spears 1985) have also been incorporated into this study. More will be said about this data in Part III, though the Williamses' materiality and social relations will be used in an exemplary fashion throughout.

Farming Literature: Representational and Symbolic Landscapes of Improvement

The second landscape is the symbolic and representational landscape of New England progressive farming or Improvement literature. This landscape is more diffuse and uneven. The growth of literacy in the eighteenth century and the rise of "print culture" led to an enormous amount of publications on a variety of topics across the Atlantic world. One of the most salient of these topics was agriculture. Perhaps the most famous example was the writings of English agriculturalist Arthur Young (1741–1820) whose *Annals of Agriculture*, begun in 1784 (Young 1785), spanned 45 volumes and set a template for agricultural journals. The United States was littered with state, regional, and national journals dedicated to agriculture, and according to some calculations, there were as many as 250,000 issues of such journals in circulation in the United States by the mid nineteenth century (Adams 1990, p. 96). The Northeastern United States was a particular hotbed for such publications, which was home to some of the earliest agricultural societies, fairs, and institutions in the nation (Garrison 1991, pp. 60–64). The Massachusetts Society for the Promotion of Agriculture (MSPA) was one of the earliest such societies in the United States, founded in 1791. Early agricultural works specifically on rural New England included Jared Eliot's *Essays upon Field Husbandry* published between 1748 and 1759 (Eliot 1811), as well as the proliferation of almanacs which straddled the line between scientific agriculture and medieval mimesis (see Chap. 5). Publications on specific issues of New England agriculture appeared in the eighteenth century and included

Samuel Deane's *The New England Farmer or Georgical Dictionary* ([1790] 1822), the Massachusetts Society for the Promotion of Agriculture's *Agricultural Repository and Journal* (1799), and the journal *New England Farmer*, which ran from 1822 to 1846. These publications documented the practices being undertaken by New England's farmers, but because they were so focused on land and its use, such publications also serve as a representation of space, since they depict an admittedly partial and contextual vision of New England's lands. And because such journals were prescriptive and advocating for such practices, they also depict an idealized vision of New England as an Improved space. To use Harvey's language from above, they are both a representation of space and a space of representation. As we will see, the agricultural journals contained more than simply lists of practices, crops, animals, and tools, and the additional material often provides an interesting window on the burgeoning mercantilism and fragmented modernity of New England's farmers. In this way, they can be read as materializing texts, similarly to how Heneghan examined the role of everyday household objects in the making of whiteness in the antebellum south, as they appeared in fiction of the period (Heneghan 2003). To paraphrase Heneghan, such an analysis of the text of farming literature allows us to move from the physical to the representational and back again, "weighing ideals and realities in the thing's representation" (Heneghan 2003, p. xx). This landscape will be discussed primarily in Part II.

These two landscapes compliment each other in interesting ways. The Improvement literature was largely produced in urban contexts like Boston, while the Williams' home-site is in the largely rural Connecticut River Valley in Western Massachusetts. The literature operated at a regional scale, while the Williamses' built environment extends little beyond the confines of Deerfield itself. As we will see, Improvement literature was initially written by men whose occupations and wealth were largely non-agricultural, while Williams was primarily invested in Agricultural (though he had numerous occupations at various times in his life). The ultimate goal is to reveal the articulations between these landscapes, and their relationships to the larger phenomena of Improvement in the first decades of the nineteenth century, through a process of dialectical investigation.

Thus, Improvement represents a complex mixture of landscapes, practices, social relations, and ideas that have emerged as part of the creation of the modern world, and the colonialism, capitalism, and conquest that have constituted that world. Improvement overlapped between mental, social, and material formations and operated at a variety of scales.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have traced Improvement as a phenomenon that was internally consistent, global in reach, historically contextual, and with important material consequences. At the same time, Improvement had two related but distinct meanings, as profit and as betterment, which had implications for how those consequences

manifested in given historical and social moments. If progress was an enlightenment theory of history, Improvement was a theory of space, correlating human intervention in the material world with the impacts such intervention might or could have on human behavior and human society. The concept of *landscape* encompasses much of this theory, but its deployment in archaeology has largely been bifurcated into materialist and idealist uses. I deploy a Marxian framework as a way of incorporating both material and symbolic dimensions of land into my analysis. And I view early nineteenth century Massachusetts as a totality from which to abstract landscapes in order to better understand the relationship of the parts to the whole.

The landscapes of Improvement that I outline here did not emerge on an empty space. Improvement grew out of the complex and contradictory landscapes that preceded it in rural Massachusetts, and further back, into the tensions and contradictions of the transition from feudalism to capitalism. These landscapes were a product of the articulation of largely Native, European, and African people and the social processes of capitalism, colonialism, and conquest that brought these people to Massachusetts in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In order to establish the range of social stability and instability in rural Massachusetts at the turn of the nineteenth century, it is necessary to sketch the processes of landscape change that preceded them. It is to this task that I turn in the next chapter.

References

Adams, W. H. (1990). Landscape archaeology, landscape history, and the American farmstead. *Historical Archaeology, 24*(4), 92–101.

Appadurai, A. (1986). Introduction: Commodities and the politics of value. In A. Appadurai (Ed.), *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (pp. 3–63). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Ashmore, W., & Sabloff, J. A. (2002). Spatial orders in Maya civic plans. *Latin American Antiquity, 13*(2), 201–215.

Aston, T. H., & Philpin, C. H. E. (1985). *The Brenner debate: Agrarian class structure and economic development in pre-industrial Europe*. Cambridge, England: University of Cambridge Press.

Bender, B. (1993). *Landscape: Politics and perspectives*. Oxford, England: Berg.

Bender, B. (1998). *Stonehenge: Making space*. New York: Berg.

Bender, B. (1999). Subverting the Western Gaze: Mapping alternative worlds. In P. J. Ucko & R. Layton (Eds.), *The Archaeology and Anthropology of Landscape: Shaping Your Landscape* (pp. 31–45). New York: Routledge.

Bender, B. (2002). Time and landscape. *Current anthropology*, *43*(-), 103–112.

Berger, J. (1972). *Ways of Seeing*. Hammondsworth, England: Penguin.

Binford, L. R. (1972). Model building-paradigms, and the current state of Paleolithic research. In D. L. Clarke (Ed.), *Models in Archaeology* (pp. 244–294). New York: Seminar.

Bograd, M. D. (1989). *Whose life is it anyway?: Ceramics, context, and the study of status*. MA Thesis, Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts at Amherst.

Bordes, F. (1972). *A tale of two caves*. New York: Harper & Row.

Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Brenner, R. (1977). The origin of capitalist development: A critique of Neo-Smithian Marxism. *New Left Review, 104*, 25–92.

Briggs, A. (1959). *The age of improvement, 1783–1867*. London: Longmans, Green.
Cosgrove, D. E. (1998). *Social formation and symbolic landscape*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.
Crumley, C. L. (1987). A dialectical critique of hierarchy. In T. C. Patterson & C. W. Gailey (Eds.), *Power Relations and State Formation* (pp. 155–169). Washington, DC: American Anthropological Association.
Dalglish, C. (2003). *Rural society in the age of reason: An archaeology of the emergence of modern life in the southern Scottish highlands*. New York: Kluwer Academic.
De Certeau, M. (1984). *The practice of everyday life*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
De Vries, J. (1976). *The economy of Europe in an age of crisis, 1600-1750*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.
Deane, S. (1822). *The New-England farmer; or, Georgical dictionary. Containing a compendious account of the ways and methods in which the important art of husbandry, in all its various branches, is, or may be, practised, to the greatest advantage, in this country*. Boston, MA. Accessed 6 October 2011.
Deetz, J. F. (1996). *In small things forgotten: An archaeology of early American life*. New York: Anchor Books. Expanded and revised.
Delle, J. A. (1998). *An archaeology of social space: Analyzing coffee plantations in Jamaica's Blue Mountains*. New York: Plenum Press.
Dobkin-Hall, P. (1984). *The organization of American culture, 1700-1900: Private institutions, elites, and the origins of American nationality*. New York: NYU Press.
Eliot, J. (1811). Essays upon field husbandry. In *Papers for 1811, Communicated to the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture*. Boston, MA: Munroe & French.
Epperson, T. W. (2000). Panoptic plantations: The garden sights of Thomas Jefferson and George Mason. In J. A. Delle, S. A. Mrozowski, & R. Paynter (Eds.), *Lines that divide: Historical archaeologies of race, class, and gender* (pp. 58–77). Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press.
Garrison, J. R. (1991). *Landscape and Material Life in Franklin County, Massachusetts, 1770–1860*. Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press.
Gordineer, B. (1981). *Dangerously wonderful: An architectural and historical analysis of the Hinsdale—Williams House*. Deerfield, MA: Ms. on File, Historic Deerfield.
Harvey, D. (1973). *Social justice and the city*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
Harvey, D. (1990). *The condition of postmodernity*. Oxford, England: Basil Blackwell.
Harvey, D. (1996). *Justice, nature and the geography of difference*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
Harvey, D. (2000). *Spaces of hope*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
Harvey, D. (2007a). *The limits to capital* (Updated.). New York: Verso.
Harvey, D. (2007b). *A brief history of neoliberalism*. Cambridge, MA: Oxford University Press.
Harvey, D. (2010a). *A companion to Marx's capital* (Second Impression edition.). London: Verso.
Harvey, D. (2010b). *The enigma of capital: And the crises of capitalism* (2nd ed.). Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.
Heneghan, B. T. (2003). *Whitewashing America: Material culture and race in the antebellum imagination*. Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi.
Hobsbawm, E. J. (1962). *The age of revolution, 1789-1848*. New York: Mentor.
Johnson, M. (1996). *An archaeology of capitalism*. Cambridge, MA: Basil Blackwell.
Johnson, M. (2006). *Ideas of landscape* (1st ed.). London: Wiley-Blackwell.
Kulikoff, A. (2000). *From British peasants to colonial American farmers*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.
Larkin, J. (1992). From "Country Mediocrity" to "Rural Improvement": Transforming the Slovenly Countryside in Central Massachusets, 1775-1840. In K. M. Hutchins (Ed.), *Everyday life in the early republic*. Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press.
Leone, M. P. (1988). The Georgian order as the order of merchant capitalism in Annapolis, Maryland. In M. P. Leone & J. Parker B. Potter (Eds.), *The Recovery of Meaning: Historical Archaeology in the Eastern United States* (pp. 235–261). Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Leone, M. P. (1999). Setting some terms for historical archaeologies of capitalism. In M. P. Leone & J. Parker B. Potter (Eds.), *Historical Archaeologies of Capitalism* (pp. 3–20). New York: Kluwer Academic.

Leone, M. P., & Hurry, S. D. (1998). Seeing: The power of planning in the Chesapeake. *Historical Archaeology, 32*(4), 34–62.

Leone, M. P., & Potter, P. (1999). *Historical archaeologies of capitalism*. New York: Kluwer Academic.

Leone, M., Potter, P., & Shackel, P. (1987). Toward a critical archaeology. *Current Anthropology, 28*(3), 283–302.

Lucas, G. (2002). Eventful Contexts. In *Critical Approaches to Contemporary Fieldwork*. London: Taylor & Francis.

Marquardt, W. H. (1992). Dialectical archaeology. In M. B. Schiffer (Ed.), *Archaeological Method and Theory* (pp. 101–140). Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press.

Marx, K. (1990). *Capital: A critique of political economy*. New York: Penguin.

Marx, K. (1993). *Grundrisse: Foundations of the critique of political economy (rough draft)*. London: Penguin Books in association with New LLeft Review.

Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture. (1799). *The Massachusetts Agricultural Repository and Journal* (Vol. 1).

Matthews, C. N. (2002). *An archaeology of history and tradition: Moments of danger in the Annapolis landscape*. New York: Kluwer.

McGowan, S., & Miller, A. F. (1996). *Family and landscape: Deerfield homelots from 1671*. Deerfield, MA: Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association.

McGuire, R. H. (1992). *A Marxist archaeology*. San Diego, CA: Academic.

Miller, A. F. (1986). *The bittersweet life of E.H. Williams, 1761-1838*. Deerfield, MA: Ms. on File, Historic Deerfield.

Moore, J. W. (2000). Environmental crises and the metabolic rift in world-historical perspective. *Organization & Environment, 13*(2), 123–157.

Moore, J. W. (2003). "The modern world-system" as environmental history? Ecology and the rise of capitalism. *Theory and Society, 32*(3), 307–377. Accessed 5 February 2015.

Mrozowski, S. A. (1993). The dialectics of historical archaeology in a post-processual world. *Historical Archaeology, 27*(2), 106–111.

Mrozowski, S. A. (2000). The growth of managerial capitalism and the subtleties of class analysis in historical archaeology. In J. A. Delle, S. A. Mrozowski, & R. Paynter (Eds.), *Lines that divide: Historical archaeologies of race, class, and gender* (pp. 276–306). Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press.

Nassaney, M. S., & Abel, M. (2000). Urban spaces, labor organization, and social control: Lessons from New England's nineteenth-century cutlery industry. In J. Delle, S. A. Mrozowski, & R. Paynter (Eds.), *Lines that Divide: Historical Archaeologies of Race, Class, and Gender* (pp. 239–275). Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press.

Newell, M. E. (1998). *From dependency to independence: Economic revolution in colonial New England*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Ollman, B. (1993). *Dialectical investigations*. London: Routledge.

Orser, C. E. (2005). Symbolic violence, resistance, and the vectors of improvement in early nineteenth-century Ireland. *World Archaeology, 37*(3), 392–407.

Paynter, R. (1988). Steps to an archaeology of capitalism. In M. P. Leone & P. B. P. Jr. (Eds.) *The Recovery of Meaning: Historical Archaeology in the Eastern United States* (pp. 407–433). Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Paynter, R. (2000a). Historical archaeology and the Post-Columbian world of North America. *Journal of Archaeological Research, 8*(3), 169–217.

Paynter, R. (2000b). Historical and anthropological archaeology: Forging alliances. *Journal of Archaeological Research, 8*(1), 1–37.

Paynter, R. (2002). Time in the valley: Narratives about rural New England. *Current Anthropology, 43*, S85–S101.

Pearson, M. P., & Richards, C. (2003). *Architecture and order: Approaches to social space*. London: Routledge.

Pomeranz, K. (2000). *The great divergence: China, Europe, and the making of the modern world economy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univeristy Press.
Proper, D. R. (1990). *"The property of Eben'r H. Williams": The family library of Ebeneezer Hinsdale Williams (1761-1838). A bibliographic study and survey together with a catalogue of its contents, and an interpretation*. Deerfield, MA: Manuscript on File, Historic Deerfield.
Rassam, M. (1998). *A citizen of the commonwealth: Republican ideology and the politics of E.H. Williams.*. Deerfield, MA: Historic Deerfield.
Resnick, S. A., & Wolff, R. D. (1987). *Knowledge and class: A Marxian critique of political economy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Saitta, D. (1995). Dialectics, critical inquiry, and archaeology. In V. Pinsky & A. Wylie (Eds.), *Critical traditions in contemporary archaeology* (pp. 38–43). Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press.
Scott, J. C. (1998). *Seeing like a state: How certain schemes to improve the human condition have failed*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
Singleton, T. (2001). Slavery and spatial dialectics on Cuban coffee plantations. *World Archaeology, 33*(1), 98.
Spears, D. (1985). *Popular culture and particular preferences: E.H. Williams' Private Library*. Deerfield, Massachusetts.
Tarlow, S. (2007). *The archaeology of improvement in Britain, 1750-1850*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.
Tawney, R. H. (1912). *The agrarian problem in the sixteenth century*. London: Longmans, Green.
Tilley, C. (1994). *A phenomenology of landscape*. Oxford, England: Berg.
Tilley, C. (2004). *The materiality of stone: Explorations in landscape phenomenology*. Oxford, England: Berg.
Trigger, B. G. (1989). *A history of archaeological thought*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
Wallerstein, I. (1974). *The modern world-system I: Capitalist agriculture and the origins of the European world-economy in the 16th century*. New York: Academic.
Williams, R. (1983). *Keywords: A vocabulary of culture and society. Revised edition*. New York: Oxford University.
Wobst, H. M. (1999). Style in archaeology or archaeologists in style. In E. S. Chilton (Ed.), *Material Meanings: Critical Approaches to the Interpretation of Material Culture* ((pp. 118–132). Salt Lake City, UT: University of Utah Press.
Wolf, E. R. (1997). *Europe and the people without history*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
Wolf, E. R. (1999). *Envisioning power: Ideologies of dominance and crisis*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
Wurst, L. (1999). Internalizing class in historical archaeology. *Historical Archaeology, 33*(1), 7–21.
Wylie, A. (1999). Why should historical archaeologists study capitalism? The logic of question and answer and the challenge of systemic analysis. In M. P. Leone & P. B. P. Jr. (Eds.), *Historical Archaeologies of Capitalism* (pp. 23–50). New York: Kluwer Academic.
Young, A. (1785). *Annals of agriculture and other useful arts*. London. http://archive.org/details/annalsofagricult01londuoft. Accessed 15 September 2014
Zilberstein, A. (2008). *Planting improvement: The rhetoric and practice of scientific agriculture in northern British America, 1670–1820.* Dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Part II
Improving New England at the Dawn of the Nineteenth Century

Chapter 3
Rural New England in Time and Place

Introduction

In the previous chapter, I explored Improvement as a theoretical, political, and economic concept. Because of its heterogeneity and diversity, I drew upon archaeological and anthropological notions of landscapes as the spatialization of human activity to encompass Improvement as a cultural logic, cross-cutting material, social, and symbolic domains. Finally, I argued that Improvement involved the operationalization of rural capitalism, incorporating rural productive activities into broader scales of space and time. I also argued that Improvement manifested enlightenment logics of individual and social betterment, providing a moral and historical framework.

The overlapping of these last two manifestations of Improvement occurred in the early nineteenth century, the period under study here. Subsequent chapters will focus on this historical moment, identifying the material and symbolic landscapes that constitute it, as well as their constitution within social relations and the contradictions they manifest. However, Ollman also argues that analyzing any given historical moment requires "adopting the vantage point of the present to view the conditions that gave rise to it—in other words, [studying] history backwards" (Ollman 1993, p. 133). For the purposes of analyzing Improvement in New England, it means articulating the landscapes that preceded and, in Ollman's words, formed the "preconditions" (1993, p. 134) for the moment of Improvement. The purpose of this chapter is to articulate those preconditions. Fortunately, a great deal of historical archaeological, ethnohistorical, and documentary evidence exists for the region, much of which is drawn from the more general historical and archaeological studies of the Connecticut River Valley described in Chap. 1. However, because New England is itself a construction (see Chap. 4), generated by circumstances that were in operation across the Atlantic world, it is also necessary to situate the region

Q.P. Lewis, *An Archaeology of Improvement in Rural Massachusetts*, Contributions
To Global Historical Archaeology, DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-22105-2_3

within the broader historical context of the transition from Feudalism to capitalism in Europe, and the rise of capitalism in the United States.

In what follows, I delineate the area of the Connecticut River Valley in geographical and ecological terms. Then I identify and describe three landscapes with the Middle Connecticut River Valley: (1) the Algonkian homeland, (2) the landscape of colonization, enclosure, and extraction, and (3) the Landscape of primitive accumulation and uneven development. These landscapes are roughly chronological and made up of built environments, representations of space, and spaces of representation (Harvey 1990, pp. 211–239) and each of them had instabilities which led to transformation.

The Natural World of the Connecticut River Valley

Not surprisingly, the most salient feature of the Connecticut River Valley is the presence of the Connecticut River, and it is delineated by its watershed (see Fig. 3.1). This North–South running river extends over 400 miles from the White Mountains in New Hampshire through Massachusetts and Connecticut and empties into the Long Island sound. It bisects Massachusetts approximately one third from the western edge of the state. The river and its immediate environs in this area of bisection are generally referred to as the *Middle Connecticut River Valley* due to roughly similar topography and climate (Paynter 1979, p. 7), as compared to the Vermont/New Hampshire *Upper Connecticut River Valley*, and the more southerly portion from Hartford to the Long Island sound, known as the *Lower Connecticut River Valley*. It also encompasses the modern political boundaries of Massachusetts' Franklin, Hampshire, and Hampden Counties (Paynter 1982, p. 51), though Franklin and Hampden counties were only created out of Hampshire county in the early nineteenth century.

The geology and ecology of the Connecticut River Valley that was of most interest to the Improvers was its fertile floodplain, formed at the end of the last glacial advance by the creation and draining of Glacial Lake Hitchcock. This massive lake extended from Lyme, New Hampshire, to Rocky Hill, Connecticut (Garrison 1991, p. 11), around 15,000 years ago. It was created when the receding glacier deposited accumulated boulders, gravel, and smaller sediments at Rocky Hill, Connecticut, trapping melt-water behind a natural dam. Above the shore of the lake, the glaciers deposited a highly variable till—a jumble of boulders, stones, gravels, sands, and clays. These areas came to make up the uplands on either side of the valley, and over time, this deposited till would be one of the factors that would make broad-scale staple agricultural production difficult in the upland areas. It would also make up the iconic famed New England stone walls, which dot the upland areas today. But within the confines of the lake, melt-water streams deposited well-sorted sands and clays that covered the deeply buried till. This created a base for soil formation that, after the dam eroded and the lake drained some 12,000 years ago, was relatively level and stone-free. Organically rich soils formed

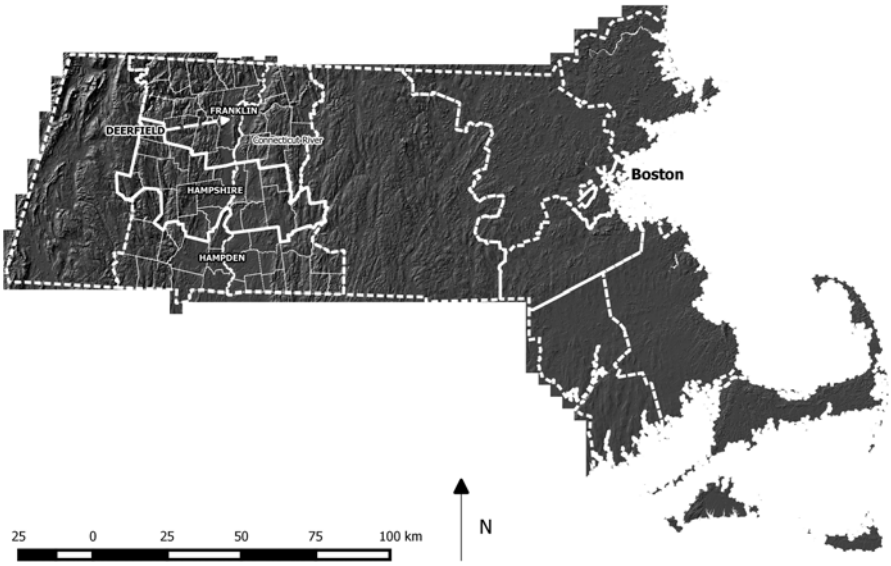


Fig. 3.1 Map of Massachusetts showing the location of Deerfield, Franklin, Hampen, and Hampshire County, Boston, and the Connecticut River. *Small dotted lines* indicate town boundaries in the three counties

on top of this loamy material, supporting impressive forest, meadow, and riverine ecosystems. Much later, they also supported agricultural production by Native people and by Europeans (as discussed below). Some of the fertility of the valley lowlands is due to the replenishment of nutrients by annual flooding events of the river.

The eastern uplands are significantly stonier, with thinner, more eroded soils, though not incapable of supporting crops and pastures. The western uplands are more fertile than the eastern uplands, but still quite difficult to farm on a broad scale (Garrison 1991, p. 12). The eastern uplands extend into Worcester County, while the western uplands abut the Berkshire mountains and Berkshire County.

The gradual melting of the glacial lake led to numerous smaller tributary streams and rivers, which fed into the lake basin. In particular, tributary rivers formed running east and west out of the bordering uplands of the Connecticut River Valley. One of the largest of these is the Deerfield River, and the place where it intersects with the Connecticut River is an extremely fertile floodplain on which Deerfield was eventually founded.

Although the flow of the Connecticut River is North–South, and the river is bounded by upland hills on both sides, this does not mean that these geological features created impermeable social borders. The highlands on either side are not impossible to traverse, especially by using the natural transit corridors provided by the east-west trending tributary streams. The use made of these corridors varied according to particular social and cultural formations. For instance, while eighteenth century Connecticut River Valley farmers generally sent surplus goods down the

river to entrepôts, where they could be shipped into the British Mercantile triangle (Paynter 1982; Siskind 2002), nineteenth century cattle farmers, including E.H. Williams, were more oriented towards Boston and Albany, where cattle markets and slaughterhouses allowed for the processing of beef (Garrison 1987).

Thus, the Connecticut River Valley is both a bounded geographical, cultural, and economic area, while simultaneously, and at given historical moments, those boundaries are highly permeable. Still, the "Middle Connecticut River Valley" provides an abstraction of extension in which to analyze the historical trajectories that constituted and preconditioned the emergence of Improvement landscapes in the early nineteenth century.

It is also important to remember that the ecology and geology of the Connecticut River Valley do not constitute a pristine wilderness on which human activity occurred. As with the discussion of landscapes in the previous chapter, the biotic and abiotic environment of the Connecticut River Valley is not a simple container of action. There are some basic conditions such as relief, bedrock geology, and long-term climatic conditions. However, even these seemingly fundamental ecological characteristics have been molded to a certain extent (D. R. Foster et al. 2004) and have been responded to with an astonishing array of cultural practices. This is leaving aside more variable characteristics such as weather patterns, animal and plant population and diversity, soil formation and makeup, and water-flow. There is a long history of human activity in the Connecticut River Valley and all of it modified the biotic and abiotic environment to a great degree. Improvement reinforced strong distinctions between a cultivated culture and an unspoiled or "natural" nature and frequently located human beings within this binary. But the Connecticut River Valley was never an unspoiled wilderness. When Europeans encountered it in the early seventeenth century, it had already been actively shaped and manipulated for thousands of years.

The Algonkian Homeland (up to 1600 A.D.)

Algonkian-speaking people tell their own history through the story of Gluskape/Hobomock and the beaver.

> The great beaver preyed upon the fish of the Long River. And when other food became scarce, he took to eating men out of the river villages. … Hobomock, a benevolent spirit giant, at last was invoked to relieve the distressed people. Hobomock came and chased the great beaver far into the immense lake that then covered the meadows, flinging as he ran great handfuls of dirt and rock at the beaver. Finally he threw a bunch of dirt so great upon the beaver's head that it sank him in the middle of the lake. Hobomock, arriving a few minutes later, dispatched the monster by a blow with his club on the back of the beaver's neck. And there he lies to this day. The up-turned head covered with dirt is the sandstone cliff of Wequamps (*Mt. Sugar Loaf*, *near Deerfield*), and the body is the northward range. The hollow between is where Hobomock's cudgel smote down his neck. (Pressey, quoted in Paynter 2002)

The story itself reveals a perception of landscape and the processes that led to the creation of the built environment of the Connecticut River Valley. It also nicely encapsulates the ways in which individual landscapes can encompass complex articulations of built environments, representational, and symbolic space. As Bruchac (2005) notes, the story essentially parallels and narrates the processes of de-glaciation and the creation of glacial lake Hitchcock. It is simultaneously a mythological story populated with ancestral characters and a historical-explanatory narrative in which the lines between symbol and built environment are blurred. It describes and explains the existing landscape of the Connecticut River Valley by referencing the forces and processes that shaped it. Whether Algonkian-speaking people were in the region during the events portrayed in the story or whether they simply scrutinized the landscape that they found upon arrival at the archaeologically suggested period of 10,000–12,000 years ago,[1] they possessed a singular ability to read, utilize, and move through the landscape that they lived in, an ability that outsiders might not share.

But as Lisa Brooks (2008, pp. 23–24) argues, the story also links space and social relations, as it serves as a parable for the dangers of individual hoarding and accumulation. The greed of the beaver in eating all of the fish and damming up the river led to suffering and deprivation, which could only end with the beaver's defeat and the redistribution of resources back to "the common pot". This concept of the Common Pot is key to understanding Algonkian-speaking people's social and spatial relations. To quote Brooks again:

> Inherent in the concept of the common pot is the idea that whatever was given from the larger network of inhabitants had to be shared within the human community. This ethic was not an altruistic ideal but a practice that was necessary to human survival. Sharing space meant sharing resources, and Algonquian and Haudenosaunee communities relied on equal distribution to ensure social stability and physical health. All inhabitants of the pot were fed from the pot and were part of the pot. Every part affected the whole. If one person went hungry, if certain individuals were excluded from the bounty of the dish, the whole would face physical and/or psychological repercussions from this rupture in the network of relations. (Brooks 2008, p. 5)

This relationship extended to all people and into the biotic world as well. Thus, Algonkian-speaking people of the Connecticut River Valley deployed a conditionally variable and pragmatic subsistence strategy that recognized geographical ecological dynamics, drew on both plant and animal life, and worked in service of provisioning families, communities, and relations.

Archaeological evidence of Indigenous subsistence in the northeast suggests a broad-ranging and rich set of strategies. The earliest Pioneer and Settler groups (sometimes referred to as Paleo-Indian and Archaic—see Dincauze (1990)) engaged in variably generalized or specific gathering and hunting, tailored to the changing climatic conditions of the millennia following the de-glaciation (Dincauze 1990; Dincauze and Mulholland 1977; Donta and Wendt 2006, p. 29; Hart et al. 2009,

[1] The DEDIC site, near Deerfield, dates to approximately this time period (Chilton et al. 2005) and is one of the oldest "Paleo-Indian" sites in the region.

pp. 46–50; Snow 1980). By around 1000 A.D., many Algonkian-speaking people had incorporated the cultivation of maize into their wide-ranging foraging strategy. However, this was only part of a more comprehensive subsistence strategy that included hunting, fishing, gathering, and trading, which Chilton calls "mobile farming" (1999). Under this framework, mixed crops of corn, beans, and squash would be planted in fertile areas around the Connecticut River in the fall, left under snow during the winter, only to sprout again in the spring, at which time families would return to harvest, celebrate, and reconnect socially. Algonkian-speaking people recognized the drain that agriculture placed upon land and soil and utilized a complex fallow system, along with controlled burning, to keep land from losing nutrient value and becoming unusable (Cronon 1983, pp. 37–51; Merchant 1989, pp. 74–81; Thomas 1976). Burning cleared forested areas to be used for cultivation, but also left nutrient-rich stalks, ash, and other materials on the ground that functioned as fertilizer. Longer-term (8–12 year) fallow cycles allowed nutrient-declining areas to cycle back through forest succession (Merchant 1989, p. 76). Forests thus replenished were then used for hunting grounds. Controlled burning by Algonkian-speaking people (Johnson 2003; Patterson and Sassaman 1988) altered forest composition and promoted a timber-rich landscape in the Connecteticut River Valley. Such was the case that much of the Valley, especially more northern areas in modern-day Vermont and upland towns on either side, was still heavily forested up to European arrival (Foster et al. 2008, p. 51). The Algonkian homeland was a large space, and there was no significant pressure on Algonkian-speaking people to shift to intensified, smaller scale agriculture prior to European contact. Such farming was only one aspect of a broad, inclusive subsistence strategy that included fishing, hunting, and the collection of wild plants and herbs.

Mobility itself was a kind of fallow system for Algonkian-speaking people. Seasonal migration was combined with multi-year cycles of burning and planting of forested land, as well as release from agriculture of land that was losing its nutritive value. This movement through the homeland and the built environment of subsistence strategies is understood to be part of a relatively dispersed settlement pattern for Algonkian-speaking people. Archaeological studies have shown settlements with few permanent structures, indicating communities with little interest in sedentism. This has historically led some archaeologists to view Algonkian-speaking people in the Connecticut River Valley as a cultural backwater with an insubstantial presence on the landscape (Chilton 2003, pp. 138–139), though recent scholarship has challenged this view with a more anthropologically and historically nuanced analysis (Brooks 2008; Bruchac 2005, 2007; Bruchac and Chilton 2002; Hart 2009; Keene and Chilton 1995; Paynter et al. 2007)

For example, the archaeological site of Pine Hill in Deerfield (Chilton 2003) shows a complex pattern of wigwam construction, over many generations, and indicates seasonal migration, and eventual abandonment. Handsman (1992) and Keene and Chilton (1995) have deployed the concept of the Homeland to describe the complex articulation of subsistence, settlement, orientation, and social memory that made up the landscape of indigenous people in the region. The entire valley was the home, rather than an open space distinct from the settlement. In modern geographical

terms, the homeland of Algonkian-speaking people was a broad territory that extended from the Long Island Sound up to Maine, including the Connecticut River Valley. Boundaries with other groups such as the Haudenasaunee (Iroquois) to the West were based on lineage and history, rather than firm or distinct divisions of property. Such boundaries were likewise permeable, and the archaeological record contains evidence of reciprocal pre-colonial trade within and between cultural and linguistic groups (Paynter et al. 2007, pp. 8–10).

Mobility also structured legal and interpersonal relationships. Land could not be monopolized under the heading of ownership because a shared conception of symbols, beings, and social relations were embedded in the oral representations of space (Chilton 2002). Indeed, as stated above, monopoly of any strategic resource by one individual was frowned upon and treated with suspicion. The fluidity of settlement patterns and the diversity of subsistence strategies suggest that for many Algonkian-speaking people, notions of property were more fluid and dynamic than those founded upon sedentary living. The primary form of social organization was based on kinship, with segmented kin-groups forming the main community unit, which combined and separated from other communities during the seasonal cycle.

These groups would use spatial strategies to avoid long-term conflicts (Bruchac 2004). Like many segmented-kin groups around the world, interpersonal divisions probably followed an escalating scale of arbitration, up to, and including, group fissioning (Wolf 1997, pp. 95–96). Indeed, it might be that the seasonal waxing and waning of populations in the valley operated as a kind of safety valve that inhibited small conflicts from becoming larger or socially disruptive. Algonkian-speaking people told numerous stories about themselves that highlighted the dangers of personal accumulation to the detriment of kin, community, and environment (Brooks 2008, p. 6).

Nassaney also notes the role that gender may have played in structuring social change prior to and during the period of European contact (Nassaney 2004). Gender structures among Algonkian people were starkly different than European patriarchy. They were more egalitarian with women and men having relatively autonomous and complimentary realms of responsibility, but even these roles were not so rigidly bounded. Brooks notes that Algonkian women were largely responsible for land and its management so much so that they were often signatories of deeds with the English (Brooks 2008, p. 25). In the seventeenth century, Roger Williams noted in Rhode Island that while men managed tobacco cultivation, “the women [manage] all the rest” of horticultural production (quoted in Merchant 1989, p. 81). While men were frequently the heads of tribal governance, in practice, women could and did assume the role of Sachem, or the tribal head (Merchant 1989, p. 83). Likewise, merchant lists a vast number of productive activities in which men and women both participated, suggesting a blurring of strict gender roles:

> Older men and children assisted [women] in planting and weeding, and mixed groups of adults helped to break up fields and harvest crops. Women as well as men wielded axes in forest clearing; cut gathered, and carried firewood; and probably chipped planting and hoeing tools. Men planted and tended tobacco plants. Women and children accompanied men on nearby hunts, and women fished with hooks and lines. Women wove mats and cleaned

> and prepared skins for wall hangings that completed the longhouse and wigwam frames that men had constructed. Women shared decision making and leadership roles in tribal governance, warfare, medicine, and religion. (Merchant 1989, p. 84)

Such overlapping distinctions between men and women's productive activities were anathema to the hardened distinctions of English patriarchal relations, as we shall see.

In conclusion, rather than being an isolated or insubstantial presence in the region, Algonkian-speaking people in the Connecticut River Valley were vitally connected to the land in both material and nonmaterial ways. The landscapes that they inhabited reveal a fine-grained understanding of their world, as well as a complex and flexible social organization that was engaged with that world. The landscapes they created, and their ways of moving through them, would be ruptured by the colonial encounter, even as that encounter was conditioned by those landscapes. Instead of being the virgin wilderness (Merchant 1989, pp. 100–103), as it was often portrayed by European colonists, Algonkian-speaking people had actively manipulated and inhabited the land onto which Europeans walked. Population estimates by the English at the time of arrival indicate as many as 12,000 people living in the middle Connecticut River Valley in the early seventeenth century (Thomas 1985). They had gardens, hunting grounds, villages, and sacred landscapes, each of which was nodes on a larger symbolic space called "the Homeland" and held together by "the common pot". Though the relationship to land was quite different for Algonkians and Europeans, the Algonkians had built a physical environment that Europeans found desirable for their own productive purposes. The way in which they thought about space and property and acted upon the landscape impacted how they responded to the incursion of the European states that invaded it.

The Landscape of Colonization, Enclosure, and Extraction (ca. 1600–1700)

In 1628, just prior to taking up the Governorship of the newly formed Massachusetts Bay Colony, Jonathan Winthrop, then a wealthy Puritan lawyer and landowner, wrote a series of arguments for the establishment of said colony. This document, known as the *Reasons for the Plantation in New England*, was Winthrop's justifications for setting up a colony and answers to critics of such a plan. The first such objection listed was that the English would be taking land owned and inhabited by Algonkian people and had no right to do so. Winthrop's answer deployed the idea of Improvement as a justification:

> That which lies common, and has never been replenished or subdued, is free to any that possess and *improve* it; for God hath given to the sons of men a double right to the earth—there is a natural right and a civil right. The first right was natural when men held the earth in common, every man sowing and feeding where he pleased. Then as men and their cattle increased, they appropriated certain parcels of ground by enclosing and peculiar cultivation, and this in time got them a civil right … As for the natives in New England, they enclose no

> land, neither have they any settled habitation, nor any tame cattle to *improve* the land by, and so have no other but a natural right to those countries. (Winthrop 1864, pp. 309–311, emphasis added)

Reading this document as a representation of space, one is struck by Winthrop's blindness to the richness and intensity of Algonkian land use (Cronon 1983, pp. 57–58). It may also be the first reference to the concept of the Improvement of New England. Winthrop's characterization of Indigenous land use as never "replenished or subdued" points to a theme of Improvement, and of this period in particular. Improvement juxtaposed nature and culture, mapped also as wilderness and civilization, and construed certain kinds of space and socio-spatial practices within this binary. The variation and complexity of Algonkian-people's relationship to forests, meadows, and fields was reduced (cf. Scott 1998, pp. 35–36) to a simplistic negation. Algonkian land could be taken not because of its characteristics or the inherent nature of people, but because of how they were (not) using it. It could be improved by extracting it from the kin-ordered mode of production in which it was enmeshed and profited from through insertion into a capitalist mode of production (Wolf 1997, pp. 88–96, 77–79). The distinction between "Improved" and "unimproved" land was not merely a utilitarian one. It involved competing spatial logics and caught up in the politics of value (cf. Appadurai 1986). Thus, the first landscape of New England Improvement was rooted in colonialism, conquest, and enclosure.

The European processes which spurred the settlement of the Connecticut River Valley were vast in scale, even if individual and group reasons were contingent upon historical conditions and personalities. Still, a few of these processes had direct impacts on the landscape of the region in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and it is worth exploring them in turn.

The lands of the Algonkian-speaking people (understood by Europeans as divided into bands known as the Agawam, Schaghticoke, Nonotuck, Sokoki, Pocumtuck, and Woronoco) of the Connecticut River Valley were largely invaded by the English, in the middle decades of the seventeenth century. The English state had funded expeditions to North America in hopes of acquiring the precious metals that were then flooding the Spanish government with wealth (Pomeranz 2000, pp. 269–270; Wolf 1997, pp. 135–140). These were not available in the Northeast, but what was available was biotic materials, particularly forest resources such as beaver pelts for clothes and hats, and timber for building ships (Thomas 1981; Wolf 1997:158–170). As discussed in the previous chapter, the Improvement of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in England had stratified the English peasantry, stressed English soil and forest ecological systems, empowered merchants, and created the conditions of unrest and dislocation that spurred outward expansion.

This had implications for the settlement of the Connecticut River Valley. The Valley sported a large beaver population, as well as an Indigenous population that knew how to acquire more distant beaver directly or through trade. Likewise, the alliance between the state and merchants had implications for the settlement and organization of Connecticut River Valley towns. After the initial settlement of the Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay Colonies in the 1620s, the Connecticut River Valley was the next area of regional settlement by the English. Springfield was

settled in 1636, upriver from settlements established by the English and the Dutch in the Lower Connecticut River Valley. Springfield was founded by William Pynchon, an English merchant who positioned himself between the English Colonial government and Native people in the Connecticut River Valley. Pynchon used land as collateral in trade deals, while offering finished goods, or wampum, in exchange for beaver pelts (Innes 1984; Thomas 1984). This created a coercive pull, such that when the beaver population began to decline, or when inter-European or inter-group violence made acquisition of furs difficult, Pynchon would collect on the debt and arranged for the "purchase" of land (Thomas 1984, pp. 10–11). In addition, Pynchon was also a representative of the Massachusetts General Court. He was called upon by the colonial government to procure land for the settlement of towns in the region and was often given special dispensation to lay them out on the landscape (Sheldon 1972, p. 16). Thus, Pynchon's actions are imprinted on the landscape of the English towns in the Connecticut River Valley, including Deerfield. Through Pynchon, there was an initial period of explosive town settlement and growth in the Connecticut River Valley, with town expansion perhaps dictated by English population increase (cf. McArdle 1979).

Deerfield was officially founded in 1671, but its origins go back much further. In 1651, the Massachusetts General Court had granted land to the Reverend John Eliot for the purposes of creating a praying town for a group of Natick Indians. The land that they chose included sections of the town of Dedham, Massachusetts, in the eastern part of the state, and whose residents sued for redress for the loss of their land. This legal dispute raged for over a decade, until the court decided to grant land in the Connecticut River Valley to the aggrieved Dedham residents (Melvoin 1984, 1989, pp. 49–55; Sheldon 1972, pp. 1–22). The Massachusetts General Court asked William Pynchon's son John to arrange for the purchase of land. Pynchon was granted the largest number of lots in Deerfield and was given special dispensation to arrange and organize the layout of the town, which was laid out as a nucleated village with a common and lots for each male-headed household (Hood 1996).

There was considerable variation in the settlement pattern and spatial organization of the English towns in the Connecticut River Valley (Paynter 2002, p. S88) and these nucleated villages were not universal in the Connecticut River Valley. Many of the towns founded by the Pynchons in the seventeenth century were nucleated villages, with central clusters of houses, surrounded by or distant from, agricultural fields. This was a somewhat archaic form of village organization as far as colonial English were concerned (Hood 1996), but it served social and military benefits in the volatile conflict between the English, the French, and Native people in the region.

The nucleated, incorporated village may have promoted close relations between neighbors and centralized decision making (Dobkin-Hall 1984, pp. 22–25), though Hood argues that it actually masked inequalities built around strategic kin relations (Hood 1996; Sweeney 1985). As Dobkin-Hall notes, incorporation had roots in medieval legal and social life (Dobkin-Hall 1984, p. 22). A group of individuals formed a religious and social covenant together and would petition the Massachusetts General Court for land on which to settle. There is also some tantalizingly suggestive

evidence that village spatial organization of the nucleated village was actually an attempt to culturally encode "Englishness" into the minds of settlers, as a way of preventing solidarity with Native people in the region (Hood 1996). Thus, one could read Winthrop's disdainful commentary on Native land use not merely as a racialized value judgment on Algonkian spatiality, but as a discursive feint in a broader project of distinguishing the English from Indigenous people—the deliberate separation of an artificial "culture" from a "nature" to be conquered and subdued (Sibley 1995, p. 51). This is particularly suggestive since there was some ambiguity among the English about whether Algonkian-speaking people's activities were actually unproductive (Brooks 2008, pp. 76–77). There is a substantial history of goodwill and alliance between individual Europeans and Indigenous people (Calloway 1991, pp. 177–212).

Martin (1991, pp. 149–161) also notes that there was considerable variation in the allotment of housing plots and field plots in Massachusetts Villages. Though many historians have commented on the egalitarian nature of the early New England-incorporated villages (Dobkin-Hall 1984, pp. 22–24; Melvoin 1984), in reality that equality was quite limited. Town charters gave economic rights to landowning males, and particularly to landowning males who invested in the process of incorporation (Martin 1991, pp. 149–185). However, beyond this, the colonial villages of the Connecticut River Valley were never homogenous places. Others present in the towns included tenants who rented from absentee landowners and investors, other landless men, women, children, and captive African laborers (Folbre 1980). While political participation was open to every landowner, and decisions were ostensibly made collectively within this group, in practice this meant every White male head of household—women, landless men, and captive African people of both sexes—were excluded from participation in the political decisions of the incorporated village. Debt, tenancy, and landlessness were also common features of Connecticut River Valley towns. There were significant class differences between landowners and tenants, for example. In the second half of the seventeenth century in Springfield, 5 % of the town owned 50 % of the taxable wealth (Innes 1978, p. 42). John Pynchon, in particular, was granted some of the best lands in all the villages he helped found, and this created a feedback of wealth which cemented his social and political position to the end of the seventeenth century. Additionally, many early holders of landlots were not actually residents. In Deerfield, not a single one of the town's original lot owners was initially resident (Martin 1991, p. 31). Many of these nonresidents were essentially speculators, either awaiting the resolution of hostilities with the French and Indigenous populations to sell more profitable land, or renting it to tenants who would clear it and increase its value (Martin 1991, pp. 10–28).

Slavery existed in New England from its earliest occupation by the English. The labor of captive African people was utilized in both the households and the agricultural fields of Massachusetts until 1783 and in other New England States until well into the nineteenth century (Zilversmit 1967). In rural Massachusetts, this labor was deployed at a smaller scale in households and fields, though there were large agricultural plantations that utilized captive African people in eastern Massachusetts

(Chan 2007), Connecticut (Woodruff et al. 2007), and Rhode Island (Fitts 1996). Slavery was present in Deerfield from its earliest inception as a village (Romer 2009; George Sheldon 1893). For instance, the house which E.H. Williams purchased and renovated in the early 1800s was home to an African man named Meshack, who was held captive by Ebenezer Hinsdale, the first English-descent resident of the homelot in the early 1700s (Sheldon 1893, p. 51).

Land parcels were sharply delineated, and though for some there were town commons and common fields, it was the responsibility of the town landholders and residents to see that they were maintained and that fencing was opened and closed at the proper times of the year (Garrison 1991, pp. 117–118; Hood 1996, p. 138). De Vries (1976, pp. 41–42) suggests that English common fields were actually a means of increasing productivity by augmenting available fodder crops for livestock.

Patriarchy structured labor as well as politics. In the earliest communities, agricultural surplus was distributed largely (though not exclusively) through local exchange networks, rather than through regional or international markets (Clark 1990, pp. 29–30). Labor on these fields was organized around the patriarchal family (Folbre 1980, 1985). Kulikoff notes that patriarchy was a fairly archaic form of household organization in England, but that many who came to Massachusetts were attempting to reestablish it (2000, pp. 36–38). Fathers, as landowners, directed agricultural labor within the household as well as working themselves, while women, children, and enslaved Africans were dependents. As Merchant notes, women's and children's work was generally undertaken within the household and yard-space, while men's work tended to be located in distant fields, but there was significant overlap between work in the house and work outside it (1989, pp. 167–172, Coontz 1988, p. 93).

Agricultural fields were largely built on the medieval English "three field system", in which plots of allocated land were divided into tripartite parcels, with one of them going fallow at any given season (Hubka 2004, pp. 81–84; Merchant 1989, p. 155; Russell 1976, pp. 39–43). This was an "extensive" system that relied on large landholdings and relatively low labor inputs. This system was derived equally from medieval practices and from observation and education by Native people (Merchant 1989, p. 156). It involved three classes of fields in the New England farm. A typical farm might be between 20 and 30 acres and would be divided between a corn field, an oats/barley field, and a buckwheat field (Merchant 1989, p. 165). Some land would also be set aside for pasturage of animals (pigs and cattle, or sheep) and for a woodlot. These lands would cycle through, with croplands eventually depleted of nutrients and being returned to unimproved forest, and forest being cleared using controlled burning and axes and transformed into pasturage, and eventually into cropland (Merchant 1989, pp. 166–167). In addition to these private lands, villages held lands in common that were used collectively (at least by village members) to pasture animals.

The majority of this labor was geared towards agriculture. However, self-sufficient farming was almost nonexistent in rural Massachusetts. Instead, what existed was a kind of community sufficiency (Cumbler 2001, p. 13), in which variable forms of surplus circulated within the village, and other forms left the village and

moved along the Atlantic world economy. Initial English settlements in the Connecticut River Valley, including Deerfield, were oriented toward the funneling of forest-extracted commodities toward England. English residents of Deerfield sent beaver, timber, and corn to entrepôts like Springfield or Hartford, where they could be sent downriver to shipping ports in the Long Island Sound to British plantations in the Caribbean (Bailyn 2000). These raw resources were exchanged for finished goods from Britain, which make up the bulk of excavated material from Deerfield in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. From the end of the seventeenth century until just prior to the revolution, the New England states as a whole never exported more than they imported. In some particularly lopsided years, the ration of import to export value was nearly 10:1 (North and Thomas 1968, pp. 80–82). Rural Massachusetts exported goods that never carried the high value that southern and Caribbean staples such as sugar, cotton, and tobacco carried.

There is very little archaeological evidence of these earliest seventeenth century villages in the Connecticut River Valley and throughout southern New England (for an exception, see Daum 2008). Interior built environments and yard spaces have received more attention, in part because many archaeological surveys have focused on houses rather than settlement patterns. Deetz's (1996, pp. 75–88) and St. George's (1982) early work located household material culture patterns as evidence of mental-symbolic structures, though the extent to which these were unified cultural principles in seventeenth century Massachusetts is not clear (Paynter 2000, p. 8). There is tantalizing evidence that the relationship between exterior and interior space was not even or uniform, as seventeenth century houses in Deerfield (for example) were not oriented towards the street unlike the structures in the Village today (Paynter 2007; Paynter and Stigers 2003). Deerfield contains no standing houses built before the 1720s, but features excavated from the seventeenth century suggest that this lack of uniformity was a regular spatial phenomenon. Foundations from houses at the "Old Farms" site in Hatfield show "hall and parlor" type layouts (Daum 2008).

In any case, despite their location distant from core European areas, the English villages of the Connecticut River Valley were never isolated from broader economic and political forces. Europeans also brought intra-state tributary conflict with them to North America. The seventeenth century marked an age of extreme social, political, and economic crisis in the territorial states of Europe, and this created extremely violent conditions and warfare (De Vries 1976). In particular, English and French conflict spilled over into North America, and a number of Native people in the Northeast became caught up in it. Some Algonkian native groups, particularly the Abenaki and Pocumtuck, allied with the French forces and retreated to Missions at Odanak in modern-day Quebec upon being attacked by English forces. Others, such as some of the Mohawk from modern-day New York, allied with the English. As a result, there was significant overlap and ambiguity between European inter-state conflicts, regional Native conflicts, and Euro-Native conflict (Brooks 2008, pp. 13–28; Haefeli and Sweeney 2003; Paynter et al. 2007). More indirect reminders of Native influence on English settlements comes in the form of military features such as palisades

(Reinke and Hood 2009), or burnt features associated with violent conflict between French and English, and Native allies on both sides (Lewis et al. 2016).

Deerfield was founded in this volatile context. From the 1670s until well into the 1700s, there were a series of violent conflicts involving English forces, French forces from Canadian settlements, and a wide variety of Native groups in the area around the village and the middle Connecticut River Valley more broadly. There were battles from King Philip/Metacom's war (1676), which affected Deerfield in the Battle of Bloody Brook (1675), and most famously for Deerfield, the 1704 raid on the village by French, Abenaki, and Huron forces. This combined force burned half of the village to the ground, while killing or carrying off a sizable portion of its inhabitants (Haefeli and Sweeney 2003). Subsequent conflicts in the eighteenth century included the Bars Fight in 1746, and the threat of hostilities arguably continued up until the end of the Seven Years War in 1763.

As Thomas notes, trade and violence between Native people and Europeans varied inversely with each other (Thomas 1984). Native people resisted unfair trade practices, land encroachment, and attempts at enslavement or conquest. They were also forced to shift their settlement pattern from the fluid spatiality of the homelands landscape into more fixed forms as one strategy of resistance to the English economic and military encroachment. The archaeology of Native people in the region has revealed the presence of seventeenth century permanent structures and possibly fortifications. A site recorded on the bluffs above Deerfield, tentatively identified as "The Pocumtuck Fort" built by Pocumtuck people in the seventeenth century as a response to increasing violence by the English and their allies, contains numerous English trade goods alongside Native implements, suggesting that English and Native economic and social relations continued even in periods of conflict (Bruchac and Hart 2012; Hart 2009). Kevin McBride has documented the materiality of the Pequot Fort in Connecticut, a fortified structure built by the Pequot people to protect their lands, and the site of one of the bloodiest massacres of Native people in the seventeenth century (McBride 1990). Other strategies of resistance, visible in a close reading of seventeenth century documents, include migration to kin groups located in safer areas in northern New England and Quebec, as well as "hiding in plain sight" by engaging in English style occupations and living in marginal and less policed areas (e.g., Bruchac 2007, pp. 196–203). The conflict between Native people in the Connecticut River Valley and English colonists spanned the last 30 years of the seventeenth century and spilled over into the eighteenth. Because of Native resistance to English encroachment, no new towns were founded in Massachusetts west of Deerfield until 1726 and Brooks notes that English settlers were functionally driven out of Northern New England in the third quarter of the eighteenth century (Brooks 2008, p. 44).

To conclude, the first landscape of Improvement in Massachusetts was thus not a benign attempt to reduce productive inefficiencies or beautify the landscape. Ostensibly, it involved the transformation of Native land into English land, and specifically, the clearance of forests into English-style agricultural fields and grazing pastures (Cronon 1983, p. 56; Zilberstein 2008, pp. 63–64). It was a colonial project, rooted in a fundamental reorganization of the spatialities of Algonkian-speaking

people and European people. It located Algonkian lifeways as unproductive and "natural" and juxtaposed these with a dynamic and productive "cultural" landscape of the Europeans. Violence sat at the juncture of this dialectic of nature and culture, and to appropriate a phrase from Marx, the Improvement of rural Massachusetts in the seventeenth century was "written in the annals of mankind in letters of blood and fire" (Marx 1990, p. 875). Likewise, the landscapes enacted by the English were not culturally organized wholes, but were rife with contradictions along lines of race, gender, and class. Martin summarizes this philosophy nicely:

> Improvement—building and planting—was the key, the goal of land policy, the condition of nearly every grant. The court wanted improvements that fortified the frontier, expanded the economy, and accommodated the growing population. Toward that end, it was against the continuous ownership of unused, idle land. Land was meant to be settled, not merely owned (Martin 1991, p. 38)

The New England Village, later mythologized as an ideal of American closed community (Martin 1991:1), never operated in isolation, and the individuals who lived in these villages were caught up in the tensions and contradictions of colony and community. Rural Massachusetts in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries was a society in tension between competing modes of production (tributary and kin-ordered English vs. kin-ordered Native), and on the English side, with debt and spatial management as the significant form of social control. Divisions between patriarchs and dependents (women, children, and enslaved Africans), landowners and landless, debtors and creditors, and merchants and farmers were active processes in the spatiality of everyday life in seventeenth century Massachusetts.

The Landscape of Uneven Development and Primitive Accumulation (ca. 1700–1800)

The eighteenth century in Massachusetts was a period in which the uneven development of capitalism (Harvey 2001, p. 377) was a significant factor in the production and transformation of landscapes. The existing processes outlined above as operating in the seventeenth century continued, expanded, and diversified in the eighteenth. Violent conflict between English and Indigenous groups, as well as between the English and the French, continued until almost the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Class formation and consolidation proceeded apace with the development of a mercantile economy. The tensions between local and long-distance exchange erupted into crisis. Labor relations organized through patriarchy fragmented from their own instability. The materialization of these processes dramatically impacted the landscape and presaged the wave of Improvement that developed in the early nineteenth century.

The complex alliances between the English, the French, and various Algonkian and Haudenosaunee people continued up until the conclusion of the so-called French and Indian War in 1763 (Calloway 2006). Following the withdrawal of the French to Canada and the establishment of English hegemony in North America, English

settlers in Massachusetts were able to move into what would become western New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio. They did so largely by baiting and cheating the growing alliance between Algonkian and Haudenosaunee people, or what Lisa Brooks (2008, pp. 121–122) refers to as the United Indian Nations and other multi-tribal coalitions (e.g., Calloway 2006, p. 169). Algonkian-speaking people continued to live in Massachusetts, but overt violence gave way to more subdued forms of resistance and survival by Algonkian people (e.g., Bruchac 2004; Calloway 1997; Doughton 1997; Silliman 2009).

Though it was fraught with violence and theft, the gradual opening up of lands to the west for English settlement arrived not a moment too soon in the eighteenth century. A growing problem emerged that was spurring dramatic social and spatial changes to the landscape of rural Massachusetts, and the Connecticut River Valley in particular. Within the rural villages of English Massachusetts, there were three broad socio-spatial tensions: partible inheritance, land consolidation, and local vs. long-distance exchange.

Patriarchal labor relations within colonial Massachusetts villages relied on partible inheritance (the equal distribution of property from fathers to sons) and local or regional intermarriage. Sons worked for fathers on the understanding that they would receive an equal share of the land on which they worked. Intermarriage allowed families with adjacent or nearby lands to join them together. This structural process maintained village cohesion and linked families into networks of labor that could be mobilized to help in home and outbuilding construction, set up medium and long-distance trade networks, or for additional agricultural labor (Dobkin-Hall 1984, pp. 21–25; Clark 1990, pp. 87–93). However, it also created tensions between production and reproduction (Merchant 1989, pp. 185–190) because land parcels had to be subdivided among children, who were also a primary labor source. Grown children were drawn on by rural families as a source of labor, encouraging large family sizes and spurring population growth in the seventeenth and eighteenth century (e.g., McArdle 1979, p. 75). Most historians see eighteenth century population growth as the driving engine of this tension (Dobkin-Hall 1984, pp. 25–33, Clark 1990, pp. 60–61), though Folbre argues that mercantilism created opportunities for dependent sons to leverage their labor against other forms of employment (Folbre 1980), and Swedlund argues that Connecticut River Valley families were responding to changing circumstances by limiting family size at the end of the eighteenth century (1975). Miller (2006, p. 190) likewise notes that changes to family structure, as well as changes to the economy, had impacts on the kinds of productive activities in which women were involved, with women moving away from the production of agricultural surplus and into trades like weaving and teaching. In any case, land ownership, management, and usage became acute problems for the Connecticut River Valley agriculturalists at the end of the eighteenth century.

This problem was exacerbated by the growing concentrations of wealth in rural Massachusetts in the eighteenth century. John Pynchon's death in 1703 occurred in a context of great change to the English mercantile system. The Glorious Revolution in England and the subsequent restoration of the monarchy led to an emboldening of English mercantile interests. Trade expanded dramatically, and that included trade

with the New England colonies. Families and individuals who were able to position themselves in these political or economic processes achieved substantial wealth, which they kept through intermarriage and investment in land. These families, known in the Connecticut River Valley as the "River Gods" (The Williamses, the Ashleys, the Dwights, to name a few), and more broadly as the Standing Order, formed alliances of wealthy farmers, ministers, and magistrates (Dobkin-Hall 1984; Sweeney 1986) and utilized these strategic positions to organize themselves as a class. These individuals integrated political, economic, and cultural authority. Monetary wealth was not substantial, but existed in a combination of land ownership, debts and obligations from neighbors, material household goods, and elaborate mansions (Sweeney 1984), many of which are still standing in Deerfield and Connecticut River Valley towns today.

The River Gods did not have the ability to transform their wealth into capital through the direct mobilization of labor (Clark 1990, pp. 41–42), but they were able to draw on kin networks to engage in early agricultural Improvements and scientific techniques (Sweeney 1988). They also continued Pynchon's pattern of land-lording of agricultural fields and making money off the rent. One of these families was the Williams family, from whom Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams descended. There were two branches of this family, one of which was in Roxbury, Massachusetts, and the other of which was in the Connecticut River Valley. The Valley Williams family was particularly prosperous in the mid-eighteenth century. Israel Williams, perhaps the wealthiest of the Valley branch, was known as the "monarch of Hampshire" (Beeman 2004, pp. 84–86; Sweeney 1986) due to his landed wealth and prestige.

There were changes to materiality and land use in the Connecticut River Valley that paralleled these social changes. As stated previously, Paynter has documented the turn towards parallel alignment between structures and streets during the early eighteenth century (Paynter and Stigers 2003; Paynter 2007). The closure (cf. Johnson 1993, p. 106, see also 1996) of interior spaces is visible in early to mid-eighteenth century houses in Deerfield, with the expanding economy leading families to expand and diversify houses into multi-room double-piles. Formerly homogenous religious/political spaces (meeting halls) were split into separate sacred and secular structures (Sweeney 1993).

After the cessation of overt hostilities between the English and Native people in the region, villages in the Connecticut River Valley shifted from extractive forest commodities toward agricultural production, with the purpose of provisioning plantations in the British occupied Caribbean (Pabst 1941; Siskind 2002). The "extensive" field rotation and cropping system expanded, as more land became available for forest clearance over the early eighteenth century. Over the course of the eighteenth century, Valley land became more concentrated in fewer hands, and population increased, which led to transformations in land uses. For example, the mid-to-late eighteenth century saw the beginnings of the privatization of common lands, which had been central to extensive-system crop and animal production (Haefeli and Sweeney 2003:154). Another important trend that spun out from these changes was the colonization of less fertile land in the hilly areas surrounding

the Connecticut River Valley (Paynter 1985). These would become known as the Hill towns.

For many sons, selling their inheritance shares and finding new work was preferable to attempting to farm shrinking parcels. Some families sent their children into craft apprenticeships as a means of supplementing meager farm incomes, or to colleges for academic training, usually as ministers (Dobkin-Hall 1984, p. 28). Still others were not able to weather this problem, and many children found themselves migrating to larger towns and cities for work, out of the state in hopes of recreating an agricultural livelihood in New York and Ohio (Dobkin-Hall 1984; Pabst 1941). Still others were not able to adapt to these conditions, becoming proletarianized, especially younger women for whom the burgeoning factory movement became a source of employment (Coontz 1988, p. 149). Labor which had been locked up in the kin-relations of the standing order and the centripetal pull of village social relations began to be loosed upon the landscape—a record of which can be seen in the rise of transiency laws emerging in the eighteenth century, which sought to control emergent landless populations (Jones 1975). Racialized labor was also reconfigured within rural social life. Ideological and religious agitation attacked slavery, and the rise of an enlightenment philosophy of universal equality led to an increasing push in New England for emancipation. Through an early case of judicial review, the Massachusetts supreme court declared slavery unconstitutional in 1783 (Cushing 1961), after hearing cases from two relatively rural areas (the Elizabeth "Mumbett" Freeman case from Sheffield, Massachusetts, and the Quok Walker case near Barre, Massachusetts).

But this produced anxiety in White Massachusetts residents, who were nervous about allowing the full range of community rights and privileges to African-Americans (Melish 1998). The end of the eighteenth century in New England was a period in which racial categories were in flux, and easy distinctions between Black enslavement and White freedom (Morgan 1975) were being reconfigured. A growing body of archaeological research (Battle-Baptiste 2011; Bulger 2013; Chan 2007; Deetz 1996, pp. 212–252; Garman 1998; Hutchins-Keim 2013; Landon and Bulger 2013; Paynter et al. 2008; Ziegenbein 2009) is complimenting existing historical studies (Greene 1942; Melish 1998; Piersen 1993; Zilversmit 1967, 1968) to document the everyday lives of African-descent people in Massachusetts.

As Melish notes (Melish 1998, pp. 210–237), a growing regional identity of New England required that slavery's presence had to be eradicated from public space and discourse. African-descent people were likewise marginalized and eradicated from public discourse and public space (Matthews 2012). Indeed, as we will see in Chap. 5, the idea of slavery and blackness as distinctly southern phenomena allowed Improvers to construct New England as a region of autonomous Yeoman, internally homogenous and divorced from the economics and social relations of slavery.

The third tension in rural Massachusetts was more materially nebulous, but nonetheless profound. The complex variables of the rural Massachusetts economy suggest that the "capitalism" of the eighteenth century is certainly not the same as that of the twenty-first. It is fair to say that many of the elites in rural Massachusetts

in the eighteenth century could be characterized as engaging in "primitive accumulation" (Marx 1990, pp. 873–876). This began with people like the Pynchons, who utilized strategic positioning between the English state, local landowners, and Indigenous groups to accumulate wealth and prestige (Innes 1984). There has been considerable historiographic debate over the rise and development of capitalism in colonial New England (Clark 1975, 1990; Henretta 1978; Kulikoff 1992; Lamoreaux 2003; Lemon 1984; e.g., Lemon 1967; Rothenberg 1992, 2000). Much of this debate hinges around the nature of the rural economy and the extent to which mercantile processes were prominent structuring principles. As we have already seen with land speculation, profit and markets were present even in the foundation of seventeenth century villages. And yet, surplus largely circulated locally, with only certain products moving out onto the Atlantic world economy (cf. Martin 1939; Siskind 2002, pp. 47–49).

Clark (1990) argues that the Connecticut River Valley had two interlocking forms of exchange, which he calls "local" and "long-distance". He argues that each form of exchange had different rules, objects, participants, and affective sentiments. Local exchange was undertaken primarily between neighboring farmers. It often involved labor and skill exchanges, or locally produced foodstuffs or tools. It interfaced with partible inheritance and was seen as a means of maintaining equality between community members. Because it was based on trust and operated within limited social or spatial distance, it was often operated as long-term credit. Though Clark doesn't use this term, it might be fair to characterize local exchange as what anthropologists and economists call "reciprocity" (Sahlins 1972, pp. 133–135). Long distance exchange, on the other hand, operated between farmers, local merchants, and merchants in more distant areas. It was usually the process of sending agricultural surpluses to markets in exchange for finished goods produced elsewhere, or raw materials for the production of new surpluses. Long-distance exchange was seen as more anonymous and less trustworthy than local exchange, and as such, was considered morally dubious by many Connecticut River Valley farmers.

These economic processes were always inextricably intertwined in rural Massachusetts. Merchants connected and constituted relations between villages and the Atlantic world system (e.g., Nobles 1990; Siskind 2002), even as they also operated within the political and economic logics of village exchange and labor. While the expectations of long distance exchange were that it would be settled immediately, this was not often the case, and Clark cites several early examples where local exchange logics were uncomfortably applied to long-distance exchanges (Clark 1990, pp. 122–126). Further, the uncomfortable fit between local and long-distance exchange could be manipulated by individuals seeking to gain from them—this was the essence of the power of the River Gods, including E.H. Williams' uncle Elijah (Sweeney 1988).

Ultimately, some of these contradictions were implicated in the major social crisis of the eighteenth century—the American Revolution. After British military conquests in the 1760s had opened up possibilities for North American expansion,

the British government attempted to reassert its authority over trade and monetary policy (Aptheker 1960, pp. 26–29). In essence, it was an attempt by core tributary elites to reign in the power of periphery capitalist elites. Because of the market orientation of many rural families and communities, there were tensions between pro- and anti-British forces along the Connecticut River Valley (Batinski 2004, p. 83), which were not forgotten even decades later. This was particularly true for some members of the River Gods, whose social and economic position depended upon strong connections and alliances with British colonial and economic agents (Clark 1990, p. 43). They depended upon a relatively even cultural and economic relationship between urban and rural Massachusetts, and this relationship was significantly disrupted by the Revolution. Many of the River Gods were forced to flee the Connecticut River Valley. The Revolutionary War also dramatically impacted women's labor. A growing need for primary produce to feed soldiers led to an intensification of household production, which fell largely on women's shoulders (Miller 2006, pp. 187–188). However, such intensification was short-lived, and only a blip on a much longer narrowing of the range of work activities permitted for women (Miller 2006, pp. 189–190).

There was also a growing distrust by back-country farmers of urban mercantile elites. This distrust was mobilized during the American Revolution, but that Revolutionary zeal spilled over in the 1780s, culminating with Shays Rebellion in 1786–1787 (Richards 2002; Szatmary 1980). As Richards (2002) notes, this rebellion, while not homogenous in its intent, was a revolt by back-country farmers against fiscal mismanagement and consolidation by Boston mercantile elites who controlled the statehouse. The largely conservative and mercantile-oriented government of Massachusetts used its power to restrict popular participation by farmers and artisans in the western part of the state and passed laws for the addressing of war debt that favored urban bankers (Richards 2002, pp. 74–79). The rebellion, as part of a folk tradition of "regulation", was in part an attempt by communities to arrest their fragmentation by finance capitalism (2002, pp. 63–65) and to reassert political authority. Some communities banded together and marched on courthouses, freeing those imprisoned for debt and shutting down the courts. This inspired real fear in urban mercantile elites of a second revolution and redistribution of wealth, and with the support of privately hired soldiers, the regulation was crushed and its leaders scattered. One of the results of all of this was the reconvening of the constitutional convention and the shift from the Articles of Confederation to the new Constitution which gave greater power to the federal government in military and monetary policy and favored mercantile and nascent manufacturing interests over landed interests (Beard 2004). Another oppositional result was the rise of popular political movements, which came to fruition in the Jeffersonian and Jacksonian political movements of the early nineteenth century (Dobkin-Hall 1984, pp. 83–89). The opposition to these groups led many Urban elites to create institutions to entrench cultural authority, distribute economic risk, and project a face of public-interest in the minds of the increasingly wealth suspicious public. Among these institutions were the Massachusetts society for the Promotion of Agriculture (1792), a major apex of Improvement in New England, whose membership and actions are taken up in the next chapter.

Conclusion: The Landscape of Rural Massachusetts in the Late Eighteenth Century

The above landscape history of the Connecticut River Valley has highlighted certain key processes that interfaced between social and spatial phenomena, and particularly as those phenomena constituted within the cultural logic of Improvement. There were fundamental tensions within rural Massachusetts from the seventeenth century, both internally and in relation to the Algonkian homeland landscape. The archaeological and documentary records are constituted by these kinds of instabilities, with layers of older relations covered over in an attempt to ameliorate those tensions and contradictions (e.g., Matthews 2002, p. 136). Landscape change and social instability are parallel processes.

To briefly summarize, rural Massachusetts was never an isolated, backward place. Algonkian-speaking people utilized a rich array of land-use and subsistence strategies and were connected in complex ways with neighboring and even distant cultural groups. Seventeenth century English settlers arrived in the Northeast spiraling out of a contradictory set of European feudal social relations, which they carried with them, and responded to over the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Interactions between European and Indigenous forces structured broad aspects of social and material life well into the eighteenth century.

The primary means of subsistence of the English colonists, agriculture, was constituted within broader economic, political, and symbolic relations, and which were in contradiction—particularly between the local exchange relations of villages and the long-distance exchange of merchants. The local and the global interpenetrated each other. Ecological relations ordered towards a capitalist marketplace shifted farm- and field-scapes towards new goals. Resources formerly held in common were privatized, and land ownership and use shifted to new regimes of accumulation. Breakdowns in traditional forms of authority created new opportunities as well as new inequalities and contradictions for nonelites, including women, African-Americans, and the landless poor. Social relations that had held in tenuous balance in the eighteenth century became unfamiliar and alienated. “Improvement” was likewise not simply characterized by a series of actions or behaviors to increase yields, but was caught up in the colonial enterprise and the primitive accumulation that proceeded with it. It emerged within a context of shrinking landholdings, growing ecological decay, and social dislocation. Strains were put on the extensive system of agriculture, due to the expanding scale of trade, concentration of land-holdings, and the tensions of partible inheritance in rural towns. These trends squeezed farmers, leading them toward expanding local trade and debt relations, or leading them to outmigrate, or toward alternate means of employment. Alongside this was the loss of cultural and political authority of the River Gods, who had operated as an economic link between the English economy, the colonial economy, and the Connecticut River Valley. This, and the popular uprisings and political movements of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, spurred urban mercantile elites to new action. Finally, slavery and race were structuring principles of rural New England and continued to reverberate in the region even after the abolition of slavery. All of these factors, traceable

back through and preceding the European occupation of the Northeast, created social instabilities that fed the production of a new landscape of Improvement at the turn of the nineteenth century. I will begin to sketch its outlines in the subsequent chapters.

References

Appadurai, A. (1986). Introduction: Commodities and the politics of value. In A. Appadurai (Ed.) *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (pp. 3–63). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Aptheker, H. (1960). *The American Revolution, 1763–1783: A history of the American people: An interpretation*. New York: International.

Bailyn, B. (2000). Slavery and population growth in colonial New England. In P. Temin (Ed.) *Engines of Enterprise* (pp. 253–260). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Batinski, M. C. (2004). *Pastkeepers in a small place: Five centuries in Deerfield, Massachusetts*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press.

Battle-Baptiste, W. (2011). *Black feminist archaeology*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.

Beard, C. (2004). *An economic interpretation of the constitution*. Mineola, NY: Dover.

Beeman, R. (2004). *The varieties of political experience in eighteenth-century America*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Brooks, L. (2008). *The common pot: the recovery of native space in the northeast*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Bruchac, M. M. (2004). Native Presence in Nonotuck and Northampton. In K. W. Buckley (Ed.) *A Place Called Paradise: Culture and Community in Northampton, Massachusetts, 1654–2004* (pp. 18–38). Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press.

Bruchac, M. M. (2005). Earthshapers and placemakers: Reflections on Algonkian Indian stories of the landscape. In H. M. Wobst & C. Smith (Eds.) *Indigenous Archaeologies: Decolonising Theory and Practice* (pp. 56–80). New York: Routledge.

Bruchac, M. M. (2007). *Historical erasure and cultural recovery: Indigenous people in the Connecticut River Valley,* Ph.D. Thesis, University of Massachusetts Amherst, United States—Massachusetts. Retrieved from http://search.proquest.com.silk.library.umass.edu/docview/304849021/abstract?accountid=14572

Bruchac, M. M., & Chilton, E. S. (2002). *From Beaver Hill to Bark Wigwams: Reconsidering archaeology and historical memory in the Connecticut River Valley*. Presented at the Society for Historical Archaeology, Providence, RI.

Bruchac, M. M., & Hart, S. M. (2012). Materiality and autonomy in the Pocumtuck Homeland. *Archaeologies, 8*(3), 293–312. doi:10.1007/s11759-012-9206-z.

Bulger, T. D. (2013). *Scrubbing the whitewash from New England History: Citizenship, race and gender in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Nantucket*. University of California, Berkeley, Berkeley, California. Retrieved from http://escholarship.org/uc/item/44b8t6qn

Calloway, C. G. (1991). *Dawnland encounters: Indians and Europeans in Northern New England*. New Hampshire, England: UPNE.

Calloway, C. (1997). *After King Philip's War: Presence and persistence in Indian New England*. New Hampshire, England: University Press of New England.

Calloway, C. G. (2006). *The scratch of a pen : 1763 and the transformation of North America: 1763 and the transformation of North America*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.

Chan, A. (2007). *Slavery in the age of reason: Archaeology at a New England Farm*. Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press.

Chilton, E. S. (1999). Mobile farmers of pre-contact southern New England: The archaeological and ethnohistoric evidence. In *Current northeast paleoethnobotany* (pp. 157–176). New York.

Chilton, E. S. (2002). "Towns they Have None": Diverse subsistence and settlement strategies in Native New England. In *Northeast subsistence-settlement change: A.D. 700-A.D. 1300* (pp. 289–300). New York State Museum.

Chilton, E. S. (2003). Farming and social complexity in the northeast. In T. Pauketat & D. D. Loren (Eds.),. *North American Archaeology*. Oxford, England: Blackwell.

Chilton, E. S., Ulrich, T., & Rinehart, N. (2005). A reexamination of the DEDIC Paleo-Indian Site, Deerfield, Massachusetts. *Massachusetts Archaeological Society Bulletin, 66*(2), 58–66. Accessed 5 February 2015.

Clark, C. (1975). Household economy, market exchange, and the rise of capitalism in the Connecticut River Valley, 1800–1860. *Journal of Social History, 13*, 169–189.

Clark, C. (1990). *The roots of rural capitalism*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Coontz, S. (1988). *The social origins of private life: A history of American families 1600–1900*. London: Verso.

Cronon, W. (1983). *Changes in the land: Indians, Colonists and the ecology of New England.*. New York: Hill and Wang.

Cumbler, J. T. (2001). *Reasonable use: The people, the environment, and the state, New England 1790–1930: the people, the environment, and the state, New England 1790–1930*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.

Cushing, J. D. (1961). The cushing court and the abolition of slavery in Massachusetts: More notes on the "Quock Walker Case'". *American Journal of Legal History, 5*, 118–144.

Daum, R. C. (2008). *Discovery and investigation of a late seventeenth-century colonial village site: The Hatfield Old Farms settlement*. Unpublished Report on file at the University of Massachusetts Anthropology Department and The Massachusetts Historical Commission.

De Vries, J. (1976). *The economy of Europe in an age of crisis, 1600–1750*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Deetz, J. F. (1996). *In small things forgotten: An archaeology of early American life. expanded and revised*. New York: Anchor Books.

Dincauze, D. F. (1990). A capsule prehistory of southern New England. In L. M. Hauptman & J. D. Wherry (Eds.), *The pequots in southern New England* (pp. 19–32). University of Oklahoma Press.

Dincauze, D. F., & Mulholland, M. T. (1977). Early and middle archaic site distributions and habitats in southern New England. In W. S. Newman & B. Salwen (Eds.) *Amerinds and Their Paleoenvironments in Northeastern North America* (pp. 439–456). New York: New York Academy of Sciences.

Dobkin-Hall, P. (1984). *The organization of American Culture, 1700–1900: Private institutions, elites, and the origins of American nationality*. New York: NYU Press.

Donta, C. L., & Wendt, J. (2006). *Archaeological reconnaissance survey for the Northstar Natural Gas Pipeline, Northampton, Hatfield, and Hadley, Massachusetts*. Boston, MA: UMASS Archaeological Services.

Doughton, T. L. (1997). Unseen neighbors: Native Americans of Central Massachusetts, A people who had "vanished." In C. Calloway (Ed.) After *King Philip's War: Presence and Persistence in Indian New England* (pp. 207–230). New Hampshire, England: University Press of New England.

Fitts, R. K. (1996). The landscapes of northern bondage. *Historical Archaeology, 30*(2), 54–73.

Folbre, N. (1980). Patriarchy in colonial New England. *Review of Radical Political Economics, 12*(2), 4–13.

Folbre, N. (1985). The wealth of patriarchs: Deerfield, Massachusetts, 1760–1840. *Journal of Interdisciplinary History, 16*(2), 199–220.

Foster, D., Donahue, B., Kittredge, D. B., Motzkin, G., Hall, B., Turner, B. L., & Chilton, E. (2008). New England's Forest Landscape: Ecological Legacies and Conservation Patterns Shaped by Agrarian History. In C. L. Redman & D. R. Foster (Eds.), *Agrarian landscapes in transition* (pp. 44–88). New York: Oxford University Press.

Foster, D. R., Motzkin, G., O'Keefe, J. O., Boose, E., Orwig, D., Fuller, J., & Hall, B. (2004). The environmental and human history of New England. In D. R. Foster & J. D. Aber (Eds.) *Forests*

in Time: The Environmental Consequences of 1,000 Years of Change in New England (pp. 43–100). New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
Garman, J. C. (1998). Rethinking "resistant accommodation": Toward an archaeology of African-American lives in southern New England, 1638–1800. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology, 2*(2), 133–160.
Garrison, J. R. (1987). Farm dynamics and regional exchange: The Connecticut Valley beef trade, 1670–1850. *Agricultural History, 61*(3), 1–17. Accessed 2 December 2011.
Garrison, J. R. (1991). *Landscape and material life in Franklin County, Massachusetts, 1770–1860*. Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press.
Greene, L. J. (1942). *The Negro in colonial New England, 1620–1776*. New York: Columbia University Press.
Haefeli, E., & Sweeney, K. M. (2003). *Captors and captives: The 1704 French and Indian raid on Deerfield*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press.
Handsman, R. G. (1992). Illuminating history's silences in the "Pioneer Valley." In D. S. Krass & B. O'Connell (Eds.) *Native People and Museums in the Connecticut River Valley* (pp. 7–28). Northampton, MA: Historic Northampton.
Hart, S. M. (2009). *High stakes: A poly-communal archaeology of the Pocumtuck Fort, Deerfield, Massachusetts (Dissertation)*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Amherst.
Hart, S. M., Chilton, E. S., & Donta, C. L. (2009). Archaeology and native history: 10000 BC to 1700 AD. In M. R. Miller (Ed.), *Cultivating a past: Essays on the history of Hadley, Massachusetts* (pp. 43–67). Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press.
Harvey, D. (1990). *The condition of postmodernity*. Oxford, England: Basil Blackwell.
Harvey, D. (2001). The geography of capitalist accumulation: a reconstruction of the Marxian theory. In D. Harvey (Ed.) *Spaces of Capital: Towards a Critical Geography* (pp. 237–266). New York: Routledge.
Henretta, J. A. (1978). Families and farms: Mentalite in pre-industrial America. *William and Mary Quarterly, 35*, 3–32.
Hood, J. E. (1996). Social relations and the cultural landscape. In R. Yamin & K. B. Metheny (Eds.) *Landscape Archaeology: Reading and Interpreting the American Historical Landscape* (pp. 121–146). Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press.
Hubka, T. (2004). *Big house, little house, back house, barn*. New Hampshire, England: University Press of New England.
Hutchins-Keim, K. (2013). *In pursuit of full freedom: An archaeological and historical study of the free African-American community at parting ways, Massachusetts, 1779–1900, Dissertation*. Boston, MA: Boston University.
Innes, S. (1978). Land tenancy and social order in Springfield, Massachusetts, 1652–1702. *William and Mary Quarterly, 35*, 33–36.
Innes, S. (1984). The Pynchons and the people of early Springfield. In J. W. Ifkovic & M. Kaufman (Eds.) *Early Settlement in the Connecticut Valley* (pp. 22–35). Deerfield, MA: Historic Deerfield.
Johnson, M. (1993). *Housing culture: Traditional architecture in an English landscape*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.
Johnson, M. (1996). *An archaeology of capitalism*. Cambridge, MA: Basil Blackwell.
Johnson, E. (2003). Forest management in the ancient northeast: Evidence from Stockbridge, MA. *Bulletin of the Massachusetts Archaeological Society, 64*(2), 3–43.
Jones, D. L. (1975). The strolling poor: Transiency in eighteenth-century Massachusetts. *Journal of Social History, 8*(3), 28–54. Accessed 24 June 2011.
Keene, A. S., & Chilton, E. S. (1995). *Toward an archaeology of the pocumtuck homeland: Critical archaeology and the UMass Archaeological Field School*. Paper Presented at the Society for American Archaeology Annual Meeting, Minneapolis, MN.
Kulikoff, A. (1992). *The agrarian origins of American capitalism*. Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia.
Kulikoff, A. (2000). *From British peasants to colonial American farmers*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.

Lamoreaux, N. R. (2003). Rethinking the transition to capitalism in the early American northeast. *The Journal of American History, 90*(2), 437–461. doi:10.2307/3659440.

Landon, D. B., & Bulger, T. D. (2013). Constructing community: Experiences of identity, economic opportunity, and institution building at Boston's African meeting house. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology, 17*(1), 119–142. doi:10.1007/s10761-012-0212-z.

Lemon, J. T. (1967). Household consumption in eighteenth century America and its relationship to production and trade. *Agricultural History, 41*, 59–70.

Lemon, J. T. (1984). Spatial order: Households in local communities and regions. In J. P. Greene & J. R. Pole (Eds.) *Colonial British America: Essays in the New History of the Early Modern Era* (pp. 86–122). Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Lewis, Q., Paynter, R., Harlow, E., Reinhart, N., & Martin, A. (2016). Archaeological report on the Frary House/Barnard Tavern, Deerfield, MA. Department of Anthropology, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA.

Martin, M. E. (1939). Merchants and trade in the Connecticut River Valley, 1750–1820. *Smith College Studies in History, 24*.

Martin, J. F. (1991). *Profits in the wilderness: entrepreneurship and the founding of New England towns in the seventeenth century*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.

Marx, K. (1990). *Capital: A critique of political economy*. New York: Penguin.

Matthews, C. N. (2002). *An archaeology of history and tradition: moments of danger in the Annapolis landscape*. New York: Kluwer/Plenum.

Matthews, C. (2012). Emancipation landscapes: Archaeologies of racial modernity and the public sphere in early New York. In J. M. Schablitsky & M. P. Leone (Eds.), *Archaeology and the importance of material things* (Vol. II, pp. 63–92). Rockville, MD: Society for Historical Archaeology.

McArdle, A. (1979). Colonizing behavior in an agricultural population: A case study of seventeenth century Hadley, Massachusetts. In R. Paynter (Ed.), *Ecological anthropology of the middle Connecticut River Valley* (pp. 64–89). Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts.

McBride, K. (1990). The historical archaeology of the Mashantucket Pequots, 1637–1900: A Preliminary Analysis. In L. M. Hauptman & J. D. Wherry (Eds.) *The Pequots of Southern New England* (pp. 96–116). Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press.

Melish, J. P. (1998). *Disowning slavery: Gradual emancipation and "race" in New England, 1780–1860*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press.

Melvoin, R. I. (1984). Communalism in Frontier Deerfield. In J. W. Ifkovic & M. Kaufman (Eds.), *Early settlement in the Connecticut Valley* (pp. 36–61). Deerfield, MA.: Historic Deerfield.

Melvoin, R. I. (1989). *New England outpost: War and society in colonial Deerfield*. New York: W. W. Norton.

Merchant, C. (1989). *Ecological revolutions: Nature, gender and science in New England*. Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press.

Miller, M. R. (2006). *The needle's eye: Women and work in the age of revolution*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press.

Morgan, E. S. (1975). *American slavery American freedom: The ordeal of colonial Virginia*. New York: Norton.

Nassaney, M. (2004). Native American gender politics and material culture in seventeenth-century southeastern New England. *Journal of Social Archaeology, 4*, 334–367.

Nobles, G. (1990). The rise of merchants in rural market towns: A case study of eighteenth-century Northampton, Massachusetts. *Journal of Social History, 24*(1), 5–24.

North, D. C., & Thomas, R. P. (Eds.). (1968). *The growth of the American economy to 1860*. New York: Harper & Row.

Ollman, B. (1993). *Dialectical investigations*. London: Routledge.

Pabst, M. R. (1941). Agricultural trends in the Connecticut Valley region of Massachusetts, 1800–1900. *Smith College Studies in History, 26*.

Patterson, W. A., & Sassaman, K. E. (1988). Indian Fires in the Prehistory of New England. In G. P. Nicholas (Ed.), *Holocene human ecology in northeastern North America* (pp. 107–135). New York Springer.

Paynter, R. (1979). Processual cultural ecology of the middle Connecticut River Valley. In R. Paynter (Ed.) *Ecological anthropology of the middle Connecticut River Valley* (pp. 1–13). Amherst, MA

Paynter, R. (1982). *Models of spatial inequality*. New York: Academic.

Paynter, R. (1985). Surplus flow between frontiers and homelands. In S. W. Green & S. Perlman (Eds.), *The archeology of frontiers and boundaries* (pp. 163–211). Orlando, FL: Academic.

Paynter, R. (2000). Historical archaeology and the Post-Columbian world of North America. *Journal of Archaeological Research, 8*(3), 169–217.

Paynter, R. (2002). Time in the valley: narratives about rural New England. *Current Anthropology, 43*, S85–S101.

Paynter, R. (2007). The orientation of houses in the village of Deerfield: archaeological and documentary evidence of a change in the 18th century. In *Vernacular architecture forum, New England Chapter*. Sturbridge, MA.

Paynter, R., Bruchac, M. M., Castonguay, L., Hart, S. M., & Labrador, A. (2007). *Summary of findings regarding the cultural affiliation of native American collections from the middle Connecticut River Valley in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst*. Report Prepared by members of the University of Massachusetts Amherst, Department of Anthropology Repatriation Committee.

Paynter, R., Lynch, K., Norris, E., & Lewis, Q. (2008). *Archaeological Report on the W.E.B. Du Bois Homesite*. Amherst, MA: Department of Anthropology, University of Massachusetts.

Paynter, R., & Stigers, T. (2003, January). Making and Remaking the Rural New England Village: The Case of Deerfield, Massachusetts. Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology, Providence, RI.

Piersen, W. D. (1993). *Black legacy: America's hidden heritage*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press.

Pomeranz, K. (2000). *The great divergence: China, Europe, and the making of the modern world economy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Reinke, R., & Hood, J. E. (2009). The Fortification of Hadley in the Seventeenth Century. In M. R. Miller (Ed.), *Cultivating the past: Essays on the history of Hadley, Massachusetts* (pp. 68–90). Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press.

Richards, L. L. (2002). *Shays's rebellion: The American revolution's final battle*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press.

Romer, R. (2009). *Slavery in the Connecticut alley of Massachusetts*. Amherst, MA: Levellers Press.

Rothenberg, W. B. (1992). *From market-places to a market economy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Rothenberg, W. B. (2000). The invention of American capitalism: The economy of New England in the federal period. In P. Temin (Ed.), *Engines of Enterprise*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Russell, H. S. (1976). *A long deep furrow*. New Hampshire, England: University Press of New England.

Sahlins, M. (1972). *Stone age economics*. Chicago: Aldine.

Scott, J. C. (1998). *Seeing like a state: How certain schemes to improve the human condition have failed*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Sheldon, G. (1893). Negro slavery in old Deerfield. *New England Magazine, 8*(1), 49–60.

Sheldon, G. (1972). *A history of Deerfield*. New Hampshire, England: New Hampshire Publishing.

Sibley, D. (1995). *Geographies of exclusion: Society and difference in the west*. New York: Psychology Press.

Silliman, S. W. (2009). Change and continuity, practice and memory: Native American persistence in colonial New England. *American Antiquity, 74*(2), 211–230.

Siskind, J. (2002). *Rum and axes: The rise of a Connecticut merchant family, 1795–1850*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Snow, D. R. (1980). *The archaeology of New England*. New York: Academic.

St. George, R. B. (1982). "Set Thine House in Order": The domestication of the Yeomanry in seventeenth-century New England. In J. L. Fairbanks & R. F. Trent (Eds.) *New England Begins: The Seventeenth Century, Volume 2: Mentality and Environment* (pp. 159–351). Boston, MA: Museum of Fine Arts.

Swedlund, A. (1975). Population Growth and Settlement Pattern in Franklin and Hampshire Counties, Massachusetts, 1650–1850. In A. Swedlund (Ed.), *Population studies in archaeology and biological anthropology: A symposium* (pp. 22–33).

Sweeney, K. M. (1984). Mansion people: Kinship, class, and architecture in western Massachusetts in the mid eighteenth century. *Winterthur Portfolio, 19*, 231–256.

Sweeney, K. M. (1985). From wilderness to Arcadian Vale: Material life in the Connecticut River Valley, 1635–1760. In G. W. R. Ward & W. N. Hosley (Eds.) *The Great River, Art and Society of the Connecticut Valley, 1635–1820* (pp. 17–27). Hartford, CT: Wadsworth Atheneum.

Sweeney, K. M. (1986). *River gods and related minor deities: The Williams Family and the Connecticut River Valley, 1637–1790 (Dissertation)*. New Haven, CT: Yale University.

Sweeney, K. M. (1988). Gentleman farmers and inland merchants: The Williams Family and commercial agriculture in pre-revolutionary western Massachusetts. In P. Benes (Ed.), *The Farm* (Vol. 9, pp. 60–73). Boston, MA: Boston University.

Sweeney, K. M. (1993). Meetinghouses, town houses, and churches: Changing perceptions of sacred and secular space in southern New England, 1720–1850. *Winterthur Portfolio, 28*(1), 59–93. Accessed 24 June 2011.

Szatmary, D. P. (1980). *Shay's Rebellion*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press.

Thomas, P. A. (1976). contrastive subsistence strategies and land use as factors for understanding Indian-White relations in New England. *Ethnohistory, 23*(1), 1–18.

Thomas, P. A. (1981). The Fur Trade, Indian Land and the Need to Define adquate "Environmental" Parameters. *Ethnohistory, 28*(4), 359–379.

Thomas, P. A. (1984). Bridging the cultural gap: Indian/White relations. In J. W. Ifkovic & M. Kaufman (Eds.) *Early settlement in the Connecticut River Valley: A Colloquium at Historic Deerfield* (pp. 5–21). Deerfield, Massachusetts and Westfield, Massachusetts: Historic Deerfield/Institute for Massachusetts Studies, Westfield College.

Thomas, P. A. (1985). Cultural change on the southern New England frontier, 1630–1665. In W. W. Fitzhugh (Ed.) *Cultures in Contact: The European Impact on Native Cultural Institutions in Eastern North America, A.D. 1000–1800* (pp. 131–161). Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Winthrop, J. (1864). *Life and letters of John Winthrop: Governor of the Massachusetts-Bay Company at their emigration to New England*. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. Retrieved 2 February, 2015, from https://archive.org/details/lifelettersofjoh00wint.

Wolf, E. R. (1997). *Europe and the people without history*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Woodruff, J., Sawyer, G., & Perry, W. R. (2007). How archaeology exposes the nature of African captivity and freedom in eighteenth and nineteenth-century Connecticut. *Connecticut History, 45*(2).

Ziegenbein, L. (2009). *Inhabiting Spaces, Making Places: Creating a Spatial and Material Biography of David Ruggles*.

Zilberstein, A. (2008). *Planting improvement: The rhetoric and practice of scientific agriculture in northern British America, 1670–1820. Dissertation*. Cambridge, MA: Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Zilversmit, A. (1967). *The first emancipation: The abolition of slavery in the north*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Zilversmit, A. (1968). Quok Walker, Mumbet, and the abolition of slavery in Massachusetts. *William and Mary Quarterly, 25*, 614–624.

Chapter 4
Improvement and Agriculture in Massachusetts at the Dawn of the Nineteenth Century

> *The birth and development of the idea of progress correspond to a widespread consciousness that a certain relationship has been reached between society and nature (including in the concept of nature those of chance and "irrationality") such that … mankind as a whole is more sure of its future and can conceive "rationally" of plans through which to govern its entire life.*
>
> —The Prison Notebooks, Antonio Gramsci (1971, p. 357)

Introduction

In 1816, Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams and his family moved into the house that currently bears his name, in Deerfield, Massachusetts. He conducted substantial renovations to that house (see Chap. 6) and one of his most significant additions was the adding of a second story to a backshot ell—an architectural extension behind the house (see Fig. 4.1). Ells were incredibly common in rural Massachusetts houses at the turn of the nineteenth century. The house Williams purchased likely had an ell attached in the first decade of the nineteenth century. Ells were largely constructed to extend kitchen spaces, as the Williams' house had been, and they created an interior workspace that mediated between the house and the exterior spaces of the house and the barnyard (Garrison 1991, pp. 163–172; Hubka 1986). When placed behind the house, they also allowed the preservation of symmetry which was so aesthetically important in Georgian and neoclassical architecture (Deetz 1996, pp. 156–157; Glassie 1968; Small 2003, pp. 55–56). As they often included, or were connected to kitchens, they had important connotations for gender relations, forcing women's work away from public space and public view (Rotman 2009, p. 108). What they represented, however, was a growing sense of accommodation to the logics and processes of Improvement—of profit and betterment. They constituted it, both in their construction, and in what actions they permitted.

As was discussed in the previous two chapters, Improvement had a variable meaning in England, as well as in the English colonies in what became Massachusetts.

Q.P. Lewis, *An Archaeology of Improvement in Rural Massachusetts*, Contributions To Global Historical Archaeology, DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-22105-2_4

Fig. 4.1 Rear view of the Ebenezer Hinsdale and Anna Williams' House, Deerfield, Massachusetts, showing the house, the rear ell, and the open-air garage. Image courtesy of University of Massachusetts Archaeological Field School

It manifested as practical agricultural transformations designed to increase productivity and profit, the violent conquest of nature (and any individuals racially coded as "natural" such as Algonkian peoples) by culture, the enclosure and privatization of open or commonly managed agricultural land, and the practical theory of agency under the European enlightenment. It was enacted and articulated by individuals with an interest in furthering these goals, particularly merchants, wealthy landowners, and educated elites, but it transcended them, reverberating outwards into a cultural logic (cf. Jameson 1991) of early Federal-period Massachusetts (cf. Small 2003, p. 39).

This chapter takes as its starting point that Improvement in New England was largely enacted by, through, and on agricultural practices and on agriculturally oriented populations. The landscapes of Improvement were primarily agricultural populations. Agriculture was the fundamental form of livelihood for most Americans in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Even as late as 1790, 90 % of all Americans farmed (Cosgrove 1998, p. 175), though this would change as urbanization and industrialization broadened in the nineteenth century. Understanding Improvement as it manifested in Massachusetts requires an understanding of how Massachusetts residents interacted with land, what and how they farmed, and how they organized their farming. Thus, we begin with a broad discussion of farming in rural Massachusetts,

focusing attention on the role of Massachusetts' agriculture both internally and in the broader Atlantic economy. However, agriculture was not merely a means of subsistence or a set of productive activities—it was integrated into social, cultural, and economic life in profound ways that filtered how Improvement spread.

This chapter also discusses some of the phenomena into which that logic materialized and was institutionalized—particularly the publications and societies of Massachusetts agricultural reform. Sometimes called "progressive" agriculturalists (e.g., McMurry 1997) or "reformers" (e.g., Small 2003), the individuals who wrote about Improvement in New England did so didactically, seeking to Improve both practice and people. But writing or institutional change were not the only forms in which Improvement manifested—there were important material and spatial transformations afoot in early nineteenth century Massachusetts, as farmers embraced some aspects of Improvement, merchants and farmers reshaped transportation and other infrastructures, and towns and populations shifted to meet new challenges.

Ells, Convenience, and Economy in Rural Massachusetts

Improvement manifested in subtle ways across rural Massachusetts architecture.[1] Ells played fundamentally with the spatial relationship between interior and exterior, public and private, production and consumption. Seventeenth and eighteenth century hall-and-parlor houses, in which two rooms were separated by a central chimney, manifested in radial work patterns, outward from the hearth, into immediate yards, and outward to fields (St. George 1982). Georgian construction, such as the mansions of the River Gods in the Connecticut River Valley, reconfigured this relationship around notions of privacy and differentiation—ad-hoc rooms came to fulfill distinct roles, and harsher distinctions came to exist between public spaces like streets and private spaces like parlors (Garrison 1991, p. 161). This was paralleled by a neoclassical ornamentation, which located Georgian houses within a distinctive and distinguishing aesthetic order that tied their occupants to the mercantile economy of the Atlantic world (e.g., Leone 1988). Ells were often added to preexisting Georgian homes or were constructed as part of late Georgian or early Federal-period homes (Garrison 1991, pp. 163–165). They became incredibly popular in the first decades of the nineteenth century—in some areas, as many as 60 % of standing housing stock show added ells (Ford 2008; Hubka 2004, p. 20). As mentioned previously, they often extended the space of the kitchen, creating an interior area in which agricultural processing could take place. This had important implications for changing gender relations, as women came to take on productive roles in agricultural diversification (Rotman 2009, pp. 108–110). The Williamses'

[1] The literature on rural New England architectural change in the colonial and early federal periods is vast. There are a number of representative studies to which I am indebted (Cummings 1979; Garrison 1991; Garvan 1951; Hubka 2004; Linebaugh 1994; Small 2003; Sweeney 1984).

addition of a second story to their ell likely created space for servants' quarters, with easy access to the kitchen through a back set of stairs. The term from the early nineteenth century used to describe what ells represented was "convenience" (Garrison 1991, p. 201; Small 2003). Convenience, like Improvement, was a nebulous term, but it too suggested aesthetic, practical, and economic efficiency, as Small notes (Small 2003, p. 56). The origins of the need for such efficiency are difficult to trace, but they were certainly not merely a vernacular response to local conditions. I want to suggest that convenience, like Improvement, was a discursive attempt to come to terms with economic instability wrought by market orientation. It may have had a vernacular deployment, but its necessity was the necessity of managing production and consumption in a new economic regime. It must, itself, be explained beyond a purely idealistic or aesthetic framework.

The Ell materialized an ethic of Improvement because it resolved tensions between market-production and betterment. Ells allowed for individual differentiation of rooms and segmentation of work and home such that one did not immediately impinge or overlap the other. Ells likewise did not (generally) disrupt the pleasing appeal of bilateral symmetry so common in eighteenth and early nineteenth century housing stock. At the same time, they allowed production and processing of agricultural goods (especially dairy materials) to continue indoors, despite inclement weather, light, or other ecological factors. And the Williams' Ell, with its second story, created a path between hired, household labor, and work areas that did not pass through the front parlors.

The History of Progressive Agriculture in New England

Adjacent to the Williamses' back steps was a room that likely contained E.H. Williams' personal library (Longley 1982, pp. 27–29). One of the books in that library (Proper 1990, p. 68) was an agricultural manual entitled *American Orchardist* by Boston-based horticulturalist James Thatcher (Thatcher 1822), published not long after the Williamses completed their household renovations. It is a comprehensive summary of the various methods of keeping and maintaining fruit trees as part of a farm, as well as methods for protecting them from pests. But Thatcher's preface indicates that Improvement in Massachusetts Farms was an uneven process, not universally received, and caught up in broader social tensions:

> I am not unaprized [sic] of the almost invincible prejudice, which prevails among our farmers, against what they term 'book farming,' 'book knowledge,' etc. etc. … . These prejudices exist chiefly among those, whose minds are unenlightened … It must be conceded that almost all improvements are derived from the records of practice and observation; and when we have reason and experience to support, and plain facts to confirm, we may become less tenacious of the rules of our fathers, believing that it may be the reserved privilege of the children, to acquire the skill of producing two spires of grass where their fathers produced but one … Averse to the labour of reading and inquiry, they adhere pertinaciously to the routine of their predecessors, and treat with equal contempt the lessons of experience, and all suggestions of improvement." (Thatcher 1822, pp. iii–iv)

Thatcher was quick to note, however, that mere replacement of old methods by new was not enough. Instead, he urged that the farmer who "possesses capital and leisure" to experiment prove the utility of his practices, and then for them to be adopted by the more general agricultural populace. Such experiments, Thatcher concluded, would show that "a judiciously-cultivated orchard of select fruit, if situated at a convenient distance from a large town or village, would yield an annual profit equal to any production of the industrious husbandman" (Thatcher 1822, p. 10).

There is a powerful rhetoric in this passage, in which both profit and betterment intertwine. There is a distinction between "book farmers" and regular farmers (in other places called "practical farmers"). They are separated ideologically by diverging commitments to tradition versus progressive experimentation and intellectual engagement. They are also separated by wealth, as the experimental farmer is a man who "possesses capital and leisure", and that the goal of experiments, and of improvement, was profit. This suggests that, for Improver writers like Thatcher, and Improver farmers like Williams, Improvement was an unevenly distributed cultural logic. There were distinctions of education, of class, and of more nebulous and idealistic bifurcations of scientific progress versus ignorant tradition. Such distinctions were not mere ideological feints, but were constituted within the history of Improvement in New England, and how it was articulated, socialized, and distributed.

One of the primary forms in which Improvement manifested in Europe, as discussed in the previous chapter, involved utilizing science to increase agricultural productivity. This practice was rooted in class processes, as enterprising landlords and some peasants sought to increase yields and profits from lands. Much of the knowledge about the practices of this form of Improvement was disseminated through publications, and similar forms emerged in Massachusetts. However, such science was uneven, rudimentary, and situated within a worldview that Merchant (1989, pp. 113–145) refers to as the "animate cosmos." This worldview saw the natural world as operating on cyclical, imitative principles, rather than the scientific, mechanistic ones that followed it. As she notes, this implied that "mimicking nature's actions would produce a sympathetic response. Growing crops required rituals that would encourage the cooperation of the natural forces" (1989, p. 116). This worldview was articulated by educated elites, especially ministers at the newly created colleges of Harvard and Yale, in the form of Almanacs. Almanacs specifically for farmers were published in colonial New England as early as the 1670s, and they remained popular in rural households across Massachusetts throughout the early eighteenth century. Some continued to be published into the nineteenth century—the *Old Farmer's Almanac* of Robert B. Thomas is still published and relied on to this day (1989, p. 135). Almanacs included astrological information, essays on agriculture from classical, English, and colonial sources, and "monthly tips on planting, harvesting, and husbandry." (1989, p. 137). Such combining of classical and contemporary sources, as well as science and astrology, would become the subject of scorn among the mechanistic nineteenth century Improvers, as we shall see in (see Chap. 5).

Several writers or contributors to Almanacs straddled the line between animate thinking and mechanistic thinking. This was certainly true of Jared Eliot, one of the New England's first improver-writers (1685–1763). He was a graduate of both Yale (1706) and Harvard (1709) and a resident of New Haven Connecticut, where he served as a minister, and later as a medical doctor before devoting his attention to agriculture. Eliot wrote multiple essays on farming in the 1740–1750s (e.g., Eliot 1811). The techniques he advocated were primarily within the realm of intensification (Grasso 1999, pp. 190–193), and he was particularly insistent that farmers utilize new, deep-plowing soil methods to increase yields. But most importantly, he saw a need for knowledge of scientific practices to be socially shared and disseminated, rather than adopted on an ad-hoc or individual basis. In his letters and papers, he advocated for the dissemination of agricultural knowledge through journals, with the idea that such knowledge would improve the general character of New England's farming practices.

> It might serve to increase useful Knowledge, if something of this Nature were Published every Year, giving a faithful Account of the Success of all the Experiments and trials that may be made on various sorts of Land, and of divers Sorts of Grains, Roots, Grass and Fruits, not only such as we have in Use, as also what we have not as yet introduced among us… There are few men of Business, Ingenuity, and Observation, but what have found out Things valuable and useful, but for Want of some proper Method to communicate them, they die with the Discoveries, and are lost to Mankind. (Eliot, quoted in North and Thomas 1968, p. 140)

This goal, proposed by Eliot, would ultimately emerge in the foundation of the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture (MSPA), and its subsequent publications and philosophical descendants (Thornton 1989, pp. 57–84; Zilberstein 2008).

The MSPA was founded in 1792, the third such society in the United States after the Philadelphia society and the Charleston Society. The great irony of the MSPA, as Thornton notes, is that the men who founded it were not engaged in agriculture as their primary laboring pursuit (Thornton 1989, p. 58). Rather, they were Boston-based political and economic elites, primarily lawyers, magistrates, politicians, and merchants. Though it may have been ironic, the MSPA's composition was not accidental. This is because, as Thornton notes, agriculture was not merely a system of production—it embodied a range of moral, social, and political ideals and relationships (1989, p. 2). Harsh distinctions between urban and rural life, as social and symbolic formations, were prevalent in the eighteenth century, and the professions of these men, as well as, in some cases, the men themselves, were held in high suspicion by the majority of the populace of rural Massachusetts. Particularly after the upheavals of Shay's Rebellion, where urban merchants speculated on colonial script to the detriment of back-country farmers, urban elites (some of whom had, out of necessity, close relationships with British merchants and politicians) sought the positive symbolic associations of farming as a way to mute or deflect criticism and protect their social authority.

The MSPA included a number of important early American statesmen such as Fischer Ames, John Adams, and Josiah Quincy, among others. It also included the father and brother of E.H. Williams, though he himself was not listed as a member.

The MSPA received a formal charter from the state legislature (Thornton 1989, p. 57). Later, it received money from the legislature to cover the costs of printing agricultural essays, beginning in 1814, but this funding was not sustained after the 1820s (True 1929, p. 12).[2] In the meetings of this society, and in its publications, members would discuss agricultural experiments, debate the merits of various crops or animal breeds, and advocate for new techniques or methods of farming. The stated purpose of these experiments, manifested in agricultural publications, was to experiment and then disseminate acquired knowledge of agriculture to "practical farmers," i.e., those who primarily relied on agriculture for their livelihood. The MSPA sought to manifest the goals that Eliot had articulated 50 years earlier.

Some archaeological work has been conducted on MSPA members and other early Massachusetts Improvers. Archaeological excavations at Gore Place in Waltham, Massachusetts have uncovered a strikingly elaborate archaeological and landscape assemblage of a scientific Improver (C. Beranek et al. 2013; C. M. Beranek et al. 2011; Romo and Beranek 2014). The house is named for Christopher Gore (1758–1827), a prominent Boston lawyer, and eventual Governor and US Senator from Massachusetts. Gore used his estate in Waltham as a site for agricultural experiments, constructing an elaborate Greenhouse in the early nineteenth century, which he and his wife, and subsequent house owners maintained until after 1841. The greenhouse fit with contemporary ideas about horticulture as described in manuals and contained a number of exotic and rare plants, a record of which can be found in a wide range of mid-sized potting plants recovered from the survey. Beranek points out that while Gore described himself to his constituents as a "practical farmer," his Greenhouse was costly, labor-intensive, and meant largely for ornamentation rather than productivity (C. Beranek et al. 2013, pp. 92–94). Likewise, Beaudry's long-term research on landscape change at the Spencer-Peirce-Little house points to the materiality and landscapes of a late eighteenth century Improver (Beaudry 1995, 1998, 2001). Originally built in the mid-sixteenth century, the farm was taken over by MSPA member Nathaniel Tracy in 1778. Ironically, Tracy's transformation of the landscape was probably fairly minimal compared to the subsequent ownership by Offin Boardman, another aspiring merchant. Boardman built a number of outbuildings, and many of the subsurface features on the property that Beaudry and her students recovered seem to date to Boardman's occupation in the early nineteenth century. Subsequent tenant farmers, some of whom became owners of the property, also used it as a working farm (Mascia 1996). Indeed, though the MSPA members were largely characterized by their wealth and their interest in agricultural experimentation, the period of Improvement which followed them may actually represent a more substantial archaeological record of landscape change, as we shall see. Lamoreux also notes that experimentation within both agri-

[2] Though the state of Massachusetts was invested in agricultural policy, this was a period pre-dating federal involvement in agricultural matters. The US department of agriculture would not be founded until 1862. Prior to this, agricultural affairs were dealt with under the auspices of the department of the interior, and prior to that, in the US Patent office, and then only beginning in 1837 (Danhof 1969, pp. 67–68).

culture and manufacturing activities accelerated in the 1820s (Lamoreaux 2003, p. 457).

Thornton argued that the MSPA was unable to sustain its vision of didactic agricultural Improvement. The MSPA had published papers (Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture 1799; e.g., Trustees of the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture 1799), but they were not widely read or distributed as a general periodical, but were rather largely circulated among members. As Thornton (1989, p. 70) notes, their initial efforts to elicit practical farming subscribers, contributors, and applicants for prizes were largely rebuffed. What changed, especially in the first two decades of the nineteenth century, were the growth of local agricultural societies and fairs, which the MSPA encouraged. The Berkshire County agricultural fair began in 1811, and the Hampshire, Franklin, and Hampden county agricultural society was formed in 1817 and held annual agricultural fairs from that point on. These fairs, as Pabst noted, "were to benefit directly the ordinary farmers" (Pabst 1941, p. 22), showing off new tools and providing an opportunity for networking. The state of Massachusetts did appropriate moneys to help sustain regional or county societies, beginning in 1819 (True 1929, p. 26). This move towards agricultural fairs and county societies marked a shift in how Improved agricultural knowledge was disseminated. Emblematic of this shift was the publication of New England's first agricultural newspaper, *New England Farmer*.

New England Farmer was one of the most prominent of the agricultural journals of the early nineteenth century. As Thornton (Thornton 1989, pp. 238–239) notes, this publication came to be the *de facto* publication of the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture, publishing articles by its members, and announcing Society business. In addition to practical discussions of crop management, animal husbandry, land management, and other practices related to the running of a farm, it also included longer essays on philosophy and politics, digested snippets of national and international news, poems, proverbs, and some advertisements. It also, on occasion, included letters from regional farmers, suggesting new practices or discussing their experiments with agriculture.

New England Farmer began publication in 1822. The journal, published weekly, was edited for the first decade and a half of its existence by Thomas Green Fessenden (1771–1837). Fessenden was a regionally renowned man of letters. Apart from writing poetry and editing a variety of New England newspapers in Massachusetts and New Hampshire, he wrote politically conservative tracts, including a Federalist, anti-Jeffersonian pamphlet entitled "Democracy Unveiled" (Fessenden 1805) in which he criticized the populist rhetoric and practices of Jefferson and his supporters. He attended Harvard, and after unsuccessful attempts to make money as a new patent investor, he founded *New England Farmer* in 1822, which he edited until his death in 1837. He was well-connected in coastal elite circles—his obituary was written by his friend Nathaniel Hawthorne (1883).

New England Farmer in 1822 marked a significant shift in the outlook and distribution of agricultural Improvers. In the prospectus of the journal, published in the first issue, Fessenden used democratic language to spur its readership. He noted that its purpose was so that "every farmer should know … .what is [being done] by others engaged in the same occupation, and that he should impart to others the fruits of

his own experiments and observations" (Fessenden 1822). The purpose of journals like *New England Farmer* was to bring Improvement out of the realm of the elite "theoretical farmers" and into the broader masses of farmers. The language likewise played with regionalized symbolic identities. Fessenden wrote that *New England Farmer* was necessary because agricultural publications published elsewhere "cannot be so conveniently circulated in New England" and that "the matter contained in those papers is not always adapted to the soil and climate" of the region. This suggests an environmental and geographical delineation and as we shall see, such regionalism formed an important plank of how Improvers and agricultural reformers positioned themselves as national subjects.

Though the journal was focused on knowledge and agricultural science, it did not merely reprint agricultural essays, or entirely staid, sober prose. There are numerous poems scattered throughout the journal's "miscellanies" sections, and there are frequently ironic or humorous articles, as well as proverbs and apocryphal stories. There are letters from pigs to Improvers arguing for their utility and worth ("The Committee On Swine" 1832), racialized mock-Irish (cf. Hill 1998) jokes and stories (e.g., Anonymous 1828), and lyric poems lauding farming (e.g., New England Farmer 1835).

New England Farmer's combination of practical and philosophical essays, moral injunction, and democratic pretense make it a particularly rich resource for contextualizing the spatiality and materiality of Improvement. However, one of the problems with the journal is that it largely ignored regional differences in climate, geography, and ecology within Massachusetts. This is, perhaps, unsurprising—Improvement was predicated upon the idea that any place was potentially "improvable" given the right methods and work-ethic. However, there were historical, cultural, economic, and ecological variations in Massachusetts farming, and as we shall see, the Williams family in Deerfield was tied to these regional processes within the Connecticut River Valley. Therefore, it behooves us to broadly sketch the agricultural practices of the Connecticut River Valley.

Farming in the Connecticut River Valley

Timothy Dwight, a famed minister, farmer, and president of Yale University, toured the Northeast at the end of the eighteenth century and described in great detail what he saw in his multi-volume *Travels in New England and New York*, published in the second quarter of the nineteenth century (Dwight 1823a, b, c, d). Dwight recorded an incredible range of environmental, social, architectural, and cultural features, but his remarks on the Connecticut River Valley bear particular scrutiny. Dwight spent a great deal of his travels in the Connecticut River Valley and commented favorably upon much of what he saw there. In writing about Deerfield's quality as a town, he painted a picture of Improvement in agriculture and architecture:

> The buildings are generally neat; and exhibit everywhere a tidy, thrifty appearance. The inhabitants are generally farmers, and of the first class in this country. Few places can boast larger crops; and none of finer, fatter beeves [sic]. Indeed, the stall-fed beef of this, and

> other towns in the county of Hampshire, is proverbially distinguished throughout the northern parts of the United States. (Dwight 1823c, p. 55)

However, in his writings, Dwight juxtaposed the industrious farming population of Valley towns like Deerfield with the hill and upland towns, which he described as possessing houses that were "small, and indifferent in their appearance" (Dwight 1823b, p. 360). He grouped together the upland towns culturally and ecologically with the northern villages in Vermont, largely due to their more recent settlement and incorporation than the Valley towns (Cumbler 2001, p. 13). Dwight was not impressed with the people in these settlements, blithely dismissing them as "foresters, or Pioneers" who "reduce part of the forests into fields, half-enclosed, and half-cultivated … [they] feed a few cattle, and with these, and on the penurious products of their labour … they keep their families alive" (Dwight 1823c, p. 459). Dwight saw upland residents as simultaneously reckless and lazy, dismissive of science and, perhaps referencing the preponderance of upland farmers in Shay's Rebellion, decried them as incapable of "a ready submission to lawful authority" (Dwight 1823c, p. 462).

The relationship between the western and eastern uplands, and the Connecticut River Valley, was a complicated one, economically, socially, and culturally. Dwight was correct that the upland towns had been primarily settled much later, radiating outward from seventeenth century Valley settlements, and largely as a function of expulsion or pacification of Indigenous groups following the end of the French and Indian Wars. Because of this radial settlement pattern, upland towns built strong relationships with Valley towns—The "stall-fed Beef" mentioned by Dwight consisted of animals raised on upland farms, sold to Valley farmers, and then fed on Valley-grown grain before being driven to market (Garrison 1987, 1991, pp. 66–79; Sheldon 1898). It was also a central plank of E.H. Williams' livelihood (see Chap. 6). But suffice it to say, the stall-fed oxen trade implicated Valley farmers and hill-town farmers in the broader regional and Atlantic economies—it was not an isolated "subsistence" practice.

Agriculture in rural Massachusetts has historically been quite diverse, though perhaps not as diverse as the Algonkian-mixed subsistence that preceded it. One of the most important characteristics of New England, noted in the many local and regional overviews of agriculture (e.g., Bidwell and Falconer 1941; Danhof 1969; Garrison 1987; Geib 1981; Pabst 1941; Pruitt 1984; Russell 1976; Sweeney 1988), was that, unlike the Southern United States and the Caribbean (the other significant exporting poles of the English-based Atlantic world system), New England never had intensive periods of monocropping, or regions specifically devoted to single crops at the exclusion of all else. Some of this had to do with climate; New England's temperate climate with wild seasonal fluctuations in temperature and frost cover contrasted with the long, even growing seasons of more Southern climes. But more generally, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Connecticut River Valley's role in the Atlantic economy was largely provisional—farmers provided a variety of food surpluses that could be shipped out onto the Atlantic world, especially to Caribbean plantations (Bailyn 2000; Pabst 1941, p. 11; Siskind 2002).

In exchange, farmers received finished goods for personal consumption, and Clark suggests that most farming households in the Connecticut River Valley spent 25 % of their income on purchasing imported goods (Clark 1990, p. 28).

The Connecticut River Valley was an epicenter of agriculture, from its colonization by the English in the 1630s. Indeed, by 1640, William Pynchon was already shipping Valley-grown agricultural surpluses to the Caribbean (Zimmerman et al. 1988, p. 241). After the beaver bubble collapsed, in the wake of the internecine conflicts of the seventeenth century (Thomas 1984), the primary export products of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century were wheat and beef. Wheat was an especially popular crop in the lush Connecticut River Valley. Russell has described the Connecticut River Valley as "the breadbasket of New England" (see also Innes 1983, p. xvi; Russell 1976, p. 68). A wheat blight in the middle decades of the eighteenth century, along with wheat-induced soil exhaustion (Cronon 1983, pp. 154–155; Zimmerman et al. 1988, p. 242), decreased the volume of wheat substantially, and corn (or "Indian corn" as contemporaries referred to it) took up much of the slack, as did Rye. Corn was likewise quite demanding on soil, and soil exhaustion and ecological dislocation were problems that Improvers spent substantial energy trying to remedy (see Chap. 8). The Connecticut River Valley likewise experimented with other cash crops, including tobacco, which is documented to have been cultivated in Deerfield in the late seventeenth century (Russell 1976, p. 75) and would emerge there again in the late nineteenth century as a prominent cash crop (Russell 1976, p. 274), a record of which can be seen in the long narrow tobacco barns that dot the Valley floor from Vermont to Connecticut (Garrison 1991, pp. 90–92). Fruits and other garden produce also circulated within the market economy, and gardens were a frequent component of rural yards. E.H. Williams' neighbor and distant cousin, William Stoddard Williams kept a detailed map of his garden plot, which contained a vast number of fruits, vegetables, and root crops (Garrison 1991, pp. 145–146). The cultivation of apples was a long-standing practice in the Connecticut River Valley. Mehuman Hinsdale, the original lot owner of the land on which the E.H. and Anna Williams' house rests, grew enough apples in the early eighteenth century to cart them from Deerfield to Northampton (Russell 1976, p. 79). Williams himself continued this tradition, keeping large orchards on his various properties, and, as noted above, keeping abreast of the growing literature on apples and orcharding, a subject that would grow in cultural, if not economic, importance during the nineteenth century (cf. Henris 2009). Other market crops popular in the Valley included broom corn, which was lucrative, but provided no means of subsistence as it was only for commercial sale (Garrison 1991, p. 87).

Upland agriculture, when not implicated in the stall-fed beef trade, was more diverse and arguably smaller in scale than in the Valley. Though often entrepreneurial in outlook (Garrison 1991, pp. 96–97), and initially mirroring the intensive, market-driven agriculture of the lowlands, farmers in upland towns faced higher transportation costs and thinner (though still farmable) soils. Many upland farmers did follow Dwight's description, engaging in forestry and logging (Cumbler 2001, p. 12; Garrison 1991, p. 103; Merchant 1989, pp. 221–226). Western upland towns in particular focused on sheep or other pastoral production (Garrison 1997, pp. 104–109).

Paynter argues that, over the course of the mid-to-late nineteenth century, Hill and upland towns shifted away from the labor-intensive agriculture of the Valley towns towards less labor-intensive strategies like those listed above (Paynter 1985, pp. 198–200). The growth of industrialization was likewise a driver of hill-town subsistence, providing both a source of employment (and unemployment if they failed) and creating new urban markets for hill and valley market produce (Pabst 1941, p. v).

A key factor in farm success was acreage. Scholars have determined some averages for farm acreage in the Connecticut River Valley around 1800. Clark notes that the average for Amherst, a relatively newer town, was 50 acres (Clark 1990, p. 62). Hatfield, just to the south of Deerfield, was comparable (Kubiak, quoted in Clark 1990, p. 62). Estimates by early nineteenth century commentators suggest that 80–150 acres were necessary for a productive surplus-oriented farm, though these may be overestimating farmers' engagement with the market (Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture 1819, p. 320). But this average obscures substantial differences in both social and ecological distribution and the history of land. For example, in 1835, three years before his death, E.H. Williams mortgaged his prime agricultural land, known as Carter's Land, to the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company. This parcel, described in detail and depicted in Fig. 4.2, consisted of 240 acres nestled in the western joint of the Connecticut and Deerfield Rivers and was valued at over $4000 dollars. This land was flat, well-saturated and regularly drained, and located just over a mile from Williams' home in Deerfield village. Williams owned other lands around Deerfield and even some land in neighboring towns at this time, but this parcel alone would put him towards the higher end of farm sizes in the Connecticut River Valley in the early 1800s (Pabst 1941, p. 19). This was also some of the most fertile and well-positioned land in the three counties. Compare this, for example, with Aaron Goss, whose farm in the remote hill town of Erving was listed on the 1823 Tax records as containing around 75 acres, and in a mortgage to his father, was valued at around $200 dollars (Mulholland et al. 2014, p. 146). There were differences between the socio-economics of hill and valley farms as well. Pabst's (1941, pp. 20–21) examination of farm advertisements from 1800 to 1805 shows that nearly twice as many hill farms were offered for sale than valley farms. The total number of farms was small (17 in 1800, 32 in 1805), but of these, the majority of hill farms were offered at Sherriff's sale, indicating that they were seized for unpaid debt, while the majority of valley farms were offered for private sale. This may not be a reflection of relative wealth of hill and valley towns, but perhaps may in fact indicate the extent to which hill farmers had to spend more money, and therefore go into more debt, to make their upland farms profitable.

Hill-towns, as a whole, lost population over the course of the nineteenth century. Table 4.1 shows the populations of towns from Franklin, Hampden, and Hampshire Counties[3] in Massachusetts from 1765 until 1840. These counties were agglomerated as Hampshire County prior to 1811 and contain all of the towns in the Connecticut River Valley and its hill towns. In 1800, the population of the towns

[3] Hereafter the "the three counties".

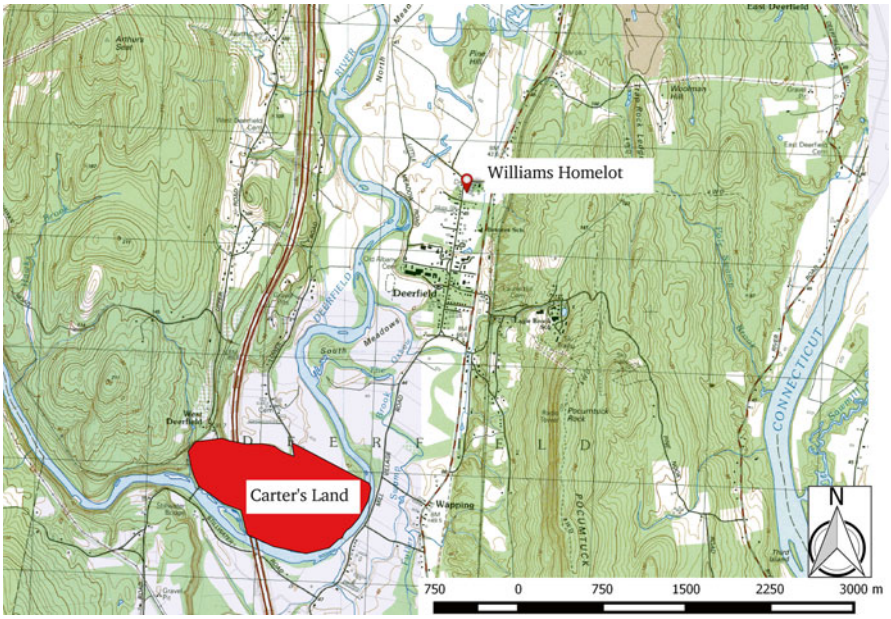


Fig. 4.2 Map showing the location of Carter's Land farm, the Williams' Homelot, and environs. The location of Carter's land is based on a close reading of an 1835 deed (see Table A.9-Book 72, p. 358) in which Williams mortgaged this property. The description of the property in this deed was lined up with contemporary landmarks, and the measured and listed acreages are similar. However, what is shown here is a close approximation of the actual location of Carter's land

comprising un-separated Hampshire County was 72,641 people. This was an extensive growth from only 40 years earlier, when the population consisted of 19,438 people. The population would continue to grow—by 1840, the three counties would number 94,871 individuals. Thus, the towns of the Connecticut River Valley grew almost fivefold in population between 1765 and 1840. This growth would essentially outpace the growth in the state as a whole, which grew only by a factor of three during the same period. Between 1765 and 1820, no towns lost population. However, between 1820 and 1840, 23 towns in Franklin, Hampden, and Hampshire county experienced population declines. Some of this was of course due to town boundaries being reshaped—for example, the town of Holyoke was settled in 1745, but it was not incorporated until 1850, meaning that its population was included in parts of Springfield and Northampton. However, spatializing the towns which experienced population loss shows that almost all of them were in upland areas. This is the "depopulation of the hill towns" discussed in much regional historical literature on Massachusetts and the Connecticut River Valley (Klimm 1933; Pabst 1941; Paynter 1985). Klimm's geographical approach to this problem (Klimm 1933) highlighted environmental factors, arguing that the towns that lost population did so because of poor soils and difficult climate. Farmers living in upland areas were

Table 4.1 Population data for Towns in the Connecticut River Valley and adjacent hill towns. Blanks indicate dates before which the town was settled or after which it was disbanded or agglomerated

Town	County	1765	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840
Amherst	Hampshire	645	1233	1358	1469	1917	2631	2550
Belchertown	Hampshire	418	1485	1878	2270	2426	2491	2554
Chesterfield	Hampshire	161	1183	1323	1408	1447	1416	1132
Cummington	Hampshire		873	985	1009	1060	1261	1237
Easthampton	Hampshire		457	586	660	712	745	717
Enfield	Hampshire					873	1056	976
Goshen	Hampshire		681	724	652	632	617	556
Granby	Hampshire		596	786	850	1066	1064	971
Greenwich	Hampshire	434	1045	1460	1225	778	813	824
Hadley	Hampshire	573	882	1073	1247	1461	1686	1814
Hatfield	Hampshire	803	703	809	805	823	893	933
Middlefield	Hampshire		608	877	822	755	720	1717
Northampton	Hampshire	1285	1628	2190	2631	2854	3613	3750
Norwich	Hampshire		742	959	968	849	795	750
Pelham	Hampshire	371	1040	1144	1185	1278	904	956
Plainfield	Hampshire		458	797	977	936	984	910
Prescott	Hampshire						758	780
South Hadley	Hampshire	817	759	801	902	1047	1185	1458
Southampton	Hampshire	437	829	983	1171	1160	1244	1157
Ware	Hampshire	485	773	997	996	1154	2045	1890
Westhampton	Hampshire		683	756	793	896	918	759
Williamsburg	Hampshire		1049	1176	1122	1087	1236	1309
Worthington	Hampshire		1116	1223	1391	1276	1179	1197
Blandford	Hampden	406	1416	1778	1613	1515	1590	1427
Brimfield	Hampden	773	1211	1384	1325	1612	1599	1419
Chesterfield	Hampden	1119	1119	1542	1534	1526	1407	1632
Granville	Hampden	682	1979	2309	1504	1643	1649	1414
Holland	Hampden		428	445	420	453	453	423
Longmeadow	Hampden		744	973	1036	1171	1257	1270
Ludlow	Hampden		560	650	730	1246	1327	1268
Monson	Hampden	389	1331	1635	1674	2126	2263	2151
Montgomery	Hampden		449	560	595	604	579	740
Palmer	Hampden	508	809	1039	1114	1197	1237	2139
Russell	Hampden			431	422	491	507	955
Southwick	Hampden		841	867	1229	1255	1355	1214
Springfield	Hampden	2755	1574	2312	2767	3914	6784	10,985
Tolland	Hampden				798	692	723	627
Wales	Hampden						665	686
South Brimfield	Hampden		574	606	774	645	683	
Westfield	Hampden	1324	2204	2185	2130	2668	2940	3526

(continued)

Table 4.1 (continued)

Town	County	1765	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840
West Springfield	Hampden		2367	2835	3109	3246	3270	3626
Wilbraham	Hampden	491	1555	1743	1776	1979	2034	1864
Ashfield	Franklin		1459	1741	1809	1748	1732	1610
Bernardston	Franklin	230	691	780	811	912	918	992
Buckland	Franklin		718	1041	1097	1037	1039	1084
Charlemont	Franklin		665	875	987	1081	1065	1127
Zoar	Franklin		78	215	120	150	129	
Coleraine	Franklin	297	1417	2014	2016	1961	1877	1971
Conway	Franklin		2092	2013	1784	705	1563	1409
Deerfield	Franklin	737	1330	1531	1570	1868	2003	1912
Erving	Franklin				160	331	488	309
Gill	Franklin			700	762	800	864	798
Greenfield	Franklin	368	1498	1254	1165	1361	1540	1756
Hawley	Franklin			878	1031	1089	1037	977
Plantation No. 7	Franklin		539					
Heath	Franklin		379	604	917	1122	1199	895
Leverett	Franklin		524	711	769	857	939	875
Leyden	Franklin		989	1095	1009	974	796	632
Monroe	Franklin						265	282
Montague	Franklin	392	906	1122	934	1074	1152	1255
New Salem	Franklin	375	1543	1949	2107	2146	1889	1305
Northfield	Franklin	415	868	1047	1218	1584	1757	1673
Orange	Franklin	784	766	764	829	880	1501	
Rowe	Franklin	443	575	839	851	716	703	
Shelburne	Franklin		1183	1079	961	1022	995	1022
Shutesbury	Franklin	330	674	930	939	1029	986	987
Sunderland	Franklin		462	537	551	597	666	719
Warwick	Franklin	191	1246	1233	1227	1256	1150	1071
Wendell	Franklin		519	737	983	958	874	875
Whately	Franklin		736	773	891	1076	1111	1072
Total		19,438	59,841	72,641	76,601	82,804	92,814	94,871

Data source: Benton (1905) and Chickering (1846)

"cursed by geography," and forced to leave when the soils would not yield up enough produce. Paynter evaluated this explanation and found that it did not explain the population loss (1985, p. 188). Drawing on Pabst's (1941) study of Connecticut River Valley agriculture, he located the source of the depopulation within changing productive relations. Seeing a correlation between elite interests in spatial consolidation, and finding little evidence of ecological degradation or lineal crisis as factors of population decline, Paynter instead argues that industrialization in urban areas around Springfield and Greenfield spurred a reorganization of upland production (Paynter 1985, p. 199).

Instability and Crisis in the Rural Economy

Paynter's analysis of the hill-towns depopulation as resulting from broader-scale processes of political–economic change echoes his earlier (1982) study of settlement and spatial patterning in the Connecticut River Valley. Paynter argued most incisively that "the transformation of North American culture is not to be explained by appealing solely to local level processes" (Paynter 1982, p. 237). In other words, understanding farming, Improvement, and landscape change in the region cannot be solely reduced to the commonsense understandings of the rural world as isolated, backward, or out of time. The Connecticut River Valley was changing due to long-distance processes that transcended its hilly borders. Paynter specifically singles out two processes as indicative of transformation—centralization of people, surplus, and wealth in and around Springfield after 1820, and the gradual de-peripheralization of the Connecticut River Valley from central core areas (1982, pp. 234–235). This de-peripheralization—the shift of the Connecticut River Valley from being an extractive-based periphery to a British core, to New England as a whole becoming a "core" in its own right—spurred social and spatial dislocation, wealth concentration, and ecological degradation. Economic and social instability were not spurred by an intrusion of industrial capitalism into a preexisting idyllic rural landscape, populated with thrifty and subsistence-oriented yeomen.

Indeed, it is not clear whether "subsistence farming" was ever particularly in existence in rural Massachusetts, for a few reasons. First, many rural farmers were caught up in complicated debt relations that linked them to the Atlantic economy and required at least a nominal participation in long-distance markets. Some of these relations were relatively benign—Clark's "local exchange", discussed in the previous chapter, manifested as chains of long-term debt, whose terms of payment were unspecified, but dictated largely by custom. By contrast, the Pynchons had mobilized debt as a tool of social control in seventeenth century Springfield (Innes 1978; Paynter 2002, p. S88), reigning in political dissent by zealously maintaining or expanding unpaid debts. In the early nineteenth century, poorer farmers often bought farms on loans or with credit, and paying these back required significant investment in profit-oriented agriculture. In 1831, an editorial in *New England Farmer*, describing the problems and possibilities of Massachusetts agriculture, noted that "Farmers are getting out of debt. They are paying off their mortgages, either from the produce of their farms or by the sale of them, generally to *farmers* who will manage them independently" (quoted in Pabst 1941, p. 25, emphasis in original). This is perhaps damning with faint praise—it suggests that many farmers had been in debt and were required to be in order to even possess farms.

But beyond this investment in credit relations, markets were notoriously unstable, amoral, and linked to elite power. The cut-off of trade with Britain in the years following the American Revolution sent many rural Massachusetts farmers into dire straits. During the war, prices fluctuated wildly. Russell quotes the price of wheat in Greenfield, just north of Deerfield, as being 25 times in 1779 what it had been in 1776 (Russell 1976, p. 125). Such inflated prices declined precipitously in the

1780s, resulting from inflation and the aforementioned credit crises that led to Shay's Rebellion (Richards 2002, pp. 79–88). The 1790s until the Jeffersonian embargo of 1807 were an expansionary period, when war between England and France presented farmers with greedy markets for their surplus produce (Zimmerman et al. 1988, p. 244). However, many farmers banked on this prosperity, going into debt to expand houses and outbuildings, purchasing land, and buying new farms (Garrison 1991, p. 76). When prices fell during the embargo, many farmers went bust. The embargo was lifted in 1809, but then prices fell again during the war of 1812. Following the end of the war in 1815, markets opened again, and post-Napoleonic Europe drew vast amounts of American agricultural exports, sending cheap manufactured goods into the country. But the general rise in productivity, coupled with widespread laissez-faire banking and fiscal policy, led to a massive bubble, which burst in 1818, and led to the Panic of 1819 (Dupre 2006; Rothbard 1962), not dissimilar in some ways to the financial crisis that precipitated Shay's Rebellion, 30 years before. Ostensibly a banking crisis, the interdigitation of rural Massachusetts into urban trade, credit, and monetary networks meant that the crisis reverberated throughout the back-country and set many farmers against banks, urban elites, and the politicians who aided them (Dupre 2006, pp. 276–277). It also led to a depression, following the immediate renunciation of the crisis, which characterized much of the early 1820s.

The power of such crises was not lost on agricultural reformers and urban elites. As Small (2003, pp. 9–10) notes, Nathaniel Fiske, a conservative minister from Brookfield, Massachusetts, advocated scientific farming and Improvement in the 1790s as a means of reorienting the back-country towards nationalistic hegemony. The formation of agricultural societies would, in Fiske's argument, create "an inquisitive and improving era," in which farming became subsumed "under the direction of reason and judgment, of thought and contrivance, of philosophy and system" (quoted in Small 2003, pp. 9–10). Likewise, the broader growth of cultural institutions such as agricultural societies was part of a rear-guard action by urban conservatives and their allies to transfer economic power into cultural authority, in the wake of Jacksonian discontent. As Peter Dobkin-Hall so persuasively argued, the descendants of the eighteenth century "standing order" were largely merchants and lawyers who parlayed their previous generations' economic and political authority into a newfound cultural authority, through an investment in new institutions like schools, libraries, and other educational institutions (Dobkin-Hall 1984, pp. 87–88). Such institutions shifted the framework of social achievement and authority from preexisting wealth and familial connection to meritocracy, and "rested on the willingness of [Boston's] leading institutions and families to include the talented" as long as "such inclusion [was] orderly and structured" (1984, p. 75). At the same time, the education offered by such institutions to non-elite individuals was hegemonic, and "[habituated] individuals to certain standards of behavior and modes of self-control" (Dobkin-Hall 1984, p. 90). In other words, the mercantile elites of late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Boston sought to link profit and betterment into institutional arrangements. While Dobkin-Hall does not specifically single out agricultural Improvement institutions and societies in his account, the growth and

development of the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture (MSPA), the regional societies that followed it, and the preeminent journal *New England Farmer* presents compelling parallels to his analysis (see also Brooke 2005 for a similar conclusion). I do not want to indicate a strictly causal framework between the economic instability of the early Federal period and the rise of scientific agriculture. Such an argument would be overly deterministic and not born out by the variation and diversity of early Federal culture, economics, and materiality. It is enough to say that they emerged in parallel, and that Improvers articulated anxieties about the complexities of economic instability and social dislocation.

Conclusion

Improvement was the thread that linked together these local agricultural, architectural, institutional, and economic processes. Improvement, as a cultural logic, reverberated across Massachusetts, and especially in the Connecticut River Valley. It was particularly salient to agriculture, but this may be a function of how integral agriculture was to Federal period Massachusetts, rather than a generalized affinity between the two processes. But because improvement was what Paynter called a "long-distance process," it simultaneously transcended the context of the Connecticut River Valley and articulated that context to increasingly broad scales of action. Improvement collapsed and flattened space across Massachusetts, and even across the world, linking farmers in the rural Connecticut River Valley to trends in Europe. Markets were an infrastructure for such processes, but the cultural logic of Improvement also manifested in the growth of ells, the rise of rationalized agriculture, and the diversification of farming practice. This was a boon to some farmers and a strain for others. Indeed, the growth of capitalism in Massachusetts (and more broadly) involved acquiescence as much as it involved force and domination—it was a pull as much as a push. For many farmers, like Williams, Improvement was a means of extending action, even if such action entailed broader ecological and economic consequences, as we shall see. For many other farmers, Improvement was coercive—it forced farmers to shift productive strategies, invest in new outbuildings or tools, and financing both with either preexisting wealth, or debt. Clark argues that the period from the revolution until around 1820 marked a period of "involution" (Clark 1990, p. 15), in which farmers increasingly circulated labor and surplus in local exchange practices rather than in anonymous and broad-scale long-distance practices. Debt allowed this to occur, but it likewise linked back-country farmers deeper into dependence. With the panic of 1819, and the calling in of debts that resulted, such involution was exchanged for "evolution," in which the cash market became the primary means of surplus distribution in rural Massachusetts.

The rise of scientific agriculture paralleled these economic processes. Eighteenth century scientific agriculturalists drew on the English tradition of wealthy landlords experimenting with new methods to increase productivity of agricultural lands. They saw themselves as didactic teachers, drawing distinctions between "practical

farmers" and "book farmers," even if defensively. They were invested in profit-making, but also in distinguishing themselves from the mass of ordinary farmers—a kind of tributary logic (Wolf 1997, pp. 82–83). Over the first two decades of the nineteenth century, Improvement's emphasis shifted to a democratizing, but moralized discourse around agriculture, in which every farmer could be an improver, if they would invest in the logics of profit and betterment. To not invest, economically and philosophically, would lead to the moral decline of the nation.

References

Anonymous. (1828). Miscellanies. *New England Farmer*, p. 296. Boston.

Bailyn, B. (2000). Slavery and population growth in colonial New England. In P. Temin (Ed.) *Engines of Enterprise* (pp. 253–260). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Beaudry, M. C. (1995). Scratching the surface: Seven seasons at the Spencer-Peirce-Little Farm, Newbury, Massachusetts. *Northeast Historical Archaeology, 24*, 19–50.

Beaudry, M. C. (1998). Farm Journal: First person, four voices. *Historical Archaeology, 32*(1), 20–33.

Beaudry, M. C. (2001). Trying to think progressively about 19th century farms. *Northeast Historical Archaeology, 30–31*, 129–142.

Benton, J. H. (1905). Early census making in Massachusetts, 1643-1765, with a reproduction of the lost census of 1765 (recently found) and documents relating thereto;. Boston, C. E. Goodspeed. Retrieved August 31, 2012, from http://archive.org/details/earlycensusmakin00bent.

Beranek, C., Smith, J. N., Steinberg, J., & Garman, M. (2013). Growing things "rare, foreign, and tender": The early nineteenth-century greenhouse at Gore Place, Waltham Massachusetts. *Northeast Historical Archaeology*, *38*(1).

Beranek, C. M., Smith, J. N. L., & Steinberg, J. M. (2011). *Data recovery excavations of the carriage house, greenhouse, and Greenhouse/Carriage House Well at Gore Place, Waltham, Massachusetts* (Cultural Resources Management Study No. 45). Boston: Fiske Center for Archaeological Research, UMASS Boston.

Bidwell, P. W., & Falconer, J. I. (1941). *History of agriculture in northern U.S., 1620-1860*. New York: Peter Smith.

Brooke, J. L. (2005). *The heart of the commonwealth: Society and political culture in Worcester County, Massachusetts 1713-1861*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

Chickering, J. (1846). *A statistical view of the population on Massachusetts from 1765 to 1840*. Boston: Little, Brown.

Clark, C. (1990). *The roots of rural capitalism*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Cosgrove, D. E. (1998). *Social formation and symbolic landscape*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.

Cronon, W. (1983). *Changes in the land: Indians, colonists and the ecology of New England*. New York: Hill & Wang.

Cumbler, J. T. (2001). *Reasonable use: The people, the environment, and the state, New England 1790–1930: the people, the environment, and the state, New England 1790–1930*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.

Cummings, A. L. (1979). *The framed houses of Massachusetts Bay, 1625-1725*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Danhof, C. H. (1969). *Change in agriculture: The northern United States, 1820-1870*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Deetz, J. F. (1996). *In small things forgotten: an archaeology of early American life*. New York: Anchor Books.

Dobkin-Hall, P. (1984). *The organization of American culture, 1700-1900: Private institutions, elites, and the origins of American nationality*. New York: NYU Press.

Dupre, D. (2006). The panic of 1819 and the political economy of sectionalism. In C. Matson (Ed.), *The economy of early America: Historical perspectives & new directions* (pp. 263–293). University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University.

Dwight, T. (1823a). *Travels in New-England and New-York* (Vol. 3). London: W. Baynes and Ogle, Duncan.

Dwight, T. (1823b). *Travels in New-England and New-York* (Vol. 1). London: W. Baynes and Ogle, Duncan.

Dwight, T. (1823c). *Travels in New-England and New-York* (Vol. 2). London: W. Baynes and Ogle, Duncan.

Dwight, T. (1823d). *Travels in New-England and New-York* (Vol. 4). London: W. Baynes and Ogle, Duncan.

Eliot, J. (1811). Essays Upon Field Husbandry. In *Papers for 1811, Communicated to the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture*. Boston: Munroe & French.

Fessenden, T. G. (1805). *Democracy unveiled: or, Tyranny stripped of the garb of patriotism*. Printed by David Carlisle, For the Author.

Fessenden, T. G. (1822, August 13). Prospectus of the New England Farmer. *New England Farmer, 1*(1).

Ford, B. (2008). The presentation of self in rural life: The use of space at a connected farmstead. *Historical Archaeology, 42*(4), 59–75.

Garrison, J. R. (1987). Farm dynamics and regional exchange: The Connecticut Valley beef trade, 1670-1850. *Agricultural History, 61*(3), 1–17. Retrieved December 2, 2011.

Garrison, J. R. (1991). *Landscape and material life in Franklin county, Massachusetts, 1770–1860*. Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press.

Garvan, A. N. B. (1951). *Architecture and town planning in colonial Connecticut*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Geib, S. (1981). *"Changing Works": Agriculture and society in Brookfield, Massachusetts, 1785–1820*. PhD Dissertation, Boston University.

Glassie, H. (1968). *Pattern in the material folk culture of the eastern U.S*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Gramsci, A. (1971). *Selections from the prison notebooks*. New York: International.

Grasso, C. (1999). *A speaking aristocracy: Transforming public discourse in eighteenth-century Connecticut*. Chapel Hill, NC: UNC Press Books.

Hawthorne, N. (1883). Thomas Fessenden. In *Complete works of Nathaniel Hawthorne* (Vol. 12, pp. 246–263). New York: Houghton, Mifflin.

Henris, J. (2009). *Apples abound: Farmers, orchards, and the cultural landscapes of agrarian reform, 1820–1860*. PhD Dissertation, University of Akron. Akron, Ohio.

Hill, J. H. (1998). Language, race, and white public space. *American Anthropologist, 100*(3), 680–689.

Hubka, T. (1986). The New England farmhouse Ell: Fact and symbol of nineteenth-century farm improvement. *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture, 2*, 161–166.

Hubka, T. (2004). *Big house, little house, back house, barn*. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England.

Innes, S. (1978). Land tenancy and social order in Springfield, Massachusetts, 1652-1702. *William and Mary Quarterly, 35*, 33–36.

Innes, S. (1983). *Labor in a new land: Economy and society in seventeenth century Springfield*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Jameson, F. (1991). *Postmodernism, or, the cultural logic of late capitalism*. Durham, England: Duke University Press.

Klimm, L. E. (1933). The relation between certain population changes and the physical environment in Hampden. *Hampshire, and Franklin Counties, Massachusetts, 1790–1925*.

Lamoreaux, N. R. (2003). Rethinking the transition to capitalism in the early American northeast. *The Journal of American History, 90*(2), 437–461.

Leone, M. P. (1988). The Georgian order as the order of merchant capitalism in Annapolis, Maryland. M. P. Leone, P. B. J. Potter (Eds.) *The Recovery of Meaning: Historical Archaeology in the Eastern United States* (pp. 235–261). Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Linebaugh, D. W. (1994). "All the Annoyances and Inconveniences of the Country": Environmental factors in the development of outbuildings in the colonial Chesapeake. *Winterthur Portfolio, 29*(1), 1–18.

Longley, D. (1982). *Real, Personal and mixed: The Estate of Ebeneezer Hinsdale Williams*. Deerfield, MA: Ms. on file at Historic Deerfield.

Mascia, S. F. (1996).'One of the Best Farms in Essex County": The changing domestic landscape of a tenant who became an owner. In R. Yamin, & D. B. Metheney (Eds.), *Landscape Archaeology: Reading and Interpreting the American Historical Landscape* (pp. 147–174). Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press.

Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture. (1799). *The Massachusetts Agricultural Repository and Journal* (Vol. 1).

Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture. (1819). *The Massachusetts Agricultural Repository and Journal* (Vol. 5).

McMurry, S. (1997). *Families and farmhouses in nineteenth-century America: Vernacular design and social change*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Merchant, C. (1989). *Ecological revolutions: Nature, gender and science in New England*. Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press.

Mulholland, M. T., Binzen, T. L., Wendt, J., Barker, F. T., & Thompson, W. (2014). *Archaeological site examinations for the bowed birch native American site and the river terrace historic site, within the route 2 realignment project, Erving, Massachusetts (No. 388b)*. Amherst, MA: Archaeological Services.

New England Farmer. (1835, October 6). The farmer's song. *New England Farmer, and Gardener's Journal*, *14*(13)

North, D. C., & Thomas, R. P. (Eds.). (1968). *The growth of the American economy to 1860*. New York: Harper & Row Publishers.

Pabst, M. R. (1941). Agricultural trends in the Connecticut valley region of Massachusetts, 1800-1900. *Smith College Studies in History, 26*.

Paynter, R. (1982). *Models of spatial inequality*. New York: Academic.

Paynter, R. (1985). Surplus flow between frontiers and homelands. In S. W. Green & S. Perlman (Eds.), *The archeology of frontiers and boundaries* (pp. 163–211). Orlando, FL: Academic.

Paynter, R. (2002). Time in the valley: Narratives about rural New England. *Current anthropology, 43*, S85–S101.

Proper, D. R. (1990). *"The Property of Eben'r H. Williams": The Family Library of Ebeneezer Hinsdale Williams (1761-1838). A bibliographic study and survey together with a catalogue of its contents, and an interpretation*. Deerfield, MA: Manuscript on File, Historic Deerfield.

Pruitt, B. (1984). Self-sufficiency and the agricultural economy of eighteenth-century Massachusetts. *William and Mary Quarterly, 61*(3), 333–364.

Richards, L. L. (2002). *Shays's Rebellion: The American Revolution's final battle*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press.

Romo, S., & Beranek, C. M. (2014). *The 1806 greenhouse at Gore Place, Waltham, Massachusetts* (Cultural Resources Management Study No. 66). Boston: Fiske Center for Archaeological Research, UMASS Boston.

Rothbard, M. N. (1962). *The panic of 1819: Reactions and policies*. Auburn, AL: Ludwig von Mises Institute.

Rotman, D. L. (2009). *Historical archaeology of gendered lives*. Dordrecht: Springer.

Russell, H. S. (1976). *A long deep furrow*. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England.

Sheldon, G. (1898). *Tis Sixty Years since: The passing of the stall-fed ox and the farm boy*. Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association, Deerfield, MA.

Siskind, J. (2002). *Rum and axes: The rise of a Connecticut merchant family, 1795-1850*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press.

Small, N. P. (2003). *Beauty and convenience: Architecture and order in the new Republic*. Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press.

St. George, R. B. (1982). "Set Thine House in Order": The Domestication of the Yeomanry in Seventeenth-Century New England. In J. L. Fairbanks & R. F. Trent (Eds.), *New England Begins: The Seventeenth Century, Volume 2: Mentality and Environment* (pp. 159–351). Boston: Museum of Fine Arts.

Sweeney, K. M. (1984). Mansion people: kinship, class, and architecture in western Massachusetts in the mid eighteenth century. *Winterthur Portfolio, 19*, 231–256.

Sweeney, K. M. (1988). Gentleman farmers and inland merchants: The Williams family and commercial agriculture in pre-revolutionary western Massachusetts. In P. Benes (Ed.), *The farm* (Vol. 9, pp. 60–73). Boston: Boston University.

Thatcher, J. (1822). *American orchardist*. Boston: Joseph W. Ingraham.

The Committee On Swine. (1832). *New England Farmer, 11*(20), 156–157.

Thomas, P. A. (1984). Bridging the cultural gap: Indian/White relations. In J. W. Ifkovic & M. Kaufman (Eds.) *Early settlement in the Connecticut River Valley: A Colloquium at Historic Deerfield* (pp. 5–21). Historic Deerfield, Deerfield, MA/Institute for Massachusetts Studies, Westfield College, Westfield, MA.

Thornton, T. P. (1989). *Cultivating gentlemen: Country life and the legitimation of Boston's mercantile—Manufacturing elite, 1785-1860*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

True, A. C. (1929). *A history of agricultural education in the United States: 1785-1925*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Trustees of the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture. (1799). *Papers on agriculture, consisting of communications made to the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture: With extracts from various publications; recommended to the attention of farmers, by the Trustees of the Society*. Accessed 28 November 2011

Wolf, E. R. (1997). *Europe and the people without history*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Zilberstein, A. (2008). *Planting improvement: The rhetoric and practice of scientific agriculture in northern British America, 1670–1820.* Dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, MA.

Zimmerman, S., DePaoli, N., Krim, A. J., Stott, P., Bradley, J. W., & Brady, D. (1988). *Historic & archaeological resources of the Connecticut river valley: A framework for preservation decisions (management framework)*. Boston: Massachusetts Historical Commission.

Chapter 5
Excavating the Yeoman: Materializing the Idealized People and Landscapes of Improvement Literature

> *Surely here mass-communication is necessary and urgent, to bring news of the good life, and of the ways to get it, and the dangers to avoid in getting it, to the prejudiced, servile, ignorant and multiplying masses? If workmen are impoverishing themselves and others by restrictive practices; if peasants are starving themselves and others by adhering to outdated ways; if men and women are growing up in ignorance, when so much is known; if families are breeding more children than can be fed: surely, urgently, they must be told this, for their own good?*
>
> —Raymond Williams, Culture and Society, 1780–1950 (1983, p. 333)

When E.H. Williams moved to Deerfield in 1789, he began purchasing property, accumulating what would become his large agricultural landholdings at the confluence of the Deerfield and Connecticut Rivers (see Chap. 6 and Appendix Table A.9). In the deeds that he signed to purchase these properties, Williams listed his occupation as "Gentleman", a term denoting landed wealth. However, in 1796, he began describing himself in these deeds as a "Yeoman", a term he would use until 1811 (Miller 1986, p. 10). The difference between the two terms, which would both reappear on subsequent deeds through his life, depended upon whether he had hired tenant farmers to work his land, or was more directly involved undertaking farming labor. Thus, "Yeoman" and "Gentleman" were occupations, but ones with very real class connotations, in the sense that they denoted closeness to or distance from labor and the means of production. The fluidity with which Williams moved between these categories, even though based on economic circumstances, indicated the extent to which he was able to easily negotiate such positions.

But "Yeoman" specifically had a much stronger symbolic resonance, in addition to its economic meaning. As discussed in Chap. 2, the term "Yeoman" first appears in Middle English in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, referring simultaneously to "A man holding a small landed estate … one who cultivates his own land" and "A servant or attendant in a royal or noble household, usually of a superior grade" ("yeoman, n." n.d.). In other words, a Yeoman refers to one who is

Q.P. Lewis, *An Archaeology of Improvement in Rural Massachusetts*, Contributions To Global Historical Archaeology, DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-22105-2_5

both subservient to someone else and independent; the highest of the low, but who makes a livelihood from the ownership of the land. This combination of subservience and agricultural work strongly influenced how Improvers understood the farming populations of Massachusetts.

Despite their social position within Massachusetts, Improvers believed and understood that not all farmers accepted their prescriptions for experimentation, reorganization, and profit-making in agriculture. As historians and scholars of rural Northeastern United States have frequently noted, the reasons that individual farmers unevenly engaged with Improvement's prescriptions were highly geographically, socially, and economically variable (Garrison 1991, pp. 6–7; Groover 2003, p. 27; McMurry 1997, pp. 1–7; Small 2003, pp. xiii–xx). For some farmers, practices advocated by Improvement literature and agricultural societies were too expensive. Other farmers attempted some such practices, but ignored others. Still other farmers maligned Improvement based upon the urban orientation of Improvers and ignored their admonitions. But by and large, Improvement literature did not articulate this variation, and Improvers chose instead to construct caricatured visions of the people they sought to Improve, denigrating them as ignorant, tradition-bound, and reactionary. At the same time, Improvers located farming and farmers as a source of political and moral virtue, which they, as urban merchants and lawyers, arguably lacked (Small 2003, pp. 8–10; Thornton 1989, pp. 3–4). Thus, they constructed idealized subjects within their writings who embodied the moral virtues that they lauded, and who championed the practices for which they advocated. This subject, who might be called "the Yeoman" or "the practical farmer," appeared throughout the pages of *New England Farmer* and served as a morally aspirational figure (see also Zilberstein 2008, pp. 9–11). This figure stood apart from various caricatured descriptions of bad farmers, who ignored Improvement. Thus, there is a dialectical tension between Improvement's subjects and its goals, to say nothing of the divergence between the ideological articulation of Improvement and the reality of agricultural production in early nineteenth century Massachusetts. What is striking about both Yeomen and bad farmers is that they were characterized by their relationship to material things and spaces. Yeomen were known by their material possessions, their spatial organization, and their material practices, as were the bad farmers. Thus, there is a symbolic assemblage of objects that constitute this subjectivity of the "Yeoman." While the boundary being drawn, between "good farmers" and others, may be immaterial, the act of "good farming" required material intervention in the built environment and had material implications.

In what follows, I will use two articles from *New England Farmer* as a jumping-off point for understanding how Improvers saw the people they were trying to Improve and the role of materiality in that understanding. "The Yeoman" or "the practical farmer" were frequent characters within the pages of *New England Farmer*, but not in connection with real-life individuals. Rather, they were constructed through an assemblage of material things and were distributed in space

across contextual symbolic landscape called "New England", itself an early nineteenth century reconfiguration. This leads to a discussion of the symbolic role of Yeoman in the social makeup of the early republic. Improvers did not merely see farming as morally good, but as a kind of subject position that could stand against European decadence and Southern slavery and blackness. New England—a distinct, culturally and ecologically homogenous place—was the terrain on which the Yeoman farmer stood, and each constituted the other. This landscape was regionally situated, positioning New England as distinct from Europe and from the Southern United States.

Simon Shamaway and Bad Farming

During the first year of its printing, *New England Farmer* published an editorial by its editor Thomas Fessenden entitled "On the advantages of System in Business." This editorial nominally proposed that each farmer has a plan for their work that describes "every thing proper to be done on his farm and means of doing it" (Fessenden 1823). But this prescription for proper planning as part of the agricultural process makes up only a third of Fessenden's essay. The majority describes a character named "Simon Shamaway," who does not engage in proper planning. This caricature of a farmer was created by Fessenden to articulate the characteristics of poor farming:

> Many a man labors hard, and remains poor because "he does not know how to set himself to work". There's Mr. Simon Shamaway, for example …
>
> [He] has a small farm of his own, in which he "carries on" so badly that he might as well be asleep as undertake to cultivate it. He has a sort of a barn or rather hovel, where he keeps or more properly starves two or three miserable animals every winter … His place for yarding the poor things, is on the top of a sort of a hump-backed piece of ground, with a brook on one side, and the county road on the other. Every rain carries the essence of the manure into the road or the rill … If one undertakes to point out to Mr. S. the absurdity of such management, he is sure to be saluted with a volley of abuse against book farming; and "gentleman farmers" who make manure in their closets, and undertake to talk about "breeds of cattle" when they can hardly tell a steer from a heifer. (Fessenden 1823)

Fessenden's story of Simon Shamaway went on to describe his attempts to raise an orchard with disregard for appropriate planning. Shamaway bought the trees from a farmer, whom he paid with a "note payable in work at hay time," but proceeded to plant the trees so quickly and without proper care that they "were soon taken sick—most of them died—the rest never flourished, and our notable mismanager lost his time, his labor, his pay for the trees, and his prospect of an orchard". Fessenden concludes by saying that Shamaway

> is, however, a man of science in his own way … The signs in the Almanac are also very important matters with this great calculator. His seeds must be planted when the moon is on the increase … his hogs must be killed when the moon is on the increase … his bushes must

> be cut in the old of the moon in August … He thus lives in continual apprehension, watching the moon … and poring over signs in the almanac—which composes his whole agricultural library …

The story of Simon Shamaway is clearly a foil and a container for Fessenden to lay out a negative moralized vision of poor farming, but there are several fascinating images depicted in this text. First, Shamaway's significant problem is not his lack of work or poverty, but his inability to "set himself to work." He is wasteful of the manure made by his cows, and he plants his orchard trees too quickly and without planning. He is a farmer who has not taken the message of Improvement to heart and resents its imposition—he berates being told "the absurdity of such management," and calls his nameless interlocutors "book farmers" or "gentlemen farmers." This term "book farming" occurred somewhat regularly in *New England Farmer,* including in the first full article printed in the journal after the prospectus ("Massachusetts Agriculture Repository and Journal, For June (Continued from p. 2)" 1822). It was unsigned, but probably written by Fessenden, and defends Improvers against the charge that they are theoretical experimenters, with no connection to the actual work of farming. It was a term of anxiety, deployed in jest by Improvers to describe how non-improver farmers (what they called "practical farmers") saw the imposition of scientific agriculture.

Improvers responded to this accusation of theory without practice with a number of rhetorical feints. For one, they drew on Improvement's orientation to the future and progress metaphors and positioned practical farmers in the past. Fessenden wrote extensively about Shamaway's attachment to "the Signs of the Almanac" and the relationship of the moon to various agricultural tasks. There is a great deal of irony in Fessenden's criticism of Almanacs as agricultural mysticism. As Merchant notes (Merchant 1989, pp. 129–141), farming Almanacs appear by the mid seventeenth century in New England and were some of the first sources of scientific agricultural knowledge. Many were written by educated ministers and other intellectuals. They did rely heavily upon astrological significance for guiding agricultural activities and were caught up in a mimetic/imitative world view, but they were not the archaic, tradition-bound pamphlets that Fessenden depicts. They were an early attempt to blend modern science with animate theories of nature, and they were widely disseminated across the colonial northeast.

"Signs of a Good Farmer"

If Simon Shamaway represented Fessenden and Improvers' vision of a careless, flagrantly backward farmer, they likewise depicted a character that embodied good farming. Earlier in the first year of its publication, and several times thereafter, *New England Farmer* printed a brief prose work entitled "Signs of a Good Farmer." The passage is a vaguely fanciful list of characteristics and reveals what Improvers and agricultural reformers felt were the necessary conditions of a good farmer at the dawn of the nineteenth century:

> His corn land is ploughed in the fall—His bull is from two to five years old and he works him. He seldom lets his work drive him. Has a cooking stove with plenty of pipe to it. The wood lots he possesses are fenced. His sled is housed in summer, and his cart, ploughs and wheelbarrow, winter and summer when not in use; has as many yoke of good oxen as he has horses—Does not feed his hogs with whole grain—Lights may be seen in his house often before break of day in winter—His hog-pen is boarded inside and out—Has plenty of weeds and mud in his yard in the fall—All his manure, is carried out from his buildings and barn yard twice in the year, and chip dung once a year —His cattle are almost all tied up in the winter . He begins to find out that manure put on land in a green state is the most profitable—Raises three times as many turnips and potatoes for his stock as he does for his family—Has a good ladder raised against the roof of his house—Has more lamps in his house than candlesticks—Has a house on purpose to keep his ashes in and an iron or tin vessel to take them up—He has a large barn and a small house—seldom has more pigs than cows—adjoining his hog-pen he has a hole to put weeds and sods, and makes three loads of best manure from every old hog and two from every pig. A good farmer in this country begins to find out that steaming vegetables can be done at one third the expense of boiling, and that the Ruta Baga turnip is a thing worth thinking of—he fences before he ploughs and manures before he sows—He deals more for cash than on credit (New England Farmer 1822c)

This rich passage, though a bit poetically cumbersome in places, contains many interesting comments upon the state of New England agriculture in the early nineteenth century. The themes it highlights and the contradictions it ultimately suggests between these characteristics reveal what Improvers thought of the people they were trying to Improve.

The moralized language of "Signs of a good farmer" locates a boundary within farmers as a group—a symbolic boundary, to be sure, locating agricultural production within a nebulous field of values and implicitly measuring farmers along a moralized continuum. Where Shamaway is suspicious, the good farmer is curious and experimental ("He begins to find …"). But what is more striking is the extent to which good farming is characterized by material things and their appropriate uses.

First, the Yeomen may have been hypothetical, but he was not meant to be immaterial or invisible. The use of the word "signs" suggests that Good farming was characterized by a series of visual signifiers. Yeomen were known most prominently by how their farms looked, with other considerations secondary. This was not merely a rhetorical feint—the MSPA, and the various county agricultural societies held regular contests and administered prizes for attractive farming. Records of viewing committee visits appear regularly in the pages of *New England Farmer* (e.g. Moore 1822). Returning to some of the comments on visibility and landscape made in Chap. 2, it is important to remember that Improvement was as much a way of seeing as a way of farming, and the theme of visibility was a frequent metaphor in how Improvement was deployed. This was part of a broader trend in Federal-period America, in which sight was seen as the "perfect sense, one that could allow individuals to perceive and interpret the world in the most accurate way possible" (Walsh 2010, pp. 2–3). Such an investment in sight was not without its contradictions. Although sight and the visual field were important to New England's Improvers, there was a profound anxiety about sight and its social implications in the pages of *New England Farmer.* An 1828 editorial entitled "Rules for Good

Manners" satirically lampooned individuals who gaze at others inappropriately. One such rule, advocating through inversion, suggested that:

> If you are passing by a house be careful to look into the windows; by this you may in general know whether its occupants are industrious. You will likewise occasionally get a glance at a lady as she sits in the parlor reading novels braiding straw or working lace which to the least is worth a shilling. (Anon 1827)

This passage suggests that privacy, productivity, visibility, and sociability were inextricably linked in the early nineteenth century, and also symbolic sites of concern and uncertainty. Such themes were apparent in the interior and exterior spaces of the Williams' house (see Chap. 6 and 7).

At a more descriptive level, who is the good farming subject? First, the good farmer is male—the male pronoun is used throughout. This is not a unique particularization—there are occasional references to women in the page of *New England Farmer*, but almost never as farmers themselves. Indeed, as Merchant notes, *New England Farmer's* prescriptions for expanding farm outputs to include things like butter, cheese, chickens, and honey for market production represented a male appropriation of female agricultural productive activities (Merchant 1989, pp. 171–172). Such work was mentioned in the pages of New England Farmer, but it was much more common to see discussions of women's moral authority and home-making[1]. Increasingly, the growth of the cult of domesticity (e.g., Wall 1994) moralized women out of agricultural production and into familial care roles (Coontz 1988, p. 117), though there was considerable unevenness in this process, particularly in rural areas (Rotman 2009). In any case, Improvers largely did not see women as fulfilling the role of a Yeoman, though it would eventually add a "Domestic Department" devoted to women's activities in the late 1840s (Merchant 1989, p. 246).

Secondly, it is interesting to note the absences in this passage. For one thing, the good farmer farms alone. There is no reference to working with servants, farm hands, or even with family members—the only reference to family in the entire passage is that they should receive less root crops than his livestock. This of course belies the role that families had historically played in agricultural production in Massachusetts and the increasing role that hired workers played in farm labor, if intermittently (Clark 1990, pp. 105–111). Another aspect missing is any sense of landscape or ecology. "Good Farmers" can be good anywhere and everywhere. The good farmer was not characterized by good land, good soil, or good access to markets or other strategic resources. Despite differences in soil quality, slope, ground cover, and other ecological features across Massachusetts, Yeomen should be successful regardless of the conditions of the biotic environment.

> *The wood lots he possesses are fenced … Has a cooking stove with plenty of pipe to it … His hog-pen is boarded inside and out—*

[1] A description of the 1822 Middlesex Cattle Show included a toast at the end of the evening's festivities. This toast, among other things, was dedicated to "Our fair country women—Let your daughters be educated for domestic housewives, and there will be less show, more substance, and fewer old bachelors" ("MIDDLESEX CATTLE SHOW" 1822).

These two characteristics may seem innocuous, but they were actually issues of incredible importance to early nineteenth century agriculturalists. Let us begin with Woodlots. Woodlots are a partitioned section of agricultural fields that had been allowed to lie fallow, long enough to accumulate trees. Woodlots have long been an integral aspect of agricultural productivity, providing a source of fuel, raw materials for buildings and tools, and a place for foraging animals such as pigs to graze without drawing on more specialized or dedicated grain. Woods were also sources of herbs and wild plants useful in home maintenance, processing, and cooking (Scott 1998, pp. 12–14). If not directly incorporated into a private rotation system, woodlots were often parts of common fields or were considered a common resource in colonial villages. Indeed, for many English and colonial farmers, woodlots were essentially common's parcels, through which they and their neighbors could walk, graze, and extract customary amounts of wood and other materials. What practical reason would a "good farmer" have for fencing a woodlot?

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, dramatic changes to the Northeastern economy spurred the enclosure, consolidation, and shrinking of woodlots. The growing commercialization of the economy spurred farmers to speed up fallow cycles and replace them with intensive manuring (see Chap. 8). While wealthier farmers with larger landholdings might advertise, as E.H. Williams did, a "well apportioned" division between woodlot, tillage, and pasturage (see Chap. 1), for many farmers, intensification meant reducing woodlot sizes relatively to favor market crops (Merchant 1989, p. 189). Additionally, by the nineteenth century, woodlots had transformed to commercial enterprises instead of provisioning ones (Cumbler 2001, p. 22). As Merchant notes, the growth of the lumbering industry, particularly in upland areas like the hill towns and northern New England, provided a new revenue source for struggling farmers and may have spurred wage labor and class inequality on its own (1989, pp. 221–223). This was furthered by the growth of turnpikes, canals, and other infrastructural projects that reduced the friction of distance between hinterland and coastal areas (cf. Cronon 1983, pp. 120–122) and connected back-country farmers with woods to cities with wood shortages (Merchant 1989, p. 227). Merchant suggests that in some towns in Central Massachusetts such as Petersham, where logging was a primary means of livelihood, 90% of woods were removed by 1850 (Merchant 1989, p. 195). Garrison indicates that 50% of Franklin county's woods were gone by the 1850s (Garrison 1991, p. 122). Foster et al. suggest that between 1650 and 1800, approximately 70% of the forests of the Connecticut River Valley and the eastern hill towns and uplands were cut down for agricultural use or for logging (Foster et al. 1998, p. 103).

Beyond this ecological problem, the customary relations that held woodlots within a common's framework disappeared. The region's common fields had been enclosed in the eighteenth century—in Deerfield, it had largely concluded by the mid eighteenth century (Haefeli and Sweeney 2003, p. 254). This did not stop farmers from allowing their animals to run through woods. There were numerous lawsuits in Massachusetts between farmers who desired durable fencing and those who did not and allowed their livestock to graze on the lands of others (Cumbler 2001, p. 14; Hubka 2004, p. 84). In 1806, wealthy farmers wrote a letter to the *Daily*

Hampshire Gazette, castigating their poorer neighbors for allowing their animals to freely graze in privately owned woods and meadows.

> [P]eople living at South Farms … were determined henceforward to put a stop to the unjust and unchristian practice of too many people … to turn their sheep and cattle upon our farms … [We] have united to prevent the destruction of their woodlots, pastures, and fences. (quoted in Cumbler 2001, p. 14)

Timothy Dwight, discussed in the previous chapter, complained of a lack of fencing in upland Connecticut River Valley Farms (Dwight, quoted in Cumbler 2001, p. 14). An address to the Ontario, NY agricultural society in 1823, reprinted in *New England Farmer,* urged farmers to "Look to your fences—see that they are good and substantial. Without this, you may consider yourself at best, but as a joint tenant with all the marauding flocks and herds in the neighborhood" (Burball 1823). This was a significant point of contention in other agricultural areas in the early nineteenth century such as Delaware as Grettler (1999) notes (see also Bourcier 1984), and the deep South (e.g., Hahn 2006). Fences themselves had long been signifiers of wealth (Garrison 1991, pp. 117–118), but now the relationship between wealth, property, and open-field farming was becoming generalized. Woodlots were thus a site of anxiety for Improvers, as they simultaneously represented an integral agricultural space, but one that was also being stressed by commercial concerns.

This had important consequences for fuel use, and here we arrive at the relationship to the other two characteristics of a good farmer. Light and heat were essential to visibility and productivity, and both relied on sources of wood, or alternatives. But the squeezing of woodlots by expanding agricultural production, commercial forestry, and shrinking land parcels put pressures on fuel usage. A similar problem had plagued England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the colonization of eastern North America had alleviated some of this pressure[2] (Pomeranz 2000, p. 211; Spufford 2006; Wrigley 2013).

Woodstoves factored into this process because they dramatically increased household heating efficiency over fireplaces (Garrison 1991, p. 200), reducing the necessity of keeping larger woodlots. They were a significantly costlier expense and relatively uncommon until midcentury (Garrison 1991, pp. 176–179; see also Hubka 2004, pp. 125–128). A "Cooking Stove with a pipe, etc. … ", listed in E.H. Williams' probate in the Kitchen, was the single-most expensive non-animal entry in the inventory, at 30 dollars—the equivalent of the cost of a horse. For wealthy farmers like the Williamses, a woodstove paid dividends, but it is unclear whether more meager farmers could have afforded such an extravagance, even with the longer-term cost-savings.

> *Has more lamps in his house than candlesticks … Lights may be seen in his house often before break of day in winter*

The Yeoman was supposed to be both thrifty and economically productive. Lamps were more expensive than candles on their face (the E.H. Williams' inventory

[2] Coal also solved this problem to an extent in England, but coal was relatively uncommon in western Massachusetts until the arrival of the railroads around 1850 (Holland 1855, p. 423).

lists four candles in the pantry valued at .40, versus two glass lamps in the Garret, valued at .67), but were obviously reuseable. But the thrifty aspect of choosing reusable lighting implements over candles belies the fact that Yeoman should have both in their house, and that their house should be illuminated, and viewed (hence, "lights may be seen … ".)

Candles and lamps were quite prevalent in the E.H. and Anna Williams' house (see Chap. 6). The lighting of interior spaces played off a broader emphasis on visibility in Improvement—Improved phenomena, be they houses, yards, streets, or cities, were meant to be seen. Illumination, as Tarlow notes, was "the central metaphor of the enlightenment" (Tarlow 2007, p. 178), and artificial light, in interior and exterior spaces, represented, in part, the triumph of culture over nature. The dictates of the solar cycle could be overcome with artificial light from candles and lamps, just as the natural fertility of the soil could be overcome with manure and artificial fertilizer (see Chap. 8). Candles were important for another reason—they allowed night-work to continue and work to begin before dawn. The expansion of work before dawn and after dusk allowed increased productivity, particularly as rural families in Massachusetts were engaged in kitchen processing of goods like cheese and butter, and diversifying their productive outputs to keep pace with urbanization and industrialization (e.g., Pabst 1941, p. 103).

> *All his manure, is carried out from his buildings and barn yard twice in the year, and chip dung once a year; Has a good ladder raised against the roof of his house … he fences before he ploughs … He seldom lets his work drive him … . He has a large barn and a small house …*

Reading the list of activities of a good farmer, one is struck by the diverse array of tasks necessary to the maintenance of a good farm. A farmer should keep numerous animals, raise crops, maintain a wide array of farm infrastructures such as barns, pens, and fences in excellent shape, utilize every output of his farm including manure and yard waste (see Chap. 8), and do so with a regularity and energy that seems almost superhuman. Despite this, the Yeoman "does not let his work drive him", such that somehow all of these tasks could be accomplished without strenuous or exhausting labor.

This contradiction between intensified productivity and personal restraint is materialized in the admonition that the Yeoman "has a large barn and a small house." The relationship between house and barn size and location in New England agriculture was highly variable in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The simple and modern dichotomy of the barn as a place of work and the house as a place of leisure is muddled by the complexity of colonial and early American work patterns and architectural renovations. In the seventeenth century, as St. George (1982) noted, work activities reverberated in a radial pattern from the house. By the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the construction of house ells drew a symbolic and sometimes direct architectural connection between house and barn, leading to the nineteenth century children's song "Big House, Little House, Back House, Barn" from which Hubka drew the title of his masterful study (Hubka 2004). Determining the relative size of barns and houses in the Connecticut River Valley in

the early nineteenth century is not straightforward. Many early nineteenth century buildings that still stand, but in part because of subsequent renovations, and additions, are difficult to quantify spatially. Garrison summarizes the documentary architectural record for Franklin and some of Hampshire counties (Garrison 1991, pp. 122–125, 150–204). The documentary record consists largely of the tax census, which was taken in 1798. Average barn sizes in Franklin county were 30×40 feet (Garrison 1991, p.122), while the sizes of homes varied considerably according to wealth and status and are difficult to generalize. The Williamses' barn was one of the largest in Deerfield when built in the early nineteenth century at 3600 square feet (Garrison 1991, p. 132), and the house was larger, but not significantly, at just over 3900 square feet.

At the same time, the language of neoclassicism made house decoration as well as size a factor in how houses were understood as socially potent symbols. The houses of the River Gods of the eighteenth century were characterized architecturally by elaborate doors and larger sizes (Sweeney 1984), utilizing the language of neoclassicism to symbolically link themselves to the coast, and thereby to European gentility. Neoclassicism continued as the broad architectural language of the early Federal period, but because of its associations with wealth display, it was treated with suspicion by agricultural Improvers. In the first decades of the nineteenth century, many middling farmers expanded the size of their houses, using ells, wings, and other architectural flourishes that utilized neoclassical motifs.

As Small notes, the urban elites who made up the bulk of late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Improvers were anxious about the conspicuous consumption inherent in neoclassical architecture, and about the appropriation of an architectural grammar that they and their immediate forbears had utilized to distinguish themselves socially (Small 2003, pp. 105–106). This anxiety was heightened by the extent to which the Yeoman was seen to be morally pure and distinguished from fickle and amoral urban fashions. If the Yeoman was to be the bedrock of the new American republic, he must not be corrupted by the dangerous world of consumerism, of greed, and conspicuous consumption. Instead, as Small notes, Improvers were invested in Yeoman maintaining "quaint, simple dwellings ornamented by nature and nestled discretely among well-ordered yards and prosperous fields, a distinctly non-materialistic image". (2003, p.105).

He deals more for cash than on credit.

This last line seems somewhat out-of-place for a piece on agricultural practices, but it is perhaps the most profound insight into Improver's sense of the appropriate social relationships of rural Massachusetts. On its face, it appears to be a simple extension of the same thrifty logic behind a farmer having "a large barn and a small house"—a moralized indictment of overspending on trivialities or in trivial ways. Farmers who paid cash were budgeting and not overextending themselves into potentially ruinous debt. But it actually points to the heart of one of the central tensions of the rural Massachusetts economy. Though not archaeological in the strictest sense, it was nonetheless a material reality for many farmers that cash and credit represented competing social relations, moral logics, and interests.

As discussed in the previous chapter, cash and credit were not simply media of exchange. The back-country in the early nineteenth century was relatively cash poor, but cash was used in specific kinds of economic and social interactions—namely, those involved in what Clark (1990, pp. 31–33) calls "long-distance exchange". These were interactions that involved individuals at a social, political, or geographical distance—between farmers and merchants, or between local, rural merchants, and distant city merchants. It was also explicitly amoral, without a relationship of trust between exchanging agents. In other words, cash exchange operated between anonymous subjects. It trumped the more nebulous and close-knit mutual set of rights and obligations that constituted local exchange. Most importantly, cash exchange was promulgated by those who had an interest in inserting themselves into the economic relations of village life, particularly merchants (1990, p. 155).

Credit was the primary economic organization of the village economy—exchange between neighbors, family members, and close connections. Fessenden's criticism of Shamaway's payment of his trees with a note for future labor represents exactly these kinds of relations. Repayments were often long-term, sometimes decades or even lifetimes. There were few means of acquiring credit in the ways that we think of it today, through banks or other lending institutions[3]. Credit operated as a kind of reciprocity, inhabited with strong moralized sentiments about trust and mutual obligation. It was based on a logic of moral economy (see also Graeber 2012, pp. 326–332; Thompson 1971). Indeed, it is tempting to wonder whether the enmeshing of farming in rural Massachusetts credit relations is part of what gave it such a strong positive moral association in the first place.

By positioning Yeoman as those who engaged only cash exchange, *New England Farmer's* Improvers were seeking to extract the moralized figure of the Yeoman from the moralized social relations in which most farmers were enmeshed. The Yeoman should participate in the long-distance, anonymous, and capitalist cash economy of the region and the Atlantic world, but the economic relations that undergirded the Yeoman's moral position should be jettisoned. The scientific agriculturalists who wrote for *New England Farmer* desired to transform the entire structure of rural social life and create new social relations in which anonymous cash exchange, wage labor, and the moral logics that accompanied it were the norm, rather than the exception. This may also explain some of Fessenden's dismissal of almanacs, discussed above. Many farmers used Almanacs as account books, marking debits and credits in the blank pages (Merchant 1989, pp. 172–173). Account books were a material manifestation of the village economy of credit and reciprocity, which Improvers were trying to unlock by enhancing the role of cash and mercantile exchange. Elements of tradition that justified the new order were drawn upon, while others that were inimical to it were reduced or criticized. Thus,

[3] Even the exception proves the rule. The Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company, incorporated in 1823, made inroads into lending cash to back-country farmers, but had to do so at incredibly slight rates of interest, and with incredibly generous repayment options that were often flouted (Dobkin-Hall 1984, p. 123; Thornton 2007, pp. 573–74).

Improvement literature served, as Merchant (1989, p. 212) notes "[to transmit] entrepreneurial values to ordinary farmers and [bring] them under the hegemony of the market".

'The Land where Slavery is Unknown'—New England as a free, White farming landscape

The figure of the Yeoman was an attempt by Improvers to organize and abstract the virtuous aspects of farming into a coherent subjectivity, while simultaneously ignoring or glossing over the aspects which impinged upon this vision—mass consumerism, environmental degradation, and the village economy of mutual credit. They utilized objects, spaces, and the practices that linked them into a moralized assemblage. The extent to which the Yeoman could really characterize actual New England Farmers is dubious, but Improvers did not need regular farmers to transform into Yeoman simply for their own benefit (although they often portrayed the process this way). Rather, they prescribed a New England landscape, populated by Yeoman, as integral to broader national political and economic processes for which they advocated. The Yeoman was not merely serving himself with good farming. He was also reshaping the New England landscape in a way that would counter the "repressive" forces of European feudalism and the South, tainted by slavery and its association with Blackness. The Yeoman was to be free, White, and Northern and would likewise save the new republic from decay or conquest.

Freedom and Farming

Perhaps no other characteristic of the Yeoman was as vocalized as his "freedom". Freedom was a common metaphor for how Improvers wrote about the condition of the Yeoman, and the ultimate benefit accrued to him from his condition. This freedom came in the form of land-ownership, and not being beholden to lord or master. An 1833 editorial (Bigelow 1833) made a case that the character of New England farmers was the result of "being both the owner and tiller of the soil; a character which is the result of feeling that the individual is an equal among equals, combining in it necessarily all the elements of liberty and self government". Such freedom was thus integral to the political organization of the new American republic. Farming led to benevolent and public-minded citizenry. The frequent calls in *New England Farmer* for the construction of an agricultural school were predicated upon the idea that such a school would create resonances in public life.

> We want farmers whose education will qualify them to speak in our legislative halls, to draft bills and reports, and to discharge the duties of any of our public offices. We want the yeomanry of our state to possess the influence which their numbers and republican virtue entitle them to; and we wish to instruct them, that their influence may be directed to public good. (Columella 1822)

It is hard not to read a patronizing tone into this call for the appropriate instruction of farmers. But it is also not hard to see how central the idea of farming was to the continued maintenance of every aspect of the republic, and particularly in the organization of politics.

The free ownership of the soil, and the freedom to labor upon it, was glorified frequently in *New England Farmer*. A poem entitled "The Farmer's Song" cast farming and freedom along a number of interesting vectors: "The Farmer's life we love, although/Fatigued by toil we be;/Contented, to *hard work* we go,/None happier than we./We love the lands we cultivate,/The cattle that we rear;/Sloth, Vice and Slavery we hate,/but count free labor cheer". It is hard not to see this as an idealized, elite caricature of the small farmer, who goes "contented" to hard work, and who, a few lines down, "[envies] not the rich and great;/The humblest farmer's lot/is better than a vast estate,/by Fraud or rapine got". (New England Farmer 1835) Here we have the same logic urging "a large barn and a small house"—the farmer is not envious of his economic superiors, but is contented with hard work for its own sake.

The heritage of agriculture in New England was juxtaposed against both English tyranny and Southern enslavement. An 1834 essay (New England Farmer 1834) articulated these distinctions with Europe:

> I have already hinted at the tenure by which you hold your farms; and this also should be encouragement and subject of congratulation … You have uncontrolled dominion over your lands while living, and when they can no longer subserve to your necessities and comfort, you dispose of them as you please. No rents, no tithes, no entailments … With what pride, then, may you walk over your fields, covered with the products of voluntary industry, and reflect that you hold them discharged of those onerous burdens, those numerous and vexatious claims, those odious restrictions, which in other countries reduce the cultivator of the soil to a miserable peasant elevated in condition and character but little above the slave.

There is a broad literature on growing American regionalism, which locates sources of political and economic tension with the differentiation of New England, the South, and the West as discrete symbolic landscapes at the turn of the nineteenth century (e.g., Dobkin-Hall 1984, pp. 176–177; Melish 1998, pp. 210–237; Sheidley 1990; Waldstreicher 1994, pp. 215–251). In New England, regional identity was constructed largely by urban conservatives, who saw themselves positioned against the political and economic power of the South. These were, not incidentally, the same group of individuals who were central to the growth of agricultural improvement. For example, Fischer Ames was a prominent Massachusetts statesman and lawyer, whose support in Congress led to the Ratification of the Federalist-written constitution, and whose writings and speeches provided much intellectual weight to the Northeastern Federalists and others—his collected works were likewise in the library of E.H. Williams. Ames saw his work as a conflict between what he called "northern confederacy of superior good order, [and the] "turbulent Parisian license of Southern Jacobinism" (quoted in Melish 1998:211). Ames was a gentleman farmer, Improver, and co-founder of the Massachusetts Society for the Promotion of Agriculture.

The Regional identify of New England as a landscape of free farmers was not merely geographical boosterism—Improvers saw the Yeoman as the bedrock of the nation and instilled the character of the Yeoman with traits that straddled regional

and national characteristics. A good introduction to the relationship between farming, freedom, and New England identity appears in the 1833 issue of *New England Farmer* (Spofford 1834a, b). That year, Dr. Jeremiah Spofford was invited by the Essex county Agricultural Society to give an address to the members. This address was reprinted in *New England Farmer* and noted favorably by Fessenden in a brief prologue, calling it "a sensible, well written address by a practical and observing man." Spofford's address touched on many of the potent symbols that Improvers frequently drew on to construct the metaphorical landscape called "New England."

Spofford contrasted the New England region ecologically, culturally, and politically with other areas of the United States, particularly the South. He spent much of the essay defending New England ecology against the charge that it was not as productive or lush as other regions, such as the South and the Midwest, which was then opening up to colonization by Americans. He stated that "the soil of New England has … been greatly undervalued," because while there were fertile soils in western states, New England's soil "will yield copiously without assiduous cultivation." New England soils "richly repay the labor and expense bestowed," and for Spofford, the 100 or more year history of cultivation was evidence of that. He also argued that the Southern United States had serious ecological problems, including swamp gasses and regular flooding, against which New England's seasonal and geographical variation was merely a mild inconvenience.

However, the primary differentiating factor between New England and other regions was cultural. Spofford, like many New England Improvers, was anxious about the increasing westward migration of young New Englanders to New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania. At one point, he described youthful emigrants that he had spoken to, who lamented leaving the "comfortable dwellings, fruitful orchards, good roads, social villages, schools of science, and temples of the living God" of New England. These emigrating youth, he declared, "have cause to prize the land of their nativity—the land of constant industry and steady habits—the land of bibles and sabbaths—the land of red schoolhouses and white churches—the land where slavery is unknown". This last point, while not completely true (see Chap. 3), provided Spofford with a pivot, on which to discuss most explicitly the significant cultural difference between New England and the South.

Early in the essay, he argued that it was only in New England that agricultural societies were found, and this was largely because of the power of slavery, noting that "an industrious Yeomen [in the South] is unknown." Later on, he argued that the importance and utility of agricultural Improvement would never permeate the Southern states because "slavery lays the axe at the root of the tree of industry, and that indolence which saps the foundation of public and private prosperity. Whatever removes the stimulus to industry, whether political, moral, or physical, it is equally ruinous to nations, states, private families, or individuals". His description of plantation work chastised both the owner and the enslaved: "The absence of voluntary vigorous industry is the real cause of the evils of which they complain. A white population ashamed to be seen with implements of labor in their hands and a black population doing as little labor as possible is enough to nullify the prosperity of any country." As an alternative to this, Spofford urged that New England Improvers "would much sooner hire the laborers, pay them their wages, and dismiss them to

their own cares, when the labor was done … .” Slavery, according to Spofford, was an unproductive system, because it did not reward any kind of hard work. Wage labor, regardless of its context, spurred “the stimulus to industry,” and that the Yeoman of New England, rather than the planter class of the South, should be the model for American growth. Spofford concluded his extended essay by urging this modeling, noting that “the time honored history of the past, the happy institutions and habits of the present day-and the enterprise which is inherent in the sons of the pilgrims-will ever secure New England an honorable place in her country’s annals.”

Spofford’s vision of New England can be summarized as follows. First, New England was a distinct spatial region. It was distinguished by its differences from other regions, particularly the South. The differences were in the character of its labor and the role of farming and Improvement in that labor[4]. Southern labor was built around laziness, indigence, and slavery, while Northern labor was built around industry, freedom, and wage labor. Finally, New England was a model for the nation and formed the core of the national character. The Yeoman was the central figure in this ideological feint, and thus, the urgency of Improvement—of taking on the characteristics of Good Farming as opposed to Simon Shamaway’s bumbling bumpkinism was a matter of national as well as local importance.

The regional freedom of New England’s farmers was frequently juxtaposed with the un-freedom of the South. Slavery was the topic, but as with Spofford, it was not solidarity with enslaved people that brought the most concern—rather, it was the effect of slavery and proximity to enslaved people that was seen as the problem. In an 1826 issue (New England Farmer 1826), an editorial indicated that Southern states remain “unproductive” because “Freemen will not labor where there are slaves” and that “if the blacks of Virginia were sent off, and a white population substituted, it would add greatly to the strength, respectability and productiveness of the state”. The problem with slavery, then, was not the forcible exploitation of Black labor. Rather, it was blackness and Black labor that harmed the moral character of White labor and inhibited national prosperity and productivity.

Indeed, in some cases, *New England Farmer* featured editorials that glorified southern agriculture and the racial enslavement it required. In 1835, the journal published the letters of an anonymous man who had visited the plantation of John Randolph in Roanoke, Virginia (B.P. 1835). The description summarizes the productivity of Randolph’s tobacco production and the beauty and neatness of his house. In describing the captive African-American people, the author makes a political aside to New England Abolitionists.

> There are about 400 slaves of all ages, and of those 150 are efficient hands. Mr R. [Randolph] sent nothing to market except tobacco. The slaves are fed with the corn, wheat, beef, pigs, fowls, &c.; and I will venture to say, that if certain officious “brother Yankees” succeed in their attempts so to construct his will as to set them at liberty, every soul, before they enjoy freedom one year, will wish themselves back.

[4]It is not at all clear whether there was such a sharp distinction in practical terms between Northern “free” improvers and southern planters. As Crothers has shown, there was intense interest in new agricultural techniques among Virginia plantation owners, as well as nearby free farmers (Crothers 2001).

This letter/description was presented without comment by the editors of *New England Farmer*.

This suggests that the White subjectivity deployed in the pages of *New England Farmer* could simultaneously be both anti-slavery and anti-Black. As Laurie (2005) has noted, the range of individuals and politics in the New England anti-slavery movement were quite diverse, ranging from the violent radicalism of Garrison to the more gradualist and institutionalized forms of anti-slavery that eventually coalesced into the Liberty Party and the Free Soil party. The individuals who wrote for *New England Farmer* seem to have been situated in the latter camp, decrying slavery because of its productivity and impact on character, but often caring little for the plights of African-descent people held in bondage.

All told, the free White farmer populating the pages of *New England Farmer* was an idealized depiction. But it was a depiction that was constructed to resonate at multiple scales. This farmer was free, in Massachusetts, and within New England, because he was unconstrained by the village social relations of the previous generation. His interactions with others were through the free, if anonymous, relations of cash exchange and wage labor. He was free at the regional scale, juxtaposed against southern slavery. Finally, he was free nationally, as a symbol of the bedrock of the nation, and against the tyranny of the English monarchy. This multi-scale symbolism is visible in uses of the term "Yankee" in the pages of *New England Farmer*. From the first issue, and throughout the journal, "yankee" is used to denote a resident of New England, a resident of New England as counter-posed against the South (New England Farmer 1822a), and a resident of the United States as counter-posed against Britain or Europe (New England Farmer 1822b). There is not an explicit or unifying theme that emerges from an analysis of the term "yankee" in *New England Farmer,* but the fact that the term is local, regional, and national suggests that the authors and contributors to this Improvement journal saw themselves and the landscape they were depicting as resonating at these scales of action.

Conclusion

The figure of the Yeoman presented in the pages of *New England Farmer* was constructed along a number of material, social, moral, and political vectors. There was a natural quality to the Yeoman—situated, as Ulrich notes, "between aristocrats and savages" (Ulrich 2001, p. 413). The Yeoman, in other words, served as a discursive container of moral and symbolic landscape that Improvers sought to construct, in the face of growing US regionalization and the integration of Europe and America in the Atlantic economy.

It is hard to know to what extent Connecticut River Valley farmers engaged with Improvement's moralized logics, even as they embraced its practical and scientific techniques. It is likely that, as in neighboring Worcester county, poorer and middling farmers accepted some new techniques, equipment, and practices and rejected others, creating a continuum of Improvement (cf. Small 2003, pp. 102–108). But

this continuum was bifurcated by the contributors to *New England Farmer*, in large part because the moralized figure of the Yeoman was so central to their political–economic understanding. Nuance, context, and variability had no place in a national political conflict, the stakes of which were seen to be the heart of the American experiment.

This moralized bifurcation was not benign. Improvers' failure to integrate contextual understandings of the role of markets, land, wealth, and ability into their analysis meant that they reduced economic success or failure in agriculture to moral imperatives and personal will. Simon Shamaway failed because he did not know how to set himself to work, while the Good Farmer worked hard but did not let his work drive him, keeping a large barn and small, unassuming house. This represents some of the first stirrings of a middle-class ideology that locates work and labor as a function of individual character. As Hobsbawm noted about the dawn of the nineteenth century:

> The middle-class world was freely open to all. Those who failed to enter its gates therefore demonstrated a lack of personal intelligence, moral force or energy which automatically condemned them … or else they would have already made use of their opportunities (Hobsbawm 1962, p. 242)

Thus, even the seemingly nebulous and symbolic arm of Improvement known as betterment was strongly implicated in class formation, consolidation, and oppression.

The history of Improvement in rural New England, and particularly in the Connecticut River Valley, was never an isolated, discrete phenomena, disconnected from broader social, economic, or political activities. Indeed, Improvers saw themselves as acting at a regional, national, and international scale simultaneously. Improvement shifted from subduing the wilderness (and the Indigenous people who utilized its biota) and conquering nature to actually superseding it. This was an activity that drew on wealth, and the economic connections that it brought with it, but as the Massachusetts economy diversified over the course of the eighteenth century, Improvers understood that they had to incorporate individuals who were not wealthy into their project, both as a means of maintaining hegemony over rural areas and to stave off political competition from Southern elites. The figure of the Yeoman—an inspirational figure whom Improvers constructed through material things, spaces, and practices—was central to this project. By drawing on a broader middle-class discourse of work as worth, Improvement moralized production, organizing farming activities within a nebulous symbolic network of values and ideals that smoothed over variation, social tension, and ecological stress.

As has been obvious, landscape, spatiality, and materiality played fundamental phenomenal roles in Improvement's realization at the turn of the nineteenth century. But so far, I have focused little attention upon the built environment and the actual materiality of Improvement. In the next section, this deficiency will be addressed by examining the material assemblage of an Improver family in the Connecticut River Valley—the archaeology of the E.H. and Anna Williams' Homelot in Deerfield, Massachusetts.

References

B.P. (1835, May 20). Visit to the Estate of the Late John Randolph of Roanoke. *New England Farmer*, *13*(45).

Bigelow, J. (1833, March 6). An address delivered at Bridgewater, Nov. 7, 1832 before the Plymouth County Agricultural Society, by Rev. Jonathan Bigelow, of Rochester. *New England Farmer*, *11*(34).

Bourcier, P. (1984). "In Excellent Order": The gentleman farmer views his fences, 1790-1860. *Agricultural History, 58*(4), 546–564.

Burball, T. D. (1823). Address, delivered before the Ontario (N.Y.) Agriculturally Society, at its fourth annual meeting, October 22, 1822. *New England Farmer, 1*(25), 194–195.

Clark, C. (1990). *The roots of rural capitalism*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Columella. (1822, December 28). Letter to New England Farmer. *New England Farmer*, *1*(22).

Coontz, S. (1988). *The Social Origins of Private Life: A History of American Families 1600–1900*. London, England: Verso.

Cronon, W. (1983). *Changes in the land: Indians, colonists and the ecology of New England*. New York: Hill & Wang.

Crothers, A. G. (2001). Agricultural Improvement and Technological Innovation in a Slave Society: The Case of Early National Northern Virginia. *Agricultural History, 75*(2), 135–167.

Cumbler, J. T. (2001). *Reasonable Use: The People, the Environment, and the State, New England 1790-1930: The People, the Environment, and the State, New England 1790-1930*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.

Dobkin-Hall, P. (1984). *The organization of American Culture, 1700-1900: Private institutions, elites, and the origins of American Nationality*. New York: NYU Press.

Fessenden, T. G. (1823, April 19). On the advantages of system in business. *New England Farmer*, *1*(38).

Foster, D. R., Motzkin, G., & Slater, B. (1998). Land-Use History as Long-Term Broad-Scale Disturbance: Regional Forest Dynamics in Central New England. *Ecosystems, 1*(1), 96–119. doi:10.1007/s100219900008.

Garrison, J. R. (1991). *Landscape and material life in Franklin County, Massachusetts, 1770-1860*. Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press.

Graeber, D. (2012). *Debt: the first 5,000 years*. Brooklyn, NY: Melville House.

Grettler, D. J. (1999). Environmental change and conflict over hogs in early nineteenth-century Delaware. *Journal of the Early Republic, 19*(2), 197–220.

Groover, M. D. (2003). *An archaeological study of rural capitalism and material life*. New York: Springer.

Haefeli, E., & Sweeney, K. M. (2003). *Captors and Captives: The 1704 French and Indian Raid on Deerfield*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press.

Hahn, S. (2006). *The roots of southern populism: Yeoman farmers and the transformation of the Georgia Upcountry, 1850–1890*. New York: Oxford University Press USA (Updated Edition).

Hobsbawm, E. J. (1962). *The Age of Revolution, 1789-1848*. New York: Mentor.

Holland, J. G. (1855). *History of western Massachusetts. The counties of Hampden, Hampshire, Franklin, and Berkshire. Embracing an outline aspects and leading interests, and separate histories of its one hundred towns* (Vol. 2). Springfield, MA: Samuel Bowles. Retrieved October 28, 2011, from http://www.archive.org/details/historyofwestern01holl.

Hubka, T. (2004). *Big house, little house, back house, barn*. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England.

Massachusetts Agriculture Repository and Journal, For June (Continued from p.2). (1822). *New England Farmer*, *1*(2), 10–11.

Laurie, B. (2005). *Beyond Garrison: Antislavery and social reform*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

McMurry, S. (1997). *Families and farmhouses in nineteenth-century America: Vernacular design and social change*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Melish, J. P. (1998). *Disowning slavery: Gradual emancipation and "Race" in New England, 1780-1860*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
Merchant, C. (1989). *Ecological revolutions: Nature, gender and science in New England*. Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press.
MIDDLESEX CATTLE SHOW. (1822). *New England Farmer*, p. 81. Boston.
Miller, A. F. (1986). *The bittersweet life of E.H. Williams, 1761-1838*. Deerfield, MA: Ms. on File, Historic Deerfield.
Moore, H. (1822, December 28). Report of the Committee of the Hillsborough (N.H.) Agricultural Society, on Agricultural Products. *New England Farmer*, *1*(22).
New England Farmer. (1822a, September 28). We have republished, in this days paper … *New England Farmer*, *1*(9), 71.
New England Farmer. (1822b, October 12). Middlesex cattle show. *New England Farmer*, *1*(11).
New England Farmer. (1822c, November 23). Signs of a good farmer. *New England Farmer*, *1*(17).
New England Farmer. (1826, August 5). Silliman's Journal of Science and Arts. *New England Farmer*, *5*(2).
New England Farmer. (1834, January 15). The Hon. Judge Strong's Address, Delibered before the Worcestor Agr. Society, Oct. 9th, 1833 [Published in the N.E. Farmer at the request of the Trustees.]. *New England Farmer*, *12*(27).
New England Farmer. (1835, October 6). The Farmer's Song. *New England Farmer, and Gardener's Journal*, *14*(13).
Pabst, M. R. (1941). Agricultural Trends in the Connecticut Valley Region of Massachusetts, 1800-1900. *Smith College Studies in History, 26*.
Pomeranz, K. (2000). *The great divergence: China, Europe, and the making of the modern world economy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
Rotman, D. L. (2009). *Historical Archaeology of Gendered Lives*. Dordrecht: Springer.
Scott, J. C. (1998). *Seeing like a state: How certain schemes to improve the human condition have failed*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
Sheidley, H. E. W. (1990). *Sectional nationalism: The culture and politics of the Massachusetts conservative elite, 1815–1836,* Dissertation. Mansfield, CT: University of Connecticut. Retrieved from http://digitalcommons.uconn.edu/dissertations/AAI9109853.
Small, N. P. (2003). *Beauty and convenience: Architecture and order in the new republic*. Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press.
Spofford, J. (1834a, April 23). An Address to the Essex County Agricultural Society, At New Rowley, September 26th, 1833, at their Annual Cattle Show (Part 1). *New England Farmer*, *12*(41).
Spofford, J. (1834b, April 30). An address to the Essex County Agricultural Society, At New Rowley, September 26th, 1833, at their Annual Cattle Show (Concluded from Page 323). *New England Farmer*, *12*(42).
Spufford, M. (2006). Chimneys, wood, and coal. In P. S. Barnwell & M. Airs (Eds.), *Houses and the Hearth Tax: The Later Stuart House and Society*. York, England: Council for British Archaeology.
St. George, R. B. (1982). "Set thine house in order": The domestication of the Yeomanry in seventeenth-century New England. In J. L. Fairbanks & R. F. Trent (Eds.) *New England Begins: The Seventeenth Century, Volume 2: Mentality and Environment* (pp. 159–351). Boston: Museum of Fine Arts.
Sweeney, K. M. (1984). Mansion People: Kinship, Class, and Architecture in Western Massachusetts in the Mid Eighteenth Century. *Winterthur Portfolio, 19*, 231–256.
Tarlow, S. (2007). *The archaeology of improvement in Britain, 1750-1850*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press.
Thompson, E. P. (1971). The moral economy of the English crowd in the eighteenth century. *Past & Present, 50*, 76–136. Retrieved March 17, 2015.
Thornton, T. P. (1989). *Cultivating gentlemen: Country life and the legitimation of Boston's mercantile—manufacturing elite, 1785-1860*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Thornton, T. P. (2007). A Great Machine" or a Beast of Prey": A Boston Corporation and Its Rural Debtors in an Age of Capitalist Transformation. *Journal of the Early Republic, 27*(4), 567–597. doi:10.1353/jer.2007.0065.

Ulrich, L. T. (2001). *The Age of Homespun: Objects and Stories in the Creation of an American Myth*. New York: Knopf.

Waldstreicher, D. L. (1994). *The Making of American Nationalism: Celebration and Political culture, 1776-1820,* Dissertation. New Haven, Ct: Yale University.

Wall, D. di Z. (1994). *The archaeology of gender: Separating the spheres in urban America*. New York: Plenum.

Walsh, M. (2010). *A nation in sight: Visual technology and literary culture in the early United States,* Dissertation, Philadelphia, PA: Temple.

Williams, R. (1983). *Culture and Society, 1780-1950*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Wrigley, E. A. (2013). *Energy and the English Industrial Revolution* (p. 371(1986)). Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society A: Mathematical, Physical and Engineering Sciences. doi:10.1098/rsta.2011.0568.

yeoman, n. (n.d.). *OED Online*. Oxford University Press. Retrieved April 20, 2015, from http://www.oed.com.ezphost.dur.ac.uk/view/Entry/231598.

Zilberstein, A. (2008). *Planting improvement: The rhetoric and practice of scientific agriculture in northern British America, 1670–1820, Dissertation*. Cambridge, MA: Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Part III
The Materiality of an Improver in the Connecticut River Valley

Chapter 6
The Ebenezer Hinsdale and Anna Williams' House: Materializing the Improver

> *What seems to have been important to the eighteenth-century middle classes (but not at all to the labouring classes) was not privacy in the sense of absolute seclusion, but control over the presentation of the self.*
>
> —The Archaeology of Improvement, Sarah Tarlow (2007, p. 177)

This chapter, and subsequent chapters, focus on the built environment of an Improver family and the material manifestations of Improvement at a specific site—the Ebenezer Hinsdale and Anna Williams' House in Deerfield, Massachusetts. While the previous chapters have located New England Improvement in symbolic and ideational terms, the next three chapters draw on archaeological, documentary, and architectural evidence to show how the twin logics of profit and betterment cohere in the built environment. Ultimately, these logics sat in tension with each other, and as we will see, this tension is visible across a number of material arenas at the E.H. and Anna Williams' site.

Today, the E.H. and Anna Williams' house is part of the house-museum collection of Historic Deerfield, Inc. It sits at the North end of Deerfield's mile long street, the second to last house before flat fields of the floodplain of the Deerfield and Connecticut Rivers (see Fig. 4.2). Visitors to the house today will find it interpreted to the 1820s–1830s, the period in which the Williams family occupied the house. The interpretation, including material culture placement and decoration, was done using E.H. Williams' probate inventory, taken upon his death in 1838. The house was acquired by Historic Deerfield (then known as the Heritage Foundation) in 1962, after it was donated by the Cowles family, whose ancestors had occupied it since the 1860s. Aside from some twentieth century modernizations of plumbing and electricity, much of the interior of the house is as it looked during the Williamses' tenure.

Frustratingly, little remains of the Williamses' documentary record, making it difficult to study the family as Improvers from a documentary perspective. There is no account book that might detail the family's economic and social transactions, nor

Q.P. Lewis, *An Archaeology of Improvement in Rural Massachusetts*, Contributions To Global Historical Archaeology, DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-22105-2_6

are there diaries that might reveal family members' thoughts or activities. What documents exist are largely from external sources, such as deeds, tax records, and other official documents. These have largely been collated in Miller's biography of Williams (Miller 1986) and analyzed in other studies (Gordineer 1981; Longley 1982; Proper 1990; Rassam 1998; Spears 1985). But this provides an interesting opportunity for archaeological and material analysis, especially as Improvement was heavily invested in the material world, and in changing the built environment of rural Massachusetts. The Williamses were Improvers—their material world reveals this connection, even if the documents are neutral or silent on it. Archaeology is necessary to reveal such broadly constituted social formations, through a close reading of the material world in a given place.

There are some overarching themes, drawn from the previous sections, which will come up frequently in the subsequent chapters. The first is the ambiguous reconfiguration of notions of public and private arenas of social life. As noted in the previous chapter, farms across New England were adding new outbuildings and extensions to houses that reorganized work activities, creating a distance between the fronts and backs of houses. At the same time, the growth of front room parlors, entry halls, and other rooms that segmented the social distance from streets and roads had the effect of fragmenting public and private life.

The second theme, related to the first, is the growing interdigitation of economic and social life, and a sometimes uncomfortable mixture of reciprocally oriented and market-oriented economies. Rural Massachusetts villages like Deerfield were always integrated into an economy tied to Atlantic markets, but the actual relations of that integration were often fraught with tension. Such tension came to a head at the end of the eighteenth century, as noted in Chap. 3, when competing economic imperatives led to a debt crisis known as Shay's Rebellion. At the dawn of the nineteenth century, the instability of these events reverberated throughout New England and spurred the production of new cultural institutions, particularly progressive agricultural institutions that linked rural production and economy with social forms and ideas, such as the Yeoman.

The third theme, drawn from this institutional literature, is the importance of visibility to understanding how these two changes were spatialized. As noted in Chap. 2, light, viewpoint, and perspective have long been structural factors in the aesthetics of modernity (Cosgrove 1998), and such factors have been studied archaeologically (Epperson 1999; Leone and Hurry 1998; e.g. Leone and Shackel 1990; Matthews 2012; Paynter and Stigers 2003).

But as we saw in Chap. 5, the organization of the visual field was particularly important to Improvers who linked aesthetic and economic imperatives—the melding of profit with betterment demanded a visual accounting and public display, and likewise a visual recession of aspects of social life in which such melding was difficult or contradictory.

These three themes, emergent in the previously discussed literature, will now be explored in material terms through an examination of the landscapes and materiality of the E.H. and Anna Williams' house in Deerfield, Massachusetts.

Entering the Williams' House

One way to begin exploring the ways in which Improvement was manifested and materialized by a given individual or group is to walk through the house of an Improver. With the Williams' house, this is relatively easy to accomplish—the probate inventory provides a means to see what objects were in which rooms. The specific locations of such objects are not stated in the probate, preventing a proper reconstruction. However, it is possible to organize the materiality of the rooms along two axes—presence/absence and relative placement. In other words, we can know what things were and were not present in the Williams' house, and what things were present in some rooms, but not others.

Historical archaeologists have long used probate inventories to comparatively analyze archaeological assemblages and as analytical tools in their own right (Beaudry 1993; Bowen 1975; cf. Cummings 1964; Shackel 1993). Probate inventories do freeze time, avoiding the complexities of object lifecycle, as well as the human lifecycle. To be sure, this is an idealized and highly contextualized assemblage—it is the objects in the Williams' house upon Ebenezer Hinsdale's death in 1838 (see Appendix Table A.8). And it does not necessarily represent every object in the house—for example, an upstairs bedroom was not inventoried, likely because its contents belonged to E.H. Williams' daughter-in-law Isabella (Longley 1982, pp. 24–26). Still, a brief examination provides some interesting insights about the relationship between Improvement, visibility, sociability, and rural life.

To begin such an examination, it is necessary to describe not just the objects, but the house itself. Blueprints, made upon the building's acquisition by Historic Deerfield in the 1960s, provide a floorplan that is essentially identical to the house in which the Williams family resided (see Fig. 6.1).

A visitor examining the E.H. Williams' house from the street would see a white, symmetrical double-pile house, with its frontage parallel to the street itself (see Fig. 1.1). In the 1820s, the house would have seemed fairly progressive, with a fanlight over a relative subdued door (in comparison with the more elaborate older doors on other Deerfield houses), and the large windows on the front and south-facing walls. The house itself would have been quite large for the time, going against the admonitions of Improvers for a "large barn and a small house" (see Chap. 5). A white picket fence separates the front yard from the street.

There are three doors—one facing the street, one facing south towards the side yard, and one facing the barnyard to the east. But immediately, we are faced with a question of standpoint. It is easy to envision ourselves as friendly visitors to the Williams' house, walking in the front door, but in the 1820s, where would a visitor enter? This is not at all an innocuous question, as much of eighteenth and nineteenth century architectural patterns were supremely concerned with issues of access, visibility, and the ambiguous and changing makeup of social life. Medieval hall doors opened almost directly onto undifferentiated living and working areas, and seventeenth century hall and parlor house doors only segregated this undifferentiated space somewhat (Johnson 1993, pp. 115–116). Therefore, "who" enters the Williams' house might structure and constitute where they enter.

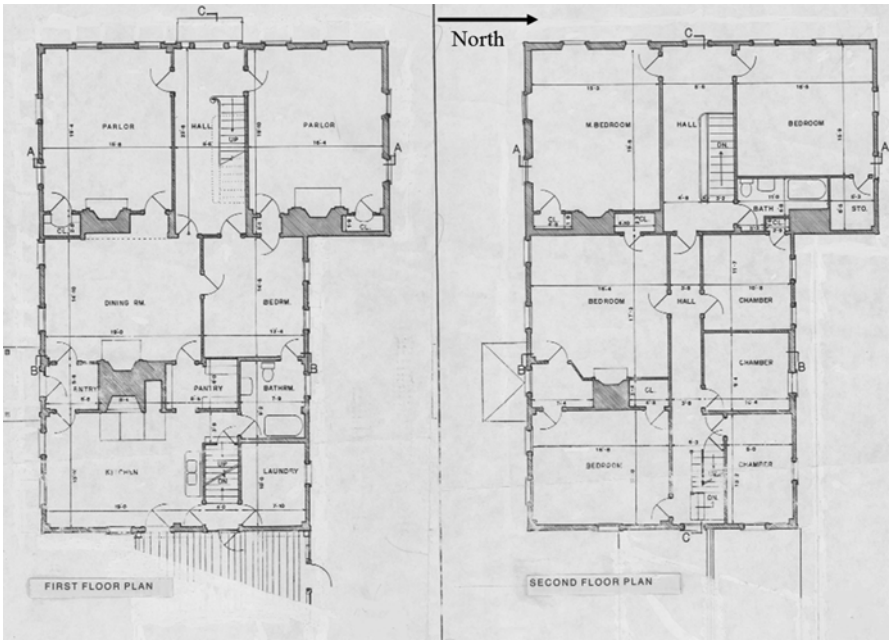


Fig. 6.1 Floorplan of the Ebenezer Hinsdale and Anna Williams House. Image courtesy of Historic Deerfield, Inc.

But let us assume that our anonymous visitor comes to the westward facing front door. Through the front door was an entry hall, then a novel but not uncommon Georgian architectural innovation (Deetz 1996, pp. 161–162). Such halls replaced entrances that opened directly into a parlor or hall, or a passage between them, and it is not unlikely that the original eighteenth century house of Ebenezer Hinsdale had such a layout (see below).

In the entry hall itself was an "entry carpet home made." "Home made" or "Homespun" is a broad vernacular term dating to the nineteenth century and glosses a wide variety of hand-woven, non-commercial cloths (Ulrich 2001). Homespun rugs were modest and circulated through local exchange networks and labor relations. They were "everyday" rugs, but were loaded with powerful material symbolism in the early to mid nineteenth century. As Ulrich notes, Homespun signified local productivity and economy, and it often had strong gender significance—homespun cloth was made by women (Ulrich 2001, p. 4). In its weaving of cast-off cloth into a greater whole, it was occasionally deployed as a symbol of family closeness (McMurry 1997, p. 153). It is possible that a rug would be an innocuous object, sitting below consciousness to a front-door visitor, but given that nothing else was present in the entry hall, we may take some liberties with its material evocation—the homespun rug "greets" with its very innocuousness. Visitors to the Williams' home were immediately greeted not with a symbol of wealth and social distance, but a sign of modesty, household labor, and parochialism. And yet, they were not private or exclusionary—the placement of the rug in the entry hall suggests that it

was meant to be seen by visitors to the front door. This point is confirmed by contemporary accounts of homespun rugs. Hannah Bowen's 1839 novella *Farmer Housten and the Speculator* depicts the household and fields of an idealized Yeoman farmer, in an unnamed part of New England, but which is geographically similar to the Connecticut River Valley. The book details a Yeoman's ruin at the hands of an urban land speculator—a collision of local and long-distance exchange. But crucially, the book begins its description of the eponymous farmer by discussing his house interior, in which a homespun carpet was present on the "floor of the room in which [the farmer] received the few visitors who chanced to call" (Allen 1839). Homespun rugs were both meant for public consumption and indicative of an idealized rural way of life.

Visitors would wait in the entry hall before being received in one of the two parlors. The northwest parlor strikes an important contrast with the entry hall. Unlike the austere entry hall, it is more populated with objects—aside from the dining room, it contains more objects than any other room in the main floors of the house. And these objects strike a different symbolic scale than the local, parochial homespun rug. At a cursory level, many of the objects, here, and in the rest of the house, were goods available on the mass-consumer market, belying both the parochial origins of the homespun rug, and Improver's moralized injunctions against conspicuous consumption more broadly. The floors of this parlor are covered not by modest homespun, but by two "carpets," described as "Kidderminster" and "Brussels," respectively. The names may have referred to style rather than to location, but Kidderminster, in England, was a prominent center of carpet making in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and a center of industrialization (Smith 1986). The carpets were likely stylistically colorful and beautifully patterned, in styles likely common in more cosmopolitan European and urban homes. Such carpets point not to the local, parochial world of the village with its domestic labor and reciprocal exchange, but toward the mercantile, Atlantic world. They are also two of the only objects in the house in which the probator felt the need to list their place of origin. Their contrast with the local homespun rug suggests a social and geographical distance, which the Williamses (and invited guests) could traverse merely by walking through a door. The homespun carpet placed in entry hall suggests locality and tradition, while the Kidderminster and Brussels carpets suggest distance and modernity. Thus, the Williams family utilized material things in space, to generate a sense of spatial scale—simultaneously local and global, reciprocal and mercantile. But they did so in a way that suggested that both were choices, not merely a product of the scattering of material things, but as a way to identify themselves within the Improved landscape.

The Williams Family in Historical Context

Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams was born in 1761, in Roxbury Massachusetts. His father, Thomas Williams, was a Doctor and gentleman farmer, and in the 1790s, would be a charter member of the Massachusetts Society for the Promotion of Agriculture. Williams was named for his uncle, Ebenezer Hinsdale (1707–1763), of

Deerfield. Hinsdale's family were some of the first lot owners in Deerfield in the seventeenth century, and Hinsdale's father Mehuman Hinsdale (1673–1736) purchased and consolidated the land on Lots 40-41-42, which would eventually include the E.H. and Anna Williams' House. Indeed, Ebenezer Hinsdale built the first structure on the property in the late 1740s and founded the town of Hinsdale, New Hampshire.

The Roxbury branch of the Williams family was distantly related to the Connecticut River Valley branch of the Williams family and kept up ties there (Sweeney 1988, 2004). Indeed, Williams' mother Abigail was born in Deerfield, and his father had apprenticed as a Doctor there with his cousin, another Thomas Williams, in the late 1750s (Miller 1986, p.4). E.H. Williams was educated at Harvard, graduating in 1783, and eventually moved to Deerfield by 1789. He bought some of the best land in the village, in the area known as Wisdom, which sits in the bend in the Deerfield River. This land was also locally known as "Carter's Land," probably named for an original plot owner from the seventeenth century (George Sheldon 1972a, p. 26).

The Williams family bought the house that bears their name today in 1816, upon the death of Thomas Williams, E.H.'s father. Rather than razing what had probably been a fairly modest single-pile house, Williams used his family's wealth to undertake substantial external and internal renovations. The Williamses expanded the Kitchen-ell/buttery to two stories, and dug a cellar underneath, and most likely replaced the ell with the one standing on the property today (Gordineer 1981, p. 38, William Flynt, Personal Communication 9/11/2012). Williams constructed a completely new low-pitched hipped-roof system over the enlarged house. He strategically replaced the windows on the south and front sides of the house that are most prominently visible from the main street of the village, while reusing older window units on the northern side of the ell that is visible from the working yard. He enlarged the entry way and installed a fanlight over the door. Other architectural changes, such as the movement of the chimney, the construction of a second paired chimney, and the creation of the central entryway, are difficult to date with certainty. But the changes the Williamses enacted were not insignificant. Williams doubled the size of the house by replacing the old ell with a much larger, two-story version encompassing ten rooms of varying size. The Williamses also shifted the positions of windows, added the front door fanlight, and modified the exterior in keeping with the then-modern Federal style architecture (Gordineer 1981, pp. 17–22). They excavated a much larger cellar than had previously existed on the property. All of this work was probably done between 1816 and 1820. With a few minor exceptions (particularly modern plumbing and electricity), the house stands today as it did when Williams completed his renovations (Gordineer 1981, p. 35).

Williams did not farm his extensive landholdings around Deerfield alone, but relied on tenant farmers who assisted him. Tenants were responsible for paying both taxes on the land and rent to Williams as part of their tenancy. Williams had a number of tenant farmers over the course of his life (A. F. Miller 1986, pp. 8, 9, 13, 15, 41–42), in addition to hired hands, and household servants, who stayed in the upper chamber rooms in the back of his family's house. Williams and his wife Anna had

two children, Anna, and Elijah, and in 1820 and 1830, there are three individuals beyond this family of four listed in the federal census (Bograd 1989, p. 43).

Williams' economic and social activities were quite broad, to the point where calling him a "farmer" seems overly simplistic. In addition to being a farmer, Williams served as a state Representative, a selectman in Deerfield, a Justice of the Peace, publisher of an anti-masonic newspaper, and Deacon of the Congregational Church in Deerfield (Gordineer 1981, pp. 17–21). He was a member of the Deerfield social library, a private club which possessed a shared collection of books (George Sheldon 1972b, p. 825), and also owned a large personal library (Proper 1990; Spears 1985). He invested in a number of Connecticut River Valley banks, shares of which he discharged to family members upon his death (Longley 1982, p. 58). In his diversity of economic activities, Williams was not alone. Progressive farmers generally divided their economic lives across many fronts, serving in political roles, managing mercantile exploits, or drawing on other kinds of activities (McMurry 1997, pp. 27–28). His son, Elijah, did not follow in his father's agricultural footsteps, engaging in a number of economic pursuits including land speculation and publishing. When E.H. Williams died in 1838, he was one of the richest men in Franklin County, Massachusetts, with a probate valued at nearly 8000 dollars, and a personal wealth (including investments and stocks) at over 16,000 dollars (Bograd 1989, pp. 38–39).

Visibility and Distance at the Williams House

The visual field of the Williams' house is a complicated phenomenon. Indeed, one might say that the visual field is cluttered, materially and socially. There are 1091 enumerated objects listed in the probate, though some entries collate several objects (e.g. "1 Bed Pillows &c 36 lbs" in the South East Chamber). The majority of these objects are clustered in the dining room ($n=345$), while the remainder are located in work and storage areas, with the barn ($n=114$), the kitchen ($n=102$), the cellar ($n=94$), and the garret ($n=90$) all similar in quantity. However, as we have already seen, the austere amount of furnishings in the entryways and parlors belie their wealth and symbolic indexing of geographical and social distance. The arrangement of objects within the Williams' home, described in the probate, is neither oppressively organized, nor entirely indiscriminate. One could explore a myriad of social meanings, productive activities, and symbolic contexts that manifest from the Williams' interior. But keeping our emphasis on Improvement, with its simultaneous action upon space and ideas about space, we can explore the ways in which the Williams' interior played with the social and spatial worlds, and how such play manifested the tensions of profit and betterment.

Visibility and the social, moral, and economic relationships it entailed have already been discussed in the general theoretical survey of Improvement (see Chap. 2). If the visual field is taken in by the aesthetic gaze, which is the "the infinitely varied art of marking distances" (Bourdieu 1984, p. 66), then we should expect to see such distances present in the materiality of the Williams' home, especially since viewing

and observing, and the distance they implied from actual work (cf. Williams 1973, p. 120), were so much a part of the long-history of improvement (Cosgrove 1998). Interior materiality was a field for organizing and managing distances and distinctions, across a variety of social relations, and according to the logics of profit and betterment. The objects inside the Williams' house operated, through their placement within a visual field, to structure, manage, and organize these social relations and interactions. This is particularly true since, as we shall see in Chap. 7, the Williams' exterior yard was organized around similar vectors.

Such symbolic vectors expand into other areas of materiality inside the house. As was discussed previously, Sarah Tarlow (2007, pp. 176–178) has made a rather ingenious observation that window glass, an ubiquitous and often overwhelming artifact category on historic period sites across the Atlantic world, is actually a fairly intriguing material signifier of Improvement. The mass production of flat glass allowed the creation of larger windows which, in turn, increased the illumination of interior spaces. This had profound impacts on productivity, allowing labor activities to take place after dark. At the same time, this transformation in manufacturing paralleled a growing symbolic understanding of light as purifying and invigorating. The growth of the visual field as a discriminating arena paralleled the rise of the importance of the illumination of that visual field—Improvements were meant to be viewed.

Light sources at the Williams' house came from windows, candles, lamps, and fireplaces. There are 40 windows at the Williams' house, and architectural historians suggest that the Williamses dramatically expanded the number of windows when they began remodeling the house in 1816 (Gordineer 1981, pp. 17–22). Evidence for this is visible in the archaeological record from the yard—around 7% of the total sherd assemblage recovered through excavation was window glass, a record of renovation that suggests that maintenance and upkeep of windows has been a prime concern at the Williams' house since the early nineteenth century, both by the Williamses themselves and by subsequent residents. Though it is of a slightly earlier period, the Massachusetts tax valuation list of 1798 for the nearby town of South Hadley lists no houses with more than 32 windows, and these were the most valuable houses in the town (Garrison 1991, p. 191).

The placement of windows in the house suggests a subtle contouring of visibility. The windows on the front and south walls of the house are the same size—3 × 4 pane sash windows, 4 feet high. The highest quantities of windows are in the two front parlors and the two large upstairs' bedrooms, each of which have four such windows. The kitchen has three windows, and the remaining rooms have one or two. Thus, sunlight illumination decreases from the front to the back of the house, and from the street to the yard.

The probate lists a number of rooms that contain lighting implements, particularly candles, candle-holders, and light-stands (see Table 6.1). Comparisons with inventories in nearby Worcester County, Massachusetts, around the same time suggest that most people owned fewer than four candlesticks (Larkin 1988, p. 136). The Williams' probate lists 16, in addition to lamps. And there are a significant number

Table 6.1 Light-related implements from the Probate Inventory of Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams

Item	Value	Quantity	Location
Light Stand	1	1	North parlor
Mantle Looking Glass	5	1	North parlor
Fire set and Fender	7	1	North parlor
Light Stand	0.75	1	Dining room
pair of plaited Candle Sticks & Snuffers	3	1	Dining room
Brass candle sticks	1	2	Dining room
Brass Candle Sticks	0.33	2	Dining room
Plated Brass Candle Sticks	1	2	Dining room
Snuffers and tray	0.33	1	Dining room
Gilt Looking Glass	2	1	Dining room
Fire Set in Dining Room	3	1	Dining room
Looking Glass	1.75	1	Back room
Light Stand	0.25	1	Back room
Lamp Filler	0.13	1	Pantry
Lantern	0.2	1	Kitchen
Pair of Snuffers and tray	0.6	1	Kitchen
Pair of Andirons	1.25	1	Kitchen
Looking Glass	1	1	Kitchen
Looking Glass	1.5	1	South Front chamber
Light Stand	0.75	1	North chamber
Looking Glass	1	1	North chamber
Fire Set	4	1	Northwest Bed chamber
Looking Glass	0.25	1	Southeast chamber
Candle rods	0.3	4	Garrett
Glass Lamps	0.67	2	Garrett

of mirrors ("looking glass") in the house, including in the Northwest Parlor, the Dining room, and the kitchen, in addition to upstairs' bedrooms.

Working at the Williams' House: Stall-Fed Oxen and Regional Mercantilism

One suspects that the friend or business-interested visitor might not see the most valuable objects listed in the Williams' inventory. That honor would likely be reserved for Williams' tenant farmers and hired hands, the Bardwell and Wait brothers who assisted Williams in farming Carter's Land in the early nineteenth century. This is because these objects were not present in the house itself, but resided in the barn. And they were not, strictly speaking, objects, but were instead, animals—a horse listed at $40.00, a fat cow listed at $37.50, and a milk cow listed at $35.00.

The value of these animals, especially the cattle, are indicative both of their importance to Williams, and the prominence of Connecticut River Valley beef more generally. Williams' primary agricultural occupation was the stall feeding of oxen. It may not have been as lucrative as property speculation (though that is difficult to determine), but it ordered a significant portion of Williams' time, space, and attention. The lack of more animals in the Williams' inventory is likely a result of his declining health and mobility in the months leading up to his death, and the reduction of his ability to actively farm.

George Sheldon, author of the two volume *History of Deerfield* (Sheldon 1972a, 1972b) and founder of Deerfield's first historical society, the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association (1870), told a story about Williams' stall feeding.

> Nothing was allowed to interfere with putting up the cattle at the regular hour. A current story will illustrate this point. Of four brothers, prominent men of Deerfield Street, the oldest one died [Major David Dickinson]. There was a large gathering at the Major's house for the funeral. … In due time the rest reached the open grave, into which the body of the Revolutionary Major was lowered; then came a pause for the usual ceremony, when some near friend of the deceased gave formal thanks to the people for their assistance in burying their dead. The pause was short. "Uncle Hinsdale," [E.H. Williams] who was the conductor of the funeral advanced to the grave and with his peculiar emphatic ahem! and his accompanying kick with the heel of his right foot, sent the earth rattling down upon the coffin and exclaimed shortly "Cover him up! Cover him up! No friends here!" It is not clear whether he was the more vexed at the absence of the three brothers, or his own enforced presence after two o'clock. (George Sheldon 1898, pp. 7–8)

"Putting up the cattle" refers to the act of bringing animals into their stalls in the barn for feeding. This was one part of an elaborate schedule in the stall-feeding of oxen, a complex and regionally specific form of production that had characterized the Connecticut River Valley, and Deerfield specifically since the eighteenth century.

E.H. Williams and his family were active in the tail-end of a regionally understood agricultural practice known as "stall-feeding" of oxen. Mentioned by Dwight in his description of the Connecticut River Valley (see Chap. 4), it had a long history in the region, and it is worth discussing in greater detail. The Connecticut River Valley towns, and Deerfield in particular, were an epicenter of the stall-fed oxen trade, perhaps more focused on it than any other area in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts (Sheldon 1898, p. 1).

The practice linked local, regional, and long-distance exchange. Farmers in the valley would purchase cattle in the fall, fatten them on provender and hay over the winter in specially designed stalls, and then sell them at markets in Brighton (home of the MSPA cattle show, and market), Boston, or New York in the Spring. This allowed farmers to take advantage of the lush Valley soils. Farmers often bought cattle from upland grazers who utilized the thinner, stonier soils of the uplands as grazing land, but did not have the resources to heavily fatten the cattle themselves. Finally, farmers would utilize a variety of outlets for disposing of cattle, sometimes driving them overland themselves, sometimes selling to a drover or a surrogate who drove them to market in their stead, paying cash, or seeking an estimated price to butchers (Garrison 1987, pp. 13–14). Cattle had to be fed on a rigorous schedule so that they fattened, but not unhealthily so. Likewise, because the prices of cattle were

dictated at distant markets, outside of local exchange relations, it was essential to move cattle at the right time of year to make the most profit.

However, stall-feeding was not universally acclaimed, as it was complex, expensive, and risky. It involved agents at a variety of scales (e.g., valley and upland farmers, drovers, and butchers), required a keen understanding of seasonal market, crop, and weather conditions, and it necessitated a tight estimation of costs and profits. Farmers also had to build extensive and costly outbuildings to stall and feed their cattle, store the manure that standing cattle created, and house the various tools necessary to keep the whole process going. Stall-fattening often required extra labor to monitor cows, feed them by hand, and maintain the whole circuit. Finally, there were economic risks involved. Farmers who waited too long, or not long enough to sell their cattle risked losing money, even on an even playing field. And Garrison notes that there were many opportunities for fraud or misleading information along the exchange cycle (Garrison 1987, p. 14).

Not all farmers were convinced of the utility of stall-feeding. In an 1833 address by agricultural reformer Henry Colman before the Franklin, Hampshire, and Hampden Agricultural Society (reprinted in an 1834 issue of *New England Farmer*), he argued that stall-feeding was "a very doubtful source of gain" because it required extensive calculation and was extremely risky. This was especially true, wrote Colman because "the state of the market is so precarious … that the chance of success is by many judicious farmers considered very small" (Colman 1834). Colman saw stall-feeding as a specialized and difficult trade, and as an alternative, he advocated raising sheep. But his reasons suggest that Improvers, and perhaps farmers more generally, saw stall fattening as a rigorous and demanding practice, requiring "calculation or experiment," and that the "state of the market is so precarious." Thus, stall-fattening was difficult and demanding even in normal times, and Colman's criticisms point to the volatile market for cattle and produce in Massachusetts in the second decade of the nineteenth century.

Improvers in *New England Farmer* located the Connecticut River Valley as the epicenter of stall fattening. A story reprinted from the Hampshire Gazette (New England Farmer 1831b) described the history of stall-fattening in the Connecticut River Valley going back to 1690 and especially after 1724. Deerfield, Northampton, Hadley, and Hatfield are all singled-out as centers of stall-feeding. The unnamed author concludes by saying that

> Stall-feeding cattle was a business of some importance in the towns on the Connecticut River more than 100 years ago. It has been much extended since and it is believed that the farmers of Hatfield now stall-feed three times as many oxen as were fattened in all the towns in Old Hampshire 100 years since.

This passage suggests that Stall-feeding was, in the minds of nineteenth century Improvers, synonymous with the Connecticut River Valley, and that at the time (1831), it was still a common and even a lucrative practice.

Improvers generally spoke well of stall-fattening as a practice. Prizes were often given at cattle shows and agricultural fairs for the heaviest animal—for example,

Ebenezer Stebbins of Deerfield won the prize at the Northampton Cattle show in 1823 (New England Farmer 1823). An essay, reprinted in 1827, proclaimed that

> Some intelligent men in the country, instead of yarding [keeping their cattle penned in a yard], prefer feeding altogether in the stall, during winter, turning the beasts out only for water and exercise. This system may be pursued with advantage; much food being saved, by feeding in the house, and a great quantity of manure had if straw be had in sufficient quantities to litter well (New England Farmer 1827).

This theme of the relationship between manuring and stall-fattening was often-repeated (New England Farmer 1831a), with Improvers advocating fattening in stalls because "cattle thus fed furnish more manure, and require less land to provide the necessary supplies of provender" (Sinclair 1835).

Improvers were aware of the risks involved in stall-fattening and did not advocate it as a universal practice. Other contributors noted their inability to make stall-feeding profitable. In 1829, there occurred an interesting exchange between a farmer who signed his letter "S.X." and the editor, Thomas Fessenden. As an experiment, "S.X." attempted to stall feed oxen by purchasing them, as well as the produce to feed them, but found that at the end of the season, he had lost money. He reported his finances in his letter, and urged other farmers to be careful in stall-feeding activities. Fessenden's response, largely in agreement with "S.X.," highlighted the specialized nature of stall-feeding, the problems that specialization presented, and suggested that "stall feeding cattle can [never] be made profitable in the vicinity of large markets" because the produce required to feed the cattle would fetch a higher price if sold themselves (S.X. 1829). At the same time, many farmers who lived in the back-country who "are in possession of rich pasture grounds" find that "their produce can scarcely be turned to good account in any other way but by its use in fattening cattle."

Williams' personal thoughts on the utility of stall-feeding are not known. However, a few salient points emerge from the above accounts. First, Williams invested in stall-feeding and maintained a rigorous attachment to it, as evidenced by Sheldon's reminiscence. Secondly, stall-feeding was an integrative process, linking lowlands and uplands in economic cycles that reverberated across space and through time. Thirdly, stall-feeding represented a fundamentally new kind of agricultural practice, requiring an intensive investment in market-agriculture. Though it was transitional to more capitalist agri-business activities (Garrison 1991, p. 79), it cemented market relations throughout the Connecticut River Valley and the hill towns.

Private Life and Private Property

Hanging on the Wall in the Dining Room was "Hoyt's Map of Franklin County," made by Arthur Hoyt in 1832 (see Fig. 6.2a). Hoyt was the son of Williams' friend Epraphas Hoyt, and a civil engineer. The map depicts the towns and villages of

Franklin County, as well as a number of other features. It makes an effort to effectively mark topography, roads, and waterways. It shows the location of villages, with dots marking buildings, as well as the location of mills and factories in the county. It is gridded according to Latitude and Longitude, and fairly accurate in terms of its delineation of political boundaries and transportation networks within the county. The map is thus quite detailed. Like all maps, it abstracts from the complexity of the world in order to organize spatial information into coherence. But it does so in a gridded, rationalized fashion, consistent with enlightenment principles of disinterested perspective (Cosgrove 1998, pp. 147–149; Harvey 1990, p. 245). This is especially apparent when comparing the map to the sketch of Deerfield made by Dudley Woodbridge a century earlier, while he was in the company of Ebenezer Hinsdale, E.H. Williams' namesake (see Fig. 6.2b). The Woodbridge sketch, though not a formal map per se, is rooted in the tactile and sensual experience of walking in a place, such that buildings always face the viewer, and if they are located on opposite sides of the street, are drawn upside down. This is not dissimilar to the late-medieval urban-maps cited by Harvey (1990, p. 243), where being in place, rather than recording abstract space, is the key organizing principle of map-making. The map in the Williams' home shows a relatively universal space, comprehendible

a

Fig. 6.2 (**a**) Hoyt's map of Franklin County, 1832, and (**b**) Woodbridge's Sketch of Deerfield, 1728. Hoyt's map is reproduced courtesy of the Library of Congress. Woodbridge sketch is reproduced courtesy of the Collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society

b

Fig. 6.2 (continued)

not from the inside, but from the outside. Its placement in the Williams' dining room points to another aspect of the Williamses' livelihood—land speculation.

Almost from the beginning of his time in Deerfield, E.H. Williams bought and sold land in Deerfield and across Franklin County. The Williamses "Carter's Land" property, first purchased in 1789, was quite extensive, numbering approximately 300 acres, with the exact amount varying according to purchases and sales through the early nineteenth century. The Register of Deeds for Franklin County lists 60 property transactions between Williams and some other party between 1789 and 1838, of which 41 were purchases. The remaining 19 were mortgages, in which Williams offered cash for land as collateral (see Appendix Table A.9). For Williams, much of the value of this land came from speculation—the purchasing of land with the goal not of producing value, but selling it at a profit. This speculation, land acquisition, and mortgaging formed a substantial plank of the Williams family's livelihood (Rotman 2001, p. 108). Williams also owned several homelots along the Street in Deerfield, including the southern half of the Frary House/Barnard Tavern, and the Elijah Williams' house, both still standing today. Such a strong investment in land ownership, management, and value necessitated accurate measurement. The barn probate also contained a surveyor's chain, then the most accurate instrument for measuring spatial distance (Nesbit 1847, p. 21). Space, for the Williamses, was a thing to be privatized, measured, bought, and sold. The map of Franklin county hanging in the dining room was constructed along the same spatial logic.

Its subject, Franklin County, was likewise deeply rooted in a mercantile process in which disparate places were abstracted to generalized commercial space. As discussed in Chap. 4, Franklin County was originally part of Hampshire County and had been split off in 1811. The central cause of this delineation was the growing concentration of mercantile wealth in the town of Greenfield, just to the north of Deerfield (Garrison 1991, p. 193; Reid 1989, 1993). A turn-of-the-century canal and lock building further down the river had allowed boats to travel up the Connecticut River from the Long Island sound to Greenfield, further increasing inland trade. The wealth generated from this spurred two processes—first, the consolidation of wealth in the hands of merchants, and secondly, a growing integration of hill and valley agricultural markets. As Reid notes, merchants in Greenfield ranged in the scale of their activities, but all were involved in the linking of long-distance, national, and international trade networks with local exchanges of agricultural and forest surplus between hill and valley towns (Reid 1989, p. 14). Greenfield's wealth and position were thus a creation of the reduction of the friction of distance between rural and urban areas.

There are elements of deep rooted place, both in the map of Franklin County and in the Williams' home itself. The map is not entirely an abstract projection. It shows the population of each town, along with the date of each town's incorporation. Additionally, there are some historical landmarks related to seventeenth century conflicts with French and Native forces—in Deerfield, there are points marking "Lathrop's Battle" and "Lathrop's Skirmish" from 1675. These are likely points that would have much greater resonance for local individuals than for more socially or geographically distant people—they certainly had no commercial value until the

rise of tourism and historic preservation made such places culturally enticing (Batinski 2004, pp. 168–171; Brown 1995; M. R. Miller and Lanning 1994). The Williams' home, too, was not simply an abstract spatial location. E.H. Williams took over the house owned by his namesake Ebenezer Hinsdale, possibly for nostalgic reasons (A. F. Miller 1986, p. 18). Certainly he did not venture to Deerfield for wealth—it is unlikely that Deerfield provided significantly more economic opportunities than would Roxbury, then a fairly prosperous Boston suburb.

Finally, the presence of this map in the dining room is also suggestive. It did not hang as a piece of art in the Northwest parlor, which was adorned with paintings. It also did not hang in the kitchen or in the office—more "private" or economically utilitarian areas, set back from the street. Instead, it hung in the dining room, like in a place of prominence over a fireplace (Longley 1982, pp. 16–17). In nineteenth century rural homes, dining rooms were ambiguous spaces, set between spaces of leisure and labor. They were spaces in which families congregated for social rituals, but also spaces in which guests were entertained—more private than a parlor, but not intimate (cf. Garrison 1991, pp. 169–172). The map itself likewise mixed the logics of the local and the distant—showing political and economic activity, but also aligning that activity with history and lived experience.

The philosophy of Improvement reconfigured relationships of space and time, collapsing both into traversable arenas. Human agency transformed cyclical, natural time into progress, while learning and enlightenment transformed place into space, a neutral, measurable, and controllable category. The local became simply a node of the global, rather than a fecund, rich, and clinal centroid from which action might flow into the receding distance. The Williams' home, in its layout and material composition, manifests this multi-scalar articulation.

Conclusion

The interior materiality of the Williams' house was a field of spatial ambiguity. Objects in the house traversed geographical and social space, linked actors at a variety of economic scales, and suggested a reshaping of the meaning of space itself into something bounded and private, in both the personal and economic senses of the word. Present in the Williams family materiality, background, and socio-economic activity is a constant tension between profit and betterment. The house is filled with objects that mark distance—between public and private, between modern and traditional, between work and leisure, between light and darkness. This distance is structured along the length of the house, from the publicly accessible space of the street, to the seemingly private spaces of work behind the house. The interior divides such access, segregating it materially and indicating such segregation in a number of significant ways. Some of the objects in the house likewise manifest these tensions.

It is generally understood that the early nineteenth century was a period in which social notions of "the private" and "the public" were constructed and manifested within spatial and material divisions inside the home. The world of "the public" was

the world of business, of anonymity, and of amorality, which was juxtaposed against "the private"—the world of family, of connection, and of moral certitude and refinement. Garrison articulates this position with regard to house design:

> What emerged was a sense that domestic space ought to be organized to nurture social rituals, family life, and work, a notion widely shared several decades before the literature of reform got around to writing about ideal housing design. In a crude way, then, houses increasingly rationalized these goals into a linear domestic taxonomy with social ritual located near public ways, family life centered in the middle, and kitchen/work space to the rear. (Garrison 1991, pp. 169–172)

But the interior materiality of the Williams' house suggests that easy binary distinctions of public outside and private inside smooth over the nuances of this relationship. The Williamses paid servants and field hands, many of whom would have had access to the most intimate and private spaces of their home. The enhancement of light in the Williams' house, particularly through increasing the number of windows and their size, likewise enhanced the extent to which the visual field "illuminated" the uneasy flow of public and private. The Hoyt map of Franklin county was in part a map of an increasingly "private" (in the sense of private property) political entity, where land was being parceled and privately bought and sold by people like Williams.

Categories like public and private, so often used to describe the fragmentation of interior space in early nineteenth century homes, need to be seen not as inviolate categories, or even as a gradient, but as relative to each other and to broader social contexts. E.H. Williams' public (re: business) life was invested in the sale of private property and privately owned agricultural products like oxen. Likewise, the private spaces of his home, particularly the parlor and the dining room, could be publicly available under certain circumstances, such as holidays, rituals, and social events. The Williamses resolved these tensions by playing with categories of local and distant and public and private with the material goods in their home. Additionally, it was full of mass consumer goods available to anyone, diminishing its sense of moral entrenchment from the amoral marketplace (cf. McMurry 1997, p. 156).

Despite this, a spatial restructuring was taking place. The growth of ells at the turn of the eighteenth century, and continuing into the early nineteenth, extended the distance between work and leisure spaces of houses. Such a trend was also visible in turn-of-the-century yards, and the Williams' yard is no exception. Upon their acquisition of the property in 1816, the Williamses dramatically reorganized the yard, as they had the house and played with symbolic constructions of work and aesthetics in ways that drew on Improvement logics.

References

Allen, H. B. (1839). *Farmer Housten and the speculator: A New England tale*. Portland, ME: O.L. Sanborn.

Batinski, M. C. (2004). *Pastkeepers in a small place: Five centuries in Deerfield, Massachusetts*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press.

Beaudry, M. C. (1993). Words for things: Linguistic analysis of probate inventories. In M. C. Beaudry (Ed.), *Documentary archaeology in the new World* (pp. 43–50). Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

Bograd, M. D. (1989). *Whose life is it anyway? Ceramics, context, and the study of status. Unpublished MA Thesis. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts*.

Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bowen, J. (1975). Probate inventories: An evaluation from the perspective of zooarchaeology and agricultural history at Mott Farm. *Historical Archaeology, 9*, 11–25.

Brown, D. (1995). *Inventing New England: Regional tourism in the nineteenth century*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Colman, H. (1834, January 29). An Address Before the Hampshire, Franklin, and Hampden Agricultural Society Delivered in Greenfield, Oct 23, 1833. *New England Farmer*, *12*(29).

Cosgrove, D. E. (1998). *Social formation and symbolic landscape*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.

Cummings, A. L. (1964). *Rural household inventories, establishing the names, uses and furnishings of rooms in the colonial New England Home, 1675-1775*. Boston, MA: Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities.

Deetz, J. F. (1996). *In small things forgotten: An archaeology of early American life*. New York: Anchor Books (Expanded and Revised).

Epperson, T. W. (1999). Constructed difference: The social and spatial order of the Chesapeake Plantation. In T. A. Singleton (Ed.), *"I, Too, Am America": Archaeological Studies of African-American Life* (pp. 159–172). Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia.

Garrison, J. R. (1987). Farm dynamics and regional exchange: The Connecticut Valley beef trade, 1670-1850. *Agricultural History, 61*(3), 1–17. Retrieved 2 December 2011.

Garrison, J. R. (1991). *Landscape and material life in Franklin County, Massachusetts, 1770-1860*. Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press.

Gordineer, B. (1981). *Dangerously wonderful: An architectural and historical analysis of the Hinsdale—Williams House*. Deerfield, MA: Ms. on File, Historic Deerfield.

Harvey, D. (1990). *The condition of postmodernity*. Oxford, England: Basil Blackwell.

Johnson, M. (1993). *Housing culture: Traditional architecture in an English landscape*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Larkin, J. (1988). *The reshaping of everyday life: 1790-1840*. New York: Harper Row.

Leone, M. P., & Hurry, S. D. (1998). Seeing: The power of planning in the Chesapeake. *Historical Archaeology, 32*(4), 34–62.

Leone, M. P., & Shackel, P. (1990). Plane and solid geometry in colonial gardens in Annapolis, Maryland. In W. Kelso (Ed.), *Earth Patterns: Essays in Landscape Archaeology* (pp. 153–167). Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia.

Longley, D. (1982). *Real, personal and mixed: The Estate of Ebeneezer Hinsdale Williams*. Deerfield, MA: Ms. on file at Historic Deerfield.

Matthews, C. (2012). Emancipation landscapes: Archaeologies of racial modernity and the public sphere in early New York. In J. M. Schablitsky & M. P. Leone (Eds.), *Archaeology and the importance of material things* (Vol. II, pp. 63–92). Rockville, MD: Society for Historical Archaeology.

McMurry, S. (1997). *Families and farmhouses in nineteenth-century America: Vernacular design and social change*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Miller, A. F. (1986). *The bittersweet life of E.H. Williams, 1761-1838*. Deerfield, MA: Ms. on File, Historic Deerfield.

Miller, M. R., & Lanning, A. D. (1994). "Common Parlors": Women and the recreation of community identity in Deerfield, Massachusetts, 1870-1920. *Gender and History, 6*(3), 435–455.

Nesbit, A. (1847). *A complete treatise on practical land-surveying, in all its departments …*. London, England: Longman, Brown, Green, & Longmans.

New England Farmer. (1823, November 22). Cattle shows. *New England Farmer*, *2*(17).

New England Farmer. (1827, November 16). Remarks on the improvement of live stock. *New England Farmer*, *6*(17).

New England Farmer. (1831a, June 8). Calcareous manures. *New England Farmer*, *9*(47).

New England Farmer. (1831b, December 21). Fat cattle. *New England Farmer*, *10*(23).

Paynter, R., & Stigers, T. (2003). *Making and remaking the rural New England village: The case of Deerfield, Massachusetts*. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society for Historical and Underwater Archaeology, Providence, RI.

Proper, D. R. (1990). *"The Property of Eben'r H. Williams": The family library of Ebeneezer Hinsdale Williams (1761-1838). A bibliographic study and survey together with a catalogue of its contents, and an interpretation*. Deerfield, MA: Manuscript on File, Historic Deerfield.

Rassam, M. (1998). *A citizen of the commonwealth: Republican ideology and the politics of E.H. Williams*. Deerfield, MA: Historic Deerfield.

Reid, G. F. (1989). Local merchants and the regional economy of the Connecticut River Valley. *Historical Journal of Massachusetts, 18*, 1–16.

Reid, G. F. (1993). The seeds of prosperity and discord: The political economy of community polarization in Greenfield, Massachusetts, 1770-1820. *Journal of Social History, 27*(2), 359–373.

Rotman, D. L. (2001). *Beyond the cult of domesticity: Exploring the material and spatial expressions of multiple gender ideologies in Deerfield, Massachusetts, ca. 1750-1882*. University of Massachusetts Amherst, Amherst, MA.

S.X. (1829, March 27). On stall feeding cattle. *New England Farmer, 7*(36).

Shackel, P. A. (1993). *Personal discipline and material culture: An archaeology of Annapolis, Maryland, 1695-1870*. Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press.

Sheldon, G. (1898). *Tis sixty years since: The passing of the stall-fed ox and the farm boy.* Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association, Deerfield, MA.

Sheldon, G. (1972). *A history of Deerfield, Massachusetts: The times when and the people by whom it was settled, unsettled and resettled: with a special study of the Indian wars in the Connecticut Valley* (*Vols. 1 and 2*). New Hampshire, England: New Hampshire

Sheldon, G. (1972b). *A history of Deerfield*. New Hampshire, England: New Hampshire Publishing.

Sinclair, R. (1835, September 2). [From the Baltimore Farmer]. *New England Farmer*, *14*(8).

Smith, L. (1986). *Carpet weavers and carpet masters: The hand loom carpet weavers of Kidderminster, 1780-1850*. New York: K. Tomkinson.

Spears, D. (1985). *Popular culture and particular preferences: E.H. Williams'*. Deerfield, MA: Private Library.

Sweeney, K. M. (1988). Gentleman farmers and inland merchants: The Williams family and commercial agriculture in pre-revolutionary western Massachusetts. In P. Benes (Ed.), *The Farm* (Vol. 9, pp. 60–73). Boston, MA: Boston University.

Sweeney, K. M. (2004). The River Gods in the Making. In K. W. Buckley (Ed.), *A place called paradise: Culture and community in Northampton, Massachusetts, 1654-2004* (pp. 75–90). Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press.

Tarlow, S. (2007). *The archaeology of improvement in Britain, 1750-1850*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Ulrich, L. T. (2001). *The age of homespun: Objects and stories in the creation of an American myth*. New York: Knopf.

Williams, R. (1973). *The country and the city*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Chapter 7
The Logic of Improvement in the Williams' Yard

> *… the moment came when a different kind of observer felt he must divide these observations into 'practical' and 'aesthetic' and if he did this with sufficient confidence he could deny to all his predecessors what he then described, in himself, as 'elevated sensibility'. The point is not so much that he made this decision. It is that he needed and was in a position to do it, and that this need and position are parts of a social history, in the separation of production and consumption.*
>
> —Raymond Williams, The Country and the City (1973, p. 121)

Introduction

In the previous chapter, I toured the interior of the Ebenezer Hinsdale and Anna Williams' house in Deerfield, using the probate inventory and contextual information. There was a distinct segregation of social and symbolic space, with an indefinite line that ran from the front to the back of the house. Along vectors of light, space, and materiality, the Williams' house showed a gradient from the street to the backyard. This logic extended beyond the interior of the house and manifested as well in the exterior yard of the Williams' homelot.

Household yards are complex spatial and social phenomena. They are defined simultaneously by their relationship to houses, households, and domestic spaces and by the absence of those things—a yard is a space by a house, which is not a house. In urban areas, this is fairly easy to delineate, as sharp property boundaries indicate how far a yard extends. At more rural or isolated sites, particularly those where houses and yards are part of a broader agricultural landscape, and where agricultural labor is frequently taking place radiating out from the house into the yard, the relationship between a "yard-scape" and other kinds of landscape can be fuzzy. Deerfield's nucleated village layout gives it some spatial features more similar to an urban site, though as was previously noted, the definition of yard extent at the Williams' homelot was frequently extended by small-parcel purchases (see Table 6.3).

Q.P. Lewis, *An Archaeology of Improvement in Rural Massachusetts*, Contributions To Global Historical Archaeology, DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-22105-2_7

Archaeologists have long recognized that yards are active usage areas and prone to high concentrations of artifacts (South 1977a, b).[1] More generally, archaeologists and historians have found that the turn of the nineteenth century saw a widespread transformation of rural Massachusetts yards, with the reorganization of houses, outbuildings, and tasks, creating new material records (Beaudry 1986, 2001; Garrison 1991, pp. 115–150, 1996; Paynter 2002, pp. S87–S88; Paynter et al. 1987; Reinke et al. 1987; Small 2003; Stachiw and Small 1989). And there are notable differences between how people across lines of economic wealth organize their yards (e.g., Mrozowski et al. 1996, pp. 43–47). But the social and symbolic functions of the yard expanded beyond the economy, and into the contradictory relations of country and city as they manifest in capitalism.

A general trend, identified in a number of studies, is a reconfiguration of space to draw distinction between spheres of work and home (Garrison 1991, pp. 169–172; Matthews 2012; e.g., Wall 1991, 1994). In particular, Wall notes that there was a growing trend in the nineteenth century for a spatial distance between places of residence and places of work in New York city (Wall 1994, p. 21). This was a function of the growing diversification and expansion of capitalist production, a point noted by Tarlow:

> Changes in working practices towards a factory system meant that for many employees the daily face-to-face contact with an employer that could occur in a small workshop, or on a farm, no longer took place. For most factory workers and labourers, the relationship between employer and employee was increasingly distant and anonymous (Tarlow 2007, p. 127).

This had profound implications for both class and gender relations—symbolic notions of the household as a space of safety and care were juxtaposed with the dangerous and dynamic worlds of industrial work and its diversification, and with women and men, respectively, mapped onto those locations. This cultural logic is described as the "cult of domesticity" (Rotman 2009, pp. 19–25; Wall 1994). However, as Deb Rotman (2009, pp. 167–170) points out, such distinctions between work and home may have been fuzzier at nineteenth century rural sites, where labor for markets and subsistence was conducted inside households, in yards, and radiating out into fields. Thus, yards are sites of tension, responsive to, and constituted within broader symbolic, economic, and political logics, and manifesting their contradictions. Negotiating this tension required substantial re-organization of space, in ways that positioned labor and production at a distance from the public space of the street, hidden behind a constructed landscape of beauty, for consumption.

These transformations resonate in interesting ways with the Improvement literature, suggesting that the changes were neither benign nor inevitable. Improvement literature spoke frequently about the proper organization and management of yards, urging farmers to reorganize them, clean them, and applying moral and economic overtones to these practices. They simultaneously chided farmers for keeping messy

[1] However, some African American sites may exhibit a pronounced lack of artifacts in yards, as part of culturally situated sweeping practices (Barton and Orr 2015; Battle-Baptiste 2011, pp. 91–92; Heath and Bennett 2000).

yards, while demanding that they be reorganized in detailed and dramatic ways to enhance production.

Despite their considerable variation through time and across space, early nineteenth century rural farmyards had some key organizational similarities. Architectural Historian Thomas Hubka has written extensively on this topic. In surveying architectural changes in rural New England at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Hubka (1986, 2004, pp. 70–81) notes a transformation of yard spaces that occurred alongside changes to houses and buildings. He sees a transformation from a relatively ad-hoc and undefined work space in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to a tripartite division of front yard, dooryard, and barnyard in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. There is considerable variation in the arrangement of these nineteenth century spaces, but division itself is clear across a variety of rural homelots in New England. Hubka's analysis provides a model to unpack the tensions affecting yard organization.

Hubka sees two trends operating in the Front Yard, only one of which is visible during the first decades of the 19th century. This is the construction of the fenced Front Yard, which created "a zone of formality between the house and the road" in alignment with the front door (Hubka 2004, p. 70). Hubka notes that this form appears first in the country houses of "New England's wealthy gentry and Merchant classes" (2004, p. 70).[2] Hubka argues that the dooryard was "the area in front of the ell between the house and barn" spreading out from the kitchen door (Hubka 2004, p. 77). It was a high-activity area, concentrating the various processing, management, and other agricultural and domestic tasks into a single space. It was also a social space, with a variety of people moving in and out as work dictated.

Finally, the barnyard is "the fenced livestock yard" (Hubka 2004, p. 80), often on the south side of the barn. Hubka notes that it was "separated from the work activity area of the dooryard because livestock fencing, manure storage, and general sanitation considerations made it desirable [to do so]." (Hubka 2004, p. 80) Hubka also notes other common (but smaller and spatially indistinct) features and areas, including the kitchen garden, wagon paths, fruit trees, and wells.

As with all landscapes, the organization described above was not merely a convenient organization of functional space. The division of the yard into these discrete spaces occurred at a moment in the late eighteenth century when a growing international market for agricultural goods allowed farmers to expand the size of their homes. The growth of ells discussed in Chap. 4 was a function of this trend (see also Garrison 1991, p. 76; Small 2003, p. 56), and the dooryard took on an increasing volume of work and processing activity as a result (Hubka 2004, pp. 77–78). Thus, the tripartite division, present at the turn of the century between front yard, dooryard, and barnyard, provides a material context, but such context must be interpreted in light of contemporary visions of appropriate yard usage.

[2] The alternative, Hubka notes, is the creation of a picturesque lawn, which locates the yard-scape within a larger naturalized landscape (Hubka 2004, p. 75). Hubka gives few examples of this, but argues that it became more popular at mid-century, eventually eclipsing the rationalized front yard as agriculture declined in importance in rural New England (Hubka 2004, p. 76).

Discourses About Yards in Improvement Literature

A survey of *New England Farmer* and other Improvement literature reveals a particular concern with yards and their appropriate organization and tending, both for productive and aesthetic purposes. Indeed, such purposes were often profoundly interlinked—clean and ordered yards were lauded as good for business. An 1831 essay entitled "Neat Farms" argued that, among other orderly appearances, "[a] clean door yard … [is a] certain indication that a snug industrious yeoman lives within" (New England Farmer 1831). Neatness signified both a moral good and an economic prosperity and success. However, this essay suggests the class relations inherent in this success, when further down, the anonymous author noted that, for a good farmer "a clean dooryard [shows] that his boys are never idle." In other words, yardspace was cleaned up by hired hands. Other writers tied productivity and cleanliness together. An 1824 essay suggested that "perfect neatness and cleanliness [are] indispensable. Wherever these principles prevail in our persons, house gardens, fields, yards, [and] stables, there you will find industry and no waste" (Bates 1824). Such a farmer who cleaned his yard would "[find] his acres increasing, cattle thriving, [and] his children kept out of dirt [and that] he is gathering about him the comforts, the refinements, the elegances of life … ." One essay from 1832 entitled "A place for Everything and Everything in its place" even went so far as to state that failure to abide by this maxim in the yard would lead to "poverty and wretchedness" (New England Farmer 1833).

Clean yards were likewise touted as an end to themselves, and unclean yards chastised as a sign of laziness. In 1822, *New England Farmer* published a list of premium awards given by regional agricultural societies to members. Similar to those offered by the MSPA in the late eighteenth century (see Chapter 8), these were prizes for various agricultural feats—for example, raising the largest cow, growing the highest volume of a certain crop, or general farm management. In the latter category, the description of the winning farm alludes to Improvers' interest in yard organization: "The barn, the granary, and the work shop were in perfect order. The door-yard was free from incumbrances [sic]. Not a chip was out of place" (Moore 1822). When visiting farms, the premium judges frequently encountered spaces that they found cluttered and barely navigable, with the Middlesex Agricultural Society judges writing in 1833 that "they would also strongly recommend to farmers and all others a little attention to their door yards, and the highway near their houses. A little time spent in removing such things as are not necessary, would add much to the appearance of the situation, and to the convenience of their visiters [sic]" (Brown and Dix 1833).

Improvement literature and speeches routinely praised clean and orderly yards and admonished farmers whose yards were not as well kept. Josiah Quincy gave a speech in 1819 where he lamented the state of rural Massachusetts farm yards, arguing that they were "an inlaid pavement of bones, broken bottles, the relics of departed earthen ware, or the fragments of abandoned domestic utensils" (Quincy, quoted in Larkin 1992).

This is, of course, suggestive of the broadcast scattering of trash in seventeenth and eighteenth century homelots, long documented in New England (e.g., Deetz 1996, p. 172). This common practice for Quincy's forebearers was deemed inappropriate in a new age and had to be cleaned up or hidden.

But *New England Farmer*'s contributors were taking on more than just messy yards—objects and buildings in the yard needed to be ordered and brought into an organizational regime. Improvers urged the careful housing and storage of farm tools, arguing that "they should not be left exposed to the ardent sun, nor to the rain, but be carefully housed … " (New England Farmer 1835b). They urged the close construction of outbuildings near the house and disparaged the creation of nucleated settlements:

> It is very absurd to continue an old fashioned mode of locating farm houses in clumps or villages, detached from the farm. If the homestead is at a considerable distance from the farm, there will not only be a partial want of that personal superintendence, which is indispensable to the correct management of a farm, but the expense of cultivation will be much increased; the manure must be carted a greater distance—the strength of the workmen, and of the horses, cattle, &c. will be wasted in traveling backwards and forwards, &c. (New England Farmer 1835a)

This was simultaneously a criticism of the past and a call towards a very specific future. As discussed in Chap. 2, nucleated villages were common in settlements founded by William Pynchon in the seventeenth century Connecticut River Valley (Hood 1996, pp. 134–136). Such villages had homelots in a village core with strips of land for agricultural work outside the village. It is unlikely that many mid-eighteenth and more recently founded rural Massachusetts towns or villages were organized this way, but in any case, the emphasis is clearly on producing a more modern landscape which could be viewed from a single location, and in which the friction of distance between various stages of the agricultural production process was greatly reduced. Again, visibility of the farm and proximity were productive and modern, while older patterns of construction were backward. Of course, this meant moving more production to the yard itself, necessitating the reconstruction of the yard as a productive space. One 1832 essay on raising poultry described a well-divided yard as:

> large; well and high-fenced … If it is large, it will admit many conveniences which could not be afforded in a small yard—for Instance, a part should be supplied with gravel, lime from old bricks, rubbish of that kind and clean shells … A part should be turned over with the spade … which furnishes much food; there might be a few bushes or shrubs planted in a part, as fowls are fond … of reposing in their shade … (W. 1832)

Such a description, which segments the yard to include spaces for gravel and trash as well as fences and gardens, suggests that the yard itself needed to be disciplined. The ultimate goal was a clean, organized space, whose care and management overlapped between aesthetic and practical concerns. But such an activity was clearly labor-intensive, even with the help of one's "boys". And if the yard itself was to be a space of production, and continually used as an activity area, how was one to balance the continued disorder of regular work with the aesthetic necessity of cleanliness?

One solution was offered in an 1836 essay entitled "English Scenery," where the author urged farmers in Massachusetts to emulate what he reportedly saw in a visit to the English countryside. The most salient feature of these English farms was that "All that is unpleasant in farming life is concealed as much as possible from public view, and it would be a disgrace for a farmer [in England] to have such front doors, and such public barn yards as two-thirds of our farmers have … ." (B. 1835). What this author was suggesting was an inverse relationship between work activity and visibility. This is, then, the paradox of the symbolic landscape advocated by Improvement literature—a farm designed to be viewed as a thing of beauty, and in which farming work and its byproducts were invisible. Betterment, denoted by aesthetic organization, was foregrounded over the means of profit.

In any case, it is clear that in the minds of New England's Improvers, yards were spaces in which these complex social processes had to be wrestled with. The relative cleanliness of a yard signified a whole series of moral, political, and economic characteristics that reverberated broadly. This suggests that the built environment of the Improved farm in early nineteenth century Massachusetts was a kind of map of a moral, political, and economic order. And yet, such a yard was also a space that manifested the tensions and contradictions between Improvement's arcs of profit and betterment. Productivity was messy and busy, but ordered spaces were time-consuming and expensive. The only solution was to re-organize along a dialectic of visibility, segregating the visual field such that productivity was visible but trash was not. This is essentially what occurred at the E.H. and Anna Williams' homelot in the early nineteenth century.

Chronology of the E.H. and Anna Williams' Homelot

The E.H. and Anna Williams' house was actively used and modified during the early nineteenth century, though it has occupations prior and subsequent to that time period. In the Chap. 6, I outlined some of the changes that the Williamses made to their home, as well as providing a history of the Williams family. In what follows, I chart the history of the land on which the Williams' house rests, including the previous and subsequent owners. Such information is derived from the deed chain as compiled by McGowan and Miller (1996, p. 188). The relationship between the Williamses and the previous owners' land-use patterns provides a water-mark from which to examine the role of Improvement in the Williams' yard. The owner was in a social, economic, and cultural position to embrace Improvement logics, and these logics manifest in the built environment of the yard.

The E.H. and Anna Williams' house stands at the north end of the Street in Deerfield (see Fig. 4.2) on three lots (designated 40, 41, and 42) from the original partition of the town in the late seventeenth century. It does not appear that any structure was built on the property prior to 1730, but a house was definitely present after 1752. The land was consolidated in 1708 under the ownership of Mehuman Hinsdale (1673–1736). His son Ebenezer Hinsdale (1707–1763) attended Harvard

college and was married to the daughter of Deerfield's minister, the Reverend John Williams (Sheldon 1972, p. 204). Hinsdale built the first house on the property, the framing of which is likely part of the currently standing structure. Hinsdale himself was a merchant, held at least one captive African named Meshick, and founded and lived part-time in Hinsdale, NH, where alongside missionary work, and running a store, he also worked as the town clerk (McGowan and Miller 1996, p. 188). The house that he built was an early Georgian single-pile, with two rooms downstairs, one on either side of a central fireplace, and two upstairs rooms (Gordineer 1981, p. 9). There are only a few records of outbuildings on the property (e.g., a "barn" in a letter noted by Gordineer 1981, p. 8), but it is likely that Hinsdale did some farming in addition to working as a merchant, and being active in Deerfield and regional politics (Gordineer 1981, pp. 6–9). Hinsdale fits the pattern of the "standing order" merchant-farmer-politician identified by Dobkin-Hall (1984, p. 16), and discussed in Chap. 3.

Hinsdale moved permanently to New Hampshire in 1753, and by 1761, was renting his house out to tenants in Deerfield. He died in 1763, and the property continued to be rented until 1773, when the property was purchased by David Field (1712–1792) for his son Elihu (1753–1814). Field was active in local Deerfield politics as well, serving as a delegate in the Provincial congress (Gordineer 1981, p. 9). He also undertook a few renovations to the house. For example, he may have replaced the central chimney with a hall and moved the chimneys to their present location (Gordineer 1981, pp. 69–72).[3] He may have also added a buttery ell off the back of the house. In 1788 after Elihu Field went bankrupt, the Reverend John Taylor (1762–1840) purchased the property, and in 1807, Andrew Bardwell (1770–1853) purchased the property from Reverend Taylor.

In 1816, after receiving a substantial sum of money upon the death of his father, E.H. Williams purchased the property. He and his family, servants, and field hands lived at the homelot until his death in 1838. In 1844, Williams' sister Lydia (1774–1856), who began renting out the property upon E.H. Williams' death in 1838, let it to the Barnard family who paid taxes on the property, possibly as their rent, until 1849. They shared the payment of taxes with Minister John Farwell Moors (181–1895) from 1847 to 1849, while he and his family resided on the lot when his house down the street was under construction. In 1850, Charles Gale purchased the property, selling it almost immediately in 1852 to Asa Stebbins Jr.. In 1866, the house was sold to Erastus Cowles (1805–1878), and it stayed in the Cowles family until it was purchased by Henry Flynt in 1962 for incorporation into Historic Deerfield, Inc. (Gordineer 1981; Miller 1986). It has been open for tours, especially to see the interior as reconstructed by the staff of Historic Deerfield to reflect its 1830s appearance. Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, archaeology was conducted at the Williams' house by Robert Paynter, working through the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, and in consultation with Historic Deerfield, Inc. Figure 7.1 shows a map of

[3] William Flynt, architectural historian and conservator at Historic Deerfield suspects that Williams was responsible for this, but there is no evidence to conclusively state that one or the other was responsible (Flynt, personal communication 5/7/2012).

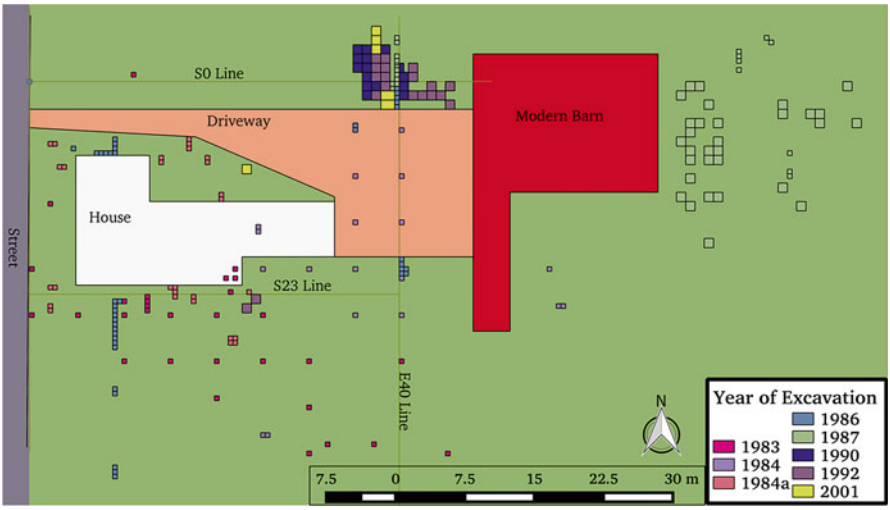


Fig. 7.1 Archaeological units at the E.H. and Anna Williams' House. Drawn by the author

these excavation units. A more detailed discussion of the archaeology at the Williams' house can be found in the Appendix.

This chronology provides a skeleton of the history of the Williams' house and suggests that there should be buried landscapes on the property that will shed light on the Williams family's transformations of the yard and their adherence (or lack thereof) to Improvement logics. These would be landscapes constructed or utilized by Hinsdale in the 1730s–1750s, and possibly by Field in the 1770s.

Assessing Yard Use at the Williams' Homelot

The Williams' homelot reveals the trends outlined above of mixing productivity and cleanliness, archaeologically and architecturally. The front-yard, dooryard, and barnyard show a simultaneous increasing emphasis on regulated agricultural production and a gradual cleaning up of land surfaces.

Delineating the tripartite division at the Williams' house presents some interesting variation on Hubka's schema. Hubka's framework positions the house facing the road, a kitchen ell facing a drive that runs alongside the house, and a barn that opens onto the drive (e.g., Hubka 2004, p. 71). Today at the Williams' house, there is a kitchen door facing the south lawn, but the drive runs along the north side of the house, and there are no north-facing doors (see Fig. 7.2). There is an east kitchen door behind the house, facing the barn, and presumably the dooryard at the Williams' house was the area between this door and the current barn. This is unusual, though not outrageously so, as there was considerable variation in early nineteenth century farm layout and organization (Hubka 2004, pp. 70–81).

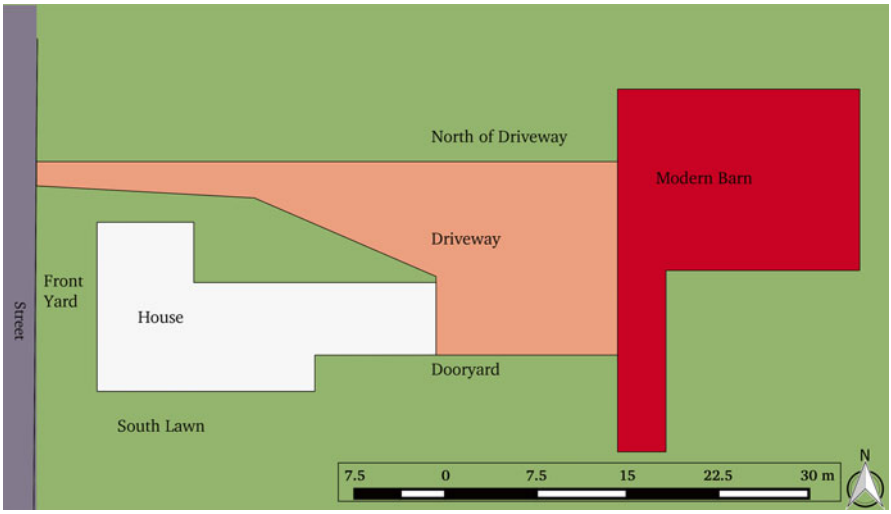


Fig. 7.2 Map of the Ebenezer Hinsdale and Anna Williams' House, showing standing structures, and with yard areas labeled

The only substantial outbuilding currently on the property is the large barn at the east end of the Driveway behind the house. The location of the barn today is roughly similar to the barn in Williams' day, but it is not the same barn—a ca. 1860 barn replaced the Williams' barn, and this barn was in-turn destroyed in a fire in the 1960s (Schroeder 1989). The Northwest corner footings for the Williams' barn have been tentatively identified through archaeological testing (in PI202) and are approximately 6 feet from the edge of the current barn. Other footings likely exist, but have not yet been recovered.

Archaeology at the homelot has revealed the ways in which profit and betterment have structured landscape changes. Excavation units sampled all areas around the house including the front yard, the dooryard, and the barnyard, which makes this data pertinent to addressing the questions in this book. In particular, they allow for an understanding of what the Williamses, their predecessors, and those who followed them thought about the organization of the yard.

One way to get at this is to look at distributions of artifacts across space, to see if activities and actions that deposited material changed through time. In what follows, I examine sherd counts recovered from each unit, rather than vessel or object lots, and any present features. The purpose of this analysis is to study the extent to which surface refuse was actively cleaned or organized, and how agricultural work is visible in features. To this extent, the artifact quantities don't specifically matter, but rather provide a general outline of material distribution. However, broad functional categories were utilized, making use of South's (1977a, b) artifact categories, as modified by Orser (1988) and Paynter (Paynter et al. 2008, pp. 4–5), not to discover patterns as South envisioned, but to try and understand the actions responsible for deposition. In addition, I also utilize individual artifact production ranges to date particular strata or deposits. The appendix describes these categories in more detail.

The Front Yard

Excavations in the front yard consisted of a number of test pits, which were never expanded to larger units. The reason for this is that these test pits did not reveal subsurface features, buried land surfaces, or a significant volume of artifacts. Twelve test pits were excavated in the front yard (see Fig. 7.3), and they together contained only 901 sherds, which is less than 2 % of the site sherd total (Lewis 2013, p. 184). What artifacts are present do not reveal a shift from a higher to lower volume of sherds, as would be consistent with a cleaning up of the front yard from a previously messier state. The majority of this material was small fragments of undateable architectural refuse. The lack of a buried land surface suggests that there was not a moment in which the messy front yard was covered with cleaner fill to make a lawn. Another possibility is that the yard was scraped clean of artifacts, but the stratigraphic evidence doesn't suggest this as a possibility, and in any case, filling seems to be the primary mechanism that the Williamses used to cover messy landscapes. This suggests that, for eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth century residents at the Williams' house, the front yard was kept relatively clean, or that later owners cleaned up the messiness of earlier owners through yard scraping or landscaping.

Why might this have been the case? One possibility is a shared cultural and aesthetic framework between Williams, Field, and Hinsdale. All three men were enterprising and educated. Hinsdale, like Williams, was educated at Harvard and was a merchant—certainly cosmopolitan enough to have conceivably encountered British or nascent Massachusetts scientific agricultural publication. Cleanliness and clean organizations of yards were values shared across the home-site's earliest English occupants and reflected in a relative material continuity in some areas of the yard.

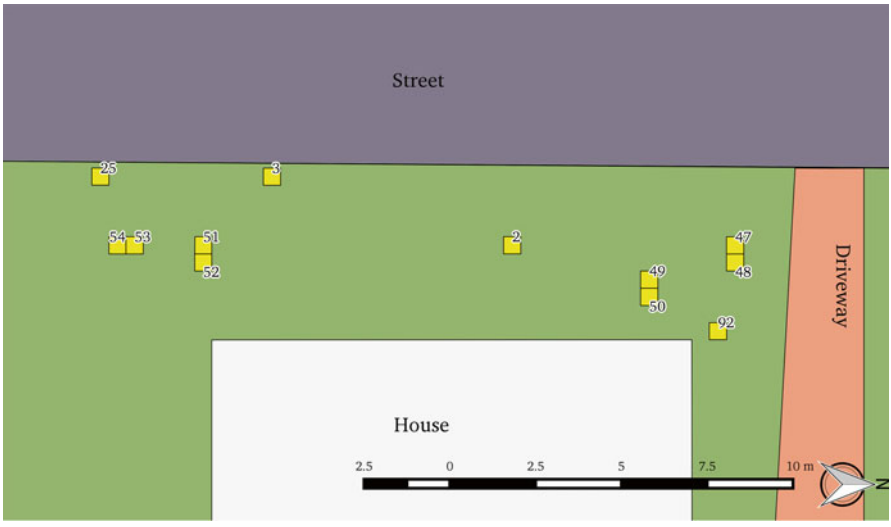


Fig. 7.3 Map of the Ebenezer Hinsdale and Anna Williams' house showing front yard test units and their Provenience Indices

The South Lawn

The current south lawn is a large space of over 1400 square meters, with a gentle sloping terrace opening onto a green yard. This terrace slopes down to a low expanse of 2 m to the foot of a bluff to the south, thus establishing a more formal (rather than natural) setting for the house. Walking up the street from the south, the house appears displayed on a slight platform of earth, and thus appears slightly larger and more grand than it actually is. The effect is subtle, but noticeable, and as it turns out, not an accident of geography.

Excavation test pits and units (see Fig. 7.4) along the south lawn show a buried land surface, on which the current terrace rests (see Fig. 7.5). The surface is approximately 50 cm bpd, though because of the terracing this depth varies. Datable material on this land surface includes pearlware (post 1790) and creamware (post 1763) ceramics, along with a pipe stem with a bore hole measuring 6/64″ (dating to between 1680 and 1710). This suggests a late eighteenth early nineteenth century date for the buried land surface. The highest percentage of material from the buried land-surface on the south lawn was heating-related material (34.3 %), including coal, charcoal, and other burnt material (Lewis 2013, p. 196). The second highest was architectural material (28.9 %), including brick, window glass, and nails, and the third highest was faunal material and animal remains (12.9 %). This combination of material suggests a working and disposal landscape—particularly the heating and faunal remains. In addition, the presence of architectural material may be the remnant of the extensive renovations that the Williams family undertook upon moving in, which was then covered by the terracing fill. Indeed, this kind of material is consistent with the processing and work activities of a dooryard.

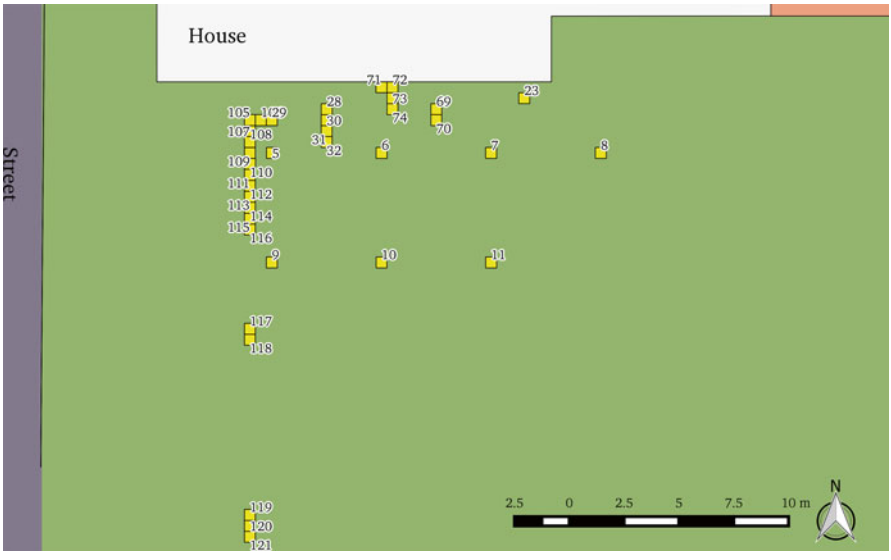


Fig. 7.4 Excavation units on the south lawn of the Ebenezer Hinsdale and Anna Williams' House

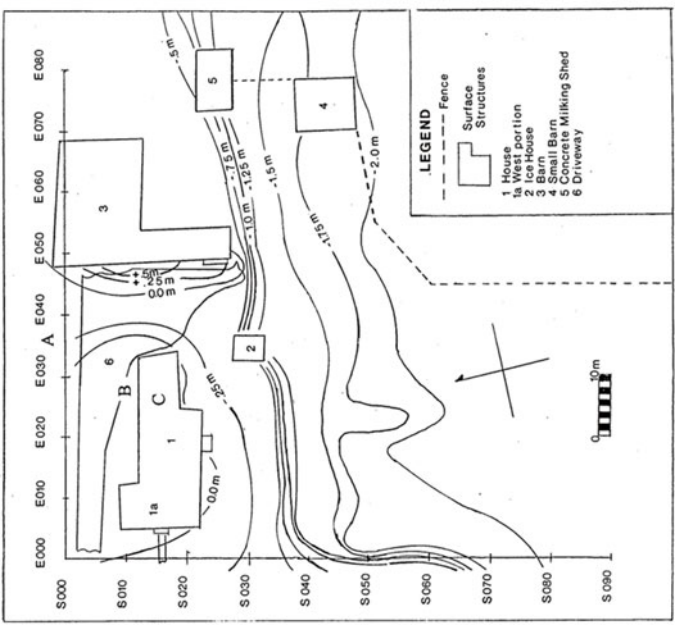


Fig. 7.5 Contour map of Ebenezer Hinsdale and Anna Williams' homelot, showing elevations, as well as a view of the Ebenezer Hinsdale and Anna Williams' house from the south, showing the terracing leading up to the house. Both images courtesy of University of Massachusetts Archaeological Field School. Used with permission

A common indication of changing yard function and organization at the end of the eighteenth century is the shift from broadcast scatter of trash to privying and the burial of trash (Deetz 1996, p. 172). This was a trend noted by Larkin in his study of Improvement at Sturbridge Village (Larkin 1992). As with the consistently artifact-clean front yard, there is continuity between the Williamses and earlier occupants—the 1984 survey recovered a trash pit near the southeast corner of the main block of the house (S7.5E21.5, consisting of PIs 65–68) with material dated to the mid to late eighteenth century (Reinke and Paynter 1984, pp. 26–27). Reinke and Paynter describe this as a "single-use pit" perhaps for cooking, and then filled with a day's trash. It also seems as though it was later cleaned out, because many of artifact fragments in the pit are quite small. The most recent datable item was fragments of creamware ceramic, with a production range of 1763–1820, while the oldest was Rhenish Stoneware, produced between 1650 and 1725. Thus, the eighteenth century occupants of the house (Hinsdale, Field, Barnard, and Taylor) appear to have been privying trash, as well as leaving some of it scattered on the south lawn. An early nineteenth century privy North of the Driveway (see below), capped by the Williamses, suggests a similar, if more intensive, disposal of trash.

The fill above this buried land surface was most likely the redeposited ejecta of the excavation of the cellar. The fill contains whiteware ceramic fragments (post-dating 1820) and other material suggesting a deposition date consistent with the Williamses' tenure on the property. This covering of the previous landscape with fill obviously solved the problem of visible waste, by covering it up, but other considerations also seem to have been at work, especially given the amount of manual labor required to excavate the basement, redeposit the ejecta on the south lawn, and sculpt the earth.

A reading of the Improvement literature provides some context for the construction of an elevated rise for an Improving farmer's house. An anonymous author in 1827 linked moral and economic Improvement with the elevation of a dwelling. In an article entitled "Elevation of a Scite (sic) and of Character," the author urged the construction of elevated dwellings as a means of increasing profit, and of lifting spirits, particularly with the goal "to raise and ameliorate the lowest classes." ("Elevation of Scite (sic) and of Character" 1829). Later authors argued for dwelling elevation in a more concerted manner. In an 1835 essay in *New England Farmer* entitled "Location and construction of houses," the anonymous author notes that "the house should occupy a small elevation," which would provide the owner with "a prospect of your own, and perhaps your neighbor's premises" (New England Farmer 1835a). Here we return to the theme of the previous chapter—that the embrace of Improvement demanded a reckoning with a dialectic of visibility.

The term "prospect" deserves some context, as it links the long-history of Improvement with the interdigitation of profit and betterment. The term "prospect" (from the Latin *prospectus* meaning "The action of looking out,") largely emerges in English in the sixteenth century and refers to "The view (of a landscape) afforded by a particular location" (Oxford English Dictionary 2012). Though it had a complex series of uses and meanings in seventeenth century England (e.g., Turner 1979), the term is often associated with eighteenth century English gentlemen's

parks, which, as Cosgrove notes, were "a tract of land designed for personal pleasure, as well as to be admired for its productive potential" (Cosgrove 1998, p. 176). Such sculpted views were not simply about being seen, but also about seeing. Aside from being able to view "your neighbor's premises," the elevation of the house and the creation of the prospect also allowed, as the author in *New England Farmer* noted, the possibility "to see if his 'help' is idle" (New England Farmer 1835a). This suggests there are connotations of the prospect as a technology of control, over nature, and over labor. The Williamses actively manipulated their south lawn, simultaneously covering over an aesthetically messy productive landscape, and spatially reconfiguring their house and yard into a relationship of visibility. It certainly provides an orderly view to the South from inside the house.

The Dooryard and Driveway

The area immediately behind the kitchen door was sampled during the 1984 field school, with 12 test pits in the area between the kitchen and the barn (see Fig. 7.6). Like the frontyard, the amount of material in this area is strikingly low. Sherd counts for these units are comparable to those in the front yard and account for less than 1.5 % of the total site assemblage with an $n = 641$ sherds (Lewis 2013, p. Appendix C). However, unlike the front yard, there are both datable artifacts and some interesting spatial trends. The stratigraphic records from this excavation show a buried land surface approximately 40–50 cm bpd, sealed by fill, and then by a crushed slate driveway (see Appendix for a discussion of the location of this buried land surface).

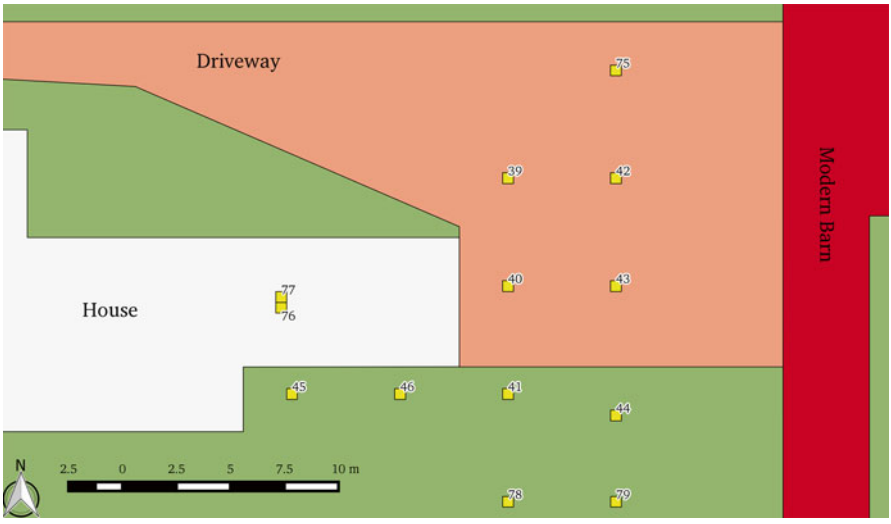


Fig. 7.6 Map of the Ebenezer Hinsdale and Anna Williams' house dooryard, showing excavation units labeled with their provenience indices

To discriminate between these strata, the sherds were grouped into assemblages representing material including the land surface and below, and material representing the fill above the land surface. Diagnostic material consists of eighteenth and early nineteenth century ceramics, specifically pearlware (1790–1820) and creamware (1763–1820), both of which are present below and above the land surface. No whiteware (post-1820) has been recovered from the dooryard. Given that there are no obviously nineteenth century artifacts in the buried land surface (e.g., whiteware, coal, etc. …), it is likely that a late eighteenth or early nineteenth century land surface was covered during the Williamses' tenure at the house. It also probably correlates with Stratum 9 north of the driveway (see below), as well as the buried land surface covered by the terracing on the South lawn discussed above. In general, there is more material above the land surface than on or below it, which is consistent with sherd volume at other eighteenth and nineteenth century sites. Counterintuitively, the oldest artifact, a fragment of seventeenth century delftware (1640–1800) comes from above the land surface.

What is striking is the spatial distribution of material below and above this land surface. Figures 7.7 and 7.8 show the raw sherd counts at each depth from units in the dooryard. Most functional artifact categories repeat this distribution, so raw sherd count is a good exemplar of the pattern. Sherds below and including the buried land surface are widely distributed across the dooryard, and particularly between the garage and the barn. Sherds above the land surface are largely absent from this area and are instead concentrated closer to the house, forming a radial pattern from the kitchen door.

While this radial pattern might seem to suggest the broadcasting of trash into this dooryard area, the low volume of material counteracts this idea. As an alternative

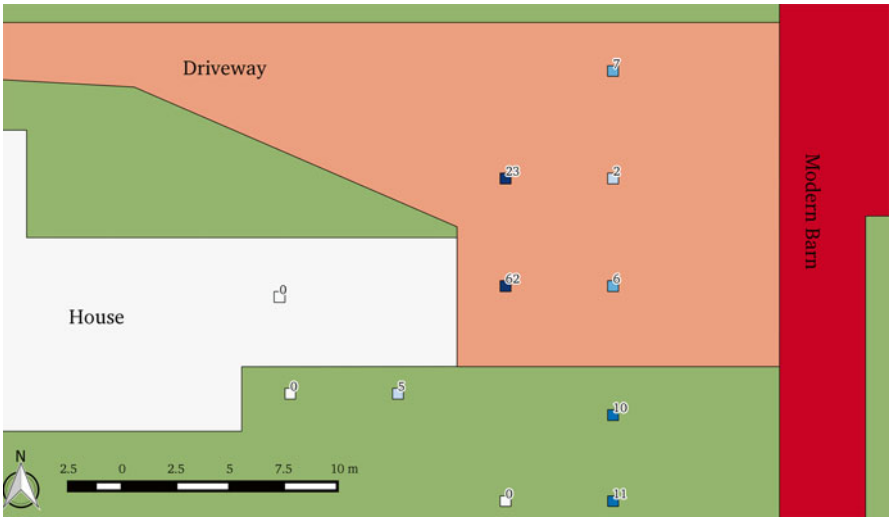


Fig. 7.7 Map of excavation units in the dooryard, with sherd counts below the buried land surface labeled. Darker color units indicate higher sherd count

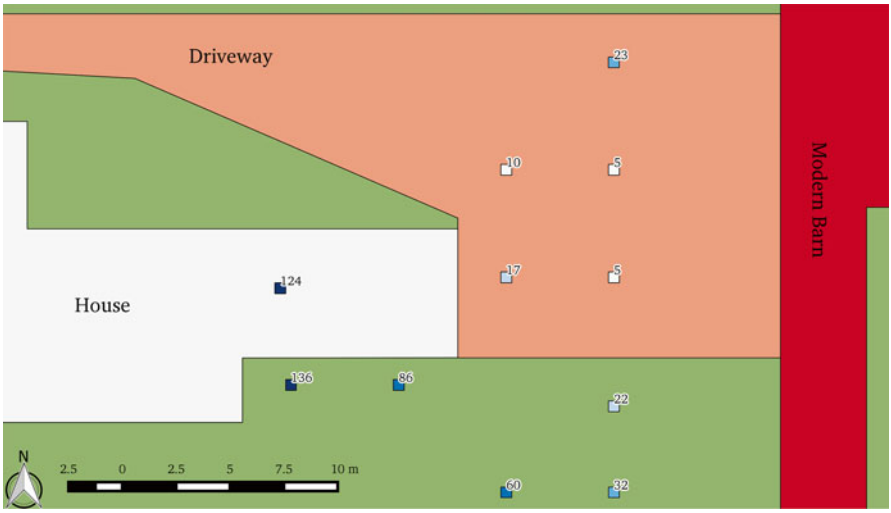


Fig. 7.8 Map of excavation units in the dooryard, with sherd counts above the buried land surface labeled. Darker color units indicate higher sherd count

explanation, the eighteenth century residents of the house (Hinsdale, Barnard, Field, and Taylor) seem to have been broadcasting trash into this area. They were not as organized in cleaning up the area behind the house and leaving in place the "inlaid pavement" that so bothered Josiah Quincy. It was then cleaned up by the Williamses upon their arrival in 1816, and then covered with the basement fill, similar to that which created the south lawn terrace. But this same ejecta was cleaned in the most active work areas in the barnyard and dooryard. This is quite apparent in the maps of sherd distributions between the two landscapes in Figs. 7.7 and 7.8. Thus, as with the south lawn, the Williamses covered a messy, trash-strewn landscape and replaced it with a clean working landscape—a kind of intermediate zone between the visible spaces of the front and south lawns and the areas north of the driveway and behind the barn, to which we now turn.

North of The Driveway

The area north of the driveway has received considerable archaeological attention. Though there is currently nothing present in this area, early test pits revealed high volumes of material culture, as well as substantial features and sealed deposits. A primary stratigraphic marker in this area is a buried land surface referred to as "stratum 9". This medium olive brown soil was first documented in 1986 and has since been interpreted as the land surface that the Williamses encountered when they arrived at the property in 1816. In very general terms, stratum 9 was located

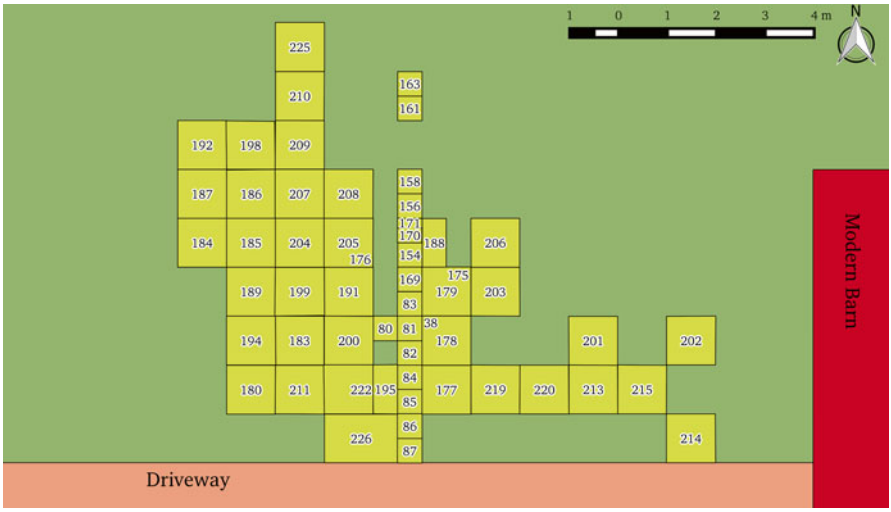


Fig. 7.9 Map of the Ebenezer Hinsdale and Anna Williams' House showing the units north of the driveway, with provenience indices labeled

approximately 60–80 cm below the ground surface north of the driveway and was covered by various kinds of fill. It most likely correlates with the buried land surfaces on the south lawn and the dooryard, but such correlation will require further testing to identify areal contiguity. Figure 7.9 shows a map of the units north of the driveway with the provenience indices labeled.

Unlike in the driveway area, stratigraphic control is relatively tight, and as such, it is possible to discriminate between material below stratum 9, material in or on stratum 9, and material above stratum 9. Conceivably, there should be differences between the distribution of artifacts during the Williamses' occupation and the previous occupants (Hinsdale, Field, Barnard, and Taylor), as well as the subsequent occupants (Moors, Stebbins, and Cowles).

Table A.6 in the Appendix shows the sherd counts and Functional Category percentages for all units north of the driveway, divided into "below stratum 9," "stratum 9," and "above stratum 9" designations. Several interesting patterns are apparent from the numbers alone. The volume of material here is significantly higher than in either the front yard or immediate dooryard test pits ($n = 17{,}869$). All told, it accounts for over a third of the entire excavated assemblage from the E.H. and Anna Williams' House. This stands in stark contrast with the artifact bare front yard and the artifact-cleansed driveway/dooryard. Differing again from other areas, there is very little faunal material in any of these units. Even adding them together, the Fauna and Remains categories never produce more than 2 % of the total assemblage from any of the three layers. The most common ecofact within these categories were small, unidentifiable bone fragments—probably mixed with other materials, rather than deliberately scattered, or related to any kind of butchering or processing in this area.

The maps generated from these distributions are in Figs. 7.10–7.21. For brevity, only the most salient functional categories are mapped and discussed here, defined as above 1 % of the total area assemblage. These were architectural (including bricks, nails, etc. …), heating (including cinders, ash, coal, etc. …), material (raw materials that could not be associated with a specific artifact class including gravel, asphalt, etc. …), and service (ceramics used for serving, rather than preparing food).

The earliest landscape visible in this area, spanning the Hinsdale, Field, and Taylor occupancies of the eighteenth century, shows two distinct features. The first is a trench, probably from a fence-line, first uncovered in 1986. The trench is not parallel to the street, and Paynter (Paynter 2007; Paynter and Stigers 2003) has posited an orientation towards true north for seventeenth and eighteenth century structures in Deerfield in contrast to the nineteenth through twenty-first century structures that are skewed 23° east to align with the street. This trench was covered by the cobble-platforms constructed during the Williamses' occupancy (see below). The other significant feature in these soil strata is a dry privy, which was capped during the Williamses' tenure and likely filled with their household material. This material was analyzed by Bograd (1989). It contained largely eighteenth century ceramics from the Williamses trading up their household goods upon moving into their new home. While the privy contains a high volume of undecorated creamware that would have seemed quaint in the 1810s, the E.H. Williams' probate inventory lists a number of elaborate transfer printed and "japanned" wares and lusterwares that were much more in keeping with the stylistic trends of the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

Artifact distributions, visible in Figs. 7.11, 7.12, 7.13, 7.14, 7.15, 7.16, 7.17, 7.18, 7.19, 7.20, and 7.21 in these strata, suggest a disposal landscape. Architectural

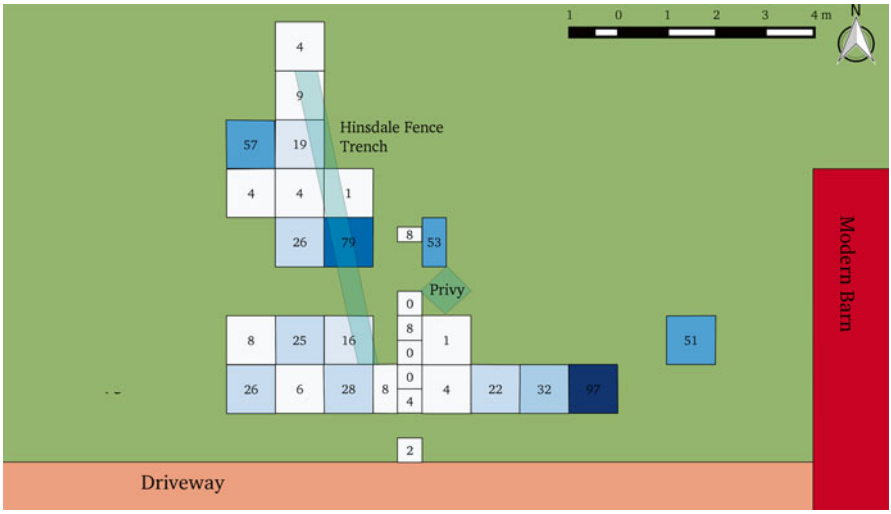


Fig. 7.10 "Below stratum 9" Architecture distribution. Shows the quantities of Orser category "architecture" artifacts North of the driveway, as well as features associated with the eighteenth century landscape. The diamond shape showing the privy is a very rough approximation of its boundaries, but is not accurately shaped

and Material-category artifacts appear relatively evenly distributed, while heating-related material is clustered closer to the fence-trench. There is little clearly diagnostic material beyond the privy ceramics to suggest the activities in this area, but it was likely an area for broadcast and disposal of trash in the privy.

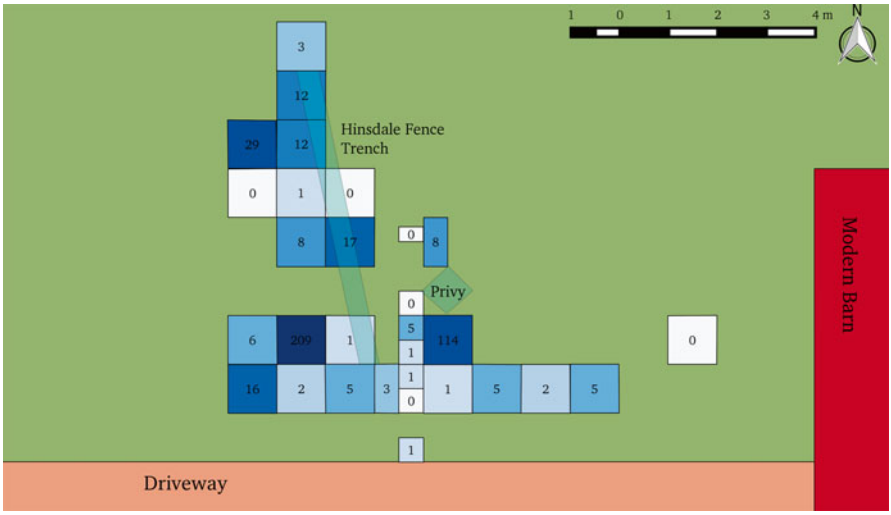


Fig. 7.11 "Below stratum 9" Heating distribution. Shows the quantities of Orser category "heating" artifacts North of the driveway, as well as features associated with the eighteenth century landscape

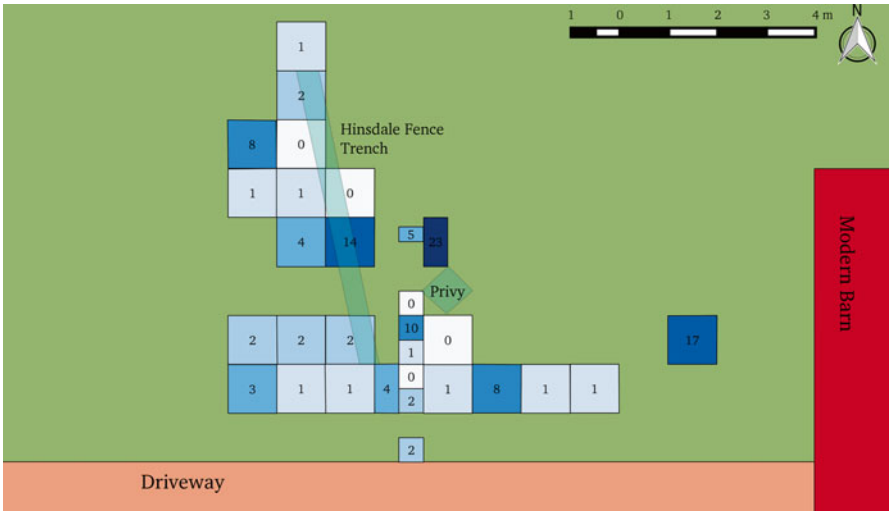


Fig. 7.12 "Below stratum 9" material distribution. Shows the quantities of Orser category "material" artifacts North of the driveway, as well as features associated with the eighteenth century landscape

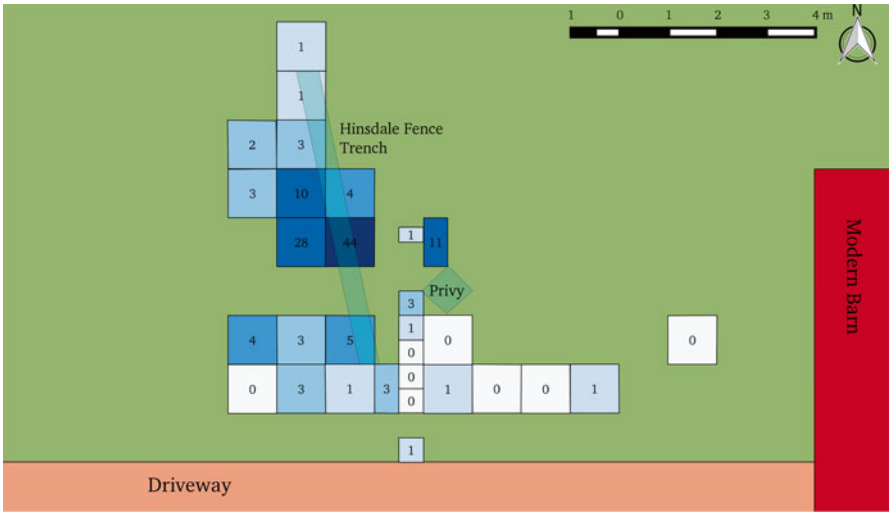


Fig. 7.13 "Below stratum 9" service distribution. Shows the quantities of Orser category "service" artifacts North of the driveway, as well as features associated with the eighteenth century landscape

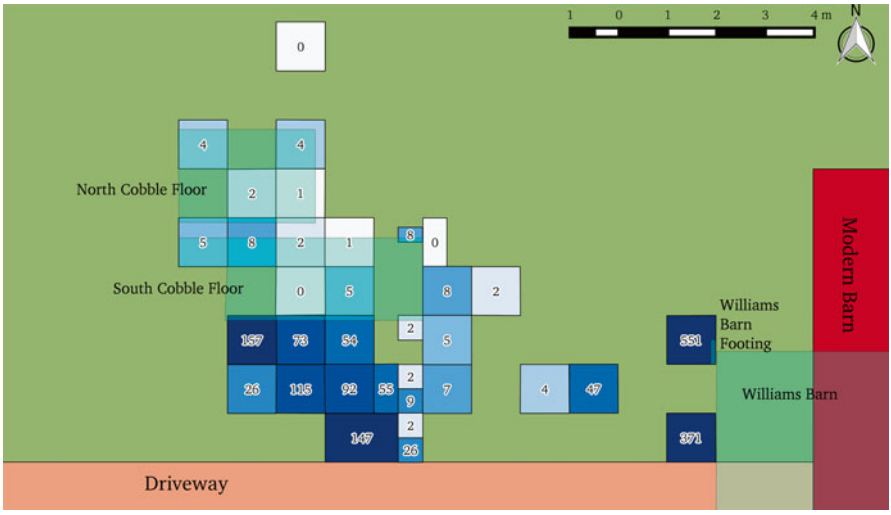


Fig. 7.14 "Stratum 9" Architectural distribution. Shows the quantities of Orser category "architecture" artifacts North of the driveway, features associated with the Williams-period landscape in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, and the hypothetical location of the Williams' barn, based on the location of a buried footing stone

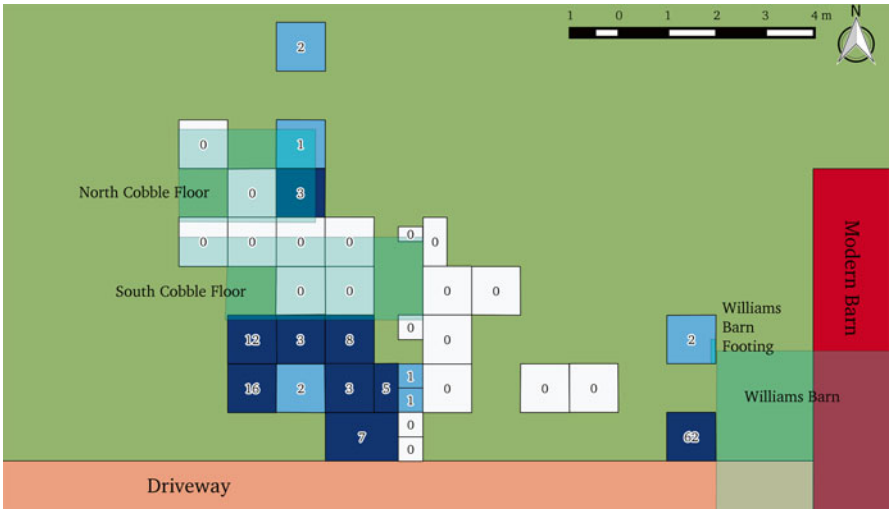


Fig. 7.15 "Stratum 9" Heating distribution. Shows the quantities of Orser category "heating" artifacts North of the driveway, features associated with the Williams-period landscape in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, and the hypothetical location of the Williams' barn, based on the location of a buried footing stone

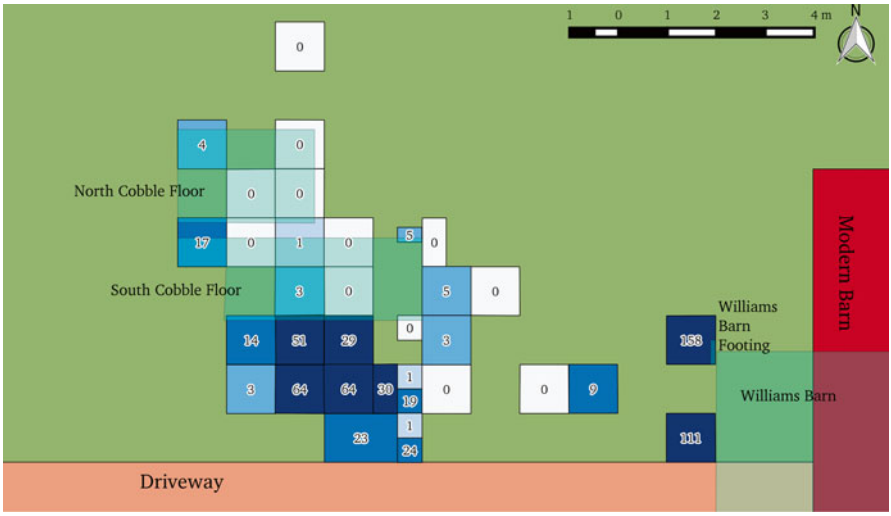


Fig. 7.16 "Stratum 9" Material distribution. Shows the quantities of Orser category "material" artifacts North of the driveway, features associated with the Williams-period landscape in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, and the hypothetical location of the Williams' barn, based on the location of a buried footing stone

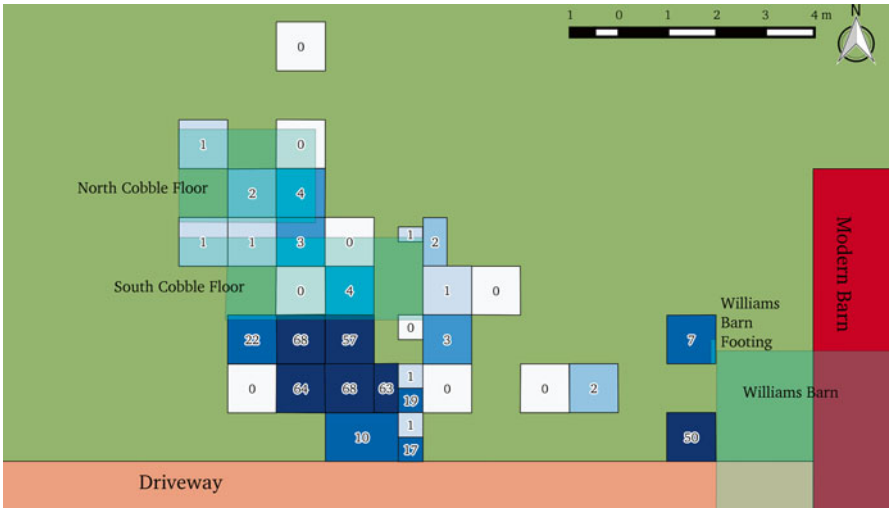


Fig. 7.17 "Stratum 9" Service distribution. Shows the quantities of Orser category "Service" artifacts North of the driveway, features associated with the Williams-period landscape in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, and the hypothetical location of the Williams' barn, based on the location of a buried footing stone

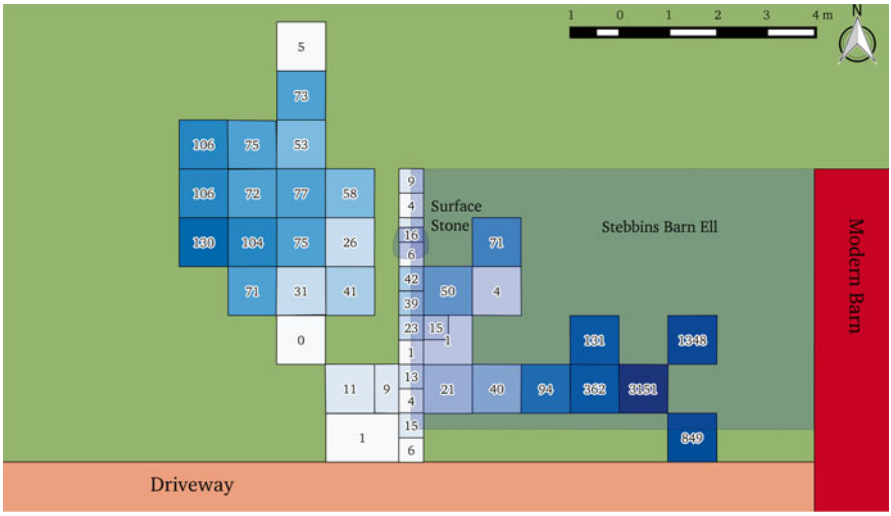


Fig. 7.18 "Above Stratum 9" Architecture Distribution. Shows the quantities of Orser category "architecture" artifacts North of the driveway, features associated with the late nineteenth century landscape, and the hypothetical location of the Stebbins barn ell, based on a footing stone

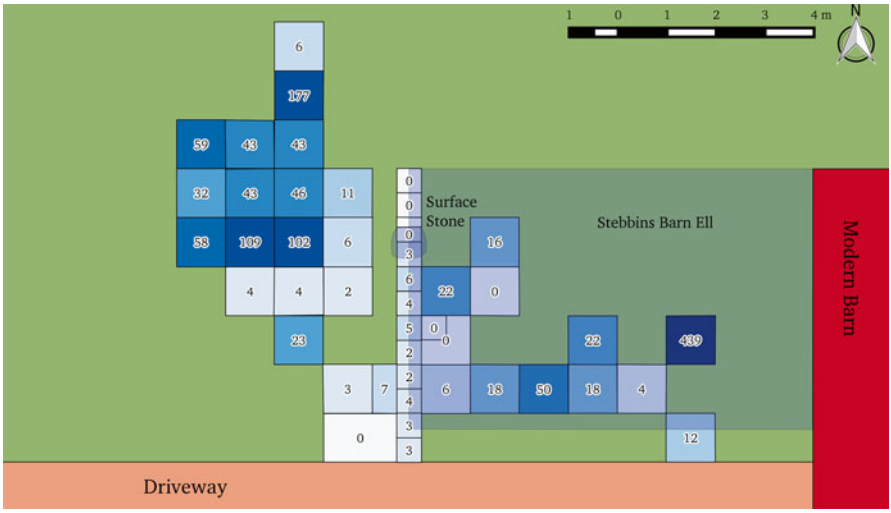


Fig. 7.19 "Above stratum 9" Heating distribution. Shows the quantities of Orser category "heating" artifacts North of the driveway, features associated with the late nineteenth century landscape, and the hypothetical location of the Stebbins barn ell, based on a footing stone

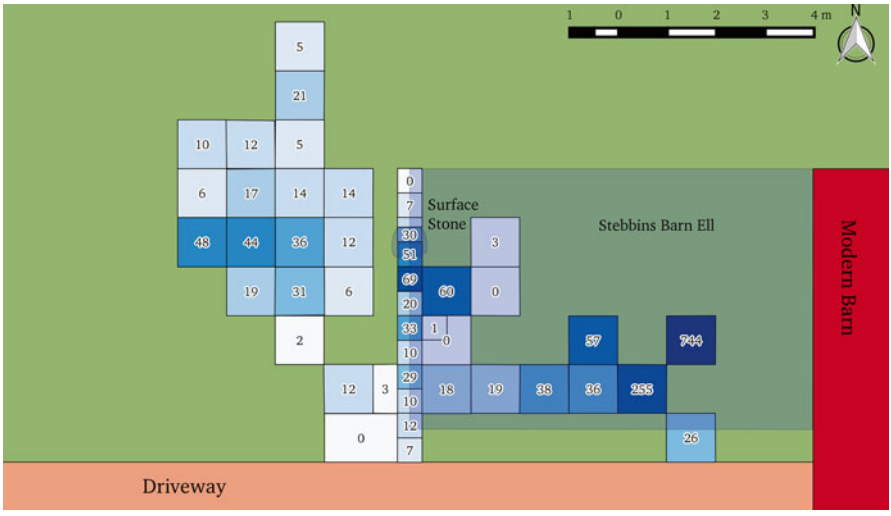


Fig. 7.20 "Above stratum 9" Material distribution. Shows the quantities of Orser category "Material" artifacts North of the driveway, features associated with the late nineteenth century landscape, and the hypothetical location of the Stebbins barn ell, based on a footing stone

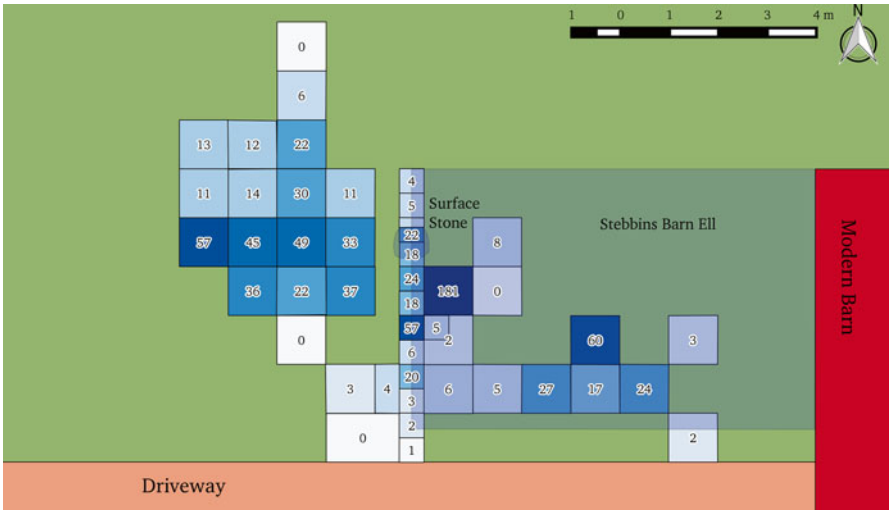


Fig. 7.21 "Above stratum 9" Service distribution. Shows the quantities of Orser category "Service" artifacts North of the driveway, features associated with the late nineteenth century landscape, and the hypothetical location of the Stebbins barn ell, based on a footing stone

This moderately non-descript disposal landscape is overlain by Stratum 9, which dates to the Williamses' occupation and perhaps slightly after. Features on the stratum 9 landscape include two cobble platforms and the foundation for the Williams' barn. The two cobble platforms were put in sometime after 1820. Whiteware, which was manufactured after 1820, was found embedded in both, in PI218 and in PI186. It is likely that the northern platform was constructed first and the southern one constructed later (Paynter 2001, p. 6). Both were dug through stratum 9, creating slight depressions in the surface. As discussed above, the Williams' barn foundations are slightly offset from the current barn footprint, which stands in roughly the position of the ca. 1860s Stebbins barn that superceded the Williams' barn.

Artifact distributions in Stratum 9 show increasing regimentation and order. All artifacts, but particularly Service material, are heavily clustered south of the cobble floor, beyond S0 and west of E40. And there is a second cluster in the units immediately to the west of the likely Williams' barn foundations, particularly "architectural" and "material" artifacts (especially in PIs 202 and 214). This high node of non-diagnostic and architectural material in the eastern edge of this area is probably associated with the construction, use and demolition of the Williams' barn. As previously discussed, Williams' wealth largely came from the practice of stall-feeding oxen (Garrison 1991, p. 132), and the raising of this large barn would have left some of the materials that are visible in these units (PI202 and 214), particularly brick, wood fragments, and nails. Unlike architectural, non-diagnostic material, and service-related artifacts, heating related artifacts were more uniformly distributed, but were not as prevalent in stratum 9 as a whole.

The service materials largely consisting of refined earthenware ceramics were found scattered on this layer, both on the cobble platforms and south of them on the buried land surface. These materials are of mixed size, ranging from small, fingernail-sized fragments up to fist-sized fragments. It is difficult to see why such materials would be present on the land surface, and especially on the cobblestone platforms.

However, as will be discussed in Chap. 8, these platforms are likely manure storage and processing spaces, called *stercoraries* by Improvers. Manure is made from the mixing of animal dung with other substances to increase volume and provide stability and adherence for liquid or loose dung. There have been a long series of arguments over the appropriate materials to mix in with dung and produce the most efficacious manure (e.g., Shiel 2012, pp. 14–15). Improvers sometimes advocated using rubbish and refuse to cut liquid or viscous animal waste. For example, in the *Georgical Dictionary,* Samuel Deane (1822, p. 253) recommended adding "the scrapings of backyards … the rubbish of old houses … [and] the scraping of streets" to manure piles, all of which would contain various types of solid waste. Evidence for such mixing has likewise been recovered archaeologically. Roberts and Barrett describe "nightsoiling" practices in nineteenth century Baltimore and Philadelphia in which privy material was excavated and redistributed on agricultural fields (Roberts and Barrett 1984). Beranek found bones and other household materials in a manure processing area at Gore place (Beranek et al. 2011, pp. 1–13). In addition, archaeological survey of the agricultural fields associated with the W.E.B. Du Bois Home-site in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, also encountered low densities of household refuse including ceramics sherds (Paynter et al. 2008, p. 80). This adds an additional dimension to Improvement's emphasis on yard cleanliness. While clean yards were symbolically significant in their own right, the act of cleaning up a yard space could become part of the production process, with trash and other discarded material being recycled into field-rejuvenating manure. The yard, and the trash it contained, became incorporated into the "manure manufactory."

The fact that some refuse was archaeologically recovered complicates this picture. One suspects that a diligent and meticulous farmer would clean up as much material as possible, and that it would all go out to the fields during planting. Thus, there should be no material left for archaeologists to have recovered, or that any material recovered should be in such small fragments as to remain unnoticed by the Williamses. Perhaps the Williams' family was less than diligent, and the ceramics present on stratum 9 represent spillover from the dung pit. It is also possible that the pit was not well-enclosed, and that it was difficult to contain the spillage of ceramic sherds onto the southern-most land surface.

A third possibility is that later construction activities, such as the filling of the platform and the construction of ramp sands associated with the Stebbins barn (see below), deposited the material visible on what I have identified as "stratum 9." Ejecta from the construction of the Stebbins barn may also have been deposited upon this surface and may itself have been used to level out and grade the area north of the driveway in the last half of the nineteenth century. It is difficult to evaluate which of these models is correct, but what is clear is that the presence of trash on the

stratum 9 land surface is not simply broadcasting. Rather, the area was being transformed from an area of disposal into an area of production, as part of a barnyard.

Finally, above stratum 9 there are interesting patterns as well. Features associated with the strata above stratum 9 include a foundation for a barn-ell, built by the Stebbins family. Asa Stebbins Jr. purchased the property in the 1852 and promptly tore down and replaced the Williams' barn with a hay barn. This barn burned in 1971 (Schroeder 1989), but shares a similar footprint to the present barn. One significant difference was that it had an out-shot northern ell, running east to west, and the footing for this ell was mapped in the 1987 excavations. This ell is marked on the map, and its hypothetical dimensions are taken from the comparable ell elsewhere in Deerfield.

The construction of this barn had an important impact on the artifact distributions visible in the strata above stratum 9. The Stebbins family excavated a basement in their hay barn, and the material from this excavation was likely used to cover the two cobble platforms and grade the area north of the driveway. On top of this graded plane they built a dirt and sand ramp to the entrance of the barn. The high volumes of architectural and non-diagnostic material were found in the southeast corner units (PIs 201, 202, 213, 214, 215, and 220). Likewise, there is a cluster of sherds overlying the cobble platforms. The southern-most units are sitting closest to the modern driveway, which would have been the late nineteenth century path to the hay barn. These units (PI 84–87, 195, 196 and 226) are all mostly free of debris, suggesting that this path was kept clean. Thus, the Stebbins family utilized artifact-rich fill to grade and level a clear path into their barn, while keeping the driveway relatively clean of refuse.

To summarize, the area North of the driveway saw a series of landscape changes related to trash disposal. In the first period (the eighteenth century), trash was sent far from the house, either in privies or scattered rather haphazardly on the ground. This is represented in the "below stratum 9" maps. Under the Williamses' tenure (the second quarter of the nineteenth century), the area north of the driveway became a storage space for manure, as part of the production of agricultural materials. Trash disposal was incorporated into this production, through the mixing of ceramics and other materials with manure, associated with the cobble platform west of the Williams' Barn. Finally, in the late nineteenth century, fill that included some trash was utilized to cover productive spaces or provide access to them, as agricultural production moved farther back into the area behind the barn.

Conclusion

Buried under the picturesque yard of the E.H. and Anna Williams' house today, there is a great tension. This tension is between the logical discourses of Improvement—of profit, and of betterment. This tension reverberates outwards, touching on issues of privacy and public space, work and leisure, production and consumption, city and countryside. Improvers interlinked (sometimes consciously,

other times less so) concerns of order, cleanliness, aesthetics, and visibility with the imperatives of profit, productivity, and labor. They advocated that farmers embrace both of these goals, and that each would feed the other. But to do so required substantial spatial and social changes.

The Williamses renovated and extended their house, particularly the working areas of the kitchen and servants rooms, and they built substantial agricultural outbuildings in keeping with their investment in progressive, market-oriented agriculture. They also undertook substantial changes to the yard-scape. It seems clear that the Williamses did not deviate from the general trend outlined by Hubka (2004), possessing a front yard, dooryard, and barnyard. However, the relative size of these areas, and their orientation is significant. The terracing of the south lawn expanded their front yard over a pre-existing dooryard-like area and transformed a working space into an aesthetic space. The act of terracing also created a view, or what the Improvers of *New England Farmer* called a "prospect"—a space to be viewed, and to view from. Along with the decision to move the active kitchen door out the back, it also removed from view the Williamses' agriculturally productive activities. These changes suggest that work was moving from the dooryard, where it would have been visible from the street, further back into the barnyard, where it would have been less visible (cf. Matthews 2012, p. 77). And as was noted in the architectural discussion of the house (see Chap. 6), the Williamses modified and modernized the windows on the highly visible exteriors, while re-using older-style windows in areas that were less likely to be viewed by passersby. As Garrison notes, the increasing trend during the nineteenth century was for growing distances between the front yard and the dooryard (Garrison 1991, p. 202). The Williamses enacted this trend by extending the front yard logic around to the side yard, and shifting the dooryard further and further back.

Both the front yard and the immediate dooryard are relatively free of artifacts. However, the dooryard and driveway area shows an earlier, slightly messier landscape on a buried land surface, with a later, cleaner landscape replacing it during the Williamses' tenure, and after. The area north of the driveway, an extension of the barnyard, was clearly not kept as clean. Spatializing the distribution of artifacts in this area shows a similar, if busier pattern to the South lawn, where a relatively unorganized disposal landscape was buried by a subsequent one. However, in this case, the subsequent landscape was not aesthetic and void of artifacts, but based around agricultural production. It seems to have contained an extensive scatter of trash, some of which (particularly the ceramic assemblage) may have been mixed with manure in the stercorary. In some cases, the Williamses covered this land surface with various filling events, and other parts of it were covered by subsequent tenants after 1845, including the Barnards, the Moors, and the Stebbins families (Rotman 2001, p. 70). This land surface contained a high volume of artifactual material, and it also represents a relatively clear stratigraphic period of the Williamses' occupation. However, through time, and particularly under the Williamses' tenure, the trash disposal patterns suggest an ordering and a recirculation of waste material back into the processes of production, following the guidelines of *New England Farmer* and other Improvement publications.

Such changes were necessary in the new world of rural capitalism. The increasing necessity of selling for markets (as Improvers advocated) simultaneously expanded the scale of action of farmers like Williams and also required them increasingly to interact with people they didn't know—distant merchants, laborers, bankers, etc. … The interpersonal relations of village life were shifting into pecuniary ones, or to draw on Clark (1990, pp. 28–38) as the social relations inherent in long-distance exchange took on a new prevalence over local exchange. These were largely the business and work-oriented interactions, outside the bounds of the seventeenth and early eighteenth century village community relations. The material world became a terrain in which to manage such relations. One could reasonably begin to use a yard as a space to segregate social access, using visual cues like terraces, architectural flourishes, and fences to symbolically signal that new kinds of social relationships and cash-based economic transactions were being enacted.

The stratigraphy and artifacts at the E.H. and Anna Williams' yard do not appear as cleanly as the clean breaks from tradition, or the clear demarcations of aesthetics and function, advocated by the Improvement literature. But this likewise suggests that the ideologies propounded by Improvers were not monolithic investments in a hegemonic capitalism, but were partial, contradictory, and beholden to circumstances at a variety of scales. Much like capitalism itself, Improvement unfolded unevenly across the landscapes of rural Massachusetts; all the more reason for an archaeological investigation of such processes, given the high variability of their materializations.

The Williamses' yard manifested the tensions between production and consumption and practicality and aesthetics that occupied the attention of the Improvers. The messiness of agricultural labor was moved out of sight, to the back of the yard, while the front yard was reconfigured as a viewable space, in order to manage social interactions. Today, the yard is kept clean by Historic Deerfield, Inc. in its role as a house museum. It is free from the messiness of eighteenth and nineteenth century production that under-girded and shaped its ostentatious exterior that attracts tourists, researchers, and archaeologists to this day.

References

B. (1835, September 9). English scenery. *New England Farmer*, *14*(9).

Barton, C. P., & Orr, D. G. (2015). A practice theory of improvisation at the African American Community of Timbuctoo, Burlington County, New Jersey. In C.M. Matthews and A.M. McGovern (Eds.), *The archaeology of race in the northeast* (pp. 198–214). Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida.

Bates, I. C. (1824, January 31). Extracts from an address to the Hampshire, Franklin, and Hampden Agricultural Society, Northampton, Mass, October 23, 1823. *New England Farmer*, *2*(27). [Extracts from an Address to the Hampshire, Franklin, and Hampden Agricultural Society, Northampton, Mass, October 23, 1823. *New England Farmer*, *2*(27)].

Battle-Baptiste, W. (2011). *Black feminist archaeology*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.

Beaudry, M. C. (1986). The archaeology of historical land use in Massachusetts. *Historical Archaeology, 20*, 38–46.

Beaudry, M. C. (2001). Trying to think progressively about 19th century farms. *Northeast Historical Archaeology, 30–31*, 129–142.

Beranek, C. M., Smith, J. N. L., & Steinberg, J. M. (2011). *Data recovery excavations of the Carriage House, Greenhouse, and Greehouse/Carriage House Well at Gore Place, Waltham, Massachusetts* (Cultural Resources Management Study No. 45). Boston, MA: Fiske Center for Archaeological Research, UMASS Boston.

Bograd, M. D. (1989). *Whose life is it anyway?: Ceramics, context, and the study of status*. Unpublished MA Thesis. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts.

Brown, J., & Dix, B. (1833, December 25). Middlesex agricultural society. Report on Farms &c. *New England Farmer*, *12*(24).

Clark, C. (1990). *The roots of rural capitalism*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Cosgrove, D. E. (1998). *Social formation and symbolic landscape*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.

Deane, S. (1822). *The New-England Farmer; or, georgical dictionary. Containing a compendious account of the ways and methods in which the important art of husbandry, in all its various branches, is, or may be, practised, to the greatest advantage, in this country*. Boston, MA. Retrieved 6 October 2011.

Deetz, J. F. (1996). *In small things forgotten: An archaeology of early American Life*. New York: Anchor Books. Expanded and Revised.

Dobkin-Hall, P. (1984). *The organization of American culture, 1700-1900: Private institutions, elites, and the origins of American nationality*. New York: NYU Press.

Elevation of Scite (sic) and of character. (1829). *New England Farmer*, *3*(7), 53.

Garrison, J. R. (1991). *Landscape and material life in Franklin County, Massachusetts, 1770-1860*. Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press.

Garrison, J. R. (1996). Remaking the barnyard: The archaeology of farm outbuildings in the Connecticut River Valley of Massachusetts, 1770-1870. In L. A. De Cunzo & B. L. Herman (Eds.) *Historical Archaeology and the Study of American Culture* (pp. 359–394). Wintherthur, Deleware: The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum.

Gordineer, B. (1981). *Dangerously wonderful: An architectural and historical analysis of the Hinsdale–Williams House*. Deerfield, MA: Ms. on File, Historic Deerfield.

Heath, B. J., & Bennett, A. (2000). "The little Spots allow'd them": The archaeological study of African-American yards. *Historical Archaeology, 34*(2), 38–55.

Hood, J. E. (1996). Social relations and the cultural landscape. In R. Yamin & K. B. Metheny (Eds.), *Landscape Archaeology: Reading and Interpreting the American Historical Landscape* (pp. 121–146). Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press.

Hubka, T. (1986). The New England Farmhouse Ell: Fact and symbol of nineteenth-century farm improvement. *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture, 2*, 161–166.

Hubka, T. (2004). *Big house, little house, back house, barn*. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England.

Larkin, J. (1992). From "country mediocrity" to "rural improvement": Transforming the slovenly countryside in Central Massachusetts, 1775-1840. In K. M. Hutchins (Ed.), *Everyday life in the early Republic*. Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press.

Lewis, Q. (2013). *An Archaeology of Improvement in rural New England: Capitalism, Landscape change, and rural Life in the early 19th century.* Dissertation, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA.

Matthews, C. (2012). Emancipation landscapes: Archaeologies of racial modernity and the public sphere in early New York. In J. M. Schablitsky & M. P. Leone (Eds.), *Archaeology and the importance of material things* (Vol. II, pp. 63–92). Rockville, MD: Society for Historical Archaeology.

McGowan, S., & Miller, A. F. (1996). *Family and landscape: Deerfield homelots from 1671*. Deerfield, MA: Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association.

Miller, A. F. (1986). *The Bittersweet Life of E.H. Williams, 1761–1838*. Deerfield, Mass.: Ms. on File, Historic Deerfield.

Moore, H. (1822, December 28). Report of the Committee of the Hillsborough (N.H.) Agricultural Society, on agricultural products. *New England Farmer*, *1*(22).

Mrozowski, S. A., Ziesing, G. H., & Beaudry, M. C. (1996). *Living on the Boott: Historical archaeology at the Boott Mills boardinghouses, Lowell, Massachusetts*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press.

New England Farmer. (1831, September 21). Neat Farms &c. *New England Farmer*, *10*(10).

New England Farmer. (1833, January 2). A place for everything and everything in its place. *New England Farmer*, *11*(25).

New England Farmer. (1835a, February 11). Location & construction of houses, &c. *New England Farmer*, *13*(31).

New England Farmer. (1835b, March 11). Location & construction of houses, &c (Continued from Page 246). *New England Farmer*, *13*(35).

Orser, C. (1988). *The material basis of the Postbellum Tenant Plantation: Historical archaeology in the South Carolina Piedmont*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press.

Oxford English Dictionary. (2012, May 21). "prospect, n.". Retrieved from http://www.oed.com.silk.library.umass.edu/viewdictionaryentry/Entry/153018

Paynter, R. (2001). *Permit proposal for University of Massachusetts, Amherst 2001 archaeological field school at Historic Deerfield*. On file at Department of Anthropology, University of Massachusetts Amherst, MA.

Paynter, R. (2002). Time in the valley: Narratives about rural New England. *Current Anthropology, 43*, S85–S101.

Paynter, R. (2007). *The orientation of houses in the village of Deerfield: Archaeological and documentary evidence of a change in the 18th century* (Paper presented at the Vernacular architecture forum, New England Chapter). Massachusetts: Sturbridge.

Paynter, R., Lynch, K., Norris, E., & Lewis, Q. (2008). *Archaeological report on the W.E.B.* (Du Bois Homesite). Amherst, MA: Department of Anthropology, University of Massachusetts.

Paynter, R., Reinke, R., Garrison, J. R., Hood, E., Miller, A., & McGowan, S. (1987). *Vernacular landscapes in western Massachusetts*. Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology, Savannah, GA.

Paynter, R., & Stigers, T. (2003). *Making and remaking the rural New England village: The case of Deerfield*. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society for Historical and Underwater Archaeology, Providence, RI.

Reinke, R., Garrison, J. R., Hood, J. E., Paynter, R., Miller, A., & McGowan, S. (1987). *Transformations of landscape: Historical archaeology at Deerfield*. Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Northeastern Anthropological Association, Amherst, MA.

Reinke, R., & Paynter, R. (1984). *Archaeological excavation of the surroundings of the E. H. Williams House, Deerfield, Massachusetts*. Amherst, MA: Water Resources Research Center.

Roberts, D. G., & Barrett, D. (1984). Nightsoil disposal practices of the 19th century and the origin of artifacts in plowzone. *Historical Archaeology, 18*(1), 108–115.

Rotman, D. L. (2001). B*eyond the Cult of Domesticity: Exploring the Material and Spatial Expressions of Multiple Gender Ideologies in Deerfield, Massachusetts, ca. 1750–1882*. PhD Dissertation. University of Massachusetts Amherst, Amherst, Massachusetts.

Rotman, D. L. (2009). *Historical archaeology of gendered lives*. Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Springer.

Schroeder, C. D. (1989). *Outbuildings along the street of old Deerfield: Sentinels of a forgotten heritage*. Deerfield, MA: Summer Fellowship Program, Historic Deerfield.

Sheldon, G. (1972). *A history of Deerfield, Massachusetts: The times when and the people by whom it was settled, unsettled and resettled: With a special study of the Indian Wars in the Connecticut Valley. Vols. 1 and 2.* Somersworth, New Hampshire: New Hampshire Publishing.

Shiel, R. (2012). Science and practice: The ecology of manure in historical retrospect. In R. Jones (Ed.), *Manure matters: Historical, archaeological and ethnographic perspectives* (pp. 1–11). Surrey, England: Ashgate.

Small, N. P. (2003). *Beauty and convenience: Architecture and order in the new Republic*. Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press.
South, S. (1977a). *Method and theory in historical archeology*. New York: Academic Press.
South, S. (1977b). *Research strategies in historical archeology*. New York: Academic Press.
Stachiw, M., & Small, N. P. (1989). Tradition and transformation: Rural society and architectural change in nineteenth-century central Massachusetts. In T. Carter & B. I. Herman (Eds.) *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture, III* (pp. 135–148). Columbia, MO: University of Columbia Press.
Tarlow, S. (2007). *The archaeology of improvement in Britain, 1750-1850*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.
Turner, J. G. (1979). *The politics of landscape: Rural scenery and society in English Poetry, 1630-1660*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
W. (1832, April 4). Poultry. *New England Farmer*, *10*(38).
Wall, D. di Z. (1991). Sacred dinners and secular teas: Constructing domesticity in mid-19th-century New York. *Historical Archaeology*, *25*(4), 69–81.
Wall, D. di Z. (1994). *The archaeology of gender: Separating the spheres in urban America*. New York, New York: Plenum.
Williams, R. (1973). *The country and the city*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Chapter 8
Manuring and the Political Economy of Improvement

Introduction

As noted in the previous chapter, the dooryard and barnyard of the Williams' homelot were complicated, messy, and oriented towards work, despite being only obliquely visible from the street. This was the contradictions of Improvement's bifurcation into profit and betterment—the visible yard must be clean, but the means of generating wealth to clean and maintain it must be invisible. The Williamses expended significant amounts of energy to reshape their yard and transform their homelot into a site of both production (of agricultural productions) and consumption (of aesthetic symbols of Improvement).

In this chapter, I focus attention on that which was made invisible—the Williams' barnyard, and in particular, a feature associated with manuring. Manuring, as we shall see, was a subject of tremendous import to Improvers and progressive agriculturalists. And it sat at the apex of structural forces that were manifesting within the Atlantic world system. But more than that, an examination of manuring features reminds us that Improved farms were sites of production as well as being homes. Studying manure in the context of improvement allows us, in Beaudry's words, to "consider farms as farms" (Beaudry 2001, p. 129), that is, as integrated systems of features and artifacts based around agricultural production, as opposed to simply being an isolated domestic site. Manuring has been a singularly important constituting practice in agriculture for thousands of years, and for Improvers, it held a special place within agriculture, materially and symbolically. Furthermore, manuring sat at the heart of complex political–economic forces that were operating globally in the early nineteenth century. Specifically, the push towards greater yields and the economic and ecological consequences that resolved from that push were fundamentally rooted in the growth and development of a networked, global capitalism.

Q.P. Lewis, *An Archaeology of Improvement in Rural Massachusetts*, Contributions To Global Historical Archaeology, DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-22105-2_8

Manuring at the Williams' Homelot

In 1986, University of Massachusetts archaeological field school students exposed a layer of cobbles adjacent to the currently standing barn at the Williams' homelot (see Fig. 8.1). This feature was exposed more fully in 1990 and was discovered to be two cobble platforms resting upon a compact clay surface. A photograph from the 1992 excavations shows the North platform in situ. These cobble platforms extended approximately 12 feet by 15 feet and were separated by an east–west gap approximately 1 foot across. Subsequent analysis suggests that these two platforms were built and covered consecutively, possibly due to property encroachment from the north-adjacent lot (Paynter 2012, personal communication). The platforms are approximately 26 feet west of the current barn and approximately 9 feet north of the current paved driveway. The stones used in said platforms are around 6 inches in diameter, though they vary in size. The platforms were slightly recessed in the

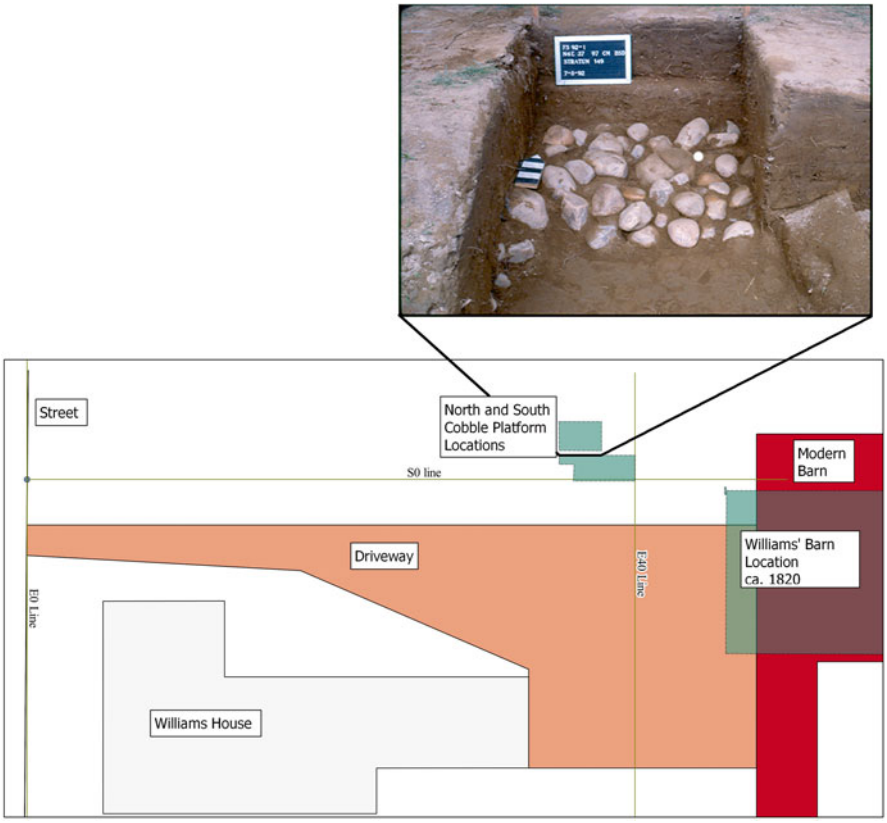


Fig. 8.1 Map of E. H. and Anna Williams' House showing location of Cobble platforms. Photo of North Cobble platform by University of Massachusetts Archaeological Field School. Used with permission

ground when they were visible, creating a depression lined with cobbles on a bed of compact clay.

These cobbles are in superposition to the late eighteenth/early nineteenth century privy, studied by Bograd (1989). This suggests an early nineteenth century date for the construction of the platforms. The presence of Whiteware sherds, whose production post-dates 1820, on the platform and in subsequent layers suggests that the platforms were constructed by the Williamses, who began occupation of the house in 1816. The feature was capped with fill, likely in 1840s, after the deaths of Ebenezer Hinsdale and Anna Williams, and the period in which the homelot was home to various non-farming tenants.

Thus, we have an archaeological feature which was cobble-lined and sealed, located in a barnyard and utilized by a known stall-feeder. This feature represents an interesting window into the materiality of early nineteenth century progressive farming, and the understudied materiality of working farms in general (Beaudry 1986). It is likely that this feature is a manure storage and processing pit, or what Improvers called a *stercorary*. The word itself comes from the Latin *stercus*—meaning "of or pertaining to dung." The direct origins of the word "stercorary" are lost, but its first appearances in English are all in British Improvement manuals (Oxford English Dictionary 2011). It made an appearance in the first volume of *New England Farmer*'s publication, being advocated by Thomas Fessenden as an essential feature of any farmyard, and specifically referred to as "the dung-pit (or stercorary as the learned call it)" (New England Farmer 1823b). This brief linguistic distinction could be suggestive of the distinction between Improvers and "practical farmers." However, its printing on the pages of *New England Farmer* also points to the broader interdigitation of profit and betterment inherent in Improvement—anyone might now use a term that had formerly been confined to "learned" circles.

Such stercoraries have been archaeologically documented. Archaeologists excavating the yard of Mt. Vernon, the plantation home of President George Washington, uncovered a similar platform (Fusonie and Fusonie 1998). They likewise found drawings and plans in Washington's papers for a stercorary (a term Washington himself used). Another manure platform was found during excavations of a carriage house at Gore Place, in Waltham, Massachusetts (Beranek et al. 2011, pp. 11–15). This feature was likely a cellar collection area below the carriage house, but it too was cobble-lined, like the Williams' stercorary. Christopher Gore, for whom the estate is named, was a member of the MSPA and his journals document a keen interest in the creation of manure. It is likely that stercoraries and manure storage and processing areas may have been found on other eighteenth and nineteenth century farmlot sites, but may have been mis-identified or interpreted. Given the ubiquity of Improver's advocacy of manuring, the ubiquity of such stercoraries should not be surprising.

The Williamses' practice of stall-feeding and involvement in the cattle trade (see Chap. 6) would have greatly facilitated the concentration and collection of cattle feces and urine for the production of manure. Farmers have long known that pastured animals are likely to defecate and urinate in fields, making collection more difficult (De Vries 1976, p. 40). The construction of a stercorary would have allowed

the easy collection and mixing of animal feces from the barn, as well as its maintenance, involving turning and mixing with other substances.

At one level, this is an interesting discovery of a relatively unknown archaeological feature, at a rural farmhouse. But contextualizing this feature within the discourses of Massachusetts Improvement and nineteenth century soil politics reveals this stercorary to be a kind of material node of a broad set of structural tensions—a location of Improvement and a manifestation of its contradictions.

Soil Fertility and Agriculture

Archaeologists have a long association with soil—it is the "matrix" in which we excavate, and soil and sedimentary differences materialize our understandings of the passage of time (Harris 1975, 1979). Since the formalization of excavation in the early twentieth century, soil changes have always signaled change and transition, across time periods, cultural horizons, or ecological events. More recent scientific studies have focused on the chemical, biotic, and physical properties of soil and what those may say about behavior and events in the past (e.g. Courty 2001; contributions to Goldberg et al. 2001; especially Mandel and Bettis 2001; Nordt 2001; Pearsall 1978). Soil is a variably present agent in archaeological excavation and analysis.

And yet, few archaeologists have reckoned with soil as a social relationship—as a concretization of broader socio-structural processes. Agriculture has supported state and non-state societies for 10,000 years, and the functioning of soil has been integral to the maintenance and reproduction of those societies. Problems of soil are therefore social and structural problems, and social and structural forces reverberate through soils and sediments. It is for this reason that soil changes are records of social change and instability (Matthews 2002, p. 136).

In historical archaeology, questions of ecology and soil as constitutive social issues have been addressed and discussed (Mrozowski 2006; Thorbahn and S. Mrozowski 1979), but not broadly. This is despite the fact that "soil exhaustion … [was] … the primary ecological crisis of the early nineteenth century" (Moore 2000, p. 128) and was an important structural factor in the lives of many of archaeology's subjects. Thus, much research in historical archaeology needs to be done to understand the ways in which global ecology manifested in local and regional landscapes and structured social and material action in the past.

One of the essential elements of all plant growth is the various combinations of soil nutrients, most importantly nitrogen, phosphoric acid, and potassium (Agee 1912, p. 1; Shiel 2012, pp. 16–17). These nutrients are present to varying degrees in most healthy soils and are replenished through ecological processes, such as plant and animal bio-turbation, succession processes, bacterial growth, and weather and climate cycles. Plants, soils, nutrients, water, sunlight, animal and insect species, and the dynamic processes that operate within those ecologies are interrelated aspects of a larger whole. The soil and its fertility are an integral part of any ecosystem.

In the biological sense, agricultural plant growth is no different than any other kind of plant growth. However, in ecological terms, agricultural production tends to be far more intensive in terms of nutrient extraction. Essentially, when plants are harvested for human consumption, the soil nutrients go with them and exit the ecology of the cultivated area (Shiel 2012, p. 14). When this is undertaken on a larger scale, as in agricultural systems, soils can lose substantial nutrients and become incapable of supporting plant growth. The genetic changes to domesticated plant species, as well as the increased pace of growth cycles, lead to long-term removal of soil nutrients, creating soils that are worn out. Individuals and groups reliant on agriculture who did not take precautions to hinder the depletion of soil nutrients or recycle them created a problem of diminishing returns.

This problem has been known arguably since agriculture began (Shiel 2012, p. 15). As Merchant notes, it was a problem both for the Algonkian speaking people of the Connecticut River Valley and for the English colonists who followed them (Merchant 1989, p. 155). Historically, there have been a wide variety of cultural and social adaptations to the degradation of soil nutrients. Broadly speaking, the two main strategies that have been historically deployed, sometimes separately and sometimes together, are fallowing and fertilizing or manuring. Fallowing involves leaving whole fields or areas within them out of cultivation, such that succession and climatic processes can replenish lost nutrients—allowing the ecological totality to reconstitute itself. Fertilizing involves the artificial introduction of organic or chemical additives to replace the loss of nutrients that have been extracted by agricultural growth. In historical and geographical range, fallowing often requires larger availability of land, while manuring can be used to make smaller plots of land more fertile, but requires access to an artificial source of manure, from humans, animals, or inorganic compounds (Shiel 2012, p. 14). Each of these practices has pros and cons and variable effects based on climatic conditions, geography, and the social relations and technologies of production. In great generality, fallowing tends to sacrifice short-term productivity for long-term land viability, while fertilizing tends to be more productive in the short term, but can lead to harsh nutrient depletion over the long term.

This tradeoff has been a part of agriculture since its inception. Evidence for ancient manuring has come from archaeological and documentary sources. Fertilizing potentially has a long history in Europe, possibly since the origins of farming in the Neolithic Period (Bakels 1997). Wilkinson has interpreted ceramic scatters in pre-state and state-period Northern Iraq as evidence of manure spreading (Wilkinson 1989). De Vries, drawing on European examples of manuring, argues that we should see fallowing and manuring not as complimentary, but as processes in tension, particularly in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (De Vries 1976, p. 39). This was because, with bounded landholdings typical of medieval and early modern Lord-Peasant relations, increasing manure supplies came from increasing pasture land and the expense of arable fields. In other words, keeping more animals from which manure could be taken required putting more land into pasture, and thereby decreasing the amount of land that could be used to grow crops. This tradeoff, of increasing soil productivity while limiting raw output, constituted one of the central tensions in the rise of capitalist farming in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Because of the English settlement pattern, and the combined reliance on domesticated animals and agriculture, English farmers utilized a so-called "extensive" farming system. Extensive farming relied on poly-cultures derived from Native domesticates and European crops, variations within farming land plots that had internal cycles of crop rotations, and long-term cycles that moved from "unimproved" forest land through cleared crop-land, pasture-land, and then back to forest again (Merchant 1989, pp. 166–167). Manure was spread on agricultural land, but only variably collected or systematically organized (Merchant 1989, pp. 116–118). Extensive farming was predicated upon a wide availability of land, low availabilities of labor, and poly-culture production rather than staple crop production for markets (Merchant 1989, pp.156). Merchant argues that this system was, from an ecological perspective, relatively sustainable over the long term (1989, pp. 155–156). And this was the system practiced by a majority of Connecticut River Valley Farmers from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century.

Eighteenth and nineteenth century improvers, including those in Massachusetts, frequently quoted from ancient and classical sources (R. Jones 2012, p. 5; Merchant 1989, p. 119; Shiel 2012, pp. 19–20). However, it is important to note, as Jones points out, that the description of manuring practices is almost never from firsthand accounts, because "People who are intimately acquainted with manure and its effects are rarely in the habit of writing down their thoughts" (R. Jones 2012, p. 5). Thus, from earliest sources, there were distinctions between active farmers and those who chose to write about farming, and this would continue to be a tension in the early nineteenth century.

There has been vast historical and geographical variation in the contents of manure/fertilizer. Human feces and urine were likely utilized in early agricultural communities, though urine stores more nutrients than feces. But animal manure is much more commonly deployed, since despite urine's higher nutritive content, feces is easier to collect and store (Shiel 2012, pp. 15–16). Merchant notes that, in Europe, since Greek and Roman times, farmers had utilized "the manure of poultry, animals, humans, and plants, … . legumes . … fertilizing salts such as lime. … , marl … , and niter." (1989, p. 119) as chemical and natural fertilizers. Some other historical components of manure have included ash, seaweed, and shell (Shiel 2012, pp. 17–18).

But up until the mid nineteenth century, animal feces and urine were the primary components of most manure in English and American contexts. This was followed by what has sometimes been called the "second agricultural revolution"—the growth of chemical and artificial fertilizers and the diminution of the use of animal dung. In 1840, the first artificial fertilizer factory opened in Deptford, southeast of London (R. Jones 2012, p. 1). This was the same year that the renowned German chemist, Justus von Liebig, published his book *Chemistry and its application to agriculture and physiology* (von Liebig 1847), which articulated a scientific and mechanistic view of soils that remains largely intact today. From that point on, chemical fertilizers, derived from mineral deposits, bird and bat guano, and other chemical sources became predominant nutritive sources in western agribusiness (Foster 2009, pp. 172–173), though there have frequently been vocal resistances to its widespread deployment by those interested in organic agriculture (Jones 2012, pp. 2–4).

Liebig's work inspired a long-running commentary in Marxist ecology and the concept of what is known as "the metabolic rift." Karl Marx cited Liebig favorably in his own work (Marx 1990, pp. 637–638), and subsequent Marxian ecologists such as John Bellamy Foster (2009, pp. 175–180) and Jason W. Moore (2000) have taken the concepts derived therein to analyze the rise of capitalist and industrial agriculture. Drawing on the mechanical chemistry of von Liebig, Marx developed the concept of the metabolic rift to highlight the ways in which agriculture draws nutrients from soil and moves them elsewhere. This concept parallels contemporary understandings of soil nutrients as replenished through climatic, biotic, and succession processes and comingles them with the social structures of agricultural societies. In state level societies, and particularly in capitalist societies, this flow of nutrients runs from the countryside to the city and does not return (Foster 2009, pp. 180–181). Marx's use of the term "rift" highlights the tearing away of what is presumed to be a whole; namely, the metabolism that we today refer to as an ecosystem. Thus, the countryside is robbed of soil nutrients to service the city. With the growth of urbanism in industrialization, so interesting to Marx, this metabolic rift is exacerbated to an incredible degree. Such processes likewise expanded poverty and depredation in rural areas and consolidated the wealth of merchants and wealthy farmers.

New England's Improvers were not blind to the process of soil wear and its social effects. But the way in which they articulated those processes was embedded within their social positions—they largely consisted of or were in alliance with urban merchants, lawyers, and politicians, who stood to benefit from an increasingly mercantile agriculture that privileged expanding productivity over soil stability. Likewise, they were invested in the idea of the farmer as the bedrock of a thriving republic and proper farming as a form of personal and moral betterment. Their discussions of manuring and soil reveal tensions and contradictions between these two discursive formations.

Manure Management Discourses in New England Improvement

In 1799, the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture, founded only 7 years prior, published a list of "premiums." These were prizes for accomplishing various agriculture tasks and are the ancestors of the "blue ribbons" of agricultural fairs today. Two of these stand out due to their relationship to soil ecology. The first was a premium of $50 for an individual farmer who could:

> … in one year, by a method new and useful, or that shall be an Improvement on the methods already practiced, make the greatest quantity of Compost Manure in proportion to the expense; to be of a good quality, and composed of materials common to most farms; the quantity to be at least 200 tons, and the claim to be accompanied with a description of the yard or place, and the mode in which the same is made; … (Trustees of the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture 1799, p. 6)

The second, also for $50, was for a farmer who could:

> … ascertain, by accurate analysis, the constituent parts of several fertile soils respectively, and in like manner the parts of several poor soils; and thus shall discover the defects of the latter; and shall show by actual experiments how the said defects may be remedied by the addition of earths or other ingredients, which abound in the country, and in a manner that may be practiced by common farmers … (Trustees of the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture 1799, p.7)

As Thornton notes, the purpose of the MSPA premiums was largely to entice poorer farmers into experimentation, by offering monetary payments if they successfully did so (Thornton 1989, p. 60). But such questions do not simply represent the idiosyncratic interests of a narrow-minded regional elite. The Members of the MSPA were some of the most learned and well-connected members of American society, and they were closely attuned to the problems and possibilities of agricultural production in the Atlantic world. They were also mainly merchants, lawyers, and politicians—in other words, individuals with a vested interest in the mercantile economy and its relationships to the state—and this class position colored their agricultural interests. Thus, the premiums list points to both Improvers' interests in Massachusetts agriculture and their sense of the place of it in the Atlantic world. The problem of soil depletion, and of the proper management of manure as a means of arresting that depletion, was a problem that existed across the Atlantic world.

This emphasis on the relationship between manure and soil fertility permeated Improvement literature from 1800 until the 1840s, and beyond. As Improvement shifted from its earliest location within elite discourses into the middle-class Improvement characterizing *New England Farmer*, the rhetoric of manuring likewise shifted from enticement to a more enlightenment-minded discourse of democratizing agricultural knowledge. There were three prominent points about manure advocated in pages of *New England Farmer*. First, farmers were wasting manure by allowing animals to graze freely. Secondly, farmers were failing to store it and treat it once it had been collected. Finally, they were refusing to do these things by falsely claiming that it would be too expensive or too labor-intensive. Let us examine each of these in turn.

From the beginning, Improvers frequently described farmers as wasteful:

> Under our common management of manures, the practice is quite the contrary of what it ought to be; we do not increase and accumulate, but *waste* and *disperse* almost every substance, which can be converted into a manure and improve the soil. (Trustees of the Massachusetts Society for promoting Agriculture 1799, p. 79, emphasis in original)

The two described sources of this waste were allowing cattle to roam freely on pasture land, or improperly collecting manure. An editorial in an 1822 issue of *New England Farmer* describes a farmer who: "turn[s] his cattle into the road to run at large, and waste[s] their dung, on a winter's day … . Ten loads of good manure, at least, is lost in a season, by this slovenly practice—and all for what? For nothing indeed but to ruin his farm" (A Pennsylvania Farmer 1822). Even farmers who were collecting manure were doing so improperly, by allowing its restorative essence to dissipate. An 1825 address, printed in *New England Farmer,* chastised farmers who would

> [leave] your manure to rot in your yards, exposed to the sun and air, you lose the greatest part of the salts and gases, which constitute its fertilizing powers. You must therefore either carry it fresh on your lands while ploughing, so as to bury it at once, or put it in heaps and cover it with earth or lime, and have it under shade (De Chaumont 1825).

Similar exhortations were made elsewhere in the journal, arguing for the enclosure of dung in a covered, specialized location on the farm (New England Farmer 1822b). There were discussions of properly mixing and turning dung to keep it from drying out (Allen 1836). And there were occasional debates about the extent to which other substances should be added to manure to increase its efficacy. For example, an article entitled "Effects of Lime" in 1831 urged farmers to mix lime into their manure, because this would expand its vital power and save labor (New England Farmer 1831). This increasing emphasis on additives in the 1830s may signal the beginnings of the shift toward chemical fertilizers that paralleled the mechanical theories of soil propounded by Liebig and others (Merchant 1989, p. 211; Foster 2009, pp. 49–50). The frequent appeals to animistic, Aristotelian science inherent in discussions of "essence" and vitality not-withstanding (Merchant 1989, p. 206), Improvers were unified in their advocacy of the appropriate storage of manure.

In reading Improvers' discussions about manure, what becomes clear is that Improvers were not trying to get farmers to use manure—farmers were already doing that. As noted above, a certain amount of manuring had been undertaken on English fields in the Medieval period. This continued into seventeenth century colonial farms—Russell (1976, p. 67) recounted a story of a Marblehead man who drowned when a boat of dung he was carrying overturned from the weight. Early seventeenth century farmers on the coast had deployed the Algonkian practice of using fish as fertilizer (Cronon 1983, pp. 151–152), though this was more limited in back-country areas like the Connecticut River Valley. Much of the rhetoric of *New England Farmer* was focused on the second criticism listed above; namely that the problem was improper *management* of manure. An 1834 article entitled "Farmer's Work" suggested that "The too common practice of spreading barn yard manure over mowing or meadow land is very wasteful and extravagant. Most people think that they have nothing more to do than to pile on barn yard manure in great quantity on any soil, and for each and every sort of produce, and their crops and their fortunes are made" (New England Farmer 1834b). Improvers sought to reconfigure how farmers used their manure, not merely advocate that they use it, or use it more extensively.

But Improvers were not simply interested in maintaining the soil quality of Massachusetts farms. The purpose of improved manure management was to expand the quality of soil—to alter nature, such that nature might produce a profitable bounty. All in all, Improvers saw the proper management of manure as being vital to farming. Manure was described at one point as

> the life, soul, essence, and quintessence of profitable farming. A farmer without manure, is like a merchant without goods, cash, or credit,—a mechanic without stock or tools,— or a student without books (New England Farmer 1824)

Such exhortations frequently deploy language that likens well-manured farms to industrial factories, or places from which riches could emerge. Farmers were advised to think of their yards as "manure manufacturies" (New England Farmer 1833b, b), and manure was referred to as "a farmer's gold mine" (L.L. 1833). It was incumbent upon the productive and progressive farmer to carefully collect every substance that might enrich manure and expand their production.

Alternatives to Manure Management: Fallowing and Greencropping

Alternative methods of replenishing soil were discussed in the pages of *New England Farmer*, but were largely frowned upon in favor of manuring. The two alternatives were fallowing and greencropping, but both were so rarely discussed in comparison with manuring as to be almost invisible.

So-called "Naked Fallowing"—where fields were let to cycle back into forest over a period of years—was, from the first decades of the journal, highly frowned upon. Despite being integral to the extensive system of farming practiced by colonial farmers (Cumbler 2001, p. 13; Merchant 1989, p. 155), it was gradually replaced by the idea of "Green Fallowing." An article in 1823 notes that

> the custom of naked fallowing however, is not much approved of in modern husbandry … . Sir John Sinclair says, 'the raising clean, smothering, green crops, and feeding stock with them upon the land, is … much more profitable, as far as relates to the value of the crop substituted in lieu of a fallow.' (New England Farmer 1823c).

Green Fallowing involved the planting of low stress, short-root, or grass crops on fallow lands, and then plowing them under into the soil, turning them into compost. This would restore some soil nutrients, as William Barton noted in an 1825 address: "By uniting green crops with your barn yard and fossil manures, you will be enabled to return to the soil as much fertilizing matter as is annually withdrawn from it" (Barton 1824). This is a fairly practical and reliable means of restoring some soil nutrients (Shiel 2012, p. 17). But greencropping was always advocated as a supplement to manuring, rather than as a restorative practice on its own.

A related method occasionally advocated was the judicious rotation of sympathetic crops. The idea was that plants which required different clusters of nutrients could be alternated such that those nutrients would replenish when not being drained by alternate plants—the principle behind the Native complimentary planting of "the three sisters"—corn, beans, and squash (Merchant 1989, p. 79). Improvers were aware of this concept as well, though they did not link it to Native people. In 1830, the best farmer was described as one who "will have a due regard to the rotation of his crops, that an exhausting may be followed by an ameliorating crop," (Pitman 1830).

In one case, judicious rotation, particularly between clover (a nitrogen fixing crop) and wheat, was actually deemed superior to manuring. In an 1834 essay entitled "Clover and Wheat," the essayist argued that through the use of "the substitution of a rotation of crops, in place of manure … land may not only be prevented

from becoming poor, but may be increased in fertility," particularly through the alternating of wheat with clover in fields (New England Farmer 1834a). However, this was an essay written about Western New York, reprinted in *New England Farmer*, and specifically tailored to the production of wheat, which had not been grown to any great extent in Massachusetts since the seventeenth century, after a wheat blast had decimated the crop (Merchant 1989, p. 165). It is questionable how much attention would have been paid to this idea in the Connecticut River Valley.

For the most part, Improvers frowned upon crop rotation as a means of keeping soils nutrient-rich. The above-mentioned 1825 address by Barton on Green cropping began by saying "In this country, it is impracticable to pursue any rotation of our principal crops, that will improve your lands, support your families, and insure you a reasonable profit without great attention to the article of manures" (Barton 1824). Betterment of the soil, through judicious rotation, would inhibit profits.

Even crop rotation discussions overlapped with advocacy for manure management. An essay from 1835 illustrates this point. The title is "The Subject of Rotation of Crops and Manures" (Legare 1834), and the author begins by saying that "any vegetable grown long on the same soil deteriorates, even when the ground is annually manured." He goes on to argue that

> Rotation of crops is in some measure a substitute for manuring, as it is well known that after plants of a certain class have exhausted the soil of all nutriment which will support them, other plants will grow most luxuriantly in it … . [S]uch is the course pointed out by nature throughout the vegetable world, whether it be in the forest or the prairie, the cultivated or uncultivated land.

However, the author concludes by saying that "rotation of crops can seldom, if ever, be substituted for manuring and should never be considered in that light." This is because

> The object … of manuring should not be merely to keep the soil at its pristine fertility, but to improve and make it more productive. To effect this, care should be taken that a greater quantity is added to a field than is taken from it.

In other words, crop rotation, the system visible in nature, and practiced by extensive farmers in the colonial period, was not productive under the logics of Improvement. Natural productivity had to be transformed into Improvement.

Not all contributors to *New England Farmer* were completely convinced of the idea that manure would improve all lands. Even elsewhere in *New England Farmer*, there was concern that woods were being cut down at too great a rate, and that the interests of market agriculture might have ecological limits:

> new lands, or lands recently cleared from their native woods, will at first produce good crops of wheat, but after having been cultivated for some years, though made rich with barn yard manure, will lose its power of producing that grain (New England Farmer 1833a)

But this concern, or the advocacy of alternative methods of increasing soil fertility in *New England Farmer* should be contextualized. Table 8.1 illustrates the extent to which Improvers were heavily focused on manure over other means of addressing soil depletion. This shows mentions of the terms "manure," "fallow," and "rotation" in *New England Farmer* between 1822 and 1835 (vol. 1–14). These are mentions of

Table 8.1 Mentions of terms related to soil stabilization in *New England Farmer* 1822–1835

Year	1822	1823	1824	1825	1826	1827	1828	1829	1830	1831	1832	1833	1834	1835
Manure	652	614	368	367	444	390	276	202	454	402	440	547	523	447
Fallow	38	45	18	12	24	12	13	3	23	15	19	21	16	12
Rotation/Rotate	21	29	20	12	52	9	7	11	23	22	18	26	43	40

the term, rather than complete articles; however, the disparity between mentions of manure and mentions of fallow is quite striking. Thus, while Improvers were aware of the necessity of restoring soil nutrients, they primarily focused their rhetorical energies on manure management as the means of arresting this problem.

At first blush, Improvement discourses about manure management seem to be a progressive urging of technological change to individual farmers. Those farmers were ostensibly engaged in outdated or backward practices, and the judicious application of technology advocated by the Improvers would lead to better farming. But a broader series of social forces undergirded these practical and technical discussions.

Out-Migration and Soil Depletion in Nineteenth Century Massachusetts

Scattered throughout *New England Farmer* are references to changes taking place to the social and ecological relations of back-country farms. One problem they frequently dwelt upon was out-migration (Thornton 1989, pp. 123–125). In the first volume of *New England Farmer* (1822), the journal serialized the publication of an essay (probably written by the editor, Thomas Fessenden) entitled "Saving and Making the Most of Manure." It described many of the manure management practices listed so far and the rationales behind them. But one paragraph stands out:

> By proper attention to the accumulation and application of manure, our lands instead of *wearing out*, would improve under the hand of the cultivator, and produce crops greater in quantity, and superior in quality' to those which grew upon them when first reclaimed by the axe and the harrow from a state of nature. Our hardy yeomen instead of leaving the land of their fathers to waste their lives in the wildernesses of the West, might remain at home contented and happy, in possession of all the privileges and comforts of cultivated society, together with as much affluence as is necessary for the pursuit and enjoyment of happiness (New England Farmer 1823a, emphasis in original)

This paragraph encompasses a suite of related discourses with which New England's improver's engaged. At a broader scale, it was an attempt to wrestle with the tensions between Improvement as betterment and Improvement as profit.[1]

Spatially, there is an interesting symbolic interplay between civilization and wilderness or nature. Nature is both the past and the frontier—a kind of narrative of Massachusetts' transition from periphery to core (cf. Paynter 1985). The reclamation of the wilderness in the past created a "cultivated society" in New England, populated by "hardy yeomen", who with proper actions could posses "as much

[1] Earlier Improvers had likewise linked manuring with moral authenticity. In the 18th century, Samuel Deane, quoting the poet John Dryden (Macdonald 1941, p. 10), indicated that widespread acceptance of Improvement would create a situation where, "instead of being ashamed at their employment, our labourious farmers shall, as a great writer says, 'toss about their dung with an air of majesty.' (1822, p. vi)

affluence as is necessary for the pursuit and enjoyment of happiness." This speaks to the author's investment in the figure of the yeoman as an ideological and moral subjectivity (see Chap. 5). Farmers in Massachusetts were the bedrock of society, at both a cultural and political level (Thornton 1989, p. 68). The yeoman was an idealized moral goal and discursively integrated into a national symbolic framework. This made out-migration particularly galling—under the ideological investment of Improvers, yeoman who left were forsaking their role and undermining the sanctity of the agricultural republic.

Alongside this moralized framework was a commitment to profit; that manure management would "improve under the hand of the cultivator, and produce crops greater in quantity, and superior in quality." Manure would not simply maintain soil fertility, but would expand it beyond its capabilities. Manure management would transform nature into civilized culture and allow the farmer to reap a tidy profit while doing so.

And all of these benefits would inhibit a problem that was important enough to textually emphasize—soil depletion. This idea came up again and again throughout the 1820s. An 1823 address by Thomas Whipple Jr. to the Grafton Agricultural Society put the matter in stark terms arguing that "Successive cropping, has exhausted [the] rich source of supply to the farmer," and that this "is the great source of disquietude, and the promoter of the spirit of emigration" (Whipple 1823). An anonymous essay published in 1823 argued that improper management of manure was "not only absurd but ruinous … ." with the end result of mis-use of manure being that "The poor farmer believes his land worn out, and thinks it high time to pluck up stakes and be off to the Ohio!" (New England Farmer 1823d). This was a problem across Massachusetts, especially for farmers who specialized in Maize or "Indian Corn," which was particularly harsh on soils (Cronon 1983, p. 150). The long duration of many Connecticut River Valley farm towns was also a factor in soil depletion (Cumbler 2001, p. 19).

As discussed in Chap. 4, population trends in the early nineteenth century were not unified across the state and Connecticut River Valley. Total state population rose across the first decades of the nineteenth century, largely as a result of immigration from Europe. Westward migration into New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio proceeded apace of the turn of the nineteenth century (Merchant 1989, p. 195). Population loss during this period did occur, but it tended to be in upland towns that were settled later, as opposed to the older towns of the valley floor (Pabst 1941; Paynter 1985). So, the issue of out-migration is more complex than simple population loss. The dislocation discussed by improvers may have been more social anxiety than actual crisis.

But there were other problems as well. Partible inheritance, essential to the maintenance of the seventeenth and eighteenth century village political-economic framework, had run to the point where children were inheriting incredibly small parcels from their parents, and the incentive was not enough to keep them around to work them. Particularly after the mid eighteenth century, sons began to break out of these patriarchal relations and move into newly purchased farms in upland areas of the state (Folbre 1985). This was particularly true for middling or poorer farmers, and

Folbre suggests that wealthier farmers, with more land to divide, were in a better position to keep sons from moving onto new lands of their own (1985, pp. 214–219). E.H. Williams capitalized on this trend of sons finding creative means for negotiating the restrictions of shrinking land parcels—buying inheritance rights. For example, in April 1825, Williams purchased 37.5 acres of land in Conway from Joel Wells. Williams would, according to the deed, receive this land upon the death of Quartus Wells, Joel's father (Book 56, p. 351). Williams would purchase inheritance rights from other Connecticut Valley sons as well. The other issue related to out-migration and soil depletion was class consolidation. The Connecticut River Valley (and indeed, much of rural Massachusetts) was cash poor throughout the end of the eighteenth century (Clark 1990, p. 52), and land and buildings were a significant means of wealth accumulation and display (Sweeney 1984). The accumulation of land, largely through debt relations (Innes 1978; Sweeney 1988), was the primary source of wealth and shielded wealth landholders from market and ecological dynamism.

These two processes created a land crunch in the Connecticut River Valley at the end of the eighteenth century, and this land crunch put increasing pressure on the extensive farming system. Historians have largely interpreted this land crunch as the result of increasing population in the eighteenth century (e.g., Henretta 1978, pp. 24–27; Clark 1975, 1990, p.70), but this population increase must be contextualized within the relations of production and the tensions between kinship, colonial tribute, and mercantile exchange. Indeed, the problem predated the early nineteenth century—the settlement of the Hill towns between 1760 and 1800 (Paynter 1985)—has been explained as an attempt by sons to achieve independence from valley patriarchs (Folbre 1985). Likewise, the late eighteenth century saw an increasing stratification of landed wealth during the same period (Clark 1990, p. 61) and a growing number of landless people in the Valley, a record of which can be seen in the numbers of warning-out notices issued to eject such people from towns (D. L. Jones 1975).

The effect of these changes on both wealthy valley farmers and poorer hill-town farmers were profound. One strategy for many middling and poorer farmers was to shift to less intensive production of non-staple agricultural products for market, such as timber or hay (Paynter 1985, pp. 198–199), or to try and grow produce to feed industrial laborers in growing Valley cities like Holyoke. Population change curves suggest that the former, rather than the latter, became the strategy over much of the uplands in the second half of the nineteenth century (Paynter 1985). Intensive, mono-crop agriculture and pastoralism (especially Sheep but also Williams' stall-fed oxen) was not sustainable in these areas, and hill-town farmers turned to less intensive production, or moved away.

For Valley farmers, divisions of wealth to sons and in-migration meant that land parcels were becoming smaller. Merchant suggests that many seventeenth century towns, like those in the Connecticut River Valley, may have faced some declines in soil fertility as well (Merchant 1989, p. 187). There is some evidence that wealthy valley farmers began to curb family size at the end of the eighteenth century, as a means of inhibiting wide distribution of lands to offspring (Swedlund 1975). Wealthy farmers also began sending sons into shop trades and mercantile businesses

as a means of avoiding the division of lands (Dobkin-Hall 1984, pp. 27–28). But most importantly, they began shifting to intensive farming strategies which relied on more labor and technology inputs in smaller parcels. Manure management was one of these. The extent to which these technologies could be utilized by all farmers, not just wealthy ones, is visible if we look at the material landscapes of manure management in the Connecticut River Valley.

The Material Requirements of Manure Management

What did shifting to manure management actually entail? And to what extent was it embraced and successful for farmers working under the exacerbated tensions of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century extensive farming system? What kinds of activity did it allow, or inhibit?

Intensification increases turnover and productivity, but at the cost of investment in labor and technology, and often with decreasing returns over the long-term. The preexisting class relations of the Connecticut River Valley structured which farmers were able to take advantage of this shift. Assuming farmers owned cattle (which is not necessarily a given), collecting manure required constructing and maintaining a dung heap. It also required changes to yards to prevent collectible materials like urine and feces from washing away. The collection of waste required either the construction of larger barns or pens to keep animals enclosed (as with the Williamses), or the labor-intensive task of collecting manure from pasture fields after bringing animals into pen.

For Improvers, manure management was not to be taken lightly and required exacting material changes to yards and fields, as well as to farming practice. Any additives (lime, plaster of paris, etc. …) which were not locally accessible would need to be purchased from merchants. Improvers were advised to substantially modify their yards to store manure and organic materials (New England Farmer 1832, 1833b). This anonymous early description of a stercorary suggests that such features had precise and elaborate requirements:

> let no man call himself a farmer, who suffers himself to want a receptacle for his manure, water-tight at the bottom, and covered over at the top, so that below nothing shall be lost by drainage; and above, nothing shall be carried away by evaporation … . An excavation, two or three feet deep, well clayed, paved and "dishing," as it is called, of an area from six to thirty feet square, according to the quantity of the manure; over head a roof made of rough boards and refuse lumber if he pleases. (New England Farmer 1822a)

This description mirrors the feature at the Williams' house almost exactly, and the moral suasion inherent in this passage ("let no man call himself a farmer") is augmented further down by a discussion of farmers who did not properly store or protect their manure, and again, there are references to manure as wealth (cf. Laporte 1993, pp. 38–39).

> Sometimes we see the barn yard on the top of a hill … Sometimes it is to be seen in the hollow of some valley … . Of consequence all its contents are drowned or water soaked, or

> what is worse, there having been no care about the bottom of the receptacle, its wealth goes off in the under strata, to enrich possibly the antipodes. (New England Farmer 1822a)

But perhaps most importantly, collecting, storing, carting, and distributing manure are very labor-intensive practices. Ironically, a record of this increased labor time and cost can be seen in the defenses that Improvers wrote of their manure management practices. Improvers frequently admonished farmers for complaining that such Improvements were too expensive. For example, an essay on Manure management in 1823 noted:

> The making of manure by raking and scraping, and every possible contrivance should be the first law to the farmer. We justify ourselves in our slovenliness and low ideas, by complaining of a want of capital—No, let us not mince the mailer, one to another, it is knowledge, pride and neatness, that we want (Bates 1824)

This cry of increased labor cost continued throughout the 1820s. Improvers urged farmers to forgo the cost, in favor of the benefits of properly mixing manure with other compostable substances:

> The only objection to making composts in this country is, that they require too much labour. But we doubt whether there are many processes in agriculture, in which labour is more profitably applied. The good effects of composts made of materials suitable to the soil for which they are intended, are not confined, like those of barnyard manure, to two or three of the crops next succeeding their application, but by altering and amending the texture of the soil, as intimated in the beginning of this article, they give a permanent, increased value to the land (New England Farmer 1825)

As with the anonymous essay above, proper manuring could alter the character of soil and expand its qualities beyond its "natural state." The consequences for not doing so could be severe, moreso even than the loss of the Yeoman due to outmigration. An 1828 essay used the fictional character "Willy Snug" or "Farmer Snug," who was used to denote a good farmer, and juxtaposed with "Farmer Slack." These characters were a frequent dyad in nineteenth century agricultural presses (Newcomb 1994):

> Willy Snug has no unprofitable land on his farm. Every rod is required to produce its due proportion of the yearly crops. Nor is this unreasonable, for the ground is so well manured, so well tilled, and so well fenced, that in a tolerable season it cannot help rendering a good account of itself at the time of harvest. Willy Snug knows as well as any other man the value of manure. Of course, he suffers none to be lost, nor indeed anything out of which manure may be made. You do not see large heaps of dung lying year after year in his barn-yard, for want of carrying out. He is not afraid of soiling his fingers with the dung-cart, well knowing that no man can keep his hands cleaner of debts, lawsuits, sherrifs [sic], and the jail (New England Farmer 1827)

Thus, the good farmer was the farmer who properly and vigorously managed his manure, costs or labor time notwithstanding. Failure to do so put farmers in both moral and economic risk.

On the whole, there was a disconnect between the political–economic context in which manure management arose, and the means of implementing it. This relationship was largely cast as a problem of out-migration, soil decline, and personal failure, rather than a more systemic problem of intensification and production for the market. Farmers were the problem—they were mis-managing their lands and exhausting them because their practices were outdated.

Conclusion

The stercorary at the Williams' house was capped by fill in the 1840s. Though not directly indicative, this time period is suggestive, as two events took place that altered the nature of farming at the site. The house was let out to tenants following E.H. and Anna Williams' deaths, and the land Williams owned in and around Deerfield was sold to others. Little is known about these tenant families (Rotman 2009, pp. 54–55), but they did not likely have the resources to continue the intensive farming practiced by the Williams family.

But there is broader structural factor at play. As stated above, the 1840s was the decade which first saw the rise of chemical fertilizers, and their replacement of animal dung as a primary source of manure, especially in Massachusetts (Russell 1976, pp. 232–233). It is tempting to see the stercorary falling out of use as marking a shift to the new mechanistic chemical regime. Moreover, there were farmers that resided in the Williams' homelot up until the 1960s (see Chap. 6) and no doubt the more recent ones made use of chemical fertilizers to some extent. Regardless of why it was abandoned, what were at first enigmatic cobblestone floors are indicative of the material and landscape changes sought by Improvers and enacted by farmers like the Williamses.

The metabolic rift identified by Marx could not be resolved by the application of manuring. The material manifestations of this rift were out-migration and worn soils, but Improvers invested in agribusiness and increasing productivity were unwilling or unable to reckon with balancing ecology and economy. They saw proper manure management as the summit of Improvement farming, simultaneously enriching productivity and enriching the work of farming itself. Manure management would transform sluggish nature into profit, and transform the subsistence farmer into the yeoman, creating a new economy and a new society in one stroke. But the ecological and economic forces at play in early nineteenth century Massachusetts mitigated against this goal. Land was unevenly distributed, and growing consolidation of land and debt spurred farmers to move to upland areas, to leave the state entirely for New York and Ohio, or giving up farming entirely, as E.H. and Anna Williams' son did. Manure management as advocated by Improvers required capital investment in the form of landscape changes in the built environment and investments in exploitative labor. The impact of these changes led to wealth bifurcations in the Connecticut River Valley, with wealthier farmers consolidating and concentrating plots on the valley floor or in upland areas, poorer farmers moving into more marginal zones, and many farmers who were not able to hold on in these changes moving westward or becoming proletarianized. Manuring did not solve this problem and may have even exacerbated it as farmer reduced fallow cycles in favor of increased manuring—a kind of "annihilation of space, through time" (Harvey 1990, p. 205)—the extensive space of the three-field system, with its long fallow cycles, collapsed in favor of the more immediate short cycles that manure management allowed. Like the new capitalist economy of boom and bust, where farmers were increasingly at the whims of economic forces which

transcended them, the new capitalist ecology would spur farmers to change to accommodate the demands of the city and the limits of the countryside. Farmers who could do this may have been "yeomen" to Improvers, but it is just as likely that, like Williams, they drew on preexisting wealth and unequal class relations, to change the built environment and the complexities of soil to suit the market.

References

Agee, A. (1912). *Crops and methods for soil improvement*. New York: MacMillan.

Allen, M. (1836, April 20). Making compost. *New England Farmer*, 14(41).

Bakels, C. C. (1997). The beginnings of manuring in western Europe. *Antiquity*, *71*, 442+. doi:Article

Barton, W. M., Esq. (1824, December 17). Mr Barton's address. *New England Farmer*, *3*(21).

Bates, I. C. (1824, January 31). Extracts from an address to the Hampshire, Franklin, and Hampden Agricultural Society, Northampton, Mass, October 23, 1823. *New England Farmer*, *2*(27).

Beaudry, M. C. (1986). The archaeology of historical land use in Massachusetts. *Historical Archaeology, 20*, 38–46.

Beaudry, M. C. (2001). Trying to think progressively about 19th century farms. *Northeast Historical Archaeology, 30–31*, 129–142.

Beranek, C. M., Smith, J. N. L., & Steinberg, J. M. (2011). *Data recovery excavations of the carriage house, greenhouse, and greehouse/carriage house well at Gore Place, Waltham, Massachusetts* (Cultural Resources Management Study No. 45). Boston: Fiske Center for Archaeological Research, UMASS Boston.

Bograd, M. D. (1989). *Whose life is it anyway?: Ceramics, context, and the study of status*.

Clark, C. (1975). Household Economy, Market Exchange, and the Rise of Capitalism in the Connecticut River Valley, 1800–1860. *Journal of Social History, 13*, 169–189.

Clark, C. (1990). *The roots of rural capitalism*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Courty, M.-A. (2001). Microfacies analysis assisting archaeological stratigraphy. In P. Goldberg, V. T. Holliday, & C. R. Ferring (Eds.), *Earth sciences and archaeology* (pp. 205–241). New York: Kluwer Academic.

Cronon, W. (1983). *Changes in the land: Indians, colonists and the ecology of New England*. New York: Hill & Wang.

Cumbler, J. T. (2001). *Reasonable use: The people, the environment, and the state, New England 1790–1930*. New York: Oxford University Press.

De Chaumont, J. L. R. (1825, March 25). Further Extracts from Mr Chaumont's address (Continued from Page 268). *New England Farmer*, *3*(35).

De Vries, J. (1976). *The economy of Europe in an age of crisis, 1600-1750*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.

Dobkin-Hall, P. (1984). *The organization of American culture, 1700-1900: Private institutions, elites, and the origins of American nationality*. New York: NYU Press.

New England Farmer. (1822a, August 24). Barn yards and stercoraries or manure heaps. *New England Farmer*, *1*(4).

New England Farmer. (1822b, November 23). Signs of a good farmer. *New England Farmer*, *1*(17).

New England Farmer. (1823b, April 5). On saving and making the most of manure (Continued from Page 215). *New England Farmer*, *1*(36).

New England Farmer. (1823c, August 30). On the cultivation of wheat. *New England Farmer*, *2*(5).

New England Farmer. (1823a, February 1). On saving and making the most of manure (Continued from Page 191). *New England Farmer*, *1*(27).

New England Farmer. (1823d, November 22). Manure your grass grounds. *New England Farmer*, *2*(17).
New England Farmer. (1824, September 25). Farmer's calendar. *New England Farmer*, *3*(9).
New England Farmer. (1827, June 15). The good farmer. *New England Farmer*, *5*(47).
New England Farmer. (1831, June 8). Calcareous manures. *New England Farmer*, *9*(47).
New England Farmer. (1832, August 8). Farmer's work for August. *New England Farmer*, *11*(4).
New England Farmer. (1833a, August 14). Remarks on the culture of wheat. *New England Farmer*, *12*(5).
New England Farmer. (1833b, November 27). Farmer's work. *New England Farmer*, *12*(20).
New England Farmer. (1834a, May 7). Clover and wheat. *New England Farmer*, *12*(43).
Folbre, N. (1985). The wealth of patriarchs: Deerfield, Massachusetts, 1760-1840. *Journal of Interdisciplinary History, 16*(2), 199–220.
Foster, J. B. (2009). *The ecological revolution: Making peace with the planet*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
Fusonie, A., & Fusonie, D. J. (1998). *George Washington: Pioneer farmer*. Mount Vernon, VA: Mount Vernon Ladies' Association.
Harris, E. C. (1975). The stratigraphic sequence: A question of time. *World Archaeology, 7*(1), 109–121.
Harris, E. C. (1979). *Principles of archaeological stratigraphy*. New York: Academic.
Harvey, D. (1990). *The condition of postmodernity*. Oxford, England: Basil Blackwell.
Henretta, J. A. (1978). Families and Farms: Mentalite in Pre-Industrial America. *William and Mary Quarterly*, 35, 3–32.
Goldberg, P., Holliday, V. T., & Ferring, C. R. (Eds.). (2001). *Earth sciences and archaeology*. New York: Kluwer Academic.
Innes, S. (1978). Land tenancy and social order in Springfield, Massachusetts, 1652-1702. *William and Mary Quarterly, 35*, 33–36.
Johnson, E. (2003). Forest management in the ancient northeast: Evidence from Stockbridge, MA. *Bulletin of the Massachusetts Archaeological Society, 64*(2), 3–43.
Jones, D. L. (1975). The strolling poor: Transiency in eighteenth-century Massachusetts. *Journal of Social History, 8*(3), 28–54. Accessed 24 June 2011.
Jones, R. (2012). Why manure matters. In R. Jones (Ed.), *Manure matters: Historical, archaeological and ethnographic perspectives* (pp. 1–11). Surrey, England: Ashgate.
L.L. (1833, February 27). Manure. *New England Farmer*, *11*(33).
Laporte, D. (1993). *History of shit*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
Legare, J. D. (1834, January 7). The subject of rotation of crops and manures. *New England Farmer*, *13*(26).
Mandel, R., & Bettis, E. A. I. (2001). Use and analysis of soils by archaeologists and geoscientists: A North American perspective. In P. Goldberg, V. T. Holliday, & C. R. Ferring (Eds.), *Earth sciences and archaeology* (pp. 173–204). New York: Kluwer Academic.
Marx, K. (1990). *Capital: A critique of political economy*. New York: Penguin.
Matthews, C. N. (2002). *An archaeology of history and tradition: Moments of danger in the Annapolis landscape*. New York: Kluwer.
Merchant, C. (1989). *Ecological revolutions: Nature, gender and science in New England*. Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press.
Moore, J. W. (2000). Environmental crises and the metabolic rift in world-historical perspective. *Organization & Environment, 13*(2), 123–157.
Mrozowski, S. A. (2006). Environments of history: Biological dimensions of historical archaeology. In M. Hall & S. W. Silliman (Eds.), *Historical Archaeology* (pp. 23–41). Malden, MA: Blackwell.
New England Farmer. (1825). Farmer's Calendar. *New England Farmer*, 4(2).
New England Farmer. (1834b, September 17). Farmer's work. Manure in pastures, &c. *New England Farmer*, *13*(10).
Newcomb, H. (1994). *Farmer snug and farmer slack: The value of ambition, a study of agrarian capitalism on the Illinois frontier*. La Fox, IL: Garfield Heritage Society.

Nordt, L. C. (2001). Stable carbon and oxygen isotopes in soils: Applications for archaeological research. In P. Goldberg, V. T. Holliday, & C. R. Ferring (Eds.), *Earth sciences and archaeology* (pp. 419–449). New York: Kluwer Academic.

Oxford English Dictionary. (2011, November 25). "stercorary, adj. and n.". Retrieved from http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/189891?redirectedFrom=stercorary

Pabst, M. R. (1941). Agricultural trends in the Connecticut Valley region of Massachusetts, 1800-1900. *Smith College Studies in History, 26*.

Paynter, R. (1985). Surplus flow between frontiers and homelands. In S. W. Green & S. Perlman (Eds.), *The archeology of frontiers and boundaries* (pp. 163–211). Orlando, FL: Academic.

Pearsall, D. M. (1978). Phytolith analysis of archaeological soils: Evidence for maize cultivation in formative Ecuador. *Science, 199*, 177–178.

A Pennsylvania Farmer. (1822, November 9). To My Brother Farmers. *New England Farmer*, *1*(15).

Pitman, J. (1830, January 1). Judge Pitman's Address. Continued from Page 181. *New England Farmer*, *8*(24).

Rotman, D. L. (2009). *Historical archaeology of gendered lives*. Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Springer.

Russell, H. S. (1976). *A long deep furrow*. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England.

Shiel, R. (2012). Science and practice: The ecology of manure in historical retrospect. In R. Jones (Ed.), *Manure matters: Historical, archaeological and ethnographic perspectives* (pp. 1–11). Surrey, England: Ashgate.

Swedlund, A. (1975). Population growth and settlement pattern in Franklin and Hampshire counties, Massachusetts, 1650-1850. In A. Swedlund (Ed.), *Population Studies in Archaeology and Biological Anthropology: A Symposium* (pp. 22–33).

Sweeney, K. M. (1984). Mansion people: Kinship, CLASS, AND ARCHITECTURE in Western Massachusetts in the mid Eighteenth Century. *Winterthur Portfolio, 19*, 231–256.

Sweeney, K. M. (1988). Gentleman farmers and inland merchants: The Williams Family and commercial agriculture in pre-revolutionary Western Massachusetts. In P. Benes (Ed.), *The Farm* (Vol. 9, pp. 60–73). Boston: Boston University.

Thorbahn, P., & S.Mrozowski. (1979). Ecological dynamics and rural New England Historical Sites. In R. Paynter (Ed.), *Ecological Anthropology of the Middle Connecticut River Valley* (pp. 129–140).

Thornton, T. P. (1989). *Cultivating gentlemen: Country life and the legitimation of Boston's Mercantile—Manufacturing Elite, 1785-1860*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Trustees of the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture. (1799). *Papers on agriculture, consisting of communications made to the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture: With extracts from various publications; recommended to the attention of farmers, by the Trustees of the Society*. Accessed 28 November 2011.

Von Liebig, J. L. (Freiherr. (1847). *Chemistry in its application to agriculture and physiology*. Philadelphia, PA: T. B. Peterson.

Whipple, T. J. (1823, November 15). An address delivered before the Grafton (N.H.) Agricultural Society at their Annual Meeting, October, 1822. *New England Farmer*, *2*(16).

Wilkinson, T. J. (1989). Extensive sherd scatters and land-use intensity: Some recent results. *Journal of Field Archaeology, 16*(1), 31–46.

Chapter 9
Conclusion

Improvement and Archaeology in Early Nineteenth Century Rural Massachusetts

Improvement was a fundamental symbolic and material formation in the rural landscapes of pre-industrial Massachusetts. This book has used archaeology, documentary, and landscape analysis to chart the contours and tensions of Improvement as a social phenomenon. It speaks to literature in historical archaeology about rural cultural formations, the growth and variation in capitalism, and the relationship between material and symbolic culture. Improvement encompasses these phenomena, operating as a kind of metaphorical formation which manifested across a variety of domains at the turn of the nineteenth century. Though originally part of the expansion of mercantile agriculture and its articulation with tributary modes of production in medieval Europe, by the Nineteenth century it had a broader manifestation and articulated with Enlightenment philosophical traditions on human agency, progress, and individualism. Rather than being a coherent package of ideas and practices, Improvement vacillated between two meanings—Improvement as Profit and Improvement as Betterment. These principles and related practices overlapped in rural Massachusetts, but their articulation was nebulous and occasionally contradictory. To understand New England Improvement, the book has drawn on archaeological theories of landscapes as simultaneously material and symbolic social phenomena—product of and precedent for human action (cf. Wobst 1999, p. 120). To understand the dynamic nature of landscape, I drew on Marxian theories of space, which see struggles over control of space as fundamental tensions within productive modes, and especially within capitalism. Landscapes are thus not just static, material manifestations of preexisting human frameworks, but are themselves constituted within social dynamics of inequality. Likewise, mental conceptions about space and its culturally appropriate or specific organization are fundamental to social and material organization.

Q.P. Lewis, *An Archaeology of Improvement in Rural Massachusetts*, Contributions
To Global Historical Archaeology, DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-22105-2_9

Improvement, as a cultural logic, was present at the first instances of European contact in western Massachusetts. Algonkian-speaking people deployed a fluid spatiality, glossed as "the Common pot," which linked egalitarian social relations with mobility in a clinally distributed spatiality called the "homeland." English colonists abstracted and simplified this spatial organization and sought to enclose, constrain, or expel Native space in the Connecticut River Valley. Deerfield, as a settlement, was founded amidst this spatial conflict. Rather than being a bucolic idyll of colonial England, it was forged in "blood and fire." It was also forged with fundamental tensions between a long-distance, capitalist-oriented economy of the Atlantic world and a village economy, rooted in positive reciprocity and moralized exchange. Tensions in the colonial village existed between farmers and merchants, though there was substantial overlap and inter-relations between these roles and groups. By the end of the eighteenth century, these tensions had grown increasingly prevalent and were implicated or causal of a series of economic, ecological, and political crises that disarticulated the mercantile and village relations. Debt and credit crises in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, land consolidation, and wealth concentration put pressures on extensive farming, pushing smaller farmers into more marginal areas or leading to landlessness and wage labor.

It was at this point that Improvement began to manifest as publications and agricultural societies with the aim of modernizing Massachusetts agriculture, with the effect of reconstituting the relationships between urban and rural Massachusetts. The leaders of this movement were largely urban elites, who pushed agricultural experimentation as a didactic tool for poorer or middling farmers, in societies such as the MSPA, and later in journals like *New England Farmer*. Improvers moralized these "Yeomen" farmers, deflecting criticism of their own wealth and power, and utilizing material things as signifiers of Yeomen virtue. Yeomen were simultaneously hardworking but not overconsuming, authentic but modern, and productive but not messy. Improvers writing in agricultural journals envisioned a symbolic regional landscape populated by these Yeomen as a model for citizenship, positioning White freehold farming by Yeoman as a cultural bulwark against Southern slavery and European tyranny.

Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams of Deerfield was born into this complex economic, material, and symbolic reconfiguration. The son of a early member of the Massachusetts Society for the Promotion of Agriculture and descended from an early and wealthy Massachusetts family, Williams was engaged in agricultural production in Deerfield beginning in the late eighteenth century and continued with capital-intensive, market-oriented farming until he died in 1838. Williams and his family filled their house with a wide array of material things that interfaced with Improvement's emphases on visibility, the linking of the local and the long-distance, and the control and articulation of public and private space. These spatial and material practices extended into the Williams yard, where excavated material reveals complex landscape changes. The Williamses dealt with Improvement's simultaneous investment in profit and betterment by reconfiguring the landscape to highlight order and cleanliness in the front yard and terraced the side yard, both visible to the street, while productive activities were extended out the back and were

less visible. One of these activities was the active collection and mixing of manure, for the purposes of increasing soil productivity, a practice that was linked to broader political-economic changes present in the rural economy. Shrinking land-parcels, wealth consolidation, and soil degradation put pressures on farmers which, despite Improvers' dramatic advocacy of manure management, could not be overcome without preexisting wealth. Successful manure management was linked to class inequality, despite its seeming egalitarian pretentions.

But what became of Improvement in rural Massachusetts? Its proponents saw it as an almost utopian project, linking the micro-scale of the everyday life of the farmer with the economic, political, and moral health of the body politic in the United States. But by the 1830s, that utopia was beginning to fracture.

"A Miserable and Degraded Tenantry": Improvement's Failure in Massachusetts

In 1832, *New England Farmer* published an anonymous correspondence describing an early meeting of the New England Association of Farmers, Mechanics, and Other Working Men ("New England Association of Farmers, Mechanics, and Other Workingmen" 1832). This lengthy letter described the first meeting of this organization in a Boston hotel and the early business of the Association. The Association's goal was "an *improvement* in the condition of men, women and children who are engaged in the various manufacturing establishments throughout New-England" and the author of the letter "hoped that they may succeed" (Emphasis mine).

The creation of this Association is known historically as one of the first labor unions in the United States which expanded beyond organized trades (Roediger and Foner 1989, p. 25), paralleling similar developments such as the Workingmen's Party of New York (1829), as well as intensive cross-trade labor and union organization in England (Thompson 1964). The Association made the ten hour working day its centerpiece, though it did not demand that "practical farmers" who were members of the Association participate in such a practice, seemingly understanding that agricultural work required uneven hours.

Improvement had aided the transformation of land from a thing producing value to a thing possessing value, and the author understood that for farmers, the value of land and the speculative markets thereon were part and parcel with the growing inequities of the industrial system. The anonymous author did not mince words about the causes of the creation of this organization, noting "that the title to real estate is passing out of the hands of those who work upon it … . unless relief is administered soon, we shall have a miserable and degraded tenantry after a while. At present, they can run away to the new countries, but the same causes will follow them there." The usually politically staid prose of *New England Farmer's* contributors was set aside in favor of a much more vociferous condemnation of wealth inequality in the Commonwealth:

> No man however, among us, who will cast his eyes abroad, can fail of observing that throughout New England, the good land, indeed all the valuable property, both real and personal, is falling into comparatively few hands; and all of it, perhaps, by *legitimate* conveyance, yet much of it by process that is considered ruinous and oppressive by many good men and sound lawyers, who are familiar with its operation.

However, the author, though critical of wealth inequality, was suspicious of this formation of an organization linking together those individuals who were oppressed by it. He did not print any of the Association's specific demands or accusations, saying "I do not feel competent to judge the propriety or of the practicability of all the measures proposed." And he concluded his letter with a veiled criticism of any such association engaging in political action, subtly accusing the leaders of such a movement of manipulating laboring peoples' grievances. He quoted George Washington as saying "The *real people* occasionally assembled in order to express their sentiments on political subjects ought never to be confounded with self-appointed societies, *usurping the right to control the constituted authorities*, and to dictate the public opinion" (emphasis in original).

This brief letter, the only mention of this historically important organization in the pages of *New England Farmer*, presents a number of important images and ideas that articulate with the conclusion of Improvement as a social movement in Massachusetts. By the 1830s, the engagement with markets advocated by Improvers had a number of results, and a number of byproducts that even Improvers could not ignore, as the above correspondence suggests. Improvement had shifted into a general conception of betterment ("the improvement of the conditions…"), but the earlier, economic meaning of profit-making through landscape and practical change had wrought severe changes to the New England economy and society. The concentration of wealth and land, and the growth of Industrialization that paralleled Improvement's emphasis on profit and betterment, had cut through *New England Farmer's* egalitarian rhetoric on the freedom of Yeomen. Such freedom, it seems, was contingent upon wealth and independence. E.H. Williams could clearly afford such independence, but by the 1830s, even he was falling on harder times. Many other farmers simply could not. They moved west, shifted strategies, or gave up on farming and shifted to wage labor. Some did stay behind, but largely did so by limiting their affiliation with Improvement and intensifying local exchange and social relations (Barron 1988, pp. 134–135). Others may have been attracted to the radical solidarity of the Association of Farmers, Mechanics, and Other Workingmen. However, such Improvement through collective action (cf. Saitta 2007), certainly in keeping with the Enlightenment principles of the term, was a bridge too far for the contributor to *New England Farmer*, even if the symptoms which produced such action were clear for all to see.

If Improvement did not produce the lasting social and landscape changes that its proponents promised, what succeeded in its wake? Improvement failed to transform Massachusetts into a state of progressive Yeoman farmers. By the 1850s, many farms were being abandoned or reconfigured around industrialization or reduced labor inputs (Paynter 1985), rather than intensified as Improvers advocated. Hillier and less centrally situated towns were depopulating, in favor of lowland industrial centers, and individuals and families moved to the western United States in search

of new opportunities to continue a farming life. Industrialization also drew many former farmers or the children of farmers away from agriculture. The planned industrial communities such as the Boott Mills in Lowell, Massachusetts (e.g., Beaudry and Mrozowski 1989; Mrozowski et al. 1996) and Holyoke in the Connecticut River Valley (DiCarlo 1982; Green 1939; Hartford 1990), quickly grew into a broader industrial landscape of mills and factories. In some cases, smaller firms such as the John Russell Cutlery Factory in Franklin County grew quickly by relying on mechanization and deskilling processes that limited the ability of workers to control the labor process (Nassaney and Abel 1993, 2000, pp. 257–260). Such industrial growth and concomitant labor control also occurred in Pittsfield, in Berkshire County where General Electric factories and facilities first opened as early as the late nineteenth century (Nash 1989). Industrialization proceeded apace with the massive European immigration, which continued throughout the nineteenth century, and which dramatically shaped the politics, culture, and economy of rural Massachusetts into the twentieth century (Hoberman 2000; Long 2000; Swanson 1980), and was certainly a more prominent driver of population cycles than agricultural productivity (Harris 2007). I have largely avoided discussing industrialization in this book, except as a driver of demand for agricultural surplus. However, industrialization, occurring in both rural and urban areas, was a profound and significant force operating to affect rural northeastern landscape change, materiality, social relations, and ideological orientation (see also Deyrup 1948; Hahn and Prude 1985; Norris 2009; Starbuck 2005).

However, another significant factor arose from the ashes of Improvement. Rural Massachusetts became a site of romantic contemplation and cultural production. Rural New England became a site for tourism from cities as early as the 1820s (Brown 1995, pp. 8–10) as growing wealth in urban areas combined with increasing discourses of cities as places of disease and danger from which one must periodically escape (cf. Blodgett 1976). The association of romanticism and naturalism with the region had its origins in the late eighteenth century, with fictional depictions of the landscape presenting it as a natural wilderness. This parallels the growing split in rural power in the nineteenth century, which as Raymond Williams so astutely noted, shifted from organization and control of the rural world, to the distance one travels to find it (Williams 1973, p. 290). Ironically, the "improvements" to infrastructure that had collapsed the space between rural farmers and urban markets would create a reverse flow of tourists seeking rural retreat as those farmers lost out to the Midwest, and markets nationalized.

Profit and Betterment: Improvement's success

Thus, it is easy to argue that Improvement ultimately failed, in the sense that its practices did not produce the desired effects of its proponents. At the same time, Improvement's ideological commitments, symbolic materialities, and practical activities became much more broadly suffused into American culture, to the point where they are hard to distinguish from other notions.

There were some specific goals advocated by Improvers that were ultimately reached. One lasting effect of Improvement was the creation of agricultural educational institutions. New England colleges, especially Harvard, had long been hotbeds of agricultural Improvement (Thornton 1989, p. 58), but the push for a full-time institution of agricultural knowledge and learning was early and continuously articulated throughout the pages of N*ew England Farmer* (e.g., De Witt 1822; H.J.K. 1825), and from other reform-minded individuals (e.g., Colman 1841). Amherst College included some instruction on agriculture in the 1840s (True 1929, pp. 43–44), but such elite institutions did not fulfill the widespread goals of advancing agricultural knowledge to farmers. When this did emerge, funding came not from the local or regional level, but from the national Morrill Act of 1862, which created land-grant institutions of higher education throughout the northern states during the Civil War (Geiger and Sorber 2013, pp. x–xi). In Massachusetts, this took the form of Massachusetts Agricultural College, formed in 1863, which was eventually transformed into the University of Massachusetts, Amherst (see also Baram 1989; Story 1992).

McMurry notes that a great many progressive farmers who spread throughout the Northeast in the nineteenth century came from New England states (McMurry 1997, pp. 26–27), a point also made more broadly by Dobkin-Hall (1984, p. 153). Early nineteenth century New England scientific farming is the antecedent of both modern agri-business, as well as modern organic farming. Improvement's emphasis on soils and appropriate manuring practices has carried through into a conservation consciousness in the twentieth century and has formed one of the central planks of the modern environmental movement (Jones 2012, pp. 3–4). Indeed, proper manuring has not solely been the province of capitalists seeking increased productivity—socialists were fond of sometimes outrageous arguments about the utility of manure to fulfill human needs and lift up the working class (Laporte 1993, pp. 127–132).

More importantly, Improvement's melding of science, agriculture, and profit set the stage for contemporary agribusiness. The dramatic growth of chemical fertilizers, more rationalized productive relations, and mechanized farming are all undergirded a more scientific agriculture in the nineteenth century. In the twentieth century, this has created a new "metabolic rift," not between countries and cities, but between poorer countries in the grip of industrialized, chemical-based agriculture and the desire for cheap food in North American and European supermarkets. As sociologist Phillip McMichael (2009) has masterfully shown, there has been massive environmental fallout, particularly in soil fertility, from the neoliberal explosion of worldwide agribusiness concerns in the 1990s and 2000s, pushing the world towards a crisis of "peak soil" paralleling an energy crisis of "peak oil" (McMichael 2009, pp. 43–44).

The failure of Improvement to generate broad prosperity in Massachusetts reverberated throughout the nineteenth century in interesting ways. The improved landscape of rural Massachusetts became the space around which the early northern historic preservation movement organized itself. Deerfield was a hotbed of this movement, which lamented the collapsing houses, lost documents, and decaying

material culture associated with late eighteenth and early nineteenth century-landed wealth. Numerous studies have articulated how this movement, spurred by urban tourism, reinvigorated the rural economy of Deerfield and Franklin County more generally (Batinski 2004; Harlow 2013; Miller and Lanning 1994; Paynter 2002). Other studies have located the historic preservation movement of the late nineteenth century as an anti-modernist reaction to urban industrialization by elites, who became concerned by the consequences of the sources of their wealth (Lears 1994; Wallace 1996). Improvement was thus generative of new forms of cultural production, manifesting as anxiety about the nature of progress and change. Where Improvement in rural Massachusetts emphasized the emancipatory qualities of human agency and the ability of human beings to intervene in space and time, the rural historic preservation movement focused on the necessity of saving history from the new order of multi-ethnic, urban-industrial transformation.

The rationalism of Improvement and the romanticism of the anti-modernist turn to history and nature that followed it are dialectically linked (Wolf 1999, pp. 23–30). Capitalism vacillates between such poles of cultural coherence, mirroring its fundamental tensions between dynamism and control (Harvey 1990, pp. 343–345). But like all cultural formations, Improvement manifested a mixture of these two tendencies—it articulated a regulated nature, but relied on a romanticized caricature of the Yeoman to do so. Improvers embraced production for markets and encouraged farmers to diversify, and yet they chastised them when they used the wealth wrought of that diversification in ways that undid visible class distinctions.

Perhaps the most significant aspect that has widely distributed outward from the moment of Improvement is the idea of rural authenticity as the heart of the national character. This was the great aspirational dream of Improvers, who sought to position themselves and New England as the nation in miniature, as part of a war of symbolic regionalism with the South (Dobkin-Hall 1984, pp. 176–177; Melish 1998, pp. 210–237; Sheidley 1990; Waldstreicher 1994, pp. 215–251). We are now faced with one consequence of this, in the form of a backlash conservative politics that locates a fictionalized working-class voter as an authentic political subject (Frank 2005, pp. 13–30). Indeed, Richard Hofstader, in his classic study of American anti-intellectualism, found antecedents of this trope in the arguments in *New England Farmer* over the construction of agricultural colleges (Hofstadter 2012, p. 278). Contemporary politics pivot on the idea of an un-commercialized, authentic rural world that is hostile to urban living, parochial, and highly moralized around these symbolic frameworks. But rural Massachusetts has always been unstable, interdigitated with the urban world, connected to broad economic, political, and social trends, anxious about morality, and exploitative. There are echoes of the character of Yeoman in the "Red State voter," "the tea party," or other media shorthands for rural, working class political agents. Moral but not judgmental, capitalist but not ostentatious, "free" but not egalitarian, and most importantly, White. The contradictions of the Yeoman continue to be the contradictions of American politics and economics.

The Implications of Improvement for Historical Archaeology

This book has tried to sketch the materiality of Improvement as it manifested in the context of New England at the turn of the nineteenth century. What is clear is that Improvement's meaning was not fixed. It may have been codified in various media—in print, in associations both state-wide and regional, or even in material things and landscapes—but its content remained elusive and nebulous. I began this book arguing that Improvement was not ideology in the strict Marxist sense of false consciousness, and this is true. It was more diffuse, more metaphorical. It could refer simultaneously to the character of a good farmer, the hoped-for change in the conditions of laboring people, or practices that created wealth in land. It was an ethic, a cultural logic (cf. Jameson 1991), organizing human agency into a context of time and space. Indeed, it may have been the cultural logic of pre- or early industrial capitalism in the way that Postmodernism seems to be the cultural logic of early neoliberal capitalism (Harvey 1990). It is no accident that, as Tarlow notes, the presence of the word "improvement" in British publications spiked in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (Tarlow 2007, pp. 13–16), or that Asa Briggs could name his grand history of this period "the Age of Improvement" (Briggs 1959). Thus, Improvement was "dominant," not in the sense of totalizing or controlling, but perhaps in the sense of "prevailing"—it was a discursive formation that was "in the air" due to its institutional and class-based origins, but such ideologies are never totalizing, universalizing, or successfully muting of alternatives. More importantly, Improvement literature was not without its own internal contradictions, between idealizing the New England Yeomen as the romantic bedrock of the nation and seeking to atomize and individualize those same yeomen through increasingly alienated labor and productive practices. These contradictory impulses simultaneously allowed Improvement to be a mutable and malleable discursive formation. Likewise, as the examination of the Williams' yard organization reveals, tensions and contradictions were inherent in the materialization of such ideals, and landscape change required wealth and knowledge to enact.

Historical archaeology's great strength, particularly over the last 20 years, has been its investigation of "those of little note" (cf. Scott 1994); individuals from historically marginalized or silenced groups—the poor, women, Indigenous people, and African-descent people. Such research has sprung from historical archaeology's democratic potential which emerges from the broadly socially shared and socially constituted nature of the archaeological record (e.g., Saitta 2007, pp. 3–5). Such work has expanded understandings of diversity and variation in the past, built impressive bodies of theory about the relationship between material things and social dynamics, and provided new opportunities for the growth of public outreach and community archaeologies.

This study compliments this existing work by centering the majority-White, middle-class farmer within a socially dynamic symbolic and discursive formation known as Improvement. It suggests that we see the symbolically rich and ubiquitous New England farmstead as a site of multiple intersecting social processes, not

simply as an isolated authentic holdover of modernity, or as an endpoint of a cline of cultural diffusion. A focus on Improvement demands recognition of the complex articulations between country and city, Black and White and Red, rich and poor, mental and material. It also demands that we think not in terms of mainstream and marginal social formations, articulated through studies of domination and resistance that broadly define nebulous processes. Rather, we need to understand how broad structures are variably articulated, embraced, repelled, or avoided across a contentious social field.

This study contributes to historical archaeology's long and contentious grappling with the nature of capitalism. The question of whether historical archaeology is the archaeology of capitalism may have been "decided in the affirmative" (Leone and Potter 1988, p. 19), but the study of capitalism must take into account its variability, multi-scalar constitution, and interdigitation with alternative modes of production. We cannot take capitalism for granted as looking like one kind of society, relationship, or form (cf. Lewis 2010). Capitalism was and is a process (Harvey 2010, p. 40), and not a type of society, a thing, or an atomized relationship between individuals, disconnected from any structural factors. The language of improvement was used to come to terms with the development of capitalism in rural Massachusetts. Improvement was also a set of practices by which capitalism could be engaged with or accommodated, and as I have shown, such accommodation was not without its contradictions. The Williamses dramatically re-ordered their yard to simultaneously increase productivity and to banish the byproducts of that productivity out of sight. Other farmers invested in such "improvements" drawing on local credit from people like Williams, only to find that the boom and bust cycles of early Federal-period capitalism were ruinous and dislocating. Profit-making was neither repelled nor embraced, but was a point of anxiety with which the engagement with the material world allowed a measure of amelioration. Historical Archaeology should not be focused on rejecting capitalism as an analytical or historical framework, nor on totalizing, crude caricatures of an all-powerful systemic domination, but rather on the ways in which the material world was a means of intervening in the dynamic and unstable forces in which individuals, families, communities, and societies were increasingly enmeshed.

Finally, a focus on Improvement requires us to reckon with the contentious nature of human agency. As I have discussed, Improvement was a theory of action, emerging from an Enlightenment view of social progress as a fundamental historical motor. Archaeologists have embraced the agency of people (Barrett 2001; e.g., contributions to Dobres and Robb 2000; Hodder and Hutson 2003, pp. 90–99; Wilkie and Bartoy 2000) and more recently, of things themselves, drawing on the work of Latour (2005) as a theoretical program for thinking through human–material relationships, and the intentional nature of human behavior. Such approaches offered a counter-weight to the seemingly deterministic views of human behavior in earlier processual archaeology. However, as I have shown, Improvement abstracted human behavior from external effects and forces, decoupling human intentionality from ecology, economy, and social relationships, and reduced achievement and success to inner drive and work ethic. Improvement literature in Massachusetts, though

rooted in existing relations of power and class, nevertheless established a discursive framework which muted such factors in arguing what the region's farmers could achieve. Archaeological interpretations that rely on agency as a simple marker of choice, unmoored from historical context, risk similar abstractions. Likewise, we must engage with how metaphors of individual agency were themselves historically and materially constituted, rooted in conceptions of space, time, and scale. The Williams' home contained objects from around the world, but also make clear that they understood their actions as constituted at a variety of scales—local, regional, and even global. Human agency begs questions of scale—how do individuals see themselves as acting—and Improvers posited a broadening of the scale of human action from what they saw as the parochial nature of village life.

At the beginning of *The Country and the City* (Williams 1973, pp. 9–12), Raymond Williams recounted how he received a book for review sometime in the 1960s which lamented that English rural life had begun to disappear. Using the metaphor of an escalator, Williams travelled back 50 years, and humorously found similar sentiments in previous publications. He then read back through the history of writing about the English countryside, finding commentators at every turn lamenting that the country life was continually decaying. Even when such commentators were advocating changes or Improvements, they were still constructing rural life as backward or disappearing. Williams' clever rhetorical device reminds us that the rural world has historically been grafted with a constellation of symbols relating to time, authenticity, and progress. Such ideas stand in dialectical tension to cities, which are framed as the future, diverse and growing. One can find similar sentiments to those Williams described in Massachusetts Improvement literature, whether it is Henry Colman's contention in the 1830s that "valuable tracts of land lie unproductive and worthless, because the farmer is unwilling to expend any thing in their redemption and Improvement" (Colman 1841, p. 181) or, from the late eighteenth century, Samuel Deane's lamentation that farmers had "failed of rapidly increasing their estates … a great proportion of their toil has been lost by [labour's] misapplication" (Deane 1822 [1797], p. v). But in any case, Williams' passage, and indeed his whole book, warns us to be suspicious of either uniformitarian historical narratives, or simple dichotomies of change and continuity. The former subsumes social dynamics to chronology (cf. Paynter 2002, p. S95), while the latter risks muting the ways in which historical narratives ignore socio-spatial variation—making countrysides into places of continuity and cities into places of change. The rural world has always been a socially dynamic, power-laden, and in capitalist contexts, crisis-ridden social domain. In Massachusetts, the bucolic and timeless landscape visible today at places like the Williams' house in Deerfield is only the most recent moment of successive periods of instability and landscape change. An archaeology of Improvement in rural Massachusetts forces us to socially and materially contextualize moments when continuity and change were constructed, and how this occurred. This is necessary both to understand the past and to make sense of our dynamic, unstable, and uncertain present, and future.

References

Baram, U. (1989). *"Boys, be ambitious": Landscape manipulation in nineteenth century western Massachusetts*. MA Thesis. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts at Amherst.

Barrett, A. E. (2001). Agency, the duality of structure, and the problem of the archaeological record. In I. Hodder (Ed.), *Archaeological Theory Today* (pp. 141–164). Oxford, England: Polity.

Barron, H. S. (1988). *Those who stayed behind: Rural society in nineteenth-century New England*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Batinski, M. C. (2004). *Pastkeepers in a small place: Five centuries in Deerfield, Massachusetts*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press.

Beaudry, M. C., & Mrozowski, S. A. (1989). The Archaeology of Work and Home Life in Lowell, Massachusetts: An Interdisciplinary Study of the Boott Cotton Mills Corporation. *IA, the Journal of the Society for Industrial Archaeology, 14*(2), 1–22.

Blodgett, G. (1976). Frederick Law Olmsted: Landscape architecture as conservative reform. *The Journal of American History, 62*(4), 869–889.

Briggs, A. (1959). *The age of improvement, 1783-1867*. London: Longmans, Green.

Brown, D. (1995). *Inventing New England: Regional Tourism in the Nineteenth Century*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Colman, H. (1841). *Fourth Report of the Agriculture of Massachusetts: Counties of Franklin and Middlesex*. Boston: Dutton and Wentworth, State Printers.

De Witt, S. (1822). Considerations on the necessity of establishing an Agricultural College, and having more of the children of wealth citizens educated for the profession of farming. *New England Farmer, 1*(6), 41–42.

Deane, S. (1822). *The New-England farmer; or, Georgical dictionary. Containing a compendious account of the ways and methods in which the important art of husbandry, in all its various branches, is, or may be, practised, to the greatest advantage, in this country*. Boston, MA: Wells and Lilly. Accessed 6 October 2011.

Deyrup, F. J. (1948). Arms makers in the Connecticut Valley: A regional study of the economic development of the small arms industry, 1798-1870. *Smith College Studies in History, 33*.

DiCarlo, E. M. (1982). *Holyoke—Chicopee: A perspective*. Holyoke, MA: Transcript-Telegram.

Dobkin-Hall, P. (1984). *The Organization of American Culture, 1700-1900: Private Institutions, Elites, and the Origins of American Nationality*. New York: NYU Press.

Dobres, M.-A., & Robb, J. (Eds.). (2000). *Agency in archaeology*. London: Routledge.

Frank, T. (2005). *What's the matter with Kansas?: How conservatives won the heart of America*. New York: Henry Holt.

Geiger, R. L., & Sorber, N. M. (2013). *The land-grant colleges and the reshaping of American higher education*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers.

Green, C. M. (1939). *Holyoke, Massachusetts: A case history of the Industrial Revolution in America*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

H.J.K. (1825). Massachusetts Agricultural College. *New England Farmer, 4*(7), 54–55.

Hahn, S., & Prude, J. (1985). *The countryside in the age of capitalist transformation: Essays in the social history of rural America*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.

Harlow, E. (2013). *Mind the gap: Materiality of gendered landscapes in Deerfield, Massachusetts, ca. 1870-ca. 1920.* Dissertation. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts.

Harris, C. (2007). The road less traveled by: Rural northern New England in global perspective, 1815–1960. PhD Dissertation. Boston, MA: Northeastern University.

Hartford, W. F. (1990). *Working people of Holyoke: Class and ethnicity in a Massachusetts Mill Town, 1850-1960*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Harvey, D. (1990). *The condition of postmodernity*. Oxford, England: Basil Blackwell.

Harvey, D. (2010). *The enigma of capital: And the crises of capitalism*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.

Hoberman, M. (2000). *Yankee moderns: Folk regional identity in the sawmill valley of western Massachusetts, 1890–1920*. Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press.
Hodder, I., & Hutson, S. (2003). *Reading the past: Current approaches to interpretation in archaeology*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.
Hofstadter, R. (2012). *Anti-intellectualism in American life*. Westminster, MD: Knopf Doubleday.
Jameson, F. (1991). *Postmodernism, or, the cultural logic of late capitalism*. Durham, England: Duke University Press.
Jones, R. (2012). Why manure matters. In Jones, Richard (Ed.), *Manure matters: Historical, archaeological and ethnographic perspectives* (pp. 1–11). Farnham, Surrey, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate.
Laporte, D. (1993). *History of shit*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
Latour, B. (2005). *Reassembling the social: An introduction to actor-network-theory* (Clarendon lectures in management studies). Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.
Lears, T. J. J. (1994). *No place of grace: Antimodernism and the transformation of American culture, 1880-1920*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Leone, M. P., & Potter Jr., P. B. (1988). Introduction: Issues in historical archaeology. In M. P. Leone & P. B. Potter Jr. (Eds.), *Historical Archaeologies of Capitalism* (pp. 1–22). Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.
Lewis, Q. (2010). Shopping with Karl: Commodity fetishism and the materiality of Marx's London. *Archaeologies, 6*(1), 150–166.
Long, J. G. (2000). *Agricultural labor brokers of eastern European immigration to the Connecticut River Valley: Process and politics*. Deerfield, MA: Historic Deerfield Summer Fellowship Program.
McMichael, P. (2009). The world food crisis in historical perspective. *Monthly Review, 61*(3), 32–47.
McMurry, S. (1997). *Families and farmhouses in nineteenth-century America: Vernacular design and social change*. New York: Oxford University Press.
Melish, J. P. (1998). *Disowning slavery: Gradual emancipation and "race" in New England, 1780-1860*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
Miller, M. R., & Lanning, A. D. (1994). "Common parlors": Women and the recreation of community identity in Deerfield, Massachusetts, 1870-1920. *Gender and History, 6*(3), 435–455.
Mrozowski, S. A., Ziesing, G. H., & Beaudry, M. C. (1996). *Living on the Boott: Historical archaeology at the Boott Mills boardinghouses, Lowell, Massachusetts*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press.
Nash, J. (1989). *From tank town to high tech: The clash of community and industrial cycles*. Albany, NY: State University of New York.
Nassaney, M. S., & Abel, M. (1993). The political and social contexts of cutlery production in the Connecticut Valley. *Dialectical Anthropology, 18*, 247–289.
Nassaney, M. S., & Abel, M. (2000). Urban spaces, labor organization, and social control: Lessons from New England's nineteenth-century cutlery industry. In J. Delle, S. A. Mrozowski, & R. Paynter (Eds.) *Lines that Divide: Historical Archaeologies of Race, Class, and Gender* (pp. 239–275). Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press.
New England Association of Farmers, Mechanics, and Other Workingmen. (1832). New England Farmer, 10(36), 284–285.
Norris, E. M. (2009, January 1). *Cold spring, hot foundry: An archaeological exploration of the West Point Foundry's paternal influence upon the village of Cold Spring and its residents*, Doctoral Dissertation, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA.
Paynter, R. (1985). Surplus flow between frontiers and homelands. In S. W. Green & S. Perlman (Eds.), *The archeology of frontiers and boundaries* (pp. 163–211). Orlando, FL: Academic.
Paynter, R. (2002). Time in the valley: Narratives about rural New England. *Current Anthropology, 43*, S85–S101.
Roediger, D. R., & Foner, P. S. (1989). *Our own time: A history of American labor and the working day*. London: Verso.

Saitta, D. J. (2007). *The archaeology of collective action*. Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida.
Scott, E. M. (1994). *Those of little note: Gender, race, and class in historical archaeology*. Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press.
Sheidley, H. E. W. (1990). *Sectional nationalism: The culture and politics of the Massachusetts conservative elite, 1815–1836, Dissertation*. Mansfield, CT: University of Connecticut. Retrieved from http://digitalcommons.uconn.edu/dissertations/AAI9109853.
Starbuck, D. R. (2005). The archaeology of rural industry. In *Unlocking the past: Celebrating historical archaeology in North America*. Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press.
Story, R. (1992). *Five colleges, five histories*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press.
Swanson, J. L. (1980). *Polish immigration to Deerfield, 1890-1900*. Deerfield, MA: Historic Deerfield Summer Fellowship Program.
Tarlow, S. (2007). The archaeology of improvement in Britain, 1750-1850. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.
Thompson, E. P. (1964). *The making of the English working class*. New York: Pantheon Books.
Thornton, T. P. (1989). *Cultivating gentlemen: Country life and the legitimation of Boston's Mercantile—Manufacturing Elite, 1785-1860*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
True, A. C. (1929). *A history of agricultural education in the United States: 1785-1925*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.
Waldstreicher, D. L. (1994). *The making of American nationalism: Celebration and political culture, 1776-1820, Dissertation*. New Haven, CT: Yale University.
Wallace, M. (1996). *Mickey Mouse history: The politics of public memory*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
Wilkie, L. A., & Bartoy, K. M. (2000). A critical archaeology revisited. *Current Anthropology, 41*(5), 747–777.
Williams, R. (1973). *The country and the city*. New York: Oxford University Press.
Wobst, H. M. (1999). Style in archaeology or archaeologists in style. In E. S. Chilton (Ed.), *Critical Approaches to the Interpretation of Material Culture* (pp. 118–132). Salt Lake City, UT: University of Utah Press.
Wolf, E. R. (1999). *Envisioning power: Ideologies of dominance and crisis*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Appendix: Primary Archaeological and Documentary Materials from the Ebenezer Hinsdale and Anna Williams House

This appendix provides a discussion of the archaeological and documentary materials referenced in this book. The first section articulates the methodologies applied to the excavations at the Williams' house. It outlines the various field seasons in which excavations were conducted, how the artifact material from the excavations was collected and catalogued, and the criteria used to delineate database organization and categories. Finally, it includes some information about how various soil strata were discriminated based on a re-interpretation of field notes and excavation data. After the archaeological discussion, the appendix lists a complete and formatted version of Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams probate inventory, as well as a list of Williams' deed transactions.

Summary of Archaeology at the E.H. and Anna Williams' House

The archaeological analysis documented in this book was based on previously excavated collections, as part of my 2013 Ph.D. Dissertation (Lewis 2013). Some of this material was excavated decades before I began my Ph.D. and was in various states of curatorial organization. In what follows, I want to describe the collections used to write this book, and how they were organized. This will hopefully provide the reader a reference for some of the artifacts and landscapes described in previous chapters and also provide datasets for use by other researchers.

Since 1982, archaeologists from the University of Massachusetts Amherst, working with Historic Deerfield, Inc., have undertaken archaeological surveys at the E.H. and Anna Williams' house (see Fig. 6.1 for its location). Projects and surveys were conducted at the Williams' house in 1982, 1983, twice in 1984, 1986, 1987, 1990, 1992, and 2001. The earliest archaeological work occurred in 1982. Construction workers who were excavating a crawlspace under the front section of the Williams' house to protect the interior from moisture damage noticed a number

Q.P. Lewis, *An Archaeology of Improvement in Rural Massachusetts*, Contributions To Global Historical Archaeology, DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-22105-2

of artifacts appearing in the backdirt and contacted the property owner, Historic Deerfield, Inc., who then contacted Dr. Robert Paynter of the University of Massachusetts. Paynter enlisted graduate students Dean Saitta and David Lacy and Dr. Ritchie Garrison of Historic Deerfield to help him in monitoring the soil as it was being carried out on a conveyor belt. A significant number of artifacts ($N = 1761$) were collected, and approximate locations relative to the house were noted along with very rough vertical and horizontal control, based on observations by the contractors. Additionally, one of the surveys in 1984 was undertaken under the auspices of UMass Archaeological Services, a cultural resources management firm located at the University, to mitigate the impact of Historic Deerfield digging dry wells on the property. All other surveys were conducted as part of archaeological field schools, taught through the Department of Anthropology at the University of Massachusetts, in conjunction with Historic Deerfield, Inc.. They were directed by Dr. Robert Paynter, with field assistance by Department graduate students, and with excavations by UMass students.

Archaeology at the E.H. and Anna Williams' house was focused primarily around understanding the construction, use, modification, and abandonment of the homelot landscape (Paynter et al. 1987; Paynter and Stigers 2003; Reinke et al. 1987; Reinke and Paynter 1984). At the heart of this research design was an interest in production and work, to locate the activities of the house within the development of the capitalist mode of production. This was a relatively novel research strategy in historical archaeology, which had previously been primarily interested in studying cultural worldview from a structuralist perspective (cf. Deetz 1996). Archaeological survey focused on examining the yard spaces around the house, the barn, and on the south lawn, identifying the location of the original dwelling, and the sequence of outbuildings. An additional initial goal was to refine remote-sensing methodologies, at that time under-utilized in historical archaeology (Gumaer et al. 1984).

One of the first steps of the 1983 survey was to establish a metric grid on the site and a site datum was placed in the Northwest Corner of the homelot. This datum created North and West datum lines, aligning with the current street and the North property line. Units excavated within that grid were designated as a southing and easting of the grid coordinate in the Northwest corner of unit and are so-referred to throughout this book. Figure 7.1 shows the homelot, and the testing areas from these surveys, as well as the current house, barn, and driveway. Not listed on this map are the 1982 survey locations, which had no test units in the strictest sense, and a test unit from 1983, located at S88E41, which served as a control unit. Henceforth, negative numbers in any "Southing" column refer to units North of the Zero line, while positive numbers refer to units South of the Zero line. There are no units west of the zero line, which is close to the current street, and therefore all "Easting" numbers are positive.

All told, 226 excavation units were dug between 1983 and 2001. The overwhelming majority of these were .50 × .50 cm test pits ($n = 144$), while 77 were 1 × 1 m units and the remaining five were .50 × 100 cm units. Unit sizes varied

depending upon the specific research questions of the particularly field season and student ability. Stratigraphy was recorded in units defined by a change in the soil or to a depth of 10 cm below the previous excavation level, whichever was reached first. Each stratigraphic unit was identified by an arbitrary, consecutive ID number within the excavation unit. Initial uses of the Harris stratification methodology (Harris 1975, 1979) began in the mid-1980s and became codified into the data collection process after 1987 (Reinke et al. 1988). All subsequent excavations used consecutively numbered units of stratification across the site, as well as numbers for cutting/destruction events, to allow for the creation of a master stratification chronology. Some work was done in the 1990s to retroactively apply stratification numbers to the older ID numbers, but this was done inconsistently. Initially, excavation observations including soil classification and mapping information were kept in student and staff notebooks. In the 1990s, a more systematic paperwork scheme was implemented by field school staff. Henceforth, "bpd" refers to "below pit datum"—an arbitrary point set 10 cm above the groundsurface at the start of excavation. This point would remain fixed, even if during excavation the groundsurface level changed. This practice was not consistent prior to the 1990s, and therefore, there is some variation in the stratigraphic locations of continuously recovered strata, especially stratum 9 (see below).

It is important to note that the archaeological work at the Williams' house has largely consisted of surveys, rather than full excavation or data recovery. Thus, there may be features or land surfaces buried in the yard of the homelot that show a stark transition between the Williamses' Improvements and earlier spatio-cultural logics. It is also possible that such features did exist at one point, but were obliterated by subsequent construction, renovation, or other post-depositional processes. Such features may still exist in situ, remaining to be encountered in subsequent excavations of the homelot. These caveats are important to keep in mind in a discussion of the nineteenth century material continuities and changes at the E.H. and Anna Williams' Home-site.

Tables A.1, A.2, A.3, and A.4 list the excavation units from the Front Yard, South lawn, Dooryard, and the area North of the Driveway, respectively. A full list of all the excavation units from the Williams' homelot can be found in Table A.2 of my dissertation (Lewis 2013, pp. 177–183). These tables list the E.H. and Anna Williams' home-site excavation units by provenience/grid location, the separated southing and easting of that location, the dimensions of the unit in meters, and my arbitrarily assigned site-wide provenience index. Each field season had its own system of denoting proveniences, but in my analysis, I assigned a site-wide provenience index in order to easily link to the GIS database (PID). Note that because some proveniences were excavated in multiple field seasons, there will be some locations that have multiple provenience indices. The year indicates the year of the Field Season in which the unit was opened.

Artifacts from these excavation units ($n=49541$) were identified and computer-coded after each field season by students at the University of Massachusetts taking

Table A.1 Excavated units from the front yard of the Ebenezer Hinsdale and Anna Williams' House

PID	Southing	Easting	Area	Dimensions	Year
25	−25	0	Front yard	.50×.50	1984
47	−6.5	2	Front yard	.50×.50	1984
48	−6.5	2.5	Front yard	.50×.50	1984
49	−9	3	Front yard	.50×.50	1984
2	−13	2	Front yard	.50×.50	1984
50	−9	3.5	Front yard	.50×.50	1984
3	−20	0	Front yard	.50×.50	1984
51	−22	2	Front yard	.50×.50	1984
52	−22	2.5	Front yard	.50×.50	1984
92	−7	4.5	Front yard	.50×.50	1984
53	−24	2	Front yard	.50×.50	1984
54	−24.5	2	Front yard	.50×.50	1984

Included are provenience index (PID), Southing, Easting, unit dimensions, and year of excavation

lab courses. A unique coding system that related artifact types to computer variables was developed and used for the 1983 and 1984 field seasons. Beginning with the 1986 season, a modified version of the UMass Archaeological Services ARDVARC[1] artifact typological schema was used and the 1983 and 1984 codes were correlated to their ARDVARC equivalents. ARDVARC contained a master dictionary, which has since been regularly updated. These artifacts and associated paperwork were entered into various management systems and eventually into databases, gradually updated since 1983, with Microsoft Access 2003 being the most recent. The most important subsequent addition to this database has been the inclusion of a modified version of typological categories based around work activities, about which more will be said below.

It is important to note that for most seasons, there were no complete artifacts recovered from the E.H. and Anna Williams' home-site surveys. The only exceptions came from the 1982 salvage excavations from under the main block of the house, and the trash pit located north of the Driveway. The ceramics and glassware from the trash pit have been grouped into vessel lots, and there is the possibility of creating vessel lots from some of the reassembled Stratum 9 material (see below) but to date this has not been done. The rest of the sherds recovered from the Williams' house are very small. All the tables below report sherd counts. This is obviously not an optimal situation, but based on observations by Paynter and

[1] ARDVARC was developed by Mitchell T. Mulholland (1980) and used as the primary artefact database by UMass Archaeological services from 1980 until 2010. ARDVARC was quite novel at the time of its creation, incorporating artefact and stratigraphic data, allowing for the generation of multiple types of data tables, and easy export of data into statistical packages for analysis. It also contained a large, easily editable "dictionary" of artefact types common to the Northeastern United States.

Table A.2 Excavated units from the south lawn of the Ebenezer Hinsdale and Anna Williams' House. Included are provenience index (PID), Southing, Easting, unit dimensions, and year of excavation

PID	Southing	Easting	Area	Dimensions	Year
5	−25	10	South Lawn	50×50	1983
6	−25	15	South Lawn	50×50	1983
7	−25	20	South Lawn	50×50	1983
8	−25	25	South Lawn	50×50	1983
9	−30	10	South Lawn	50×50	1983
10	−30	15	South Lawn	50×50	1983
11	−30	20	South Lawn	50×50	1983
23	−22.5	21.5	South Lawn	50×50	1983
28	−23	12.5	South Lawn	50×50	1983
29	−23.5	10	South Lawn	50×50	1983
30	−23.5	12.5	South Lawn	50×50	1983
31	−24	12.5	South Lawn	50×50	1983
32	−24.5	12.5	South Lawn	50×50	1983
69	−23	17.5	South Lawn	50×50	191984A
70	−23.5	17.5	South Lawn	50×50	1984A
71	−22	15	South Lawn	50×50	1984A
72	−22	15.5	South Lawn	50×50	1984A
73	−22.5	15.5	South Lawn	50×50	1984A
74	−23	15.5	South Lawn	50×50	1984A
105	−23.5	9	South Lawn	50×50	1986
106	−23.5	9.5	South Lawn	50×50	1986
107	−24	9	South Lawn	50×50	1986
108	−24.5	9	South Lawn	50×50	1986
109	25	9	South Lawn	50×50	1986
110	25.5	9	South Lawn	50×50	1986
111	26	9	South Lawn	50×50	1986
112	−26.5	9	South Lawn	50×50	1986
113	−27	9	South Lawn	50×50	1986
114	−27.5	9	South Lawn	50×50	1986
115	−28	9	South Lawn	50×50	1986
116	−28.5	9	South Lawn	50×50	1986
117	−33	9	South Lawn	50×50	1986
118	−33.5	9	South Lawn	50×50	1986
119	−41.5	9	South Lawn	50×50	1986
120	−42	9	South Lawn	50×50	1986
121	−42.5	9	South Lawn	50×50	1986

There were no extant profiles from this area, other than sketches in field notebooks and paperwork. Notebooks indicate that the buried land surface rested on a sterile B horizon and was located between 50 and 70 cm below the ground surface. This range was used to calculate the location of the buried A horizon on which the terracing fill was placed by the Williamses

Table A.3 Excavated units from the dooryard of the Ebenezer Hinsdale and Anna Williams' house. Included are provenience index (PID), Southing, Easting, unit dimensions, year of excavation, and the depth of the recovered buried land surface

PID	Southing	Easting	Area	Dimensions	Year	Land surface interface depth (cm bs)
78	−25	35	Dooryard	.50×.50	1984	~50
79	−25	40	Dooryard	.50×.50	1984	~50
39	−10	35	Dooryard	.50×.50	1984	~40
40	−15	35	Dooryard	.50×.50	1984	~40
41	−20	35	Dooryard	.50×.50	1984	~40
42	−10	40	Dooryard	.50×.50	1984	~50
43	−15	40	Dooryard	.50×.50	1984	~40
44	−21	40	Dooryard	.50×.50	1984	~50
45	−20	25	Dooryard	.50×.50	1984	~40
46	−20	30	Dooryard	.50×.50	1984	~40
75	−5	40	Dooryard	.50×.50	1984	~60
76	−16	24.5	Dooryard	.50×.50	1984	~40
77	−15.5	24.5	Dooryard	.50×.50	1984	~40
38	0	40	Dooryard	.50×.50	1984	~50

Note that the land surface depth is below the ground surface, not below an elevated 10 cm unit datum. This is how depths were recorded during the 1984 field season

myself, it is unlikely that the proportional results used in this analysis will be dramatically different when the project of constructing vessel lots is complete.

One of the primary research questions addressed in this book concerns changes to land surfaces, particularly in the Williams' yard. Analysis of land surface data was undertaken using field notebooks and wall profiles from most of the excavations.[2] Combining these two sources provided a relatively clear picture of vertical soil and depositional information for nearly every excavation unit, allowing the targeting of analysis to areas where landscape change was highly visible in the stratigraphic record. As it turned out, the clearest areas of the yard that revealed landscape transformations were the front yard, the south lawn, the area between the kitchen and the barn (the immediate dooryard), and the area north of the driveway containing the remains of "Stratum 9." These will be discussed more explicitly below.

The master database of the Williams' home-site artifacts and stratigraphic information is stored in a Microsoft access 2003 file in the University of Massachusetts Department of Anthropology Historical Archaeology Lab. Pieces of this data-set have been summarized and published by Reinke and Paynter (1984), Bograd (1989), Rotman (2001, 2009), and Paynter (2001), and I draw on their organization and analysis for this study. Data tables for this book were generated from a modified version of this master database. More complete artifact tables, with material from

[2] These are on file at the UMASS department of Anthropology, but except for a few specific instances, will not be cited in-text.

Table A.4 Excavated units from North of the Driveway at the Ebenezer Hinsdale and Anna Williams' House

PID	Southing	Easting	Area	Dimensions	Year	Buried land surface depth
38	0	40	North of Driveway	50×50	1984	60–78
80	0	39	North of Driveway	50×50	1986	*Not visible*
81	0	39.5	North of Driveway	50×50	1986	70–81
82	0.5	39.5	North of Driveway	50×50	1986	65–71
83	−0.5	39.5	North of Driveway	50×50	1986	65–71
84	1	39.5	North of Driveway	50×50	1986	59–76
85	1.5	39.5	North of Driveway	50×50	1986	53–64
86	2	39.5	North of Driveway	50×50	1986	*Not visible*
87	2.5	39.5	North of Driveway	50×50	1986	55–73
154	−1.5	39.5	North of Driveway	50×50	1987	59–69
156	−2.5	39.5	North of Driveway	50×50	1987	65–71
158	−3	39.5	North of Driveway	50×50	1987	59–76
161	−4.5	39.5	North of Driveway	50×50	1987	*Not visible*
163	−5	39.5	North of Driveway	50×50	1987	65–71
169	−1	39.5	North of Driveway	50×50	1987	65–71
170	−1.8	39.5	North of Driveway	50×50	1987	59–71
171	−2	39.5	North of Driveway	50×50	1987	59–69
174	0	40	North of Driveway	50×50	1987	64–80
175	−1	40.5	North of Driveway	50×50	1987	*Not visible*
176	−1.5	38.5	North of Driveway	50×50	1987	*Not visible*
177	1	40	North of Driveway	100×100	1990	64–74
178	0	40	North of Driveway	100×100	1990	66–84
179	−1	40	North of Driveway	100×100	1990	74–83
180	1	36	North of Driveway	100×100	1990	56–79
181	0	38	North of Driveway	100×100	1990	63–85
182	–2	38	North of Driveway	100×100	1990	67–79
183	0	37	North of Driveway	100×100	1990	65–84
184	−2	35	North of Driveway	100×100	1990	*96–110*
185	−2	36	North of Driveway	100×100	1990	*99–110*
186	−3	36	North of Driveway	100×100	1990	*92–100*
187	−3	35	North of Driveway	100×100	1990	*Not visible*
188	−2	40	North of Driveway	50×100	1990	59–69
189	−1	36	North of Driveway	100×100	1990	*Not visible*
191	−1	38	North of Driveway	100×100	1990	*Not visible*
192	−4	35	North of Driveway	100×100	1990	*91–100*
193	1	37	North of Driveway	100×100	1990	53–81
194	0	36	North of Driveway	100×100	1990	56–83
195	1	39	North of Driveway	50×100	1990	60–80
196	1	38	North of Driveway	100×100	1990	65–80
198	−4	36	North of Driveway	100×100	1990	65–71

(continued)

Table A.4 (continued)

PID	Southing	Easting	Area	Dimensions	Year	Buried land surface depth
199	−1	37	North of Driveway	100×100	1992	80–91
200	0	38	North of Driveway	100×100	1992	63–85
201	0	43	North of Driveway	100×100	1992	*Not visible*
202	0	45	North of Driveway	100×100	1992	*78–109*
203	−1	41	North of Driveway	100×100	1992	68–89
204	−2	37	North of Driveway	100×100	1992	*99–100*
205	−2	38	North of Driveway	100×100	1992	67–79
206	−2	42	North of Driveway	100×100	1992	*Not visible*
207	−3	37	North of Driveway	100×100	1992	*105–107*
208	−3	38	North of Driveway	100×100	1992	*Not visible*
209	−4	37	North of Driveway	100×100	1992	*Not visible*
210	−5	37	North of Driveway	100×100	1992	*Not visible*
211	1	37	North of Driveway	100×100	1992	53–81
213	1	43	North of Driveway	100×100	1992	*Not visible*
214	2	45	North of Driveway	100×100	1992	*73–90*
215	1	44	North of Driveway	100×100	1992	*Not visible*
219	1	41	North of Driveway	100×100	1992	*Not visible*
220	1	42	North of Driveway	100×100	1992	*94–100*
222	1	38	North of Driveway	100×150	2001	64–82
225	−6	37	North of Driveway	100×100	2001	*Not visible*
226	2	38	North of Driveway	100×150	2001	68–93

Included are provenience index (PID), Southing, Easting, unit dimensions, year of excavation, and depth of buried land surface ("stratum 9"). Depths in italics are likely fill deposits, rather than actual manifestations of the land surface, but were included in the search query to recover any diagnostic artifacts. Note that in some units, stratum 9 was entirely invisible

all excavation units immediately surrounding the yard, can be found in my dissertation (Lewis 2013, pp. 185–292).

QGIS (Quantum GIS Development Team 2012) was used to spatially visualize artifact data. Maps were drawn using an original sitemap from 1983 as a basemap and creating shapefile layers of units (by year), outbuildings, the house, and other standing and subsurface features. Tables exported from the artifact database in raw text form were linked to site maps, allowing for artifact distributions to be visualized across the site.

The difficulty in evaluating and organizing artifact typologies has been a subject of great debate in archaeology (Lucas 2001, pp. 73–106). Artifacts have a nasty habit of being utilized in ways that they were not produced to be. Quite apart from that, generalizing an action from a single sherd can be problematic. One way to address this is to examine patterns of artifacts, played against other sources of data, or the same data at a different level of detail; what Wylie calls building "cables of inference" (Wylie 1999). In this study, I utilized a modified functional typological

system originally designed by South (1977) and substantially modified by Orser (1988) and Paynter et al. (2008, pp. 5–6), which groups artifacts into categories ("Functional Categories" hereafter) designed to reveal tasks and activities across space. This drew from my initial research questions, discussed in Chap. 6 of this book, which sought to identify earlier landscapes with ad-hoc task areas and compare them with later landscapes with discrete task areas. In this case, I have utilized the Functional Categories and reflected them against what Improvers say about yards, and how they should be kept. I also examined artifact distributions at multiple levels of generality, from the site as a whole, to individual excavation units. In short, when dealing with land surfaces, typological frameworks can provide a sense of what was being scattered upon a yard, or (inversely) what was not seen as necessary to be cleaned up.

Table A.5 Functional-specific artifact categories

Category	Examples
Procurement	Ammunition, fishhooks, fishing weights
Preparation	Baking pans, cooking vessels, large knives
Service	Fine earthenware, flatware, tableware, include alcohol glasses
Storage	Coarse earthenware, coarse stonewares, glass bottles, canning jars, bottle stoppers
Remains	Fauna, flora
Alcohol	Alcoholic beverage containers
Clothing	Fasteners, e.g., buttons, eyelets, snaps, hook, and eyes
Shoes	Soles, uppers
Cosmetic	Hairbrushes, hair combs, jars
Decorative	Jewelry, hairpins, hatpins,
Medicinal	Medicine bottles, droppers, spectacles
Recreational	Smoking pipes, toys, musical instruments, souvenirs
Other	Clothes hangers, pocketknives,
Architectural	Nails, window glass, spikes, mortar, bricks, slate
Hardware	Hinges, tacks, nuts, bolts, staples, hooks, brackets
Furnishings	Furniture pieces, decorative fasteners, flower pot
Heating	Stove parts, coal, and its by products
Lighting	Lamp parts, light bulbs
Plumbing	Chamber pot, wash basin, pipes, lavatory porcelain
Electrical	Wire, insulators
Other	Modified wood
Communications	Telephone parts, mailbox
Money	Coins
Production	Computer parts, fountain pens, pencils, inkwells
Storage	Books

(continued)

Table A.5 (continued)

Category	Examples
Agricultural	Barbed wire, plow blades, scythe blades
Industrial	Machines, pig iron
Domestic	Needles, pins, scissors, thimbles
Tools	Hammer, saw, plane
Arms/Weapons	Gun part, gun flint, sword
Fishing Gear	Rod, reel, hooks
Container	Non-food container, barrel hoop
Misc	Wire, metal with rivet, adhesives
Motorized	Car parts, oil cans, gas containers
Animal powered	Animal shoes, harness pieces
Human powered	Bicycle parts
Water	Boat and ship parts
Native	Flake, point, pottery, etc
Fauna	Animal material, including bones
Flora	Plant material, including seeds, and unmodified wood.
Inorganic	General inorganic material.
Material	Only raw material is known, unidentifiable metal, glass, plastic, stone
Unknown	Unknown, or uncategorizeable, material
Historical	Historical period artifact of unknown function and material

Table A.5 lists the characteristics of the Functional Categories. This list is derived from Paynter (Paynter et al. 2008, pp. 5–6) and makes use of only the "Specific" categories.

Figure 7.3 shows the excavation units located within the Front Yard area. Figure 7.4 shows the excavation units located within the South Lawn area.

Determining the Location of Stratum 9 North of the Driveway

Despite the site being occupied by the Hinsdale family in the eighteenth century, the overwhelming majority of the artifacts and features from the E.H. and Anna Williams' site date from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This is principally due to Williams and the Stebbins family's impact on the house and the surrounding landscape. The primary stratigraphic marker at the site is a buried soil horizon, identified in the north area of the barnyard as Stratum 9, and in some other areas around the house. This is believed to be the land surface at the time of English settlement and for some centuries after. Stratum 9 was first documented in the 1986 excavations and has been found in some form in every subsequent field school. It was initially identified in the area North of the Driveway (see Fig. 7.9 showing all units North of the Driveway), visible in the North-South Running trench dug that

year (N0.5-S2.5E39.5, PI 81–87). This unit was described as an "Olive brown silt clay loam" (Reinke 1990 Field Notebook, p. 1).

However, in the course of subsequent excavations, it became clear that this land surface was highly variable across the area north of the driveway, and even across the site. This is perhaps to be expected, as different activities on an agricultural landscape will produce different stratigraphic signatures—a fenced barnyard will not look like an open front yard, which will not look like a garden-plot, or a processing dooryard—even if they are both the exposed land surface at the same time period. In addition, it is clear that various cutting and filling events created a stratigraphy through and above stratum 9 that in some places obscured it in the archaeological record. Stratum 9 was covered by some events, and truncated or obliterated by others. It forms a stratigraphic watershed, for analyzing the change from yard usage before the Williamses' occupation, and after. Rotman analyzed the ceramics that were found in a localized portion of stratum 9—the area immediately south of one of the cobble floors (Rotman 2001, p. 113). This study includes the material studied by Rotman and the broader spatial distribution of stratum 9.

Paynter (personal communication 20 March 2012) identifies five subsurface features that cut into this "stratum 9" landscape north of the driveway at various times. This include:

1. A fence trench running to the Northwest, dated to the early eighteenth century[3]
2. A privy pit to the northeast of the house that was filled in the early nineteenth century
3. The foundations of E.H. Williams' stall fed oxen barn, adjacent to, and overlain by the Stebbins barn
4. The two cobblestone floors
5. The foundation of the Stebbins barn and the foundation of the out-shot ell of that barn

Other features which likely cut into the landscape of stratum 9, but were not located north of the driveway, include a pit on the south side of the house with artifacts dating from the mid to late eighteenth century (see Chap. 7), a well, and the basement under the kitchen ell of the house.

Two major filling episodes buried the landscape of the house and barn yard. One covered the area around the house, leveling the ground and creating terraces on the south side (and burying the older ground surface). The source of this material is likely the ejecta from the Williamses' excavation of the basement in the early nineteenth century (post-1816). The other is the deposit of sands to build a ramp into the Stebbinses' mid-nineteenth century hay barn, which covered the area to the west of the barn, including the cobblestone floors (see Rotman et al. 2001, Rotman 2001 for a discussion of this chronology).

[3] Note that features known to be from the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries tend to deviate considerably from the orientation of the Street; more recent features tend to be aligned parallel to the Street (Paynter and Stigers 2003). The Trench bears towards today's magnetic north which means that it deviates quite a bit from the Street (and the grid used to excavate the site) being 24° W of the Street (Paynter 2007).

Considerable work went into identifying the depths at which stratum 9 became visible during excavation, because stratum 9 was exposed but not identified as a significant feature prior to 1986. This involved careful analysis of wall profile data, student and staff notebooks, and some guesswork. Table A.4 lists all units in which stratum 9 was documented. It describes the stratigraphic locations of stratum 9 in each unit. Units from north of the driveway not listed here contained no material or had no excavated material associated with them in the lab or field notebooks. Generally, any artifacts found in the contemporary groundsurface were excluded from "above stratum 9." There are some units in which there is depth overlap between "Stratum 9" and material excavated above or below it. This is another reminder that stratum 9 was a highly diverse soil stratum, easily visible in some areas and more ambiguous in others. The depth markers indicate that, in a given unit, stratum 9 was visible at that depth. In the GIS database, a more rigorous delineation between soil strata was made to discriminate between stratum 9 and contiguous soils. There is also wide variability in the depth of stratum 9—anywhere from 60 to 100 cm bpd. This is a function of three processes: (1) the uneven nature of stratum 9 during its period of historic occupation, (2) differential measuring of units between field schools, and (3) soil subsidence due to repeated field school seasons, weather action, and grounds-keeping. This is a modified version of the more complex table in my dissertation (Lewis 2013, pp. 297–301).

Once stratum 9 was identified, it was possible to isolate artifacts from contexts that pre- or post-date this particular soil layer. The idea behind this was that the landscape changes undertaken by the Williams family should have a relatively distinct material signature from previous occupants as well as subsequent residents. Breakdown by Functional categories allowed for a straightforward assessment of these differences. Table A.6 shows the quantities and percentages of sherds by Functional categories in the stratum-9 containing units, segregated by artifacts below stratum 9, within stratum 9, and above stratum 9. "Architectural," "heating," "material," and "service" artifacts were the most significant, and indeed the only categories to make up more than 1 % of the total assemblage across all three layers. These four Functional categories were then used to map artifact distributions across the stratum 9 containing layers, and particularly related to the significant archaeological features that date to those periods. "Below stratum 9 features" includes the Privy pit (which the Williamses capped with a gravel layer upon their arrival) and the oddly angled fence trench. "Stratum 9 features" contains the Williams barn foundations and the two cobble floors. "Above stratum 9 features" contains the footings for the Stebbins barn and the ell which shot out from it.

These layers, when linked to the artifact data in the tables, were used to generate maps showing distributions of artifacts north of the driveway at the various depth classifications. Also included on each map are the architectural and archaeological features associated with activities before the early nineteenth century use of stratum 9, those associated with the moments just before the filling of stratum 9 in the 1810s, and those after the filling of stratum 9. The twelve maps of artifact distributions of the four salient Functional Categories, and each of the three layers, along with the relevant features, were generated from these GIS shape files. Figures 7.10–7.21 show these distributions.

Table A.6 Functional Categories across units North of the Driveway

	Below		Stratum 9		Above	
	Total	Percentage	Total	Percentage	Total	Percentage
Alcohol	1	0.07	0		2	0.02
Architectural	602	44.04	1795	56.59	7464	55.99
Clothing	1	0.07	2	0.06	6	0.05
Container	0		0		73	0.55
Domestic	0		0		13	0.10
Fauna	9	0.66	16	0.50	37	0.28
Flora	3	0.22	7	0.22	334	2.51
Furnishings	1	0.07	0		3	0.02
Hardware	1	0.07	0		16	0.12
Heating	467	34.16	128	4.04	1458	10.94
Historical	0		6	0.19	2	0.02
Industrial	0		0		1	0.01
Inorganic	0		12	0.38	3	0.02
Lighting	0		1	0.03	10	0.08
Material	117	8.56	639	20.15	2285	17.14
Medicinal	0		4	0.13	2	0.02
Misc.	0		0		10	0.08
Money	0		0		1	0.01
Motorized	0		0		6	0.05
Native	4	0.29	12	0.38	266	2.00
Recreational	5	0.37	14	0.44	36	0.27
Remains	6	0.44	24	0.76	127	0.95
Service	135	9.88	472	14.88	930	6.98
Shoes	0		0		7	0.05
Storage	1	0.07	10	0.32	58	0.44
Unknown	13	0.95	29	0.91	180	1.35
Water	1	0.07	1	0.03		
Total	1367	100.00	3172	100.00	13330	100.00

This table shows the overall Functional Category percentages for each set of depths—"Below stratum 9," "stratum 9," and "above stratum 9." The highlighted categories are the only ones that were consistently above 1 % of the total assemblage for each depth set. Empty cells contained no material of that type

Determining the Location of the Buried Land surface in the Driveway

A buried land surface was also encountered in the driveway area between the garage and the barn, in what would have included areas of the dooryard and the barnyard in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This land surface was exposed during the 1984 field school and may represent the continuation of stratum 9 into the dooryard.

Table A.7 Functional categories for dooryard/driveway units

	Above		Below	
Category	Quantity	Percentage	Quantity	Percentage
Animal-powered			1	0.61
Architectural	303	59.76	93	56.71
Fauna	34	6.71	3	1.83
Flora	12	2.37	13	7.93
Furnishings	2	0.39		0.00
Hardware	1	0.20		0.00
Historical	16	3.16	6	3.66
Lighting	1	0.20		0.00
Material	88	17.36	24	14.63
Recreational	5	0.99		0.00
Service	39	7.69	18	10.98
Storage	4	0.79	3	1.83
Unknown	2	0.39	3	1.83
Total	507		164	

This table shows the overall percentages of Functional categories for units in the Dooryard. These units included PI 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 75, 76, 77, 78, and 79. Once again, the percentage of material, relative to the site total, was quite small ($n = 671/49541 = 1.4\ \%$)

Table A.3 shows the excavation units in which this land surface was recovered. Figure 7.6 is a map of these units with the Provenience Index labeled. The units were excavated in arbitrary 10 cm intervals, with soil profiles and some artifact descriptions accompanying these 10 cm intervals in the field notebooks of the excavators. Likewise, excavated artifacts were tagged with a depth description, but there was not always consistency between the artifact tags and the field notebook information. Therefore, to determine which artifacts were on the land surface, which were above, and which were below, it was necessary to estimate from the depths associated with the artifacts. A decision was made to group artifacts that were found on or in the buried land surface with artifacts that were found above it. This was in large part because the occupants of the house after the deaths of E.H. and Anna Williams were largely of the same family (the Stebbins'). Therefore, it seemed prudent to locate a break between the eighteenth and early nineteenth century occupants of the site and the nineteenth and twentieth century occupants. The top 10 cm of each excavation unit were excluded from analysis, because this stratum included largely modern (post 1970) material. Table A.7 shows the quantity and percentage of Functional Categories from these dooryard units, split by above and below/including the buried land surface.

Table A.8 Probate inventory of Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams

Item	Value	Quantity	Location
Armed Chairs	0.75	3	South parlor
Stool and Cushion	0.25	1	South parlor
Mahogany Secretary	3	1	South parlor
Tea Trays	1.25	5	South parlor
3 Foot Table Cherry	0.75	1	South parlor
Trunks	1.75	4	South parlor
Covered Arm Chair	0.2	1	South parlor
Entry Carpet, Homemade	3	1	Hall
Stair Carpet and rods	7	1	Hall
Flagg-bottomed chairs	12	16	North parlor
Sofa	7	1	North parlor
Work Table	6	1	North parlor
Light Stand	1	1	North parlor
Rocking Chairs	0.67	2	North parlor
Mantle Looking Glass	5	1	North parlor
Fire set and Fender	7	1	North parlor
Framed Paintings	1	3	North parlor
Brussells Carpet	30	1	North parlor
Kidderminster Carpet	3	1	North parlor
Night Cabinet	2	1	Dining room
Dining Chairs	2.25	9	Dining room
Covered Rocking Chair	0.67	1	Dining room
Mahogany Sideboard	20	1	Dining room
Day Brass Clock & Case	20	1	Dining room
4 Foot Cherry Table	2	1	Dining room
3 Foot Cherry Table	4	2	Dining room
Light Stand	0.75	1	Dining room
China Dining Set	10	70	Dining room
Blue Covered Dishes	0.83	2	Dining room
Sugar	0.25	1	Dining room
Baker	0.25	1	Dining room
Blue Plates	1.5	32	Dining room
Plaited Castor	4	1	Dining room
Teapot, Sugar, Creamer plaited	10		Dining room
Pair of plaited Candle Sticks & Snuffers	3	1	Dining room
Wood frame Caster	0.5	1	Dining room
Glass Decanters	1.75	7	Dining room
Blue & Common Bowls	0.67	8	Dining room
Cream-colored soup plates	0.36	6	Dining room
Dozen China Custard Cups	1	1	Dining room
Blue China Custard Cups	0.33	9	Dining room
Glass Salts	0.3	3	Dining room
Dessert Dishes	0.2	2	Dining room

(continued)

Table A.8 (continued)

Item	Value	Quantity	Location
Blue & Green edged plates	0.6	18	Dining room
Mustards	0.1	2	Dining room
Dishes	0.1	2	Dining room
Gravy Dishes	0.37	3	Dining room
China Cups & Saucers, Sugar, and Creamer	1		Dining room
Small pitchers	0.1	2	Dining room
Small Pitchers	0.34	2	Dining room
Old Earthen Coffee Pot	0.1	1	Dining room
Glass Flower Pot and Vinegar	0.2	1	Dining room
Odd saucers	0.25	10	Dining room
blue tea cups & saucers	0.5	8	Dining room
Coffee Cups, Blue	0.21	5	Dining room
Saucers, Blue	0.29	7	Dining room
Tea Pots, Blue	0.67	2	Dining room
Lustreware Teapot and Creamer	0.2	1	Dining room
Pair of tin coolers	0.33	1	Dining room
Oil cloth	1	1	Dining room
Brass candle sticks	1	2	Dining room
Brass Candle Sticks	0.33	2	Dining room
Plated Brass Candle Sticks	1	2	Dining room
Snuffers and tray	0.33	1	Dining room
Japanned Bread Tray	0.2	1	Dining room
Japanned Tea Cannister	0.25	1	Dining room
Tin Tea Cannister	0.25	1	Dining room
Small Japanned Waiters	0.33	6	Dining room
Cut Wines	0.83	10	Dining room
Plain Wines	0.42	6	Dining room
Plain Wines, Oval	0.75	11	Dining room
Cut Tumbler	0.12	1	Dining room
Common Pint Tumbler	0.62	9	Dining room
Common Pint Tumbler	0.25	2	Dining room
Willow Basket	0.33	1	Dining room
Splint Basket	0.1	1	Dining room
Silver Table Spoons	11.25	5	Dining room
Silver Tea Spoons	10	12	Dining room
Small Silver Spoons	4.5	9	Dining room
Silver Sugar Tongs	2.25	1	Dining room
Silver Cream Spoons	1.25	1	Dining room
Dozen Green Handle Knives & Forks	1.5	1	Dining room
Dozen Knives	0.64	1	Dining room
Forks	0.36	8	Dining room
Gilt Looking Glass	2	1	Dining room
Large Forks	0.08	3	Dining room

(continued)

Table A.8 (continued)

Item	Value	Quantity	Location
Knives	0.08	3	Dining room
Steels	0.08	2	Dining room
Earthen Flower Vases	0.5	5	Dining room
Rocking Chairs at 2	0.75	1	Dining room
Table Matts	0.2	4	Dining room
Stove	8	1	Dining room
Fire Set in Dining Room	3	1	Dining room
Hoyt Map of Franklin	0.5	1	Dining room
Desk	4	1	Back room
Bureau	5	1	Back room
Bureau	7	1	Back room
Looking Glass	1.75	1	Back room
Light Stand	0.25	1	Back room
High Post Bedstead	2.5	1	Back room
Set of Bed Curtains	2	1	Back room
Chairs	1.2	6	Back room
Set of Bed Pillows & Bolster, 43 lbs	13	1	Back room
Coverlet	0.83	1	Back room
Comfortable	0.5	1	Back room
Sheets	0.5	2	Back room
Blankets	2	2	Back room
Pillow Cases	0.2	2	Back room
Old Mattress	4	1	Back room
Under-bed	1	1	Back room
Tin Oven	0.5	1	Pantry
Baker	0.33	1	Pantry
Iron Mortar	0.33	1	Pantry
Old Brass Dish	0.12	1	Pantry
Coffee Mill	0.12	1	Pantry
Lamp Filler	0.13	1	Pantry
Jugs	1.6	8	Pantry
Pewter Platters	0.5	2	Pantry
Glass Gallon Bottle		1	Pantry
Boxes	0.17	3	Pantry
Stone Jars	0.75	2	Pantry
Earthenware Jar	0.1	1	Pantry
Adze	0.33	1	Pantry
Large Gimblets	0.25	4	Pantry
Chisel	0.1	1	Pantry
Mallet	0.6	1	Pantry
Two Quart Jug	0.12	1	Pantry
Candle Sticks	0.4	4	Pantry
Table Matts	0.25	1	Pantry

(continued)

Table A.8 (continued)

Item	Value	Quantity	Location
Tin Pans	1	6	Pantry
Cream-Colored Wash Bowl	0.25	1	Pantry
Garden Hoe	0.33	1	Pantry
Tailors goose	0.12	1	Pantry
Pair of Cotton Cards	0.2	1	Pantry
Lantern	0.2	1	Kitchen
Clothes line	0.2	1	Kitchen
Shovel & Tongs	1	1	Kitchen
Four Foot Table	1	1	Kitchen
Four Foot Table	1.5	1	Kitchen
Funnel	0.05	1	Kitchen
Pewter Tumblers	0.12	3	Kitchen
Tin Pans, dipper, and skimmer	0.25	1	Kitchen
Tin Coffee Pot	0.17	1	Kitchen
Case of Drawers	1.5	1	Kitchen
Chairs	0.3	3	Kitchen
Pitchers	0.25	2	Kitchen
Pair of Snuffers and tray	0.6	1	Kitchen
Pair of Andirons	1.25	1	Kitchen
Small shovel & Tongs	0.25	1	Kitchen
Flats	0.83	4	Kitchen
Pair of Compasses	0.12	1	Kitchen
Poor Tin pans	0.33	7	Kitchen
Razors with Case	1	2	Kitchen
Old tin pans	0.33	3	Kitchen
Plates	0.18	6	Kitchen
Small steelyard	0.25	1	Kitchen
Platter	0.17	1	Kitchen
Pudding Plates	0.24	6	Kitchen
Pie Plates	0.28	7	Kitchen
Plates	0.12	3	Kitchen
Two quart measure	0.14	1	Kitchen
Tin Cover	0.12	1	Kitchen
Tin Canisters	0.37	2	Kitchen
Black tin tea pot	0.42	1	Kitchen
Black Tin Tea Pot	0.2	1	Kitchen
1 Sugar, 2 Salt, and 1 Pepper Bowls, and 1 mug	0.33	1	Kitchen
junk bottles	1.8	30	Kitchen
Cooking Stove with pipe, etc. …	30	1	Kitchen
Looking Glass	1	1	Kitchen
Pair of Bellows	0.5	2	Kitchen
Bed, Pillows, etc. … , 43 lbs	17	1	SOUTH FRONT chamber

(continued)

Table A.8 (continued)

Item	Value	Quantity	Location
Under-bed	1.5	1	SOUTH FRONT chamber
Old Carpet	2	1	SOUTH FRONT chamber
Bedstead	3	1	SOUTH FRONT chamber
Bed and Pillow Curtains	5	1	SOUTH FRONT chamber
Linen Sheets best quality	4.5	5	SOUTH FRONT chamber
Cotton Sheets	2	3	SOUTH FRONT chamber
Linen Pillow Cases	1.25	8	SOUTH FRONT chamber
Cotton Pillow Cases	0.87	7	SOUTH FRONT chamber
Napkins, Cotton	0.4	2	SOUTH FRONT chamber
Comfortable	1	1	SOUTH FRONT chamber
Blankets	4	2	SOUTH FRONT chamber
Bed Quilts	1.5	1	SOUTH FRONT chamber
Mahogany Bureau	10	1	SOUTH FRONT chamber
Mahogany Dress Table	5	1	SOUTH FRONT chamber
Painted Wash Stand	1.25	1	SOUTH FRONT chamber
Wash Bowl and Ewer	1	1	SOUTH FRONT chamber
Light Stand	1	1	SOUTH FRONT chamber
Chairs	1.5	5	SOUTH FRONT chamber
Blue Chamber	0.42	1	SOUTH FRONT chamber
Looking Glass	1.5	1	SOUTH FRONT chamber
Chairs	1	6	North chamber
Chairs	0.6	3	North chamber
Light Chairs	1	5	North chamber
Toilette Table	0.75	1	North chamber
Light Stand	0.75	1	North chamber
Bedstead	1.5	1	North chamber
Small Bureau	1.75	1	North chamber
Looking Glass	1	1	North chamber
Feather Bed, 54 lbs	15	1	North chamber
Under-bed	1	1	North chamber
Blankets	3	2	North chamber
Comfortable	0.5	1	North chamber
Spread	0.75	1	North chamber
Patched Spread	1	1	North chamber
White Cotton Spread	1.5	1	North chamber
Light Patched Spread	1	1	North chamber
Set of Curtains & Counterpane	1.75	1	North chamber
Bed, Pillows and Bolster, 37 lbs	11	1	Northwest Bed chamber
Under-bed	0.75	1	Northwest Bed chamber
Stand	0.25	1	Northwest Bed chamber
Pillows, 5 lbs 14 oz	1.75	2	Northwest Bed chamber
Linen Table Cloths	3	2	Northwest Bed chamber
Cotton Table Cloth	1	1	Northwest Bed chamber

(continued)

Table A.8 (continued)

Item	Value	Quantity	Location
Linen Table Cloths	1	1	Northwest Bed chamber
Crash	0.5	1	Northwest Bed chamber
Napkins	0.56	5	Northwest Bed chamber
Pillow Cases	0.56	5	Northwest Bed chamber
Linen Pillow Cases	0.4	2	Northwest Bed chamber
Crash Table Cloth	0.6	1	Northwest Bed chamber
Linen Sheets best quality	4	4	Northwest Bed chamber
Linen Sheets 2nd Quality	3	4	Northwest Bed chamber
Linen Sheets 3rd Quality	3.3	6	Northwest Bed chamber
Cotton Sheets Best Quality	2.75	5	Northwest Bed chamber
Cotton Sheets Quality	1.5	6	Northwest Bed chamber
Round Towels	0.37	2	Northwest Bed chamber
Linen Sheets best quality	2	2	Northwest Bed chamber
Woolen Sheets	2.25	3	Northwest Bed chamber
Blankets	1	1	Northwest Bed chamber
Bed Quilt	1	1	Northwest Bed chamber
Pictures	0.25	2	Northwest Bed chamber
Bags	3.33	10	Northwest Bed chamber
Bed Cords	0.58	2	Northwest Bed chamber
Demijohn	0.33	1	Northwest Bed chamber
Fire Set	4	1	Northwest Bed chamber
Bed, Pillows, etc. … , 60 lbs	12	1	2nd North back Chamber
Under-bed	0.5	1	2nd North back Chamber
Blanket	1.25	1	2nd North back Chamber
Quilt	0.5	1	2nd North back Chamber
Bedstead & Cord	1	1	2nd North back Chamber
Bed, Pillows, etc. … , 54 lbs	4	1	Northeast Chamber
Under-bed	0.25	1	Northeast Chamber
Blanket	0.75	1	Northeast Chamber
Striped Blanket	1.75	1	Northeast Chamber
Quilt	2	1	Northeast Chamber
Bedstead	1.25	1	Northeast Chamber
Chamber	0.25	1	Northeast Chamber
Chairs	0.3	3	Northeast Chamber
Gridiron	0.75	1	Northeast Chamber
Bake Pan	0.5	1	Northeast Chamber
Spider	0.12	1	Northeast Chamber
Spider	0.5	1	Northeast Chamber
Tea Kettle	0.5	1	Northeast Chamber
Bed, including Pillows, etc. … , 36 lbs	12	1	Southeast chamber
Under-bed	1.5	1	Southeast chamber
Bedstead	1.25	1	Southeast chamber
Cotton Sheets	10	2	Southeast chamber

(continued)

Table A.8 (continued)

Item	Value	Quantity	Location
Pillow Cases	0.2	2	Southeast chamber
Quilt	1.25	1	Southeast chamber
Pillow Case	0.25	1	Southeast chamber
Rug Blanket	1.5	1	Southeast chamber
Check Quilt	0.75	1	Southeast chamber
Chest	0.33	1	Southeast chamber
Table	0.67	1	Southeast chamber
Looking Glass	0.25	1	Southeast chamber
Pictures	0.25	2	Southeast chamber
Carpet Spaceway	1	1	Southeast chamber
Chaise and Harness	12	1	Barn
Single Sleigh	5	1	Barn
Barrels of Soap	8	2	Barn
Draft Chains	4	5	Barn
Bush of Salt & Cask	1	1	Barn
Pins	0.25	3	Barn
Clevis	0.25	4	Barn
Augers	0.5	3	Barn
Crow Bar	1	1	Barn
Lot Old Iron	1	1	Barn
Cart Hubb Bands	0.5	2	Barn
Old Cranes	0.75	2	Barn
One Horse Wagon	6	1	Barn
Harness for Wagon	2	1	Barn
Ox car with two Hay Bodies	25	1	Barn
Grind stone with Crank	2.5	1	Barn
Hogshead with Vinegar	2.5	1	Barn
Spades	0.37	2	Barn
Dung Fork	0.37	1	Barn
Wheel Barrow	0.5	1	Barn
Beetle	0.25	1	Barn
Wedge	0.25	1	Barn
Yokes with Staples & Rings	1	2	Barn
Iron Rake	0.42	1	Barn
Drawing Knife	0.33	1	Barn
Cot Bedstead	0.25	1	Barn
Handsaw	0.17	1	Barn
Hammers	0.37	3	Barn
String of Bells	0.25	1	Barn
Circlingle Blanket & Old Bridle	0.5	1	Barn
Forks	0.4	4	Barn
Shovel	0.75	1	Barn
Wood Shovel	0.1	1	Barn

(continued)

Table A.8 (continued)

Item	Value	Quantity	Location
Flails	0.25	2	Barn
Rakes	0.6	4	Barn
Set of Measures	0.17	1	Barn
Fanning Mill	2.5	1	Barn
Unthreshed oats		1	Barn
Hogshead with Vinegar	35	2	Barn
Shoat	10	1	Barn
Pair of Steelyards	1.5	1	Barn
Bushels of Ground and Unground Grain	18.75	30	Barn
Bags	2.5	10	Barn
Axes	0.63	3	Barn
Iron Square	0.17	1	Barn
Horse	40	1	Barn
Milk Cow	35	1	Barn
Fat Cow	37.5	1	Barn
Brass Skillets	0.75	2	Buttery
Water Pot	0.33	1	Buttery
Tin Water Pails	0.5	2	Buttery
Two quart Jug	0.17	1	Buttery
Wood Pails	0.5	2	Buttery
Milk Strainer	0.33	1	Buttery
Small Iron Kettle	0.17	1	Buttery
Spider	0.17	1	Buttery
Stewing Dish	0.17	1	Buttery
Dish Kettles	1	2	Buttery
Pickle Tub	0.25	1	Buttery
Iron Basin	0.2	1	Buttery
Frying Pan	0.25	1	Buttery
Bake Kettle	0.5	1	Buttery
Large Iron Kettle	1.25	1	Buttery
Large Pot	0.75	1	Buttery
Two Pail Pot	0.6	1	Buttery
Small Pot	0.25	1	Buttery
Washing Machine	1	1	Buttery
Sink	0.33	1	Buttery
Iron Hoop Sink keg	0.5	1	Buttery
Wash Tub	0.25	1	Buttery
Toast Irons	0.25	2	Buttery
Two Pail Brass Kettle	1.5	1	Buttery
Old Pail	0.2	1	Buttery
Flour Barrels	0.33	8	Buttery
Wash Basin And Dipper	0.2	1	Buttery
Pail	0.2	1	Buttery

(continued)

Table A.8 (continued)

Item	Value	Quantity	Location
Wood Saw	0.25	1	Buttery
Stalk Knives	0.1	3	Buttery
Surveyors Chain	0.25	1	Buttery
Bed, 29 lbs	2	1	Garrett
Tickings	1	3	Garrett
Coverlets	1	3	Garrett
Horse blankets	0.75	2	Garrett
Flowerpots	0.17	3	Garrett
Sickles	0.67	3	Garrett
Candle rods	0.3	4	Garrett
Mortar	0.08	30	Garrett
Brass Kettle, 26 lbs	5	1	Garrett
Bed Cord	0.25	1	Garrett
Frames	0.3	25	Garrett
Scales and Weights	0.5	1	Garrett
Blanket	2.17	1	Garrett
Coverlet	1.5	1	Garrett
Blanket	0.67	1	Garrett
Glass Lamps	0.67	2	Garrett
Log Chain	1.75	1	Garrett
Dung Hook	0.17	1	Garrett
Hoes	0.25	2	Garrett
Hog Form	0.32	1	Garrett
Set of Hinges	0.25	1	Garrett
Clothes Basket	0.33	1	Garrett
Set of Horse Chains	0.25	1	Garrett
Stone Jugs	0.6	3	Cellar
Wooden Funnel	0.25	60	Cellar
Pickle Tub	0.17	1	Cellar
Mt Barrel	0.42	17	Cellar
Half Hogshead	0.75	1	Cellar
1 half barrel	0.17	1	Cellar
Keg	0.33	1	Cellar
Hogshead	2	4	Cellar
Wash Tub	0.25	1	Cellar
Barrel	2.8	5	Cellar

Taken from Longley (Longley 1982, pp. 49–56), though items which had been grouped together in the inventory have been given individual entries of value, quantity, and location
Values are in dollars

Table A.9 Property transactions of Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams 1789–1838. Acreages are composites of total acres listed in original deeds, as some deeds compiled the purchase of several land parcels. Some deeds did not list acreages, and therefore, an educated guess as to the acreage size is indicated by a tilda (~). Original deeds are available at the Franklin County Registry of Deeds

Book	Page	Amount paid, in dollars unless otherwise noted	Grantee	Grantor	Location	Mortgage, if known	Month and Day	Year	Acreage
3	24	485 pounds	Thomas Williams	Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams	Deerfield		3/13	1789	130
1	290	36 pounds	Jonathan Arms	Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams	Deerfield		5/8	1789	5
	442	40 pounds	Mercy Wells	Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams	Deerfield		5/18	1790	5
5	75	5 pounds	Obed Hawks	Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams	Deerfield		12/15	1791	
5	167	3 pounds	John Robbins	Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams	Deerfield		4/18	1792	10
6	451	40 pounds	William Phillips	Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams	Deerfield		8/29	1793	60
7	319	800 pounds	Samuel Barnard	Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams	Deerfield		4/29	1794	25
7	375	600 pounds	Samuel Barnard	Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams	Deerfield		6/16	1794	4
	679	20 Shillings	Eldad Bardwell	Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams	Deerfield		5/25	1795	
12	541	5	John Blackler	Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams	Deerfield			1799	31
15	531	24	Jeremiah Williams (dec'd)	Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams	Deerfield		3/11	1802	12
7	398	360 pounds	Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams	John Worthington	Deerfield	Y	6/14	1794	25
19	318	350	David Hoit (Hoit)	Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams	Deerfield		4/21	1804	10
21	446	80	John Blackler	Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams	Deerfield	Y	1/3	1806	31
25	615	360	Obed Hawks	Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams	Deerfield		12/29	1808	29
28	28	140	Hezekiah Wright Strong	Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams	Deerfield		3/7	1811	<1
29	29	20	Seth Nims	Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams	Deerfield		5/5	1811	<1
28	232	900	Oliver Watriss	Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams	Northfield		5/14	1811	11.5
30	468	600	Jehiel Jones	Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams	Deerfield		4/24	1813	43
33	446	300	Lemuel Barnard	Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams	Deerfield		5/8	1815	86.25
34	413	500	Henry Bardwell	Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams	Deerfield	Y	9/27	1815	~34

35	319	30	Andrew Bardwell	Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams	Deerfield		4/23	1816	10
	139	2012.67	Moses Munson	Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams	Greenfield	Y	2/8	1817	~40
36	634	1100	Henry Bardwell	Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams	Deerfield		3/19	1817	11
	644	3180	Asa Goodenough	Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams	Greenfield	Y	3/25	1817	~1-2
40	94	290	Caleb Jones	Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams	Deerfield		3/13	1818	8
	117	150	John Robbins	Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams	Deerfield		3/24	1818	8
48	222	200	John Hawks	Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams	Deerfield		7/23	1821	20.5
50	252	250	Simon dewolf	Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams	Deerfield	Y	4/11	1822	21.5
	220	700	Samuel Childs	Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams	Colrain		4/8	1822	64
57	54	100	Richard Watress	Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams	Northfield		6/18	1824	11.5
	135	900	Simon dewolf	Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams	Deerfield	Y	8/5	1824	58.5
56	351	437.5	Joel Wells	Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams	Conway		4/13	1825	37.5
58	292	400	Samuel Chapman	Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams	Deerfield	Y	5/6	1825	11
67	125	4000	Seth Nims	Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams	Deerfield		12/11	1827	4
67	126	500	Elijah Williams	Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams	Deerfield		12/21	1827	<1
67	221	25	Elisha Wells	Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams	Deerfield		2/13	1828	<1
69	193	90	James Jones	Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams	Deerfield		3/21	1828	3
	194	10	Elisha Wells	Elijah Williams	Deerfield		11/21	1827	<1
	195	6	Elisha Wells	Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams	Deerfield		4/21	1828	<1
73	30	1600	Elijah Williams	Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams	Deerfield		4/4	1827	<1
71	366	85	Nathan Robbins	Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams	Deerfield		11/9	1829	6.5
	436	200	Charles Stratton	Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams	Deerfield		1/19	1830	1
75	235	246	Elijah Alvord	Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams	Deerfield		9/27	1830	1
77	119	280	Dennis Jones	Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams	Deerfield	Y	3/17	1831	2
64	167	2000	Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams	Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company	Deerfield	Y	1/16	1829	41

(continued)

Table A.9 (continued)

Book	Page	Amount paid, in dollars unless otherwise noted	Grantee	Grantor	Location	Mortgage, if known	Month and Day	Year	Acreage
81	81	100	Dennis Jones	Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams	Deerfield		7/6	1832	2
	119	600	Reuben Smith	Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams	Northfield		2/6	1830	32
53	327	100	Alexander Sainter	Obadiah Sainter	Deerfield		1/10	1834	
81	194	117	Obadiah Sainter	Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams	Deerfield		10/30	1832	
82	180	750	Henry N Williams & Moses N Williams	Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams	Conway	Y	11/9	1832	37.5
72	135	1700	Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams	Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company	Deerfield/ Conway	Y	4/19	1830	47 total
94	21	400	Selah Wise	Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams	Deerfield	Y	12/24	1835	18
	148	300	Amasa Jones	Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams	Deerfield	Y	2/12	1836	8
96	293	532	Asaph Allen	Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams	Deerfield	Y	11/2	1836	40
98	45	490	Dennis Jones	Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams	Deerfield	Y	4/1	1837	2
101	160	200	Dennis Jones	Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams	Deerfield	Y	4/18	1838	8
72	358	4000	Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams	Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company	Deerfield		4/23	1835	240
	134	1200	Ebenezer Hinsdale Williams	Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company	Deerfield		4/19	1830	4.5

References

Bograd, M. D. (1989). *Whose life is it anyway?: Ceramics, context, and the study of status*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts at Amherst.

Deetz, J. F. (1996). *In small things forgotten: An archaeology of early American life. Expanded and revised*. New York: Anchor Books.

Gumaer, D. R., Paynter, R., Weston, D., & Gizzi, R. D. (1984). The application of multiple geophysical methods in New England site survey. *Paper presented* at the Annual Meeting of the Council for Northeast Historical Archaeology, Binghamton, NY.

Harris, E. C. (1975). The stratigraphic sequence: a question of time. *World Archaeology, 7*(1), 109–121.

Harris, E. C. (1979). *Principles of archaeological stratigraphy*. New York: Academic Press.

Lewis, Q. (2013). *An Archaeology of improvement in rural New England: Capitalism, landscape change, and rural life in the early 19th century.* Dissertation, Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts.

Lucas, G. (2001). *Critical approaches to fieldwork: Contemporary and historical archaeological practice*. London: Routledge.

Mulholland, M. T. (1980). *ARDVARC: Archaeological recording and data variability analysis by computer*. Amherst, MA: Department of Anthropology, University of Massachusetts.

Orser, C. (1988). *The material basis of the Postbellum Tenant Plantation: Historical archaeology in the South Carolina Piedmont*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press.

Paynter, R. (2001). The cult of whiteness in Western New England. In C. E. Orser (Ed.), *Race and the archaeology of identity* (pp. 125–142). Salt Lake City, UT: University of Utah Press.

Paynter, R. (2007). *The orientation of houses in the village of Deerfield: Archaeological and documentary evidence of a change in the 18th century.* Paper presented at the *Vernacular Architecture Forum, New England*. Sturbridge, MA: VAF.

Paynter, R., Lynch, K., Norris, E., & Lewis, Q. (2008). *Archaeological report on the W.E.B. Du Bois Homesite*. Amherst, MA: Department of Anthropology, University of Massachusetts.

Paynter, R., Reinke, R., Garrison, J. R., Hood, E., Miller, A., & McGowan, S. (1987). *Vernacular landscapes in Western Massachusetts*. Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology, Savannah, GA.

Paynter, R., & Stigers, T. (2003). *Making and remaking the rural New England Village: The Case of Deerfield, Massachusetts*, Paper presented at the Society for Historical Archaeology, Providence, RI.

Quantum GIS Development Team. (2012). *Quantum GIS Geographic Information System*. Open Source Geospatial Foundation Project. http://qgis.osgeo.org

Q.P. Lewis, *An Archaeology of Improvement in Rural Massachusetts*, Contributions
To Global Historical Archaeology, DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-22105-2

Reinke, R. (1990). Landscape Compositions: Use of the Landscape in Deerfield, Massachusetts. Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology.

Reinke, R., Garrison, J. R., Hood, J. E., Paynter, R., Miller, A., & McGowan, S. (1987). *Transformations of landscape: Historical archaeology at Deerfield.* Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Northeastern Anthropological Association, Amherst, MA.

Reinke, R., Hood, J. E., & Paynter, R. (1988). Harris matrix analysis in Deerfield, Massachusetts. In the symposium *Applications of Harris Matrix Analysis*, Annual Meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology, Reno, NV.

Reinke, R., & Paynter, R. (1984). *Archaeological excavation of the surroundings of the E. H. Williams House, Deerfield, Mass*. Amherst, MA: Water Resources Research Center.

Rotman, D. L. (2001). *Beyond the cult of domesticity: exploring the material and spatial expressions of multiple gender ideologies in Deerfield, Massachusetts, ca. 1750-1882*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Amherst.

Rotman, D. L. (2009). *Historical archaeology of gendered lives*. Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Springer.

Rotman, D., Paynter, R., Null, C., & Heidemann, K. (2001). *Report of the 2000 University of Massachusetts, Amherst Field School Study of Lot 33, Deerfield Massachusetts*. Amherst, MA: Department of Anthropology, University of Massachusetts.

South, S. (1977). *Method and theory in historical archeology*. New York: Academic Press.

Wylie, A. (1999). Why should historical archaeologists study capitalism? The logic of question and answer and the challenge of systemic analysis. In M. P. Leone & P. B. Parker Jr. (Eds.), *Historical Archaeologies of Capitalism* (pp. 23–50). New York: Kluwer Academic.

Index

Q.P. Lewis, *An Archaeology of Improvement in Rural Massachusetts*, Contributions To Global Historical Archaeology, DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-22105-2