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Domestic Artifacts, Political Practices:
An Archaeology of Women's Reform Efforts and the Home, 1854-1939

By

Kimberly Elizabeth Christensen

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Anthropology

and the Designated Emphasis

in

Women, Gender and Sexuality

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in Charge:

Professor Laurie A. Wilkie, Chair

Professor Rosemary A. Joyce

Professor Margaret W. Conkey

Professor Barrie Thorne

Spring 2012

Domestic Artifacts, Political Practices:
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By Kimberly Elizabeth Christensen

Abstract

An Archaeology of Women's Reform Efforts and the Home, 1854-1939

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Kimberly Elizabeth Christensen

Doctor of Philosophy in Anthropology

Designated Emphasis in Women, Gender and Sexuality

University of California, Berkeley

Professor Laurie A. Wilkie, Chair

This dissertation examines issues of gender, practice, and sociopolitical reform efforts through the lens of household archaeology. Archaeological and historical research undertaken at the homes of Matilda Joslyn Gage (1826-1898) and May Shepard Cheney (1862-1942) provide a means of examining how gender ideologies were lived and negotiated in practice in contexts of homes that were integrally involved in sociopolitical reform efforts. Gage, who fought for suffrage and woman's rights during the late 19th century, and Cheney, who used her administrative position at the University of California, Berkeley during the early 20th century to advocate for women's social, political, and economic opportunities, both brought elements of their reform work into their homes. By examining artifacts such as tea wares, children's toys, a Japanese garden, and canning jars, I show how the Gage and Cheney households deftly navigated the gendered norms of their time while simultaneously working to reform those norms. Through this, I also highlight the significance of their husbands, Henry Hill Gage and Warren Cheney, and children in these negotiations within the home.

The use of material culture in reform pursuits at these sites highlights the multivalent nature of meanings attributable to objects, and emphasizes that ownership of particular household materials does not mean that a particular household necessarily adhered to hegemonic gender ideologies. Instead, household material culture was used by these two households in ways that suited their reform ideals.

This dissertation is also an example of feminist-inspired collaborative archaeology. Work at both sites was conducted in ways that sought to demystify the process of research and foster less-hierarchical relationships with stakeholders.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Why Matilda Joslyn Gage and May Shepard Cheney

This dissertation presents archaeological and historical research conducted at two 19th to early 20th-century historic sites, the home of Matilda Joslyn Gage in Fayetteville, New York, and May Shepard Cheney, in Berkeley, California (Figures 1.1, 1.2, 1.3). My research examines the daily enactment of political practice within these two households, with attention paid especially to women's political practices as related to broader movements seeking sociopolitical change. The household has long been seen as the domain of (white, middle-class) women, while 19th-century gender ideologies such as the Cult of Domesticity tell us that home is to be a feminine haven from the economic and political turmoil of the world of men outside its doors. In this study, I interrogate these assumptions by looking at the households of Gage and Cheney, both women active in reform circles, through the lenses of material culture and the historical documents associated with both sites.

The lives and homes of Matilda Joslyn Gage and May Cheney are of research interest because of their participation in a variety of sociopolitical reform efforts in the late-19th and early-20th centuries. Gage spent much of her adult life agitating for woman suffrage, while also being active in the abolition movement and advocating for Native American sovereignty and the separation of church and state. Although active on par with known suffragists Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton during her lifetime, Gage's uncompromising stance toward the separation of church and state cost her her legacy until the 1970s. May Cheney, on the other hand, had an important role in the University of California Berkeley administration as the Appointments Secretary, creating what we now know as the Career Center. In addition to her duties as Appointments Secretary, she quietly but steadily advocated for the intellectual, political, social, and economic interests of female students while participating in a variety of Progressive Era reform movements including woman suffrage and domestic science. Both of these women were thus involved in myriad reform efforts that took place on a public stage; my research examines how these efforts were wrapped up in the everyday lives of their households as well.

The Gage and Cheney house contexts exemplify the different means of incorporating politicized practice into everyday life for women of the Victorian (1850-1900) and Progressive Eras (1890-1920) (Williams 1996; Gordon 1990). Both utilized their homes as gathering spaces for fellow activists, and in some sense "worked from home" in their reform efforts. The different temporal and geographic contexts of each of these households highlight the different means of action that they perceived as possible. While Gage was denied admittance to medical school and never attended an institution of higher education, Cheney was a product of the University of California Berkeley's fraught coeducation. Gage did nearly all of her work from her home, including managing a national suffrage organization and its state-level chapter as well as editing and publishing a newspaper. In contrast, Cheney owned her own teacher-placement bureau in San Francisco for nearly a decade prior to petitioning the University to hire her. Gage's life's work mainly amounted to agitating from outside a position of power, while Cheney was part of the University's administration for over forty years, and used her position to advance the interests of

female students. Together, these two case studies show different enactments of feminist practice that speak to continuing differences within feminism today.

Matilda Gage's work for reform, especially for woman suffrage, sought change at the state and federal level, and she was known on a national scale as radical for this work. In contrast, May Cheney's efforts to reform higher education and employment opportunities for women, in part through advocating for domestic science education, came from working within the University system and did not overtly challenge the association of women with the home and family. These different approaches to reform have left different legacies. During her lifetime, Gage's refusal to compromise on issues such as the separation of church and state in the name of gaining suffrage ultimately led to her break with the organized suffrage movement. After her death in 1898, she was nearly erased from suffrage history. In the 20th century, her prescient stance on these very issues, such as woman's rights and the separation of church and state, has gained her many admirers who see her work in the 19th-century as foundation for their work for social justice in our contemporary society. Her home (Figure 1.4) is now a museum, operated by a vibrant feminist community that seeks to carry on her work. May Cheney, on the other hand, was known as "one of Berkeley's best known and best beloved citizens" during her lifetime for her work for the University and community (*Berkeley Daily Gazette* 1942). While seen as notable, she was not seen as "dynamic" (Cheney 1977:43), and the significance of her reform work for women's educational and employment opportunities has not been recognized. While a residence hall on campus was named after her in 1964, memory of her work has largely been lost, and her home (Figure 1.5) was demolished by the University in 2010. In my work here, I will show why the home spaces and materials of both women and their households are of interest and import.

Households as Significant Social Arenas

This research is an example of household archaeology. Archaeological studies of the household have been a feature of anthropological archaeology since the 1970s, where they have been examined as a basic unit of society through which people interface with broader social, economic and environmentally adaptive structures (Ashmore and Wilk 1988; Flannery 1972; Tringham 1987; Wilk and Rathje 1982). While many of the early studies focused on attempting to delineate between the people who resided together as a social group and the physical structure(s) they lived within, in historical archaeology we often have the benefit of knowing, in at least broad terms, what social group lived within a dwelling under study. The research here is no exception. In this study, I use the term household to refer to the social group living within the dwellings under study – the Gage and Cheney houses – although the composition of this social unit changed over time, as I delineate in the Chapter 2.

As "the next bigger thing on the social map after an individual" (Hammel 1981:20), and the arena in which intimate day-to-day life is lived, households are significant arenas of socialization, as well as living out, creating, adapting to, and contesting broader societal norms. I take the stance here that they are not simply reactive to external conditions, but rather that everyday life is both reactive and constitutive of these broader conditions.

Theories of Practice

In looking at the Gage and Cheney households, I am influenced by theories of practice that have been developed by a variety of scholars that posit a recursive relationship between social structures and individual or group agency (e.g. de Certeau 1984; Giddens 1979; Bourdieu 1977; Butler 1999). These theories have been thoughtfully elaborated in a variety of archaeological studies (e.g. Joyce 2000 [girling], 2003, 2004, 2005; Silliman 2001, 2009; Barrett 2001; Dobres and Robb 2000; Dornan 2002; Gillespie 2000; Hendon 1996, 2000; Lightfoot et al 1998). In this study, I draw on the practice-based emphasis put forth by these works particularly in examining how mass-produced material culture is used within the Gage and Cheney houses, and how these practices impart meanings to the material culture (Beaudry et al 1991; Spencer-Wood 1994, 1996; Little 1997, 1999). This view is in contrast to one that sees material culture as merely reflective of social relations and the meanings imposed by dominant ideologies. Instead, as households are significant arenas of social production and reproduction, the practices associated with them have the potential to affect change in both the constitution of society and the meanings associated with material culture. While the nature of the archaeological data available here is not fine-grained enough to speak of repeated practices on a very specific scale, by combining the archaeological and historical data rough outlines of what occurred in each household are possible.

Michel de Certeau's (1984) work on the creative production that is consumption of mass-produced goods is particularly useful for this reason, as is Judith Butler's (1990) concept of citational precedents as developed by Rosemary Joyce (2004). Both center attention on the potential difference between received meanings, whether attached to material culture or gender ideologies, and the enactment and negotiation of those meanings in everyday life. The fact that both Gage and Cheney explicitly sought to contest and change aspects of the social order provides an opening for looking at how the material culture of their households may have been implicated in such efforts, although this is not a "gotcha" study in which discordances between stated reform ideals and actual practices are sought. While Gage and Cheney's reform efforts provide such an opening, I would argue that such non-normative use of material culture and the presence of the political in the home is more likely the norm than the exception, as all households would have negotiated their place within societal ideals in practice.

Feminist Archaeology and the Archaeology of Gender

What is now often called 'gender archaeology' sprung from feminist concerns of the 1970s with issues of equity within the discipline, as well as the unrecognized biases within archaeological research. Since the 1980s, a rich and varied body of literature dealing with the issue of gender in archaeology has been produced. As this is quite a broad topic, I do not seek to account for all such works here but provide some examples of the different kinds. Examples of the types of works dealing with an archaeology of gender include programmatic statements and overviews (e.g. Conkey and Spector 1984; Gilchrist 1991; Little 1994; Conkey and Gero 1997; Knapp 1998a, 1998b; Franklin 2001; Joyce 2004, 2005, 2008; Conkey 2005; Wilkie and Hayes 2006; Marshall 2008; Spencer-Wood 2011), equity critiques (e.g. Gero 1985; Conkey 2007; Moser 2007), philosophical and epistemological examinations (Wylie 1992, 1997, 2000, 2003, 2007; Conkey 2003), edited volumes (Gero and Conkey 1991; Walde and Willows 1991; Balme and

Beck 1993; Scott 1994; Delle, Mrozowski and Paynter 2000; Galle and Young 2004; Nelson 2006), as well as specific case studies (Spector 1991, 1993; Gilchrist 1994, 1999; Wall 1994; Lawrence 1999; Joyce 2000a, 2000b, 2000c, 2002a, 2003; Rotman 2001, 2009; Kruczek-Aaron 2002; Wilkie 2003, 2010; Williams 2008; Battle-Baptiste 2011). There has, however, never been an easy relationship between archaeologists self-identifying as feminists and those who would take up the call to search for gender in the past, but shy away from the political commitments and transformative action called for by a feminist theoretical orientation. As various archaeologists have noted (Engelstad 2007, Wylie 2007), this failure to engage with the larger dialogue of feminism has blunted the potential for change such work holds, and as such, much of the archaeology that includes considerations of gender has become a tame exercise that seeks to identify gender in the archaeological past but fails to engage with the politicized potential — in the past and present — of this kind of work.

My work here is a feminist archaeology of feminist historical figures and I have been influenced by feminist works within and beyond archaeology. In the first place, such theorizing allows me to see feminized microscale contexts such as households, the lives of women in general, and feminized labor such as parenting and caregiving as worthy of study (Conkey 2003; Spencer-Wood 2004). It has also prompted my interrogation of taken-for-granted, seeking to differentiate between cultural ideals or ideologies and actual lived experience; in this case, the notion of the household as depoliticized and feminized, and the strict delineation of feminine and masculine gender ideologies (Conkey 2003; Spencer-Wood 1999).

I chose to use the lives of Matilda and May as my entry points to this research for multiple reasons. They are the one constant throughout the years in their respective homes, for one. Both were predeceased by their husbands, and had adult children and grandchildren live or visit with them for periods of time. They also both had lives in the public eye, in addition to their roles as wives, mothers, and grandmothers that can speak to the issue of the lived experience of gendered lives that straddles the long-assumed public/private, masculine/feminine, and work/home dichotomies.

While I agree that a full engendering of the household is necessary if we are to resist reifying normative gender ideologies (e.g. Lawrence 1999), my primary attention has been given to Matilda and May in order to specifically interrogate ideologies of gender and the home that speak to women's place within it. Along the way, however, especially in the case of the Cheneys, the significance of men within the household becomes apparent. As I discuss in Chapter 5, Warren Cheney's home life exemplifies the changes in masculine gender ideologies between the Victorian and modern periods, as well as the negotiation of gendered roles and parenting that inevitably occurs in lived experience. While comparatively little is known of Henry Gage, future research will hopefully flesh out our understanding of him as a person, reformer, and parent.

The feminist critique of science has been influential in my conduct of research, in that this critique has challenged the accepted belief in an objective science removed from the conditions of its production (Wylie 1997; Conkey and Gero 1997; Harding 2003; Engelstad 2007). Instead, as Conkey and Gero (1997:429) outlined, I have attempted to: "increase the visibility of human agency in knowledge production," "organize archaeological field projects in less hierarchical fashions," and "admit ambiguity and partial or situated knowledges." The first two points have

been instrumental in deciding upon my research methodologies, as I discuss in Chapter 3. Interestingly, as archaeological practice has gradually moved towards more-inclusive, less-hierarchical best practices, feminist ideals have been included but often unremarked upon (Marshall 2002 and Conkey 2003 are notable exceptions). It is my argument that the move toward collaborative methods in public archaeology is inherently feminist in practice, and this is where I situate my research, discussed in Chapter 3.

My use of the first person throughout this work is also a feminist attempt to lay bare the process of research, interpretation, and my situatedness relative to the work, rather than positing an objective and removed “god’s eye” view of the world. I also tend to refer to Matilda Gage and May Cheney by their first names throughout this dissertation for much the same reasons. On a purely practical note, use of their first names is more succinct than continually using their full names, while not simply referring to them by their last names differentiates them from their husbands, as in my mind at least, men are more typically referred to by their last name than women. On a less pragmatic note, it is my hope that by referring to Gage and Cheney as Matilda and May, their individuality and personhood is brought forth and they become less figures in some history and more persons in their own right. While it would have been unthinkable rude during their lifetimes for me to refer to them by their first name, I hope that given my reasons for doing so here they might forgive my impertinence.

Structure of the dissertation

In Chapter 2, I detail the site and family histories compiled from a wide variety of documentary and oral history sources. The property and building histories are presented, and the changing composition of the households over the years is examined. Finally, I turn my attention to the individual histories of the Gage and Cheney families and provide brief biographical sketches of each.

These histories informed the archaeological field methods employed at both sites, discussed in Chapter 3. The feminist-inspired collaborative methods utilized, as well as the results of the fieldwork, are also detailed here.

In Chapter 4, I present my interpretation of the Gage household, which compares the materiality of the 19th-century Cult of Domesticity with the considerations of politicized daily practice suggested by the documentary record associated with the Gages. I argue that while the Gages may have owned the household goods associated with the enactment of the Cult of Domesticity, their use of these goods in everyday family life and politicized reform work suggests that we must consider that the link between material culture and gender ideology is both complicated and nuanced.

In Chapter 5, I present my interpretation of the Cheney household, with a focus on how Warren and May Cheney enacted gender ideologies of the late-Victorian period and early-20th century through their use of the home, parenting, and reform efforts. In this example, there is more evidence of Warren’s regular involvement in the so-called domestic sphere than there is for May, turning our notion of gendered roles and the home on its head.

In the final chapter, Chapter 6, I reflect on the results of the projects at both houses, their futures, and summarize the dissertation conclusions.

Overall, it is the goal of this dissertation to present a thoughtful examination of the issues of gender ideologies, the household, feminist practice, collaborative methods, and the uses of the past in the present, in an empirically adequate form. While the idea of the household has been both lauded and pilloried as woman's 'natural' place, it remains that home and parenting are a significant part of women's lives. By actually examining how Gage and Cheney and their households dealt with these issues through their lived experience, we may both rehabilitate the image of the home as apolitical and draw attention to the varied ways in which people made meaning of their home lives in the past.

Chapter 2: The Gage and Cheney Sites and Households

Introduction

In this chapter, I detail the documentary history of the Gage and Cheney house sites and households. Using deeds, historic maps, insurance documents, newspaper accounts, and family letters, I begin with detailing the site history of the Gage property, and then turn my attention to the story of the Gage family and the composition of their household over the years. I then turn to the Cheney property and household and do the same.

While I refer to the groups of people living within the Gage and Cheney houses as households, within anthropological terms they would be better termed housefuls, following Hammel and Laslett (1974). That is, they are comprised of both people related by kinship and non-family-members, such as boarders or visitors (Hammel and Laslett 1974:78). However, as in at least the case of the Cheney household, some non-family boarders *became* family over time, as I will discuss below. Given the dynamic nature of the relationships between the people inhabiting these two houses, I use the term household in this chapter, and throughout this work, to refer to the entire group of people inhabiting the house's space.

As those studying households of the historic period archaeologically have argued, consideration of the entire physical and social context of household sites is desirable, because this understanding is crucial in order to best interpret the archaeological information recovered (Beaudry 1984, 1986, 1987, 1989, 1999; Groover 2001; Rotman 2005, 2009; Spencer-Wood 2004). While the property features and archaeological evidence directly related to the Gage and Cheney families are of the most interest in this study, it is important to understand the diachronic use of and changes to both properties in order to separate the stories of these households from the greater palimpsest within which each is located. This chapter, then, serves to outline the history of the property and household associated with each site; Chapter 3 then details the methodology used to study each and present the findings of the archaeological research.

The Gage Home & Property in Fayetteville, New York

Euro-American settlement of the area that would become the Village of Fayetteville began in 1792, as part of the Military Tract that encompassed what are now the Onondaga, Cortland, Cayuga, Seneca, and parts of Oswego, Tompkins, and Wayne Counties (Commisso 2004:6). This area was the traditional homeland of the Six Nations of the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) Confederacy.

The Town of Manlius, of which the Village of Fayetteville is a part, was officially formed in 1794 (Commisso 2004:6). Early settlement in Fayetteville was located at the intersection of the roads from the Town of Manlius to Oneida Lake, and Chittenango to Syracuse (Rivette 2006:1). This initial settlement was called "Manlius Four Corners" and included a store, a blacksmith shop, and a tavern that catered to travelers, although the residents were primarily farmers (Smith and Hardin 1982: Item 8; Anguish 1966:17).

The construction of the Erie Canal in 1825, which linked Albany to Buffalo and allowed for the transportation of unprecedented quantities of goods state-wide, heralded an age of prosperity for

the Village. In 1836, a feeder canal was built to connect the new business district in lower Fayetteville to the Erie Canal, and this spurred both commercial and residential growth in the immediate area (Commisso 2006; Smith and Hardin 1982; Rivette 2006).

The history of the parcel of property later owned by the Gages, known in deed records as Lot 75 in Manlius, remains a bit unclear. Anguish (1966:17) states that the 600-acre parcel of land south of the current Genesee Street, which would have included what was to become the Gage property, was deeded to Jasper Huntley in 1793. The next record of the property is a deed from 1838, which records the transfer of the property from Albert Neeley to a Trustee of Rhodes, Weed and Company. In 1840, the property was transferred to Phinella Cranston, who appears to have lived there until her death sometime before 1850, upon which time her daughter, Eliza, and husband, Hervey Edwards, inherited the property (Elizabeth Crawford, personal communication, 2007). In 1850, the Edwards sold the property to Beach Beard, a Fayetteville businessman who owned large tracts of land and operated various factories in the south end of the Village (Elizabeth Crawford, personal communication, 2007; Boland 2007:8).

The deed from the transfer of property to Beach Beard states that the lot was approximately a quarter acre in size, bounded by land already owned by Beard on the west and south, the Genesee Turnpike to the north, and the lane now called Walnut Street on the east (Deed of Sale, Edwards to Beard 1850). When the Gages bought the property from Beach and Francis Beard in 1858, it was 0.48 acres (Deed of Sale, Beard to Gage 1858). It seems likely that the Beards added some of their land to the parcel after purchasing it from the Edwards (Elizabeth Crawford, personal communication, 2007). This measurement is consistent with other historical sources, most notably from the Gages themselves. In a letter from Matilda Joslyn Gage to her son, Thomas Clarkson in 1897, Gage states that the property area is just less than half an acre (48/100) (Gage 1897). Thomas Clarkson himself, in a 1924 reminiscence about the family home requested by his sister Helen Leslie, mentions that the property was nearly half an acre as well (TC Gage 1924).

After Matilda Joslyn Gage's death in 1898, her children, by then all living in the Dakotas or Illinois, employed William Austin, a local insurance agent, to look after the property. In 1899, the Higley family was renting the property while Austin was busy cleaning it up in preparation for its sale (Austin 1899). However, the property was not sold until 1903, when it passed into the hands of William and Cora Burns; this may be due to the difficult real estate market mentioned by Austin in his 1899 letter. It is likely that the house continued to be used as a rental in the interim, although we do not have any records attesting to this fact.

From 1903 on, the property changed ownership more than ten times until its purchase by the Matilda Joslyn Gage Foundation, Inc. in 2002. Property owner Jane McIntyre divided the land parcel approximately in half in 1925, selling off the southern portion. Between 1909 and 1919, it appears that the house was divided into at least two apartments, as Sanborn fire insurance maps from these years show the construction of a new porch and entrance at the rear of the house. This use of the house as a rental property, which ultimately comprised three apartments, persisted until restoration efforts by the Gage Foundation began in 2007.

Structures on the Property

It is still not certain at what point a house was first present on the property. The 1850 deed of sale from Hervey and Eliza Edwards to Beach Beard mentions the presence of the “Dwelling House [...] formerly occupied by Phinella Cranston (deceased),” which suggests that a house may have been present as early as 1840, when Phinella inherited the property from her late husband Thomas. It is believed that this small dwelling, a simple one and a half story farmhouse, was what the Gages moved into upon renting the property from Beard in 1854.

Other sources suggest an earlier origin for the house, although they are unsubstantiated. The National Register of Historic Places Nomination for the Genesee Street Hill-Limestone Plaza Historic District, filed in 1982, states that the oldest part of the Gage house was constructed prior to 1820 but gives no reasons for this date (Smith and Hardin 1982). The reminiscences of Lucy Seward Noble, a contemporary of Gage, gives the construction date of the rear part of the house as 1804, and a 1934 newspaper article says the same, although in neither case is more information for these origin dates given (Seward Noble 1936; *Syracuse Post-Standard* 1934). Gage herself said that the rear part of the house, which contained the kitchen and dining room, was “old – quite old – but well built,” although she does not suggest how old (Gage 1897).

The best documentary evidence detailing the evolution of the Gage house comes from Gage herself, in the same 1897 letter. Here, she states that the front, two-story, one room deep Greek revival part of the house was built about 1856, prior to their purchase of the house (Figure 2.1). After gaining ownership of the house from Beach Beard in 1858, the Gages then separated these two parts of the house and constructed another two-story addition, also one room deep, on the back of the Greek revival portion, essentially doubling the size of the front portion of the house. Finally, the one-room wing on the southwest corner of the house was built in 1863 to accommodate Gage’s aging parents who came to live with the family.

Several photographs taken in 1887 by Gage’s son-in-law, L. Frank Baum, show the east, west, and north sides of the house exterior as well as the front parlor (that is discussed in detail in Chapter 4), and are the only depictions of the house as it appeared when the Gages lived there (Figures 2.2, 2.3, 2.4, 2.5).

Sanborn fire insurance maps and family letters suggest the diversity of structures and landscape features on the property and how they changed through time. Thomas Clarkson’s 1924 letter, mentioned above, contains a detailed accounting of the property’s features:

There was a summer-house covered with grapevines. Back of the summer house was a rose trellis in the rear of which were all kinds of fruit trees, mostly plums, pears and apples together with one hardy peach tree (not very good). Still farther back was an ice house and cooling room about thirty feet from the west kitchen door. Back of the ice-house was an apiary with five or six hives of bees. [...] On the rear end of the house was a large woodshed piled full of split wood.

As the side street was higher than our ground, there was a stone retaining wall resulting that Walnut Street was about twelve feet higher than our

garden. Our barn at the back on this street was built with a basement where we kept a cow, chickens and ducks. Above we kept our horse together with our carriage, harnesses, etc. There was also a saddle and a side saddle. During the Civil War the barn was extended south to make a drying shed for tobacco. [TC Gage 1924]

The summer house is shown in the 1887 photo of the western side of the house taken by L. Frank Baum (Figure 2.4). A letter from Gage to Thomas Clarkson in 1885 suggests that the ice house had been removed, as she mentions that flower seeds sown “on [the] ice house place” had not done well (Gage 1885); it not known what replaced it to fill the household’s food preservation needs.

Sanborn maps from 1890, 1896, and 1904 show the woodshed mentioned by Thomas Clarkson, appearing to be nearly as large as the original portion of the house it was attached to (Figures 2.6, 2.7, 2.8). It is no longer depicted in the 1909 map. The barn, too, is shown on the maps: in 1890 and 1896, it is depicted as a large (approximately 20 by 40 feet), two-story structure approximately 100 feet south of the woodshed, with its long axis parallel to Walnut Street. Curiously, the 1904, 1909, and 1919 maps show a two-story structure of the same size on the same location, but with its long axis perpendicular to the street; this suggests that the structure may have been rotated (Figures 2.9, 2.10). Finally, in the 1929 map, a differently-shaped, two-story duplex residential structure is shown in approximately the same space that the barn was on previous maps (Figure 2.11). This structure is 40 feet in length, with the section fronting Walnut Street also 40 feet in width; it narrows two-thirds of the way to the back of the structure to 20 feet in width. Given these dimensions alone, it is possible that this structure is a remodeled version of the barn, repurposed as a two-family home.

Both of these changes – the disappearance of the woodshed, and the reorientation and possible remodeling of the barn – occur after Matilda Gage’s death and as such, represent the actions of subsequent owners. The remodeling of the barn, occurring sometime between 1919 and 1929 according to the maps, may also post-date the sale of the southern half of the original Gage property by Jane McIntyre in 1925.

During this time, changes must have been occurring to the interior of the Gage house as well, although such changes are only hinted at on the Sanborn maps. In 1909, with the disappearance of the woodshed, a small stoop is shown on the southwest corner of the original section of the house, but the rest of the structure remains the same. In 1919, as mentioned above, a small porch is shown on the eastern side of the original house section, which suggests that the house may have been divided into rental units by this time – with the front, two-story section containing either one or two units, and the rear one and a half-story portion forming its own unit with its own entrance. A one room, one-story addition on the southwest corner of the house which appears on the 1919 map for the first time would likely have been part of this rear rental unit as well. The bays present on the east and west sides of the house in previous maps — corresponding with the breakfast room/bedroom and doors to the formal garden during the Gage family’s ownership of the property — are gone. In 1929, the house appears unchanged from 1919. A 1934 newspaper article states that, “The house is occupied by Mrs. McIntyre and the

offices of Dr. S. Belkowitz” (*Syracuse Post-Standard* 1934). Although it is not stated how the space of the house was divided, it is likely that the offices were located in the rear portion of the house with its separate entrance.

Based on a photo in the Gage Foundation collection dated to the 1960s, the house had by that time been divided into the three rental units it retained until restorations were undertaken. The photo, which shows Gage grandchild Matilda Jewell Gage (daughter of Thomas Clarkson) and house owners shaking hands on the front steps, shows an additional covered side entrance on the east side of the house. This indicates that the first floor portion of the front part of the house was now its own rental unit, having its own entrance. Two small bay windows, one in the rear part of the house and one in the front entrance hallway, are present; they are also visible in a post-1909 photo of the house in the Foundation collection and thus pre-date the three-rental-units organization of the house. An enclosed porch, which was added to the west side of the house sometime after 1929, given the Sanborn map evidence, is not visible in any of these photos and its exact construction date is unknown.

In 2007, restoration efforts began at the house and it ceased to be used as a rental property. The enclosed porch on the west side of the house and the one-room addition on the southwest corner of the house were removed in the first steps toward restoring the structure to its Gage-era appearance. Major interior restorations were undertaken beginning in 2009, which removed 20th-century modifications to the structure and restored its floor plan to one that matches how the Gages would have experienced the space.

Also in 2009, the woodshed on the rear of the house was rebuilt, with modifications to preserve archaeological features and fulfill the functions needed by the Gage Foundation. As will be explained in Chapter 3, archaeological excavations undertaken in the area of the historic woodshed as indicated by Sanborn maps uncovered a small stone foundation of uncertain function. In order to preserve this feature in-situ, the plan for the rebuilt woodshed was modified to be shorter, north-south, and to project farther west than initially planned to preserve the square footage of the addition as needed by the Gage Foundation for use as an American Disabilities Act-compliant entrance and welcome center for the museum.

Peopling the household: The Gages

Having laid out the history and evolution of the property itself, it is necessary to turn our attention now to the Gages themselves. Much of the published scholarship on the Gage family has centered on Matilda Joslyn Gage, given her historical significance within the woman suffrage and Freethought movements. She has been the subject of numerous publications, including dissertations and nonfiction books that quite often explicitly draw on her life accomplishments for their relevance to feminists and activists of the present (e.g. Wagner 1978, 1998, 2001, 2003; Corey 1995; White 2003; Jacoby 2004; Daly 2006; Rivette 2006). In addition, we have much of her story from her own accounts, through her published articles and book, in which she consciously placed herself as an activist. Given the wealth of previously published works on Gage’s life and work, I do not seek to craft an all-encompassing biography for her here; rather, I outline a sketch of her life (and those of her family members) to provide a basis for understanding her significance and for later interpreting the archaeological evidence

uncovered at the house. My intent here is to provide attention to the specifically “domestic” part of Gage’s life, as most studies have focused on her political work. Given that the archaeology undertaken speaks to her home life (which, as I will argue, was not divorced from her activist reform-seeking life), it is important to include a detailed discussion of the nature of that home life.

Matilda Joslyn Gage

Matilda Electa Joslyn (Figure 2.12) was born to parents Helen Leslie and Dr. Hezekiah Joslyn of Cicero, New York, on March 26, 1826. An only child, Matilda received the benefit of great attention from her father, who she said “taught me to think for myself, and not to accept the word of any man, or society, or human being, but to fully examine for myself” (Gage 1888:347, quoted in Wagner 1998). As a child she was surrounded by abolitionists who met at the family’s house and she said that it was a stop on the Underground Railroad (Gage 1888:347). She wanted to become a doctor, like her father, but was unable to do so because no colleges would accept her as a student due to her sex. At age 18, she took the conventional route for a woman of her time and married Henry Hill Gage, a local merchant, in 1845.

Matilda and Henry had five children, four of whom survived into adulthood. Daughter Helen Leslie was born November 3, 1845; son Thomas Clarkson (named after the noted English abolitionist) on July 18, 1848; Julia Louise on April 21, 1851; and youngest child Maud on March 27, 1861. Son Charles Henry, born on December 7, 1849 died just one day after his one-month birthday.

Gage made her first appearance on the woman suffrage stage in the third national meeting for woman suffrage, held in Syracuse in 1852 (Gage 1888:347). She had already been active in the abolition movement, signing a petition in 1850 circulated by Rev. Jermain Loguen stating that she was willing to defy the Fugitive Slave Act by harboring freedom seekers, despite the harsh penalties that might be faced (Gage 1880).

Gage’s national prominence in the woman suffrage movement began in 1868, with her writings on woman’s rights published in the newspaper *Revolution*, published by Susan B. Anthony and Parker Pillsbury. She would continue to be a prolific writer throughout her life (Table 2.1). In 1869 she was a founding member of the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA), along with Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and became a member of the Advisory Council. She also organized the New York State chapter of the NWSA, creating a model by which state chapters could be founded across the country. Throughout the 1870s she held top-ranking positions in both the National and State chapter of the NWSA, authoring many of the organizations’ petitions, organizational strategies, and statements in addition to organizing conventions, speaking before the New York State Legislature, lecturing, and fighting for a woman suffrage amendment to the federal Constitution (Boland 2009).

One of Gage’s most high-profile moments in the suffrage movement came during the 1876 Centennial celebration in Philadelphia, while she was President of the NWSA. Refused permission by organizers to present their *Woman’s Declaration of Rights* during the official program, Gage, Anthony, and several other NWSA members stormed onstage, interrupting the proceedings, and presented Vice President Thomas Ferry with the Declaration. On their way out, they and a group of supporters scattered additional copies of the Declaration through the

crowd and went on to hold their own (protest) convention a few blocks away (Stanton et al 1887:30). Between 1878 and 1881, Gage was publisher and editor of *The National Citizen and Ballot Box*, the official newspaper of the NWSA, and as such, was the voice of the NWSA to its readers, wielding considerable influence. Between 1876 and 1886, she, with Stanton and Anthony, also compiled the first three volumes of the *History of Woman Suffrage*, exhaustively detailing the first decades of the woman suffrage movement (Wagner 1998; Boland 2009).

In 1890, Gage left her decades-long association with the NWSA behind in protest of the merger between the NWSA and the more conservative American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA) orchestrated by Anthony. Anthony sought to capitalize on the growing power and influence of the Temperance movement, through wooing Frances Willard, head of the Women's Christian Temperance Union and member of the AWSA. Disgusted with Anthony's betrayal, and fearful of the growing influence of the religiously-conservative Temperance women, Gage left the newly-formed NAWSA (National American Woman Suffrage Association) and formed a new but short-lived organization, the Woman's National Liberal Union (WNLU), which sought to preserve the divide between church and state (Wagner 1998; Boland 2009). In 1893, Gage published her magnum opus, entitled *Woman Church and State*, which laid out her argument against the Christian church. She wrote it, she said, due to exhaustion with "the obtuseness of Church and State; indignan[ce] at the injustice of both towards woman; [and] at the wrongs inflicted upon one-half of humanity by the other half in the name of religion" (Gage 1893: preface). Not surprisingly, this book did not win her many supporters, and was banned by Anthony Comstock.

When Gage died in 1898, with her official ties to the suffrage movement severed, her influence was downplayed in its official histories. The suffrage narrative that lives on today has centered on Stanton and Anthony and their lifelong friendship (e.g. Gordon 1997, 2000, 2003, 2006, 2009, 2012; Burns and Barnes 1999; Ward and Burns 1999), while other suffragists are frequently overlooked. Nevertheless, efforts to restore, preserve, and diversify our contemporary understanding of the suffrage movement are ongoing, with the work of the Gage Foundation being a prime example. I discuss the nature of historical memory and interpreting history at the Gage house in Chapter 6.

Henry Gage

Henry Hill Gage (Figure 2.13) was born in 1817, and was 28 years of age when he married Matilda Joslyn in 1845. Comparatively little is known of him, as he kept a much lower profile than Matilda despite also being involved in reform efforts, primarily related to abolition. His obituary states that he served two terms as Onondaga County Superintendent of the Poor in the 1840s, and was responsible for establishing a hospital for recent immigrants from Ireland suffering from "ship fever," or typhus. A mob destroyed the first hospital established, "such was the fear of the disease," but "Mr. Gage immediately erected another on the same spot, moving a patient in before it was enclosed, which gave immunity to the building" (*Syracuse Standard* 1884). It notes that he contracted typhus from visiting the hospital's occupants when few else did, and that his young daughter (Helen Leslie) caught it from him.

In 1856, he was one of a group of Fayetteville men who called for the formation of a “Fremont Club,” which opposed the extension of slavery into the new territories, and supported the newly-formed Republican Party (*Syracuse Post-Standard* 1856). A single mention of Henry’s membership in a fraternal order suggests one part of his social life, of which Matilda did not approve (Gage 1874, quoted in Carnes 1989).

Much of what we know of Henry relates to his business; his obituary noted his character as “a strictly honorable business man, holding the confidence and respect of the community. Although taking much interest in political questions, Mr. Gage gave his first attention to business, seldom accepting office” (*Syracuse Standard* 1884). Henry is listed in the 1850, 1855, 1860, 1865, 1870, 1875, and 1880 State and Federal censuses as a dry goods merchant (US Federal Census 1850, 1860, 1870, 1880; NYS Census 1855, 1865, 1875). Starting in 1854, Henry established a store in the Beard block in Fayetteville’s small business district, having owned stores in Syracuse and Manlius during the family’s time in those towns. An 1868 business directory has entries for his store under the categories of providers of “Groceries and Provisions,” “Dry Goods, Carpets &tc,” and “China, Glass & Earthen Ware” (Boyd 1869: 290, 294, 297). By 1881, the store’s name changed to “H.H. Gage & Son” as Thomas Clarkson joined Henry in managing the store (Boyd 1881: 83).

At times, Henry used the store as a showcase for his antislavery politics. One newspaper article noted that the store’s display window was “neatly ornamented in Red, White, and Blue, with a large handbill prominently displaying the command to ‘Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof’” in anticipation of the Emancipation Proclamation (*Syracuse Journal* 1863), while another noted that the store was draped in mourning in observance of the death of John Brown, the abolitionist martyr (*Syracuse Post-Standard* 1859).

Family letters provide the most information about Henry – his troubles with the business, close relationships with his children, desire to move to the Dakota territories, and failing health. A fire in the store in September of 1882 appears to have been the final blow to that business venture (Gage 1882b). After years of failing health, Henry died on September 16, 1884 at the Fayetteville home at the age of 67.

Given the comparatively extensive information present on the life of Matilda, Henry’s life is much less well-known. Considering that historically, the lives of men as the movers and shakers of society — through their economic and political roles — have been the focus of study, the Gage family provides perhaps a refreshing change. However, as recent studies of masculinity and engendered history have shown (e.g. Carnes 1989; Connell 1995; Knapp 1998; Wilkie 1998, 2010; Alberti 2006; Joyce 2008), our knowledge of the past is incomplete without study of the actions of both men and women in the domestic and extra-domestic realms. As historical archaeologist Susan Lawrence has argued, “While a consideration of gender in household studies will unquestionably increase the archaeological visibility of women, paradoxically it will only contribute to a further reification of the link between women and home unless there is an accompanying awareness of women’s activities outside the domestic environment and of men’s activities within it” (1999:122). Of note with regard to Henry’s store is the fact that the family home may have been a showcase for the goods available in the store. Given that the home was used by Matilda and Henry as a kind of public space for reform purposes, the image that they presented to the public was crucial. For business purposes, highlighting the goods available for

purchase at the store within one's home would make sense. These ties between the Gage's store and home show that the "separate spheres" were not necessarily all that separate in practice; besides stores clerks boarding with the family, to be discussed below, there are documented instances of materials being transferred between the store and home. In 1865, upon hearing of Lincoln's assassination, Clarkson took bolts of fabric from the store to decorate the house in mourning (TC Gage n.d.). In an 1883 letter to Clarkson, Gage noted that she had saved a considerable amount of money over the previous year by using the goods salvaged from "the wreck" of the burned store, including "sugar, coffee, oatmeal, starch, tea, chockolate [sic], soap, etc." (Gage 1883). These particular instances hint at what were most likely regular material connections between the store and the home, suggesting that Henry in fact had a significant contribution to the material face of the household.

The Gages' four children (Figure 2.14) were a significant presence within the Gage household, occupying the space continually from 1854 until they left home in the 1880s, often returning with their spouses and children to the family home. As Gage made clear, the family home was always open to the children and their families: "I want J. [Julia] to understand that she & her babies are welcome to a home with me as long as I possess one, the same as you all are when needed" (Gage 1887c, emphasis in original).

Helen Leslie

Eldest daughter Helen Leslie (1845-1933) attended Cazenovia Seminary, a school for women, and went on to work as a newspaper correspondent, writing for the *Fayetteville Recorder* and the *Syracuse Standard* (US Federal Census 1880; Gage 1890a; Wagner 2003:2). She married Charles H. Gage in 1881, and gave birth to daughter Leslie in 1882. Helen and family moved to Aberdeen in the Dakota Territory prior to July of 1887 (Gage 1887a). Daughter Leslie spent several periods of time living with Gage in Fayetteville, including several months during the fall of 1891. As will be discussed in Chapter 4, Gage's involvement in raising her grandchildren hints at her philosophy of 'getting by' in the world; this in turn provides intriguing suggestions for interpreting the material culture of the Gage household in light of Gage's political activity.

Thomas Clarkson

Thomas Clarkson (1848-1938; known as Clarkson or Clarky) graduated as part of the first class at Cornell University in 1872 (Wagner 2003:2; Schwartz 2009:29). He joined father Henry's store as a partner before seeking his fortune in the Dakota Territory, leaving Fayetteville in 1881 for Aberdeen to set up a store with the Beard brothers, also of Fayetteville (NYS Census 1875; US Federal Census 1880; Schwartz 2009:117). Clarkson represented the financial interests of Matilda and Henry in the Dakota Territory, helping them invest in land as the territory was settled.

He married Sophie Jewell, also from Fayetteville, in Dakota in 1885. Sophie and Clarkson had three children, only one of whom survived infancy. Matilda Jewell Gage was born on April 22, 1886, and died in 1986. She kept the letters from her Grandmother Gage to her parents and was Dr. Sally Roesch Wagner's main source of information for her beginning research on the life of Gage. Her younger sisters, Alice, born in 1891, and Dorothy, born in 1898, only lived for a few days and five months after birth, respectively. Baby Dorothy Gage was the namesake for Dorothy Gale of *The Wizard of Oz*, written by Clarkson's brother-in-law L. Frank Baum, who married youngest Gage child Maud.

Julia Louise

Julia Louise (1851-1931) attended a teacher training course at Syracuse University starting in 1871, and worked as a teacher until her marriage to James “Frank” Carpenter in 1882 (NYS Census 1875; US Federal Census 1880). They, too, joined Julia’s siblings in the Dakota Territory in 1884, homesteading near Edgeley, Dakota (Schwartz 2009:117). Julia and Frank had three children, two of whom survived infancy. Son Harry was born at the Gage’s Fayetteville house in 1886, and daughter Magdalena was born in Dakota in 1887. Youngest son James was born in 1889 but died soon after birth. Both Magdalena and Harry spent time with Gage and cousin Leslie at the Fayetteville house during the fall of 1891.

Maud

Youngest daughter Maud (1861-1953) was poised to go the farthest in terms of higher education, attending Cornell University beginning in 1880 with the hopes of one day completing law school (Wagner 2003:2; Schwartz 2009:28). During the Christmas break of her sophomore year, however, she was introduced to L. Frank Baum, an aspiring actor, writer, and less-than-successful businessman from nearby Chittenango. Baum proposed in the Gage house parlor in the summer of 1882, and Maud accepted despite her mother’s objections. They were married in the parlor of the Gage home in November of 1882, and this put an early end to her college career. Maud was the last of the children to move west, moving to Aberdeen, South Dakota in 1888, where Frank opened a short-lived specialty store. In 1891, they moved to Chicago, where Frank finally found his footing as a writer (Wagner 2003:8-9). In 1900, Baum published *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*, which finally brought success to the family and cemented his reputation as the great American storyteller.

Maud and Frank had four boys together: Frank Joslyn, called Bun or Bunting, was born in Syracuse in December of 1883; Robert Stanton, or Robin, was born in February of 1886 in Syracuse; and Harry Neal and Kenneth Gage were born in Aberdeen, Dakota, in December of 1889 and March of 1891.

Prior to moving west, Maud, Frank, and their boys were frequent visitors at the Gage home, and Gage herself spent much time with them after Henry’s death. Starting in 1887, she spent part of every winter with them until her death — at their house in Chicago — in 1898 (Gage 1887b; Wagner 2003:7). Eldest son Frank Jr., or Bunting, spent time living with Gage periodically, including the summers of 1884 and 1886, and part of 1890.

Other household members

Besides the immediate family, a variety of other individuals came and went from the household over the years including Gage’s parents, boarders, and servants. Census data and family letters provide snapshots of the household’s composition and how it changed over time.

In the early-1860s, both of Gage’s parents came to live with the family in the Fayetteville house. They are not listed as household members in the 1860 census, but obituaries for both Helen and Hezekiah note that they each died in Fayetteville, with funeral services held at the Gage house (*Syracuse Daily Journal* 1863, 1865). An undated letter from Helen to Hezekiah, apparently predating their permanent move to the house, stated that “I am treated with the greatest kindness and attention, by M.[atilda] and her children” (Joslyn nd). While it is unknown exactly when

they came to live with the family, the construction of the addition on the southwest corner of the house, which dates to 1863, has been associated with their joining the household.

In 1855, the census shows that in addition to the family, two young men, Elishu Palmer and Plat Smith, boarded with the family and worked as clerks in Henry's store. The family also had a servant, Ireland-born Johannah Crowley. This pattern holds for the census data available for the household until 1880; only in 1875 is a servant not listed as residing in the household.

After 1880, information on the presence of boarders and servants in the house comes to us from the family's letters because the records from the 1890 census were destroyed by fire in the early 20th century. While it is not clear when, exactly, clerks working at Henry's store ceased boarding with the family it is likely that this occurred after the fire in 1882 or at the latest, at Henry's death in 1884. Nonetheless, the family maintained relationships with at least one of the clerks long after shuttering the store; a letter written by Matilda to granddaughter Leslie in 1888 mentions that George Kimberly, who is listed in the 1880 Federal Census as boarder and clerked for Henry, was stabling his horse in the family's barn (Gage 1888b). He is last mentioned as a household member in an 1881 letter (Gage 1881).

Family letters paint a variable and changing picture of the presence of servants within the Gage household after 1880. Ann Lowe, the Irish servant mentioned in the 1880 census, is referenced in a letter in 1881 but not thereafter (Gage 1881). In 1884, letters suggest that employment of "a girl" to work in the house was fluid and temporary, with frequent turnover, and that help was hired for particular tasks at particular times. For instance, needing "a girl" was mentioned in conjunction with the visits of Gage children and grandchildren, while individuals might also be hired specifically to do washing or cooking (Gage 1884a, 1884b, 1884c).

After Henry's death, employment of servants appears to have been quite variable due to need, availability, and finances. While Matilda continued to employ someone to help in the house during visits from her children and grandchildren, she often went without due to tight finances or difficulty in finding someone. In the fall of 1891, she wrote her daughter Helen Leslie: "I let my girl go while J. [Julia] is away. It will save expense and nuisance" (Gage 1891d). By contrast, at other times Gage desired to hire a servant, but could not; in July of 1887, she wrote Clarkson "It is simply impossible to get a girl for a few weeks" (Gage 1891b). At other times, servants left employment for other, seemingly better work opportunities: "Our girl staid [sic] three weeks then went into the paper mill, but her younger sister came. She also wants to get a place in the mill & if her people got such a chance they would not scruple to take her away. But we hope to keep her at least into September & cooler weather" (Gage 1890b). Without household help, Gage often opted to eat outside of the house: "My girl - girl style - leaves to-day & I shall take most of my dinners at the hotel" (Gage 1889, 1892).

In addition to the unnamed, there-and-gone "girls" who worked at the house as domestic servants, Gage also employed several named individuals for specific tasks over the years. For example, a Miss Patridge is mentioned regularly in letters dating between 1889 and 1894 as coming to the home to fix lunch, wash windows, help preserve cherries, and do assorted work about the house (Gage 1889, 1891a, 1891e, 1894). A Mr. Wheeler was occasionally employed to get the grounds in order, while a Mrs. Applegate, who Gage uncharitably deemed "not only deaf, but stupid," was hired for a major seasonal house cleaning (Gage 1887b, 1887c).

In summary, these documents as a whole tell of a dynamic household in which family, servants, and boarders came and went, and where births, deaths, and marriages took place over the years. As Deborah Rotman (2005) has argued, these lifecycle changes would have had material effects that might be seen archaeologically. The house itself was physically expanded from a small farmhouse to a multi-story, Greek-Revival fronted house with various additions to accommodate a changing household that grew in size through the 1860s. With the marriages of the children and Henry's death in the early-1880s, the household size began to shrink as the children moved out west, clerks no longer boarded at the house, and servants became more temporary. The household occasionally expanded as children and grandchildren returned to the Fayetteville home to stay with Gage, although she, too, began to spend longer periods of time away from the home. While home she limited her expenses by going without a servant and "no kitchen fire - cooking over an oil-lamp stove etc." (Gage 1887b), or by taking her meals at a nearby hotel (Gage 1889, 1892). All of these changes to the household composition and its activities through the years would have influenced the materials that entered the archaeological record.

In more general terms, knowledge of these changes to the household composition are important because they serve to highlight Gage's significance all the more, as during all of these changes – the arrival of grandchildren, marriages, illnesses, and deaths – she pursued her radical reform efforts. As I will discuss in Chapter 4, both Matilda and Henry Gage brought the political into the proscriptively apolitical realm of the domestic; Matilda, through her daily practices as a reformer by writing, planning, and meeting within the home, and both of them through their abolition activities and patriotic displays. The fact that Matilda did all of this while also running a household makes all of her accomplishments, in my view, even more exemplary; recognizing the place that home had in her life does not detract or minimize her work but amplifies its significance. Now to shift to the other side of the country where the Cheney household saw similar changes over time.

The Cheney Home and Property in Berkeley, California

The land parcel that became home to the Cheney's in 1885 was originally part of the Berkeley Property Tract, laid out by Frederick Law Olmsted in 1866 for the College of California (Page and Turnbull 2006:II-8). Unlike the Gage property, the Cheney's land parcel was uninhabited prior to their purchase of it from (Mr.) Bela Wellman in 1884. In 1885, their two-story Eastlake Stick Style house was constructed, using money May received from her father's estate (Cheney 1932a:13).

At this time, Berkeley was a rapidly growing University town, but the property acquired by the Cheney's was located several blocks east of the campus's limits (Page and Turnbull 2006). The Cheney's house joined other privately-owned houses occupied mainly by people associated with the University in some way. For example, Chemistry Professor Frederick Slate's house was just north of the Cheney property, while houses belonging to Dean Christy and Professor Joseph LeConte were nearby on Bancroft Avenue and Piedmont Way. The original Zeta Psi fraternity house, built in 1876, was a neighbor as well (Wilkie 2010). One house was built on the land

between the fraternity house and the Cheney's before 1903, and two more rental cottages (designed by architect Julia Morgan) were built on the rear of that adjacent property before 1911 (Sanborn 1903, 1911). In 1902, the Cheney's had a small cottage built just south of their house, for use as a rental property, which was increasingly common over the years as evidenced by census records (*Berkeley Daily Gazette* 1902, quoted in Page and Turnbull 2006:II-56.). Although the development of this area was inextricably tied to the University's overall growth, what has been considered a part of campus since the mid-20th century was, for the Cheney's and their neighbors, originally a residential neighborhood.

Structures on the Property

Our knowledge of what the Cheney's property looked like comes mainly from Sanborn Fire Insurance maps, several snippets from newspaper articles, and son Sheldon's oral history. The 1903 Sanborn map, the earliest available, shows the property as encompassing a 100-foot frontage on College Avenue, and extending eastward for 250 feet. The main house is given as a two-story structure with a two-story addition attached to its northwest corner, and a series of three small outbuildings stretching eastward from the addition along the northern property line; these are marked on the map as a windmill and water tank, with the third outbuilding unlabeled (Figure 2.15). Just south of the main house is 2243 College Avenue, the small two-story rental cottage built the prior year, and behind this is a stable.

The 1911 Sanborn map shows that the Cheney's converted the first of the three outbuildings into a two-story addition with a porch on the back of the house, and added three more outbuildings of unknown function along the eastern edge of the property (Figure 2.16). The tank house remained, although the windmill appears to have been removed. 2243 ½ College Avenue is labeled as a garage on this map. Sheldon's oral history relates that he and one of his brothers converted the stable into a garage at some point prior to 1906 while Warren was away in Mendocino for a month (Cheney 1977:33).

In 1929, the Cheney property appears somewhat more sparsely occupied (Figure 2.17). By this time, another two-story addition has been tacked onto the back of the house, making the northern edge of the house approximately 90 feet in length, a considerable increase from the original 30 feet of the house as originally built. In addition to the garage and the rental cottage at 2243 College Avenue, there is one unlabeled outbuilding.

The Sanborn maps do not, however, provide an idea of what the Cheney property would have looked like beyond the presence of buildings. Several newspaper and magazine accounts suggest that in the front yard, Warren grew roses, while an elaborate Japanese garden he constructed in 1907 or 1908 occupied a rear corner of the property (Page and Turnbull 2006:II-47; Lenfest 1912). The Japanese garden included "several very satisfactory miniature hills" made of stone collected from throughout the Bay Area, a cement-lined fish pond, a footbridge, a bamboo fence, and a thatch-roofed tea-house "built with his [Warren's] own hands" (Lenfest 1912:571). Garden plantings included "'The Honorable Flowers of Japan,' the iris, wistaria [sic], azalea and peony, together with 'The Four Floral Gentlemen,' the plum, bamboo, pine and orchid" (Lenfest 1912:571).

Landscape features most likely dating to the Cheney's ownership of the property in existence until the demolition of the site in March of 2010 included various Coast Live Oak, Coast Redwood, and California Buckeye specimens, a pear tree located just south of the main house, and a privet hedge running along the northern side of the house (Page and Turnbull 2006:III-2). Although the 2005 Tree Inventory used by the 2006 Historic Structure Report identifies the pear tree as the Common Pear (*Pyrus communis*), examination of the tree's fruit suggests that it may actually be a Worden Seckel pear, first introduced in 1881 (Page and Turnbull 2006:X-11; Hedrick and Howe 1921; Russel Sheptak, personal communication, 2006). Nonetheless, its age and placement outside of the back door of the Cheney house suggests that it was planted and used by the Cheney family beginning in the late-19th or early-20th century. It continued to bear fruit annually until it was removed in the spring of 2010. Records indicate that a loquat tree was located behind the house until at least 1964, and the Cheneyes may have consumed its fruits as they did the pears; the Loquat may have been primarily meant for ornamental purposes, however, as it was apparently a common ornamental planting found throughout California as early as the 1870s and 1880s (Page and Turnbull 2006:III-2; CRFG 1997). Landscape features discovered during archaeological excavations will be detailed in Chapter 3.

During the 1920s, the University sought to expand its land holdings and facilities, with the 1923 construction of California Memorial Stadium on Piedmont Avenue being one such example. This project significantly changed the character of the neighborhood by necessitating the removal of several houses on the east side of nearby Piedmont Avenue. Construction of International House in 1930 prompted the removal of even more houses in this area. Also at this time, Piedmont Avenue was connected to the Stadium Avenue on its north end, and this combination of changes introduced more traffic to the area. By 1930, the houses between the Cheney property and the Zeta Psi fraternity house had been purchased by the University, and Cowell Hospital was constructed on the east side of College Avenue, near the current location of the Haas School of Business.

In 1939, May Cheney sold the property to the University and the house officially became part of the campus. The house next door, owned by Professor Slate, had already been sold to the University two years prior. At this point, the Zeta Psi fraternity house remained one of the only privately-owned residences on this block of College Avenue.

Although becoming University property in 1939, campus maps do not show the house as having a University-related purpose until 1950. Voter registration records for 1940 and 1942 show that Nora McNeill – May's cousin -- listed the house as her residence, suggesting that the University may have continued to rent it as a residence while deciding what to do with the property (SoC 1940, 1942). In 1948, Emeritus Chemistry Professor Rollie Myers remembers that a friend rented a room in the Cheney House for \$15 a month, which suggests it was a boarding house during this period (Rollie Myers, personal communication, 2006). Further research may help fill in our knowledge of how the property was used between 1939 and 1950; suffice it to say that use of the house as a boarding house would have significant material effects on the property and the materials that entered the archaeological record.

In 1950, the house was converted into office space and used first by the Institute of Child Welfare, which later became the Institute of Human Learning, until 1967. Between 1967 and 1990, the building was used for offices related to the English as a Second Language program,

“Subject A” (a remedial writing program for students), Near Eastern Studies, Business Administration, and Computing Affairs. Between 1990 and at least 1995, the Women’s Studies Department, now the Gender and Women’s Studies Department, occupied the house (Page and Turnbull 2006:X-4 – X-5). Based on anecdotal evidence from Dr. Barrie Thorne, current member of the Department, the house was in poor condition at that time, with leaks and other problems related to needed maintenance (Barrie Thorne, personal communication, 2007). Until the fall of 2009, the building was occupied by various offices related to the College of Letters & Science, as well as the Kroeber Anthropological Society and Anthropology graduate students. In March of 2010, the structure was demolished, the land graded, and construction trailers associated with the construction of the Simpson High Performance Athletic Center project placed on the site. The rental cottage at 2243 College was sold to a private owner, and moved to a new site in Oakland.

Peopling the Household: The Cheneys

Information on the Cheney family members has been pieced together from a number of sources, including census records, newspapers, and University publications related to their time as students and during May’s tenure as Appointments Secretary. Their involvement in literary and reform causes is chronicled through local newspapers. Until relatively late in my research on the Cheneys, the only emic source at hand was son Sheldon’s oral history (Cheney 1977), recorded by the Regional Oral History Office of the Bancroft Library. Serendipitously, I learned in the fall of 2011 that May Cheney had written an autobiography, never published, which was in the hands of her descendants. Through Lin Sasman, May and Warren’s great-granddaughter, I was able to obtain a copy of two portions of the autobiography (Cheney 1932a, 1932b), as well as a short manuscript (McNeill 1932) most likely written by May’s cousin, Nora McNeill, which in turn seems to be based on an interview with May. While these documents were clearly written with specific intents in mind, they provide information from the perspective of the Cheneys available nowhere else. As you will see, their contents have heavily influenced my interpretations of the Cheney’s home and family life, as I detail in Chapter 5.

Lemuel Warren Cheney (Figure 2.18) was born on September 3, 1858 in Canandaigua, New York, the son of Frances E. and William Fitch Cheney, a druggist (US Federal Census 1860; Pope 1897:158). In 1869, the family moved from New York to Chico, California, after father William Fitch’s Civil War medical service and subsequent fight with yellow fever, although Cheney (1932a) and McNeill (1932) state that the move to Chico was prompted by Frances Cheney’s delicate health (Pope 1897:158, 192). Warren attended the University of California beginning in 1874 and graduated in 1878 with his Ph.B. in Mining (UC 1905; Class of 1876). In 1880, Warren is listed as living with his elder sister Eliza and her husband Adam Broyles in Chico, along with his younger brother William Fitch (Junior), following the death of their mother in 1873 and father in 1879 (US Federal Census 1880; Pope 1897:158). Warren is listed here as a teacher, but must also have been attending the Hastings College of Law in San Francisco at the same time, as he earned his LL.B. as a member of the first graduating class of Hastings in 1881 (UC 1905:155).

Lucretia May Shepard (Figure 2.19) was born to Solomon White Shepard, an attorney, and Ann Arnold on May 13, 1862 in Garden Grove, Iowa (Pope 1897:192; *Berkeley Daily Gazette* 1942; US Federal Census 1860). In 1880, Ann, now widowed, and May are listed as living with Ann’s brother Grey, a farmer, and his family in Garden Grove, Iowa (US Federal Census 1880),

although they may actually have just been visiting at the time. She had two sisters – Katherine, born in 1851, and Fanny, born in 1855. As Cheney (1932a:1) states, as her father had no sons he vowed “his three daughters should have a college education.” Kate graduated from the University of Iowa in 1870, while Fanny attended some classes at the University of California in Oakland prior to its move to Berkeley until her health prevented further studies. Quite interestingly, May’s mother Ann returned to school at age 40, graduating with the first class to admit female students at the University of Iowa’s medical school.

Cheney (1932a) and McNeill (1932) state that the Shepard family moved to California from Iowa after the death of Ann’s father, Sylvanus Arnold, where they lived in San Francisco for three years before moving to Oakland. In 1876, May’s father died, and May and her mother moved to Chico for her sister Fanny’s health, where they met the Cheney family. Warren had returned to Chico after graduating from the University in 1878, and became May’s tutor in her preparations for college. Upon his advice, May (and possibly her mother and sister) moved to Berkeley so that she could attend “a good private preparatory school some young Michigan graduates had started” (Cheney 1932a:2). The plan was a success, and in the fall of 1879 May entered the University while Warren pursued his studies at the Hastings College of Law (Cheney 1932a).

She ultimately graduated with her B.L. in literature in the fall of 1883, although there were complications along the way as will be detailed below (Class of 1880; UC 1905:26). According to son Sheldon’s oral history, May and her mother rented a series of one-room cottages from the University upon their arrival in Berkeley (Cheney 1977:5).

While pursuing their respective degrees at different colleges within the University, May and Warren participated in some of the same University clubs, even after his graduation from Hastings. The Blue and Gold yearbooks indicate that both May and Warren were members of the Neolæan Literary Society in 1881, the Psychology Club in 1882, and the Neolæan Literary Society Glee Club in 1882 and 1883 (Class of 1882:63; Class of 1883: 82, 87; Class of 1884:89). While it might appear odd for a non-student such as Warren to participate in University clubs, it was apparently not uncommon for such clubs to welcome alumni and the broader Berkeley community’s participation. The Psychology Club was explicitly open to “members of the Faculty, Alumni of the University, and Students of the Senior and Junior Classes,” while the Neolæan Literary Society, too, sought to “[interest] the residents of Berkeley in its welfare” by encouraging broad participation (Class of 1882:62; Class of 1883:82). Warren’s continued participation in the literary society, of which he was a member during his junior and senior years, was as an extension of his college days (Class of 1878; Class of 1879).

While May was still a student, she and Warren became engaged and in April of 1883 were married (Pope 1897:192; McNeill 1932:6). Finding love while attending the University was apparently not uncommon; a humorous cartoon in the 1884 *Blue and Gold* yearbook entitled “Advantages of Co-Education” listed May and Warren along with twelve other married couples with their graduation years, and the initials of six more couples expected to marry in the future (Class of 1885:20).

According to May’s memoir (Cheney 1932a:6), their wedding was prompted by “another of [Warren’s] recurrent attacks of nervous collapse” in late April of 1883, and her mother suggested

that they marry at once and travel (with her) to Europe for a year. They did indeed depart for Europe, in May of 1883, during which time both May and Warren planned to continue their studies. Warren's illness returned, however, and their studies were abandoned for continued travel in Europe. Warren also worked as a special correspondent on the Balkans for the *San Francisco Chronicle* during their time abroad (*San Francisco Chronicle* 1921). Their first son, Charles Henry, was born in Rome in 1884 (Pope 1897:192).

The newlyweds left Berkeley prior to May's graduation from the University, however, and in November of 1883 she successfully petitioned the Academic Senate to receive her Bachelor of Letters degree for completing the Literary Course. Her marriage prior to graduation caused some confusion among the faculty of the University. The record of the Academic Senate preserves the debate over which name to issue the diploma in; finally, at the suggestion of Professor Martin Kellogg, it was awarded to "Mrs. May L. Shepard Cheney" (UC 1883).

Upon their return from Europe in the summer of 1884, the Cheneys lived in Lodi, California for a short time where Warren was co-publisher and proprietor of the periodical *Valley Review* (Class of 1886:125, 133). Also in 1884, May bought the parcel of land on College Avenue, then known as Audubon Way, using money from her father's estate to build their permanent home. During the summer of 1885, the family rented the Young Ladies Club House on College Avenue, just down the street from their house under construction (Cheney 1932a:13). Their two-story Eastlake Stick-style house was completed later that year. By 1886, the Cheneys are listed in Langley's San Francisco Directory as residing in their new Berkeley home, with Warren working as an attorney-at-law (Langley 1886:328). Second son Sheldon Warren was born in June of this year (Pope 1897:192).

Warren continued to suffer from periodic "nervous collapses," however, and as I discuss in Chapter 5, his recurring invalidism had profound effects on their family life. Another attack in 1885 ended his work in law, and prompted May's ultimate decision to work outside of the home. In 1887, the Cheneys discovered that the contractor who built their home had absconded without paying the lumber bill, and were held liable for the judgment of \$500 and the cost of the suit (Cheney 1932a:15). An 1887 newspaper article announced the Judge decreed a Sheriff's sale of the Berkeley home was to take place in order to satisfy a mechanic's lien on the property (*Daily Alta California* 1887), although ultimately the sale did not take place.

In 1887, "faced with [...] debt to pay off, two children, a sick husband, and no income," May established the Pacific Coast Bureau of Education in San Francisco (Cheney 1932a:15). With the slogan "a reliable medium of communication between teachers and school, families and colleges" and "the distinct purpose of registering women graduates of Eastern Colleges in order that the great demand for teachers in California might be met," the Bureau was (hesitantly, at first) backed by the local chapter of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae, of which May was a member (MacLachlan 1998:75; Cheney 1932a:15). The Bureau was significant because of its unique position within the state as the only service in existence to aid the growing education system in hiring trained teachers; between 1892 and 1897, the Bureau placed over 210 Berkeley graduates in teaching jobs throughout California, in addition to unknown numbers of graduates from eastern colleges (Cheney 1897b; MacLachlan 1998).

The Bureau's office was at 300 Post Street in San Francisco, and because of the long commute from Berkeley the family relocated to San Francisco for two years, renting a house on Rincon Hill for 1888 and 1889 (McNeill 1932:13). Son Marshall Chipman was born while the family was living in San Francisco in 1888. In 1890, the family moved back to their Berkeley home, having successfully paid off their debt, and fourth son John was born. Still hampered by ill health, Warren worked a variety of jobs prior to 1892, when he opened a real estate business in Berkeley.

Warren Cheney

Despite earning his degrees in mining and law and his eventual entrance into the real estate business, Warren's lifelong ambition was to be a writer, inspired by poet Edward Roland Sill, who taught in the English department while Warren was an undergraduate (Cheney 1977:16, 41). Warren was part owner and associate editor of *The Californian* magazine in 1881, prior to its merger with the second series of *The Overland Monthly* in 1882, after which he continued in the capacity of part owner and editor for an unspecified length of time (*San Francisco Chronicle* 1921).

Even after Warren's entry into the real estate business in the 1890s, he continued to write; according to son Sheldon Cheney's oral history, he made a practice of writing for three hours early each morning prior to going in to work (Cheney 1977:41; Cheney 1932b:40). Indeed, the 1890s through 1910s were Warren's most prolific writing period; in 1890 alone, two books with which he was involved were published, both examples of California booster literature: "*That Wonderful Country*": *California for Profit and Pleasure*, published by the California View Publishing Company, and *Yosemite Illustrated in Colors*, for which Warren wrote the descriptive text, published by the H.S. Crocker Company of San Francisco. *Yosemite Illustrated in Colors* (Cheney and Dix 1890), published just after the Yosemite Valley was designated a National Park, was the first "coffee table book" depicting the valley, and was notable for its high-quality color images of such now-familiar park features as Bridal Veil Falls, El Capitan, and Half Dome. Various poems by Warren were published in *The Overland Monthly* throughout the 1890s as well.

The early 1900s saw regular publication of novels and a book of poetry by Warren (Table 2.2). These books were mostly favorably reviewed in the local press: the *San Francisco Call* called his poetry in *The Flight of Helen* "dainty and musical"; his book *The Way of the North* "absorbing", "distinctly dramatic", and possessing a "clever, quiet, restrained kind" of humor; and *His Wife* "a most unusual and interesting story" (*San Francisco Call* 1901a, 1905a, 1907a). Also during this time, various short stories and poems of Warren's were published in *Sunset Magazine*.

Warren was also active in the Bay Area writer's scene, appearing at social gatherings such as the "Writer's Night" at the Sequoia Club, a social and educational club for men and women in San Francisco established in 1904 (*San Francisco Call* 1905b; Sharp 1904). In 1907, he attended a benefit for writer Ina Coolbrith at the Bohemian Club, giving a reading at the event which was held to raise money for Coolbrith, who had lost everything in the 1906 San Francisco earthquake (*San Francisco Call* 1907b, 1907c; Herny et al. 2008:30). The Bohemian Club was a men's club for professional writers, artists, and actors established in 1872; Coolbrith was made an honorary member in recognition of her writing skill (Herny et al. 2008:20). Finally, Warren was an early

member of the Press Club of Alameda County established in 1909, and was elected First Vice President and head of the Fiction Section in 1910 (*San Francisco Call* 1910b). The Press Club was the first literary society to include both men and women as members, and met in Oakland to “discuss the work of California writers and to entertain eastern writers of note who visit the coast” (*San Francisco Call* 1909g).

From these newspaper articles, it is apparent that Warren would have been acquainted with many local and nationally-known writers who attended these clubs and events, including local notables Joaquin Miller, Mary Austin, Ina Coolbrith, and Jack London. From their son Sheldon’s oral history, we learn that Warren used the house as an “informal literary salon,” hosting local writers and artists such as Jack London, Mary Austin, Charles S. Greene (half of the renowned Greene and Greene architectural firm famous for their Arts and Crafts style residential architecture (GGVA 2011)), and architect John Galen Howard, who designed much of campus (Cheney 1977:47).

Charles Cheney

Eldest son Charles Cheney, known as Harry, (1884-1943) was born in Rome while May and Warren were living in Europe after their wedding (*San Francisco Chronicle* 1921). Harry graduated from the University of California Berkeley with a degree in Architecture in 1905, having studied under John Galen Howard (Cheney 1977:47). In 1906, he wed fellow Cal alumna Cora de Witt Barnhart, who graduated in 1904, and the couple moved soon after to Paris where Harry studied at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts (*San Francisco Call* 1906, 1908; Akimoto 2003:254; Class of 1905). Their first child, Warren (d.1979), was born in Paris in 1907 (US Federal Census 1920). May took a year of leave from the University and spent most of the 1907-1908 academic year with them in Paris, where besides helping care for her first grandchild she met famous Bay Area expatriates, the Steins (*Oakland Tribune* 1907; *San Francisco Call* 1908; Cheney 1977:51-52). Harry went on to be quite influential in the city planning movement in California, and was an expert on zoning issues; his work emphasized the need to incorporate both pragmatic city planning features and esthetic “City Beautiful” principles (Akimoto 2003). Harry and Cora went on to have three more children after Warren; Charlotte Elizabeth (1910-1991), who was also born in France, and then William (1913-1934) and Frances (1915-2006), both born in California (US Federal Census 1920). Warren, Charlotte, and Frances all attended college at Berkeley, some of them living in the family home with May while doing so. It was Frances who typed a portion of May’s memoirs (Cheney 1932a) in 1939 and preserved their carbon copy. In 1984, she retyped this portion of the manuscript from the carbon copy, adding a short foreword detailing the manuscript’s history. Upon her death in 2006, her daughter, Lin Sasman, saved this version, and shared a photocopy of this manuscript with me in the spring of 2012.

Sheldon Cheney

Sheldon Cheney (1886-1980), like his older brother Charles, also attended Cal, graduating in 1908 with a degree in theater. In 1910, he married fellow alumna Maud Turner (1882-1934) in the home’s Japanese-style garden (*Oakland Tribune* 1910a). Maud had been a student boarder in the Cheney house while attending Cal (Husted 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908). Sheldon went on to found *Theater Arts* magazine, and was a noted art and theater critic, publishing various books on modern art and theater. Sheldon and Maud had three children, John Turner (1911-?), Elizabeth (1913-2005) and Michael S. (1919-1965). Both Elizabeth and John (and perhaps Michael) attended college at Berkeley. Voter registration lists have Elizabeth living at

2241 College Avenue in 1934 and 1936, while John is listed at the house in a 1930 city directory and the 1938 voter registration list (SoC 1934, 1936, 1938; Polk 1930). Sheldon's 1977 oral history, conducted by J.R.K. Kantor and Suzanne Riess of the Regional Oral History Office of the Bancroft Library, provides a rare emic perspective of the Cheney family as a whole.

Marshall Cheney

Marshall (1888-1972), like his brothers before him, also attended Cal, graduating in 1909 with a degree in Zoology and completing the Pre-medicine track (UC Register 1909:13, 57). He was known for his athletic prowess as a member of the Varsity Track Team and the Big C Society (Class of 1910:77). After graduation, he moved to Los Angeles where he was manager of one of the fifteen municipal vacation playgrounds established at public schools throughout the city (*San Francisco Call* 1909f; Stoddart 1910:216). He went on to attend Harvard Medical School, graduating in 1919 (*Oakland Tribune* 1922b), and the 1920 census lists him living at the family home and working as a physician in General Practice (US Federal Census 1920). By 1922, he is associated with the University of California Medical School in San Francisco (Cheney 1922). Also in that year, he married Penelope McEntyre (1895-1980), a Cal alumna of 1918 who had been working as May's assistant at the University since her graduation (*Oakland Tribune* 1922a). Marshall and Penelope had one son, Marshall Chipman Junior (1924-2002), who was a member of the University class of 1945.

Although they apparently moved to San Francisco after their wedding, Marshall and Penelope are listed as residents of 2241 College Avenue with May from 1926 until the sale of the property in 1939 (SoC 1926, 1928, 1930, 1934, 1936, 1938; Polk 1926, 1927, 1928, 1930). A 1936 photo of Marshall in the University archives states that he is "Associate Physician for Men, Student Health Service," while Sheldon stated in his oral history that Marshall was "the one here all these years. He's the man [...] that went to all the football games and ran out when anybody got hurt" (UARC PIC 13:0985; Cheney 1977:40). Further research in the future can trace Marshall's career in Berkeley more fully.

John Cheney

Youngest son John Cheney (1890-1906) died at the family home while still in high school, after an illness of eight months duration (*San Francisco Chronicle* 1906; *Berkeley Daily Gazette* 1906). Little is known of him, save that, "He was a young man of excellent character, and a favorite among his large circle of acquaintances" (*Berkeley Daily Gazette* 1906).

May Cheney

I have left discussion of May Cheney's life and work until last, as it is her story which most informs my interpretation of the Cheney household and, unlike Gage, her story has not been told before in a manner which highlights all of the varied reform work that she did (although aspects of this work are mentioned in MacLachlan 1998; Ruyle 1998b; Nerad 1999; Gordon 1990; Simpson 2004; Wilkie 2010).

In 1897, May Cheney corresponded with President Martin Kellogg of the University of California with regard to establishing a teacher placement system within the university equivalent to the private Bureau that she owned. By arguing that a permanent University position would win the loyalty of potential future students, and remove the burden of

recommendations from the faculty and Recorder's office alike, Cheney was successful in convincing Kellogg to hire her in the new position of Appointments Secretary starting on January 1, 1898 (Cheney 1897a, 1897c).

As Appointments Secretary, Cheney took on a multiplicity of tasks related to placing teaching graduates with positions throughout California, including recommending students to receive their University teaching certifications, soliciting letters of recommendation from faculty members to have on file for future job placements, and maintaining correspondence with the principals and superintendents of schools throughout the state. She also aided the Recorder's office in certifying high schools as providing proper preparation for acceptance to the University, handled general correspondence for the President's office, prepared reports for various University committees and the President's report to the Regents of the University, and provided University-related news information to local newspapers (Cheney 1898).

In addition to her official duties as University Appointments Secretary, May also appears to have functioned as a kind of motherly figure on campus, aiding and advocating for students, especially women. Among many involvements, she was an honorary charter member of the Prytaneans, the first honor society for female students at Berkeley established in 1900 (Ruyle 1998b); a trustee of the Clubhouse Loan Fund, which provided female students with funds to furnish their group living quarters (Radcliffe 1904); and an advisor to the College Equal Suffrage League (*San Francisco Call* 1909b). She was also regularly consulted by University officials for help in identifying students in difficult financial positions, for instance to receive free tickets to a symphony (Henderson 1906) or to receive clothes donated by a wealthy San Franciscan (Henderson 1909).

Beyond the University, May represented the interests of college women as a member and First Vice-President of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae (ACA), the precursor of today's American Association of University Women. In her popular speech entitled "Will Nature Eliminate the College Woman?" given to various organizations between 1904 and 1906, she tried to assuage the fears of many men and women that educated women would not marry and have families (Powers 1904, 1906; *San Francisco Call* 1904d; Cheney 1905). She was also involved in other progressive organizations, such as the League of Justice, which sought to tackle the issue of graft in city government, and the Consumers League, which sought to police the sanitary and working conditions of factories to protect workers and consumers alike (*San Francisco Call* 1909a, 1909e). Cheney was also involved in the playground movement, which emphasized the necessity of providing outdoor spaces for children to play while supervised by professionals concerned with their physical, moral, and intellectual development (Cheney 1911a; Spencer-Wood 2003). As an officer of the ACA, she was head of the committees of both consumer protections and playgrounds (*San Francisco Call* 1910a).

Cheney was also involved in the successful 1911 California state woman suffrage effort, both on campus and off. In addition to being an advisor for the University's branch of the College Equal Suffrage League, she is listed among the "well-known local women who will act as vice-presidents" for pro-suffrage rallies in Berkeley (Harland 1911; *San Francisco Call* 1911a), and as having participated in the pro-suffrage "Pageant of Progress" which represented "woman's part in the progress and development of the world" along with one of her daughter-in-laws and a female student boarder (*Berkeley Independent* 1911a, 1911b). The car owned by Warren

Cheney's real estate company and used by the family was featured in the suffrage auto parade held in Berkeley in October of 1911, just days in advance of the state-wide vote on the issue (*Berkeley Independent* 1911c).

Finally, Cheney was an advocate of bringing domestic science into the University setting to provide a means of professional training for women in their traditional duties. In 1909, Cheney applauded the University's decision to award incoming students credits based on their high school studies in domestic science, including cooking, sewing, laundering, hygiene, dietetics, home economics and nursing, and the move toward establishing a Department of Domestic Science which would "fit graduates to teach domestic arts and sciences in the secondary schools, and incidentally fit women for a number of new professions, as well as for the oldest of all, the profession of housewife" (Cheney 1909b:281). In a 1909 article in *Sunset Magazine* entitled "The New Science of Home-Making," Cheney expressed concern over women graduates' lack of preparation for handling the myriad challenges and perils of home life posed by industrialization. She viewed "the entirely new dangers which confront the present generation of home-makers," including dangerous sanitary conditions related to housing, food, and water supplies due to the removal of productive labor from the household and "our modern system of [economic] competition," as enough to "make us tremble" and requiring knowledge of "half a dozen sciences" (1909b:280, 281, 282). University-level training in domestic science, then, was the correction, so that women would be able to make educated decisions regarding their families' housing and consumption practices.

In the years prior to the establishment of a domestic science department at the University in 1916, Cheney, while not a faculty member herself, acted as a liaison between the University and domestic science teachers from beyond the campus. She is listed as welcoming and hosting both renowned domestic scientists Ellen Richards, in 1909, and Sophonisba Breckenridge, in 1910, for their visits to campus to teach during the University's summer sessions (*San Francisco Call* 1909d; *Oakland Tribune* 1910b). This is likely due in part to Cheney's leadership within the Association of Collegiate Alumnae, which had a standing interest in domestic science training for women. That Cheney was identified with the domestic science arm of the ACA is apparent from a newspaper article published in May of 1909, describing a day of pageantry at the annual meeting that occurred that year in Oakland. Included in the procession of members dressed to represent the various interests of the organization, including suffragists, college graduates and faculty, and "certified milk enthusiasts" dressed as milkmaids, "came the members whose tastes [run] to home economics, led by Mrs. May L. Cheney, wearing white gowns and caps and carrying each some household emblem, one a preserving kettle, another a duster, yet another a broom or a sewing bag" (*San Francisco Call* 1909c).

In her capacity as Appointment Secretary, Cheney periodically expressed frustration with the continued lack of University graduates specifically trained in domestic science and other specialized, vocational areas such as agriculture, physical education, and manual trades, at times blaming the University's lack of commitment and at others, blaming the students for not taking the courses that would fit them well for the job market as it existed (*Oakland Tribune* 1909, 1912, 1913, 1925). Cheney saw training in domestic science both as an economic necessity for women's career options, and as a social necessity given the state of American society during her lifetime. More broadly, her concern was for women's ability to support themselves by maintaining steady employment; by the 1910s she was involved in efforts to push women to

explore employment opportunities beyond just teaching. For instance, she was a member of the ACA's Committee on Vocational Opportunities Other Than Teaching, which published a report in 1913 detailing the array of positions in which women found employment beyond teaching, including: executive positions, as well as positions as social workers, librarians, secretaries, editorial workers, physicians, workers in applied sciences, writers, nurses, office managers, clerks, and bookkeepers (Adams et al 1913: 74). In 1919, she spoke at a conference held at the University, likely called by the ACA Vocational Board, in which she urged women to look to other opportunities for employment, such as stenography. Other speakers at the conference urged women to seek jobs in newspapers and department stores (*Oakland Tribune* 1919). Finally, in 1926 she argued that a problem with gaining employment in teaching was due to a surplus of history teachers, and a lack of those trained in "science, domestic and applied arts, physical education, and other special subjects" (*Oakland Tribune* 1926).

Thus, while May's initial involvement was in gaining opportunities for women graduates as teachers, over the years her focus shifted to include other ways in which women could have careers of their own, through the avenues of domestic science and other vocational professions.

Household Composition over the Years

Like the Gage house, the Cheney's household composition fluctuated over time as their children grew up, left, and returned with spouses and children, and as boarders and domestic servants came and went. Census records, voter registration lists, and city directories provide snapshots of the household composition during the late-19th and early-20th centuries.

From the construction of the house in 1885 until 1887, and from 1890-1905, it appears that May, Warren, and their four boys occupied the house, along with May's mother, Ann Shepard, until her death in 1903. With youngest son John's death in 1906, Charles, Sheldon, and Marshall continued to live in the home until Charles' departure after his marriage in 1906 and commencement of studies in France in 1907. Both Sheldon and Marshall are listed as living in the house until 1911. The sons appear to be living at home long after their high school graduations (Charles graduated in 1901; Sheldon, in 1904; and Marshall, in 1905; from Waterman 1918), because of May and Warren's "system" of providing housing for their boys until they graduated from Cal with their bachelor's degrees (Cheney 1977:40). From directory and voter registration information, it looks like Charles and Sheldon, if not also Marshall, worked in Warren's real estate business at times, either prior to succeeding on their own or during tough periods when they moved back into the house.

Moving back into the family home after establishing a family was quite common in the Cheney household; eldest son Charles left the home around 1907, but was listed as resident again in 1910, along with his wife Cora and two children, and they are listed again in 1912. In 1910, Charles is listed without a profession, and it is likely that he and his family had just returned from living in Paris while he studied at Ecole des Beaux-Arts. By 1920, they had moved to Portland, Oregon.

Sheldon is listed as Vice President of Warren's real estate company in a 1911 directory, and resident of the house, although he married Maud Turner in 1910. In 1912, 1914, and 1930, he and Maud (and their three children, in 1930) are listed as residents once again. Prior to her death in 1934, Maud had "a nervous breakdown" and was hospitalized for an extended period of time;

her health, and Sheldon's precarious finances as a writer may have been the impetus for periodically moving back home (Cheney 1977:54; *San Francisco Chronicle* 1980). Nineteen-twelve, in particular, would have been quite a full year for the house, with May and Warren, Charles, and Sheldon, their wives, and three children all living there – along with two student boarders.

Youngest surviving son Marshall spent the most time as an adult at the house, making it his permanent residence from 1926 until its sale in 1939, along with his wife Penelope and their son Marshall Junior. As Warren died in 1921, Marshall's move back to the family home from San Francisco may have been with the intention to help May, although it also appears that he worked for the University for this time. After the sale of the property to the University in 1939, May moved with Marshall and Penelope to their new home on Tunnel Road and lived with them until her death in 1942.

Grandchildren also lived at the house during their time in college; Charlotte (Sheldon and Maud's daughter) is listed as at the house in 1936 and 1938, while attending Cal, and her brother John is listed for 1938, although he would have been out of college by that point. This pattern of housing grandchildren held for other sons' children as well; according to May's great-granddaughter, all three of Charles' children who survived to adulthood attended college at Berkeley with support from May, with some of them living in the house during their time on campus (Lin Cheney Sasman, personal communication, November 2011). Other extended family members also lived at the house from time to time – for instance, Penelope's sister, Sophia McEntyre, a school teacher, resided at the house in 1930, while May's cousin Nora McNeill is listed as residing there, curiously, in both 1940 and 1942 – after the sale of the property to the University. As McNeill worked for the University library, she may have been able to rent the house from the University to live in.

Boarders were also a common presence in the household, with the majority of them being students attending Cal, despite the lack of any evidence for the house being on the approved boarding house list of the University. Most of the student boarders appear to have had long-term relationships with the Cheney family; sisters Maud, Katherine, and Geneva Turner boarded with the family starting in 1903 with Maud, and ending in 1914 with Geneva. Along the way, Maud married Sheldon, and both she and Katherine are listed, with May, as participating in the "Pageant of Progress" held in the days leading up to the 1911 state vote on woman suffrage (*Berkeley Independent* 1911a). Another student boarder who had a long-term affiliation with the family was Earl Lester Miller, who boarded at the house starting in 1910. In 1914-1916, after graduating from Cal, he continued to board with the family while working in insurance and as an assistant secretary. In 1916, two of his brothers, Le Roy, a student, and Orville, a clerk, also lived with the family. Earl was listed as Chauffeur of the Warren Cheney Company in a 1911 directory entry, so his post-graduation employment may also have been in the family business.

Non-student boarders worked a variety of jobs – real estate, clerking, teaching, and sales. Overall, these boarders lived at the house for a much shorter time period than student boarders, with the exception of teacher Gladys Noble, who lived at the house between 1920 and 1924.

Finally, domestic servants were a vital part of the household at different times during the Cheney household's lifetime, although they were not consistently employed or for long periods of time.

Swiss sisters Agatha and Josephine Geiger were resident the longest, both listed as living in the house in 1900; just Josephine in 1903, and then just Agatha in 1904. In 1916, a maid, Isabell Laveroni, is listed as resident, while in 1918 Lillian Padgett and in 1920 Harriet Shattler are listed as housekeepers. Finally, in 1930 Leah Cordoza is listed as a cook for the house. Given the large size of the household at various times during the 20th century, with children, grandchildren, and boarders living at the house, the lack of domestic servants poses an interesting question as to who performed the labor necessary to keep such a large household running. As May noted in her memoir (1932b:38, 43), she did not typically cook. All mentions of her daughters-in-laws when resident at the home lists them as housewives, so they may well have been the ones handling the day-to-day needs of the family and boarders. Penelope, Marshall's wife, in particular may have overseen the running of the household, as she was resident there from 1926 to 1939.

In sum, even without the benefit of family letters as we have for the Gage household, it is apparent that the Cheney household, too, was dynamic and multi-generational, and incorporated extended and non-family members at different times. Births, marriages, and deaths took place at the house, and again, the presence of boarders explicitly brought the issue of economic production into the household. At the same time, providing housing for female students served to fill a very real need in the contested arena of co-education at Berkeley, which will be discussed further in Chapter 5. In the process of housing non-family members, close personal relations were fostered; this is most evident in the case of Maud Turner, who went from student boarder to daughter-in-law, as well as her participation in the woman suffrage pageant with her sister Katherine and May. Earl Miller, too, became part of the family's life as a boarder and working for Warren's real estate company, and his brothers' time living at the house in 1916 would have extended the circle. These instances serve to show that the house would have been an important part of the Cheney's lives, as they incorporated the public and private, economic, and political in their daily lives. In Chapter 5, I further detail how these were enmeshed within the household and how their presence may be teased out materially.

Conclusions

With the outlines of the property and household histories framed, in the following chapter I discuss the methods used for studying the Gage and Cheney properties, and the results of the archaeological research at each site.

Chapter 3: Methodology and Findings

In this chapter, I detail the methodologies used in archival, field, and laboratory work on the Gage and Cheney sites, first providing an overview of collaborative archaeology in order to situate my research. I then discuss how I implemented feminist-inspired collaborative methods throughout the process of research, and present the results of the fieldwork.

Collaborative Archaeology

The feminist critique of science documented in Chapter 1 has led to the development of a field known as community or collaborative archaeology, a branch of the broader field of public archaeology. Public archaeology has become a significant concern within archaeological practice within recent years, evidenced by the publication of a number of edited volumes since the 1990s (Jameson 1997; Little 2002; Derry and Malloy 2003; Merriman 2004a; Shackel and Chambers 2004; Skeates et al. 2012), thematic journal issues (*World Archaeology* 34:2), and the establishment of the academic journal entitled *Public Archaeology*. No true consensus exists, however, regarding what, exactly, public archaeology entails, as the term's usage and meaning has both changed over time and come to represent different intentions depending on the user.

In this portion of the chapter, I examine various aspects of public archaeology broadly conceived, including how various practitioners have defined the term for themselves and what methods have been employed in various contexts. I then turn to the ethical and other imperatives that have been given as reason for doing public archaeology, and how an awareness of the sociopolitical implications of archaeological practice have influenced this conceptualization. More recent 'schools' or offshoots of public archaeology, such as community archaeology and applied archaeology, have specifically emphasized the politicized nature of archaeological practice, sought to de-center archaeological authority, and, partly or wholly, cede control over research decisions. I suggest that such practices, while not typically emphasized as such, have much in common with the approaches called for in feminist archaeology. The literature reviewed here focuses primarily on the United States and the United Kingdom, as publications from these two countries predominate. Discussions related to public archaeology in other world areas include Papua New Guinea (Leavesley et al. 2005), southern Africa (Ngoro and Pwiti 2001), Latin America (Funari 2001), Portugal (Bednarik 2004), and Australia (Balme and Wilson 2004; Colley 2005; Nichols 2005).

Many Practitioners, Many Definitions

As Jeppson, McDavid, and Derry (2001) have noted, the term "public archaeology" itself is laden with a number of differing meanings. Charles McGimsey's (1972) book is credited with coining the term (King 1983), and in this first context was used with reference to publicly-supported (i.e. state and federal) archaeology programs. Arguing that knowledge regarding the past was "a human birthright" and thus, "no individual may act in a manner such that the public right to knowledge of the past is unduly endangered or destroyed" (McGimsey 1972:5), McGimsey argued that it was the responsibility of both professional and amateur archaeologists

to work together, salvage endangered sites, and gain the support of the broader public for archaeological research and site preservation for the sake of a common heritage. As such, the term was created to emphasize the commonly-held nature of the archaeological record and fend off attacks from non-archaeologists, and, in the process, effectively place archaeologists as gatekeepers of the past.

Public Archaeology as Cultural Resource Management

Other sources also refer to public archaeology in the sense of publicly-supported archaeology or cultural resource management or CRM (Raab et al. 1980; King 1983; Jameson 2003, 2004; Merriman 2004a). In Thomas F. King's (1983) article on professional responsibilities in public archaeology, he uses the term to mean, "the practice of archaeology in connection with programs of land-use planning and development, supported by government agencies and regulated industries, usually via contracts" (144). While such CRM-centered definitions are no longer the majority, this meaning is yet retained in recent usage (Bender and Smith 2000; White et al. 2004). In White et al.'s article featuring the University of South Florida Master's degree program in Public Archaeology, they argue that "*all archaeology today is public archaeology*" (2004:26; emphasis in original), and while giving lip service to the more recent manifestations of the term – encompassing public education, museology and historic preservation – they yet emphasize the applied, CRM-related aspects of their training program.

Likewise, the majority of authors featured in the 2000 Society for American Archaeology publication *Teaching Archaeology in the Twenty-First Century*, edited by Susan J. Bender and George S. Smith, regularly conflate cultural resource management with public archaeology (i.e. Lipe 2000; Smith and Krass 2000; McManamon 2000a; Miller 2000). All of these contributions focus on the necessity of rethinking and revamping the education of archaeology students at the graduate and undergraduate levels in order to reflect the changing face of archaeological employment – and the associated skills needed – which in short comes down to contract-based archaeology. Of note are the few exceptions to this trend; both McGimsey and Davis (2000) and White (2000) conversely argue that cultural resource management is but one aspect of public archaeology, which also includes knowledge of ethics, public presentation skills, museology, and writing for the public, among others (White 2000). Nonetheless, it is apparent that while the utilization of the term public archaeology to refer to cultural resource management is but one of several uses of the term, it is yet a long-term, quite pervasive, and continuing trend.

Public Archaeology as Educational Archaeology & Public Interpretation

More recently, a tripartite definition of public archaeology has been advanced, encompassing cultural resource management, educational archaeology (typically occurring within a classroom setting), and public interpretation of archaeology (Jameson 2004:21). This definition thus expands the recognition of public archaeology practitioners to encompass those working in public education, academia, and the heritage industry in addition to contract-based archaeological research. As Jameson notes, educational archaeology and the public interpretation of archaeology are quite similar and overlap in many respects; indeed, for the purpose of his chapter he goes on to collapse the two into the single category of educational archaeology (Jameson 2004:21).

In Jameson's original sense of educational archaeology, however, it encompasses efforts to incorporate archaeological methods and knowledge into public education curricula, typically within a classroom setting. One example of this type of public archaeology is Jeppson and Brauer's (2003) discussion of the archaeology program taught within the Baltimore (Maryland) County Public Schools, where archaeology is taught "*as education*" – the curriculum developed by educators, not archaeologists - rather than as a "luxury" extracurricular activity (85; emphasis in original). This integration of archaeology to the curriculum positions archaeology "as a basic component of a life and learning experience" that allows for students' high interest in archaeology to be used as a hook to facilitate teaching of methods used in studying the past, cultural diversity, and change through time (84-85).

Likewise, Teresa Moyer's (2004) outlining of the Bowne House historic site's Outreach Education Program in Flushing, Queens, provides another example of lesson plans and modules grounded in archaeological research which tie into the educational needs of schools. In this case, the Bowne House's association with John Bowne, who fought for religious freedom in seventeenth-century Flushing, is utilized to connect with the needs of the current Flushing community – including large numbers of Asian immigrants - in its discussions of "religious tolerance, ethnic diversity, and urban change" (86). The 'Archaeology for the Public' web pages available through the website of the Society for American Archaeology, developed by its Committee for Public Education, also provides modules and lesson plans as their primary focus.

Less rigidly curriculum-associated educational archaeology can also encompass high school and undergraduate archaeological research opportunities. For example, the research opportunities offered by the Center for Community Research at Cuyahoga Community College in Cleveland, Ohio, provide practice-based educational opportunities for local high school and community college students which emphasize linkages between abstract educational concepts and 'real-world' utilization, as well as cross-disciplinary research (Lewine et al 2002). The Seneca Village Project in Manhattan, focused on research into the lives of Village inhabitants prior to their eviction to make way for the construction of Central Park, has utilized an undergraduate internship program to conduct multifaceted archival and geophysical testing research on the site (Wall et al 2004). The authors contend that the involvement of undergraduate students - as well as two professional educators – have led the archaeologists involved in the project to come to an appreciation of the educational opportunities afforded by total involvement in an archaeological project, emphasizing the process of research rather than simply the results gained (Wall et al 2004:107). This kind of educational and research opportunity is similar to that intended by the University of California Berkeley's Undergraduate Research and Apprenticeship Program, which I had the good fortune to interact with during the course of my dissertation research.

On the other hand, Jameson (2004:21) associates the public interpretation of archaeology with the "methods and techniques of conveying archaeological information to the lay public in an engaging, informative, and accurate manner," such as Jameson's own (1997) edited volume entitled *Presenting Archaeology to the Public: Digging for Truths*. This particular subset of public archaeology includes the presentation of archaeology to the public within a wide range of venues – including museums and heritage sites (Merriman 2004c; MacDonald and Shaw 2004; Edwards-Ingram 1997; Skeates 2002) and state and national parks (Jameson 2004) - through a wide variety of methods including public talks, site tours and open houses, signage and exhibits,

public relations, and a variety of publication ventures. This subset of archaeology is defined primarily by its very lack of definition, encompassing non-CRM and non-educational-curricula based methods, although in reality, it necessarily includes both of these.

Clearly, this means of organizing the variances within practice and definitions of public archaeology is problematic, as educational archaeology and the public interpretation of archaeology necessarily overlap in many respects. Indeed, educational archaeology involves public interpretation, and vice versa. I argue that this type of organizing system is of little use for my purposes due to this overlap. Instead, I next draw on several other authors' conceptualizations of public archaeological practice to utilize an organizing principle that foregrounds the motivations and practices of archaeologists themselves. This paves the way for a further discussion of archaeological ethics and professionalism that, I argue, is at the heart of debate over what public archaeology should and does entail, and what methods we should be using in our work.

Reconsidering "the public"

Of more use for my purposes is a dichotomous organization of public archaeology advanced by various archaeologists in recent years (Cressey et al. 2003; Merriman 2004). Merriman (2004b:1) notes that, historically, there are two differing meanings attached to the term "public," one referring to "the state and its institutions," and the other referring to "a group of individuals who debate issues and consume cultural products, and whose reactions inform 'public opinion'." Merriman argues that the utilization of the first definition by archaeologists lends itself to a general sense of 'public interest' that fails to engage with actual people, while the latter definition has been poorly defined by archaeologists, save for a designation of the public as non-archaeologists.

Cressey et al. (2003) likewise employ a dichotomy in thinking about what public archaeology is in practice, between those archaeologists who profess to do archaeology "for" the public, versus those that do archaeology "with" the public. In their (2003) discussion of the Alexandria Archaeology Program in Alexandria, Virginia, such a distinction formed the transition whereby they changed from naming their research practice "public archaeology" to "community archaeology."

While this dichotomy undoubtedly oversimplifies the actual variation between cases, I find it to be a useful framework for discussing the methods and motivations utilized by different archaeologists. Broadly speaking, I have found in my reading that those who conduct archaeology *for* the public tend to utilize a unidirectional flow of information; that is, archaeologists provide "the public" with information for the purposes of education, primarily in instilling a stewardship ethic. On the other hand, archaeologists conducting research *with* the public tend to actively collaborate with the public (variously defined) regarding the nature, goals, and methods of archaeological study to be conducted, give up some (or all) control of research design, and generally exhibit a non- or less-hierarchical relationship with non-archaeologists. Proponents of the latter methodology may, I've found, be more apt to call their practice "community" or "applied" archaeology rather than simply "public," in large part to differentiate their collaborative approach from uni-directional approaches.

Tension between these two differing approaches to public archaeology – ‘for’ versus ‘with’ the public – is well-illustrated by a short critical exchange between Francis McManamon and Cornelius Holtorf published by the journal *Public Archaeology* (McManamon 2000a; Holtorf 2000; McManamon 2000b). In the first article, McManamon (2000a) charges all archaeologists with the duty of acting as dedicated messengers on behalf of the discipline and educating the public in order to preserve sites and correct misinterpretations of the archaeological record promulgated by “looters, misdirected hobbyists, some developers and different kinds of charlatans” (5). He argues that the public does indeed benefit from this, as the sites studied gain associative and commemorative value through the relationship created by the public and the archaeological research.

In his response, Holtorf (2000) critiques McManamon’s article as a polemic that incorrectly purports to represent the thinking of all archaeologists. Specifically, Holtorf takes issue with the top-down approach advocated by McManamon, arguing against a black-and-white conceptualization of issues such as who counts as a ‘charlatan’ or ‘misdirected hobbyist.’ Rather, Holtorf argues that “neither students nor audiences ought to be indoctrinated with a particular version of the past or approach to its management in the present. If anything, people might be informed about the very mechanisms that make some accounts and policies locally more meaningful and influential than others” (215).

In McManamon’s (2000b) response, he argues that archaeologists have to accept the responsibility of learning to ‘translate’ archaeological theory, methods, and findings so that the non-archaeology public can understand them. In my reading of this exchange, McManamon’s one-sided view of public archaeology – that multiple interpretations may exist, but can be tolerated only if they ultimately conform to or complement archaeological interpretations – is, at best, problematic. In his article and response, the authority of archaeological research is ultimately beyond critique, evidenced by this comment: “Another perspective [on the study of the past] is one that so undervalues scientific approaches to the investigation of archaeological sites that its proponents object to any such study and work actively to block such investigations. Unfortunately, some aboriginal people in some parts of the world have adopted this perspective” (2000b:218). This type of stance fails to recognize the sociopolitical context and history of archaeological research, and sets up public archaeology so that the public can be involved – and is expected to change their thoughts and feelings regarding archaeology, no less – only if they do not challenge the discipline’s practices and authority.

Likewise, a review of Parker Potter Jr.’s (1994) book *Public Archaeology in Annapolis* (Davidson 1996:191) critiques the Archaeology in Annapolis program’s “up-front moral certitude long absent from the world of public historical presentation” in its attempts to “proselytize and persuade visitors” and “uplift the masses.” Clearly, there is contention within archaeology regarding the proper form of public archaeology, and the ‘for the public’ versus ‘with the public’ dichotomy is a useful organizing principle. This brings us to a discussion of the motivations behind public archaeology, which necessarily also involves discussion of ethics and professionalism of the discipline. First, however, I will briefly survey methods utilized within public archaeology, viewed again through the vein of the “for” versus “with” the public conceptualization; of note is the fact that any method can be utilized to either of these two ends.

Methods Utilized in Public Archaeology

The methods utilized by practitioners of public archaeology are as varied as the contexts in which they are used; my discussion here is intended to provide an overview, rather than exhaustively list such tactics and methodologies. Most discussions of public archaeology include a discussion of methods utilized, in the form of case studies and evaluations of what methods worked and which did not. Such discussions can range from critique of curatorial texts in museums (Skeates 2002), to calls for archaeologists to extend their public involvement into digital media such as games (Watrall 2002), to primers on how to engage with the media more beneficially (DeCicco 1988; Potter 1990; Finn 2001; McManamon 1991; Ascherson 2004). Within this multiplicity, I find useful a general orienting framework of 'passive' versus 'active' types of methods.

Passive methods of public archaeology involve input from or are created by archaeologists, but are ultimately designed to stand alone. Examples of these methods can include the creation of site interpretive signage, museum exhibits, and multimedia and print publications. Active methods, on the other hand, involve face-to-face interactions that are by default more reciprocal, and yet are also more transitory in nature. Examples of this include site tours, school visits, public talks, school curricula, field schools, and volunteer programs. Also included within active methods is the longer-term creation of working relationships with local and descendant communities, which comes to the forefront within community and applied archaeology settings, to be discussed in more detail later.

The benefit of passive outreach methods is their longevity, and the fact that they operate outside of the time constraints of archaeologists. Site interpretive signage provides interpretive information in-place that functions whether archaeological excavations are ongoing at any particular time or not. Thus, passers-by are able to learn about what research is being undertaken, why, and potentially, where to go for further information if desired, independent of on-site interaction between archaeologists and the public. Likewise, museum exhibits, as at historic house museums such as Mount Vernon, George Washington's Virginia plantation, provide a means by which archaeological methods and findings can be shared with the public long after the research itself is finished.

Print and multimedia (including internet) publications also extend the interpretive reach of archaeologists temporally (after research is completed), and can extend geographic reach (as outreach may not be physically tied to the archaeological site itself). Self-guided walking tours, informative brochures, and books for the public can be created using information gained through archaeological research, such as Alexandria Archaeology's "Tour de Digs," a self-guided bike tour of archaeological sites, and their walking tour booklet of African American sites (Cressey et al. 2003). Internet sources, such as websites, web logs (blogs), and report databases can also reach a wide number of people without requiring physical presence at a site (Childs 2002; McDavid 2002, 2003, 2004a, 2004b). Uses of the internet can be related to archaeology broadly, such as *Archaeology Magazine's* website, which provides information on a wide range of archaeology-related happenings worldwide. Archaeology-related internet content can also be site-specific, including resources such as weblogs for specific archaeological projects as well as *Archaeology Magazine's* online Interactive Digs. Both Childs (2002) and McDavid (2002; 2003; 2004a; 2004b), as well as Joyce (2002b) argue that strengths of the internet in presenting archaeological information include its nonlinearity, easily-edited nature, and ability to

accommodate varying levels of public interest, from casual browsers to researchers, within the same online resource. Of note, as well, is the discussion that has surrounded online and hypertext resources in terms of their potential for eradicating authority and fostering less hierarchical and more interactive and fluid knowledge relations (Joyce 2002b; McDavid 2002, 2003, 2004a, 2004b). I will return to this particular discussion later in this chapter.

With this focus on reaching out to the public through textual resources, an attendant focus of discussion has been on the ways in which we as archaeologists write – or do not – for the public (Deetz 1998; Allen 2002; Young 2002). Praetzellis and Praetzellis (1998) and Allen (2002) exhort archaeologists to embrace the role of storyteller in our writing, for both the public and colleagues. Praetzellis (1998:1) argues that archaeologists are hesitant to adopt such a role due to a fear of being criticized by colleagues, and by being seen as unscientific, while Deetz (1998:95) in fact argues that archaeologists have “slighted the emotional aspects of our material to our disadvantage” in attempting to relate our research and findings to the public. As professional editors, Allen (2002) and Young (2002) urge archaeologists to, first, write for the public, period; and then, to write in a story-based, clear, jargon-free style, paying attention to the “human angle,” and being willing to work with professional writers to improve our writing for the public. The common thread within these different articles is the contention that we must learn, as archaeologists, to present our research to the public clearly and cogently, and this means that we must learn new methods which are different from those traditionally considered to be professional necessities.

Active public archaeology methods, on the other hand, involve face-to-face contact between archaeologists and non-archaeologists. These methods can include on-site interpretation or tours, volunteer programs, field schools, public talks, school visits, and the implementation of school curricula in some cases. Unlike passive methods, these are more transitory encounters and operate within the temporal and geographical constraints of archaeological practitioners.

As White (2002) discusses, ongoing archaeological research at historic sites and museums, like Mount Vernon, provides a crucial entry point for the public into archaeological research, whether or not such public interaction was in fact the purpose of implementing archaeological research in the first place. Likewise, Potter’s (1994) discussion of public archaeology in Annapolis highlighted the utility of site tours in reaching the public, although, as discussed earlier, the public’s reception of our research and goals does not always match up with our desires as archaeologists potentially adhering to a particular theoretical paradigm.

Opportunities for hands-on involvement with archaeology, such as field schools open to the public or long-term volunteer involvement, may be the most intensive and meaningful way of involving the public in archaeology. Programs such as that undertaken at the Mount Calvert site in Maryland (Lucas 2004) are good examples of this, as is Mount Vernon Archaeology’s longstanding volunteer program.

In order to integrate this discussion of methods with the earlier discussion of different types of public archaeology, it is crucial to note that all of the above methods can be utilized in such a manner as to reinforce *or* de-center the professional authority of archaeologists. This can be seen as roughly in line with the distinction between archaeology *for* the public versus archaeology

with the public as defined earlier. For example, Uunila (2003) discusses the eight-week archaeological field season held at the site of Sukeek's Cabin, in the Jefferson Patterson Park and Museum in Calvert County, Maryland. Members of the lay public, as well as descendants of Sukeek herself, participated in all aspects of the archaeological research, including excavation, laboratory work, and historical research. Uunila argues that, "most discussions about training volunteers...implicitly assume the reproduction of the archaeologist's viewpoint – whatever that may be – in the volunteer. [...] The emphasis in almost all cases focuses on the agency of the archaeologist as educator" (38). Instead, she argues that archaeologists should focus their efforts on understanding the "variety of experiences and viewpoints" that volunteers bring to research, rather than simply attempting to inculcate volunteers in the 'proper' ways of thinking about and conducting research (38). Thus, volunteer-based public archaeology methods can be utilized to challenge and expose our research and interpretations to public scrutiny (e.g. Lucas 2004), and/or to indoctrinate members of the public to a single way of thinking.

Holtorf (2005) and Faulkner (2000) also critique attempts made by archaeologists to force the public into believing a single version of the past. Instead of "dismissive rhetoric" against pseudoscientific and "alternative" archaeologies, Holtorf advocates

an attempt to engage constructively with popular and alternative interpretations of the past and its remains. [...] we need to get to grips with the very mechanisms that make some accounts and approaches locally more significant and influential than others. We need to understand better the specific contexts from which...the fascination for a particular approach to archaeology and the resulting interpretations of the past emerge, and appreciate the (maybe changing?) social and cultural needs to which they respond. [549]

This, he argues, gets to the heart of archaeology's quest for social relevance. Faulkner, likewise, critiques "official" archaeology's assumption that, "ordinary people are simply consumers of fully-processed and pre-packed 'heritage' served to them by expert guardians of 'ancient monuments'" (29), and that "a restricted democracy which barely touches power produces a heritage establishment whose idea of 'public archaeology' is the viewing platform, designer signboard and glossy guidebook, where the officially-approved version of the past can be delivered in easily-absorbed gobbets" (29). Zimmerman (2006:48), as a means of changing such practices, advises archaeological practitioners and students how to plan for collaboration with stakeholders from the beginning of a project, and effectively parses the difference between seeking *validity* – "authority based on arguments, proofs, and assertions...well founded, in accordance with known 'facts,' and agreeing with a standard" – and seeking *truth* – which is "a function of belief and is absolute." Zimmerman argues that recognizing that archaeology seeks validity, while stakeholders hold their own understanding of the truth, is crucial to understanding why there may be a gulf between the goals of archaeologists and the public.

Attempts to de-center archaeological authority, however, may not always work. As Carol McDavid (2003, 2004b) found in her creation of the Levi Jordan Plantation archaeological project website, while aspects of multivocality, interactivity, reflexivity, and contextuality were built into the process of creating the web site, her attempt to invite criticism and dialogue

through the final product – in the process creating a more democratic archaeology – did not succeed. Thus, despite our best attempts at ‘shaking up’ public archaeological practice, ultimately, their success or failure resides within the desires and interests of our publics.

Motivations: Why Do Public Archaeology?

Having discussed the varying definitions of public archaeology, and various methods employed, I would now like to move on to an examination of the “whys” given, explicitly or implicitly, by public archaeology practitioners. These motivations, I argue, also fall into the “for” versus “with” conceptions of public archaeology, and are intimately entangled with dialogues regarding ethics, professionalism, and rationale for our discipline’s continued ability to conduct research.

As Ascherson (2000) has noted, public archaeology is about “the problems which arise when archaeology moves into the real world of economic conflict and political struggle. In other words, [it is] about ethics” (2). The desire to inculcate an appreciation of the stewardship ethic in the non-archaeologist public is, by far, the rationale most often given in the literature for practicing public archaeology (e.g. McManamon 1991, 2000a, 2000b; Lynott 2000; McGimsey and Davis 2000; Jeppson and Brauer 2003; Malloy 2003; Scott-Ireton 2003; Smardz Frost 2004). The Society for American Archaeology’s Principles of Archaeological Ethics Stewardship Principle states that, “It is the responsibility of all archaeologists to work for the long-term conservation and protection of the archaeological record by practicing and promoting stewardship of the archaeological record” (Lynott and Wylie 2000:11). Lynott (2003) places the shift in emphasis within archaeological practice to a conservation or stewardship ethic as occurring fundamentally in the 1970s, given the rapid increase in cultural resource management employment and attendant concerns regarding the quality of research and reporting being done; this was compounded by an existing, and ongoing, concern regarding site looting and the antiquities market. In 1993, the Society for American Archaeology’s Ethics Task Force first put forth the stewardship ethic as central to the “Principles” ultimately accepted in 1996. As evidenced by the frequency with which stewardship is given as a primary motivation for conducting public archaeology, archaeologists have taken at least this principle of archaeological ethics to heart.

Education of the public with regard to archaeological methods and interpretations is a second major motivation for pursuing public archaeology (e.g. Herscher and McManamon 2000; Messenger 2000; Jameson 2003; Jeppson & Brauer 2003; Moyer 2004, 2005), and this, too, is integrally related to promoting stewardship concerns. Finally, there is an ethical imperative to conducting public archaeology itself (SAA Principles of Archaeological Ethics, Principle No.4), tied up with issues of professionalism (Orser 1997; Ascherson 2000; Faulkner 2000; Merriman 2004c), accountability (Watkins and Goldstein et al. 2000), and the desire to avoid past mistakes (the African Burial Ground and NAGPRA controversies as lessons learned: LaRoche & Blakey 2004; Mack & Blakey 2004; McDavid 2004; Orser 2004; Wall et al 2004).

Despite the basis of these motivations for public archaeology in the profession’s ethical principles, discord does exist. Archaeologists such as McManamon (2000b) and Herscher and McManamon (2000) have recognized the self-serving nature of the public archaeological enterprise, in attempting to impress the discipline’s importance upon the public, but argue that

placing such efforts within the context of the stewardship ethic counterbalances self-interest. Other archaeologists have argued that, while the stewardship ethic is worthwhile in and of itself, it is not enough to base the entirety of archaeological practice on (Lipe 2000; Derry 2003a; Lucas 2004). Derry (2003a) makes the point that the stewardship ethic can only be successful when paired with a ninth unlisted principle of ethics – relevancy; that is, public archaeology can only succeed in preserving archaeological resources when the public considers those resources relevant to their own lives. Likewise, in his discussion of the Mount Calvert archaeological project in Maryland, Lucas (2004) argues that the active incorporation of various stakeholders (including non-archaeologist volunteers) forces archaeologists to consider the diversity of interpretations of the past, and to carefully examine such challenges to our practice of archaeological research and goals as usual, including stewardship.

Other archaeologists, however, argue that the status of stewardship as a foundational construct for archaeological ethics is greatly flawed (e.g. Zimmerman 2000; Wylie 2005; Hamilakis 2005, 2007). Zimmerman (2000:72) challenges the lack of critical examination of the notion of archaeologists as stewards, asking “Who appointed us as stewards of the past? Are we self-appointed? [...] Is the past really a public heritage or is declaring it to be so only a convenient way for us to justify our professional existence?”

Wylie (2005:61), likewise, notes that the Society for American Archaeology’s stewardship principle, while recognizing responsibility to stakeholders, yet uncritically assumes “that archaeological expertise establishes a privilege of oversight.” Wylie traces the concept of stewardship itself to religious thought which places humans as “God’s deputy,” and argues that in secularizing this concept, scientific pursuits (including archaeology) have appealed to the universal interest of humanity in seeking “some reference point, some foundation that transcends local, individual interests on which to base its claims” (61). Thus, archaeologists have distinguished themselves from non-archaeologists by making claims to uncovering “significant truths” (63). However, as conceptions regarding such significant truths change over time, Wylie “see[s] no brief for according professional archaeologists the status of stewards responsible for the archaeological record *in any sense that presumes that they have unique standing* in the service of a generalized social, human interest in knowledge of the cultural past that conforms to their identity-defining, scientific and anthropological goals” (65; emphasis added).

Hamilakis (2007) critiques the lack of political awareness implicated in the stewardship ethic, noting that “the notion of benefit to all people may have meant to be opposed to the notion of purely archaeological interests or the interests of a few; but in its generality, abstraction and universality, sounds vacuous and inconsequential” (27). He challenges us, like Zimmerman, to ask “who gave the archaeologists the right to declare themselves as advocates of the ‘record’ ...?,” as well as recognize that the principle of conservation (of sites, of artifacts) is not universal and should not be assumed to be (27).

The educational mandate within public archaeology can, like the stewardship ethic, be utilized in a hierarchical manner that serves to privilege the authority of archaeologists (Edwards-Ingram 1997). Merriman (2004c) discusses the “deficit model” of public knowledge, which I also find instructive in conceptualizing education within public archaeology. In this model, the public is seen as “*needing* education in the correct way to appreciate archaeology,” with the end goal of gaining more public support for the profession; “participation is encouraged, of course, but only

along the lines of approved professional practice” (6; emphasis added). This type of thinking is rife within the literature. For example, Smardz Frost (2004:80) proudly proclaims that “educational archaeology is flourishing in North America. It is generally unabashedly agenda-driven: public archaeologists work very hard to instill the stewardship message in as many members of the public as they can reach.” Likewise, McGimsey and Davis (2000:5) argue that archaeological practice as a whole must become effective public archaeology so that “the creation and maintenance of appropriate public attitudes” can occur. Jameson (2003:161) states that the ultimate goal of archaeological research is, “to improve people's lives by helping them enjoy and appreciate their cultural heritage, that is, to educate them.” These comments exemplify the “for” the public view of public archaeology – “for” the public’s (generalized) good, for the purposes of the archaeological profession’s ability to continue conducting research as it has.

Thus, at the heart of the critique of the “for” the public type of archaeology is its failure to engage with the politicized contexts of archaeological practice – often behind a façade of professionalism (Edwards-Ingram 1997; Ndoro 2001; Funari 2001; Hamilakis 2005, 2007), to surrender some control over research and interpretation of the past (Zimmerman 2000), and generally, to admit that non-archaeologists have their own means of making sense of the past and present (Holtorf 2005). In response to these failings, various archaeological practitioners have reformulated these conceptions of public archaeology to conduct archaeology *with* the public, rather than *for* it (Cressey et al. 2003). As mentioned earlier, these approaches are often referred to as “community archaeology,” “collaborative archaeology,” and/or “applied archaeology/anthropology,” seemingly to differentiate their practice from the unidirectional, top-down methods of some kinds of public archaeology (e.g. Faulkner 2000; Watkins, Pyburn and Cressey 2000; Marshall 2002; McDavid 2002; Derry and Malloy 2003; Shackel and Chambers 2004; Sandlin and Bey 2006). There is a certain interchangeability to these terms, as there is mention of applied archaeology in edited volumes devoted to community archaeology as well as the reverse (e.g. Malloy 2003; Shackel 2004), as well as an overlap in authors between volumes devoted to one topic or the other (e.g. McDavid 2003, 2004). Thus, I will collapse discussion of these politically-engaged subsets of public archaeology into a single section here.

Community, Collaborative, and Applied Archaeologies

Community, collaborative, and applied archaeologies, while containing diverse approaches within, generally involve a shift from the stance of archaeologist-as-cultural-broker to archaeologist-as-community-partner (Shackel 2004). Marshall (2002) argues that such a stance changes archaeological practice at every step of the research process, as the needs and desires of the community one is working with are taken into account, and the community itself has some measure of control over the project. Research projects themselves can be initiated either by the community or by the archaeologist; the key feature of such collaborative projects is the fact that the archaeologist gives up some measure of control (Marshall 2002; Derry 2003a). Likewise, such projects recognize that the relationships engendered during the course of the research, as well as the process itself, can be more important than the research results; such approaches can go beyond archaeological research as the only goal of a project (Derry 2003b; Malloy 2003). Moreover, many such practitioners argue that community-based archaeologies embrace political concerns regarding power and representation, and in fact, represent an acceptance of the

concerns raised by Native Americans with regard to the need for collaboration, and extend it to a broader range of publics as called for by Gosden 1999 (Malloy 2002; Shackel 2004).

Thus, a key feature of community-based archaeologies is a focus on the politics and power relations involved in attaching meaning to the past, while at the same time holding a more humble sense of our own ability to tell non-archaeologists what is good for them. As such, this type of public archaeology has the potential of addressing the very concerns brought up by Zimmerman (2000) in terms of professional control of research and the problems with justifying the discipline's existence in terms of stewardship. Likewise, Chambers (2004) critiques many of public archaeology's professed benefits, including education and economic development, arguing that more often than not, these remain unexamined assertions with little attention to how such efforts actually play out over time. Community-based archaeology, including relationship building and power-sharing, on the other hand, requires constant negotiation and renegotiation of goals and methods, and presents a powerful opportunity for accountability to the non-archaeologist public. Thus, it engages in ethical debates just as the *for* the public type of archaeology does, but with a greater emphasis on accountability rather than simply stewardship.

Several examples illustrate these emphases, and illustrate how community and applied archaeologies can be successfully carried out within a wide variety of contexts, and with regard to archaeological resources dating to a wide range of time periods.

Carol McDavid's (2002, 2003, 2004a, 2004b) work on the Levi Jordan Plantation Web Site Project is exemplary. The website project came out of the ongoing excavation work led by Kenneth Brown at the Levi Jordan Plantation site located in Brazoria, Texas, as a means of publicly interpreting the archaeological research. McDavid sought to employ a "self-reflexive postprocessual methodology" in the creation of the website, after Hodder (1997), which included aspects of multivocality, interactivity, reflexivity, and contextuality (McDavid 2002:304). As such, McDavid (2002; 2004b) sought to create a *conversation* through the creation and presentation of the website, based in the philosophical approach of American pragmatism expressed in the writings of Richard Rorty (1989, 1991) and Cornel West (1993). In so doing, McDavid repudiates some of the more common types of public archaeology:

[The website] was not conceived of as a 'presentation', nor was it regarded as an effort to 'educate'...Most public interpretations of archaeology operate as one of these and, because of this, most have an unavoidably authoritative, hierarchical flavour. They do not lend themselves easily to open discourse, disagreement or challenge, and tend to stop 'conversation' before it starts.
[McDavid 2002:305]

Thus, McDavid pursued the creation of the website in conjunction with members of the Levi Jordan Plantation Historical Society, the non-profit group which runs the plantation and is composed of descendants (Euro-American and African-American), archaeologists, and members of the Brazoria community. The website creation ultimately involved utilization of archaeological data, interpretations of that data by archaeologists, oral histories of community members, and historical documents pertaining to the lives of people who had lived on the plantation. The final product (McDavid 1998) incorporates these various data sources into a

presentation that emphasizes multiple voices, local collaborators, and the historical contingency of this discussion itself (McDavid 2004a). Although, McDavid acknowledges, the final website has not fostered the debate and continued multivocality that had been hoped for (in the interests of creating a more democratic archaeology), the process of the website's creation itself was a powerful example of community-based collaboration, even though this public component came long after the archaeological research had been started in the mid-1980s (McDavid 2003).

As mentioned earlier, the excavation of Sukeek's Cabin in Calvert, Maryland by the Jefferson Patterson Park and Museum represents an example of archaeology where active participation by descendants as well as the general public has been welcomed (Uunila 2003). Uunila argues for an explicitly political goal for public archaeology, stating that "archaeology should be about ending racism," and moreover, that

The contribution to fighting racism for which public archaeology seems best suited is to insist on demonstrating the complexity of social relations in the past, and to openly expose and discuss social inequality on the sites we study and interpret. Public archaeologists can help dispel the lack of understanding of cultural difference and the prejudice of power that shapes and colors people's attitudes toward others. Public archaeology can turn up the volume on silent voices and ignored aspects of local and American history to ensure that they become public memory. [2003: 32-33]

Involving Sukeek's descendants specifically in the research and interpretation of the site allowed these family members to interact with and shape their own heritage, as well as influence how the broader public saw the site in conjunction with the archaeological research.

In contrast, the Waanyi Women's History Project, based in the Boodjamulla National Park in northwest Queensland, Australia, was initiated by Waanyi women rather than archaeologists, and ultimately contained no archaeological component (Smith et al. 2003). Instead, the expertise associated with professional archaeologists was mobilized by members of the Waanyi Women's History Committee in order to add 'Western' legitimacy to their concerns regarding land management decisions within the National Park. As such, Smith, Morgan, and van der Meer mapped sites, places, and landscape elements belonging to Waanyi women custodians, developed consultation and conservation protocols, and recorded Waanyi women's oral histories – all with the agreement that the location and protocol information would be passed along to the Environmental Planning Authority only, and that the three archaeologists could publish on the *process* of consultation, but not the results. This project thus represents a departure from the one-sided 'consultation' process of which many aboriginal peoples rightly complain (Smith et al 2003:152), and emphasizes the process of research and the building of trust and relationships with non-archaeologists, over and beyond the archaeological results that may potentially be gained.

Rick Knecht's (2003) discussion of the Margaret Bay community archaeology project in Unalaska, Alaska provides an example of community archaeology focused on an older archaeological resource – an Unangan settlement site dating to between five thousand and three

thousand years BP. Knecht initiated excavation of the Margaret Bay site using entirely volunteer local labor and donated equipment, and ultimately succeeded in shifting local sentiment away from a view of cultural resource management as a development-blocking hurdle to one which was based in a local sense of ethics and viewed local sites as assets rather than liabilities. In the end, a community archaeological museum, the Museum of the Aleutians, was constructed nearby the site, and continued to conduct volunteer and community-based archaeological research.

Likewise, Hantman (2004) and Warner and Baldwin (2004) both present projects in which archaeologists have worked at the behest of Native American tribes. Hantman relates the decade-long collaborative research venture he has had with the Monacan tribe of Virginia, seeking primarily to document their longstanding presence in Virginia as a means of arguing for federal tribal recognition. He emphasizes the use of both a regional focus, in looking at archaeological evidence on the regional scale to argue for the Monacan's prehistoric land base, as well as that of the individual scale, in putting a human face on the collective history recovered archaeologically. In this particular case, Hantman helped the tribe secure funding for the facial reconstruction of two individuals repatriated to the Monacans, prior to their reburial. Although skeptical of the facial reconstruction process, Hantman notes that, for the community, the ability to visualize members of their tribe – who had no images of individual members prior to the 1920s – was an understandable and powerful desire. The facial reconstructions of the two individuals are currently displayed in the Monacan heritage museum.

Warner & Baldwin (2004) discuss the ongoing research relationship between the Miami tribe of Oklahoma (of which Baldwin is a member) and the Miami University (of which Warner was a faculty member), whose goal is to conduct research useful to the Miami tribe. Interestingly, Warner critiques his experience with the Archaeology in Annapolis project, noting that while its purpose has been to make archaeology relevant to non-archaeologists, their success in this regard is questionable. Warner notes that he expects the Miami partnership to ultimately be more fruitful, because "in Annapolis we were essentially attempting to insert ourselves into the community, while in Miami it is the community that is inviting anthropologists in, on their terms and under their initiative" (146). Warner & Baldwin close their discussion by emphasizing the negotiated position of archaeology: "What is key from our perspective is to remember archaeology's role, which is to *contribute* to the stories being told and not to *create* those stories on our own" (149). This quote, and their overall research relationship, provides a powerful example of the difference between doing archaeology *for* the public versus doing archaeology *with* the public.

These examples, together, illustrate the general principles behind community and applied archaeologies – a de-centering of archaeological hegemony, collaboration with communities, discussions of the power and politics involved with knowledge production, and an overall emphasis on the creation of relationships and the process of research rather than the final results. As a result, these archaeologies strive to deal with many of the criticisms rightfully leveled against archaeologists (and anthropologists) by indigenous peoples, and which have been the focus of the creation of decolonizing methodologies. Although the community and applied archaeology-related sources utilized here have not directly engaged with the literature focused on decolonizing archaeology (e.g. Gosden 1999, 2004; Smith 1999; Smith and Wobst 2005; Nicholas and Hollowell 2007), they nonetheless represent attempts to do just that, with varying levels of success. They also echo the three points put forth by Conkey and Gero (1997:429) as

core to a feminist practice of archaeology: demystifying the process of knowledge production, organizing research in less-hierarchical fashions, and admitting ambiguity in our understandings of the past. This is in contrast to the top-down, or “for the public” approaches discussed earlier in this paper, which serve to reproduce disciplinary hegemony and craft a public holding ‘appropriate’ attitudes toward archaeology (after McGimsey and Davis 2000). The adoption of such applied and community-based approaches is vital to the archaeological enterprise as a whole, as it enables the production of knowledge that both archaeologists and non-archaeologists consider useful and significant. This literature forms the background of my own attempts at collaborative, feminist research at the Gage and Cheney houses.

***Collaborative Methods at the Gage and Cheney Houses*¹**

The archaeological research undertaken at the Gage and Cheney houses was conceptualized as collaborative and community-based from the beginning. I had approached the Gage Foundation with my interest in conducting archaeological research on the property in 2003, when I was applying to graduate programs. I had been a member of the Foundation since 2000 when, as an undergraduate student, I first came to volunteer for them. I continued to work at the Foundation, first as a volunteer and eventually as a paid employee, as an administrative assistant and researcher until my graduation in 2002. When applying to graduate school, I knew that I wanted to continue my involvement with the Foundation as part of my dissertation research. It was my hope that in the process of fulfilling my own requirements for a degree, I could conduct a publicly-centered research project that would fit the needs of the Foundation by providing information for historic preservation. I was able to start this project, then, by re-joining a community that already viewed the site and the legacy of Matilda Joslyn Gage as important, and had a variety of connections to the local community around the site.

At the Cheney House, the situation was quite different. As the site was on campus property, its study fell within the context of a decade of efforts by Professor Laurie Wilkie to convince the University of the necessity of properly studying its historic resources prior to their destruction by development (Wilkie et al. 2010). In 2006, when our research began at the site, it was threatened by demolition to make way for the construction of a new building jointly financed by the Business and Law schools of the University, whose existing buildings lay on either side of the property. Our quickly-pulled-together project was allowed but not embraced by the University’s office of Capital Projects, and at first we thought we would have but a few months in which to conduct our fieldwork prior to the site’s destruction. As it turned out, the Business-Law School building project proposal faltered, and the site survived intact until 2010. In the case of this site, however, the prospect of a community to connect with was more tenuous. While there were elements on campus that saw historical preservation as an important process, continual pressures existed to perpetuate the modernization and development of campus. The Cheney property, not kept up in appearance as other buildings on campus have been, appeared a derelict wreck; a shabby remnant of the residential neighborhood that once occupied the southeast corner of campus. And while the house was a Berkeley City Landmark, which meant that its historical and architectural significance was recognized on an official level, this knowledge was not common to the community that populated the campus and walked by the site every day.

¹ A portion of this section has been previously published as Wilkie et al. 2010.

Because of these differences, different methodologies were utilized at each site. At the Gage house, the emphasis was on trying to make the process of research transparent and equitable in the eyes of the Foundation, and publically accessible to the broader community. At the Cheney house, the emphasis was on crafting the site as a kind of learning laboratory where University students, both graduate and undergraduate, used the site as a place to learn new skills, and where we attempted to raise awareness of the historical significance of the site and thereby a reflexive understanding of campus history in more general terms.

At the Gage site, the process of research was made entirely public. Prior to excavating, I held a planning meeting with members of the Foundation and the interested public to discuss what I anticipated doing and hear about the Foundation and the public's interests in the research.² While I hoped to bring in a broad array of local community members and hear their thoughts on the project, those who attended the meeting were mainly members of the local chapter of the New York State Archaeological Association (NYSAA), and I ended up, as it were, preaching to the choir about the potential of archaeological research on the property.

As excavations got underway, I worked with a small crew of local volunteers for the first two summers in which we excavated shovel test pits on the property. We placed a sign in front of the house on the main thoroughfare of East Genesee Street that stated "Archaeology Dig Today 8-4: Public Welcome!" and the Foundation advertised the excavations through their newsletter and press releases. These simple actions brought quite a lot of attention to our small project, and I gained about half of my volunteers from passersby who saw the sign on the street. Local newspaper coverage (Ashley 2005; Read 2006a, 2006b) helped bring in additional visitors, as did several stories on the project that ran on local news programs. While most of the people who volunteered on the excavation had no prior archaeological field experience, several members of the Beauchamp Chapter of the NYSAA were regular and dedicated volunteers throughout the project, including Vicky Jayne, Gordon and Barbara DeAngelo, and Greg Sohrweide.

In 2007, I headed a three-week archaeological field school offered through the University of California Berkeley at the site, with ten undergraduate students from various schools participating. We started area excavations in the rear yard of the house as this time. This was the first time excavating at the site with non-local volunteers. After the field school ended, we held two one-week field schools for the public (one week each for children and adults) offered in conjunction with the Beauchamp Chapter of the NYSAA; although turnout was quite low, it was beneficial in the broader sense of demystifying the process of research.

In 2008, I returned to complete the area excavations begun the prior summer, with the help of Krissy Montgomery, a UC Berkeley undergraduate who had participated in the field school the year before and had also been an Undergraduate Research Apprentice in the historical archaeology lab on campus (to be discussed in more detail below). We completed the area excavations ourselves, while maintaining the site as open to visitors.

Throughout the four summers of field research on the property, visitors were a regular feature on the site. While most were informal passersby who stopped because they saw our sign or media

² As the property is privately owned by the Gage Foundation, initial excavations were undertaken at the discretion of the Foundation.

coverage of the project, some were organized visits by groups; for instance, a group of homeschooling families made several visits to the site over the four summers, where we talked about the process of archaeological research and they helped screen soil for artifacts. Likewise, in 2007, campers from the Syracuse Girls, Inc. chapter spent an afternoon on the site to learn about archaeology.

In addition to the regular and largely informal interactions with the public on the site, I maintained a project blog (Christensen 2006) and online photo pool on the website Flickr so that the project could potentially reach a non-local community. Students participating in the UC Berkeley field school in 2007 contributed to the blog as part of fostering an ethic of collaboration and information-sharing.

After each summer's fieldwork, I brought the artifacts recovered back to the Historical Archaeology lab at UC Berkeley for processing. I was largely aided in this initial processing and cataloging by a dedicated corps of undergraduate students participating in the University's Undergraduate Research Apprenticeship Program (URAP). Students interested in receiving credit for working on faculty- (and graduate-student) run original research projects apply to the particular project in which they have an interest, and if chosen, sign a contract to work a specified number of hours per credit on the project. In practice, this allows students to gain hands-on research experience (and credits), while providing much-needed help for faculty and graduate students in carrying out research. Research Apprentices were a crucial part of the laboratory processing and research on artifacts from both the Gage and Cheney projects, while also helping conduct the field research at the Cheney house.

In addition to the Research Apprentices, a number of graduate students helped conduct the field excavations at the Cheney House, which were undertaken one day per week throughout the academic years of 2006-2007, and 2007-2008. This strategy enabled students to gain the equivalent experience of an archaeological field school without the intensive time commitment, and often significant extra costs, that a traditional archaeological field school requires. Research Apprentices also processed and analyzed artifacts in the lab on campus, and conducted research on early 20th-century campus life through reviewing campus newspapers (#URAP research on newspapers).

Like the Gage site, the Cheney project was intended to be undertaken in the public eye. With funds granted from the Archaeological Research Facility Outreach Fund, we placed a sign on site outlining the history of the property and what we hoped to learn through our research. We also kept a blog (CHAP 2007) of our progress and a Flickr photo pool, while holding site open houses for Cal Day, the campus-wide open house held every spring, and school groups who visited the Archaeological Research Facility as part of the ARF archaeological outreach program. I presented the preliminary results of our research in talks to the Office of Capital Projects and the Archaeological Research Facility in the spring of 2007.

As part of the issue of the Cheney site's threatened destruction was the lack of awareness and appreciation for it as a significant campus historic resource, our methods in the field attempted to highlight the significance of its history as well as its continued importance on the campus landscape. The site signage, as well as our very presence excavating on-site weekly, was a part of this. While we more often than not received odd looks or were ignored altogether by passing

students when excavating, our presence on the site brought attention to the site as something of interest. Passersby did sometimes stop and read the sign or approach us with questions as we excavated, and as a result at least a few more people learned something about the significance of the site through our efforts. We also gained from these interactions, learning things we wouldn't otherwise know. Through my conversations with Rollie Myers, retired Chemistry professor, I learned of the house's use as a boarding house during the 1940s, and with Barrie Thorne, Professor of Sociology and Gender and Women's Studies, that the history of the house was unknown to the GWS Department (then the Women's Studies Program) when they occupied the building in the 1980s. The connections between the mission of the department and the Cheney legacy would have been an important history to have known.

The site's location on campus, immediately adjacent to the Archaeological Research Facility, no less, also facilitated our use of the project and site as a sort of learning laboratory. In addition to the research efforts of the undergraduate students involved through the URAP, various independent graduate and undergraduate student projects have emerged from the broader project. These efforts include macrobotanical and soil chemical analyses, an X-Ray Fluorescence Spectrometry (XRF) study of porcelain recovered from the site, and the use of the site for conducting lessons on 3-D laser scanning of the standing structures. As a result, the Cheney House site is situated at the nexus of research efforts by a number of graduate and undergraduate students due to its campus location and research potential. In terms of pedagogy, the site has proved invaluable for hands-on research experience by a number of students. Although the usefulness of the site in terms of a physical learning laboratory was fleeting, as the site has since been destroyed by the University, we were able to put it to good use within the time that we were given. In the process, awareness of the site's historic significance was raised within the campus community, and students involved in the project gained a sense of investment as stakeholders in campus history.

All of these methods were chosen and implemented with the three feminist goals outlined at the end of previous section in mind. In Chapter 6, I reflect on this experience and evaluate the success of these methods as theory and intentions met practice. In the remainder of this chapter, I detail the specific archival, field, and laboratory methods utilized in both projects and my findings.

Archival Sources

For the Gage project, contextual information on the Village of Fayetteville and its history was taken from synthetic works such as Anguish (1966), the work of Manlius Town Historian Barbara Rivette (2006), and documents such as the National Register of Historic Places Nomination for the Genesee Street Hill/Limestone Plaza Historic District (Smith and Hardin 1982) and Michael Commisso's (2004) Rehabilitation Treatment Plan for the Gage house property.

Synthetic information regarding the Gage property and Gage's work in particular came from work done primarily by two people associated with the Gage Foundation: Executive Director Sally Roesch Wagner's work (1998, 2003), and that of longtime volunteer and Public History student Sue Boland (2006, 2007, 2009).

The property history was pieced together from property deeds held at the Onondaga County Clerk's Office, Federal and New York State censuses accessed at the Onondaga County Public Library Local History and Genealogy Department, and Sanborn Fire Insurance maps at Syracuse University's E.S. Bird Library. Additional maps and City Directories were accessed at the Bird Library's Special Collections.

The single most important source of information on the Gages was the Gage Foundation's own extensive documentary holdings. Started as the personal research collection of Executive Director Wagner for her own (1978) dissertation, the Foundation's collections include copies of a dizzying array of sources related to Gage's reform work and writings, the Gage family, and the property. Here I was able to obtain copies of the Gage family letters that significantly inform my interpretation of the archaeological findings as discussed in the following chapter, as well as various newspaper clippings about the site and unpublished works not available elsewhere.

In contrast, research on the Cheney site started at a much more basic level, as neither the Cheney's nor their property had been studied in-depth prior to my embarking on this project. The Historic Structure Report (Page and Turnbull 2006) commissioned by the University provided a baseline of information on the property, the Cheney's, and contextual information about the neighborhood. Sanborn Fire Insurance maps, accessible through the University of California Berkeley's library, and Federal Census enumerations were consulted to reconstruct the history of the property and household. City directories, in the collections of the Bancroft Library, San Francisco Public Library History Center, and the Berkeley Historical Society also helped reconstruct household composition over the years. City voter registration lists were also consulted, although women are missing from these lists prior to gaining suffrage at the state level in 1911.

For information on the Cheney's' time at the University as students, the Blue and Gold yearbooks were an invaluable source. The University Archives at the Bancroft Library were consulted in order to piece together May's varied involvements at the University through her position as Appointment Secretary, and the histories of housing on campus, domestic science, and the Club House Loan Fund Committee. The campus newspaper *The Daily Californian* also provided information on life at the University, both specifically of the Cheney's and in a more general sense about student life.

Newspapers, such as the *San Francisco Call* and *Oakland Tribune*, provide information on the varied events that the members of the Cheney household were involved in. Parts of these two papers have been digitized as part of the California Digital Newspaper Collection (Digital Library Consulting 2008), and this allowed for keyword-searching; in this manner, a detailed accounting of the Cheney's' public activities between 1890 and 1913 (in the *San Francisco Call*) and 1900 and 1940 (in the *Oakland Tribune*) has been possible.

A series of oral histories taken by the Regional Oral History Office of the Bancroft Library proved invaluable for my research. Sheldon Cheney's (1977) oral history provides an important emic perspective on the Cheney family, while oral histories from Lucy Sprague Mitchell (1962), Mary Blossom Davidson (1967), and Mary McLean Olney (1963) were crucial to my forming an understanding of the experience of women as students, faculty, and administrators at the University during the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Finally, the discovery of the existence of a short biography of May Cheney by her cousin (McNeill 1932) and her own autobiography (Cheney 1932a, 1932b) provided an exciting first-hand look at life in the Cheney household as well as May's opinions on her life and work. These sources factor heavily in my interpretation of the Cheney site, as detailed in Chapter 5.

Archaeological field methodology

Archival research helped to shape the archaeological research design employed at both sites. Archaeological studies of the household have been characterized methodologically in part by their attention to spatial organization and horizontal contexts, necessitating the implementation of area excavations. Opening up large areas horizontally allows for the exposure of architectural remains, and the examination of entire room contexts within structures (e.g. Ciolek-Torrello 1989; Hoffman 1999; Leventhal and Baxter 1988; Samuels 1989).

Within household archaeological studies of the more recent past, the structure itself is often of less interest than the surrounding yard areas – especially in instances where the house is still standing at the time of excavation, as in the case of the Gage and Cheney houses. Nonetheless, the exposure of wide horizontal areas by excavation is still of benefit to recovering information related to the diachronic use of such yard areas. Various historical archaeologists have argued for the utility of recovering such information, along with knowledge of household life cycles and how this affects site formation processes (Beaudry 1984; 1986; 1989; 1999; Groover 2001; Rotman 2005; Wilkie 2003). With this in mind, archaeological testing of each property was conducted in two phases. In the first, a property-wide survey was undertaken by excavating shovel test pits (STPs) in order to identify the location and assess the integrity of archaeological deposits present (Lightfoot 1986). In the second phase, area excavations were conducted in yard areas shown to contain archaeological features related to yard use and household disposal practices.

At both sites, sheet middens were identified and sampled through excavation. While deposits of this sort do not provide the same nicely-bounded (in time and space) information as pit and shaft features do, as Versaggi (2000) notes, they can still tell us much about daily activities in the households whose actions created this sheet refuse, at least in terms of what the households were consuming and discarding. This has implications for understanding household practices, however; unlike instances of use-related deposits, these secondary deposits are farther removed from considerations of household actions besides refuse disposal. Because of this, I am not able to speak directly about household practices of dining and consumption, for example, but must infer them from the materials discarded and documentary sources related to the site and more generally to the period. These limitations come into play in my interpretations of both sites, as will be seen in Chapters 4 and 5.

The Gage House

Shovel Test Pit Survey

Archaeological survey work was begun at the Gage House during the summer of 2005. As no previous archaeological work had been done on the property, the first goal of the survey was to identify the presence and location of any archaeological deposits and outbuilding remains. In

order to do so, a series of STPs was excavated across the property on a five-meter grid, anchored at the northeastern corner of the property (Figure 3.1). Grid lines were laid out with a compass using magnetic north, with the grid running north-south and east-west. The five-meter interval was chosen in order to gain a broad understanding of the property's stratigraphic profile and history of use, while also creating the likelihood of intersecting any outbuilding remains in the yard. Each point on the grid was given a number, starting with one, which became the number of the STP excavated at that spot, although not all grid points were ultimately excavated.

The STPs were approximately 50 by 50 centimeters in size, and were excavated by shovel with a mixture of arbitrary and natural stratigraphic levels, each level numbered sequentially. Excavation proceeded in increments of ten centimeters unless a soil change was observed, in which case a new level was recorded. Excavations ceased when sterile soil was reached, or physical impediments such as stones prevented further excavation. All soil from each STP level was screened through one-quarter inch hardware mesh, and artifacts were kept for further analysis. A total of 52 STPs were excavated during the summers of 2005 and 2006, completing the five-meter grid and placing additional STPs as needed based on judgmental sampling.

Remote Sensing

In the spring of 2006, the Fort Drum military installation Cultural Resources Program, headed by Laurie Rush, donated one day to survey the Gage House property with remote sensing equipment. The team established six 10-meter grids on the property, and attempted to survey with a GR 50 gradiometer, which did not work due to electrical interference from power lines in the vicinity. Survey with an RM 15 electrical resistivity meter and a GSSI ground penetrating radar with a 400 mh antenna was more successful. The ground penetrating radar revealed the drip line of the house, while the electrical resistivity testing identified a low-resistance anomaly running diagonally northeast-southwest from the south side of the house (Rush 2006). Later excavations placed to intersect with this anomaly did not reveal any subsurface features that could account for the resistivity readings. As such, this survey unfortunately did not add measurably to the archaeological research conducted at the Gage house.

Area Excavations

Area excavations were undertaken during the summers of 2007 and 2008, centering on midden areas identified during the STP survey (Figure 3.2). Specifically, 25 one by one meter excavation units were excavated in the area immediately south of the house. These excavations were undertaken to comply with the New York State Historic Preservation Office's review process, as this area was the proposed location of an addition meant to serve as the visitors' center and main entrance to the house once it was restored and open to the public as a historic house museum.³ The addition was to be modeled on the woodshed structure known to have stood in that location historically, and thus the purpose of the area excavations undertaken in that spot were threefold: 1) to comply with historic preservation laws requiring archaeological study prior to site disturbance; 2) to provide information on the size, layout, and construction method of the 19th-century woodshed; and 3) to study the household's material culture through excavation of the rich sheet midden located in the same area.

³ As part of the funding for the construction of the addition came from New York State, excavations in the area of proposed affect were done with the approval of the NYSHPO.

Because these area excavations were undertaken specifically to study the area behind the house, a different grid was utilized than that created for the shovel test pit survey. A one by one meter grid was established anchored from the south side of the house (running nine meters North-South, and six meters East-West), and excavation units were numbered sequentially from 200 (to differentiate them from the STPs) as they were opened. The first test units excavated were located nine meters from the back of the house, with the goal of finding the south wall of the woodshed; the expected dimensions of the woodshed were based on the Sanborn Fire Insurance Company maps of 1890 and 1904 (Sanborn 1890, 1904). Units were excavated in a checkerboard pattern starting south of the house and working northward, with the intention of filling in the checkerboard once the first half of the grid was excavated. In practice, we quickly came to realize that the southern extent of the grid lay beyond the location of the woodshed and moreover, the sheet midden did not extend this far south.

The checkerboard pattern of excavation was continued, with additional units excavated as necessary in order to expose features, including a small mortared stone foundation found six meters south of the house. A total of 25 one by one meter units was excavated behind the house, using both arbitrary and stratigraphic excavation strategies as used in the STP survey. Again, all soil excavated was screened through quarter-inch hardware mesh, while two-liter soil samples were also taken of strata that appeared undisturbed. All visible artifacts were saved according to their excavated level, and materials such as brick, mortar, plaster, stone, and coal were counted, weighed, and discarded in the field.

Excavation units were also placed in the then-newly-exposed areas covered during the 20th century by the southwestern house addition and porch on the western side. Two units, 227 and 228, were excavated two meters west of the southwest corner of the house, in line with a concrete-lined, brick-covered drain just outside of what was the original kitchen door, with the hope that the drain's connection could be found. Unit 229 was excavated one meter west of the French doors on the west side of the house in order to determine whether any remnants of the original porch and stairs to the garden were present. Units 227 and 228 found mixed but deep 19th-century deposits, while the upper stratigraphy of Unit 229 was highly disturbed from the construction (and demolition) of the 20th-century porch.

Construction monitoring and artifact collection

In September of 2009, work was begun on the construction of the rear addition of the Gage House that would function as the museum's entrance. This construction necessitated the removal of the 20th-century maple trees on the eastern edge of the property, and the excavation of an area immediately south of the house 20 by 40 feet (approximately six by 12 meters), to a depth of seven feet (approximately two meters) below ground. As this work would destroy the archaeological deposits not excavated in the 2007 and 2008 area excavations, I monitored the tree and earth removal processes over two days. With the cooperation of the construction workers, I retrieved all visible artifacts unearthed during the earth removal process, photographed the proceedings, and recorded the stratigraphic profiles of the excavated area.

A wealth of artifacts was retrieved during the soil removal process, comprised mainly of whiteware and ironstone sherds due to their visibility in the disturbed soil. As the retrieval process involved plucking artifacts from the path of the backhoe, its bucket, or the soil it deposited for removal, provenience information for these artifacts is less than ideal. In general,

artifacts recovered during this process have been included in my analyses here if they crossmend with artifacts from provenienced contexts or were manufactured during the second half of the 19th century when the Gages occupied the property.

All artifacts were brought back to the Historical Archaeology laboratory at the University of California Berkeley for processing and analysis, which will be detailed later in this chapter.

Findings

Complete description of the stratigraphy and artifacts encountered in each STP and excavation unit will be detailed in the site report (Christensen, in preparation); here I present an overview of the site stratigraphy and features that figure into my interpretation of the Gage household, detailed in Chapter 4.

Front (North) Yard:

A total of 15 shovel test pits (STPs #5-18) were excavated in the front yard of the house. Overall, the stratigraphy was found to be mixed, while artifacts were minimal and tended to be small in size. The relative dearth of artifacts is consistent with the use of this area as the formal face of the house, as it fronts the busy East Genessee Street. The mixed nature of the strata is consistent with the long history of plantings in front of the house; photos from the 20th century show a changing variety of trees and bushes in this yard area over the years.

Western Yard:

Five shovel test pits, numbers 19-22 and 41, and test unit 229, were excavated in the area between the west side of the house and the property line, in what was the Gage's formal garden. Unit 229 was excavated to approximately 65cm in depth, with the upper 30cm highly disturbed by the 20th-century construction and early-21st-century demolition of the porch in this area. Thirty centimeters below the ground surface, a post hole and mold was identified, which may be related to the landing and stairs leading into the garden from the French doors depicted in the 1887 Baum photo (Figure 2.4). Artifacts found in this unit include terra cotta flower pots, perhaps used in the garden or to display plants on the landing and stairs; ceramics including pearlware, whiteware, ironstone, porcelain, and yellow ware; window and curved glass; an 1859 penny with a hole drilled in it, and a fragment from a porcelain doll head. Overall, this test unit was rich with artifacts despite its disturbed nature, and the strata and their contents need to be studied in more detail to tease out the practices that led to the deposition of these materials.

Shovel test pits 19-22 and 41 were excavated to a depth of approximately 70cm below the ground surface. All had different levels of disturbed strata, and artifacts found included mainly terra cotta, window glass, coal, and nails. Fragments of glass and ceramics were generally small, suggesting that these represent surface scatter rather than intentional deposition of trash materials.

Shovel test pit 41 was placed between STPs 21 and 22, in the approximate area where the garden house was located according to the 1887 Baum photo of the garden. Since the garden house was recorded as having a marble floor, I had hoped that some degree of compaction or fragments of marble from the floor's removal would be apparent, although neither was encountered during excavation.

Given that the west side of the house was a formal garden area, the relative concentration of artifacts in test unit 229 as opposed to the shovel test pits may be due to the fact that Unit 229 was presumably under the landing and stairs, and as such was out of sight, in contrast to the areas where shovel test pits 19-22 and 41 were located. These artifacts in 229 may thus represent fragments of household and garden items lost beneath the stairs, rather than intentional deposits.

Eastern Yard:

Five shovel test pits (37-40, 48) were excavated along the eastern side of the house. It was hoped that evidence of the footing for the bow window, which was removed between 1909 and 1919, was extant and would help guide plans for its reconstruction. STP 37 was excavated to a depth of 50cm, and contained a mixture of 19th and 20th century materials in disturbed strata. STPs 48, 38, 39, all came down on flat, mortared stone between 20 and 30cm below ground surface that, during mechanical excavations in 2009 for reconstruction of the bow window, turned out to be the stone cap of a parged masonry vault more than two meters long north-south and one and a half meters wide east-west, flush against the foundation wall of the house. The vault was filled with a mix of soil and gravel, and at the base of it were found two intact bottles which suggest a 20th-century fill date – a Listerine bottle, produced between 1900 and 1930, and a beer bottle from the Syracuse brewery Bartels, produced between 1900 and 1942 (Bartels and Blum 1996). This feature obliterated any remnant of the bow window foundation that might have existed after its removal in the early 20th century.

STP 40 uncovered a series of bricks on end just below the ground surface and is likely part of a 20th-century planting border. All five STPs contained numerous 20th-century materials (plastic, concrete) and minimal 19th century materials (whiteware, cut nails). During the Gage's time in the house, this area was likely not often used, as no doors were present on this side of the house until the early 20th century and a fence bordered the sidewalk, leaving a yard space just seven feet in width.

Rear (South) Yard:

A total of 23 shovel test pits (#23-36, 42-47, 49-51) and 25 one by one meter test units (Units 200-211, 213-222, 224-226) were excavated in the yard area behind the house. A number of features were uncovered in these excavations that are of specific interest in interpreting the daily life of the Gage household. These include a sheet midden, two pit features, and a small stone foundation (Figure 3.3). All are stratigraphically distinct; although pit feature #2 underlies the stone foundation, it does not appear to be associated with the use of the structure on top of the foundation.

Sheet Midden

Below the gravel of a 20th-century driveway in Units 208, 211, 213, 214, 215, 216, 218, 220, 224, 225, and 226, a depositional layer was encountered rich in coal, clinker, and slag fragments as well as a high density of domestic artifacts. This feature was initially encountered in STPs 27, 28, 31, 46, 47, 49, 51 and 52. This sheet midden extended approximately six meters south of the

southwest corner of the house, and approximately four meters south of the southeast corner. The midden appeared throughout all of these units between approximately 20 and 40 centimeters below the current ground surface (Figure 3.4). The midden contents date predominately to the mid-to-late-19th century. Ceramics found include a predominance of whiteware and ironstone, with some pearlware, yellow ware, redware, coarse earthenware, and porcelain. Glass fragments from lamps, bottles, tableware, and windows were found, including several small medicine vials and one intact medicine bottle of “Dr. Sage’s Catarrh Remedy” produced in Buffalo, NY as early as 1868 (Nickell 2008). In addition, nails, metal and animal bone fragments were recovered. Small finds included buttons, pins, children’s marbles, tobacco pipe fragments, and small jewelry items such as brooches.

This feature was presumably built up over the years as refuse from the kitchen was disposed of in the area just behind the house, and small items such as the marbles and children’s toys may have been simply lost in the yard. Most artifacts were of a small size, suggesting that trash was left on the surface of the yard and trampled through use. This would have been quite an active area of the yard, as it encompasses the space between the rear door of the house, the woodshed, and the stable, fruit trees, and vegetable garden toward the rear of the property. This feature can be definitively associated with the Gage household, although some portions of it likely date to the period prior to the Gage’s arrival on the property.

Pit Feature 1

Approximately six meters south of the rear of the house, a pit feature was encountered in Units 203, 204, 205, and 208, although its actual form was not recognized until after the 2009 construction excavation exposed it in profile; this shows it to be approximately one and a quarter meters wide east-west, and approximately 1.3m in depth (Figure 3.5). The fill was characterized by trash-rich deposits interspersed with layers of burned coal, clinker, and ash. From the profile exposed by the construction excavation, an intact champagne bottle, nine clam shells, a ‘graphite’-based glass tumbler, a twiffler in the Potomac shape, and a supper plate in the Erie/Sharon Arch shape were recovered. As these were recovered from the base of the pit feature, this gives this feature’s fill a *terminus post quem* (TPQ) date of approximately 1870 based on the features of the wine bottle, and this pit and its contents can be relatively definitively associated with the Gage household. The eastern side of this feature was intruded by a large trench excavated for sewer and water pipes in the early 20th century that runs south from the rear of the house. While the original purpose in excavating this pit is unknown, given the clear margins of the feature visible in profile this suggests that it was filled rather rapidly after the pit’s creation. The large size of the artifacts recovered – the plates and tumbler were nearly intact – suggests that this feature is a primary, rather than secondary deposit.

Stone Foundation

During the initial shovel test pit survey, STPs 43, 44 and 45 came down to flat, mortared stones about six meters south of the southeast corner of the house. Hoping that these were indications of structural remnants of the woodshed, this area was opened up in our block excavations. What we uncovered was a small rectangular foundation, just over two meters wide (east-west) by one and a half meters long (north-south), 6.3 meters south of the house (Figure 3.3). Within the foundation outline, there is an east-west running partition 30 centimeters south of the north

foundation wall. The space south of this internal partition within the foundation outline contained four flat stones laid to form a floor surface. Based on its placement, it is likely that this foundation is the small addition on the south side of the woodshed indicated on the Sanborn fire insurance maps from 1890, 1896, and 1904, although its purpose is not apparent (Sanborn 1890, 1896, 1904).

Eight test units (204, 206, 207, 210, 217, 219, 221, and 222) were opened in order to completely expose the foundation, and a deposit containing, among other artifacts, two nearly intact wine bottles, two intact mold-blown but hand-finished medicine bottles, and a 1904 American penny were found overlying the foundation. The production dates of these items suggest that the structure on top of the foundation, whatever it may have been, was removed no earlier than 1904, which is consistent with the disappearance of this feature from the Sanborn maps between 1904 and 1909 (Sanborn 1909). The deposition of intact bottles within the foundation may be associated with a cleaning episode that coincided with the removal of this structure, and which may in turn relate to sale of the property. Property deeds show that the house and property changed hands in 1903, 1904, and 1909, and these changes to the property may have been made by any of these new owners in the early 20th century (Deed of Sale 1903, 1904a, 1904b, 1909). The quick turnover of the property from Edward Flood to the Dawleys (1904a, 1904b), within a month of buying it from the Burns suggests that Flood was perhaps a real estate broker; a full clean up of the property suggested by the removal of the structure over the foundation and its filling with intact objects may have been undertaken as part of these property-turnover events.

Pit Feature 2

In an attempt to determine the function of the outbuilding represented by the foundation feature, the flat stones forming a floor within it were removed and excavations conducted beneath (Figure 3.6). A pit feature was identified below the foundation, approximately 1.2 meters in diameter and nearly half a meter deep, although its relationship to the foundation is questionable. During excavation, the pit was found to extend *past* the inner partition and south wall of the foundation, and neither shows evidence of having been constructed on anything other than the ground surface. This suggests that the pit feature was excavated and filled prior to the construction of the foundation, although for what purpose is uncertain. Few artifacts were recovered from the fill of the feature, so its primary purpose does not appear to have been for trash disposal. Based on the few ceramic fragments found, two ironstone fragments in particular suggest a TPQ of 1842 for the feature's fill. One fragment has a partial maker's mark of "T.J. Mayer's Improved Ironstone China," which was produced between 1842 and 1855 (Kowalsky and Kowalsky 1999:274). The other has a partial imprinted diamond registry mark in the style produced between 1842 and 1867 (Dieringer and Dieringer 2001:6).

Based on the location of this pit relative to the house, it could potentially have been the ice house and cooling room mentioned by Thomas Clarkson in his 1924 letter, mentioned in Chapter 2, which he says was located "about thirty feet from the west kitchen door" (TC Gage 1924). The ice house/cooling room was gone by 1885, as in a letter from Gage to Thomas Clarkson she mentions that flower seeds sown "on [the] ice house place" had not done well (Gage 1885). The relatively early TPQ date for the artifacts in the feature fill may indicate redeposition of soil from elsewhere on the property used to fill the pit once it was no longer needed to hold ice. The

subsequent construction of the overlying stone foundation (and its associated structure), which would have occurred sometime between 1842 and 1890, can likely be associated with the Gage's term of ownership of the property, although Pit Feature #2 cannot be with certainty.

What was not found

As one of the research goals for this project was to provide information on Gage-era outbuildings on the property for historical preservation purposes and potential reconstruction, what was not found is nearly of as much interest as what was. As mentioned above, the location of the summer house in the west yard was not identified archaeologically, despite the period photographic evidence at hand. No definitive remnants of the woodshed shown on the rear of the house in the 1890, 1896 and 1904 Sanborn maps and mentioned in Thomas Clarkson's (1924) letter were seen in the excavations, either, and this may have been an ephemeral structure without a substantial foundation. An ephemeral structure might also account for the presence of sheet midden within the area where the woodshed was supposed to have been located. Three potentially *in-situ* foundation stones were found in line with the southwest corner of the house, although their stratigraphic relationship below the sheet midden suggests that they predate the Gage's time on the property. These features and their relationships will be examined more in detail in the final report.

Also not found were the cistern and privy that must have been placed somewhere on the property. In an 1884 letter from Gage to her son, she mentions that "Helen is digging earth to put in the privy. I have such trouble with that & the drain to keep them disinfected" (Gage 1884c), but unsurprisingly does not mention where the privy is located. An 1891 letter mentions having a new cover made for the cistern (Gage 1891f), but again does not suggest its location; it is also possible that the cistern was above-ground and would not leave much of an archaeological trace. At this point, I believe that the privy was likely on the rear half of the property, which was partitioned and sold in 1925. The deed of sale specifies that Jane McEntyre, the seller, would retain access to the rear portion of the property "for the purpose of repairing and maintaining the sewer and septic tank and the laterals thereto located" (Deed of Sale 1925). These utility lines were uncovered within the large pipe trench found running south from the rear of the house in Units 200, 204, 205, 207, 218, and 221, which intruded the eastern side of Pit Feature 1. As municipal water and sewage lines were not present in the house until at least after 1897 (Gage 1897), it is possible that the sewer and septic tank mentioned in the deed simply replaced the original privy in the same location. As the Gage Foundation does not own this part of the original Gage parcel it was not accessible for archeological testing, and the privy's location will remain a mystery.

The Cheney House

Shovel Test Pit Survey

Archaeological testing on the Cheney House property began in the fall of 2006 with, as was done for the Gage House, an STP survey conducted in order to identify the location of archaeological deposits on the property (Figure 3.7). A three-meter grid was established aligned with the south

side of the Cheney House and with the datum point located on the western edge of the property. Lines of STPs running East-West were differentiated from each other by designating each by a letter – A, B, C, D, E, F, G, & H – and then numbering them sequentially moving from West to East.

A total of 50 shovel test pits of 50 by 50 centimeters were excavated, again utilizing a mix of arbitrary and natural stratigraphic levels. All soil was screened through quarter-inch hardware mesh and all visible artifacts kept.

Area Excavations

Based on the results of the shovel test pit survey, an area excavation was opened in the yard space located between the main Cheney House (2241 College Avenue) and the smaller rental house to the south (2243 College Avenue). A total of 12 contiguous one by one meter units was excavated in order to expose a line of bricks – the border of a garden bed – initially found in STP A10 (Figure 3.8). A discontinuous line of test units was also excavated parallel to the south side of the front walkway leading from what was College Avenue to the front door of the house.

Findings

Front (Western) Yard

On the north side of the asphalt walkway leading to the front door of the house, 13 shovel test pits were excavated (E1-E5; F1-F5; G1-G3). Few artifacts were found in these STPs, and a fill layer associated with earth moving for the construction of Calvin Lab immediately to the north of the house was apparent especially in the G line of STPs.

On the south side of the walkway, 17 STPs (D1-D3; A1-A5; B1-B5; C1-C4) and nine one by one meter test units (1, 15W, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23) were excavated. Artifacts were generally far and few between, and deposits were quite shallow, most being within 20cm of the ground surface. This area of the yard was highly disturbed by many utility line intrusions. Findings of note include a line of bricks paralleling the front walkway (in STP D2/Unit 16, D3/Unit 15, and Unit 18), suggesting that the previous walkway had either been located slightly more to the south than the current one, or that garden beds with brick edges had bordered the walkway. No discernible soil differences were present between the north and south sides of the bricks to indicate whether they bordered a pathway or garden bed.

A small concentration of 19th and early 20th-century artifacts was encountered in Unit 20, just south of the front porch. Artifacts found included terracotta flower pot fragments, and yellow ware, porcelain and milk glass fragments. A single fragment of embossed cobalt blue bottle glass was found, which is from a bottle of “complexion cream” produced by Dickey’s Pioneer Chemist of San Francisco between approximately 1870 and 1923 (Fike 2006).

This yard area was heavily disturbed by utility lines and trenches. Although the University’s Facilities Services marked out known utility lines prior to excavating, we encountered many pipes, both copper and PVC (STPs A3, A5, C1, E4, E5, G1; Units 17, 18, 23).

Overall, the relative paucity of artifacts in the front yard space of the house, and the small size of the artifacts that were present, is consistent with the use of this space by the Cheneys as the

public face of their property. As we know that Warren Cheney was an avid gardener, the line of bricks found paralleling the front walkway may be associated with garden beds; at the very least, we know that Warren grew roses here.

Side (Southern) Yard:

In the area between the south side of the house and the parking lot/2243 College Avenue structure, 16 STPs (A6-A11, B6-B11, C5, H5, H7); and 14 one by one meter units (Units 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15S, 21) were excavated. Features of note in this area included a curvilinear line of bricks likely representing a garden bed border and a horseshoe pit, both located in the space immediately between the main Cheney house and next-door rental property (Figure 3.8). Also in this area was found a scatter of artifacts suggesting chance deposition, rather than an intentional midden deposit.

The curvilinear brick feature started near the base of the pear tree located on the south side of the house, and continued in an arc to the southwest, through units 3, 5, 6, 8 and 12. The feature was composed of a single layer of bricks on their sides, laid end to end on their long axes. None of the bricks had mortar on them, suggesting that they were not reused but obtained for the purpose of creating this border. Darker and organically richer soil on the north side of the line of bricks suggests that the garden bed lay between the bricks and the south side of the house.

Immediately north of the brick feature, a curious confluence of soils and artifacts were found in Unit 6 that are suggestive of a horseshoe pit. An unused horseshoe (without even holes for nails) was found lying on a stratum of clean sand that extended southward into Unit 15, while the stub of an iron rod 1" in diameter protruded through the stratum. According to modern horseshoe pitching guidelines, a smooth iron rod is used for the stake at which the horseshoe is thrown, and sand is seen as ideal for the area immediately around the stake so that horseshoes stay where they fall (NHPA 2012). Until 1911, game rules dictated that the stakes be two inches in height above the ground surface; this matches the height of the iron rod above the sand level, so this feature may pre-date 1911 (NHPA 2012).

Throughout this area, a scatter of artifacts was found including porcelain tableware fragments, children's clay and glass marbles, glass container fragments, a metal serving spoon, and an eyeglass lens. Again, the small size of the fragments and their personal nature suggest that these artifacts found their way to this part of the yard accidentally, through unintentional loss or incomplete cleanup after breakage. A door opening from the kitchen addition of the house would have opened onto this area, and it was likely highly trafficked.

Unfortunately, the area of the yard that most likely contained the Japanese garden created by Warren is located to the east of the house, which is currently covered by a parking lot. According to Sanborn maps from 1903, 1911, and 1929 there was a garage located east and south of the southeast corner of the Cheney house, and in 1911 three small one-story structures are indicated at the northeast corner of the property (Sanborn 1903, 1911, 1929). One of these, along the eastern property line, may in fact have been the thatched tea house of the Japanese garden. As May's memoirs (1932a, 1932b) show and as discussed in Chapter 5, this rear part of

the yard was a center of activity for the family. Archaeological deposits from these buildings and features may remain, but they are capped by the parking lot.

Northern Yard:

The house was constructed quite close to the northern edge of the property, so just five STPs (H1-4, H6) and no test units were excavated along this side of the house. Perhaps unsurprisingly, few artifacts were found in the STPs although modern garbage was common on the ground surface. Soils here were quite disturbed, likely by a combination of the foundation work done on the house in the 1990s (Page and Turnbull 2006:II-45) and construction and earthmoving associated with Calvin Lab, immediately to the north.

Laboratory Analyses

For both sites, all artifacts recovered in the field were first processed by provenience (individual unit-or STP-level) when brought to the lab. They were washed, sorted by material type (e.g. ceramics, glass, metal, animal bone) or item type (e.g. buttons, tobacco pipe, marbles, and other small finds) and bagged. A preliminary inventory of the artifacts from each provenience was then made, and the individual bags of specific material/item types were placed together. More in-depth analysis of each material/item type was then undertaken. While all materials will be analyzed for the final site reports, for the purpose of this dissertation only certain material categories were studied in-depth and are detailed in this document.

Ceramic fragments from both sites were catalogued, noting provenience, ware (course or refined earthenware, stoneware, or porcelain), ceramic type (refined earthenware: creamware, pearlware, whiteware, yellow ware, ironstone), vessel part (rim, body, base, handle, spout, other), maximum length of the sherd, estimated diameter of the vessel if a rim or base sherd, decorative method, pattern, and colors, form (flatware or hollow ware), and possible function (tea or tableware, utilitarian ware, etc.). At both sites, I completed minimum number of vessel estimates (MNVs) of the refined earthenwares and porcelain to determine, at minimum, how many vessels were represented by the sherds recovered archaeologically. This was done in order to understand the types and numbers of vessels present at both sites that speak to dining practices. I detail the method and results of these MNV estimates in Chapters 4 and 5.

Besides ceramics, artifacts relating to the presence of children (marbles, doll fragments, children's ceramics, and other toys) were studied from both sites, as well as tobacco pipes at the Gage House. In the Cheney house assemblage, flowerpots and canning jars were focused on.

A variety of materials related to children were found at the Gage site that feature in my interpretation of the household's philosophy and activities as developed in Chapter 4. Six marbles were found in our excavations, five of which came from the sheet midden behind the house (Table 3.1).⁴ The sixth, a "commie," or common earth-toned clay marble produced by any number of factories during the late-19th and early-20th centuries, came from the test unit placed in the west garden (Carskadden and Gartley 1990:56). Of the five from the sheet midden, three are also "commies," while one is possibly a Bennington or "crocker" type, made in Germany

⁴ URAP student Katherine Heil conducted research on these marbles in the spring of 2009.

during the late-19th century and sporting a mottled brown and purplish glaze, hence the Bennington name (Carskadden and Gatley 1990: 57). The last is a “china” or porcelain marble with hand painted intersecting lines of teal, red, and grey. This type of marble was made in Germany and quite popular in the United States between the 1850s and 1910s (Carskadden and Gatley 1990:62). As the four Gage children were born between 1845 and 1861, the rather wide time range of the marbles’ production does not allow us to definitively associate them with the Gage children, although it is likely that they were used by either the Gage children or grandchildren.

Parts of two porcelain dolls were uncovered in different areas of the property (Table 3.2). An intact “Frozen Charlotte” doll head was found on the ground surface next to the front stairs of the Gage house after masonry work disturbed the soil immediately adjacent to the stairs. These dolls were typically small, unjointed porcelain dolls with hand-painted hair and facial features, and were produced in mass quantities in Germany in the latter half of the 19th century (Yuan 2007). A portion of the head of what was likely a baby doll, owing to its short, straight molded hair, was recovered from Unit 229 in the west garden area and likely dates to the late 19th century. Both of these dolls were likely owned by the Gage children or grandchildren given their dates of production.

Three small lead toys were recovered from the rear yard, including two matching lead horse figures and one miniature hammer; a small mouth harp was also found in this area (Table 3.3). Slate pencil fragments were likely used in the Gage children and grandchildren’s schooling, and come from the sheet midden, pit feature #1, and the area outside of the kitchen door (Table 3.4).

Finally, several examples of specialized ceramics for children were found (Table 3.5). Three fragments from an alphabet plate and the sugar box from a porcelain child’s tea set were found in the rear yard and sheet midden, respectively. The alphabet plate has the letters of the alphabet embossed on the rim, while the center has a transfer printed image of a little girl at a piano and the statement “The pretty child on tiptoe stands/to reach the piano with her hands” below it. Hand painted overglaze accents in green and brown color the image. This plate is nearly identical to a marked example shown in Lindsay & Lindsay (1998:62) made by Elsmore and Son. According to Kowalsky and Kowalsky (1999:189), the Elsmore and Son pottery was in production between 1872 and 1887. This suggests that this plate has a TPQ of 1872, and thus could have been used by the Gage children.

A minimum of 11 distinct tobacco pipe bowls was found across the property, ten of which are decorated (Table 3.6).⁵ One partial bowl bears the embossed image of an eagle with shield clutching arrows, surrounded by stars – a variant of the United States Seal, while another bears stars ringing “TD” and around the rim of the bowl. The date range of production for the first is unknown, although based on its design is likely associated with the American Centennial in 1876. The “TD” pipe is likely to have been made by the R. Bannerman Eagle Tobacco Pipe Factory of Rouses Point, New York, between 1875 and 1884 as they were known to produce pipes in this pattern (Sudbury 1980:5). Interestingly, in 1876 the Bannerman factory also produced a pipe in the “Centennial” pattern, although whether or not this is the same as the

⁵ Cataloging and research on the Gage tobacco pipes was conducted by URAP student Laurie Roderick in 2009.

example found at the Gage house is unknown. The apparent selection of pipes that display icons of patriotism is developed in Chapter 4.

At the Cheney site, a total of six marbles were found in the side (southern) yard (Table 3.7). Three are “commies,” as above, produced during the late-19th and early-20th centuries (Carskadden and Gartley 1990:56). The fourth appears to be a Bennington or “crocker” type, as above, dating to the late 19th century (Carskadden and Gartley 1990: 57). The last two are clear glass marbles with multicolored swirls inside them. Although the surfaces of these two marbles have been abraded off and a pontil remnant is thus not visible, I believe that these are handmade cane-cut marbles that date prior to World War I due to their similarity to examples of “Naked ribbon core swirl” handmade marbles shown in Block 1999 (22-23). The late-19th to early-20th century dates for all of these marbles places them squarely within the period when the Cheney boys would have been growing up in the house, as they were born between 1884 and 1890. Coupled with the horseshoe pit feature described above and May’s memoirs (1932a, 1932b), these marbles suggest that the yard space south of the house was a place for play and outdoor activities for the family. I expand this discussion in Chapter 5.

The remains of, at minimum, four terra-cotta flowerpots (Table 3.8, Table 3.9) based on paste color and thickness were recovered from the various yard spaces of the Cheney site, and together with the brick border features found in the front and side yards, testify to Warren’s love of gardening and care of the house’s property. I place these practices within the context of the changing ideals of manliness and masculinity during the late-19th and early-20th centuries in Chapter 5.

There is also evidence of the consumption of home-canned foods at the Cheney house, if not the actual practice of canning itself (Table 3.10). Fragments of milk glass lid liners and a portion of the threaded mouth of a canning jar testify to the presence of non-commercially-canned foods in the household, while the assemblage of unidentifiable clear container glass may contain the remnants of more jars. An intact (still partially sealed) shoulder-sealing Mason jar popularly used prior to 1915 (Lindsey 2010) was found beneath the front hall staircase of the house just days prior to its demolition, and provides a rather direct connection between canning and the Cheney household. I expand on this interpretation in Chapter 5, placing the practice of home canning within the context of the domestic science movement.

Conclusions

In the following chapter, I combine the archaeological and historical information gathered on the Gage site and household to put forth an interpretation that challenges notions of the Victorian home as removed from politics. In Chapter 5, I take on the materials and history of the Cheney house to examine how May and Warren negotiated gender ideals and reform politics within their home.

Chapter 4: The Gage Household: Material culture meanings and uses in the Victorian era

Introduction

The Victorian-era home, its material culture, and the cultural meanings implicated in these household objects have long been of fascination to historians of material culture and archaeologists alike. As I will demonstrate in this chapter, while it has been recognized that there were several co-existing gender ideologies operating during this period, the so-called “Cult of Domesticity” has been the most emphasized and studied. Moreover, this particular ideological framework most explicitly linked household material culture with broader cultural meanings, providing ample fodder for the interpretation of household objects. What this has resulted in, however, has been an over-emphasis on the hegemonic meanings attached to material culture specifically through the Cult of Domesticity, and has served to ‘disappear’ considerations of alternative gender ideologies that may have been at play in any particular site under study. Moreover, it has overlooked the possibility that alternate meanings were attributed to household objects through their use.

In archaeological studies of Victorian-era households, then, this has resulted in the interpretation of household assemblages as either adhering to the ideals of feminine domesticity (and all of the cultural and behavioral baggage which that suggests), or not, based on the presence or absence of particular styles of material culture. While considerations such as economic status, ethnicity, household lifecycle, and simple practicality have been recognized as factors relevant to whether or not a household was *able* to take part in the dominant ideal of domesticity, these interpretations tend to implicitly assume that simple ownership and use of the “correct” materials directly correlates to a buying-into of the prescriptive ideals of the period. Interpretations tend to assume that the prescriptive ideal was uncritically accepted by past households, and moreover, that objects had singular meaning imposed by this ideology; if the material culture required in order to live up to that prescriptive ideal is absent, then the mitigating factors mentioned above must be considered. What is largely absent, however, from these interpretations is a consideration of the actual uses of and meanings given to material culture by the people who bought and used it.

To provide an alternate perspective, I utilize a framework based on practice theory to foreground the agency of past actors, drawing particularly on the work of Michel de Certeau (1984). As discussed in Chapter 1, the work of de Certeau is particularly apt for considerations of agency and practice in contexts where mass-produced material goods are being studied. Central to de Certeau’s work is the concept of poaching, which calls attention to the uses to which resources are put by consumers who are not their creators. In this formulation, consumption itself is a different kind of production (de Certeau 1984:xiii).

Using de Certeau’s work, I examine the archaeological and documentary information related to the Matilda Joslyn Gage House which, in contrast to the above described studies, suggests that simple ownership of particular types of material culture in itself does little to support the claim that its users adhered to the dominant gendered ideal of the period. While the Gage household owned and used many of the household goods defined as central to enacting the Cult of

Domesticity, the documentary record suggests that the relationship between these materials and Matilda Gage's philosophy and actions was much more complicated. By paying particular attention to the household's tea and table wares, in conjunction with the documentary record, what becomes apparent is that the social meanings imbued in these objects through practice were varied and complex, rather than simply reflective of the hegemonic cultural ideologies related to gender from this period. Instead, the Gages used these mundane materials both in creating a family home and in the everyday enactment of social and political reform efforts.

In this chapter, then, I will first provide an overview of three historically recognized feminine gender ideologies at play within the Victorian period, including the Cult of Domesticity and True Womanhood, Domestic Reform, and Equal Rights Feminism. In the second section, I endeavor to disentangle the enduring fascination with Victorian domestic spaces by relating how household material culture has been tied to culturally dominant meanings by historians of material culture, and how this information has been in turn utilized by archaeologists. In the third section, I apply these considerations to the material culture of the Matilda Joslyn Gage household, utilizing the frames of practice theory to suggest an alternate reading of Victorian household materials.

Gender Ideologies of the Victorian Period

Drawing on the work of historian Janet Zollinger Giele (1995), archaeologist Deborah Rotman (2009) has identified three prevailing female gender ideologies present during the second half of the 19th century: the Cult of Domesticity/Cult of True Womanhood, domestic reform, and equal rights feminism⁶. These arose subsequent to the early American period's ideology of republican motherhood, which lauded women's responsibility to raise model citizens for the new Republic, and persisted into the 1830s (Wall 1994:158). During this period, the home was seen as a microcosm of broader society, and productive labor was centered within the domestic arena. All members of the family – men, women, and children – had a role to play in the family's economic life. This changed during the course of the first half of the 19th century, when home spaces and work spaces became differentiated and gendered (Wall 1994). The domestic space became feminized, and the three female gender ideologies discussed here differ in their conceptualization of the proper relationship between women and the home. As Rotman (2009) makes clear, these three gender ideologies have considerable overlap in their lived experience, although conceptually, they have been seen as separate and distinct entities. In this section, I sketch the broad outlines of their characteristics, and endeavor to make sense of the relationships between them.

The Cult of Domesticity and True Womanhood

The related gender ideologies referred to as the Cult of Domesticity and the Cult of True Womanhood both focused on woman's proper place within the household sphere (Welter 1966; Roberts 2002; Wall 1994:4-9; Rotman 2001:28-33). As Wall (1994:6) notes, by the mid-19th century, the role of middle-class women had shifted from one of household production to

⁶ Male gender ideologies have been largely overlooked by researchers, with the notable exceptions of Kimmel 2005 and 2012, Bederman 1995, and Carnes and Griffen 1990. Archaeological studies incorporating considerations of male gender ideologies are even more elusive, Wilkie 2010 being a notable, and very recent, example.

encompass consumption and social reproduction. Women were considered the moral heads of their households and were responsible for the physical and moral environment of the home. Additionally, they were responsible for producing and maintaining a household's public image in terms of gentility and respectability. Attendant with this construction of feminine domesticity was what historian Barbara Welter (1966) has called "The Cult of True Womanhood." The four traits of piety, purity, submissiveness, and domesticity were seen as the epitome of feminine conduct and nature for the period, and worked hand in hand with the Cult of Domesticity. The inclusion of piety in this formulation of ideal womanhood highlights the central place of Protestant Christianity in this ideology (explored by McDannell 1986). Giele (1995) ties this ideology to the Temperance Movement, with a view of women as different from men. As purer and more moral, women's influence was needed in the home and, over time, in the broader world as seen by its extension into domestic reform, discussed below.

The ideal traits of womanhood as included in the Cult of Domesticity were popularly lauded in prescriptive literature of the period, including novels, magazines, and home advice manuals such as those written by Catherine Beecher and Harriet Beecher Stowe (1869), Sarah Josepha Hale (1844), and Julia McNair Wright (1881). While these prescriptive works cannot be taken as representative of what individual women actually did, they are important in that they helped create, change, and reinforce the image of the ideal which individual women would have had to navigate in their own lives (Leavitt 2002).

Equal Rights Feminism

Equal rights feminism, on the other hand, stood in opposition to the sentimentalized notion of women as the naturally moral guardians of the sacred family home. Instead of arguing for women's worth as based solely on their roles as wife, mother, and keeper of the home, this explicitly political ideology saw women as the equals of men (Giele 1995). Women adhering to this ideology demanded legal and political equality, most notably with the woman suffrage movement beginning in the 1830s and extending until universal suffrage was achieved in 1920. In addition, equal rights feminists fought for the right of married women to own property, enjoy custody rights, and in essence be economically and legally-recognized autonomous individuals separate from their fathers, and upon marriage, husbands (Giele 1995).

Equal rights feminists are most recognizably characterized by participation in state- or national-level woman's rights organizations such as the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA), founded in 1869 by Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton. While this ideology does not have the same obvious material ties to the home as the Cult of Domesticity does, I argue here that it was enacted on a day to day basis within the home, the so-called apolitical, domestic sphere.

Domestic Reform

The domestic reform ideology, like equal rights feminism, saw the Cult of Domesticity as too restrictive for women. They differed significantly, however, in that domestic reform did not seek to challenge the basic assumption that women were by nature more moral and suited to nurturing than men. Instead, domestic reformers used the belief in women's proper association with the home to argue for recognizing the worth and significance of women's domestic work, and by extension, their suitability to 'fix' domestic-related concerns within the wider social sphere; this

attitude has been coined as “deferential citizenship” (Kerber 1976:203). As defined by Suzanne Spencer-Wood (1994:178), domestic reform included,

a variety of activities by a large number of interrelated but diverse nineteenth-century social movements that shared the goals of improving the status and conditions of women's lives by expanding women's roles, economic independence, and power in both the public and private spheres. This expansion was accomplished by professionalizing women's domestic roles in the home and in the public sphere. [...] Most reformers argued that women should control their expanded domestic sphere as separate but equal to men's public sphere.

This view of women's proper role in society as, in effect, ‘separate but equal’ echoes the ideology of Republican Motherhood as defined by Linda Kerber (1976:205), who saw it in female reformers' arguments “that the obligations of women to ensure honesty in politics, efficient urban sanitation, pure food and drug laws were extensions of their responsibilities as mothers.” By arguing for their relevance to the extra-domestic world from their place within the home, “domestic reformers occupied the ‘middle ground’ between the public and private spheres by negotiating a place for women in each of them” (Rotman 2009:28).

The Cult of “The Cult of Domesticity”⁷

Perhaps because of the preponderance of prescriptive and popular literature lauding the traits associated with the Cult of Domesticity, both historians of material culture and archaeologists have focused the majority of their attention on hegemonic domesticity, to the detriment of considerations of alternative gender ideologies. Also significant is the emphasis of the Cult of Domesticity on the importance of the material culture surroundings in influencing the moral character of a home's inhabitants. Coupled with the period's shift to domestic consumerism, and the explosion of household goods available due to mass-manufacturing processes brought about by industrialization, women were faced with a daunting array of household goods from which to choose, and the responsibility of choosing wisely lest they fail to provide a proper home environment for their family.

Most of the historical literature highlights several recurring themes which link material culture to prevailing ideological attitudes: belief in the home environment to shape personal character, and class-based anxiety over propriety, presentation of the self, and etiquette. As Williams (1996:52) has stated, “A woman was charged with the responsibility of creating a household environment that would nurture taste, civility, and Christian ideals in her husband and children, thereby influencing them to be moral and productive members of society.”

In material terms, these concerns were expressed in a variety of ways. Use of gothic-styled architecture and ceramics, as well as natural motifs (or actual plants) can be seen as expressions of the ‘cult of home religion,’ whereby the home was cast as a Christian sanctuary from the corrupt public sphere (Beecher and Stowe 1869, Spencer-Wood 1996). The elaboration of meals and an increased specialization in dining and serving wares was related to the role of

⁷ After Roberts 2002:150

middle-class women in maintaining the family's standing within the social structure, as well as acting as guiding moral spirit of the family (Williams 1987). In the remainder of this section, I provide an overview of how historians have interpreted the linkage of household architecture and material culture and the ideology of the Cult of Domesticity by presenting a walk-through of the hypothetical, ideal Victorian house.

Domestic Architecture

The belief that "...the *physical* construction of the home shape[d] the 'minds and morals' of the family" (McDannell 1986:24; see also Clark 1976:42) provides a significant opening for discussion of the linkages between architectural style, domestic spaces, and domestic ideology. Catherine Beecher and Harriet Beecher Stowe (1869) may have made the most explicit linkage between house architecture and domestic/religious ideology in proposing that the floor plan of the ideal family home literally embody a cross shape. More generally, however, houses in the Gothic Revival style, popular between 1840 and 1860 in the United States, were seen as uniquely suited to fostering the sentimentalized ideal of feminine domesticity and family refuge (Baker 1994; Clark 1976). Gothic Revival houses were characterized stylistically by an "emphasized verticality," with "steeply pitched roofs, board and batten siding, sharply pointed dormers, and ornamentation on the gables" (Clark 1976:35). Such has been the extent of identification of the Gothic Revival style of architecture with the Cult of Domesticity that some researchers (i.e. Rotman 2005) have assumed that families purchasing such houses, by virtue of that purchase, adhered to that ideology.

Regardless of the architectural style, an important feature of the home exterior was its natural setting. While the ideal home was a rural cottage far removed from the evils of the city and commerce, even women in urban and suburban homes could foster a sense of appreciation for the beauty of nature through its mastery in carefully-kept gardens and yards. These spaces simultaneously presented an image of the family and household to the public, and served as buffering spaces between the public nature of the street and the private nature of the home (Clark 1976).

Domestic spaces

The design of spaces within the ideal Victorian house operated on the principles of segmentation, specialization, and varying levels of privacy and access. As Clark (1986:40) has argued, the private home was seen as "an island of stability in an increasingly restless society" and thus was a space within which a family – under the careful watch of mother – could exist within an ordered and ideal environment.

This sense of order and separation of space began with one's first approach to the ideal house. Verandas, porches, and entry halls were transitional spaces between the public and private, and access to increasingly more private spaces could be easily regulated by a home's occupants.

Within the house, rooms were situated as to whether they were for public visitor or private family viewing; rooms such as the front parlor – meant to be the most formal room of the house – were specifically designed for entertaining guests, while the dining room and rear parlor or sitting room were meant for family members almost exclusively (McDannell 1986:26; Clark 1986:42; Clark 1976:49). Service areas including kitchens, pantries, and storage spaces – along

with their own staircase – were typically pushed to the back of the house, such that the utilitarian work of everyday life was kept separate from the eyes of potential visitors (Ames 1992:13; Clark 1976:49).

Upstairs, bedroom spaces were intended to be private and individual, allowing “the development of each of its members” as unique persons with a specific role to play in the family (Clark 1976:52). Having space for children separate from adults preserved an age hierarchy, while bedrooms for each child was deemed important so that children, especially daughters, would enjoy their time at home and not go looking for trouble beyond the house (Clark 1976:50).

Domestic Material Culture

As Ames (1992:9) has noted, “In Victorian America, each room of a house was understood to perform a distinctive set of functions. These functions were revealed, served, and advanced by an equally distinctive set of artifacts.” Let us walk through the rooms used by the family group and visitors of an ideal home and examine the furnishings contained within each room.

Upon entering the front hall, a visitor would have faced a specialized space which regulated access between the public exterior of the house and the private interior; it functioned as a “sheltered testing zone which some passed through with ease and others never went beyond” (Ames 1992:43). As Ames (1992:7) has argued, the furnishing of the front hall functioned as a kind of “image management” whereby the taste and status of the family was imparted to visitors through the specialized material culture contained in the space. The suite of artifacts typically included a hallstand with hooks for coats and hats, an umbrella stand, mirror, and small table top; a receiver for calling cards; and specially-designed hall chairs that were un-upholstered and had ornamentally carved backs (Ames 1992). Here, visitors to the house would wait, faced with a relatively open space and yet closed off - containing the sweep of stairs to the second floor, and closed doors to different rooms off of the hall.

If the visitor was of the same social level as the house’s occupants, he or she would wait to be announced by a servant, and then welcomed into the relatively more private space of the front parlor; while waiting, they could ensure their proper appearance in the hall-stand mirror and prepare to be welcomed. For visitors of a lower social status than the house occupants, or servants on errands for their employer, the front hall could be all that they saw, with its uncomfortable hall chairs.

The front parlor, like the front hall, was decorated with an eye to impressing the visitor. The most formal room of the home, it presented the public face of the house to those who entered, and the desired message was one of propriety, taste, and refinement. Parlor furnishings typically included a parlor suite, comprised of a sofa, gentleman’s chair, lady’s chair, and four visitors’ chairs; a parlor organ, drapery, pieces of art, figurines, natural specimens, and is perhaps the room most seen to embody the sense of crowded fussiness often attributed to the Victorian home. The room would have been used mainly for entertaining visitors, including hosting afternoon teas, and holding significant family events, such as weddings and funerals.

The parlor suite itself especially embodied a sense of hierarchy and order. The gentleman’s chair was the largest chair of the set, and included padded armrests. The lady’s chair was smaller and

had lower, unpadding armrests. Finally, the four visitors' chairs were smallest and had no arms at all (Ames 1992:190, 194). The parlor suite would have provided a powerful image of proper order and hierarchy to the visitor, in addition to physically shaping how one both sat and related to others in the room.

In contrast, the rear parlor or sitting room, typically located behind the formal parlor, would have served as the family's main gathering space on a day to day basis. The furnishings of this room would have been decidedly less formal than the front parlor, and may have included comfortable pieces such as rocking chairs. Sentimental embroidered mottoes, family photographs, books, and sewing baskets would mark this space as for family use, rather than representing the family's status to outside visitors (Ames 1992). Family-only teas and breakfasts may have been held here.

The dining room, likewise, was intended for use by the family, rather than visitors.⁸ It, too, had distinctive furnishings including, of course, a dining table and chairs but also a built-in or free-standing sideboard, often elaborately carved. These sideboards were the focal point of the room, and served a practical purpose – storing and displaying dining wares, and providing a place for different courses to be served during the meal – as well as symbolic. Wall décor and carpeting were often subdued, emphasizing the visual focus on the sideboard, as well as on the meal itself.

The intention of the dining room was to encourage the “spiritual unity” of the family (Clark 1987), and as such, the dining room sideboard – often in a gothic style – held parallels to the church altar (Clark 1987; Williams 1996). Moreover, the dining room was where women shone as moral guardians of the household and family, upholding the home as “sacred refuge for the middle-class family” (Clark 1987:146).

The ritual of dining was tightly scripted, and employed the use of a wide variety of material artifacts – utensils and tableware, serving vessels and drinking implements. During the second half of the 19th century, advances in manufacturing methods allowed merchants to offer large dining service sets in various grades of price, quality and decoration. Ownership of a matched set of dishes was considered necessary for setting a proper middle-class table, and these sets typically included an almost bewildering variety of specialized vessel forms: dinner plates, breakfast plates, twifflers (plates approximately eight inches in diameter), muffins (plates approximately four to seven inches in diameter), soup plates, sauce tureens, sauce boats, soup tureens, covered vegetable dishes, meat dishes, pudding dishes, a butter plate, butter pats, custard bowls, and a gravy dish (Williams 1996:80, 82). Tea and coffee sets would additionally include teacups and saucers, coffee cups, a teapot, a coffee pot, sugar dish, milk jug, and slop bowl, and would be used at breakfast as well as during afternoon tea.

These tea and table wares were offered in a variety of ceramic types and with vastly differing types of decoration, from plain earthen wares to exquisitely hand-painted porcelains. The most popular type of ceramics in most middle-class households beginning in the 1850s and 1860s, however, was white ironstone, a heavy and long-wearing semi-vitreous ceramic. White ironstone was most commonly decorated with raised, molded designs on the rim that came in a variety of patterns; the Gothic pattern (Figure 4.1) was especially quite popular. Archaeologists

⁸ This changed in the 1880s, with the popularity of hosting dinner parties (Clark 1987:154).

and material culture historians alike have tied the popularity of this non-ostentatious, minimally-decorated (and yet not inexpensive) type of ceramic to the emphasis on home as a sacred refuge, arguing that its use exemplified women's role as moral guardians of the domestic sphere. Ironstone in the Gothic pattern, especially, has been linked to the enactment of the Cult of Domesticity, as will be discussed with regard to Wall's (1991, 1994) archaeological work later on in this chapter.

Also needed to set a full table would be glass water tumblers and goblets, salt cellars, a castor set, and celery vase, as well as utensils – forks, knives, and spoons, enough to provide each diner with a fresh set for each course. Utensils could be relatively basic, or exquisitely specialized, including such now-unheard-of items such as ice cream and asparagus forks, or orange spoons (Williams 1996:87).

Ownership of the requisite tea and table wares was but one part of enacting a proper middle-class status, however. Rules of etiquette, popularized by dozens upon dozens of manuals published during the 19th century, were a formalized social code that served to stabilize and set out proper behaviors and relationships in a time of rapid social change. Emphasis on bodily comportment and control, ritual, formality, and schedule was one means of differentiating middle-class Victorians from the lower classes and immigrants, and overall, was seen as crucial to the maintenance of social order (Kasson 1987; Williams 1996). The use of matched sets of table and tea wares indicated a sense of individuality within the whole of the family, while proper bodily management and use of the specialized utensils indicated the attainment and maintenance of a civilized state.

With the broad outlines of the 'ideal' home and the Cult of Domesticity established, let us now turn to how archaeologists have incorporated these ideas into their interpretations of the Victorian period household.

Archaeological studies of Victorian households and material culture

Like material culture historians, archaeologists pursuing research into Victorian domestic sites have typically limited their research to considerations of whether a given household adhered to the material, and presumably ideological, trappings of hegemonic domesticity⁹. Due to the nature of the archaeological evidence, the use of particular kinds of material culture in particular household spaces is not self-evident; however, some archaeologists, such as Yentsch (1991), have linked earth-toned ceramics used for food preparation and storage with the symbolically private and female space of the kitchen, in contrast to the white ceramics used for food serving and consumption, as public and therefore symbolically male. For the most part, however, archaeological studies have relied on material culture recovered from contexts of disposal, such as middens and privies, rather than contexts of use. These studies have emphasized whether or not a given artifactual assemblage – with particular attention paid to artifacts related to food consumption - reflects the themes embodied by the ideal material culture suite of a proper middle-class Victorian home – individualization and specialization, order and discipline, and private family vs. public visitor use.

⁹ Deborah Rotman's work (2001, 2005, 2006, 2009) is a noted exception to this trend, discussed below.

Diana diZerega Wall, perhaps more than any other historical archaeologist, has studied the presence of tea and table wares in middle-class 19th century households and explored what meanings they might have held in terms of gender ideologies.

In her 1991 article, Wall examined the ceramic dining and tea wares recovered from two mid-19th-century trash deposits in Greenwich Village, New York. The households from which these deposits came, the upper-middle class Robson household, and lower-middle class households associated with the 25 Barrow Street site, both predominantly used paneled (Gothic pattern) white ironstone table wares. Tea wares from the Barrow Street assemblage were also Gothic paneled ironstone, while most of the Robson's were porcelain but half of which were similarly paneled. Wall suggests that the consumer choice made by the women of these households in purchasing Gothic-style ceramics for use in family meals and teas was intended to reinforce the sacred nature of the home and family, as prescribed by the Cult of Domesticity (1991:78).

In contrast to the Barrow street households, the Robson household assemblage contained an additional set of porcelain tea wares of a pedestaled form and decorated with gilt. Wall interprets this set of tea wares as representing that which the Robson household would have used when holding more public afternoon teas, held in the parlor and presenting the opportunity for displaying the household's "claims to a refined gentility" (79). Unlike the family meals held in the dining room, which emphasized the collective and sacred, feminine nature of the family and the home, these afternoon teas held in the parlor operated to fulfill the second aspect of social reproduction identified within the Cult of Domesticity as the domain of the proper middle-class woman: that of maintaining the household's social and economic standing within the eyes of the wider community.

Deborah Rotman's (2001, 2005, 2009¹⁰) work on the negotiated adoption of 19th century female gender ideologies in Deerfield, Massachusetts is significant for its very recognition of multiple female gender ideologies present during this period, and for its examination of the varied factors which influenced how individual families were able to negotiate such ideologies. Specifically, in addition to the familiar social categories of class, gender, and ethnicity (as externally-imposed factors), individual families were also affected by internal dynamics such as births, deaths, marriages, and divorces. As such, Rotman argues, when studying how gender ideologies were – or were not – implemented through practice in the 19th century, considerations of the household's or family's unique trajectory through time must be paid attention to. Three case studies of individual households are examined through the lens of whether or not they appeared to conform to any of the three 19th century female gender ideologies previously discussed: the Cult of Domesticity, equal rights feminism, and domestic reform. The ceramic assemblages excavated from each site and the domestic architecture present forms the basis for these studies.

Rotman draws mainly on two archaeological studies of ceramic use and gender ideals for her analysis in this article: Anne Yentsch's (1991) study of the symbolic divisions of pottery in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and Diana Wall's (1991, 1994) aforementioned study of the domestic versus socially competitive styles of tea wares in the first half of the 19th century. As mentioned at the beginning of this section, Yentsch's study effectively argues that during this

¹⁰ My interpretation of Rotman's work is based mainly on her 2001 dissertation and 2005 article published in *The International Journal of Historical Archaeology*.

period, a trend towards differentiation of ceramic wares can be seen in which those wares utilized mainly by women for food preparation/storage and located in the kitchen were overwhelmingly earth-toned; this was in contrast to the white wares utilized for serving and consuming food. Yentsch highlights the private/public and feminine/masculine attributions of the two different kinds of wares, and Rotman takes adherence to this pattern in the three case studies as evidence that the household adhered to a gender ideology congruent with the Cult of Domesticity. Wall's study, on the other hand, examined tea wares from wealthy and poorer households within 19th century New York City, and found that those families without many means continued to use tea wares in the outdated Gothic style, while wealthier families used more ornate and updated forms. Wall argues that, besides simply reflecting their ability to purchase ceramics, the difference reflects the intended audience of the teas: wealthier families held teas where the intention was to be socially competitive, while less wealthy families held teas in order to celebrate family and close friends, and in general affiliated themselves with the Cult of Domesticity.

The materials recovered archaeologically from three house sites in Deerfield were examined with regard to how the ceramic assemblages do or do not conform to the patterns observed in the Yentsch and Wall studies. Adherence to the pattern identified by Yentsch is taken to indicate 'buying into' the Cult of Domesticity, while, from Wall, an absence of elaboration of decoration on tea wares is taken to indicate the outward presentation of a household's identification with the Cult of Domesticity. Rotman then combines such ceramic patterning with considerations of the household's stage of development at the time of the formation of the assemblage in order to show how period gender ideologies were differentially adopted and adapted in light of internal dynamics. For example, the family of Reverend Moors, while having built a Gothic Revival cottage (seen as code for an adherence to the Cult of Domesticity), and owning Gothic Revival ceramics (ditto), did not possess many tea wares. Rotman attributes this to the fact that the Moors were newlyweds at the time of this deposition and thus did not have the means to "reproduc[e] their social position through the ritual of afternoon tea" (2005:18); they may have rather expended their income on hiring a domestic servant which was a more visible indication of their middle-class domestic status. Thus, while the household did appear to ascribe to the Cult of Domesticity, it could not implement all of the conditions set out by the ideology due to financial factors.

Rotman's work is significant for its explicit examination of the possible material correlates of female gender ideology, and makes the crucial point that such studies must consider the stage of development of the household under study in order to be meaningful (similarly to Wilkie 2003). My argument in this work seeks to extend this analysis to consider the ways in which the uses of material culture can both support and contest the dominant gender ideologies they are conceptually associated with.

Praetzellis and Praetzellis (2001) provides a significant example of archaeological work which cautions against simply seeing ownership of certain material goods as reflective of acceptance of dominant ideologies. In this particular example, the authors specifically take issue with the idea that all those who possessed and used what they term "genteel" material culture, or that which conformed to Victorian propriety, were aspiring to membership in the white, middle-class culture. Instead, by highlighting how this suite of material culture was used by the households of

a Mexican-Californio, a Chinese American merchant, African American porters, and a brothel, they endeavor to highlight the active nature of material culture and the power of its symbolic associations. Their point is an important one, as not everyone who used “genteel” material culture would have done so with the intention of reproducing culturally hegemonic meanings. I seek to extend the authors’ analysis further here, by scrutinizing the home and materials of the Gages in the same way that they did for various non-dominant groups.

Material Culture and Practice in the Gage Household

Having traversed the landscape of previous historical and archaeological studies of the Victorian home and its material trappings, let us turn now to the example of the Gage household. As discussed in Chapter 2, the Gages fit squarely within the middle class due to a multiplicity of factors: their home ownership, ability to employ a domestic servant, and overall distance from manual labor due to husband Henry’s ownership of a store. Also powerfully implicated in their middle-class status was Matilda’s ability to stay at home and “keep house.”¹¹

Architecture and the Use of Space

The Gage’s house, as it appeared after 1858, follows closely the period’s prescriptive ideals of household space (Figure 4.2). Upon entering the house, one would have stood in the front hall, faced with the stairs to the second floor ahead, and a door to the formal parlor on the right. Beyond the stairs, a passageway led to the rear of the house, containing doors to the sitting room on the right, and ahead, to a room with a large bay window that may have been used as a breakfast room and bedroom at various times. Behind the front parlor, separated by double doors, lay the sitting room, which boasted an Italianate fireplace on the south wall and French doors and stairs down to the formal garden on the west side of the house (Figure 2.4). From the sitting room, doors led to the ca. 1863 bedroom addition on the southwest corner of the house, as well as to the breakfast room/bedroom to the west. The dining room lay behind the breakfast room/bedroom and to the east of the ca. 1863 bedroom and could be entered by doors from either room. Located in the original, rear portion of the house, the dining room had a lower ceiling and was followed by the kitchen.

Upstairs were primarily bedrooms, save Matilda’s library: “On the second floor were five bedrooms and a library whose walls were covered with books and a collection of specimens” (TC Gage 1924). Overall, the Gage’s house conformed closely to the middle-class ideal of the period with its array of segmented spaces, rooms for family gatherings and entertaining, and private rooms for personal space. An 1897 letter from Matilda to her son Thomas Clarkson hints at the even more specialized spaces once present in the house whose traces have been lost to

¹¹ This was the commonly-used means of designating married middle-class women’s occupation on census records, as we see Matilda listed as in 1870. While this designation suggests that women who remained in the home were not economic contributors to the household, in reality, women’s labor – with or without the assistance of paid domestic servants – was crucial to the operation of a household which enabled its members, namely husbands, to go forth into the world to earn the family’s keep. In addition, many middle-class women cared for boarders within their home. For instance, in the 1860, 1865, 1870, 1875, and 1889 censuses, a young man is listed within the Gage household as a boarder, working as a clerk (a different person in each census). These young men were employed as clerks in Henry’s store, and their salary was most likely paid in part by providing them room and board.

subsequent remodeling: “Counting the store-rooms there are fourteen rooms, four halls, seven closets, bath room, pantry, china closet, china cupboard, etc.” (Gage 1897).

Little is known historically of the home’s furnishings, with the exception of the front parlor (Figure 2.5). This photo shows that at least the front parlor of the home adhered to the ideal – and stereotypical – furnishing plan of the period.

The walls are covered with patterned wallpaper, and the two windows visible are topped with heavily-fringed valances, themselves topped with ornately carved decorative pieces likely of plaster. Below, sheer curtains edged with lace cascade dramatically to the floor, mingling with the fabric draped across the shelf below the large mirror. Even the double doors to the sitting room, reflected in the mirror, have their own drapes (known as portieres). In the left corner of the room, a sentimental print of a child and a dog is presented on a stand, while a second, obscured piece of art hangs behind it on the wall. Another framed piece of art hides below the shelf under the mirror.

While a sofa is not visible in the photo, it appears that the Gages did own an upholstered parlor set. The chair in the left foreground, with its upholstered arms and ornate woodwork at the shoulder, appears to be a gentleman’s chair. The armless chair on the right, and the two identical ones reflected in the mirror behind it, would be the visitor’s chairs included in the set as they have the same central wooden element on the top of the chair.

The shelf below the mirror, and the floor space below it, is occupied by a variety of knickknacks – a thumbprint glass pitcher, two lithographs, a parian statue of a boy and a dog, a vase of flowers, a silver jug, and a wine bottle adorned with ribbon. We can see elements of nature brought into the house in the vase of flowers, floral motifs on the antimacassars on the chairs, the animal horn hanging from the light fixture, and not least, in the stuffed great horned owl residing on the marble-topped table in the center of the room.

These furnishings match quite closely what material culture historian Katherine Grier (1988) has identified as the middle-class “vocabulary” of parlor furnishing during the second half of the 19th century. This vocabulary encompassed the aforementioned matched sets of parlor furniture, as well as “wall-to-wall carpeting and the fanciest window drapery in the house” and

decorative lighting devices including fancy lamps and chandeliers, center tables that had marble tops or were elaborately covered, display shelves or cabinets, pianos, mantelpieces (with large mirrors above if possible), and wall decorations, including small wall-hung decorative shelves and objects in frames. Some women's handiwork was displayed, while needlework in the form of pillows, throws, and tidies (pieces of fabric intended to protect upholstery from the oil of hands and hair) contributed to the decorative effect of the upholstery. [Grier 1988:89]

By the 1880s, the parlor came to include more personal items such as photo albums, gift books, and bibles, in addition to an eclectic mix of souvenirs and knickknacks intended to “communicate...the cultured facade of the parlor owners” (Grier 1988:91).

Archaeological Materials

Given the paucity of historical information related to household furnishings and material culture owned by the Gages, the materials found archaeologically provide our best glimpse of the stuff of everyday life owned and used by the Gages, particularly as they relate to the daily rituals of dining.

Thousands of sherds of ceramics were recovered from the excavations, and after they were individually catalogued I created a minimum estimation of the number of vessels (MNV) in order to create a useable understanding of what ceramic vessels were represented in the assemblage. To create the MNV, I separated out all ceramics sherds that were from the rim or base of a vessel, or had distinctive body treatments from the overall assemblage. This included the minimally-provenienced ceramics recovered as part of the construction mitigation in 2009. I then sorted these by ware type, and then within each ware type by decorative method or pattern if present. I continued to sub-divide the assemblage until I could no longer clearly differentiate a given group of sherds into multiple vessels, as they all appeared similar enough to have originated from a single vessel. I recorded these sherd groupings on MNV sheets, on which the proveniences of the sherds are recorded along with the features (ware, form, decorative treatment, pattern, diameter) which distinguish those sherds as a potential vessel from all the others.

This process left me with a total of 318 vessels, at minimum, represented by the ceramic sherds found throughout the excavations on the Gage property in all contexts. This number needs to be pared down, however, to exclude ceramics that are clearly of the late-18th and early-19th centuries, as well as those of the 20th century as they are not associated with the Gage household. Completion of a relational database will also allow me to differentiate vessels based on their feature association. For this discussion here, I focus on the ironstone tea and table vessels produced during the latter half of the 19th century identified through the MNV process.

A minimum of 54 ironstone vessels are represented by the assemblage, in 17 different patterns identified by comparison with Dieringer and Dieringer (2001). *Terminus post quem* dates shown in Table 4.1 are based on excavated sherds bearing maker’s marks, or on researching the potteries which produced a given pattern and their years of production; for both methods Kowalsky and Kowalsky (1999) was consulted. Seventeen of the 54 vessels are in the Gothic pattern or one of its variants, the most of any particular pattern (Table 4.1). The vessels were further broken down by form, based on size and shape; for differentiation between plate sizes, the Post-Colonial Ceramics Glossary (DAM 2010) was used (Tables 4.2, 4.3).

The Gothic-patterned vessels have the greatest variety of forms for any pattern, including teacups, saucers, muffins, twifflers, supper or dinner plates, and butter pats. Teacups and saucers would have typically been used for breakfasts and teas, while the larger plates, including twifflers, supper, and dinner plates, plus butter pats, would have been used for dinners and

suppers. Muffins (small plates) could have been used at either (Wall 1991:75). The presence of these vessels suggests that the Gages used Gothic-style ceramics for teas and breakfasts, as well as dinners – meals that would have had varying meanings depending on the particular context. Tea wares are present in eight of the other patterns as well, and table wares in seven; elements of both are present in the Asia Shape, Corn and Oats, Fig/Union, and Shaw’s Chinese patterns.

While the Gages clearly owned ironstone ceramics in a variety of patterns, they seem to have had a preference for the paneled/sided Gothic style in particular, given the high number of vessels in this pattern present and its inclusion of both tea and table wares. While these were not complete sets bought as a whole given the variations within the vessels present, they do represent a conscious choice to purchase ceramic pieces conforming to the Gothic style over an unknown period of time.

The fact that the Gages owned sets of ceramics specifically in the Gothic pattern is particularly interesting, given the historical emphasis placed on the religious connotations of this pattern and its explicit linkage to an enactment of the Cult of Domesticity. This in fact fits with the normative nature of the rest of the Gage’s material surroundings – the segmentation and uses of space within the house, the interior decor and its reference to the prevailing middle-class “vocabulary” of furnishings, and the incorporation of motifs from nature. On the face of it, it would appear that the Gages adhered to the Cult of Domesticity with no qualms.

By utilizing a multiplicity of sources, however, we know that this is far from the case. As discussed in Chapter 2, both Matilda and Henry Gage actively participated in the abolition movement, and to the best of our knowledge based on available sources, it is highly likely that they harbored freedom-seekers escaping from slavery on the Underground Railroad (Wagner and Wellman 2004). This would have quite literally brought political action within the “domestic sphere” of the Gage home.

An overwhelming amount of evidence shows how Matilda, in particular, deftly meshed the concerns of her home life with her political involvement on a day-to-day basis. Instead of trying to preserve the family home as a refuge from the outside world, Matilda instead brought political action into its very center through a number of activities. These activities, as previously detailed, included editing the national newspaper for the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA), managing the business of the NWSA and its New York State Chapter, planning national and state suffrage conventions, hosting abolition and suffrage meetings, entertaining visits by reformers including Lillie Devereux Blake, Gerrit Smith, Belva Lockwood, Lucretia Mott, William Lloyd Garrison, and Wendell Phillips, and working collaboratively with Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony on the business of the NWSA and writing the first three volumes of *The History of Woman Suffrage*. With this information at hand, it is obvious that, despite owning all of the “right” things for the home, we cannot assume that Matilda Gage solely operated within the Cult of Domesticity. Given her rich family life, however, we cannot discount the significance of her home and family, either. How, then, can we reconcile the normative view that we gain from looking solely at the Gage’s material culture?

This is where my proposed focus on practice becomes most useful. By taking to heart de Certeau’s (1984:32) assertion that,

the consumer cannot be identified or qualified by the [...] commercial products he assimilates: between the person (who uses them) and these products (indexes of the 'order' which is imposed on him), there is a gap of varying proportions opened by the use that he makes of them,

we can focus attention on this gap and examine the actual practices through which past actors imparted meaning to the products they owned. To do so, I turn now to the Gage's Gothic tea and table wares.

Afternoon tea had, by the mid-19th century, become a feminized social occasion, and constituted a major part of middle-class women's social life (Williams 1987). These social teas, differentiated from teas for just family members, have been identified as a major arena within which women could establish and maintain their family's social status by presenting an appropriate mastery of etiquette and image of respectability to their peers. Indeed, this competitive nature of social teas figures heavily into Wall's (1991) interpretation of the tea and table wares found at the Robson's and Barrow Street sites. Thus, the image presented most typically by these teas is one of stiff respectability, and perhaps gossip and competitiveness.¹²

It is likely that Matilda Gage and her daughters held social teas, as they were a ubiquitous part of socializing for middle-class women of the period. Moreover, they would have presented an appropriate middle-class image of respectability to their guests through the décor and furnishing of their front parlor. However, the socially competitive element of formal teas may well have been missing from the teas held by the Gages. Given Gage's commitment to a wide array of social reform causes, I believe it likely that even social gatherings would have been infused with efforts to elicit support and create coalitions for these causes.

This sense of companionship and mutual devotion to reform causes most likely also came into play when the Gages specifically hosted other reformers, such as those listed earlier. These visits also would likely have contained a fair amount of business discussion, as strategies were discussed and future actions planned. This is likely to be the case even more so during the extended visits of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony at the house. Historical evidence notes that Gage, Stanton, and Anthony did much of their collaborative work toward creating *The History of Woman Suffrage* together at the Gage home, and it is easy to picture them working together in the sitting room or Gage's library, with their clippings, notes, and drafts spread out across a large work table – over tea to fuel their work (Matilda Joslyn Gage Foundation 2009). Given the spirit with which they gathered together, it is unlikely that this tea was drunk with a spirit of competitiveness associated with jockeying for social status. Even less likely is it that they were consciously seeking to uphold the purity and sanctity of home and family, and woman's place as moral guardian of it, despite the fact that they ate and drank from paneled Gothic muffins and teacups. Instead, I like to think of the potentially subversive nature

¹² Whether this was true in most cases or not, this image of the afternoon tea was a powerful cultural symbol. For example, Margaret Wood (2004) found that within the context of the Berwind coal camp settlement in Colorado, coffee was consciously chosen as a more appropriate and less formal social beverage among working-class households. Sharing coffee with neighboring women was a means of forging a common working-class identity that extended across ethnic groups within the intentionally-mixed neighborhoods, and provided a means to subvert the coal company's efforts to prevent such identity creation and as a result, unionization.

of these ‘tea parties,’ as Gage, Stanton, and Anthony did no less than plot revolution over their cups of earl grey.

The table wares, however, may very well have represented the significance of family for Gage. As I discuss in the following section, Gage had a rich family life which included raising her and Henry’s four children, and subsequent visits by her grown children and their families. The desire to raise the next generations of American citizens in such a way as to enable their success – to teach them to ‘get by’ in the world – may in fact have been a powerful reason behind the household’s normative material culture. The claims to respectability and patriotism which appearing normative allowed the household may also have been an important part of the Gages’ reform efforts.

By paying attention to the actual uses to which material culture was put in the past, we can potentially move past a simple reading of prescriptive ideals reflected by the singular, dominant meaning attributed to material culture. In the absence of a discussion of these actual everyday practices, prescriptive ideals regarding what things *should* have been like stand in instead, and mask examples of people and households that consciously challenged the status quo in terms of gender ideology. We potentially miss the fact that artifacts such as these tea wares are emblematic of different social relations and practices that must be decoded within historically specific contexts. It becomes apparent through this view that female gender ideologies such as equal rights feminism and domestic reform *can* in fact be seen at the household level, provided that we know where to look.

Having established that there is in fact a potential ‘gap’ between the ideology of the Cult of Domesticity and the material world of the household, it is worth asking why, exactly, the Gages embodied so much of what was materially identified with that ideology.

“Making Do” and Intelligibility

As Praetzellis and Praetzellis (2001:645) noted, given the expansion of industrial production and supply networks in the Victorian period, the material culture they refer to as *genteel* was simply everywhere; it was “de rigueur for anyone who aspired to a position of respectability.” From this perspective, the normative nature of the Gage household’s material culture is of little interest besides noting that they appear to have successfully conformed to the white, middle-class norm. While that may be the case, I believe, given what we know of the Gage’s reform efforts, that the decision to appear respectable – to have a house that appears to conform to the expectations of the Cult of Domesticity – was potentially a conscious one.

I believe that Gage saw respectability and by extension intelligibility as a crucial part of her reform arsenal, and also as a simple practicality for surviving in the world as it existed, reform efforts notwithstanding. Female reformers continually had to battle against popular opinion which saw them as unnatural and freakish, and dismissed them out of hand. This is one reason why several suffragists, including Stanton, opted to discontinue wearing the Bloomer costume as the ridicule it gained them in the press and on the street overshadowed their other reform efforts (Stanton et al. 1887; Kesselman 1991). Gage’s emphasis on proper self-presentation, seen by both the house and her own dress seen in portraits, was potentially a tactic that enabled her to be much more radical in other aspects of her life. Additionally, Gage’s letters to her grown children about child-rearing show that she was quite concerned with raising them, and then her

grandchildren (several of whom lived with her for extended periods for various reasons) to be proper middle-class adults who could make their way in the world.

De Certeau's (1984) discussion of "making do" and Butler's (1990) notions of citationality and intelligibility as developed by Joyce (2004) are useful in thinking about how the role of respectability would have been important for the Gages, and Matilda Gage especially. In his chapter "'Making Do:' Strategies and Tactics," de Certeau (1984) emphasizes the creative and non-hegemonic ways that consumers use the products produced by a dominant culture. Coming from a non-dominant place, consumers cannot change the products they have access to; they can, however, establish through their use "a degree of *plurality* and creativity" that would otherwise be lost (30, emphasis in original). Because the materials used are not changed – whether houses or dishes – they cannot be easily 'read' as used in ways that subvert the dominant system.

Although not typically applied in archaeologies of the recent past, Joyce's (2004) development of Butler's (1990) concepts of performativity and citational precedents is useful for thinking about the Gages, in that the family's appearance of respectability can be seen as a kind of performative citation of cultural norms of respectability. That is, Matilda Gage may have been intentionally citing the images of proper womanhood and motherhood that surrounded her culturally and shaped the image of respectability shown in her house and childrearing practices. Simply put, by making the effort to appear normative by reproducing the material signifiers of gendered normativity, she made a claim to citizenship and membership in the dominant society while also trying to subvert the dominant society's formulation of gendered and racialized roles through her reform work. By presenting an image to the world that was, on its face, intelligible – respectable, and what would be expected from a woman of her class and race – she was able to concentrate her efforts on affecting social change.

Parenting and Grandparenting

Family letters suggest how important child-rearing was for Gage, both of her own children and then her grandchildren. These detail her efforts to shape her children and grandchildren into individuals who would in turn be seen as intelligible and respectable for their gender and class. As mentioned in Chapter 2, Gage's grandchildren were common visitors at the house, sometimes staying for months at a time.

During these visits, Gage's letters to her children detail her efforts to guide and discipline her grandchildren. In 1891, Gage reports to her daughter Helen Leslie that she has been working with granddaughter Leslie on her table manners, posture, and sewing ability: "I consider her a very amiable, lovely child. But she has an ungraceful walk - which can be remedied, if you make her walk every day, with a weight on her head. Another bad thing is her laugh, but that can be remedied by good teaching" (Gage 1891c). With regard to table manners, Gage emphasizes teaching self-control and appreciation of hierarchy: "I do not allow either of the children to leave the table until I do, nor to commence eating until I get to the table nor to dispute or play at the table, or to eat between meals" (Gage 1891c). Such training could, at times, include physical punishment; Leslie notes in a letter to her mother that Gage spanked Harry, her cousin and Maud's son, for punching her (L Gage 1891).

At the same time, we see in these letters the real affection that Gage had for her children and grandchildren. In 1886, Gage took an ill Leslie to the seaside in Massachusetts for her health, carefully monitoring her condition all the while and reporting back to her daughter Helen Leslie frequently noting the salt water baths, cordials, and other treatments they were trying (Gage 1886c, 1886d, 1886e, 1886f). Also in 1886, upon the birth of granddaughter Matilda Jewell Gage, she wrote her daughter-in-law Sophie that she had “sewed love and good wishes in with every stitch” of the hat she sent them (Gage 1886b).

Materially, we see the presence of children and their upbringing in the toys recovered archaeologically (Tables 3.1, 3.2, 3.3, 3.4, 3.5). Items belonging to or intended for use by the Gage children and grandchildren found in the yard include a transfer-printed alphabet plate, two lead horse figures, a miniature lead hammer, clay marbles, slate pencils, porcelain doll fragments, and the sugar box of a child’s porcelain tea set. Letters, too, indicate that grandchildren received gifts including a child-sized set of table and chairs, dishware, dolls, and doll accessories – both boys and girls (Gage 1886a; Baum 1886).

In archaeological discourses, children’s material culture is seen as a powerful aspect of socialization in terms of gender, race, and class (Baxter 2005; Sofaer Derevenski 2000; Wilkie 2000). As Wilkie (2000:101) states,

Toys and children-specific artefacts (such as cups, clothing, mugs, medicines, school paraphernalia, etc.), when purchased or made for children, represent attempts, made by adults, to suggest and enforce certain norms of behavior for children based upon their gender, age, socio-economic class and even socio-cultural ideals of beauty.

Similarly, Baxter (2005:42) states:

Adults provide toys that represent and augment cultural ideas about appropriate behaviors, expectations, and attitudes, and perceive toys as a means to reinforce nonverbally the lessons of socialization presented more directly in other interactions with their children.

Although it is also important to consider how children, as consumers and users of these items, were a part of this process, in this particular example I take the presence of varied children’s artifacts at the Gage house as evidence of the care with which Matilda (and Henry) raised her children and grandchildren. The types of toys found are good examples of the kinds of toys readily available to consumers in the second half of the 19th century, and would have been common among the children and grandchildren of Gage’s peers. Items such as the transfer-printed alphabet plate would have been purchased individually, from a wide variety of plates with different central designs; these were often intended as special gifts for good behavior, attention to schoolwork, or other laudable achievements (Riley 1991). Tea sets and baby dolls were seen as inculcating proper feminine values toward serving and nurturing, while marbles could potentially be played by boys or girls (Wilkie 2000; Fitts 1999).

While these toys would appear to be wholly normative, like the overall material culture of the Gage household, documentary records again suggest that this may not be entirely the case. One of the dolls given to granddaughter Leslie by Henry, a “col’d doll” named Topsy, shows the family’s tie to the abolition movement; Topsy was an enslaved child that featured importantly in Harriet Beecher Stowe’s story *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, published in 1852 (Gage 1886a; O’Loughlin 2000). Likewise, not only girls of the Gage family were given dolls; for instance, Bunting, Maud and L. Frank’s oldest son, received a doll and doll’s bedstead for Christmas (Baum 1886), and Gage also taught him how to sew (Gage 1888b). If dolls were intended to teach children to nurture, then, in this case boys as well as girls of the Gage family were recipients of such influence. Finally, the porcelain tea set, represented by the sugar box found archaeologically, may have been intended as a training device, to teach the Gage children and grandchildren to be proper hostesses. Given the household’s history of using tea as a social lubricant for reform, however, the children’s tea set may have had a similar influence.

As a whole, these childrearing practices and specialized children’s material culture suggests that the Gages were concerned with crafting their children and grandchildren into proper middle-class members of society. At the same time, however, they appear to have sought to provide their children and grandchildren with toys that touched on the racial and gendered issues of their time, and perhaps their hopes for a better society, reformed by their efforts.

Patriotism and a Bid for Citizenship

The material face of the Gage household also incorporated many allusions to patriotism, which fits with the household’s emphasis on respectability. As mentioned in Chapter 2, Henry’s store was a showcase for his antislavery views; he decorated the store’s display window with bunting in honor of the Emancipation Proclamation, and had draped it in mourning upon the execution of John Brown. The Gage’s home, with its prominent place on the main thoroughfare in Fayetteville, was also used for patriotic display. Family letters note the gaily patriotic buntings and flags used to decorate it on the Fourth of July, while son Thomas Clarkson’s reminiscence of taking bolts of black, red, white and blue fabric from Henry’s store to drape the house in upon hearing of Lincoln’s assassination provides another example of the intentional use of material culture to signify patriotism (Gage 1887a; TC Gage n.d.). Henry chose to purchase and smoke at least one tobacco pipe with the United States Seal on it, perhaps as part of the 1876 Centennial celebration. During the Civil War, Matilda was quite active in local organizations that sought to help the Union cause. In 1861 she founded the Ladies’ Aid Society of Fayetteville to prepare hospital supplies for the Union army, using the home to host socials to raise money for supplies (Wagner 2009; *Syracuse Journal* 1861). In 1862, she presented the 122nd Regiment of New York State Volunteers an American flag on behalf of the “Ladies of Fayetteville” (Wagner 2009).

The very newspaper of the National Woman Suffrage Association which Gage edited from the house between 1878 and 1881 was entitled *The National Citizen and Ballot Box*. Together, these instances and materials show that expressing patriotism was a crucial part of the Gage family’s strategy of public presentation. By claiming patriotic fervor, abolitionists such as Henry and

Matilda were able to contend that dissent from the national norm was patriotic and decidedly American. By adopting the language of citizenship and the trappings of patriotism, Matilda was able to lay claim to a citizenship that the country did not actually allow her or other women in practice. I do not mean to imbue the Gages' actions with insincerity; rather, to highlight how the conscious and performative display of patriotic sentiments allowed them a space by which they could more safely pursue their reform efforts.

Ultimately, the question of Gage's intentionality in all of this remains ambiguous. I cannot say for sure whether Gage intentionally sought to project an image of respectability and patriotism in order to make her pursuit of reforms more easily pursued, or whether, as a woman raised in the 19th century within the Cult of Domesticity, she unconsciously melded aspects of the Cult of Domesticity and politicized domestic practices in her life because that was what made sense to her. Regardless, her actions were significant in crafting a legacy of reform efforts that continue to inspire activists today, such as the Gage Foundation. This ambiguity, in fact, can be seen as an element of feminist practice; feminist archaeologists (Conkey and Gero 1997; Little 1997; Conkey 2003; Gero 2007) have argued for the significance of recognizing and embracing the ambiguity of the archaeological interpretive enterprise. In the place of categorical understanding, they instead advocate acknowledging that our interpretations are contingent and potentially up for revision; empirical adequacy, rather than an unchanging, unassailable "knowledge product" (Gero 2007:320) should be our goal (Wylie 2003).

Conclusions

As demonstrated in this chapter, the prescriptive ideals of the Cult of Domesticity of the Victorian period have had quite a lasting effect on our understandings of this period. Given the belief in the importance of material surroundings in shaping morality and behavior, ownership of the "correct" household material culture can too easily be read as implying normative behavior. In examining the material culture assemblage and documents of the Gage household, I have tried to tease out the complexity of the relationship between gender ideology, material culture, and practice in this very particular historical context. For the Gages, it is more than apparent that we cannot simply assume that they subscribed to the Cult of Domesticity by virtue of their ownership of Gothic tea and table wares and other elements of genteel Victorian culture. Rather, their documented reform efforts suggest that the presentation of a respectable and patriotic image to the world through their household material culture was a tactic for claiming membership in society as they worked to reform it. The care with which they approached raising their children and grandchildren to be proper middle-class members of society shows the necessity of negotiating between the ideal and the real in everyday life. While the Gages provide an important example of the potential disjunction between the hegemonic meanings of material culture and the meanings imbued in objects through their actual use by virtue of their reform efforts, it is important to note that such variance was more likely the norm than the exception. As Little (1997) has noted, the ubiquity of mass-produced material culture masks real differences between and among the people of the past that bought and used it. Rather than assuming that purchase of material culture indicates simple adherence to dominant ideologies, "it is always good to remind ourselves that we mustn't take people for fools" (de Certeau 1984:176).

Chapter 5: The Cheney Household: Material culture meanings and uses in the Late Victorian and Progressive Eras

The Pageant of Progress

Following the failed 1896 suffrage campaign, California suffragists pursued the 1911 campaign with a truly remarkable breadth of tools in the three short months between getting the suffrage referendum on the ballot and the election in October of 1911.

In her study of the 1911 campaign as conducted in San Francisco, Jessica Sewell (2000, 2003, 2011) contends that in part, its success was due to the increased claim to public space women had gained in the years since 1896. This was brought about in some measure by the creation of women-appropriate spaces in the city such as department stores, cafeterias, and restaurants, and the growing number of women in the paid workforce. In addition, suffragists also employed advertising and display techniques typically used by marketers which targeted women as household consumers.

In the months leading up to the vote, downtown San Francisco was enveloped in suffrage-related advertising: shop windows were decorated with goods and bunting in the suffrage color yellow; the winning poster design of the campaign was posted everywhere; neon signs adorned buildings; placards were affixed to streetcars and the sides of ferries. Suffragists sold postcards on street corners, gave speeches from the back of automobiles, and rallies were held regularly in public halls.

Across the Bay in Berkeley, the downtown landscape was less overtly blanketed by suffrage campaign advertisements, although suffragists were still quite active. Rallies were held at the high school, an automobile parade was held, and in Oakland's Piedmont Park, the "Pageant of Progress" took place on Saturday, September 23rd (*Berkeley Independent* 1911a, 1911b, 1911c; Harland Papers 1911).

The Pageant was staged by the College Equal Suffrage League of Northern California with the assistance of other suffrage organizations as a spectacle intended to garner public support for the Senate Constitutional Amendment 8. Local newspaper coverage of the Pageant and the report published by the College Equal Suffrage League of Northern California (1913) after the successful campaign show how the women of this event mobilized material culture for the specific purpose of achieving suffrage.

The published program for the day indicates that it was an all-day affair. From 10am until noon, visitors were to be entertained by "a band concert by the Durant School band and the Stewart orchestra," with "informal social affairs and lawn games." At noon, a "dainty" picnic luncheon was served, and at 2:30, a "witty playlet" was performed under the oaks. Afterward, the Pageant of Progress, a performance in five acts which depicted the evolution of woman and civilization,

was performed in the park's Eucalyptus Amphitheater (*San Francisco Call* 1911b, 1911c, 1911e, 1911f).

The acts included "Woman in Paganism," "Woman in Feudalism," "Woman in the State," "Woman in the New World," and "Votes for Women." In each, the performers presented a tableau or historic scene, in costume, with dancing and often singing. The first act depicted ancient Rome, including a "dance of the Greek slaves" and a Latin hymn. The second featured Queen Radegund, who "renounced court life" to become a nun and was sainted in the ninth century. The third scene showed Empress Catherine of Russia's reception of Voltaire, replete with Russian folk dancing. The fourth scene portrayed, in pantomime, Pocahontas saving the life of John Smith, and then, Colonial "women and children [...] surprised by the appearance of the Indian" (*San Francisco Call* 1911b, 1911f; Moore 1913). Newspaper coverage assured readers that the tableaux were "historically true to the minutest detail" (*San Francisco Call* 1911f).

Finally, the fifth act was a procession of symbolic and historical figures: "Women and girls garbed to represent famous women of history and to symbolize events, places and political movements involved in the progress of civilization, will march across the stage and through the park." Participants were dressed as notable historical women, including Abigail Adams, Betsey Ross, Julia Ward Howe, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Louisa May Alcott, Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Frances Willard, and Lucy Stone. Only two of the symbolic characters are mentioned in the newspaper coverage: "Suffrage," "shown in symbol by Miss Ruby A. Moore," riding a "richly caparisoned" white horse, and "California," impersonated by Miss Frances Woolsey Shattuck in yellow satin robes, surrounded by "a dozen poppy maidens who danced the beautiful poppy dance." The procession was concluded by the presentation of delegates sent by different states, each "a fair young girl in white carrying a white banner" (*San Francisco Call* 1911d, 1911e, 1911f).

By all accounts, the Pageant was a successful affair. Between two and three hundred women and girls participated in the pageant, while a thousand spectators attended. The organizers had hoped to draw broad interest rather than focus on raising money, and according to their report they succeeded admirably (CESL 1913). Just two and half weeks later, the suffrage campaign was successful.

Materiality and the Pageant

As mentioned above, the 1911 suffrage campaign took a page from retail advertising tactics to share their message with the public, and the Pageant day described here was no exception.

Newspaper accounts mentioned the ubiquity of "The prize posters, yellow pennants crying "Votes for Women," [and] yellow blossoms in great profusion...[which] held the eyes" (*San Francisco Call* 1911f). Color was used to dramatic effect, with the appearance of suffrage yellow everywhere, including California's satin robes.

In contrast, we know that the young women who acted as state delegates in the procession wore white; it is also likely that the women who participated by running the refreshment booths and greeting arrivals wore white as well, as this was the common practice for suffrage events nationwide during the early 20th century – to the extent that organizers "almost always

encouraged marchers to wear white clothing” (Finnegan 1999:93). While the choice of white was not explicitly explained, Margaret Finnegan (1999:93) has argued that with its connotations of purity and femininity, wearing white “could both contest stereotypes depicting them as unsexed and defuse lingering associations between women and public and immorality.” The use of a white horse ridden by “Suffrage” also suggests the connotation of purity and goodness; this particular symbol was also used in suffrage parades, such as one held in Washington D.C. in 1913 prior to Woodrow Wilson’s inauguration (Finnegan 1999:52). Wearing white would also provide a strong visual contrast with the ubiquitous suffrage yellow.

The costumes of the performers also provided a stark contrast to the ladies clad in white. While just one picture of performers in costume from the pageant was published in local newspapers, this photo, as well as those from other contemporary (non-suffrage) pageants such as the Parthenia staged by the Prytanean society on campus, suggests that costuming was quite carefully designed for its dramatic effect (*San Francisco Call* 1911e; Ruyle 1998a). The sumptuousness of the costuming was an important part of the “sugar-coated pill” that these events were intended as (Moore 1913:29). In addition, by asserting their historical accuracy, they also acted as a claim to the past greatness of “woman” grounded in historical truth.

May Cheney was one of the participants in the Pageant of Progress, at least in part due to her role as advisor to the University of California’s chapter of the College Equal Suffrage League. Her daughter-in-law, Maud Turner, and student boarder, Maud’s sister Katherine, also participated. In this one example of suffrage activism, we see ties between the use of material culture in explicitly political ways and links between the Cheney’s family home and political reform.

The Cheney’s: Gender, Reform, and Material Culture

The Cheney household, like the Gage’s detailed in the previous chapter, provides an important example of a household space in which the public and private, political and family life were entwined through the practices of its varied members. In examining the archive affiliated with the lives of May and Warren Cheney, it is apparent that both were involved in creating and preserving a home space in defiance of the perceived threat to the home and family posed by industrialization; the specific approaches they each took were different – and gendered – but ultimately complementary. Warren appears to have bridged the ideal of Victorian manliness and its change to an active masculinity with his pursuit of a literary life as well as an “outdoor life,” both of which had significant ties to the home. Meanwhile, May was on the vanguard of Progressive-era reforms that, as I will detail in this chapter, have subtle but visible ties to the materiality of the household. For both May and Warren, like those of the social and political reform movements in which they participated, household material culture figured importantly on a symbolic level in effecting change in the world. Rather than unusual or spectacular artifacts, material culture such as gardens, ceramic dishes, canning jars, and children’s marbles instead were relevant to reform ideals through their creation and/or use in specific historical contexts. These bits of household refuse tie the everyday life of the Cheney household to broader reform movements and contexts as varied as the Arts and Crafts, Playground, and Domestic Science Movements.

Besides the use of material culture in avowedly political ways, the very house itself, too, was used by the Cheney’s as a social space integral to political action. In the second part of the chapter, I detail the intricate social networks within which the house figured due to the practices

of the Cheneys and their household members, including those involved in the fight for woman suffrage, and higher education and employment opportunities for women. While these social ties are not as readily explicated materially, they further highlight the house as a space that was integrally tied to the public world rather than a retreat from such. Instead, the house was an arena within which everyday practices – such as housing and feeding female students, advising women’s groups on campus, and agitating for the vote – were both and simultaneously public and private, political and domestic.

The Cheney House and its Things

The Cheney’s house, built in 1885, was of the Eastlake or San Francisco Stick style, a local variant of the Eastlake style which was popular in the Northeastern United States from the 1860s to the early 1880s (Page and Turnbull 2006:III-7). San Francisco Stick style, popular in the Bay Area during the 1870s and 1880s, was characterized by “asymmetrical plans, picturesque massing and rooflines, and abundant surface ornamentation, in particular multi-textured wall surfaces and applied ‘stickwork’” – and was typically “more florid” than examples on the East Coast (Page and Turnbull 2006:III-7, 8). When the Cheneys chose to have this house in particular built in the mid-1880s, then, it was considered at the height of style.

Historian Clifford Clark (1986) details the changing nature of house styles and ideological sentiments attached to them, and his discussion of late-19th century house styles, such as the Eastlake, provides interesting fodder for analyzing the home life of the Cheneys. While not going so far as to say that they must have agreed with a particular ideology by virtue of having a house built in this style (contra Rotman 2005), historical information does suggest that at least parts of the Cheney’s home life was in concordance with these trends.

Specifically, Clark notes that houses built during the latter half of the Victorian era began to depart from the strictly organized and separated, formal feel of those houses built earlier. Instead, houses – such as those of the Eastlake style – were “now designed with more emphasis on comfort and consumption” (Clark 1986:104). Instead of being solely feminine, protected havens from the dangers of the outside world, they were now meant to nurture quality family life, which importantly included individual self-development and pursuits of creativity; attendant with this was the belief in a more egalitarian family structure, in which men and women were seen as irreducibly different but nonetheless equal within the home (Clark 1986:103, 110). Given May’s pursuit of a career outside of the home, as well as Warren’s pursuit of an artistic life inside of it, it appears that the Cheneys’ home life did include an egalitarian family structure with the space necessary to pursue individual achievements.

Comparatively, there is considerably less information available regarding the look and furnishings of the Cheney house than for the Gages, already discussed in the previous chapter. The spatial layout of the house and its known areas of use do, however, fit well with the trend toward informality and nurturing family life that Clark (1986) identified (Figure 5.1). Upon entering the house, one was faced with a central hallway with stairs to the second floor ahead, the parlor on the left, and the dining room on the right. The parlor, with its coved plaster ceiling, decorative plaster ceiling moldings, and large fireplace hood, would have most likely been the most formal room of the house. Prior to the house’s demolition, its door retained the only remaining original brass hardware in the house, with its hinge plates and doorknob intricately

decorated with an Arts and Craft design (Page and Turnbull 2006:III-15). Across the hallway, the dining room had a fireplace with tiled hearth, and what was almost certainly an adjoining china closet given its built-in shelving. The kitchen was most likely in the addition on the back of the house present prior to 1903. Upstairs, the bedroom on the southwest corner of the house was occupied by May and Warren, while their sons occupied the sleeping porch on the second floor of the kitchen addition (Cheney 1932a:14). On the second floor of the rear-most addition, Warren kept his study; prior to demolition it still retained its gabled ceiling, wood paneling, and built-in bookshelves. The use of most spaces within the home would have changed greatly over the years as the household composition changed – to accommodate extended family members, servants, and boarders – but the “modest cottage” and “plain and hospitable” house’s rather haphazard-looking rear additions suggests the need-based use of the house’s spaces, rather than a rigidly formal, separate, and defined use of spaces as was the Victorian ideal (Cheney 1932a:14; McNeill 1932:36).

The furnishings of the home are unknown, but the presence of the Arts and Crafts-style brass hardware in the parlor suggests that the house may have been furnished in that style. Perhaps surprisingly, there is more evidence of Warren’s design influence on the house and its yard space than there is for May. Accounts name Warren as the avid gardener of the household; he raised prize roses in front of the house, and as discussed in Chapter 2, designed and created an elaborate Japanese garden in the rear yard for the family’s use (Cheney 1932a:14; Lenfest 1912; *San Francisco Call* 1895).

Warren’s influence on the home life of the family provides an intriguing example of the shift in idealized gender roles for white, middle-class men that occurred between the late 19th and early 20th centuries. As detailed by Bederman (1995), Kimmel (2012), and Wilkie (2010), the ideal of Victorian manliness, which emphasized morality, responsibility, and restraint as a conscious achievement of adulthood, gave way to the new, continually performative mode of masculinity. This shift occurred as white middle-class men found themselves in a new economic context in which they could not reliably rise through the ranks of office jobs as self-made men, which undercut the very possibility of achieving the “traditional sources of male power and status” their fathers had enjoyed (Bederman 1995:12). Masculinity, more in line with the working-class gender ideal in its focus on physicality, strength, and muscle power, came to be the new benchmark which men sought to attain (Bederman 1995, Kimmel 2012).

Warren’s work, hobbies, and childrearing practices illustrate well this shift from Victorian manliness to a more primal and physical masculinity. From a young age, he was known to have “a delicate constitution,” inherited from his mother. His pursuit of a mining engineering degree at the University was due to his father’s insistence, with the hope that this pursuit of study “would insure his leading an outdoor life” (McNeill 1932:6) and thereby improve his health. Nonetheless, Warren desired to pursue a literary life, although along the way he also pursued a career in law.

Until 1888, when family friend Dr. George Pardee diagnosed him with astigmatism and prescribed him glasses which helped prevent his recurring “violent headaches,” Warren was periodically laid low by what May and cousin Nora McNeill called “nervous collapse” and “neurasthenia” (McNeill 1932:9; Cheney 1932a:16). This recurring illness had significant

effects on the family's life, and as I will discuss below, was a prime reason for May's establishment of her teacher placement business, and lifelong quest to provide adequate training for women so that they might be financially independent. Warren's collapse in the spring of 1883 was what spurred their quick marriage (although they had been engaged for some time) and departure to Europe; his collapse again that summer while studying German abroad prompted the abandonment of his (and May's) study plans for travel instead. Another attack in 1885, while working at a law firm in San Francisco, was the final straw: doctors insisted that for his health, "he must have an outdoor life and would never be able to go back to a sedentary occupation" (Cheney 1932a:15).

His diagnosis of neurasthenia, and the prescribed treatment of "an outdoor life" speak volumes about the changes in male gender ideology during his lifetime. As Bederman (1995:14) chronicles, in the post-Civil War era, neurasthenia was a "newly-discovered disease" which plagued white middle-class men; "spreading throughout the middle class, due to the excessive brain work and nervous strain which professionals and businessmen endured as they struggled for success in an increasingly challenging economy." This debility was caused by "over-civilization;" according to medical authorities such as George Beard: "changes such as steam power, the periodical press, the telegraph, and the sciences had so speeded up the pace of social life that people simply couldn't keep up despite their tireless efforts" (Kimmel 2012:99). This led to an array of symptoms simply amazing in scope, including "insomnia, dyspepsia, hysteria, hypochondria, asthma, headache, skin rashes, hay fever, baldness, inebriety, hot flashes, cold flashes, nervous exhaustion, and brain collapse" (Kimmel 2012:99).

These symptoms effectively feminized men by sapping their vitality; the cure, as a result, was for them to rediscover their primal, physical masculinity. This was accomplished best by experiencing the great outdoors: "Riding the range, breathing the fresh country air, and exerting the body and resting the mind" was a curative, and thus the "rugged outdoors was consistently trumpeted as restorative of the flagging manhood of modern civilized men" (Kimmel 2012:100). Figures such as Theodore Roosevelt championed the pursuit of outdoor living, and nationally, activities such as hiking, hunting, fishing, and playing sports were lauded as appropriate and healthful masculine activities (Bederman 1995; Kimmel 2012; Wilkie 2010).

In light of this context, Warren's career change makes sense. May notes that after his diagnosis of astigmatism in 1888, he was well enough to pursue employment in the advertising department of the *Overland Monthly*, overseen by family friend Millicent Shinn. This position allowed him to work mainly out of doors, fitting the prescription for living urged by his doctors. His health was still in a precarious position, however; city directories list him as employed by the *Overland Monthly* for just one year. Between 1889 and 1892, Warren is listed simply as manager of May's Pacific Bureau of Education, although McNeill (1932:13) stated that Warren only worked at the Bureau in "rush times and when their third son, Marshall Chipman, was about to be born." Given that the strain of office work was something Warren was supposed to avoid, this would make sense.

In 1892, upon moving back to Berkeley from San Francisco (where they had lived for two years due to the long daily commute between the two cities), Warren became partner in a real estate firm, where he was again able to pursue an outdoor life. As May put it, "my husband had given

up office work for the freedom and outdoor life which was offered in buying and selling real estate in Berkeley” (Cheney 1932b:36). This ushered in a period of financial stability, and even prosperity, for the family and although Warren continued to have “variable” health, real estate apparently offered him a healthful career until after the death of May’s cousin and his business partner, Anna McNeill, in 1919. McNeill (1932:23-24) lays the blame for his eventual decline in health and 1921 death as resulting from overwork in the business.

We can see how Warren incorporated trips to the wilderness into his life, as would be expected for his health. In 1885, after his nervous collapse while working at the San Francisco law firm, he retreated to a ranch in Yolo County along with May’s mother Ann and son Harry, to recuperate. It was during this absence that May, with the weight of the house mortgage and no family income pressing upon her, established the Bureau, launching what would become her life’s work. Warren’s poetic contributions to *Yosemite Illustrated in Colors* (Cheney and Dix 1890) presume his having visited the valley to take in these sights of majestic wilderness. In 1905 and 1907, he visited Alaska, producing three novels set in the Klondike during the same period as a result of these forays. And as I will discuss later in the chapter, this commitment to experiencing the wilderness factored heavily in Warren’s fathering.

At the same time as these rugged pursuits which fit well with the turn toward a physical masculinity around the turn of the century, other pursuits which Warren undertook fit more easily within the Victorian ideal of manliness. His pursuit of law as a young man and literary work place him within the image of highly literate, educated, and civilized manhood. Here, too, is where we see his association with the family home and property. His roses and Japanese garden harken to the Victorian ideal of a manly appreciation of beauty and control over nature, as do the carefully-laid brick pathway and flowerbed edgings detailed in Chapter 3 (Figure 3.3) found archaeologically in the yard (Wilkie 2009). At the same time, however, the garden also fits within the masculine pursuit of outdoor living.

To turn to the Japanese garden in more detail, Lenfest’s (1912) article entitled “A Novelist-Gardener” provides the sum total of information available about this space, as no other descriptions of it remain and its location was not accessible for archaeological testing. As a large-scale landscape feature intentionally created by Warren for use by the family, however, it is a significant artifact.

As described in Chapter 2, the garden incorporated two small hills created by piling rocks gathered from throughout the Bay Area, a small pool between them, and a trickle of a stream with a footbridge crossing it. The final touch was a thatched-roof tea house made “with his own hands” (Lenfest 1912:572). Lenfest’s (1912:572) article emphasized the finely-tuned artistic taste necessary for the design of this garden, taking great care to describe Warren as an “esthetic novelist,” and his garden as “a picture painted in trees, stones, and water on the rough canvas of the earth.” This kind of description places him squarely within the ideal of a highly literate and civilized manhood, as does his learned love of “the art of the Japanese and an admirer of the spirit of poetry, shown in all their work” (Lenfest 1912:570).

Given Warren’s apparent expertise in and love of Japanese art (Lenfest 1912; McNeill 1932:14), it is interesting to speculate if and how this was reflected in the interior décor of the home. During the late 19th and early 20th century in general, American consumers enthusiastically

adopted “the Japanese Taste” in home décor, as seen in the products of the Aesthetic Movement in England as well as objects exported from Japan itself (Brown 1988). Brown (1988:122) describes how this manifested itself in the home:

Japanese motifs, such as cherry blossoms, swallows, butterflies, bamboo, crescent and full moons, and wisteria, were embroidered, painted, stenciled, or burned (in 'pyrography') upon textiles, ceramics, plaster plaques, and leather and wooden objects. Motifs were usually arranged asymmetrically, appearing as in nature, and truncated by the edge of a frame or the object itself. Common formats were attenuated rectangles, modeled on screen panels, and circles. Objects such as fans, parasols, porcelains, paper and stone lanterns, folding and flat screens, ivory and wood carvings, bronzes, textiles and fretwork could be found singly or in combinations in every room of the house.

This proliferation of material goods incorporating this style was an important source for women – and also men, I would suggest – in decorating their homes in appropriate ways. Like the Gage family, the Cheneys also would have understood that the physical environment of the home had an important moral effect on its inhabitants. Japanese and Japanese-style goods were seen as morally appropriate given their sense of tradition, artistry, craftsmanship, and resulting ‘sincerity’ (Brown 1988:123). Such “honest” beauty would reinforce moral ideas, while also prompting education, refinement, and an escape from the shoddy dishonesty of objects produced by industrial processes. Importantly, such a focus on the sincerity and craftsmanship of objects was also a key feature of the Arts and Crafts Movement. Japanese design influences were important in the Arts and Crafts Movement precisely because of this concordance (Wilson 1993). Because of this, Japanese and Japanese-style objects could have appealed to both May and Warren. While less is known of May’s design tastes, her accounting of their time in Europe displays an awed appreciation of art. In describing her first view of the Parthenon and travel through Italy in 1883 while pregnant, she says “Sometimes I think that standing there the exaltation of my mood was in essence transferred to my unborn child whose ceaseless quest of beauty has been one of the keenest pleasures of my life. If there is anything in pre-natal influence surely the rich experience of the months that followed should have registered” (Cheney 1932a:9).

The emphasis on the refined, artistic nature of Japanese objects would also have functioned well in the register of the move toward cleanliness, simplicity, and stripping away of Victorian excess that designers in the modernist and Arts and Crafts movements lauded, as well as those who supported domestic science, as May did (Volz 1992; Brooks 1994; Tomes 1997; Leavitt 2002). This was as long as the type of “Japanese Taste” displayed was more of the directly-imported character than that of the English Aesthetic Movement; of that movement, reformers and designers alike decried its wild eclecticism, crowdedness and over-decoration (Brooks 1994). Tasteful and careful use of Japanese objects and design, however, could fit well within the trend toward simplicity and cleanliness. Perhaps it is telling, then, that of the ceramics recovered from

the Cheney site, none appear to be white wares of the English Aesthetic style. Of a total of 126 ceramic sherds recovered during the excavations, ninety-two are porcelain, sixteen are ironstone, fourteen are whiteware, and four are yellowware (Table 5.1). Based on a combination of the presence of rim and/or base sherds, distinct decorations, and the curvature or flatness of the ceramic fragments, these sherds account for a minimum of one yellow ware vessel (probably a pie pan), four of white ware, five of ironstone, and 8 of porcelain (Table 5.2). Of the eight different types of decorations present on the white ware sherds, just three are transfer-printed designs, the means of decoration that English Aesthetic style designs were produced in. However, these three sherds do not exhibit any of the design elements which were hallmarks of the Aesthetic style, as described above: fans, cartouches, screens, “cherry blossoms, swallows, butterflies, bamboo, crescent and full moons, [or] wisteria” (Brown 1988:122). Rather, the design on one sherd appears to be a dogwood blossom, while the other two are unidentifiable.

This may be because the Cheneys valued an ‘authentic,’ rather than a reinterpreted Asian style given Warren’s expertise in Japanese art, although the ‘authenticity’ of the porcelain found at the site is up for debate (Table 5.3). The porcelain may have also been favored because of its greater simplicity and perceived cleanliness, which would fit May’s support for the sanitary aspects of domestic science.

The Cheney’s Japanese garden also fits well within the context of the early 20th century turn to masculinity, as described above. While Lenfest (1912) emphasizes the finely tuned artistic sense which Warren displayed in crafting the garden, it also emphasizes that he carried out the physical labor of its creation. This physicality is key to understanding the garden as also operating within the context of masculinity. Warren’s intentional gathering of stones on his “business trips into the country,” and building them into “some very satisfactory miniature hills” (Lenfest 1912:572) on the family property at once hearkens to the manly Victorian control over nature through collecting natural objects, and to the physicality of a primal masculinity. The very acts of digging a pond, lining it with concrete, planting flowers, trees, and bushes, and building a tea house would have similarly indicated mastery over nature and physical effort, while also being a part of living an ‘outdoor life’ that combated Warren’s neurasthenia.

The garden was not wholly masculine, however; rather, it also functioned within the trend of what has been termed *domestic* masculinity, which saw men as having an important and necessary function within the home and family (Marsh 1988, 1989). Lenfest takes pains to explain that the garden was intended by Warren as a surprise for May, who was off traveling in Europe at the time of its creation; indeed, in her 1932 memoir May refers to it as “*my* Japanese garden” (Cheney 1932b:47; my emphasis). Lenfest (1912:572) states that since its construction in 1907, it “has formed an attractive out-of-door living room for the family. Through the little bamboo gateway over-arched with muehlenbeckia one enters its sweet seclusion, and sheltered by trees from the curious eyes of neighbors and passersby, one may throw off care and find refreshment of spirit.” The framing of the creation of the garden as a gift for his wife and family places it within the trend of masculine domesticity identified by Marsh (1988, 1989). This type of domesticity saw men as an integral part of the family home; it:

encouraged fathers to take on increased responsibility for the day-to-day tasks of rearing children, and husbands to spend their time

away from work in family-centered recreation. A man's wife, not his male associates, would be his companion on evenings out. Although they did not routinely sweep and dust, domestic men nevertheless were expected to center their lives around their homes and families. [Marsh 1989:513]

Parenting was a crucial part of this, and is evident in the materiality of and discourses about raising the Cheney sons.

Parenting

In 1932, May noted in her memoirs: “Of course I wanted a daughter and had already named her Elizabeth. Having no brothers, I knew nothing about boys. My impression was they all tortured animals, were rough and quarrelsome and just had to be endured until they grew up. Had anyone told me I was destined to bear four sons in the course of a little over six years, I should have been horrified. Such was to be my fate” (Cheney 1932a:14). Warren, on the other hand, had a natural touch with boys: “My husband understood boys, if I did not. His discipline was perfect. They were taught to obey, and loved him devotedly nevertheless” (Cheney 1932a:14). McNeill (1932:14-15) puts it thusly:

During all these varied years he was a devoted and companionable father to his children. ‘Warren Cheney,’ says his wife, ‘had a genius for children. When they were babies he left them to me and to their grandmother but when they were about two years old he ‘came to an understanding with them.’ He believed in old fashioned obedience and discipline. But he was demonstrative and affectionate and made himself their intimate friend. As soon as they were old enough to go to school he gathered the four of them around the dining room table in the evenings and helped them with their tasks. As they grew he was interested in everything they wanted to do and the Cheney backyard became the rendezvous for all the boys in the neighborhood: carpentry, mechanics, games and pets – at one time there were twenty one different kinds of animals housed there.

This type of hands-on fathering ties in well with the masculine emphasis on outdoor living. Sources also tell of the fishing trips that Warren and the boys would take, and hiking and camping trips they took as a family (Cheney 1932b:39). May notes that he taught the boys how to “study birds and all sorts of animals without molesting them,” and was supportive of their efforts to collect shells, butterflies and moths, even going so far as to help them establish a “museum” that they housed in the tank house in the yard (Cheney 1932b:37). Warren, too, collected natural objects, amassing a collection of cowrie shells that “was in the end one of the best on the Pacific Coast,” which May donated to the University upon his death (Cheney 1932b:37-38). Together, these practices would have produced sons that were both learned and refined in the manly Victorian sense, and physically rugged in the masculine sense.

From these sources, we can see that the yard space as well as the house was a significant arena for the family. Purposeful play and examination of the natural world, especially in the outdoors, was an important part of the Cheney's parenting practices. In light of this, the horseshoe pit and game marbles found in the side yard, as described in Chapter 3, take on a special significance. The horseshoe pit would have provided an outdoor activity in which all of the family could take part, as well as the neighborhood boys who came to play with the Cheney sons. The marbles, too, were likely deposited by the Cheney boys and their friends as they played in the yard.

From May's perspective, these parenting practices also made sense in terms of Progressive reforms such as the Playground Movement and domestic science. The sleeping porch on which the boys slept was a "healthy way to maintain a connection with the outdoors," (Volz 1992:29) while her participation in the Playground Movement showed her belief in the importance of physical culture, outdoor life, and especially, the necessity of bringing these benefits to urban areas, where residents did not have the luxury of living in "a perfect paradise for boys" as Berkeley was (Cheney 1932b:37).

These sources show how significant the experience of parenting was for the Cheney's, and also how May and Warren each related and contributed differently to the experience. As I will discuss below, although May appreciated fine art and travel, she was often more visibly concerned with the pragmatic concerns of day-to-day living – the economic ability that would enable them to travel, and good health that let them live fully. While Warren was known as the "aesthetic" of the family, and was credited with holding 'salons' in the house for artists, it was May's business wherewithal that initially led to the situation where they were able to have "music and books, new books of every sort" and "frequent guests [at table], all sorts of unusual and interesting people discussing current events and literature" (McNeill 1932:15).

May's life path shows a transition in gender ideals that parallels Warren's, from the ideals of the Victorian period to those of the early 20th century. As her memoir details, she entered college with no expectation of having to earn money in order to support herself or her family (Cheney 1932a). Unlike many of whom Gordon (1990) termed "the pioneers" in this first generation of women to earn college degrees, May did not appear to attend college as part of a greater plan for advancing the cause of women by pursuing a career. Rather, her study in the literary course at the University, it seems, was intended simply to provide her with an intellectually stimulating experience that could positively influence her future life as a wife and mother. As Mary McLean Olney (1963) recalled, during her time as a student at the University between 1891 and 1895, women had the choice of either becoming a teacher, or becoming a mother. If you became a mother, "you led a more or less society life – you joined social or charitable societies and things of that kind. There were plenty of interests for young women in those days... But you did it from your home as the center, or else you taught" (139-140). May's time at college, then, seems to fit into this mold; it was meant to make her "a more cultured person" (Olney 1963:140).

While a student, we can see glimmerings of her future reform efforts; she was elected Secretary of the Class Union, the first female student to hold a student body office at the University, and along with the eleven other women in her class and sympathetic male students was able to vote down the annual Beer Bust (Cheney 1932a:4). Additionally, she was literary editor of the *Berkeleyan* campus newspaper, and during her senior year, was "one of the band of ardent reformers" who edited the *Occident*, an anti-fraternity/anti-drinking campus newspaper (Cheney

1932a:4). All of these pursuits still placed her within a Victorian feminine ideal, albeit one that showed an expansion of opportunities for women in contrast with Matilda Joslyn Gage's experiences as a young woman.

May's decision to establish the Pacific Coast Bureau of Education in 1887 appears to have been her radicalizing moment, as she had to go to work in order to support her family: "I had never earned a dollar in my life. At twenty-five, faced with what seemed to me a colossal debt to pay off, two children, a sick husband, and no income, I resolved to go to work" (Cheney 1932a:15). She felt singularly unprepared to do so, however, as "she had not even a teacher's certificate and no training for office work or a commercial position – nothing but her brains and a superior literary education" (McNeill 1932:11).

This experience of finding herself in a position where she needed to support her family appears to have spurred on much of her lifelong work toward making educational and employment opportunities more readily available to women. As mentioned in chapter 2, while her primary position at the University meant that she was responsible for placing students with employment, she was also a significant member of a cohort of female faculty and administrators who sought to improve the lot of women on campus by advocating for their greater social and intellectual opportunities, and ultimately, economic self-sufficiency. While these efforts were often pursued as part of her official capacity as University administrator, and thus took place outside of her home, some efforts also linked her home to the University and the broader community. While social ties are the most evident, symbolic material ties are also present, as I will explicate in the remainder of this chapter. Social ties are cultivated through interactions in the social spaces of homes as well as classrooms and meeting spaces, and it is through analysis of the materiality of these spaces and the portable material culture deployed in the interactions within these spaces that we can see the practices which underwrote these social bonds.

Physical Spaces for Women in the University Landscape

Although the University of California Berkeley was co-educational nearly from its inception, this did not mean that female students were necessarily welcomed and fully provided for (Wilkie 2010) (Table 5.4). Instead, the history of coeducation at Cal was one in which students and sympathetic faculty and administrators continually fought to provide adequate social, intellectual, and physical spaces for women on campus and as part of their collegiate lives. The Cheney family's taking in of boarders, many of whom were female undergraduate students at the University, in this context is a politically charged stance. By providing a secure family-like setting where female students would feel nurtured as they pursued their studies – a retreat from the public realm of campus – this physically presented them in the world where they had been so invisible that the University's founders had simply *forgotten* to exclude them from claiming the right for admission.

May's own housing history reflects the challenges female students faced living at the University. Between 1879 and 1883, while attending the University, May and her widowed mother occupied a variety of rented accommodations on the campus and off. One such living space was one of the University-owned cottages on campus, which they opened to members of the Class of 1883 as a social gathering space (Cheney 1932a:4). This experience of living in a variety of rented accommodations over the years of attending the University would have been common (although many students would not have moved to the area with family members, perhaps), as the

University did not provide dormitory-style housing for male students until 1929 with the opening of Bowles Hall, and 1942 for female students with the opening of Stern Hall (Committee on Living Accommodations 1952:1, 5). Students were more or less left to fend for themselves in finding housing prior to the early 20th century. Housing lists kept by the University Recorder between 1890 and 1898 indicate the haphazard nature of keeping track of housing availabilities for enrolled students; two notebooks contain a mishmash of hand-written and pasted-in advertisements for boarding houses located in the neighborhoods surrounding the University (Office of the Registrar 1898). Prior to 1905, a list of boarding houses for women approved on the basis of sanitary conditions was kept by the University's Department of Hygiene, while the local YWCA also provided a listing of boarding houses, but without having vetted them in any way.

Female administrators attempted to change this situation. In 1905, new Dean of Women Lucy Sprague sought to extend University involvement into approving student housing, noting "I know of no other institution of like standing in which this tremendous factor in the lives of the students is so entirely ignored" (Sprague 1906:105). Sprague herself attempted to visit and inspect the various boarding houses in the vicinity of the University, but found that after the massive upheaval of the San Francisco earthquake and subsequent fire in April of 1906, Berkeley's boarding houses were too crowded to permit inspection (Sprague 1906). For the 1906-1907 academic year, Sprague circulated a list of approved houses to incoming female students – those that agreed to house only female students, and provided a ground-floor reception room. Beginning in 1907, incoming female students were strongly encouraged to live in only approved boarding houses, and if they chose to live in a non-approved house, either Sprague or her assistant visited the house (Sprague 1908). While incoming female students were not actually required to live in University-approved housing until 1931, Sprague's move to consolidate University influence over the housing situation of specifically female students appears, on the surface, to be purely paternalistic. Her argument for increasing University involvement in female student housing, laid out in her 1906 and 1908 reports, shows that while concern over the morality of students was a factor, such paternalistic control was but one part of her argument (Committee on Living Accommodations 1952:3).

In the 1906 report, Sprague includes information on female students' involvement in social groups on campus noting "[that] one-third of the women (the average for three years) should belong to no organization, intellectual, social, athletic, musical, dramatic, or otherwise, through four years of college existence, is certainly an abnormal state of affairs" (Sprague 1906:107-108). The cause of this "lack of unity of organization among the college women," Sprague argues, is in large part due to their isolation in boarding houses; a secondary source of isolation was their overwhelming concentration on earning teaching certificates (Sprague 1906:107). The solution, Sprague argued, was to "take the students away from the irresponsibility of boarding-house life, or from the strain and isolation of doing their own house-keeping," by encouraging the formation of house clubs and eventually University-owned dormitories, which would "organize... them into definite responsible groups, with definite relations to their University and definite standards to maintain" (Sprague 1908:78).

How, then does the Cheney's taking in of female student boarders fit within this context? Given Sprague's condemnation of boarding houses, it would seem that the Cheney house was part of

the problem of the “detached and impersonal” boarding house life of female students (Sprague 1908:78). However, the Cheney family do not appear to have publicly advertised their home as a boarding house; it is absent from the 1890-1898 books kept by the Recorder’s Office, and is not included in the lists of approved housing between 1910 and 1940 (Housing Office 1929, 1949). Indeed, while the three Turner sisters (Maud, Katherine, and Geneva) are listed as boarders in census records and directories, their relationship with the Cheney family may have been more than simply that of lodgers. The 1900 census indicates that they and their widowed mother Lizzie were born in Iowa (US Federal Census 1900 for Kern County, CA). May Cheney was also from Iowa, and just one year younger than Lizzie Turner. Although it cannot be proven at this point, it is possible that they knew each other. If this is true, then the Turner sisters’ experience as boarders in the Cheney household was likely less an impersonal, isolating experience than a home away from home and sort of extended family. Further, the fact that eldest Turner sister Maud married Sheldon Cheney in 1908 suggests a rather literal forging of family ties. As discussed throughout this chapter, the household’s ties to the broader campus and community social networks through May and Warren’s various involvements would have let membership in the household act as a sort of springboard for social and political involvement, rather than an impediment to such connections. For the Turner sisters, then, their experience of boarding with the Cheney family would likely not have been impersonal or isolating.

In addition to housing several female student boarders, May also worked in concert with other campus administrators, faculty, and students to improve the lot of female students when it came to finding appropriate housing options. While there is no evidence that May was involved in Dean Sprague’s quest to inspect and approve boarding houses for women students, she was a trustee of the Club House Loan Fund Committee, appointed by University President Benjamin Ide Wheeler and Dr. Mary Ritter in 1903. The Committee was established after the successful trial run of loaning funds to female students to establish two club houses, Enewah and Pie del Monte, during the 1900-1901 academic year; first female University Regent Phoebe Hearst provided the funds (Wheeler 1901; Ritter 1901a; Bancroft Library 2011b). The establishment of the Club House Loan Fund Committee in 1903 sought to create an official means of supporting female students in creating house clubs by loaning start up funds for furnishing these new houses, which typically housed 15 students and a house mother. May was a member of the committee throughout its existence, acting as chairman for at least the years of 1909, 1911, 1913, and 1921-1922 (Cheney 1909a, 1911c; Torrey 1913; UC 1922, Part XVI:15). Approved housing lists from as late as 1915 indicate houses that were “under the supervision of the Club House Loan Fund Committee of the University of California,” which suggest that these houses had not yet fully repaid the loan given them for starting up (Housing Office 1929). The goal of supporting these living spaces for students was to encourage self-sufficiency and independence, while also having a home-like space that would foster unity.

As a permanent member of the Committee, May joined with other prominent female faculty, administrators, and club women to directly foster and influence the creation of a female student culture on campus, and create ties between students and local women’s groups. Other original members of the committee included Regent Phoebe Hearst, Professor Jessica Peixotto, Dr. Mary Ritter, and President Wheeler’s wife, Amey Webb Wheeler (*Daily Californian* 1903). The Committee also came to include each president of the Northern California Branch of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae, of which May was a very active member. Committee

members participated in raising money for the loan fund, and also had direct influence over the furnishings purchased for the house clubs with loan money (*San Francisco Call* 1904a, 1904b, 1904c; Radcliffe 1904; *California Alumni Weekly* 1909). The ACA put forward funds to sponsor the establishment of a new house club for women in 1909, even going so far as to donate their tea room furniture to “Bide-a-Wee,” as the residents of the house club named their home (ACA 1909).

Although the Committee extended loan opportunities to male students beginning in 1904, it remained a significant force for supporting the creation of a female student social culture on campus and off, as well as gathering together female faculty and administrators who were often marginalized within the University (*San Francisco Call* 1904a; Nerad 1987). By 1915, fifteen house clubs for women were established near campus, although the lack of surviving records from the Club House Loan Fund Committee does not allow us to know how many of these clubs directly benefited from the loan fund (Bancroft Library 2011b).

Social and Intellectual Spaces for Women in the University Landscape

In addition to fostering the creation of house clubs, May was involved in efforts to provide social spaces for female students as well as intellectual spaces. She appears as a common feature of groups and events on campus involving women students. As Wilkie (2010), Nerad (1987, 1999), and Gordon (1990) have detailed, the situation for women at the University around the turn of the century was not a welcome one, and female faculty, administrators and students alike found a lack of resources provided for their use. In a campus culture where “student” implicitly meant “male” (Gordon 1990:71), women found themselves excluded from University groups, facilities, and even classes while men were assumed to be the default benefactors of the same. Resulting from this exclusion, both Nerad and Gordon note the creation of a separate universe for women associated with the University; May Cheney was a crucial component of the cohort of administrative and faculty women who helped students create this separate culture.

The Prytanian Society, the first honor society for female students, was established in 1900 as a response to the creation of the Order of the Golden Bear, an honor society for male students which was intended to be “a conduit of information” to the new University president, Benjamin Ide Wheeler (Ruyle 1998b:49). May is listed as one of the honorary members of the Prytanian Society, which over the years was involved in raising funds for a campus infirmary, housing for students, and presented the Partheneia, an annual performance written, organized, and performed by society members which celebrated womanhood (*San Francisco Call* 1902; Ruyle 1998a, 1998b). These primarily service-related activities were one means by which female students pursued the creation of their own social sphere on campus.

The quest for equal suffrage was another arena through which female students were able to come together socially. The first mention of the issue of woman suffrage on campus is with regard to a 1908 lecture given by Mrs. Charles Parks, who said that women seeking the vote simply wanted a “square deal” (*Daily Californian* 1908). A campus chapter of the College Equal Suffrage League was organized the following year, whose stated aim was to study the issue of which May was quoted as saying “no educated woman of the present day can afford to be ignorant” (*Daily Californian* 1909). Interestingly, this article takes great pains to couch the formation of the

chapter as merely a study group on the issue of suffrage, rather than as a group that was created to support equal suffrage. This may have been due to the overall hostility toward the issue of equal suffrage on campus at the time. Dean Lucy Sprague herself downplayed the contributions of college women to the winning woman suffrage effort in California in 1911. A newspaper article quotes her as saying, at a meeting of the ACA no less, that “The girls have a club for the study of equal suffrage, but they take no active part in the work. The recent campaign was dignified and intelligent, but there are many persons who, believing in equal suffrage, think it would be better if it had not come just at this time. That is my feeling in regard to it. We are trying so many new things at once that if there is trouble we cannot tell what is making the rumpus” (*New York Times* 1911).

Regardless of the rhetoric surrounding female students’ participation in the successful 1911 state suffrage campaign, at least some of them were in fact active as a part of the College Equal Suffrage League, the supposed “study” group; for example, Ethel Moore, a senior at the University, was chairman of the Pageant of Progress (CESL 1913; *San Francisco Call* 1911c, 1911f). As advisor to the CESL, May would have worked closely with the female students in planning the chapter’s activities. In March of 1911, she begged off of duties as a member of the local chapter of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, telling the president that “I belong to so many organizations, and the demands for money are so incessant, that I must call a halt. Two suffrage associations are really beyond me. Of course I wish you well, and I believe there can not [sic] be too many different organizations and too many headquarters. Let every group work in its own way, and reach as many people as possible. We are all working for the same end, and if the matter is to be decided within a year, we must all work up to the full limit of our powers” (Cheney 1911b).

One major event organized by the CESL in the final days leading up to the vote was the “Pageant of Progress” described at the start of this chapter. Here it is important to note that along with May, her student-boarder-turned-daughter-in-law Maud Turner Cheney, and her sister and student boarder Katherine Turner, many other female students participated. Again, we see social ties forged between the Cheney home, campus, and political action.

Quite telling of the situation for women at Berkeley is May’s speech delivered at the 1901 dedication of Hearst Hall on campus. In 1900, Regent Phoebe Hearst donated the reception hall of her Berkeley home, designed by Bernard Maybeck, to the University for use as a women’s space. It was relocated to campus – almost literally across College Avenue from the Cheney’s house – and officially dedicated in February of 1901 (Figure 5.2). The top floor was renovated into a gymnasium, while the lower level was “a general gathering place for the women of the University,” and included a kitchen, lunchroom, study room, and meeting areas (Gordon 1990:57; University of California 1907:15; Class of 1905; Kantor 1998). May spoke at the dedication, delivering a speech entitled “The Past.” In it, she reminisced on her own days as a student at the University, “of the old girls and the old boys. At that time there was no Hearst Hall for the women, no place of social gathering” (*San Francisco Call* 1901b). She charged the female students with the task of using the space wisely: “Mrs. Hearst has given you this magnificent building. She has given you the opportunity to do much, but after all it lies with you

to make the best of that opportunity. To show Mrs. Hearst how much this gift is appreciated every woman student should make the best use of it possible (*San Francisco Call* 1901b).”

Indeed, the addition of Hearst Hall to campus went a long way toward providing physical space for women on campus that had before been sorely lacking. In 1891, when Phoebe Hearst began providing financial support for female students, their sole space on campus was a “cramped room” in North Hall where women could rest between classes, eat lunch, and rent lockers (Kantor 1998:6; Olney 1963:127). By 1904, students had a hard time imagining what campus would have been like prior to Hearst Hall; it “stands for so much in the life of the College girls of today that it is hard to imagine the tealess, hammockless life of our predecessors in bleak old North Hall” (Class of 1905:175).

Nonetheless, even with the addition of Hearst Hall to campus, female administrators complained of the lack of spaces for female students. In 1901, Dr. Mary Ritter, acting as the unofficial first Dean of Women, complained to President Wheeler about the small size and poor condition of the rooms sets aside for women’s use on campus, including that in North Hall, the Chemistry Building, and Hearst Gym itself. Ritter noted that the room in North hall was poorly ventilated, leading to the problem of accumulating sewage fumes. The Chemistry Building room had just one table and three chairs for more than forty women that used it, while Hearst Gym’s lunch room was built to accommodate 300 women but was used daily by 500 to 600 (Ritter 1901b). While female students would gradually come to have more spaces to call their own on campus, lack of access to resources continued and the privately-funded efforts of Regent Hearst were a crucial stopgap.

One way around the lack of gathering spaces on campus for women was the use of private homes for entertaining, which we saw in the use of May’s University cottage residence as a social gathering space during her student years. Mary McLean Olney noted in her 1963 oral history that when she attended the University between 1891 and 1895, there were no official advising services for female students (or male students, for that matter, although male faculty members and sports coaches filled that role) (142). Instead, it was common practice for the wives of faculty members to reach out to the female students, often entertaining them at their homes in groups or singly; “if you were away from home and wanted advice you usually knew somebody among the faculty wives to ask” (Olney 1963:142). This practice was continued by first official Dean of Women Lucy Sprague, who noted in her 1908 report to the President that she had, for several years, entertained all of the incoming Freshman women students at receptions at her home in order to get to know them each personally. She also noted that the increasing number of female students each year was making this practice unwieldy, and that she sought to enlist faculty help in hosting social events to accommodate all of the incoming students. During her time as Dean of Women between 1906 and 1911, Sprague also regularly held socials and meetings at her large home, located on Ridge Road. As related in her 1962 oral history, these activities in her home included such varied events as a speech-giving practice club, where the women learned Robert’s Rules of Order, Wednesday afternoon teas, poetry readings, and the rehearsals for the first Partheneia (the performance put on by the Prytaneans in 1911) (Mitchell 1962:48-50, 52). Finally, Regent Phoebe Hearst was also well-known for entertaining female students at her home (Gordon 1990:57). Thus, while on-campus social opportunities for women grew, gathering in private homes for entertainments, meetings, and teas remained an important

venue for creating a separate women's culture at the University. Homes, then, were an important part of the University social landscape, even if they were not technically on campus. Although we have no information which suggests that May herself hosted students for social events in the Cheney home, we know that she did, like Sprague and Hearst, take an active interest in the lives of women students outside of the classroom. She may have in fact been able to use Hearst Hall as a stand-in for welcoming students to her home, given its proximity.

The Push for Domestic Science Education

As outlined in Chapter 2, May was an important figure associated with the creation of a domestic science program at the University. As Sprague mentioned in her 1906 report, the vast majority of female students at the University were there in order to obtain their teaching certificate, as "[t]he teacher's life is one of the few natural openings in the modern world for a woman who is forced or desires to support herself" (107). She saw this almost overriding focus on teaching as leading to the charge "so often made against college women - that they work for credits and not for the love of scholarship" (107). May, with her own history of having to go out to work unprepared for it, would have dealt with the majority of these female graduates upon seeking work for teaching. Here, her pragmatic bent comes to the fore again – domestic science instruction at the University could prepare women to work as teachers, in new positions such as sanitary inspector or laboratory assistant, and "the oldest of all, the profession of housewife" (Cheney 1909b:281). In her view, women needed to be trained to meet the challenges of their duties, whether as paid professional or homemaker: "Mrs. Richards told us this summer that women had not lived up to their opportunities. They must do their share of the work of the world, but at present they are doing it badly" (Cheney 1909c:3).

This stance makes sense in light of both the most common argument given for women's higher education, that it "prepares them to be wiser and better mothers," (Cheney 1905:2) and May's own experience in needing to earn a living. Her son Sheldon noted in his 1977 oral history that May wanted each of her sons to get a teaching certificate as part of their college education, because "if we'd only get a teacher's certificate we'd be safe" (Cheney 1977:14). May remembered things a bit differently, having stated in her 1932 memoir that "I was orthodox, and all of my sons studied Latin and Greek" (Cheney 1932b:47). Thus, it appears that she urged her sons to incorporate both a classical literary education with a teaching certificate that would provide a means for supporting themselves as well.

Despite May's support for domestic science training at the University, it is not clear what the relationship was between domestic science principles and her own home. Because she worked outside of the home, May saw hired help as a crucial part of managing the household while also working for the University: "she had determined that it was impossible to do two serious things at one time. She had a succession of good helpers in the kitchen" (McNeill 1932:15), while female family members, such as her mother and aunts, helped with housework and childcare (McNeill 1932:12, 15; Cheney 1932b:38). In 1907, when helping care for her son, daughter-in-law, and new grandson in Paris, May stated that she hadn't cooked in twenty years, but managed well enough until her daughter-in-law had recovered from childbirth (Cheney 1932b:43). As census records and other sources show, her daughters-in-law were commonly in residence at the house over the years. Given this, it is likely that they oversaw the day-to-day management of the

household to some extent, as these same census records do not list them as having an occupation outside of the home.

While she may not have been a housewife, May's memoirs (1932a, 1932b) and McNeill (1932) indicate that she was still the matriarch of the family. As a result, it is probable that she oversaw, or at least approved, things such as household purchases and food preparation. Her 1909 article in *Sunset Magazine* strongly supported the value of home cooking and intimate family ties:

The ethical value of the home table, which brings old and young together, the loving care which favors individual tastes and contributes a spiritual essence to the commonest food, may have much to do with [a] sense of satisfaction. "Home" cooking has a value of its own that the hotel and restaurant cannot supply. [Cheney 1909b:281]

and

Unless home is to become a mere boardinghouse, organized industry having robbed it of the varied occupations which formerly trained the children not only in manual dexterity but in moral responsibility, the school must come to the rescue, and prepare the next generation of parents to meet the new conditions which threaten to rob us of the most precious fruit of an age-long moral struggle, the monogamic family. [Cheney 1909b:281]

In these passages, we can see that May felt strongly about the need for a well-managed household as key to a strong family. Given that the goal of domestic science education and reforms was, as May put it, "to teach people to control their environment," it would also make sense that she applied these same ideals in the family home (Cheney 1909b:281). In this, the choice and use of material culture affiliated with the home assumes significant importance. Thus, while we do not have evidence of the house's kitchen being arranged for maximum sanitation and efficiency (as use of the building by the University obliterated any traces of the kitchen's layout and features) as suggested by domestic science principles, it is yet highly likely that the tools in the house's kitchen – such as the sturdy ceramic food preparation vessel fragments and metal cooking spoon found in the excavations – were chosen carefully.

Contextual sources suggest that the quality and specific design of household goods, especially kitchen items, was a prime concern for women involved in the domestic science movement. As studied by Miller (1987), domestic science reformers desired the manufacture of efficient, high-quality, and purpose-designed utensils for the kitchen that would minimize labor for women at home and last for years. In contrast, American manufacturers, in focusing on "the inherent economic dynamics of profit-oriented mass production," produced goods that were well-suited to mass-manufacturing methods but were typically of a quality and design inferior to that desired by domestic reformers (Miller 1987:50). For individual women, this meant that when looking to purchase kitchen implements, attention to quality and design was crucial.

An example of the care taken when choosing kitchen implements is provided by the correspondence between Ellen Bartlett, an instructor in Domestic Science employed by the University to teach during the Summer Session of 1905, and the University's Secretary of the Regents, Victor Henderson. The main concern of their correspondence in the months leading up to the two "cookery" classes offered by Bartlett that summer was the choice and price of equipment needed for the classroom. In addition to the custom worktables to be built and gas stoves to be bought and connected, Bartlett was quite concerned with the source of the kitchen equipment, including a wide variety of strainers, graters, egg beaters, cake pans, mixing bowls, and sauce pans, to be bought for the courses. Finding the quality of the items offered by the Emporium, a San Francisco department store established in 1896, lacking, Bartlett argued for purchasing the needed equipment from II's, a store which she felt had the best quality available (Bartlett 1905; Sewell 2000:103). In the end, Henderson approved the purchase of equipment from the less-expensive Holbrook, Merrill & Stetson, a San Francisco stove and hardware firm, instead. When questioned by Bartlett as to why he had not had the goods purchased from II's, Henderson replied, "As the equipment is only for a summer's work, I thought we had best get the Holbrook, Merrill & Stetson goods..." (Henderson 1905). While this exchange can be seen as but one volley in the never-ending battle over the costs of supplies associated with large organizations, it is also telling in that it shows the concern with which domestic scientists took to choosing the implements of their profession. The household goods found at the Cheney house might, in this light, be seen as indicative of similar care spent by May Cheney on properly equipping her household.

Moreover, such mundane kitchen goods became powerfully symbolic in their daily use as efforts to improve the kitchen and thereby family life and society as a whole. As discussed in Chapter 2, a 1909 newspaper article details a day of pageantry held at the annual meeting of the ACA. It notes that the procession included members dressed to represent the various interests of the organization, including suffragists, college graduates and faculty, and "certified milk enthusiasts" dressed as milkmaids, followed by "the members whose tastes [run] to home economics, led by Mrs. May L. Cheney, wearing white gowns and caps and carrying each some household emblem, one a preserving kettle, another a duster, yet another a broom or a sewing bag" (*San Francisco Call* 1909c). These "emblems," then, were used as symbols of the home and of nutrition, cleanliness, and self-sufficiency, which domestic scientists sought to bolster through their reform efforts. The presence of a preserving kettle in this suite of emblems highlights the significance that household canning of foodstuffs had in the domestic science movement, with its ties to proper nutrition, and need for a scientific understanding of food decay, contamination, and sterilization.

While home canning was a popular method of food preservation beginning in the mid-19th century, by the early 20th century it had also become a major concern of domestic scientists. Canning was viewed as a way to ensure a healthful and varied diet regardless of season, and as a way to circumvent the potential dangers of mass-produced foodstuffs. The practices of home canning, too, squarely fit within the concern for sanitary housekeeping promulgated by domestic scientists. As Tomes (1997:48) states, "The elaborate protocol of canning summed up the need for absolutely clean hands and utensils, sterile food containers, and exacting observance of cooking procedures."

The fragments of canning jars and lids found archaeologically and the intact example found in the house suggest that canned fruits or vegetables were consumed by the Cheney household (Lindsey 2012) (Table 3.10). At least two fruit-bearing trees were planted on the property by the Cheneys – the pear tree located on the south side of the house, and a loquat tree just east of the rear-most addition to the house which survived until at least 1964 (Page and Turnbull 2006:III-2). Pears would have been preserved in the very kind of wide-mouth jars represented by the intact example found in the house, while the loquats could have been poached in syrup or made into jam or jelly and canned (Cruess and Christie 1924; CRFG 1997).

Much attention was given to proper techniques for canning in domestic science education and widely-circulated educational materials, such as a circular produced by the University's Agricultural Experimental Station in 1924 (Cruess and Christie 1924). Thus, while the fragments of canning jars and the intact jar found are related to food preparation activities in the home, they are also part of larger discourses on applying scientific procedures in the home, women's work, and efforts to reshape society at large. These objects, as for the rest of the kitchen's material culture, show that materials had meanings in the past which may not be tied easily and directly to individual objects without the benefit of close historical contextualization. Material culture, rather than simply reflecting dominant meanings, was instead a significant resource for creating meaning through use.

Conclusions

The Cheney household, in sum, provides a significant example of how gender ideologies were actually engaged with and lived in practice, and how material culture was used in a variety of ways within the home and in broader social reform movements.

May and Warren's lives show how two people navigated the changes in American society with regard to gender ideologies and the change from Victorian ideals of gendered behavior to those of the 20th-century. For May, family circumstances necessitated her shift from an anticipated life as a well-educated wife and mother, to one in which she was responsible for providing for the family while having to give up some control of the household to others. As Warren's life shows, he navigated the switch from Victorian ideals of manliness to new ideals of masculinity by incorporating aspects of both into his life as a writer, father, businessman, and outdoorsman, while also coming to share the position of breadwinner with May. In practice, gendered experiences are seen to be far from monolithic and simple.

The family home was the setting for these day-to-day struggles, while it and its material culture can be seen as integrally involved in these efforts. By examining the context of gendered ideals and reform movements, it is apparent that the décor, yard space, children's toys, and kitchen equipment figured importantly in contemporary efforts to create a better and safer family life and world. As at the Gage House, their very ordinariness shows how mass-produced material culture and everyday items might have a variety of meanings attached to them based on the uses to which they were put, rather than having any sort of stable "essence" of significance.

Although May and Warren took different approaches to creating a rich family life safe from the challenges of modern society, their efforts were ultimately complementary and showcase the

scene of the home as simultaneously public and private, political, and powerfully implicated in changing American society.

Chapter 6: Enduring Impacts and Final Thoughts

Introduction

The intent of this chapter is to continue the narrative of both the Gage and Cheney House sites by relating what has occurred since excavations were completed, and relate what I know of their respective futures. I also reflect on the effects the archaeological research has had on these sites, and on the results of my attempts at collaboration throughout the research process. Finally, I summarize the findings of the overall dissertation.

Site Futures

Since completing archaeological field research at both sites, developments have continued apace, albeit in very different directions. As of this writing, the Gage House is well on its way to being restored to its 1880s appearance, while the Cheney House was demolished in the spring of 2010. The archaeological research will be interpreted, in some fashion, in the Gage House's iteration as a museum; nonetheless, there have been tensions and questions regarding exactly how it can contribute to the vision for this museum, to be detailed below. The Cheney House, on the other hand, has been erased from the University landscape. The archaeological research, while documented in several public lectures and this dissertation, is not scheduled to be a part of a university exhibit.

Gage House

Archaeological excavations in the yard of the Gage House were completed in September 2008, and in May of 2009 I submitted a Phase III End of Field letter to the New York State Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation detailing the findings in the area of proposed effect for the woodshed addition (Christensen 2009). In early June, the NYS OPRHP responded with approval for moving forward with construction of the addition, and on August 26th, a groundbreaking ceremony for the Ruth Putter Welcome Center was held. The festivities included speeches by Foundation Board members and local dignitaries, and a symbolic 'groundbreaking' with a pile of soil from the excavation backdirt pile and gold-painted shovels.

Construction-related work began in the rear yard of the Gage House in early September, and I monitored the tree removal and excavations undertaken for construction of the woodshed/welcome center addition. The construction-related excavations took the area of the building footprint down to seven feet below current ground surface, so all remnants of archaeological remains in a space extending approximately 23 feet behind the house were removed. As mentioned in Chapter 3, all artifacts spotted during the process of earth-removal were collected, and the stratigraphic profiles of the construction pit were recorded. A wealth of (alas, mostly unprovenienced) artifacts were recovered during the process and several stratigraphic and feature relationships encountered during the process of archaeological excavations were made clear.

At the same time that construction of the Woodshed/Welcome Center addition was beginning, gutting and restoration work inside the house was being undertaken. This work will ultimately return the house interior and exterior to its 1880s appearance, as closely as can be approximated. With the successful one million dollar fundraising campaign required to repay a loan for the purchase of the house and fund the ongoing restoration work in December of 2009, the Gage

Foundation reached a long-pursued goal toward saving the house and opening it as a museum (Matilda Joslyn Gage Foundation, Inc. 2009a). In January of 2010, the Foundation kicked off a new fundraising campaign with the goal of raising \$300,000 for exhibit and program design and implementation. The Grand Opening of the restored Gage home was held in October of 2010. Since its opening, the Foundation has solicited input from museum visitors on the future of the new Gage Center, including what kind of exhibits and programs should be pursued, by inviting them to “Come Write on Our Walls” – by literally writing on sections of the newly-restored walls painted as whiteboards (Matilda Joslyn Gage Foundation, Inc. 2010). These comments are documented photographically and archived on the Foundation website. Also in 2010, the Foundation received a Program Support Grant from the International Coalition of Sites of Conscience for a new facilitated dialogue program called “Who Chooses,” which aims to provide “a space where respectful dialogue can take place” on the issue of women’s reproductive rights and “allow participants to exchange ideas and expand their knowledge of reproductive rights in a safe, non-volatile setting” (Matilda Joslyn Gage Foundation, Inc. 2012).

Together, the “Come Write on Our Walls” and “Who Chooses” programs illustrate the Foundation’s commitment to producing a museum that employs a less-hierarchical and contemporarily relevant vision of the museum experience.

Archaeological Futures at the Gage House¹³

With my period of active field research at the Gage House complete, I turned my attention to considering how this research could be of continuing use to the Foundation; specifically, how it could be used in their interpretations of the site to visitors in the museum.

While my archaeological research was conducted collaboratively with the input of the Gage Foundation, I found myself somewhat puzzled with regard to how I could advocate incorporating the material culture found archaeologically when it spoke primarily to the domestic context of the site – which was in contrast with the stated intention of the Gage Foundation to focus on Gage’s ideas. As an archaeologist, my focus is necessarily on things – the stuff of everyday life, and what objects can tell us about past practices and beliefs. The Gage Foundation’s emphasis, in contrast, has been on the concepts – the interpretive themes – to be showcased in the new museum. This emphasis on ideas rather than things stems largely from an aversion to replicating the typical historical house museum – the “fussy, dusty” house interior full of period-correct furnishings that has little connection to concerns of the present day. Instead, the Gage Foundation seeks to create a historic house museum which, while utilizing the domestic space of the Gage family, portrays the radical history of Matilda Joslyn Gage through emphasizing the four major areas of social reform she was involved in – women’s rights, abolition and the Underground Railroad, Native American sovereignty, and the separation of church and state – and making links to the current manifestations of these concerns. This will be accomplished by utilizing different rooms of the house for exhibits focused on one of these themes; for instance, the rear parlor of the house will be the “Women’s Rights Room,” whereas the dining room will be the “Religious Freedom Room” (Figure 6.1). While Gage’s household life, including the presence of her husband and their four children, will be interpreted in the house’s front parlor as the “Family Parlor and Oz Room,” it by no means predominates within the museum.

¹³ Much of this section has been previously published as Christensen 2011.

Historic House Museums, Depictions of Domesticity, And Material Culture

American historic house museums were first created in the mid-19th century and focused on the homes of the nation's Founding Fathers. Public historian Patricia West has noted that these early efforts by women to rescue the homes of famous American figures played off of the 19th-century emphasis on women's domesticity, as well as the belief that the home and its physical space and furnishings were a crucially important part of imparting morals to those who dwelled within. Thus, the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association was one part of a movement which emphasized "the political and social benefits of public exposure to the lives of American forefathers" (West 1999:160).

These early efforts to preserve, restore, and study the homes of American forefathers circumscribed the types of households presented by historic homes as primarily white, male, and elite; in their interpretation, focus was centered on the male head of household and objects on display were seen as the end point of interpretation (Donnelly 2002). In this formulation of the historic house museum, the experiences of different household members – including women, children, servants, or enslaved laborers – were typically overlooked, and presented static scenes of domestic furnishings.

At the same time, an internal contradiction was at play. While the historical significance of the male head of a household was typically the reason for establishing a house museum in the first place, the domestic realm was historically – and in many instances, is to this day – attributed to the domain of women.

Thus, the image of the past presented at house museums centered on the domestic surroundings of a significant family, while the interpretive significance was "the business or political acumen of the 'great man' after whom the museum is named" (West 1994:456). This dichotomy is a legacy of the ideology of "separate spheres" dating to the 19th century, which specified that man's place was in the public sphere and woman's in the domestic (Kerber 1988). This ideology emerged with the separation of economic production from the domestic arena which took place among emerging middle-class American households during the first half of the 19th century. Attendant with this separation was a shift in gender roles; women became the moral heads of the household, and were responsible for ensuring the social and moral status of their household through intensive child-rearing and the proper consumption of material goods (Laslett and Brenner 1989, Wall 1994). The Cult of True Womanhood emerged during this period and idealized women's place within the home by celebrating their innate cardinal virtues: purity, piety, submissiveness, and domesticity (Welter 1966).

While these ideals were widely circulated throughout 19th-century society through etiquette books, household manuals, magazines, and sermons, they were still precisely that – ideals. Neither the 'separate spheres' nor the Cult of True Womanhood were inclusive ideologies, as they proposed lifestyles which only the upper and emerging middle classes could afford; likewise, they were racially and ethnically exclusive (Wilkie 2003). Women's placement as managers of the household brought with it an elaboration of domestic tasks, which required the employment of domestic servants, who were typically themselves young female immigrants. Thus,

For every nineteenth-century middle-class family that protected its wife and child within the family circle, there was an Irish or a German girl scrubbing floors in that middle-class home, a Welsh boy mining coal to keep the home-baked goodies warm, a black girl doing the family laundry, a black mother and child picking cotton to be made into clothes for the family, and a Jewish or Italian daughter in a sweatshop making 'ladies' dresses or artificial flowers for the family to purchase. [Coontz 2000:11-12]

Moreover, it is important to remember that even among those families who had the means to adhere to these precepts, many did not subscribe to these ideologies.

Nonetheless, the explosion of material culture options for the home during the 19th century has long been a subject of fascination for contemporary scholars (e.g. Grover 1987, Grier 1988, Ames 1992, Foy and Schlereth 1992, Williams 1996). Most of this literature highlights several recurring themes which link material culture to prevailing ideological attitudes – belief in the home environment to shape personal character, and class-based anxiety over propriety, presentation of the self, and etiquette. As Williams (1996:52) has stated, “A woman was charged with the responsibility of creating a household environment that would nurture taste, civility, and Christian ideals in her husband and children, thereby influencing them to be moral and productive members of society.”

In material terms, these concerns were expressed in a variety of ways. Use of gothic-styled architecture and ceramics, as well as natural motifs (or actual plants) can be seen as expressions of the ‘cult of home religion,’ whereby the home was cast as a Christian sanctuary from the corrupt public sphere (Beecher and Stowe 1869, Spencer-Wood 1996). The elaboration of meals and an increased specialization in dining and serving wares was related to the role of middle-class women in maintaining the family’s standing within the social structure, as well as acting as guiding moral spirit of the family (Williams 1987).

As a result of this fascination with the dominant socially-endowed meanings of Victorian material culture, I argue that historic house museums of this period can easily fall into the trap of presenting a rather fixed and uncomplicated image of past household life. As West notes, “American house museums, tidy and tastefully furnished, are arrestingly formulaic: on tour one often feels a peculiar *déjà vu*, perhaps as the silver tea service or the portrait of the colonel is pointed out” (1994:456). This is what can occur, I contend, when the notion of the domestic as the sole domain of women is taken for granted, when all interesting political, social, and economic action is seen as located outside of the home, and the hegemonic meanings attached to domestic material culture are taken as universal fact rather than prescribed ideals to be investigated within particular contexts. This is the historical house museum that the Gage Foundation vehemently resists being; why it seeks to emphasize ideas over things.

“Ideas” Vs. “Things” At The Stanton And Alcott House Museums

It is instructive to look at other historic house museums that interpret the lives of high-profile women, and the very different approaches taken in their interpretations. The Elizabeth Cady Stanton house in Seneca Falls, NY and the Orchard House of Louisa May Alcott in Concord,

Massachusetts show the difficulty of balancing “things” with “ideas” and illustrate how different museums opt for emphasizing one over the other.

The Elizabeth Cady Stanton house in Seneca Falls, NY, is a National Historic Landmark and part of the Women’s Rights National Historical Park operated by the National Park Service. The historical park commemorates the first known women’s rights convention, held in July 1848 at Seneca Falls’ Wesleyan Chapel, where Stanton’s *Declaration of Sentiments* (modeled on the *Declaration of Independence*) first put forth women’s demand to vote.

The Stanton house, a Greek Revival farmhouse dating to the 1840s, was occupied by the family between 1847 and 1862. Stanton herself referred to the house as “the center of the rebellion.” The house is open by tour for most of the year, and comprises the main site of interpretation at the park in addition to the visitors’ center and the Wesleyan Chapel.

The Stanton house interpretation is of interest because it largely eschews objects. Besides a desk and chair Stanton owned when living in Tenafly, NJ (years after leaving Seneca Falls), a piano and a loveseat, the house is largely empty. Restoration work has re-created the wall treatments in place when the Stantons occupied the house, but the house itself is largely a shell interpreted by Park Ranger-led tours which focus on her life and thought (Melosh 1989; Rose 1997; NPS 2009). The National Park Service’s choice to not fully furnish the Stanton house with period pieces is notable, as it has allowed the focus of the tours to be on Stanton’s work rather than her domestic surroundings; here, ‘ideas’ trump ‘things.’

On the other end of the spectrum falls Orchard House in Concord, Massachusetts, home to the Alcott family between 1858 and 1877 and where Louisa May Alcott penned *Little Women* in 1868. Established as a house museum by the Concord Woman’s Club in 1912, Orchard House in its early-20th century configuration emphasized largely non-existent linkages between the Alcott family’s life and the idealized domestic world of *Little Women* (West 1994). Instead of recognizing Louisa May Alcott’s involvement in the woman suffrage movement and her status as an unmarried and working woman, the fully period-furnished Orchard House was used to present an image of “traditional domesticity” seen as endangered by increasing immigration and the specter of woman’s suffrage. In so doing, Orchard House was reinvented “as a curious hybrid of a progressive-era, neo-colonial, single-family suburban home and an idealized nineteenth-century cottage” in which domestic life was interpreted to the visiting public at the expense of discussions of the people who actually lived there (West 1994:465). In this case, objects – many of which were actually owned and used by the Alcotts – were used to impart a very particular image of 19th century domestic life and gender roles that overlooked the actual, iconoclastic ideas put into practice by their users.

The examples provided by the Stanton and Alcott houses show the rather extreme contrasts in interpretive strategies possible in terms of emphasizing ideas or things. In order to create a model for the Gage House that incorporates both, I turn to the example of the Lower East Side Tenement Museum.

A Model For Balancing “Things” And “Ideas”: The Lower East Side Tenement Museum

The Lower East Side Tenement Museum in Manhattan was founded in 1988 with the purpose of telling the stories of America’s 19th and 20th-century working-class immigrants. The tenement

at 97 Orchard Street was built in 1863, containing twenty small apartments among its five floors, and was home to over 7,000 immigrants before its closure in 1935 (Abram 2002).

Today, the museum consists of six apartments restored to reflect the stories of particular immigrant families that lived in the building between the 1860s and 1930s (Abram 2007). Various tours are available which highlight the experiences of German-Jewish, Irish, and Italian Catholic immigrant families in New York through their restored apartments.

The tours are immersive, richly textured, and evocative. The tour I have personally taken, entitled “The Moores: An Irish Family in America,” combined music, historical documents and artifacts, and a tour of Bridget and Joseph Moores’ ca.1869 apartment to learn the family’s story and discuss broader issues related to 19th-century Irish immigration, anti-Irish sentiment, religion, public health issues, and tenement reform. The apartment setup, which showed how the apartment parlor would look for the funeral wake of the Moores’ five-month-old Agnes, who died of marasmus (malnutrition) likely due to contaminated milk, provided an evocative link to broader concerns of public health and pure food.

The Lower East Side Tenement Museum is also notable for its practice of explicitly linking the stories of its 19th- and early 20th-century immigrant families with current concerns related to immigration. Connections between past and present immigration are made throughout the apartment tours, but until 2010 a landmark program called “Kitchen Conversations” was also held after select tours, with an average of 80% of visitors opting to participate (Russell-Ciardi 2008). Over juice and cookies, visitors discussed links between the stories of New York’s immigrant ancestors – who many visitors identify with due to their own family history – and continuing debates related to immigration today, including whether everyone should be required to learn and speak English, whether immigrants should receive help and support on arrival, and what it means to be an American. These conversations highlighted the false dichotomy of the hard-working “good immigrants” of the past and the “lazy, dependent, and disloyal” immigrants of today (Abram 2007:63). These dialogues, then, allowed visitors from different backgrounds to “react to what they were hearing, share their own knowledge, and exchange ideas about the ways in which the new information they were learning did and did not resonate with their previous understanding of the issues” (Russell-Ciardi 2008:47).

In addition, the museum has taken steps to ensure its place as a community institution, rather than simply a history museum. As part of its mission to engage with issues of contemporary immigration, the museum has hosted a program since 2002 called “Shared Journeys” for recent immigrants in Adult English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) classes. The program is comprised of six workshops in which participants tour one of the restored tenement apartments and learn about the parallels between the issues facing that particular immigrant family and their own contemporary struggles. Each workshop tackles a single issue, including challenges in arriving in the United States, housing laws, sweatshops and labor laws, obtaining government assistance, health and medical care, and sharing immigration stories. These workshops share the goal of teaching participants the vocabulary needed to advocate for themselves and make them aware of laws and available resources (Russell-Ciardi 2008).

Finally, the museum also utilizes space within the 97 Orchard Street building to host art shows and performances by recent immigrants. This has allowed artists and performers to showcase

their personal experiences and present multiple contemporary perspectives on immigration; in the meantime, this has forced the museum to share ownership of the immigration narratives being shown at the museum and directly engage with different stakeholders (Russell-Ciardi 2008).

The Lower East Side Tenement Museum thus utilizes the sense of an active history as embodied by the restored living spaces of these immigrant families to make explicit linkages to contemporary issues we still struggle with. This model, I argue, is an effective one at balancing “ideas” and “things,” and shows that material culture and nuanced family histories can indeed be an ideal venue for bridging the microscale with macroscale ideas relating to both the past and present. Moreover, the museum’s involvement with contemporary immigration issues ensures its placement as a community center and resource which separates it from many other history museums depicting past living contexts.

Prospects For Linking “Ideas” And “Things” At The Matilda Joslyn Gage House

The examples given by the Stanton and Alcott houses illustrate the complexity of balancing interpretive priorities in historic house museums. Likewise, the Lower East Side Tenement Museum provides a commendable model for balancing broad concepts and household material culture within the context of a historic site that is unequivocally engaged in current politics and issues. Based on their example, I propose one means by which the Matilda Joslyn Gage House can include domestic material culture in the final museum planning that serves to reinforce, rather than distract from, their central focus on Gage’s ideas and actions, through the display, interpretation, and use of tea wares.

As discussed in Chapter 4, ceramic fragments representing the vessels of several tea sets were recovered from archaeological contexts relating to the Gage household. White ironstone tea-related ceramics in the Gothic pattern, especially, were well-represented in these findings, suggesting that the Gages owned and used a Gothic tea set frequently. Overall, there was a noted absence of vessels that might be associated with a “fancy” tea set that would be used in entertaining company rather than family. This suggests that the relatively simple ironstone tea wares were used for both family teas and the more public occasions when Matilda Gage entertained in the home for social and reform reasons, including hosting local women to raise money for hospital supplies for the Union cause during the Civil War; and for entertaining like-minded reformers such as Lillie Devereaux Blake, Gerrit Smith, Belva Lockwood, Lucretia Mott, William Lloyd Garrison, and Wendell Phillips on their visits to Fayetteville (Wagner 2009; Matilda Joslyn Gage Foundation, Inc. 2006). Perhaps most significantly, tea would also have factored into the work-related visits by Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton when they gathered with Gage to conduct suffrage-related business, plan strategy, and work on compiling *The History of Woman Suffrage*.

What is interesting is that these historical practices actually fit quite well with the contemporary practices of the Gage Foundation staff and volunteers, who are by and large fuelled by gallons of Earl Grey tea. Teas are used as the basis for day-to-work at the Foundation, as well as discussion groups and fundraisers – such as “afternoon tea” fundraisers with Gloria Steinem held in the summer of 2009 and winter of 2011. There are also plans to initiate conversations with museum visitors in a program similar to the Tenement Museum’s “Kitchen Conversations,” which would take place in the rear parlor – the “Women’s Rights” room – over tea. By simply displaying

some of the tea ware fragments or reconstructed vessels from the archaeological excavations within the house, such as in the rear parlor (Woman's Rights Room), front parlor (Family Parlor and Oz Room), and library (Matilda Joslyn Gage Research Library), it would be simple to connect the practices of the past with the Foundation's contemporary practices. They could simultaneously highlight the social significance of tea in reform life, family life, and Gage's writing life. By interpreting these tea wares as simultaneously engaged in family gatherings, reform actions, and community-making, the Gage Foundation has the potential to augment their interpretation of Gage's work rather than distract from it or eschew discussion of household life altogether.

Clearly, decisions regarding how to create interpretive narratives at historic house museums are complicated, even more so when a museum seeks to break with the established way of doing things. In the push to create a politically-informed, community-enhancing institution, it is tempting to jettison traditional conceptions of household interpretation, as has the Stanton House. However, as the model of the Lower East Side Tenement Museum suggests, it is more than possible to utilize household material culture to deal with contentious and difficult historical subjects, link microscale histories with larger concepts, and prompt museum visitor engagement with contemporary social issues.

In much the same way, the restoration and interpretive plan of the Matilda Joslyn Gage House seeks to make links between the past and the present – between 19th-century slavery and human trafficking today; the fight for woman suffrage and the continued fight for gender equality; and the continuing issue of the proper relationship between religion and the state. By utilizing the domestic space of the Gage House to interpret Gage's radical works, the Foundation can powerfully turn traditional, supposedly apolitical notions of what a home was on their head.

Likewise, using the Gage's ceramic tea wares to illustrate their varying uses and meanings then leads us to foreground the fact that material culture is not a mere reflection of meaning, but that past peoples quite actively endowed mass-produced material culture with a wide array of symbolic meanings through their daily practices (de Certeau 1984, Beaudry *et al.* 1991, Spencer-Wood 1996, Little 1997). By emphasizing how the Gages used their tea wares within the context of their reform efforts, and continuing to use teas as a venue for discussions and community-making within the Foundation and the museum, these iconic artifacts of Victorian feminine domesticity can be shown as the complex resources for creating meaning that they were. In so doing, the Gage House has the potential to be a noteworthy and iconoclastic historic house museum that emphasizes ideas over things, while not overlooking the significance that things embodied for those who used them to create their world.

Cheney House

In sharp contrast to the Gage House, the Cheney House site has not been preserved and the historical memory of its significance is tenuous. Anthropology student offices were moved out of the house in the fall of 2009 and in October of that year, the University advertised the sale of the main Cheney house and the smaller rental property - on the Craigslist.org website – for a dollar each, with the requirement to move the structures from University property by May 15th, 2010 (UC Berkeley Real Estate Services Group 2009). The University must have not received

any satisfactory proposals for the main Cheney house, as it was demolished in March of 2011 after some parts of the structure, including the internal doors and door hardware, were sold to an architectural salvage company. The lot was graded, and a series of modular trailers containing offices for the Student High Performance Athletic Center was placed on the site. On a more positive note, the smaller rental cottage was successfully purchased and moved to a lot in Oakland, where as of this writing it is slowly but lovingly being restored (Belser 2012).

The proposed sale and removal of the Cheney houses in 2009 prompted some coverage in the local newspapers, with the ‘hook’ being the one dollar proposed cost of the structures (Macavei 2009; Taylor 2009; Thompson 2009a, 2009b). The article run in *The Daily Californian* (Macavei 2009) notes that moving the structures may undermine the city’s historic preservation ordinances, but does not devote any space as to why the houses were City Landmarks in the first place. Thompson (2009a, 2009b), then the president of the Berkeley Architectural Heritage Society, does highlight the lives of the Cheneys, but does not argue either way for the site’s preservation.

When the demise of the Cheney house became apparent in 2010, media coverage was minimal. Teresa Dujnic Bulger and I crafted a press release to highlight the historical significance of the property and place its planned destruction within the context of previous University-led destruction of historically significant campus structures (Christensen and Bulger 2010). The press release was posted to the Archaeological Research Facility webpage, and was sent to *The Daily Californian*, who declined to cover the demolition as they had, in their mind, already devoted enough coverage to the issue. It was covered by the Berkeleyside blog, and they also later covered the moving of the smaller Cheney cottage to its new site in Oakland (Taylor 2010, 2011).

The loss of the Cheney House site due to development prompts thinking of May and Warren’s legacy. May, given her especially long association with the University, should be remembered in some fashion. What I have found is that while she has been remembered within the University history for her administrative work, overall memory of her and her work is limited.

May’s most lasting legacy, according to official University memory, was her work as Appointment Secretary and her work toward providing housing for students. In 1960, one of the new Unit 1 residence halls for women – the first to be built by the University – was named Cheney Hall in honor of May. On the Unit 1 website, it states:

Cheney Hall is named after May L. Cheney. She graduated with the class of 1883 and gained a national reputation for 40 years of finding teaching positions for UC Berkeley graduates, as Appointments Secretary of the Teacher Placement Bureau on campus. She was also was very active in student affairs. [UC 2008]

According to the Centennial publication of the University (Stadtman 1967:np), the buildings of Units 1, 2, and 3 (built in 1964) were “named for members of the University ‘family’ particularly concerned with student housing.”

Less remembered is May's involvement in reform efforts. In 2011, in celebration of the centennial of California women winning the right to vote, the Bancroft Library curated two exhibits related to women at the University, and the fight for suffrage. In "Women at Cal, 1910-1915: When California Passed the Woman Suffrage Amendment," "the exhibition explores the themes of women as donors, faculty, and staff; women students' academic, athletic, and recreational activities; and the living and recreational spaces they inhabited" (Bancroft 2011b). Despite May's lifetime of work toward improving female student life at the University, she is merely mentioned once in the exhibit, and not even by name. In the exhibit section entitled "Leading Their Own: Faculty and Staff," she is mentioned in passing (as "the appointments secretary") as one of the prominent women leaders on campus. In the "Centennial Celebration: California Women and the Vote" exhibit, which admittedly does not focus as narrowly on the University, May is not mentioned at all despite her involvement in the College Equal Suffrage League (Bancroft Library 2011a). During the use of the Cheney house by the University for offices, office-users – including those of the newly-established Women's and Gender Studies Department in the 1980s – did not know of the house's history or the significance of its historical occupants (Barrie Thorne, personal communication, 2007).

While I do not argue that May's work toward reform has been intentionally overlooked, it is interesting that someone so influential in University history has been largely forgotten in institutional memory. A potential reason why this has occurred is suggested in Nora McNeill's (1932) manuscript entitled "May Lucretia Shepard Cheney – Administrator and Matriarch." In this short biography, McNeill argues for May's significance as someone who was able to manage both a family and career in a time when women's capability to do so was under debate. As McNeill (1932:1) states, "While the discussion has been going on thousands of wives and mothers have raised fine children and successfully pursued a gainful occupation. Such quiet, capable women have had not time and no desire, perhaps, to explain themselves or even to be aware that they were as yet exceptional."

In detailing May's achievements as a professional as well as the "nice competent mother of a fine family," McNeill notes that she had to be careful in her public reform involvements as a member of the University administration (McNeill 1932:1, 32). Significantly, McNeill places May as working behind the scenes to support the efforts of members of the ACA "in urging the recognition of women by appointment on college faculties and equality of salaries for men and women doing the same work; and in keeping pace with trends in education," as this allowed her to "promote movements and causes in which she could not have joined as the appointment secretary of the University" (McNeill 1932:31-32). McNeill (1932:32) goes on to note: "Above all it was necessary that she should be discreet in promoting and devising new things in education and social welfare. Space fails to tell of her interest in prohibition, woman suffrage, child hygiene, and the protection of young women."

The fact that May had to be circumspect in her reform efforts due to her position at the University noted by McNeill (1932) is quite telling, and can in part account for the lack of appreciation of her significance. This brings to mind the famous quote from historian Laurel Thatcher Ulrich: "Well-behaved women seldom make history" (Ulrich 2007). This famous statement can be taken to mean that either well-behaved women do not do anything historically significant, or that they simply didn't make it into history; I think that in May Cheney's case, it is the latter. As Ulrich (2007:xxxii) herself stated, "Most well-behaved women are too busy living

their lives to think about recording what they do and too modest about their own achievements to think anyone else will care.”

While May very well may have been too busy and too modest to laud her own achievements, her inclusion in the official University landscape in the dormitory speaks to a broader pattern of the memorialization of women in the University landscape. In the 1967 Centennial Record of the University of California (Stadtman 1967), 14 of 78 campus buildings (18%) are named after women, and ten of these (71%) were residence halls (Table 6.1). The four non-residence halls named after women are Morgan Hall, named after Agnes Fay Morgan, professor of home economics and nutrition; Morrison Hall, named after May Treat Morrison, who provided the funds for the building; Hearst Gymnasium for Women, named after Phoebe Hearst and given by her son; and Wurster Hall, named after both William and Catherine Bauer Wurster (Stadtman 1967: 133, 136). In contrast, 42 buildings (67%) are named after men, and only nine of these (21%) are dormitories.

According to the current interactive campus map (UC 2012), the situation has not changed much in the intervening forty-five years. While it is difficult to directly compare the campus buildings present in 1967 and today, only four buildings built in this time frame have been named after individual women, and all of these are dormitories (Table 6.2). Soda Hall, built in 1994, is named after Y. Charles and Helen Soda, while the Life Sciences Building, built in 1930, was renamed the Valley Life Sciences Building to acknowledge the donations of Wayne and Gladys Valley toward renovating the structure in the 1990s. As it now stands, Morgan Hall remains the only academic building on campus named after a woman who was an active academic rather than a benefactor. The four halls named after women at Smyth-Fernwald are no longer even mentioned as part of University housing, and it is unclear whether they have been demolished or not. Two of these buildings honored women who were among the cohort of female administrators and professors with whom May worked to provide opportunities and resources for female students: Jessica Peixotto, the second female Ph.D. and first woman to achieve the status of Professor at the University of California, and Lucy Sprague Mitchell, Assistant Professor of English and first Dean of Women at the University (Dornin 1959).

The concentration of residence halls named after women is significant, as it perpetuates an insidious view of women associated with domesticity. University tradition has established it as practice that residence halls are named “not for benefactors but for faculty, administrators, and alumni who have made significant contributions to improving student life at Cal” (Chancellor Robert Birgenau, quoted in Finacom 2005), and as such, has actually created a space by which women *can* be remembered. However, the fact remains that there are numerous examples of campus buildings named after men who were Regents, Department Chairs, and otherwise movers and shakers in their respective fields; by omitting women almost entirely from these ranks it suggests that women, in contrast, have not been movers or shakers in University academic history but rather have ‘only’ been support staff. This does not give due recognition to the actual contributions of women to University history, and also overlooks the contemporary presence of female academics within the University.

I would now like to shift gears and turn to an evaluation of the collaborative methods used in my research.

Collaborative Outcomes

As discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, I strove to implement a feminist-inspired, collaborative methodology with regard to my field and laboratory research. In the end, while my goal was true collaboration and a minimization of the hierarchal structure typical of field and lab projects, I had mixed results. At the Gage house, the project appears to have met the needs and expectations of the Gage Foundation, although I found them mostly happy to defer to my plan for research despite my attempts to be open and collaborative. I have come to understand, though, that the archaeological project was not the only or most important concern of the Foundation; this, I think, is an important reality check for those of us earnestly pursuing collaborative projects. At the Cheney house, we succeeded in drawing attention to the history of the site for as long as we were excavating, and numerous students gained experience in field, laboratory, and historical research in the process. The transitory nature of University student life, however, has limited the creation of a discrete community of stakeholders that will persist through time.

My work at the Gage house successfully satisfied historic preservation law requirements, has provided some information on the uses of the property over time, and raised local awareness of the site and its significance in the process. While these were the initial goals of the project, I had to come to terms with not, essentially, getting the Foundation to ‘fall in love’ with archaeology. Rather, the project was a means to an end for them, as it was one step in the long process of restoring the house and property. As detailed earlier in this chapter, I had a difficult time accepting the proposed minimal role of material culture and home life in the Gage house as museum, as I saw it as a failure on my part to be truly collaborative.

As I came to question whether or not my work with the Gage Foundation could rightfully be called collaborative after all, I struggled with what my role should be, as I am simultaneously a member of the Foundation, an ally, a younger person, a non-local, a student, and an archaeologist. If we are required to take seriously the interests of descendant communities in terms of their understanding of the past (and I think that we are) we must ask ourselves how is it possible to strike a balance between relinquishing some control of the narratives constructed about the past, the desires of this particular community, and what I see as the also valid results of my research. In this particular case, I respectfully voiced my concerns to the Foundation, and in effect, ‘pitched’ my reasoning for the inclusion of material culture and discussion of the household context in the planned museum setup by demonstrating how they would in fact augment, rather than detract from, their desired focus on the significance of Gage’s reform ideas and actions. For instance, I argued that stereotypically ‘fussy’ and feminized Victorian material culture, such as tea wares, can instead be interpreted as materials crucially important to Gage’s reform efforts, in that they were part of the coming-together and hosting of other reformers and potential converts at the Gage house. Likewise, items like medicine bottles and sewing implements not detailed here and children’s toys found archaeologically speak to the everyday domestic labor and carework in which Gage participated, albeit often with the help of a domestic servant, in addition to her reform work.

I believe that this example illustrates some of the issues we are liable to run into when working with contemporary groups who have strong, vested interests – of whatever kinds – in particular understandings of the past. As we seek to navigate these charged relationships, I find that the

idea of archaeology as a craft, as put forward by Randall McGuire and Michael Shanks, is illuminating (Shanks and McGuire 1996; McGuire 2008). They effectively argue that our capacity to act as archaeologists comes about through training, including ways of observing and interpreting, which set us apart from non-archaeologists. This sense of difference gives us something to contribute to dialogues regarding the past, although not the definitive word: “we should give up the programmatic privilege to exclusively define the questions, the substance, and those aspects of the archaeological record that we apply our craft to” (McGuire 2008:90). We thus have ethical responsibilities to varied publics, as well as the archaeological record *and* our colleagues (McGuire 2003).

Likewise, Rosemary Joyce (2002b) and Jeanne Lopiparo (2002) have argued that we as archaeologists *do* hold responsibilities to the material record and our discipline; we have a “responsibility as...archaeologist[s] to speak not only for the past human subjects, but also for the nonhuman subjects that mediate between them and us” (Joyce 2002b:65); and “we have an extraordinary ‘responsibility to the autonomous materiality’ of the archaeological record, and must counter accounts that either ignore or are inconsistent with it” (Lopiparo 2002:74, partly quoting Joyce 2002b). Thus, despite the sometimes cringe-inducing history of our relations with descendant communities, it is important to remember that we *are* good for something, so to speak. As McGuire (2008:95) notes, the nearly inevitable conflict of views we will run into with regard to our collaborative communities should be seen as a good thing, in that it “creates tensions that force each community to critically examine its own dialogue as well as the other’s.” Hopefully, by attempting to live up to the traits identified by Nicholas, Welch and Yellowhorn (2008:290) as crucial to successful collaboration - “listening, learning, respect, equity, patience, commitment” - we can mutually benefit from these tensions without irreparably harming the relationships we have established. I argue that we must apply the same concerns voiced primarily in postcolonial and Indigenous archaeological discussions to our work with descendant communities of *any* and *every* stripe. As we do so, we will confront the need to balance the sometimes competing ethical imperatives to advocate for the material world with the also-valid needs and desires of our collaborative partners in pursuit of a more equitable archaeology.

At the Cheney site, students gained research experience that I hope has served them well in their continuing pursuits, while the project itself has been incorporated into the cluster of archaeological projects on campus that are taught to students in introductory archaeology classes. Our use of the site as a ‘Learning Laboratory,’ likewise fostered hands-on research for a number of undergraduate and graduate students. My interest in the Cheney family and specifically, May’s achievements, has both drawn on and hopefully augmented her descendants’ memory of her. Ultimately, the same people who were interested in campus and local history and historical preservation are still interested. The long-term effects of my collaborative efforts at the Cheney house are, on the whole, much less clear than for the Gage house.

Dissertation Conclusions

In Chapter 1, I situated this research within the context of household archaeology, given the study of the household as crucial interface between the individual and society. Theories of practice, taken broadly, have influenced my work in that they posit a recursive relationship between individual actors and social structures, and provide a middle way for thinking through

how people's actions are shaped but not fully determined by social structures. Feminist theorizing has influenced this work by prompting the consideration of women's lives, the microscale, and the worth of typically feminized activities such as parenting and caregiving. It has also prompted me to scrutinize taken-for-granted and interrogate the difference between actual lived experience and ideals. It has also inspired me to pursue a feminist practice of research, which has much in common with collaborative archaeologies that have been developed in recent years.

In Chapter 2, I presented narratives of the Gage and Cheney properties, houses, and households created by stitching together information from a wide variety of documentary and oral historical sources. These narratives show that both households changed in size and composition over the years, and included extended family, boarders, and servants at various times and highlights the importance of considering the life cycle of households and individuals. These changes show that households in the recent past are not simply the idealized nuclear family settings that are often presented as the way things used to be, but are rather flexible and adaptive to the conditions of life at hand (Coontz 2000).

Collaborative methods were utilized in the field and lab to construct histories of both sites, as described in Chapter 3. My research builds on the recent burgeoning of publicly-oriented archaeologies that strive to not simply educate the public in some unidirectional sense, but create more collaborative and transparent knowledge-producing ventures. This goal is inspired by feminist calls for changing archaeological research practices, although it is not often recognized as such. I detail my attempts at conducting research at the Gage and Cheney sites collaboratively, and present the findings of the archaeological excavations to provide a backdrop to the more detailed interpretive narratives put forward in the subsequent two chapters.

In Chapter 4, I presented an examination of Victorian-era female gender roles and the material culture specifically associated with the Cult of Domesticity. The Gages possessed a house and furnishings which appear to align them with the Cult of Domesticity, but based on documentary evidence we know that they were in fact active in circles that sought to reform the gendered and racialized landscape of the country. I grapple with the potential reasons for this discordance between prescriptive material culture meanings, gender ideologies, and practices, and suggest that the normative image the Gages presented to the public may have been a strategy in order to maintain a status of respectability while pursuing reform efforts which challenged the status quo. Conversely, this 'normal' image may have simply grown out of Gage's status as a white, middle-class woman doing what she was expected to do in terms of maintaining a household and family; documentary sources do emphasize the close relationships she had with her children and grandchildren. Ultimately, whether the normative face of the Gage household was intentional or not is not knowable short of finding new sources of evidence. What remains is that Gage's politicized practices within the home have left a legacy that is carried on today through the efforts of the Gage Foundation.

In Chapter 5, I explored the material and practice-based landscape of the Cheney household, showing how Warren Cheney negotiated changing masculine ideologies with regard to his recurrent illnesses, seen materially in the décor of the house, the design and care of the landscape surrounding the house, and in parenting practices. May Cheney, too, navigated the changing feminine ideals of the late-19th and early-20th centuries, seen in her pursuit of paid work,

removal from the home, reform efforts, and parenting. This household shows the significance of both men and women, in addition to children, within the household and is an important addition to historical studies of men and their relationship to the home and parenting, often seen as feminized. Overall this case study speaks to the constant negotiation of ideals with the needs of everyday life that speaks to continuing issues of parenthood and working outside or inside of the home today for both men and women.

Finally, in this chapter I have discussed what has occurred at both sites since archaeological excavations were completed. While the Gage House has been restored to its 19th-century appearance and opened as a museum, I have struggled to suggest ways in which the domestic life of the household can be interpreted without taking attention away from the focus on Matilda Gage's reform work and connections to contemporary issues of social justice. In contrast, the Cheney house has been demolished, and while May Cheney's memory lives on in some small way through the dormitory named after her, this naming practice itself is one example of the continued marginalization of women in the University landscape and official memory. While my collaborative ventures at both sites had mixed results, I argue that we must, as archaeologists, take the stake that descendant groups have in sites and narratives about the past seriously, whether they are biologically descendant or not. By so doing we can put into practice the changes suggested by feminist theorizing that ultimately lead to better understandings of the past and its place in the present. In the process we can reclaim knowledge about the everyday lives of people like Matilda Joslyn Gage and May Shepard Cheney in the past, and how their deft negotiations of and efforts to reform their respective worlds have led to the expanded opportunities women such as myself have today.

Figures

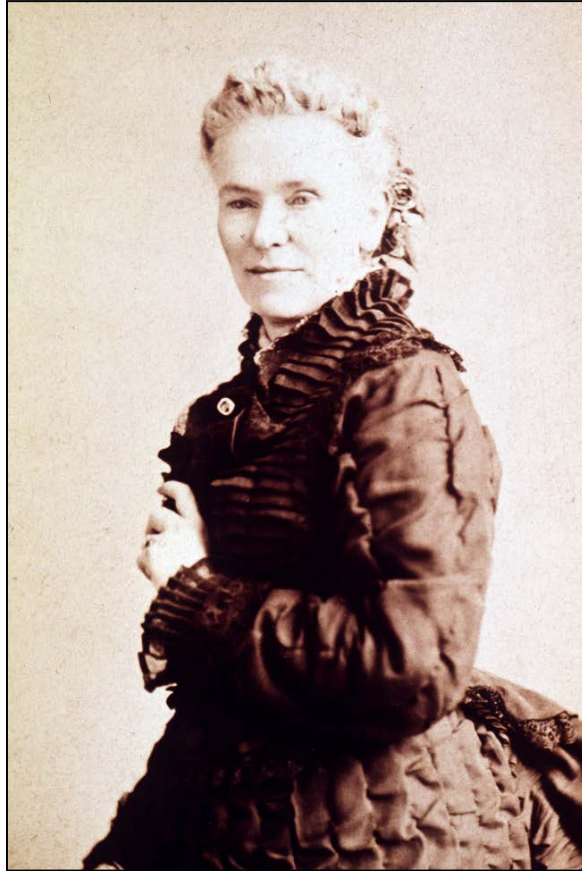


Figure 1.1: Matilda Joslyn Gage, circa 1871. Courtesy of the Matilda Joslyn Gage Foundation, Inc. Fayetteville, New York.



Figure 1.2: May Shepard Cheney, 1920. Courtesy of the Bancroft Library. University of California, Berkeley.

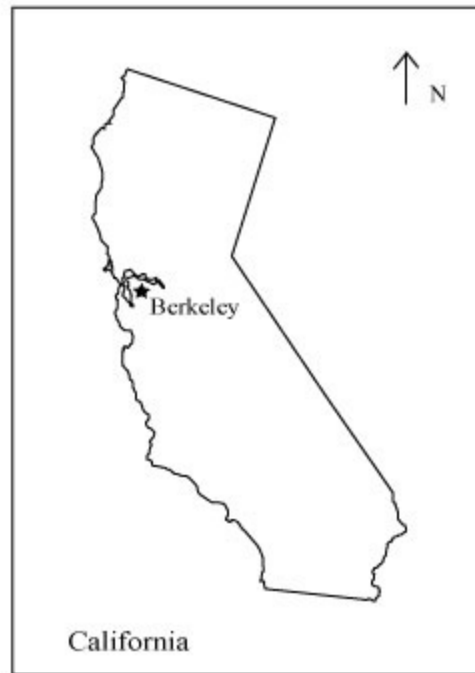
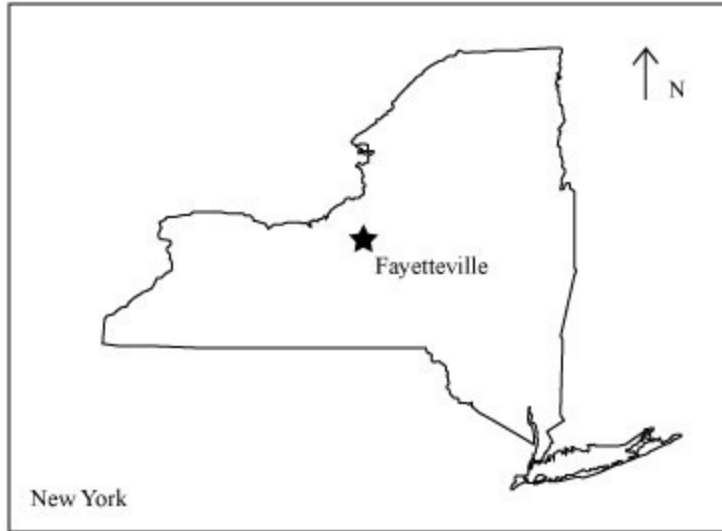


Figure 1.3: Locations of the Gage and Cheney sites.



Figure 1.4: The Matilda Joslyn Gage House. Photo by author.



Figure 1.5: The May and Warren Cheney House. Photo by author.

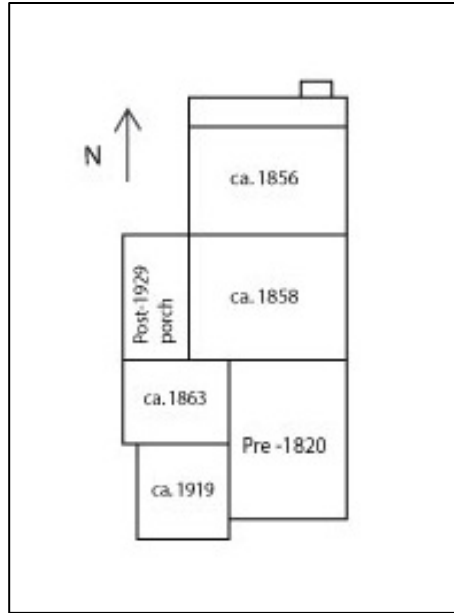


Figure 2.1: Construction phases of the Gage house.



Figure 2.2: View of Gage house facing west, 1887. Courtesy of the Matilda Joslyn Gage Foundation, Inc. Fayetteville, New York.



Figure 2.3: View of Gage house front yard facing west, 1887. Courtesy of the Matilda Joslyn Gage Foundation, Inc. Fayetteville, New York.



Figure 2.4: View of Gage house west yard facing south, 1887. Courtesy of the Matilda Joslyn Gage Foundation, Inc. Fayetteville, New York.



Figure 2.5: View of Gage house front parlor, 1887. Courtesy of the Matilda Joslyn Gage Foundation, Inc. Fayetteville, New York.

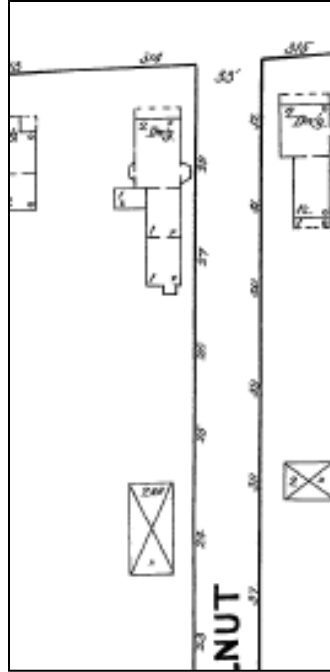


Figure 2.6: Detail from 1890 Sanborn map showing Gage property.

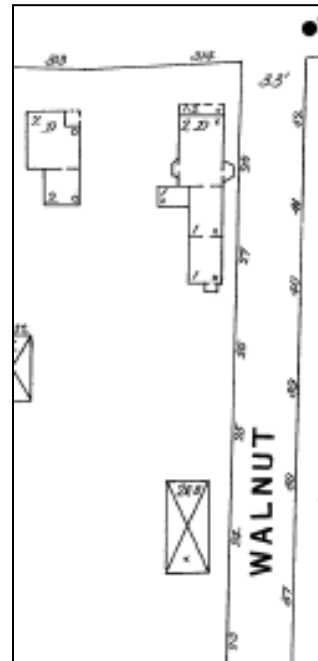


Figure 2.7: Detail from 1896 Sanborn map showing Gage property.



Figure 2.8: Detail from 1904 Sanborn map showing Gage property.



Figure 2.9: Detail from 1909 Sanborn map showing Gage property.

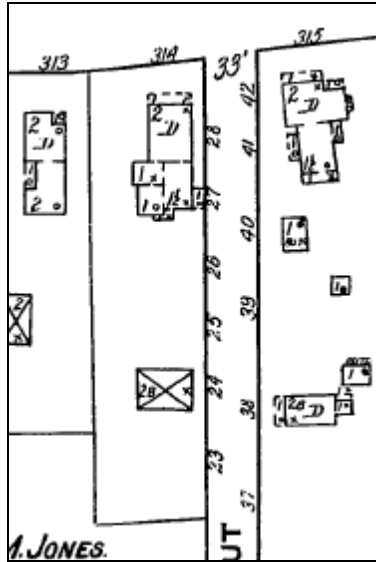


Figure 2.10: Detail from 1919 Sanborn map showing Gage property.

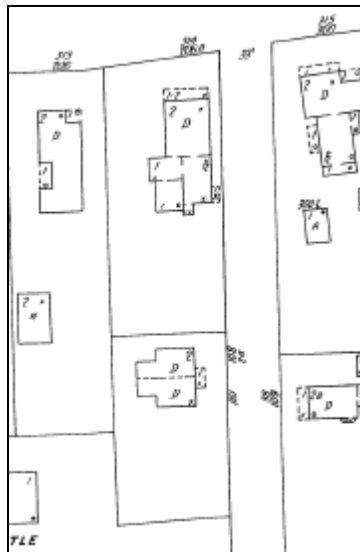


Figure 2.11: Detail from 1929 Sanborn map showing Gage property.



Figure 2.12: Matilda Joslyn Gage, date unknown. Courtesy of the Matilda Joslyn Gage Foundation, Inc. Fayetteville, New York.

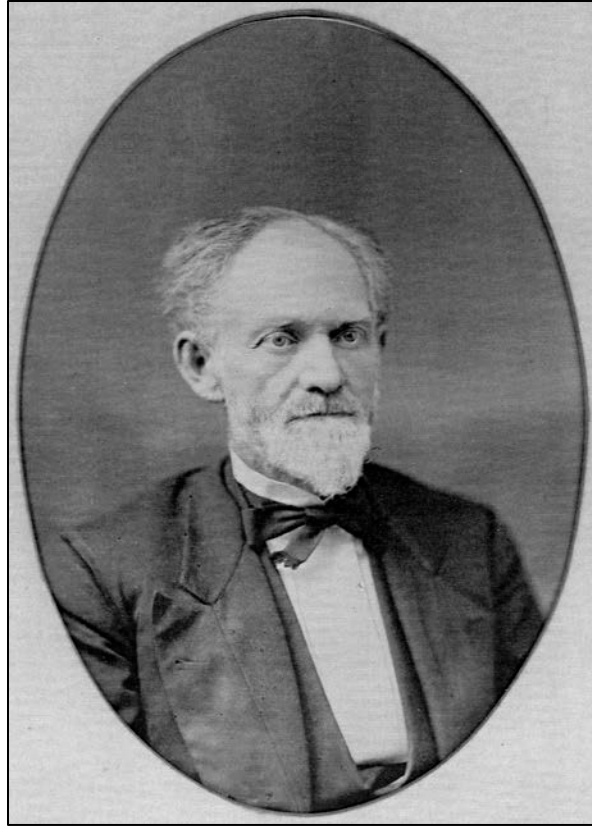


Figure 2.13: Henry Hill Gage, date unknown. Courtesy of the Matilda Joslyn Gage Foundation, Inc. Fayetteville, New York.



Figure 2.14: Gage children, date unknown. Clockwise: Thomas Clarkson, Maud, Helen Leslie, Julia. Courtesy of the Matilda Joslyn Gage Foundation, Inc. Fayetteville, New York.

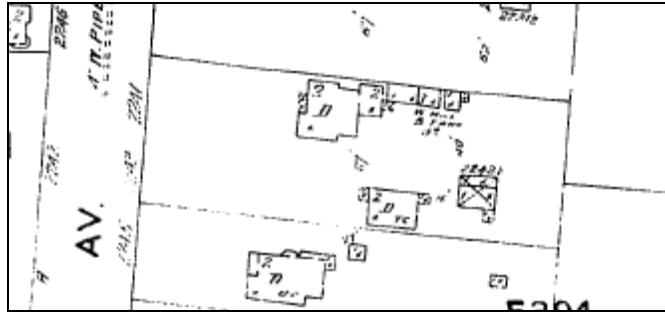


Figure 2.15: Detail from 1903 Sanborn map showing Cheney property.

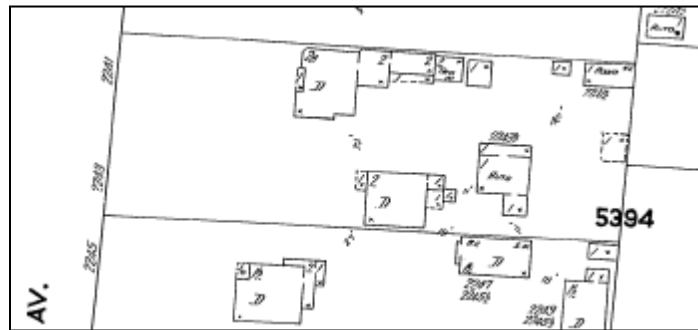


Figure 2.16: Detail from 1911 Sanborn map showing Cheney property.

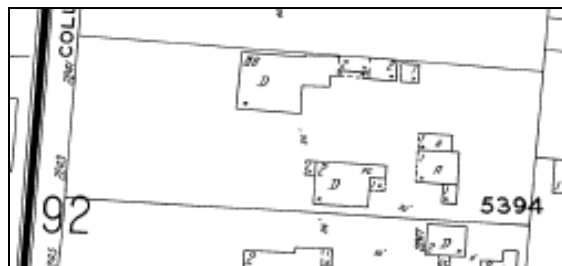


Figure 2.17: Detail from 1929 Sanborn map showing Cheney property.



Figure 2.18: Warren Cheney, 1878. Courtesy of the Bancroft Library. University of California, Berkeley.



Figure 2.19: May Shepard Cheney, 1883. Courtesy of the Bancroft Library. University of California, Berkeley.

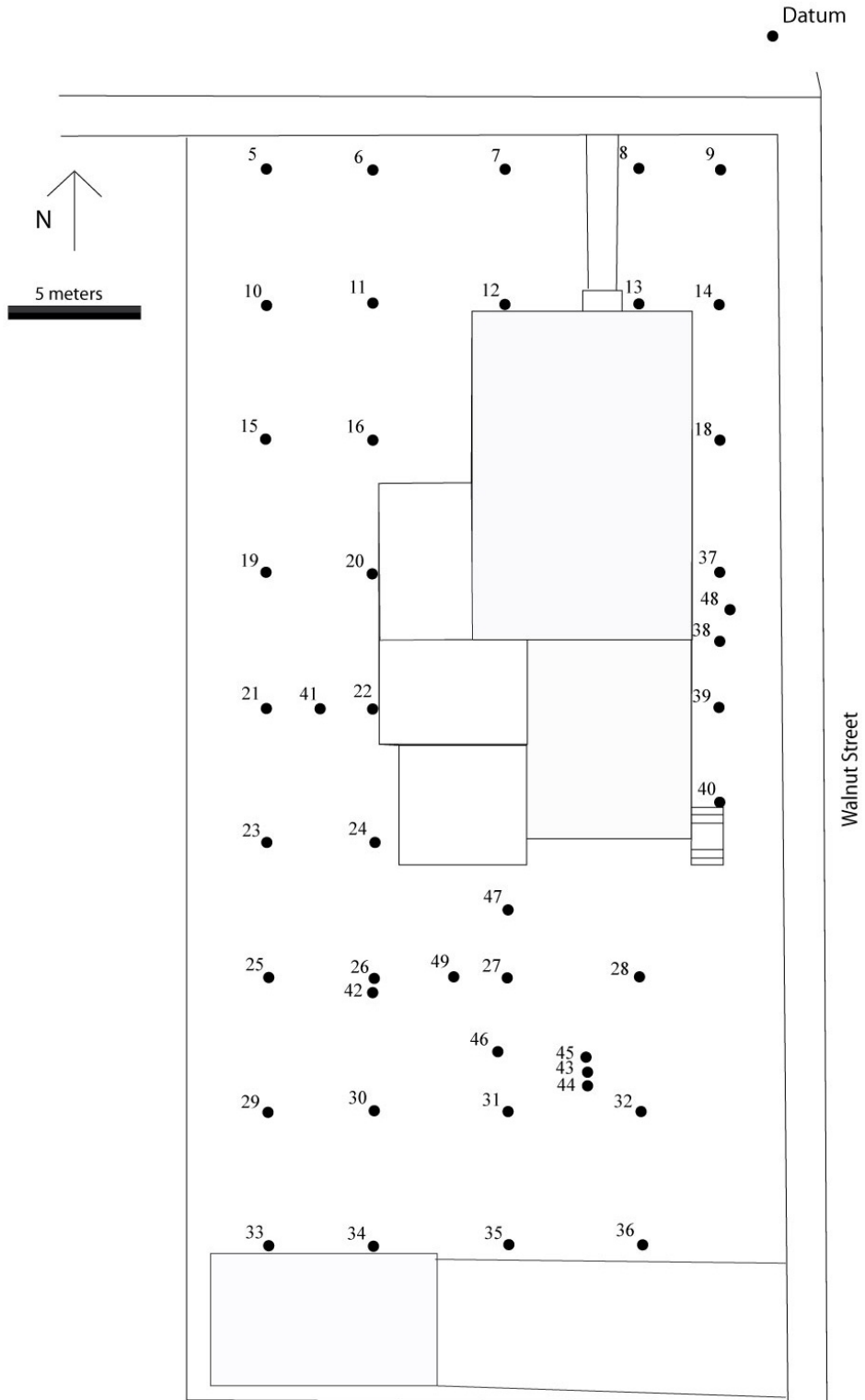


Figure 3.1: Map of shovel test pits excavated on the Gage property.

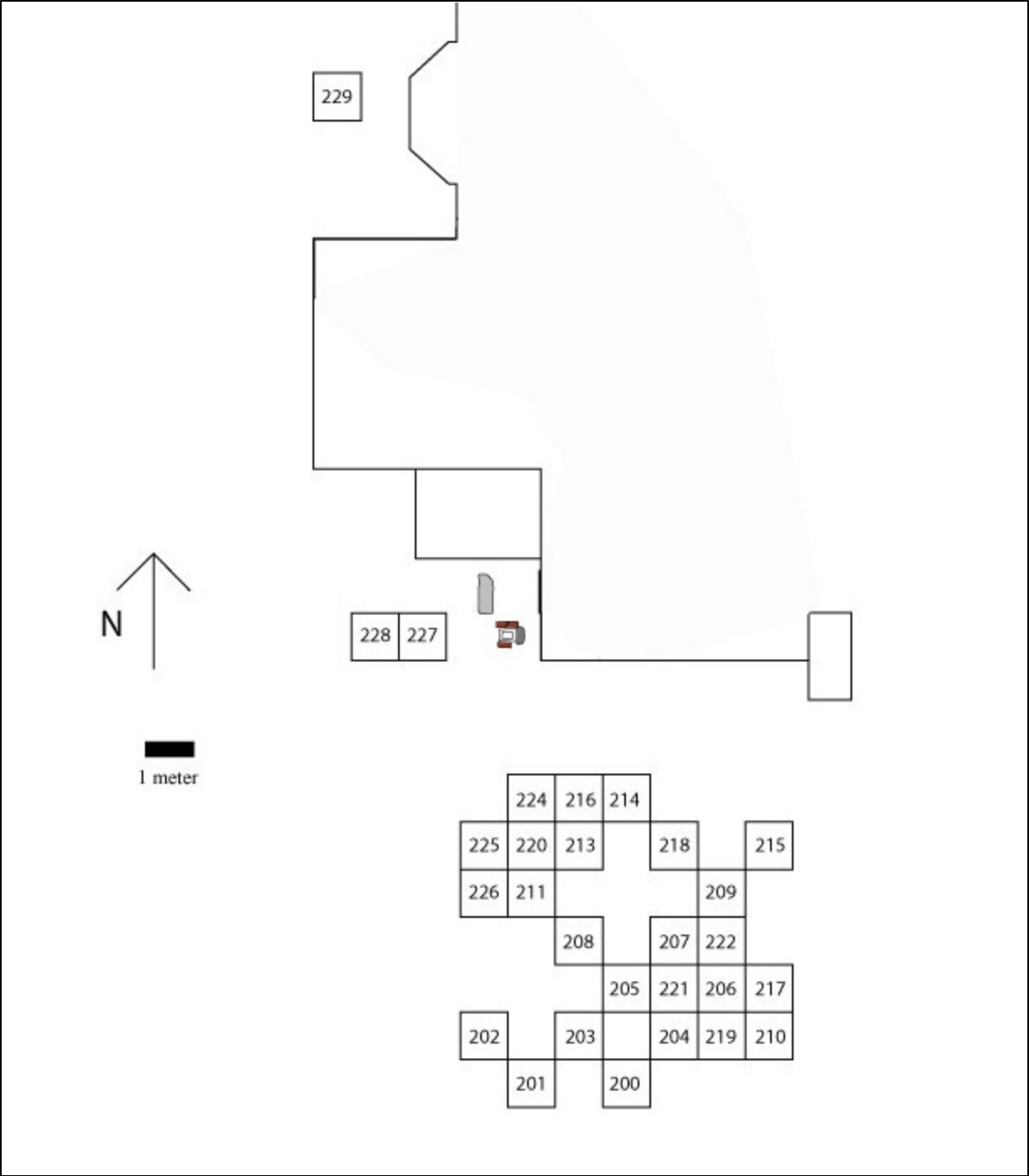


Figure 3.2: Map of test units excavated on the Gage property.

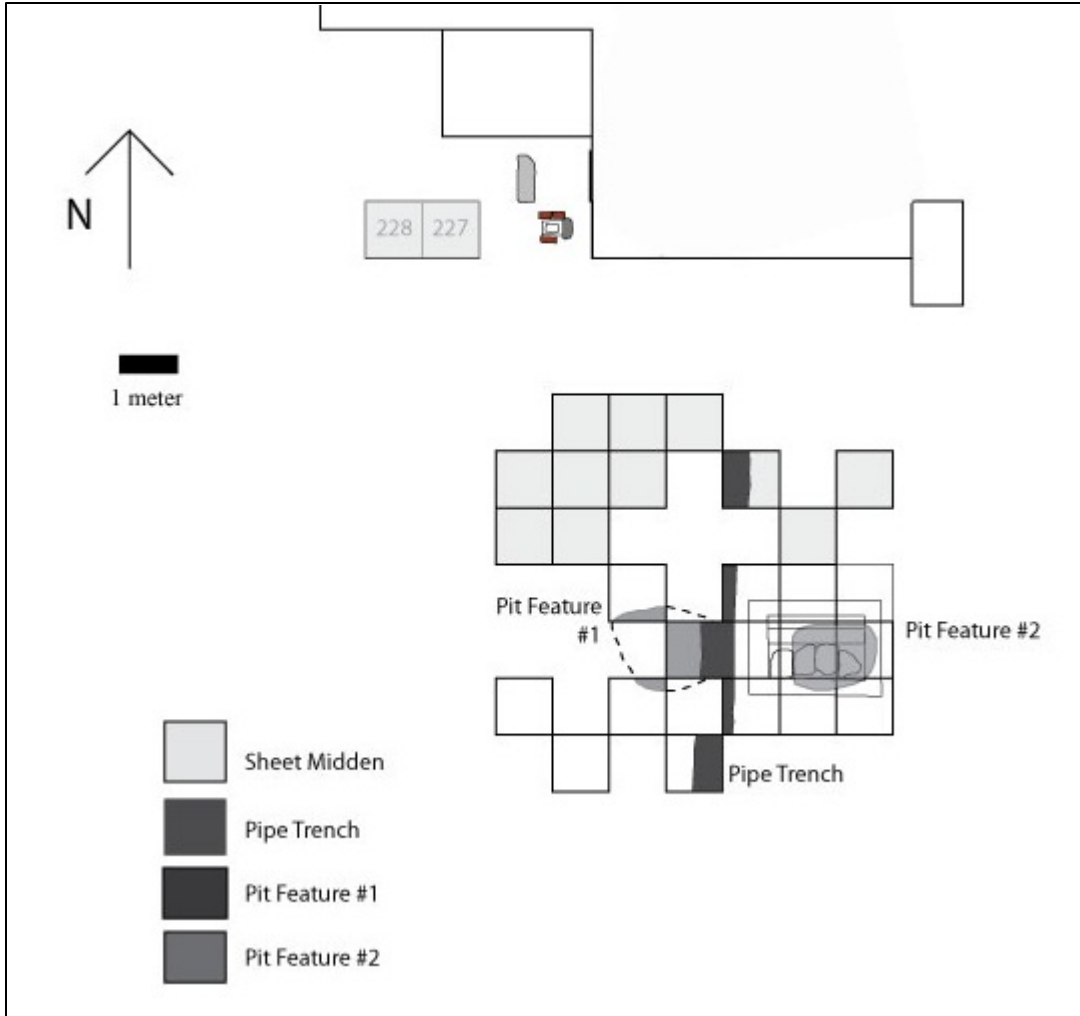


Figure 3.3: Features encountered in excavations on Gage property.

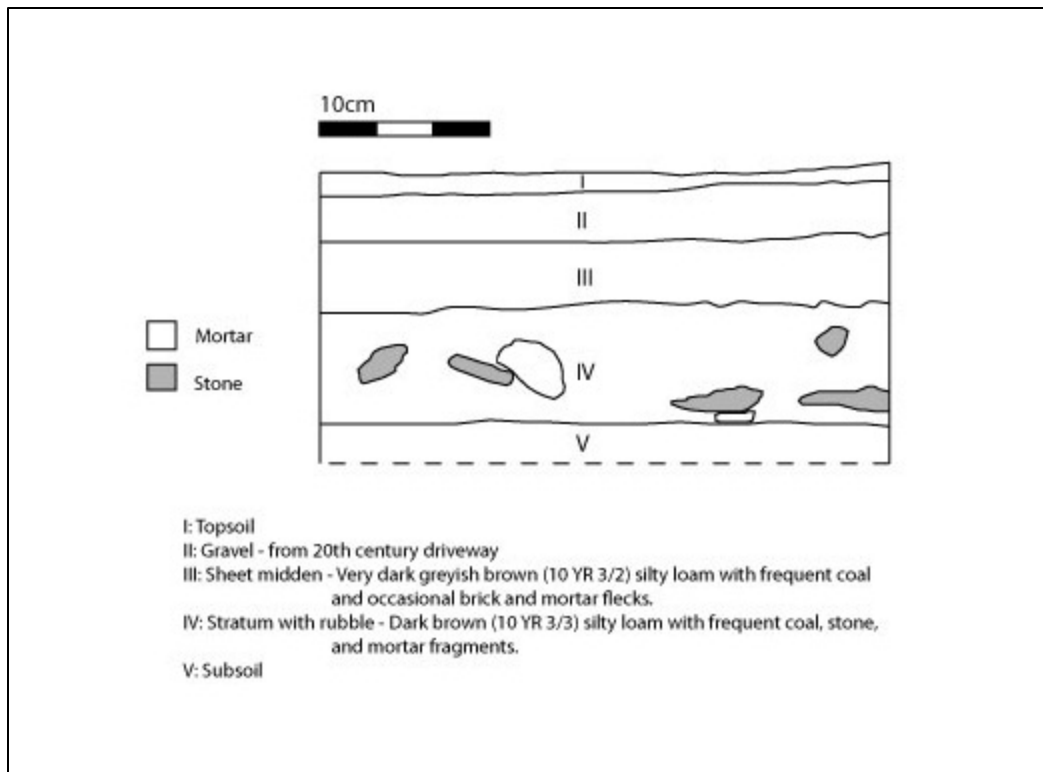


Figure 3.4: Profile of Unit 216 facing north, showing midden stratum (III).

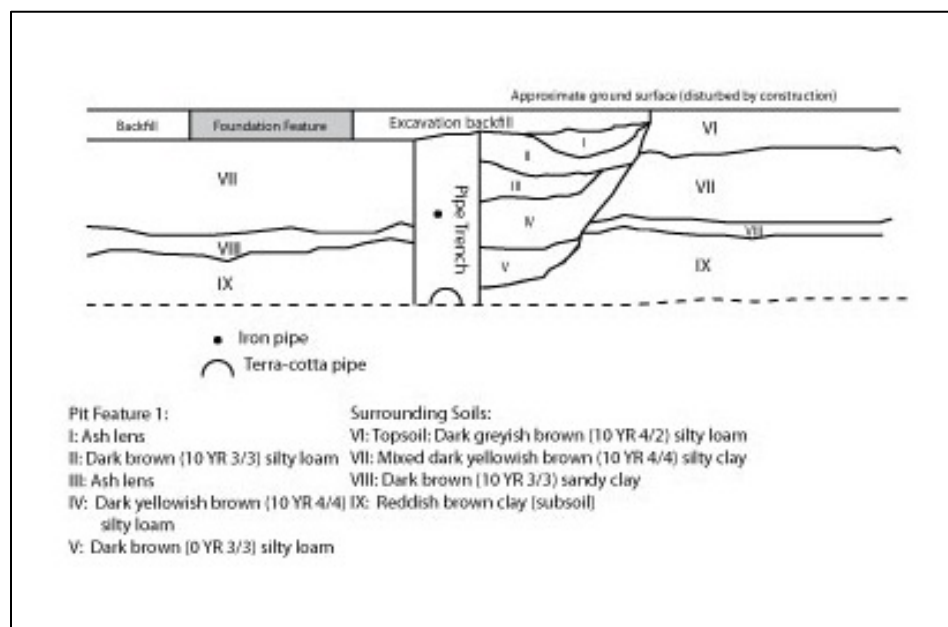


Figure 3.5: Profile of south wall of construction excavation, showing Pit Feature #1.

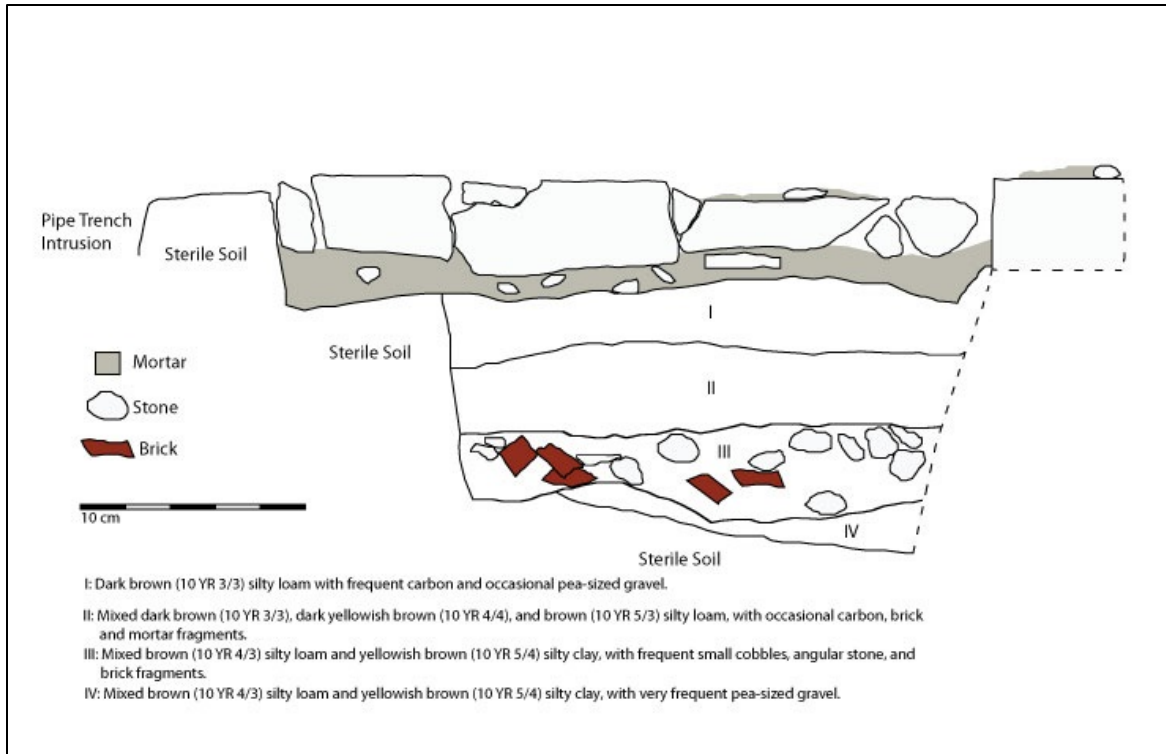


Figure 3.6: Profile of Pit Feature #2 facing north.

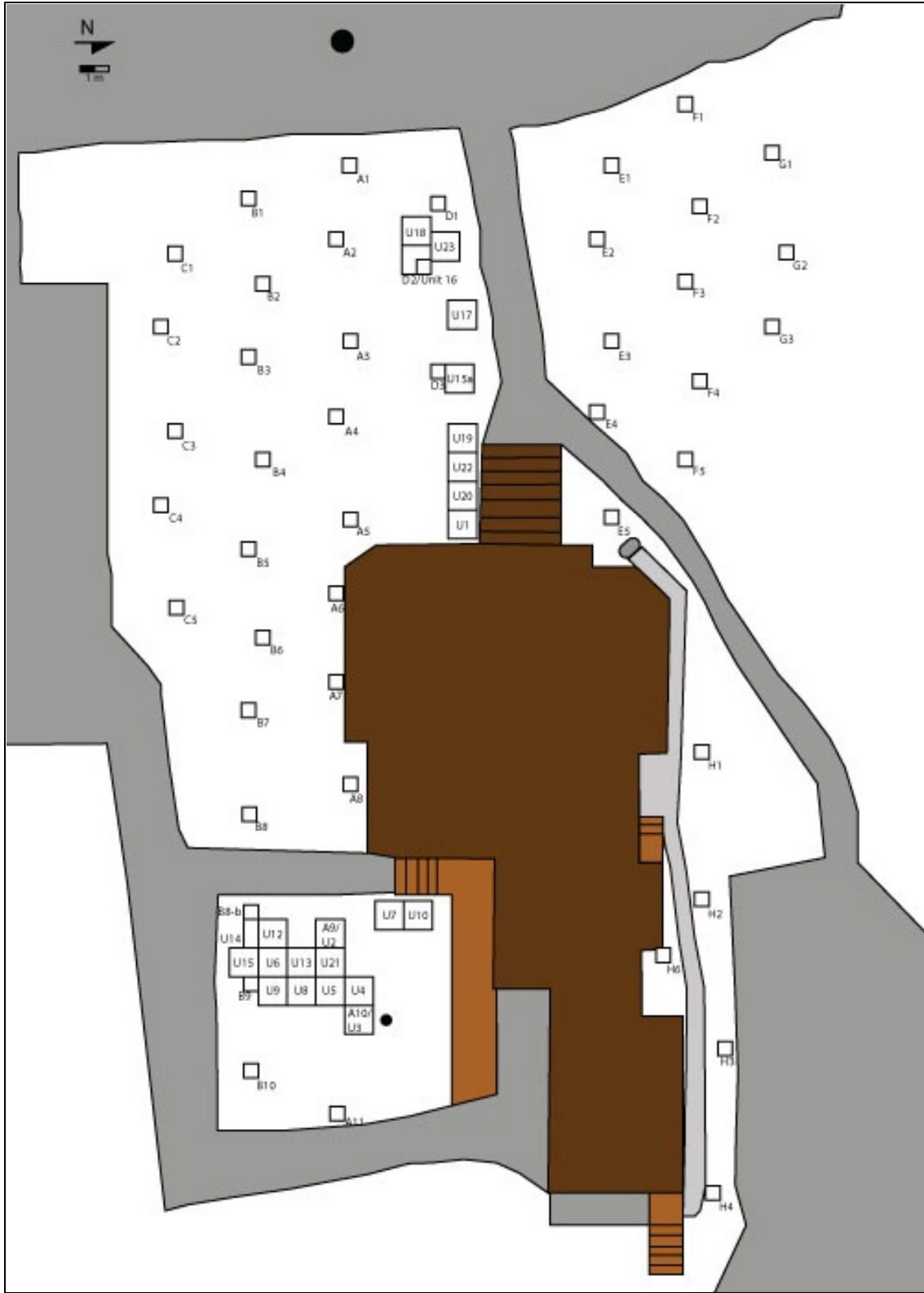


Figure 3.7: Map of shovel test pits and test units excavated on the Cheney property.

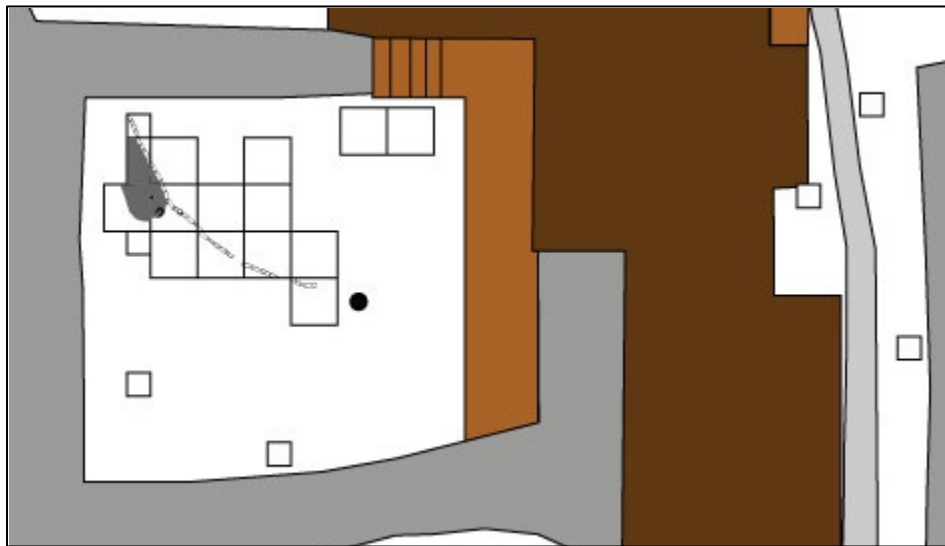
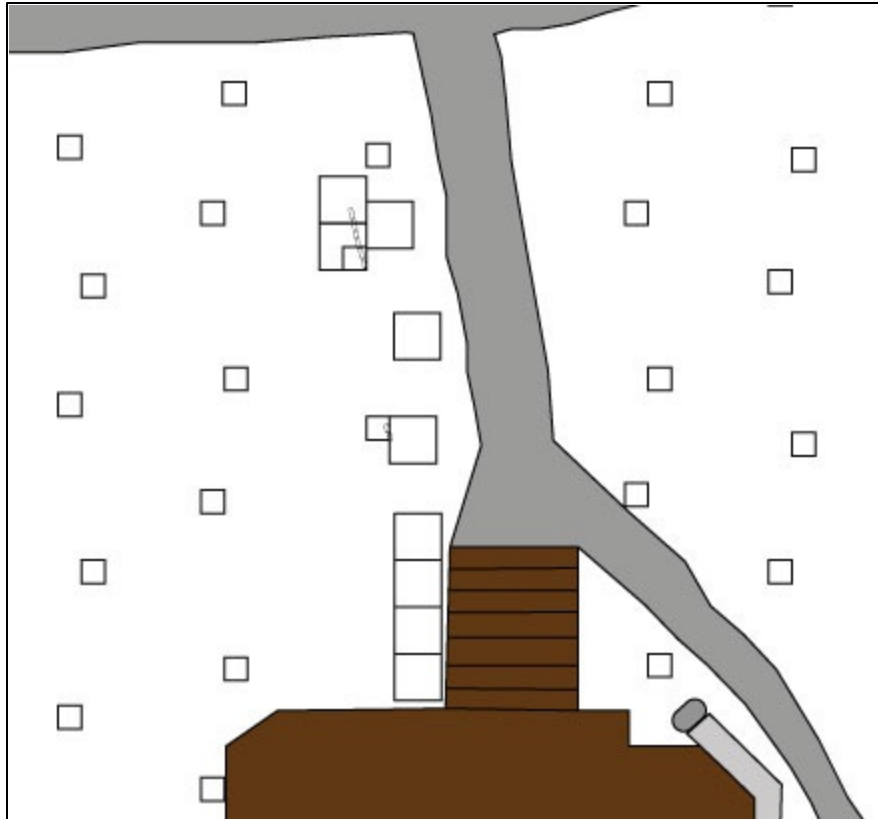


Figure 3.8: Features encountered in the west (upper image) and south (lower image) yard spaces of the Cheney property.

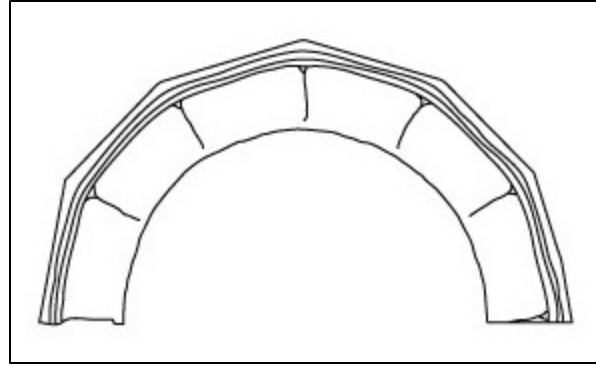


Figure 4.1: Gothic ceramic pattern. After Dieringer and Dieringer 2001:21.

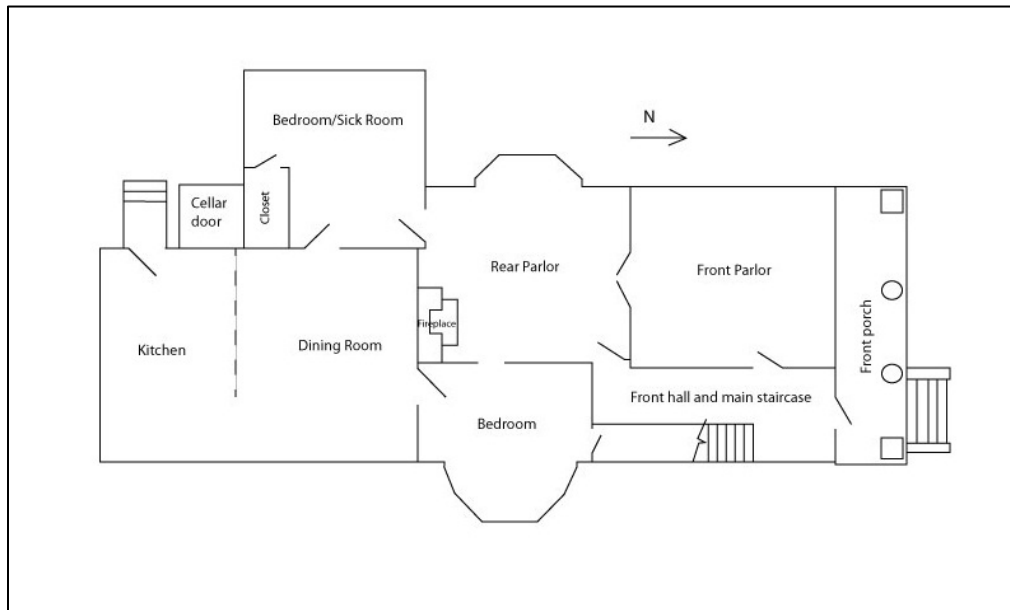


Figure 4.2: Gage house room layout based on historical accounts.

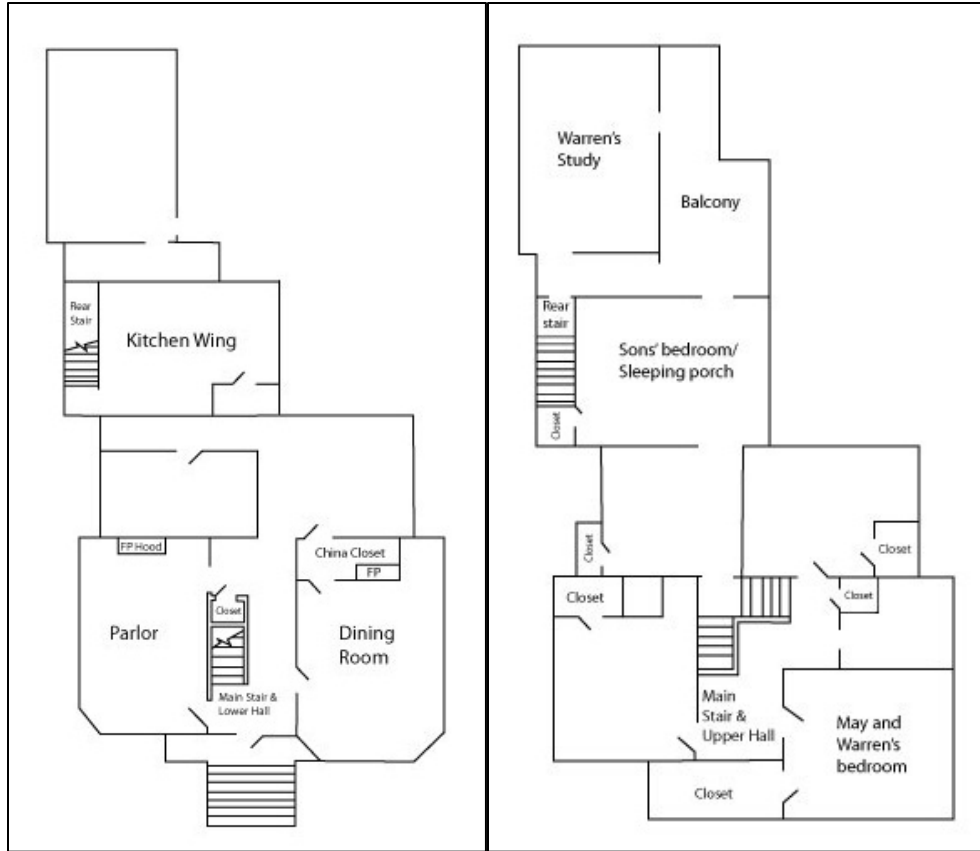


Figure 5.1: Room uses in Cheney house based on historic accounts. First floor (left) and second floor (right).

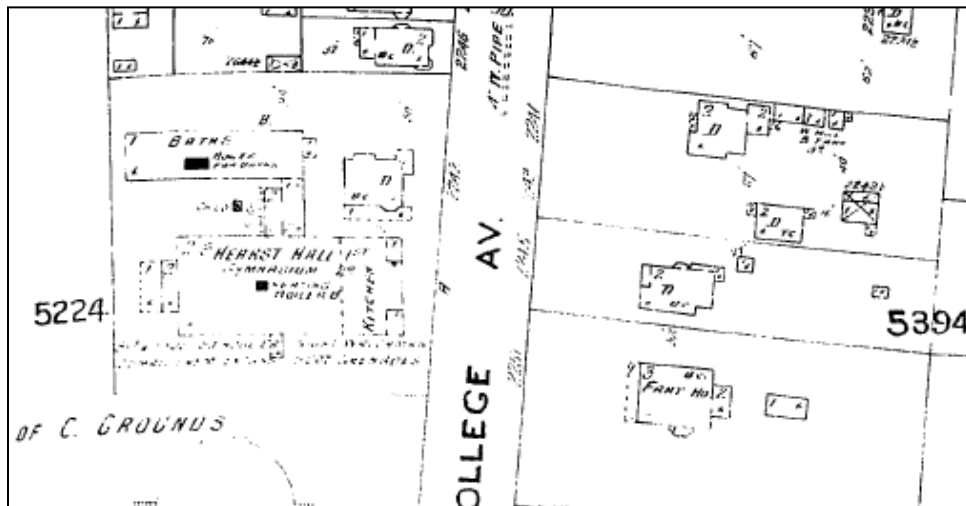


Figure 5.2: Detail from 1903 Sanborn map showing proximity of Hearst Hall to Cheney house.

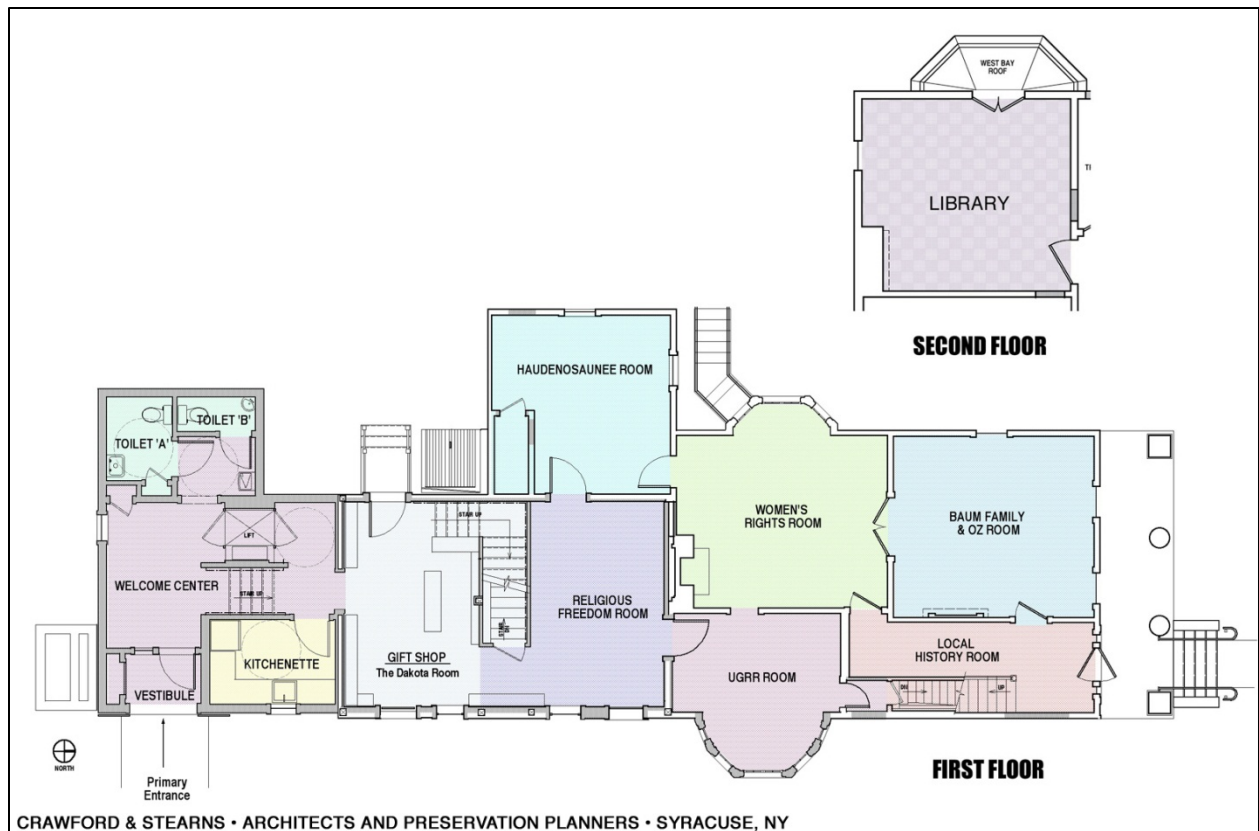


Figure 6.1: Proposed Gage Museum floor plan. Courtesy of Crawford and Stearns, Syracuse, NY.

Tables

Year	Publication
1868-1870	Newspaper articles for <i>The Revolution</i>
1870	Woman As Inventor
1871	The Woman's Rights Catechism
1876-1886	Compiles Volumes I-III of History of Woman Suffrage with Stanton & Anthony
1878-1881	Publisher of <i>The National Citizen and Ballot Box</i> , official newspaper of the NWSA
1880	Who Planned the Tennessee Campaign of 1862?
1893	Woman, Church & State

Table 2.1: Selected writings of Matilda Joslyn Gage.

Year	Publication
1901	The Flight of Helen, and Other Poems
1901	"In the Drifts of the Demshar" <i>Sunset Magazine</i> , December
1902	"April" <i>Sunset Magazine</i> , April
1905	The Way of the North: A Romance of the Days of Baranof
1905	"In the Redwoods" <i>Sunset Magazine</i> , August
1906	The Challenge
1906	"Commercial Berkeley" <i>Sunset Magazine</i> , November
1907	His Wife
1909	"How the University Helps" <i>Sunset Magazine</i> , March
1910	"The Music of the Pines" <i>California Alumni Weekly</i>

Table 2.2: Known works by Warren Cheney.

Material	Type	Diameter	Body Color	Decoration	Context
Clay	Common	15mm	2.5 Y 8/3	None	Unit 211 Level 1
Clay	Common	13mm	10 YR 7/4	None	Unit 220 Level 2
Clay	Common	16mm	2.5 Y 8/4	None	Unit 215 Level 3
Clay	Common	13mm	2.5 Y 8/3	None	Unit 228 Level 3
Porcelain	China	12mm	2.5 Y 8/1	3 lines in teal, red, and grey	Unit 224 Level 3
Clay	Possible Bennington	12mm	Unknown	2.5 Y 4/3 and 7.5 YR 4/3 glaze	Unit 225 Level 4

Table 3.1: Game marbles from the Gage site.

Material	Part	Decoration	Context
Porcelain	"Frozen Charlotte" doll head	Painted hair and features	Disturbed soil in front yard after masonry work on front porch
Bisque	Doll head fragment with straight flat hair	Painted black hair	Unit 229 Level 2

Table 3.2: Doll parts from the Gage site.

Material	Object	Context
Lead	Horse (partial)	Unit 205 Level 3
Lead	Horse	Unit 205 Level 2
Lead	Hammer	Unit 222 Level 3
Brass	Mouth harp	Unit 201 Level 2

Table 3.3: Metal toys from the Gage site.

Context	Number
STP 46 Level 3	1
Unit 209 Level 1	1
Unit 211 Level 3	1
Unit 221 Level 5	1
Unit 227 Level 6	3

Table 3.4: Slate pencil fragments from the Gage site.

Ware	Object	Number	Context
Refined earthenware	Alphabet plate, rim	1	Unit 209 Level 2
Refined earthenware	Alphabet plate, rim	2	Unit 215 Level 3
Porcelain	toy sugar box	1	Unit 213 Level 3

Table 3.5: Children's ceramics from the Gage site.

Part	Number of Fragments	Context
Bowl	1	Unit 227 Level 12
Bowl	5	Unit 227 Level 6
Bowl	1	Unit 228 Level 2
Bowl	1	Unit 224 Level 6
Bowl	6	Unit 227 Level 4
Bowl	2	Unit 227 Level 11
Bowl	1	Unit 228 Level 10
Bowl	1	Unit 224 Level 7
Bowl	1	Unit 215 Level 4
Bowl	1	Unit 227 Level 10
Bowl	1	Unit 205 Level 1
Bowl	1	Unit 225 Level 4
Bowl	1	Unit 216 Level 2
Bowl	1	Unit 204 Level 2
Bowl	1	Unit 209 Level 1
Bowl	2	STP 27 Level 4
Bowl & Heel	1	Unit 207 Level 2
Bowl & Heel	1	Unit 204 Level 3
Stem	3	Unit 227 Level 6
Stem	2	Unit 228 Level 2
Stem	1	Unit 211 Level 3
Stem	1	Unit 214 Level 2
Stem	4	Unit 227 Level 4
Stem	2	Unit 211 Level 2
Stem	1	Unit 215 Level 1
Stem	1	Unit 224 Level 7
Stem	1	Unit 224 Level 3
Stem	1	Unit 218 Level 3
Stem	2	Unit 229 Level 2
Stem	1	Unit 219 Level 4
Stem	1	Unit 202 Level 2
Stem	1	Unit 228 Level 3
Stem	2	Unit 228 Level 9
Stem	1	STP 46 Level 3
Stem	1	Unit 226 Level 3
Stem & Heel	1	Unit 225 Level 1
Stem & Heel	1	Unit 205 Level 2
Stem & Heel	1	Unit 215 Level 3

Table 3.6: Tobacco pipes from the Gage site.

Material	Type	Diameter	Body Color	Decoration	Context
Clay	Common	14mm	2.5 Y 8/3 (pale yellow)	None	STP B9 Level 3
Clay	Common	13mm	2.5 Y 8/3 (pale yellow)	None	Unit 4 Level 1
Clay	Common	13mm	2.5 Y 8/3 (pale yellow)	None	Unit 12 Level 3
Clay	Bennington	12mm	Unknown	Mottled brown glaze	Unit 14 Level 7
Glass	Core swirl	15mm*	Clear glass	Red, white and blue	Unit 7 Level 2
Glass	Core swirl	17mm*	Clear glass	Red, white, blue, green, yellow and orange	Unit 14 Level 7

* Surface badly abraded so diameter is an estimate.

Table 3.7: Game marbles from the Cheney site.

Context	# of fragments	Portion	Diameter
STP B8-b Level 2	2	body	N/A
STP B9 Level 3	1	body	N/A
STP B9 Level 3	1	base	7cm
STP B10 Level 1	1	body	N/A
STP B11 Level 2	1	body	N/A
STP C5 Level 2	1	body	N/A
STP H7 Level 2	2	body	N/A
Unit 14 Level 4	2	body	N/A
Unit 20 Level 1	2	body	N/A

Table 3.8: Terracotta flower pot fragments from the Cheney site.

Vessel Number	Context	# of Fragments
1	Unit 20 Level 1	2
	STP B10 Level 1	1
	STP H7 Level 2	2
2	STP B8-b Level 2	1
	Unit 14 Level 4	1
	STP C5 Level 2	1
3	STP B9 level 3	intact base
	Unit 14 Level 4	1
4	STP B9 Level 3	1
	STP B8-B Level 2	1
	STP B11 Level 2	1

Table 3.9: Flower pot minimum vessel estimation for the Cheney site.

Material	Item	Context	Number
Glass	Threaded rim, 6cm diameter	Unit 2 Level 2	1
Milk Glass	Canning Lid Liner Fragment	STP E4 Level 1	1
Milk Glass	Canning Lid Liner Fragment	STP H2 Level 1	1
Milk Glass	Canning Lid Liner Fragment	Unit 3 Level 1	2
Milk Glass	Canning Lid Liner Fragment	Unit 9 Level 2	1
Milk Glass	Canning Lid Liner Fragment	Unit 18 Level 2	1

Table 3.10: Canning jar and lid liner fragments from the Cheney site.

Pattern	# of Vessels	TPQ
Gothic (all)	17	ca. 1850
Asia Shape	4	1851
Corn & Oats	4	1845
Fig/Union	5	1856
Full Ribbed	1	1852
Fuschia	4	1851
Havelock	1	1858
Laurel	1	1860
Lily	1	1864
Plain	5	1862
Potomac	1	1863
Scalloped Edge	1	unknown
Sharon Arch/Erie	1	1861
Shaw's Chinese	3	1856
Pearl Sydenham	2	1853
Wheat	3	1859

(Dates from Dieringer and Dieringer 2001; Sussman 1985; Kowalsky & Kowalsky 1999)

Table 4.1: Ironstone ceramic patterns found at the Gage site.

Pattern	Tea Wares			Both		Table Wares						Total:
	Tea cup	Saucer	Slop Bowl	Muffin	Twiffler	Supper or Dinner Plate	Soup Plate	Butter Pat	Platter	Indet. Hollow	Indet. Flat	
Gothic	4	2	0	6	1	2	0	2	0	0	0	17
Asia Shape	1	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	4
Corn & Oats	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	4
Fig/Union	1	1	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	5
Full Ribbed	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Fuschia	1	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
Havelock	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Laurel	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Lily	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Plain	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	1	1	0	0	5
Potomac	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Scalloped Edge	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Sharon Arch/Erie	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Shaw's Chinese	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	3
Pearl Sydenham	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Wheat	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Total:	10	11	2	11	2	10	1	4	1	1	1	54

Table 4.2: Ironstone vessels forms present in each pattern from the Gage site.

Name	Inches	Cm
Muffin	4-7	17.78
Twiffler	8	20.32
Supper	9	22.86
Dinner	10	25.4

Table 4.3: Ceramic plate sizes, after Diagnostic Artifacts of Maryland 2010.

Ware	Sherd Count
Coarse Earthenware	4
Refined Earthenware	30
Porcelain	92

Refined Earthenwares

Type	Sherd Count
Ironstone	16
Whiteware	14

Table 5.1: Ceramic sherd counts by ware type from the Cheney site.

Type	MNV
Yellow ware	1
White ware	4
Ironstone	5
Porcelain	8

Table 5.2: Ceramic minimum vessel estimations for the Cheney site.

Form	Decoration	Number
Hollow	Bright blue "Asian" style design	3
Hollow	Handpainted underglaze blue	1
Flat	Handpainted underglaze blue	1
Saucer	Decal and handpainted overglaze	1
Hollow	Greenish slip with handpainted overglaze	1
Cup	Decal	1

Table 5.3: Porcelain vessels from the Cheney site.

Year	Number of Women	Number of Men	Total
1870	0	4	4
1871	0	11	11
1872	0	8	8
1873	0	5	5
1874	1	24	25
1875	0	28	28
1876	3	31	34
1877	1	29	30
1878	3	27	30
1879	8	54	62
1880	9	32	41
1881	4	26	30
1882	5	38	43
1883	10	22	32
1884	9	17	26
1885	8	25	33
1886	5	16	21
1887	7	37	44
1888	3	33	36
1889	5	34	39
1890	8	39	47
1891	6	50	56
1892	20	44	64
1893	19	57	76
1894	33	71	104
1895	38	78	116
1896	53	101	154
1897	70	94	164
1898	100	142	242
1899	100	129	229
1900	90	146	236

Table 5.4: Graduates of the University of California, 1870-1900. From Wilkie 2010, Table 9, page 135. Used with permission.

Name	Use
Morgan Hall	Academic
Morrison Hall	Academic
Wurster Hall*	Academic
Hearst Memorial Gymnasium	Student Life
Unit 1: Cheney Hall	Residence
Unit 1: Freeborn Hall	Residence
Unit 2: Davidson Hall	Residence
Unit 2: Cunningham Hall	Residence
Unit 3: Sproul Hall	Residence
Unit 3: Spens-Black Hall	Residence
Smyth Fernwald: Mitchell Hall	Residence
Smyth Fernwald: Peixotto Hall	Residence
Smyth Fernwald: Richards Hall	Residence
Smyth Fernwald: Oldenberg Hall	Residence

* Named after both husband & wife

Table 6.1: Buildings named after women on the University of California, Berkeley campus in 1967. Source: Stadtman 1967.

Name	Use
Unit 1: Christian Hall	Residence
Unit 2: Towle Hall	Residence
Unit 3: Cleary Hall	Residence
Ida Louise Jackson Graduate Housing	Residence
Soda Hall*	Academic
Valley Life Sciences Building~	Academic

* Named after both husband and wife donors

~ Renamed previously-existing building after husband and wife donors

Table 6.2: Buildings named after women on the University of California, Berkeley campus built between 1967 and 2012. Source: 2012 Interactive Campus Map.

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