8-2010

Entertaining, Dining, and Novel Drinking: Rural Gentility and the Reverend John Hancock's Household, Lexington, Massachusetts, 1700-1750

Katie Lynn Kosack
University of Massachusetts Boston

ENTERTAINING, DINING, AND NOVEL DRINKING: RURAL GENTILITY AND THE REVEREND JOHN HANCOCK'S HOUSEHOLD, LEXINGTON, MASSACHUSETTS, 1700-1750

A Thesis Presented

by

KATIE L. KOSACK

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies,
University of Massachusetts Boston,
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

August 2010

Historical Archaeology Program

ENTERTAINING, DINING, AND NOVEL DRINKING: RURAL GENTILITY AND THE REVEREND JOHN HANCOCK'S HOUSEHOLD, LEXINGTON, MASSACHUSETTS, 1700-1750

A Thesis Presented

by

KATIE L. KOSACK

Approved as to style and content by:

____
Christa M. Beranek, Project Archaeologist, Fiske Center for Archaeological Research
Chairperson of Committee

____
Stephen A. Mrozowski, Professor of Anthropology
Member

____
David B. Landon, Associate Director, Fiske Center for Archaeological Research
Member

____
Stephen W. Silliman, Graduate Program Director
Historical Archaeology Program

____
Stephen A. Mrozowski, Chairperson
Department of Anthropology

ABSTRACT

ENTERTAINING, DINING, AND NOVEL DRINKING: RURAL GENTILITY AND THE REVEREND JOHN HANCOCK'S HOUSEHOLD, LEXINGTON, MASSACHUSETTS, 1700-1750

August 2010

Katie L. Kosack, B.A., University of Mary Washington
M.A., University of Massachusetts Boston

Directed by Dr. Christa M. Beranek

The rise of refined behavior paralleled the expansion of colonial markets and consumer choice. Objects related to the refined consumption of food and drink took center stage in the transformation of colonial entertaining. The availability of new foodstuffs and the associated equipage transformed sociability and the meaning of eating and drinking. These changes coupled with the high level of social mobility in eighteenth century Massachusetts, meant that performances with novel objects became dynamic symbols of one's social status. Utilizing Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital, this work explores how Rev. John Hancock, minister of Lexington, Massachusetts, expressed his social status through refined entertaining.

During the same period, religion was in a state of flux as the Great Awakening called into question the authority and status of ministers. In an effort to re-assert their

authority the clergy professionalized, highlighting the value of educated ministers. Ultimately, this research provides evidence that spiritual leaders of communities adopted the social protocols of polite society and used new status-laden goods. Genteel entertaining was used as a social strategy that allowed ministers to perform and solidify their social status and position in the secular community.

Rev. Hancock exhibits many of the changes that occurred during the eighteenth century. His profession and education offered a certain level of status, however specialized objects for entertaining suggest that Hancock was also incorporating many of the new mannerly and novel consumption protocols that became part and parcel of gentility. Rev. Hancock as the spiritual leader of Lexington experienced a status transformation during the first half of the eighteenth century. Rev. Hancock, it seems, was economically middling, but culturally elite. It may appear that elements of gentility and religion would be in conflict, but in many ways the social role and high level of cultural capital that ministers assumed, required that they also assume polite ways of entertaining and living as way of signaling and performing their high level of social status to those around them.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my committee, Christa Beranek, Steve Mrozowski, and Dave Landon for their support and guidance. Added thanks must be extended to Christa Beranek for her patience and continued willingness to discuss and work with me on this research over the past two years. I appreciate that she provided me the opportunity to work on the Lexington project. Many of the artifact photographs are the work of Melody Henkel, and I thank her for the permission to use her images.

This work was only possible because of the generous support of the Lexington Historical Society who graciously opened their collection to me. I would like to recognize the previous scholarship on Lexington and Rev. Hancock done by Dick Kollen and Anne Grady and thank them for all of their hard work. Their work was especially useful in my interpretation of Hancock's material culture.

Last, but certainly not least, I must thank my family and friends for their endless support and encouragement. I would like to specifically acknowledge my parents, Lori and Skip Kosack, as well as my brother, Ed Kosack, for their continued support of my academic pursuits. I owe much of my success to their active interest in my education and academic research over the years. Finally, my friends and colleagues from UMass Boston deserve special thanks for providing guidance in my research and encouraging moments of entertainment and relaxation during this process.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

> *He that desires the office of a Bishop desires a good work. It is a necessary work, the necessities of souls makes it so. It is an honourable work, & I know of no employment that is more so.* (Hancock 1726: 11)

The Reverend John Hancock, minister of Lexington, spoke these words at the ordination of his son, John Hancock, in Braintree in November of 1726. As is evident from this sermon, in eighteenth-century New England society ministers such as Rev. Hancock viewed their jobs as town minister as an especially important and respectable career. Scholars have noted that it tended to afford its practitioner a certain, and arguably high, level of distinction in the community and among peers (Kollen 2004, 2010; Schmotter 1975; Seeman 1999; Youngs 1976). With this level of distinction within the community, however, would also come the pressure and necessity of portraying and maintaining an outward appearance of a polite way of life to others in the culturally and materially dynamic world of the eighteenth century.

This work seeks to explore through a variety of historic avenues, including both material and documentary evidence, the life of Rev. John Hancock and his family. By exploring the discarded material possessions of the Hancock family, it may be possible to offer some interpretation of the way in which the family lived and the ascribed social status of Rev. Hancock within the community. The ways in which John Hancock as a minister, gentleman, and consumer negotiated the spiritual and secular realms of everyday life will add to the understanding of the place of ministers in eighteenth-century rural Massachusetts.

Reverend John Hancock

Rev. John Hancock was born to a modest family in 1671. Fortunately, the Hancock family managed to send John to Harvard, and he earned his degree in the ministry in 1689. By the late 1690s Hancock was offered a permanent position as town minister. Thus, he came to Lexington in 1698, upon their job offer, to take over the spiritual leadership of the community as the town minister. Shortly thereafter, Hancock married Elizabeth Clarke and settled down in Lexington. Going beyond the expectations of the time—including colonial lifespan and possible parish conflict—Hancock remained minister of Lexington until his death in 1752. During his tenure, Hancock established himself and his family as important members of the Lexington community. The reverend in particular, assumed a number of social and spiritual roles, and historical narratives emphasize not only his skill in spiritual matters, but also his pragmatism in settling everyday disputes. Hancock's pastorate spanned the 1730s and 1740s—the time of revivalism and the Great Awakening. Throughout the colonies new doctrine and a lay movement called into question the distinction of educated clergymen and tested religious authority. In spite of intense Anticlericism and schism, the Lexington parish emerged from the period relatively unchanged, and it appears that Hancock was able to retain his authority and respect. In the case of the everyday life of Congregational ministers, Rev. Ebenezer Parkman, minister of Westborough, Massachusetts, during roughly the same period, serves as a contemporary point of comparison. Parkman's personal diary records the everyday actions of a minister as well as allows glimpses into a clergyman's view of the religious atmosphere of the early eighteenth century.

Research Orientation

Eighteenth-century colonial Massachusetts was politically, socially, and economically dynamic. Scholars have long studied the economic changes brought on by capitalism and the rise of consumerism (e.g. Bushman 1992; Hunter 2001; McCracken 1988; McKendrick et al. 1982; Smith 2002). Consumerism and the new availability of a myriad of consumer products from all over the world also ushered in a period of social and cultural change that cultural historians have referred to as the refinement of America, the rise of polite society, or the spread of gentility (Bushman 1992; Goodwin 1999; Goldstein 2001; Hunter 2001).

Specifically, this research utilizes the methods and interpretive frameworks of historical archaeology—material culture in particular—to explore the consumption practices and the manifestation of the social status of Rev. John Hancock. The focus of this particular research is to explore how a Congregationalist minister and his family expressed their status in the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth century. Working under the notion of performance, this work examines how objects related to entertaining and hospitality from the archaeological excavations at the Hancock-Clarke house, were used to express social status. Archaeologists and historians alike have promoted the value of studying status through its material expression (e.g. Bushman 1992; Goodwin 1999; Hunter 2001; McCracken 1988; Mrozowski 2006; Spencer-Wood 1987). Thus, I use the objects in my collection to better understand the connections between the material world of the Hancocks and their expression of status and wealth as leaders in both the Congregationalist church and the community of Lexington. Most studies of gentility have focused on more obvious status-holders—merchants and political leaders. This research, however, provides insight into the way that clergymen, as the spiritual leaders of communities, confronted and interacted with new status-laden consumer products and associated social protocols ultimately speaking to the interplay between gentility and religion.

Excavations at the Hancock-Clarke House, 1964-1969

The Lexington Historical Society (LHS) acquired the Hancock-Clarke House in 1896 and upon its purchase, moved the structure across the street in order to save it from demolition. In 1963 the LHS made plans to move the structure back to its original location where it stands today. Between 1964 and 1969 Roland Robbins excavated the property where the Hancock-Clarke House currently stands in preparation for the move. Similar in impetus and focus to contract archaeology today, Robbins goals during the excavation were dictated by the terms of his contract with the LHS. As such, his primary focus was to locate subsurface architectural features. Roland Robbins wrote about his conclusions and results following his work in 1966 (Note that cellars 2-F1 and 5-F1 were discovered after the completion of the initial report and only appear on the associated map of Robbins excavations). The rather short report reads much like a narrative and clearly outlines his methods and preliminary findings. Truly a community project, volunteers from the community screened, processed and preliminarily studied the artifacts from the excavation in the years following Robbins work. Nearly four decades later, the archaeological material was rediscovered in the basement of a society building. Thanks to a partnership of LHS with the University of Massachusetts Boston Andrew Fiske Memorial Center for Archaeological Research, the artifacts received more intensive study, which extended the site history of the Hancock-Clarke House (see Beranek and Kosack 2009).

Considering the degree of change in archaeological methods and theory since the mid-twentieth century, it is necessary to contextualize and understand Robbins's work and the existing collection as part of archaeology's past. Roland Robbins has been referred to as an "amateur" archaeologist (Linebaugh 2005: 182-183). Although not academically trained, Robbins made up for his lack of schooling with experience. He excavated a number of archaeological sites including the Saugus Iron Works and other properties associated with small historical societies. His work in Lexington was not unlike other archaeology projects triggered by historic preservation efforts. Indeed the Hancock-Clarke project can be described as a "restoration and contract-oriented" in nature (Linebaugh 2005: 181). His purpose in excavating was to document the architecture of the property and locate the architectural underpinnings of the Hancock-Clarke house. Robbins excavated on a master grid and each feature was identified by an alphanumeric code to identify the block in which the feature was located. In the course of his excavations, Robbins did locate the foundations of the relocated house (cellars 6-F1 and 6-F2) as well as four other cellar features (6-F3, 3-F1, 2-F1, and 5-F1) and a well (Fig. 1.1). These four remaining cellars represented the foundations of four previously unknown buildings. The stratigraphy of these cellars was lost when Robbins, it appears, excavated each of the features as a single context. One can only assume this was done because Robbins believed that each cellar fill represented a single fill episode (Beranek and Kosack 2009: 8).

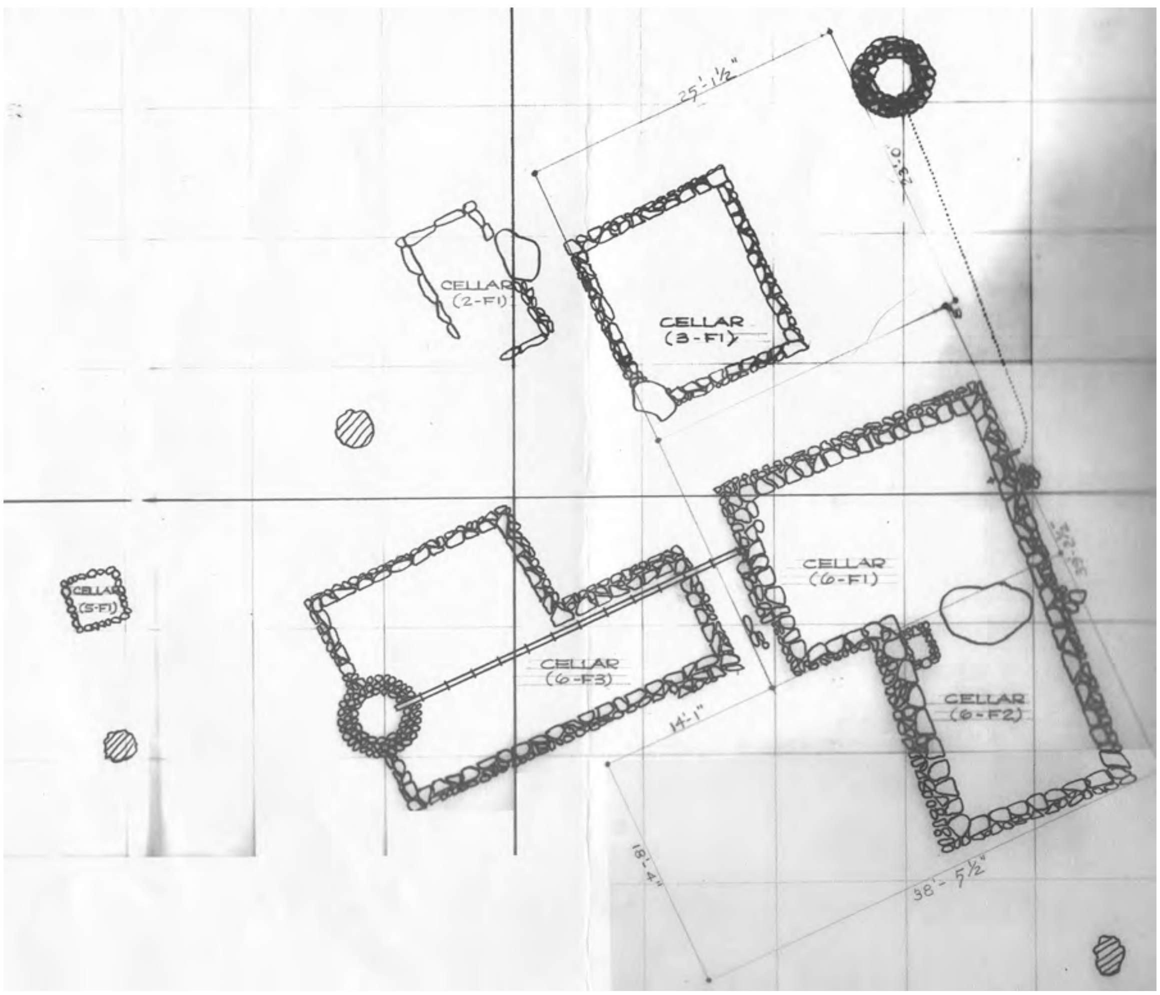

Fig. 1.1 Roland Robbins' plan map of excavations showing all six cellars, 1964-1969.

Obviously the manner in which this material was collected and maintained puts limitations on the interpretive value of the collection and the methods by which these interpretations are constructed. The greatest limitation is this lack of stratigraphic information that has implications for dating, soil analysis, and deposition episodes. Information concerning the method in which the cellars were filled—for example in a single episode, slowly over time, or quickly over time—is impossible to ascertain (Beranek and Kosack 2009). Furthermore, artifacts lack specific vertical contextual information that would allow for temporal information to be assigned to distinct fill episodes. Despite these limitations, the general provenience information (which cellar the artifact originated from) remains surprisingly intact. One of the values of this collection is that it reveals the research potential of revisiting or using older collections of archaeological material rather than continuing to excavate new material. This work in particular should serve as a prime example of the wealth of information that can be extracted from archaeological materials from the early years of historical archaeology. Despite the limits that this type of collection presents, this research has allowed for the use of multiple relative dating techniques and has relied on material culture studies most significantly to reconstruct not only the earliest stories of the site, but also the story of the excavation itself.

In that spirit, between 2008 and 2009 University of Massachusetts Boston (UMB) in association with the LHS carried out a collections inventory and cataloged the material from Robbins' excavations. The Fiske Center for Archaeological Research at UMB has worked to make the collection more functional for future examinations and identify areas of potential research. In addition, the most recent work on the collection of material has provided interpretive information about the cellars that Robbins located, including temporal information, a reconstruction of possible fill episodes, and possible cellar function (For more information about the collections inventory of the Robbins collection see, Beranek and Kosack 2009).

In addition to the work completed on the archaeological material, the LHS undertook a restoration of the Hancock-Clarke House in 2007. This work, especially the architectural history of the historic structure generated by architectural historian Anne Grady and architect Deane Rykerson (see Rykerson Architecture and Grady 2007) has illuminated more fully the history of the property. Perhaps most importantly, dendrochronology completed as part of the architectural study confirmed that both portions of the current Hancock-Clarke House—the southern main house and northern ell—were constructed at the same time. Thus, construction of the house in its entirety occurred in either 1737 or 1738. This is significant because "the findings of the scientifically accurate tree-ring dating refute the long-held tradition that the ell [northern ell] was built in 1698 as Rev. John Hancock's original dwelling" (Rykerson Architecture and Grady 2007: 3). In terms of the archaeological features discovered by Robbins in the mid- to late-1960s, this provides substantial evidence that some of these "unknown" foundations may in fact be associated with the first phase of occupation on the site by Rev. Hancock and his family beginning around 1698. It is still speculation as to what this dwelling looked like, but based on other examples of early eighteenth-century dwellings we can imagine that it was most likely a two-room home with a small lean to. The house most likely followed the typical hall and parlor configuration (Cummings 1979). The hall served as a multipurpose room and general gathering place for the family, while the parlor was the best room where the family's valuables would have been displayed and where guests would have been entertained.

Previous Research

Prior to my research, and research by others at the University of Massachusetts Boston (see Beranek and Kosack 2009; Stephens 2010), few scholars have attempted to analyze and interpret the archaeological data contained within this assemblage. In 1975, Vernon G. Baker used some of the ceramics from the site to look at applications and potential areas for extension of South's ceramic dating methods and computed the mean date of cellar 6-F3 as 1731.8 (Baker 1975). Baker (1977) also studied the wine bottles from the collection in an attempt to develop a strategy for dating, measuring, and analyzing unmarked, irregular green wine bottles. Sarah Peabody Turnbaugh (1977) undertook more extensive interpretations of the ceramic assemblage as part of a larger study on rates of change in ceramic acquisition between different social groups in both rural and urban locales. As part of her research she compared the Hancock-Clarke site with the Salem Parsonage site. She concluded that due to the more rural location of Lexington, Rev. Hancock was slower to adopt "expensive, desirable wares such as molded white salt-glazed stoneware, porcelain, Whieldon-type wares, creamware, and pearlware" (Turnbaugh 1977: 209). As this current research will show, Turnbaugh's research was based upon the incorrect assumption that the Hancock assemblage had a date range of 1699-1805 and was contemporary with the Salem parsonage site. Improvements in the dating of the assemblage show that her conclusions about the Hancock ceramic assemblage and rural adoption of socio-economically important ceramics are invalid.

Organization and Chapter Overview

In the chapters that follow I explore the historical and social context for the rise in polite refinement in colonial Massachusetts over the course of the eighteenth century. Additionally, I delve into Rev. John Hancock's position in colonial society and explore how he negotiated these new notions of gentility and refinement through his genteel entertaining, dining, and novel beverage consumption. Chapter 2 outlines my theoretical approach to the topics of social status and consumption. In Chapter 3 the historical context for this work is established. Specifically, it outlines the historical background for gentility and refined entertaining, the intersection of religion and gentility, and the social context of ministers. Additionally, Hancock's personal biography, career, and the social context of Lexington, Massachusetts, are discussed in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 details the methods of analysis used in this research along with a detailed look at the material remains of genteel entertaining represented in the Hancock assemblage. Finally, the concluding chapter discusses interpretations of Rev. Hancock's social status through his performance of genteel entertaining. These interpretations are ultimately extended to explore how ministers negotiated the worlds of refinement and religion in the first half of the eighteenth century.

CHAPTER 2

APPROACH

Introduction

According to Lexington historian Richard Kollen, “Hancock’s 54-year ministry earned him the esteem of not only his own parish but the surrounding congregations as well, who fondly referred to him as the Bishop” (Kollen 2004: 13). Other biographical sketches of Rev. Hancock echo Kollen’s characterization. It is clear from religious and town documents that Hancock was an integral part of the community and a prominent man who was respected and expected to perform a number of duties—a leader among his fellow Lexingtonians. There is a void of information, however, when it comes to the manner and style in which Hancock lived. Surely we can assume that his vocational prominence in the community would ascribe him an equally prominent social status, most closely associated with other members of the middling to upper-middling sort. Was Rev. Hancock living and participating in the social rituals in keeping with this status? Using entertainment protocols as a starting point, in that they were an active part of colonial refinement, and armed with the evidence of archaeological material remains, the answer to this question begins to take form.

In this chapter the theoretical underpinnings of social status and the ways in which individuals gain and maintain social distinction within society is discussed. In addition, the value of material culture in the process of the acquisition and maintenance of social status within colonial New England society is explored. One of the main points of this discussion is the fact that objects alone are essentially meaningless, as it is through the use and the social interaction of agents with these objects that meaning is negotiated and maintained. Thus, the idea of performance serves as the major interpretative framework in the explanations of the archaeological objects and their owners. Social status in the newly consumer-oriented eighteenth century was constantly in a state of flux and individuals were continually working to negotiate and maintain their acquired social distinction in relation to those around them. Consumer products such as cutlery, ceramic, and glass tableware—the accoutrements of genteel dining and drinking—became props that social actors manipulated, used, and discarded as a means of performing their social status.

Socio-Economic Status: Distinction and Social Capital

Class and status are closely linked components of personal identity, but embody important distinctions for the purposes of this research. According to Weber, class refers to a group of individuals that are linked because of a common economic situation. Meskell has summarized Weberian definitions of class and argues, "Class refers to a group who have in common a specific causal component of their life chances insofar as this component is represented exclusively by economic interests" (Meskell 2008: 191).

In “Class, Status, Party,” Weber argued that in addition to economic power and means of production, an individual’s level of social status also determined one’s power in society (Weber 2004). An individual’s place in society, therefore, is not solely determined by economic factors, which seems to be the case with class distinctions, but also by how much social prestige one has. Weber referred to this as a “status situation,” where “every typical component of life of men that is determined by a specific, positive or negative, social estimation of *honor*” (Weber 2004: 120). Quite the reverse of the concept of class, social status represents a person’s power to use their social distinction to gain more economic and social “wealth” that allows them to have greater access to, and knowledge of, material goods as a consumer and the genteel behaviors expected of high-status individuals. Status is a socially determined element of an individual’s or group’s identity. In this way, status is dialectic and thus only has meaning when looked at in relation to the status of others (Wurst 2006). Accordingly, status is a means of further stratifying society and maintaining power relations within communities (Weber 2004).

Bourdieu has elaborated on Weber’s ideas and argued that social status is directly linked to taste, which is used to create cultural distinction between social groups. The main thrust behind Bourdieu's work is to explore the relationship between taste and social position. Generally speaking, he argues that those with cultural capital in the social structure define “tastes” for the rest of the classes in society. In order to understand Bourdieu’s argument it is necessary to understand both taste and cultural capital. Bourdieu defines taste as “manifested preferences” and suggests that tastes can be classified, but also classify the consumer (Bourdieu 1984: 6, 56). In this way, socially defined tastes express the stratification present within society. Distinctions between cultural actors manifested in their taste are also directly related to their level of cultural capital. Bourdieu studies the phenomenon of cultural capital in relation to the ability to "read" art. Generally, he argues that material objects are symbolic and only one with insider knowledge of a set of tastes will be able to decode the social symbols associated with these objects (Bourdieu 1984: 2). Taste becomes a marker of social positioning and "aesthetic stances adopted in matters like cosmetic, clothing or home decoration are opportunities to experience or assert one's position in social space, as a rank to be upheld or a distance to be kept" (Bourdieu 1984: 57). In effect, the style in which people choose to live works as an outward symbol of the status that society has assigned to a particular individual, but also that the individual outwardly asserts. Hancock serves as a telling example of the class/status dichotomy. While perhaps not as economically wealthy as those who would be considered the economic elite of colonial Massachusetts, socially Rev. John Hancock was very much elite. Therefore, Hancock may be described as culturally elite, as he was set apart socially by his Harvard education and honorable profession as Lexington's town minister.

In this way, using certain types of tableware defined a "middle" sort in eighteenth-century Lexington, setting them apart from the lower sorts by the pieces they set on their tables and used in their everyday lives. Tilley draws on the idea of taste and distinction expressed here to discuss how objectification is related to studies of symbolic capital and domination. Tilley clarifies a central component of Bourdieu's argument—the fact that in order for the social hierarchy to be maintained it must be justified and made legitimate. Another way to put it is that the social order must be made natural, or according to Bourdieu made part of *doxa* (Bourdieu 1984). In keeping with Bourdieu's argument, Tilley claims that material culture is an important avenue through which social divisions and inequalities are identified and maintained (Tilley 2006: 66).

Performance of Status: Props, Actors, and "Mannerly" Scripts

"No field archaeologist has recovered and cataloged a wine health toast" (Goodwin 1999: 4). Goodwin's statement provides a glimpse into the shift in the use of material culture for archaeologists, anthropologists, and historians alike. The terms "recovered" and "cataloged" harken back to the earliest interpretations of material culture that focused on the identification of physical traits of objects to serve as tangible evidence of established historical narratives or archaeological interpretations. In other words, objects were described and meanings were derived independent of the social context of the object (Yentsch and Beaudry 2001). Recently, with the popularity of embodiment archaeology and an increased interest in agency, scholars have made material culture studies more "people-centered" (Cochran and Beaudry 2006; Yentsch and Beaudry 2001). The key to embodied archaeology is the concept that self is created as the body interacts with objects, the environment, and other elements of human life. Ian Hodder, for instance, argues that "to 'use' is thus not to interact with an object but to bring about both self and object through engagement in a task" and thus, "the self is continually forged and reforged through its relations to material culture" (Hodder and Hutson 2008:

124). In this vein, material culture such as the tableware in the Hancock collection can serve as meaningful evidence of the social component of an individual's identity.

In general, more recent advances in the study and interpretation of material culture have rested upon the idea that through an individual's interaction and use of an object, the object it is given meaning. In thinking about the meaning of objects in this way we begin to see them as active parts of everyday life. Some scholars have gone as far as to argue for "material agency" (See Cochran and Beaudry 2006). Material agency suggests that objects are active, rather than passive, forces in an individual's life and so material culture "as material and metaphor can hence be seen as reinforcing ideologies, shaping family structures, and acting in a very real sense on the body" (Cochran and Beaudry 2006: 196). For this reason, it is appropriate to look at the social context and interactions of which the objects would have been an active part.

The social context and interactions surrounding tableware and their owners are conveniently manifested as manners, and have been studied historically through the use of courtesy literature. Archaeologist Lorinda B.R. Goodwin has studied manners through the archaeological record in an effort to understand how they functioned in the merchant elite of colonial Massachusetts (Goodwin 1999). Since manners are a type of human behavior that are on their own intangible, she promotes the use of performance theory as the theoretical framework by which tangible artifacts can be linked to behavior. Borrowing elements from studies of status and the new forms of material culture analysis, Goodwin crafts her argument after the metaphor of theater. In this way, she is able to link objects with their socially prescribed behaviors and protocols. Goodwin's book reflects the benefits of incorporating elements of performance into archaeological studies. The result is a fuller picture of how individuals were living and interacting with other members of the community on a daily basis.

Similar to Goodwin, the theater metaphor will serve as an organizing principle of my research. Within this metaphor, individuals such as Rev. John Hancock and his acquaintances become actors, the parlor the setting, the objects the props, and the socially mandated manners the scripts by which members of the same social status group behave. In this way, since social status is a negotiated element of one's identity, we can think of it as a discourse that requires that those involved have knowledge of the codes of behavior, including entertaining protocols, in order to continue to participate in that social group. Thus, in social situations, such as serving tea to guests at one's home, individuals acted according to scripts of behavior that once adopted by the majority of the middling and upper middling sort would be continually negotiated and replicated as they continued to serve as a symbol of genteel status to insiders and outsiders alike.

The Semiotics of Consumption

In thinking about status and its material manifestations we must also recognize that the props of genteel status that were used in entertaining are overwhelmingly consumer products. Although modern consumerism was in its infancy during the eighteenth century, culture was fundamentally linked to consumerism and forged through consumer products (Douglas and Isherwood 1979; McCracken 1988). Douglas and Isherwood characterized the new significance of consumerism suggesting, "consumption is the very arena in which culture is fought over and licked into shape" (Douglas and Isherwood 1979: 57). In consumer-oriented societies, consumer products become much more than practical purchases. Similar to the arguments for material agency discussed above, consumer products act as boundaries, categorizing and communicating information about their users to others (Douglas and Isherwood 1979). In this way, material goods are considered active components of social relationships.

Theories of embodiment as applied to the study of material culture emphasize that through use, material objects come to symbolize and serve as signs of one's identity—in this case as active symbols of one's level of social distinction. If we think about colonial New England society in terms of consumption, then we can see how consumer products become important symbolic elements in this society. Therefore it can be argued, "without consumer goods, certain acts of self-definition and collective definition in this culture would be impossible" (McCracken 1988: xi). It is important to recognize that goods can have myriad of meanings within society. Products can have both private and public meanings. The meaning of certain goods as status symbols is publically constructed since they are only successful as status symbols to the point that a majority accepts the designation and recognizes the sign (Douglas and Isherwood 1979; Goodwin 1999; McCracken 1988). This echoes Bourdieu's argument for the symbolic nature of cultural capital and, in many ways, these consumer products became the props that were used to perform an individual's amassed cultural capital.

Cultural anthropologists and historians have began to focus more recently on the greater role that culture played in the development of the consumer process, that in turn influenced definitions of social status, over the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in England and her American colonies. Prior to the explosion in the number of goods available for public consumption, social status was defined collectively. Scholars, such as cultural anthropologist Grant McCracken and archaeologist Lorinda Goodwin, have referred to this early form of social status as the "cult of family status" and argue that status was attained over the long term as a family amassed social standing and eventually proved their high-standing to the rest of the community (Goodwin 1999; McCracken 1988: 13). Obviously, this means of status attainment and maintenance worked well to create a noble class in European society. In terms of material goods, the idea of "patina" is used to describe the accumulation of social status. Patina was seen as "an essential part of a larger process by which this society turned money into status, commoners into gentlefolk, and in the process kept wealth and standing consonant" (McCracken 1988: 39). Therefore, older goods were emblematic of a family's collective social status and thus valued for their age and worn physical appearance (Goodwin 1999: 108, 144-155; McCracken 1988).

Ideas about status began to change over the course of the eighteenth century especially in the New World where social mobility was high. The consumer, and thus the individual, became the bearers of status as patina was replaced by novelty as the means of status achievement and maintenance for the middling sort. Scholars have argued that status became more individual, as increased consumer choice and means of consumption created greater social competition (McCracken 1982). Therefore, status was symbolized through one's ability to purchase the newest and most fashionable consumer goods.

McCracken suggests that “goods had suddenly become tokens in the status game” (McCracken 1982: 17) and that these goods “on which the consumer lavishes time, attention, and income” were used to “express cultural categories and principles…sustain lifestyles [and] construct notions of the self” (McCracken 1982: xi). Status was no longer a collective effort that demonstrated long-standing status, but found expression in “new” wealth—individuals who were able to purchase the novel and continued to purchase new goods as trends came and went.

Conclusion: Recognizing Rural Gentility

At present urban merchants have been most thoroughly studied as the originators of refined behavior in eighteenth-century America. The Hancocks provide the unique opportunity to explore the manifestation of genteel values, practices, and material culture in rural locales and to identify possible colonial actors who may have served as introductory sources of these practices in these communities. Notions of status and consumption as expressed through material goods and performance serve as the framework by which the material remains from the Hancock collection are interpreted. Novel and luxury consumer products within the Hancock assemblage are interpreted as indicators of Hancock’s perceived level of social capital and esteem within Lexington society. Additionally, since the focus is on performance and use of these objects, their function within Hancock’s everyday life provide evidence for the adoption of a refined lifestyle. Ultimately, refinement—and by extension social status—may be seen materially by a large volume of specialized goods associated with genteel entertaining and the elaborate consumption of food and drink.

CHAPTER 3

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Introduction

New notions of status based upon a malleable and continually changing material base of novel imports meant that interactions with these goods functioned as the mechanism of genteel identity, rather than the goods themselves. In other words, it was not enough to simply own the props, as status was conferred during an individual's performance with the object. Changes in behavior were at the heart of the rise of gentility and extended into multiple aspects of colonial life. Broadly speaking, genteel behavior was based on the refinement of actions through strict regulation of the body and mind (Bushman 1992; Carson 1994; Goodwin 1999). Mannerly behavior has been defined by archaeologist Lorinda B.R. Goodwin as "the embrace and practice of prescribed, formalized behavior with the intent of promoting a particular sort of society" and is also more than "merely that behavior that does not disgust" as it is "a sensibility and awareness of *why* one wants to behave politely" (Goodwin 1999: 19). Proper behavior and comportment for the gentleman was prescribed in the various courtesy books of the eighteenth century and was enforced through criticism both from peers and the self. Regulation, restraint, and elaboration in dining and entertaining became especially important ideals. Social occasions built around the serving and consumption of food and drink afforded individuals the opportunity to impress their guests with their embodiment of these ideals and their knowledge of the latest in genteel hospitality and vice verse.

The Rise of Gentility and Polite Society

Beginning in Europe with the Renaissance and in the early seventeenth century in England, refinement began as the way of life of the courts and elite (Bushman 1992: xii; Goodwin 1999). The middle classes in England—those who would become the elite of the colonies—soon adopted these behaviors and props and brought similar ways of life to the American colonies. Indeed, gentility and refined living of the merchant classes in colonial New England (Hunter 2001; Goodwin 1999) and the equally wealthy planters and elite of the Chesapeake region (Bushman 1992; Martin 1996) have been widely studied. During this period, merchants in particular had the wealth and, as the buyers and sellers of the consumer products themselves, were most directly tied to the changing fashions dictated by European society. Merchants acted as cultural brokers in colonial New England and as "leading figures of society" they "emphasized the value of material objects in defining self and creating community" (Hunter 2001: 4). As the century wore on, however, groups of people in locales more removed from the ports and city centers, such as interior regions of Massachusetts colony, also began to adopt these mannerly ways of life and associated material goods. Thus, the genteel code was also the style of life for professionals, which included ministers, lawyers, doctors, and other leaders of colonial communities (Bushman 1992; Carson 1994; Dow 1935).

Colonial society was characterized by a high level of social mobility as a result of the lack of a significant landed, elite class at settlement. The English middle class would become the new colonial elite, as the availability of land and resources offered opportunity for improvement in individual wealth. Additionally, scholars have suggested that during the consumer revolution, purchasing and using novel goods to portray a refined life was also a strategy by which individuals attempted to ascend the social ladder. Bushman (1992) has characterized gentility as a “beautification campaign”—an effort to improve society as a whole. At the same time, however, gentility brought with it deep-seeded methods of categorization and criticism. Therefore, people like Rev. John Hancock who strove to preserve their social status, became increasingly aware of their public behavior and worked to “perform” properly in public.

An overarching theme in the historical trajectory of refined society is the totality of refinement—that it was in fact a *way* of life that required a total commitment not just the picking-and-choosing of certain elements. Gentility “for those who embraced that culture wholeheartedly, required the refinement of one part of life after another…a common person with a teacup had not made so encompassing a commitment” (Bushman 1992: 185). To maintain membership in the colonial gentry individuals were required to demonstrate knowledge of, and in some cases possess, the latest fashions in dress, literature, leisure, and hospitality (Bushman 1992; Goodwin 1999; Goldstein 2001; Hunter 2001). Therefore, genteel lifestyles impacted the mind, body, and wallet. Genteel goods and activities were less about survival and more about the finer things of life. Cary Carson has argued that, “many people began acquiring goods, using services, and engaging in social, recreational, and educational activities that went far beyond meeting or improving basic physical needs" (Carson 1994: 513). Based on the gentry attribute model developed by Karin Goldstein (2001) refined living included such elements as education, social connections, possession of positions of honor and/or power in the community, and wealth (Goldstein 2001). The material and mode of genteel hospitality through refined entertaining is the primary focus of this research; as such the historical context for novel and fashionable consumption of food and drink is elaborated upon in the sections that follow.

As was alluded to above, regulation and control of the mind and body were key characteristics of a gentleman. These elements of refinement were also reflected in methods of dining, drinking, and entertaining. Rules and regulations for colonial behavior are encountered in contemporary courtesy literature that outlined proper behavior for gentlemen, ladies, and their children. This included proper behavior in a variety of areas of life including education, domestic duties, child rearing, public office, and religion (Bushman 1992; Goodwin 1999). The lack of a traditional elite class in the New World meant that many of these mannerly traditions were borrowed from the English gentry as a means to better establish a ruling elite in colonial society. The courtesy book world in which Rev. Hancock and his contemporaries existed consisted of a number of imported works including Henry Peacham's *The Compleat Gentleman*, Brathwait's *The English Gentleman*, newspapers such as Steele and Addison's *The Spectator*, and novels such as *Clarissa*. Generally, these books and tracts outlined proper conduct and were modeled after court literature from the century prior that advised members of the court of the proper behavior for leaders.

Over the course of the eighteenth century, colonial New England society began to emulate many of the elements of genteel conduct that these manuals instructed. The early eighteenth century can be seen as a period of transition, as only the most culturally elite were beginning to incorporate these ideals at the start of the century. By mid-century these behaviors and values would find greater expression among all sections of society, and especially among the emerging American middle class. While the later etiquette manuals of the nineteenth century outlined specific table manners, these early manuals were focused on embodied characteristics—spelling out desirable traits and virtues in an individual. Accordingly, the literature stressed conduct that incorporated and celebrated respect for rank, virtue, and a sensitivity of feelings (Bushman 1992). John Locke's *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*, for instance, prescribed a means of "breeding" and training a polite son. He argued that a properly educated gentleman would be "*well-fashion'd*" which meant "decency and gracefulness of Looks, Voice, Words, Motions, Gestures, and of all the whole outward Demeanour, which takes in Company, and makes those with whom we may converse, easie and well pleased" (as quoted in Bushman 1992: 45). These more abstract ideas of modes of conduct were further reflected in the manners related to the mind—sensibility, conversation, and the art of letter writing (Bushman 1992). These practices when done correctly effectively communicated one's genteel rearing and mastery of educational pursuits—an important component of genteel status.

In addition to control over mind, manners also reflected a desire for expert control of the body thereby maintaining a cleanly body and environment. Considering the importance of the public aspect of the performance of gentility, it is not surprising that the virtue of a clean body would come to symbolize an attainment of such status in society. For instance, Bushman argues "polite people were never to presume to make bodily contact with other for fear of polluting them within the shells of their immaculate bodies" (Bushman 1992: 42; Elias 1978).

Genteel Entertaining: The Historical Setting for Refined Consumption of Food and Drink

On January 26, 1739 Ebenezer Parkman, a Congregational minister in rural Massachusetts, recorded the following entry in his diary:

> "Dr. Gott and Captain Williams here. Dr. din'd. Captain Williams went to Ensign Maynards and when he return'd was in so great an Hurry that he would only Eat a mouthful of Bread and cheese altho Food was preparing for him. It was what gave us some vexation because I had invited him to dinner." (Walett 1974: 59)

Parkman is keenly aware of his guest's unmannerly behavior and writes about the event as if his rude behavior was a personal attack against his own sensibilities. The entry also evidences that eating was a ritual event that was performed according to specific social protocols. Obviously, Parkman was disgusted by his guest's manner of eating but, seemingly more offended that he would not sit down to the dinner that he had been kind enough to invite him to.

Often it is over food and drink "where important social exchanges take place" (Carson 1994: 533). In the eighteenth century the consumption of food and drink was an important arena in which actors portrayed their social status to peers in the community. The entertaining of guests was also changed by the increase in consumerism and the value of material goods and behavior to signal attained social status. It can be argued that consumerism in fact created the need for individuals to purchase and use novel and luxury goods as a particularly important means of expressing their social status (McCracken 1988). Consumers also found it advantageous to consume conspicuously and found that entertaining episodes provided the audience they needed to show off their new purchases and mastery of mannerly behavior. As such, the focus is on public rituals of eating and drinking since social status was largely dependent upon public performance for justification. It should be noted that as town minister Rev. Hancock occupied a unique space between the public and private spheres of life. For example, considering his profession, his home was at the same time his private space and the town parsonage. Entertaining related objects found within his home will therefore be understood as being used publically as part of his professional life.

Entertaining was also elaborated to utilize the most exotic of beverage imports including tea, chocolate, coffee, and alcohol and thereby created a market for specialized vessels that were used in the serving and consumption of these exotic eats. These new goods and associated behaviors became an important part of genteel entertaining. Through the material props that graced the table and the scripted performances by actors of the appropriate manners, entertaining provided the perfect setting and social occasion for demonstrating wealth and mannerly knowledge. Furthermore, these occasions mandated a delicate balance between excess and an acceptable level of lavishness

(Bushman 1992; Goodwin 1999). Partaking in food and drink in a social setting allowed the actor the opportunity to demonstrate their self-control both in their display of wealth and in the amount that they consumed at the table. The balance between lavishness and restraint was especially important for ministers who were also balancing between the worldly and the sacred. Goodwin, in particular, has championed a similar argument suggesting that these new entertaining-related foodways became part of refined entertaining and allowed individuals to express their knowledge of the latest fashions (Goodwin 1999: 118-144). Such foodways included dining, tea drinking, and punch drinking and each is discussed in more detail below.

Dining

Eating prior to the shift to refined lifestyle in the eighteenth century was communal in nature (Bushman 1992; Deetz 1996). Food and drink were often consumed by multiple individuals from common cups and bowls, as well as served and eaten from common spoons. This is reflected materially in probate records and archaeological collections by a high presence of communal consumption vessels and utensils (Cummings 1964). Accordingly, meals consisted of porridges and breads that were well suited to this mode of eating. This continued to be the norm for the poor during the eighteenth century and may have been acceptable even for more elite families for everyday eating (Bushman 1992).

In more elite households over the course of the eighteenth century eating came to reflect genteel standards. Most importantly, eating became much more individualized as the concern over hygiene and cleanliness resulted in the material manifestation of plates, serving bowls and platters, and flatware including knives and forks (Bushman 1992; Carson 1994; Deetz 1996). Therefore, genteel ideals of control over the body while eating had an impressive impact on the types of goods that the colonial gentry used to set their tables. Bushman has effectively painted the picture of genteel-inspired dining in the following description:

> Gentility regulated dining as it did the body, including the wish to keep the food clean, separated from dirt and fingers. The growing spirit of refinement placed people on chairs at tables, gave each individual utensils, and put the food on platters and in serving bowls. Bodies were placed before the food with knives and forks in hand separating the person from tactile contact with the food, and on chairs that encouraged people to sit upright in the proper erect posture. Genteel aesthetic principles thus took over the process of dining in its entirety, and refined and exalted it. (Bushman 1992: 76)

At the most basic level, refinement in eating—dining—embodied the principles of gentility and effectively communicated to others around the table that an individual had mastered control of their body.

Punch, Tea, and other New Beverages

Beverage consumption, perhaps even more than dining, was a significant aspect of a gentleman's life. In the early eighteenth century new and exotic beverages such as punch, tea, chocolate, and coffee from the Far East, Near East, and the Americas dramatically changed the beverage service of elite households. The new drinks, the equipage necessary to serve the drinks, and the manner of service were novelties and specialized knowledge in the early eighteenth century. In addition, and most importantly, the service of these drinks became important elements of highly ritualized social occasions. Thus, toasting with punch; the ceremony surrounding the service of tea, chocolate, or coffee; and the socializing and conversation that occurred over all of these liquids were important to the cultivation of one's social capital within New England society.

Punch in the eighteenth century was a complex and costly concoction of liquor, fruit, sugar, spice, and water (Goodwin 1999: 131). A number of the ingredients, including the sugar, spices, and fruits, in addition to the rum produced from sugar, were expensive imported commodities. Sugar, in particular, was a prestige item in the eighteenth century because of its cost; as such, drinks that required its use gained comparable social meaning (see Mintz 1985, Smith 2002). Punch was also relatively new in the early eighteenth century. It was only first introduced to England in the last part of the seventeenth century. The drink itself was quite different from common drinks of the period that included beer, cider, and iterations thereof. Punch drinking also required far more than simply the mixing of the liquid libation, it also introduced a new set of material props explicitly designed for the serving and drinking of punch and other imported alcoholic beverages including imported wines. Porcelain, tin-glazed earthenware, refined stoneware, and silver punch bowls were actively consumed for the serving of punch drinks to guests. In addition, punch service required stemmed glasses, sometimes in matching sets, and/or individual mugs from which to drink the beverage. Not surprisingly, these goods would soon come to embody and project the social capital and amassed status of their owners and signal an individual's social position.

Additionally, punch drinking provided the ideal social occasion for social actors to participate in the performance of status. Punch drinking and the refined consumption of other alcoholic beverages in the first half of the eighteenth century was a mostly elite behavior and while it had its place in genteel households, it also became a necessary component to political and military gatherings, such as training days (Goodwin 1999: 131-134). Toasting often accompanied consumption of alcoholic beverages and provided yet another chance for gentlemen or aspiring gentlemen to demonstrate their mastery of language through the eloquence of their toasts and general conversation at such events. The ability to converse with ease, restraint, and a certain spirit was a popular topic of courtesy literature (Bushman 1992: 83-90). Conversation revealed the refinement of the mind and was of upmost importance in eighteenth century colonial society. Furthermore, "contemporary courtesy literature stressed moderation in drinking, as well as eating, but not to deny oneself the pleasure of good food and drink" (Goodwin 1999: 137). The effects of alcoholic drinks on the body were in effect a good test of one's level of personal refinement. Individuals could perform mannerly control over their body by practicing moderation in the consumption of alcohol, as to avoid overindulgence and the subsequent categorization as "unmannerly." Temperance references in sermons and in the diaries of ministers of the time reflect the great importance of personal restraint as part of genteel rearing and one's spiritual life.

Perhaps nothing is more iconic of eighteenth-century gentility and consumption than tea. Prior to 1750, tea was considered a luxury and an elite activity in the colonies (Goodwin 1999; Roth 1988). Tea, and similarly chocolate and coffee, were imports popularized as a result of sustained trade with the Far East, Near East, and exploitation of the Americas. It was not until about 1700 that tea was regularly used in British households, and it was only widely available in the American colonies as early as 1740 (Roth 1988). Similar to punch drinking, the consumption of tea and other new beverages required imported and specialized equipment—silver and ceramic vessels, teapots, and other service pieces that were specially crafted for the service and consumption of these novel beverages. Like genteel dining and drinking discussed above, the material props associated with the drinking of tea were necessary objects for the gentleman and gentlewoman who wished to serve tea and came to symbolize the owner's social prestige. For instance, tea could easily be made in more common vessels, but porcelain and refined stoneware tea ware made the taking of tea especially luxurious and novel. The expense of tea and tea ware meant that it attributed social prestige to an individual and were items and goods to be consumed conspicuously (Roth 1988). The vessels—highly fragile, delicately crafted, and carefully decorated—required careful handling to avoid breaking them. In this way, the taking of tea required expert control of the body. To illustrate, a certain level of practiced control was necessary to drink hot tea from a tea bowl without a handle, as the bowl was gracefully balanced with the thumb on the base foot ring and the index finger on the rim (Roth 1988: 447). Additionally, the proper service of tea was part of a specialized knowledge and successful tea service reflected embodied genteel characteristics of refinement, restraint, and novelty. Tea ceremonies were intricate affairs that required multiple vessels to be used at the right times, and that these vessels were arranged on trays and tables in just the right configurations, in addition to all of the protocols that surrounded the actual consumption of the tea. Goodwin refers to tea-taking as a "social investment" (Goodwin 1999: 131) as the money and time that one poured into acquiring the necessary paraphernalia and learning the proper service was returned in the form of social capital and added prestige within the community. Finally, as with punch drinking, dining, and other instances of colonial entertainment, tea drinking was a social event that also allowed for leisurely conversation and music performance amid other leisure and social activities. In sum, tea drinking was a social event that from beginning to end provided the opportunity for an individual to perform their genteel status.

Clearly, the process of eating and drinking received a makeover of sorts in the eighteenth century as the new world of available consumer products including foodstuffs and vessels for consumption expanded. This in combination with the obsession over manners, control of the body, and personal restraint meant that eating was both elaborated and highly regulated. Thus, eating and drinking morphed from necessary human conditions, to dining and entertaining that combined human need with the genteel desire for beauty and refinement. Gentility was a continuous loop where attainment of genteel status and all the meaning that it carried with it for social status, required continual maintenance. Mannerly performances at social occasions were the means by which status was achieved and reaffirmed. In this way, status maintenance required that individuals continue to devote time and money to the entertaining of guests. In this process both the material objects and their proper use came to serve as physical evidence of genteel status. To put it another way, the objects themselves and certainly the protocols of their use, came to embody the philosophical ideas about what it meant to be a proper gentleman. If we return to the theater metaphor for a moment we can imagine how an individual's status was in question until he successfully lifted a delicately decorated tea bowl to his lips and consumed the pricey liquid. In this scene his status is embodied in everything: the guests he invited to his home, the types of food and drink he choose to serve, the manner in which it was served, the decoration and ware types of the dishes on the tea table, and finally the manner in which it was consumed.

Religion and Gentility

Introduction

If refinement was a significant secular force in the eighteenth century, religion was its sacred counterpart. The fervent religious atmosphere of the seventeenth and early-eighteenth century had a lasting effect on the culture of Massachusetts. What happened when these cultural forces collided in the first half of the eighteenth century? Ministers, such as Rev. John Hancock, may serve as telling case studies of the intersection of gentility and religion. In many ways the role of town minister in the eighteenth century was a unique position. Ministers occupied a complicated position at the intersection of the sacred and the secular. The historical interpretation of the social context for those in the ministerial profession has changed over time. For instance, a book entitled *Every Day Life in the Massachusetts Bay Colony* published in 1935 argues that ministers were included in the same class as merchants and "those possessed of wealth" (Dow 1935: 107). More recently scholars of New England church history argue that eighteenth century ministers did not "enjoy the prestige, influence, and social status of their seventeenth-century predecessors" (Schmotter 1975: 249). Historical evidence collected by church history scholars has suggested that over the first half of the eighteenth century the ideals of the Great Awakening led to increased stress, an increase in laymen-clerical disputes, and a decline in clerical prominence and authority. As their authority and societal prestige waivered, ministers attempted to professionalize in an attempt to bolster their authority and status within the community. As part of the professional class of New England society, ministers were no doubt aware of the new mannerly protocols and material props that were part of gentility. Therefore, the question remains: how did the clergy negotiate the new world of consumer products and their role as a consumer? Therefore, both the religious atmosphere surrounding genteel consumption and behavior and the social context of the clergy in the eighteenth century is explored. Ultimately, this sheds light on the social positioning of ministers in colonial society and the way that ministers, like Rev. Hancock, would have interpreted, incorporated, and expressed material and performance-based representations of status in their daily lives.

David D. Hall, a cultural historian of New England church history has suggested that certain religious beliefs, such as Calvinism, were not a just a religion, but also a way of life, "a veritable culture" (Hall 1984: 327). In thinking about religion as an important influence on the culture of New England, it is clear that religious beliefs, standards, and teachings played a role in the defining of consumption practices and social status. By the first quarter of the eighteenth century many New Englanders were no longer Puritans, but part of religious offshoots of Puritanism, including Congregationalism. Despite the differences in various new Protestant denominations, many still held similar religious beliefs. For instance, Calvinism and the belief in predestination remained strong in these communities (Hunter 2001). Both Bushman (1992) and Hunter (2001) have included a discussion of the interaction of religion and consumption in their works. Hunter traces the change in religious ethos concerning profit and community in what she refers to as "the balance of piety and profit" (Hunter 2001: 7). Early religious beliefs, especially those associated with Calvinist predestination stressed hard work for the benefit of the greater community of God, but "eschew[ed] the wasteful consumption that often accompanied wealth" (Hunter 2001: 6). This represents a glaring contradiction. While there was a collective belief in hard work, there was also a belief in restraint of the individual. This belief not unlike the genteel stress on self-control at a basic level, however, seems to be somewhat at odds with the genteel expressions that focused on the creation of individual social prestige through novel consumption.

The aforementioned concepts are perhaps best known as part of Max Weber's "Protestant Work Ethic," but also provide a telling comparison to the religious beliefs concerning consumption and individual wealth that emerged towards the end of the eighteenth century. During the second half of the eighteenth century, and by the turn of the nineteenth century, gentlemanly status and associated genteel behaviors, including the ability to purchase status-laden goods, became part of the character of a good Christian. Scholars have argued that there was still a struggle between religious beliefs and the refinement of the gentility because of the "pretension of high-style fashion was a vain and empty show that pulled people away from God" (Bushman 1992: 313). Still, refinement in behavior was attractive, and along with a refinement in religion, "good taste became virtually a principle of Christian morality" (Bushman 1992: xvii; Hunter 2001). The Congregationalist minister Cotton Mather provides a telling example of the incorporation of these ideals, but continual conflict of values. A rather prominent and elite minister in the city-centers of Boston and Cambridge, Mather would have been one of the first clergymen of the Congregationalist church to confront and discuss the new world of consumption and materiality of status. Hunter argues that he waivered in his response to polite culture, but in many ways exemplified the Georgian gentleman (Hunter 2001: 8, 93-96). It is still unclear as to what extent ministers responded to and incorporated these new cultural practices of mannerly behavior and consumption into their lives, but if Mather serves as an example, it seems that at some point cultural practices of mannerly behavior were associated with proper religious comportment. Since ministers were part of a professional class, and awarded social prestige for their work, is it possible that they incorporate these practices and materials earlier than the ideology of the *refined* Christian would suggest?

Social Context: Ministers and their Profession

In the fervent religious atmosphere of the seventeenth century, ministers enjoyed a rather high social status and were easily the most educated in their respective communities. By as early as 1700 members of the clergy were "institutionally and culturally distanced from the majority of their parishioners" (Seeman1999: 7). Ministers in the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries were usually recruited from the middling classes in colonial society from families that could afford to send their sons to be educated at Harvard. For this reason, “the ministry represented an avenue of upward social mobility for many New Englanders, even though its lack of appeal for the top strata of society set limits on this mobility” (Schmotter 1975: 251). The social mobility offered by the profession would thus increase the necessity of constructing and maintaining a high social status as the ministers’ status would have been socially ascribed rather than given by birth. The education necessitated by their profession gave them an advantage however, as they would have been more aware of new social protocols (Seeman 1999: 7).

The job of town minister offered social distinction and honor within the community. In many cases, since the minister was one of the only educated men in community, ministers assumed a variety of roles within society—acting as both a spiritual and intellectual leader. The diary of Rev. Ebenezer Parkman reveals that in addition to his pastoral duties, he also acted as a doctor, settled disputes between townsmen, and provided advice and news to members of the community (Walett 1974). Rev. John Hancock also performed such peacemaker duties. A story passed down through the generations in Lexington tells of Hancock helping two Lexingtonians settle a land boundary dispute by looking at their deeds and placing wooden stakes to create a property boundary (evidently his land division stuck) (Allan 1948: 1-2). Townspeople seemed to recognize the intellectual prestige of ministers and minded their authority. This is further evidenced by the interactions of ministers with other prominent members of the community. Parkman records numerous occasions where he traveled to the homes of selectmen and other prominent community members or entertained them in his home. It also appears that Parkman regularly attended non-religious social occasions including training days, huskings, raisings, and Harvard commencements (Walett 1974). The place of ministers in society meant that ministers were also under intense pressure to serve as role models for their parishioners. Rev. Hancock stated in one of his sermons, "For certainly the unholiness of a Ministers life will very much abate of the authority of his doctrines. If he walk contrary to the doctrine he delivers, will not men be ready to say to him, *thou that theachest another, theachest thou not they self*?" (Hancock 1726: 11). The social prestige attached to a career in the ministry thus afforded ministers the opportunity—but also the pressure—to participate in social occasions that would have likely incorporated genteel manners and props.

Despite a legacy of social prestige, the first half of the eighteenth century witnessed widespread religious conflict. Simultaneously, there was also a decrease in the number of ministers, as possible candidates chose secular professions like medicine and law (Schmotter 1975). This decrease in the number of ministers reflects the deterioration of the social status that being a minister had once provided. Over the course of the eighteenth century, consequences of the Great Awakening had a tendency to split churches and parishes, which put stress on the relationship of the clergy with their flock. The greatest outcome of the Great Awakening was Anticlericism. Laymen questioned whether an ordained minister was necessary for understanding God's word and understandably began to doubt the authority and social prestige of the clergy.

Consequently, as ministers found their reputation and authority in question quarrels between ministers and their followers escalated. Social historian James W. Schmotter has found evidence that for the average minister the chances for a dispute in his career increased from 22 to 50% between 1700 and 1750 (Schmotter 1975: 256).

In response to the growing criticism of their profession, the clergy took measures to strengthen their authority through professionalization. In this way, they began to focus on re-elevating the social importance of their profession by setting standards, demanding equitable compensation, and organizing in clerical associations—in effect making themselves and their profession more secular (Schmotter 1975; Seeman 1999). For instance, as early as 1680 ministers “clericalized” the ordination ceremony by excluding laymen from the laying of hands as a means of reclaiming their waning authority (Seeman 1999: 6-7). The symbolism of this amended ritual was in conflict with the foundations of congregationalism. Rather than the power of ministers originating with the election by the people, this change to the ordination ceremony helped ministers to symbolically solidify “clerical legitimacy” (Youngs 1976: 30)—their authority came from the ritual itself and was thus independent of the people (Seeman 1999). Attempts at bolstering the social prestige of ministers through professionalism has parallels with genteel attempts to augment their social position in a highly socially mobile consumer-oriented world through an increased importance of manners and socially prescribed behavior.

As part of the legitimization of their authority, ministers worked to create a religious leadership that “emphasized the elite quality of their profession” (Youngs 1976:

64). Accordingly, they also demanded salaries that they believed were more in line with the elite class to which they thought they belonged (Youngs 1976). Despite what they believed was poor pay, members of the clergy were better paid than the majority of New Englanders. As a result, discussions over ministerial compensation also triggered disagreements. Since the ministers' salary was dependent on taxes and tithing by the congregation, salaries were greatly affected by the depressed colonial economy and increasing inflation (Youngs 1976). Even Rev. Hancock's parish was not free of the salary debate. In 1726 Hancock preached the sermon at his eldest son John's ordination ceremony and spoke at length about the right of ministers to ask for and receive wages for their work. He proclaimed:

> And the laws of Christ have given them this power to take wages for their work, and to take it not as alms of charity, but as justice; and I know no more reason they have to thank them for giving it, than there is for you to thank them for receiving it. For they are maintained out of *God's right* and revenues, and not out of yours, for the *tithes* of all are the Lord's; and it is easy enough to prove, that such as withhold *God's dues* from him are guilty not of *petty larceny,* but of *sacriledge* it self. (Hancock 1726: 25)

At the same time that Hancock made a case for higher ministerial wages, he also defended the right of ministers to receive worldly compensation for their work. To offset less than ideal salaries, many rural ministers were also farmers like many of the members of their congregations. In many cases, however, ministers arranged for extra help from members of the communities with their farming duties and/or negotiated with the town to provide for the purchase of a slave or servant. In relation to his farming duties Parkman writes in January of 1749, "Tending the Cattle at this extreme season very troublesome to me, having been so very unus'd to it" (Walett 1974: 189). Clearly, while their financial situation required that they at least oversee the running of their farm, ministers regularly complained that it interfered with the study required of them for their ministerial duties. Hancock once preached that the congregation should aid their clergy so “that they may not be hindered in their studies, and cumbred with the cares of this Life” (Hancock 1733: 14). These episodes provide further evidence of the social position that *at least* ministers believed they possessed. Ultimately for many ministers, economic strains meant that it was harder to provide for their families including sending their children to college and, perhaps for some, more difficult to maintain the style of life that they believed they deserved.

The Social Context of Lexington, Massachusetts

It is in this context that Rev. John Hancock and his family lived and built their social fortune that would eventually be the building blocks for the life and career of John Hancock—the influential and wealthy merchant and patriot. In order to explore the manifestations of gentility and social status of Rev. Hancock and his family, it is necessary to first contextualize his place in Lexington society, his background, and his influence in the community. By exploring Hancock’s biography and situating him within Lexington society, we will be better able to formulate conclusions about his level of social status and adoption of genteel social practice and material culture.

In the first half of the eighteenth century Lexington was a small farming community just outside of the Newtowne-Cambridge area in Middlesex County, known as Cambridge Farms. The town that would eventually become Lexington is located approximately 20 miles from Boston. Puritans from the East Anglia region of England first settled the area in 1642. By the 1690s, the Lexington community had collected enough money to support the establishment of their own church and provide for their own minister rather than attending the Cambridge church (Kollen 2004: 9-11). With the establishment of a separate church, Lexington was incorporated as an independent town in 1713. Despite declining numbers of new candidates for the ministry, church history scholar James Schmotter has argued that Middlesex County along with Suffolk and Essex, were popular places for new ministers. He estimates that in 1700 nearly 45% of ordained Congregationalist ministers accepted appointments in these counties and northeastern areas of Massachusetts remained popular because of high populations and proximity to Cambridge and Boston (Schmotter 1975: 255). As the location of Harvard, the center of New England politics, and ports that imported goods and information from Europe, Cambridge and Boston were hubs of new and novel intellectual knowledge. The location afforded ministers, like Rev. Hancock, opportunities to remain current on religious trends and the latest debates in the bustling city centers. Certainly, one can also imagine that by extension the knowledge of genteel dining and entertaining would have also been accessible to ministers and other professionals whose work connected them with these communities.

Regardless of Lexington's proximity to the nexus of cerebral and commercial activity in the city centers, the town remained rural. The major force in the Lexington economy was small farming operations and, as a result, there was no economic division as there was little commercial activity (Kollen 2004: 18). This is not surprising considering the availability of lucrative farmland in the area during the eighteenth century. While the majority of Lexingtonians were small farmers, there were other occupations within colonial Lexington society. The range of occupations in a given region of New England has impacts on the distribution of wealth and consumer products. Gloria L. Main's (1989) research, in particular, has complied data from thousands of probate records to assess the distribution of wealth and consumer goods throughout different regions of Massachusetts and Connecticut. Her study includes a survey of probate data for the region she calls the "Old East" that includes regions of Suffolk County settled prior to King Phillip's War. While her study does not study Middlesex County specifically, the county is near to those locations included within the "Old East" region. Her occupation data for adult males between 1634 and 1774 indicate that in the "Old East" region nearly 49% of males were farmers, 5% were laborers, 14% artisan/farmer, 14% artisan, 3.5% mariner/military, 2% commercial, 3% professionals, 5.5% retired, and 4% other (Main 1989: 158). Main's data validates the claim that Lexington was a farming community and also suggests that professionals, like members of the clergy, were a social minority in the town. Since towns usually only had one or two ministers, clergymen made up a small percentage of this three percent, only adding to their social prestige afforded by the restricted knowledge and specialty of their occupation. Main's research, however, presents another significant statistic. The average value of consumer goods owned by professionals between 1675 and 1724 was about £68.8 as compared to only £30.4 for farmers in the "Old East" (Main 1989: 161). In communities like Lexington, it appears that professionals focused more time and resources on the consumption of goods than farmers. Similarly, this may indicate that they too spent more energy educating themselves on their proper use. Speaking more generally, Main also compiled data on the percentage of New England households owning certain classes of consumer goods between 1725 and 1774. Her data indicates that the conspicuous consumption of goods was relatively high in the "Old East." This chart (Table 3.1) adapted from Main's research shows the level of consumption of various types of consumer products by households over the first part of the eighteenth century. It shows that even in more farming-oriented regions like the "Old East," individual households consumed significant amounts of goods related specifically to genteel entertaining including household linens, imported foods, forks, silverware, and fine earthenware (Main 1989: 166).

Percentage of Households in the "Old East" Owning Selected Consumer Goods, 1725-74	
Coarse Earthenware	67
Household Linen	72
Religious Books	74
Imported Foods	21
Forks	30
Silverware	23
Fine Earthenware	12
Secular Books	4
Wigs	5
Clocks/Watches	7
Pictures	7

Table 3.1 Main's chart showing percentage of households in the "Old East" owning selected consumer goods, 1725-74 (Main 1987: 166)

Looking more specifically at Lexington's consumption of luxury goods, historian Mary Fuhrer (n.d.) has complied probate records from Lexington during the eighteenth century. Her research suggests that in the first half of the century few individuals owned the most novel goods such as tea ware, china, and oil portraits. According to probate records, no one in Lexington owned tea related items, fine ceramics (Fuhrer uses the term China to refer to fine earthenware, "china," most likely porcelain, and "delft."), or oil portraits in the years between 1700 and 1724. During the second quarter of the eighteenth century, ownership of these same categories seems to only slightly go up. For instance, mention of China and portraits is still absent, while ownership of tea related items only goes up to 3%. Therefore, ownership of these goods in the early eighteenth century would have set an individual apart in Lexington society.

Mary Fuhrer has also complied data from Lexington tax assessment and valuations and her data indicate that in both 1693 and 1729 the top 20% and upper mid 20% of taxpayers, combined, held over 60% of taxable wealth in Lexington (Fuhrer 2004). Combining the conclusions drawn from the two studies we might conclude that because of their high level of consumption of consumer products that professionals may have been among those ranked in the top or upper-mid taxpayer quintile as they may also have held highly taxed property such as land. It should be noted, however, that this data can only be used to establish a baseline for examining the place of John Hancock in Lexington society because ministers were exempt from tax assessment (Fuhrer 2004: 2). Despite this fact, we can assume that the clergy's membership within the professional ranks and the fact that their monetary compensation depended on the townspeople would place their level of consumption somewhere near other professionals in Lexington.

Reverend John Hancock, his Family, and his Parish

Up until now I have broadly contextualized the major cultural, social, and economic factors that shaped early-eighteenth century life and had major impacts on the creation and maintenance of social status. How did these factors shape Rev. John Hancock's life? In effect, what does the documentary record say about his social status and the possibility that he would have been an active participant in conspicuous consumption and the genteel practices of the day? In this way, Hancock's background, family life, career, and personality—his biography—serves, as a framework for assessing how he expressed his individual social status through the materiality of genteel entertaining. The documentary and historical record will also establish the social context for the use of the different material props.

Rev. John Hancock was born in Cambridge in 1671. His father, Nathaniel Hancock, was a shoemaker and while he gained some social prestige by serving as a deacon of the church, with ten other children at home the Hancocks were not part of the gentry (Kollen 2010). Still, Nathaniel managed to send young John to Harvard where he graduated as part of the class of 1689 (Sibley 1885). Harvard rankings, arranged according to family status rather than academic achievement, provide evidence of Hancock's humble beginnings. Within the class of 1689, John Hancock was ranked 13 of 14 students (Fowler 1980: 1). Similarly, records show that upon his father's death in 1719 Hancock only received a sum of £20 (Middlesex County Probate). Clearly, John Hancock's modest beginnings did not arm him with the amassed status or wealth indicative of patina or old family status.

Despite the modesty of Rev. John Hancock's beginning, the establishment of his family in Lexington, his subsequent career, and personality provide an illustrative example of the power of education and honor to elevate individuals in the social rankings. John Hancock was ordained as the minister of Lexington in the Congregationalist church in November of 1698. As was expected, upon his ordination he married Elizabeth Clarke, the daughter and granddaughter of clergy, in 1700. In 1699 Hancock purchased 25 acres of land and built a home on the property by 1701 (Rykerson Architecture and Grady 2007: 5). Considering his age and financial background it is unlikely that Hancock had much to contribute to the growing family. His wife, however, came from a more established lineage and was perhaps a fortunate boost to Hancock's future wealth and social status. According to town records, Rev. Hancock's salary varied over the years. Initially he was paid a yearly salary of £40 and received a settlement of £80. Sometime in the first part of the eighteenth century poor quarterly collections resulted in an increase in pay for Hancock. He was then paid £56 a year. By 1716, however, his salary had increased to £90 (Kollen 2010). The minister's salary—wholly dependent on the town and his congregation—was by no means the income of an elite, but was surely higher than most of the small farmers in Lexington. It is also interesting to note that unlike others in the community, Hancock would have been dealing in actual coinage.

The Hancocks had a relatively small family, and raised five children, John, Thomas, Elizabeth, Ebenezer and Lucy. Both of his daughters married ministers and two of his sons, John and Ebenezer, became ministers. His eldest, also named John Hancock, was ordained as the minister of Braintree in 1726 and Hancock (Senior) preached the ordination sermon himself (Hancock 1726). Likewise, he gave the key address at his youngest son, Ebenezer's, ordination in 1734 when he joined his father as co-pastor in Lexington (Allan 1948; Fowler 1980; Hancock 1733; Kollen 2010). His third son Thomas did not follow in his father's footsteps, but was apprenticed to a bookseller and eventually worked his way up to become a wealthy Boston merchant (Allan 1948; Fowler 1980; Kollen 2004, 2010).

It appears that life was relatively quiet for the Hancocks during the 1710s and 1720s. Over these two decades Rev. John Hancock was able to expand his wealth and social station. For instance, he was able to add 25 more acres to his land by 1734 (Rykerson Architecture and Grady 2007: 5) and send two of his sons to Harvard. For example his son John Hancock graduated from Harvard in 1719, he was not only the first Lexington boy to do so, but was ranked 8 of 27 students (Kollen 2010; Fowler 1980: 5). Interestingly in 1722 it appears that, thanks to his wife's family connections, the Hancocks received an unknown "portion" of £500 sterling silver from Elizabeth Fawkner's bequest to living American Bulkley relatives (Kollen 2010). Luckily, Elizabeth (Clarke) Hancock was the granddaughter of Edward Bulkley.

Lexington historian Richard Kollen, in a recent report on Rev. John Hancock has referred to the next decade in Hancock's life as "the eventful 1730s" (Kollen 2010). The business of the 1730s comes as no surprise considering the widespread effects of the Great Awakening. Additionally in his personal life, by the 1730s Hancock was well into his sixties and was starting to worry about his age. For instance, in the 1733 sermon preached at the ordination of Ebenezer Hancock he references his health and age and says "He that is the health of my counteneance, and my God, has bless'd me with health to that degree, that for the space of six and thirty years, I have been but little confined" (Hancock 1733). With his ordination, Ebenezer joined his aging father as co-pastor of Lexington. Together the Hancocks earned a yearly salary of £300 (It should be noted that the latter part of the first half of the eighteenth century was a period of hyperinflation of colonial currency so his salary is exaggerated when compared to salaries during periods of a stable currency) (Kollen 2010). During that same year, John Hancock sold the parsonage and land, including one barn, to Ebenezer for £300 and the forfeit of his £400 inheritance. Rev. Hancock and his wife Elizabeth retained half of the house for their use as life-long tenants (Rykerson Architecture and Grady 2007: 5). It appears that Rev. Hancock was mindful of his age and was working to ensure a comfortable future for Ebenezer. It is also interesting to note that around this same time John Hancock arranged for both himself and his wife to sit for portraits. John Smibert completed the portraits in 1734 at the sum of £25 each (Kollen 2010). Portraits were a rarity in colonial society, especially among rural communities, as it appears that 7% or fewer of households listed ownership of portraits in their probate records (See Table 3.1). This action is significant evidence of wealth and high social status. It is also during the late 1730s that the Hancock family made arrangements for the construction of a new dwelling structure to replace the original house built by John Hancock at the beginning of the century. This new home incorporated many of the new Georgian trends; expanding the Hancocks' living space and introducing increased privacy and division of space. These expanded dwellings were considered very visible symbols of family status (Bushman 1992; Carson 1994; Goodwin 1999; McCracken 1988). The fact that Hancock's family could now afford such an impressive dwelling is highly indicative of their increased wealth and social prestige. As the parsonage, the Hancock's house was in effect a public place where public performance of refined ideals would also take place. The house was an important fixture in the town and served as a place where followers would visit for pastoral advice, ministers would gather, and where clerical association meetings would take place (Fowler 1980: 3; Walett 1974). Both this new house, and the one before it, we can assume were busy places and symbolic of the ministers' authority and role within the Lexington community.

In spite of the careful planning by the elderly Hancock and the promise that his sons exhibited, this period was also a time of great sadness for the Hancocks. In a period of four years John Hancock lost two of his sons, with the passing of Ebenezer in 1740 and his eldest son John in 1744. With his sons' passing, his third son Thomas acquired the property in 1742 and would retain ownership until his mother's death in 1760 at which time he sold the property to Rev. Jonas Clarke. Upon son John's death, his widow and young family went to live with Rev. Hancock. Among these new inhabitants was the young John Hancock (the Patriot), who spent his earliest years in Lexington with his grandparents before moving with his Uncle Thomas to learn the merchant business.

It is a fact that honor and reputation were part and parcel of the acquisition of social prestige and genteel status in colonial society (Bushman 1992; Goodwin 1999; Goldstein 2001; Hunter 2001). The Hancock family biography reveals glimmers of an attainment of such a place in Lexington society. Rev. John Hancock's personal biography highlights his skill at the ministry that afforded him honor and respect as a Congregationalist minister. All of the sources on Hancock emphasize the fact that he was given the title of Bishop by his followers, which seems a "very strange title for a Congregational minister" (Fowler 1980: 1). Congregationalism was founded on democratic principles, namely that the people were able to elect their ministers. Surely, the fact that his followers elected to give him a title that seems to embody power is significant evidence of their admiration for their minister.

Within the ministry Rev. Hancock took an active role in many of the associations and pastoral gatherings that were formed as part of the professionalization of the clergy. He headed a number of these meetings, including a 1745 meeting of his ministers' association that advised Rev. Nathanial Appleton against inviting Rev. George Whitefield, the famous revivalist preacher, to speak in his pulpit (Kollen 2010). Rev. Ebenezer Parkman also records in his diary that on November 16, 1748 Hancock was the "Moderator" for "the Council form'd at Captain Willards" (Walett 1974: 186). As the collection of daily activities, Parkman's diary also indicates that ministers continually entertained other ministers in their homes or visited with them. Additionally, they also found themselves socializing with the other prominent leaders in the community. The esteem in which Hancock was held outside of the ministry must have been high because in 1722 he was invited to preach the Massachusetts election sermon that began the General Court's session. Kollen argues that to "be chosen to preach this sermon signaled the apex of professional respect and status, since most clergy passed an entire career without standing in the pulpit for Election Day" (Kollen 2010). His sermon for the occasion was entitled *Rulers Should be Benefactors* and in it he championed the right of those in power to rule. He states, "THAT it is the Duty and Exceliency of those that are in Authority to be Benefactors. So to Improve the Power & Authority given them from Above, that they may deferre[?] to be so called" (Hancock 1722: 5). Surely, this sermon was preached for a specific purpose—to celebrate the political leaders of Massachusetts—however it demonstrates Hancock's personal belief in the honor and respect that were due to community leaders like him.

The honor and respect of Lexington for their pastor over his 54-year pastorate most likely stems from his talent for the ministry, especially during the turbulent times of the Great Awakening. Many of his biographers have cited his ability to hold his congregation together during this period of schism and splinter as his single greatest accomplishment (Allan 1948; Fowler 1980; Kollen 2004, 2010). In this period of Anticlercisim and distrust of the clergy, it appears that Hancock was able to not only maintain his reputation, but also added members to his flock. Hancock considered himself an "Old Calvinist," a moderate of sorts. He did not attack the theological arguments of the New Lights, but only found conflict with their disregard for an educated ministry. The ordination sermons that Hancock preached reiterated this fact, as he continued to highlight the importance of an educated clergy, the value of study for ministers, and the benefit of their education for the congregation as a whole (Hancock 1726, 1733). His long tenure and respect from his followers is evidence of his respected place in Lexington society.

Amid the controversy and division of surrounding churches and communities during the 1740s, the Lexington parish remained peaceful thanks in great part to Hancock's admirable leadership. In the sermon he preached at Ebenezer's ordination he commends Lexington for their remaining united and revealed his distaste for disagreement proclaiming, "Contentions among Christians brings confusion, and every evil work" and continues "The Lord is said to hate the person that soweth discord among brethren" (Hancock 1733: iii). What made Lexington and Rev. Hancock immune to the volatile religious atmosphere of the period? While it is impossible to know, it may have been due in large part to Hancock's infectious personality in social settings, but focused and strong-minded approach to religion. For years following his death in 1752 at the ripe age of 81, members of the community continued to praise Hancock as a practical authority who handled religious and secular matters with ease. Many sources also describe him as a peacemaker (see Allan 1948; Kollen 2010). What is apparent is that in a time of stringent Anticlericism Hancock was rather adapt at maintaining his clerical authority. A favorite story of Rev. Hancock passed down over the years is how he resisted a reduction of his authority. Late in his tenure, at a time when offices such as "Ruling Elder" where being created to siphon some of the minister's work to laymen, Hancock was approached with the option of appointing two such men. Although the effort was made in part because of the age of Lexington's minister, Hancock as sharp as ever, recognized the reality of the situation. With a dose of humor he dismissed the men and told them that all they could do for him was ready his horse. According to the recounted stories Hancock said that on meeting days one Elder could "get my horse out of the barn and then saddle him and bring him up to the door and hold the stirrup while I get on…The other may wait at the church door and hold him while I get off" (Allan 1948: 2; Kollen 2010). It is unclear as to what extent some of these descriptions of Hancock may be glorified ancestor worship, however it is clear that he possessed a natural ability to be a spiritual leader—a trait that has secured him an honorable reputation to this day.

CHAPTER 4

METHODS AND ANALYSIS

Introduction

Of the six cellars that Robbins located, this research will be limited to examining the contents of cellars 6-F3, 3-F1, and 2-F1 (see Fig. 1.1) that after extensive research appear to be associated with the first dwelling built by Rev. Hancock around 1698. Diagnostic ceramics, in particular date these features to the first half of the eighteenth century. As the data shows, this collection is particularly significant because it is an unusually large collection of material for a rural Massachusetts site from the early eighteenth century. The collection of ceramic tableware, glass tableware, and table utensils from these cellars is discussed in detail below. It is these pieces of genteel entertaining that provide the discrete, physical evidence of the likely existence of mannerly props and performances in the Hancock household.

Dating and Function of Cellars 6-F3, 3-F1, and 2-F1

In his 1966 report Roland Robbins referred to his discovery of cellars 6-F3 and 3-F1 as "an unexpected and puzzling surprise" (Robbins 1966: 18). Up until the discovery of these two cellars, Robbins excavations had gone as expected, uncovering the original foundations of the Hancock-Clarke house constructed in the 1730s. What he had not expected to find were these other two cellars, as well as a third (2-F1) on the property. Based on the recovered artifacts and architecture of the cellars, including a chimney site at the northeast corner of cellar 6-F3, Robbins speculated about the nature and meaning of these features (Robbins 1966). He ends his report with these speculations suggesting that both 6-F3 and 3-F1 were house cellars of the colonial period most likely associated with the Hancock-Clarke homestead (Robbins 1966).

Over four decades later, these “unexpected” cellars and Robbins initial conjectures have been re-visited. Many of Robbins suggestions about the temporal and functional use of the cellars have been confirmed and expanded upon in recent studies of the collection of archaeological material and the Hancock-Clarke House (see Beranek and Kosack 2009 and Rykerson Architecture and Grady 2007). The household of Rev. John Hancock in the first half of the eighteenth century serves as the focus of this thesis, therefore as was suggested above, I focus on the three cellars that appear to be associated both temporally and functionally with his household during that period. Based on artifact analysis and ceramic dating completed by Christa Beranek, and myself it appears that cellars 6-F1, 6-F2, and 5-F1 were filled during the nineteenth century, most likely around the time the house was moved in 1896. These cellars include an array of nineteenth century glass bottles and ceramics including American stoneware, Rockingham, Yellowware, and European porcelain (Beranek and Kosack 2009). This archaeological evidence validates that cellars 6-F1 and 6-F2 are associated with the most recent house built by the Hancocks’ during the 1730s. The function of cellar 5-F1 remains speculative, but it appears to be contemporary with the aforementioned cellars, perhaps an outbuilding.

The architectural evidence recovered during the preservation and restoration of the Hancock-Clarke House by the LHS coupled with the archaeological evidence that follows allow for interpretations of the function of the three remaining cellars—6-F3, 3-F1, and 2-F1. Based on this evidence, cellar 6-F3—the largest of all the cellars found—was most likely the cellar over which the first home built by Rev. John Hancock between 1699 and 1701 was located. The large collection of ceramic evidence—including a variety of ware types, but most significantly high status ware types including tin-glazed earthenware, refined stoneware, and Asian porcelain—from this cellar dates to the first half of the eighteenth century. Furthermore, there is a significant absence of ceramic styles, such as White Salt Glazed Stoneware and Creamware, popular for the colonial gentry during the last half of the eighteenth century. The presence of a single sherd of Scratch Blue Stoneware not produced until about 1744, and decorated tin-glazed earthenware in a "hatched flowers" pattern also popular during the 1740s (Archer and Morgan 1977: 93-94), suggests that deposition occurred at least until this point. The absence of popular ceramic types from the last half of the eighteenth century discussed above, however, suggests that deposition ended prior to the 1750s (Beranek and Kosack 2009). The ceramic temporal evidence for cellars 3-F1 and 2-F1 is similar to 6-F3 suggesting that these cellars were under contemporary buildings and filled during the same time period (a more in-depth look at the dating of these cellar features, as well as linking households to these collections continues below). We can only speculate what types of structures may have stood over these two cellars, but it is possible from the large collection of milkpans and other utilitarian redware that one of these or both served as a dairy or a similar type of outbuilding. It is important to note that all three early cellars include some nineteenth century material in their collections. The previous study of the archaeological material and the history of the property suggests that this material was most likely “at the upper surface of the filled cellars, deposited haphazardly in the yard as the site was occupied, with an increase of material deposited in the 1890s when the house was abandoned as a residence and moved,” and/or some was possibly introduced into cellar 6-F3 when a tile drain was run through the feature (Beranek and Kosack 2009: 12). Since materials from the nineteenth century are beyond the time period for the Rev. Hancock’s household, these materials are not discussed in further analysis.

Although the archaeological collection from these three cellars appears to be relatively similar in terms of time period, the nature of the collections, most notably the size of the ceramic sherds, from these three features is different. Primary deposits are places where large amounts of refuse were dumped. In turn, secondary deposits are the result of yard maintenance, as remnants of yard refuse, daily trash, or sheet middens are swept and cleaned over a period of time. To illustrate, the collection of material from cellar 6-F3 includes a number of large sherds and almost fully reconstructable vessels. In contrast, the collection of materials from cellars 2-F1 and 3-F1 are notably smaller in sherd size. Furthermore, after careful cross mending it appears that cellar 6-F3 includes the greatest number of vessels unique to that single context while the majority of vessels in both 2-F1 and 3-F1 cross-mend between all three cellars (Beranek and Kosack 2009).

Using this sherd-to-vessel ratio (Mrozowski 2006: 166-167) it is possible to conclude that cellar 6-F3 most likely represents a primary deposit, while the other cellars (2-F1 and 3-F1) most likely contain secondary deposits and stood open over a period of time as they were filled with daily trash.

Household Cycles: Identifying the Hancock Household Assemblage

With the use of careful dating of ceramic material, it is possible to link the archaeological collections to specific households. This in turn allows for interpretation of the artifacts including their use and meaning for their owners. In order to link the archaeological ceramic assemblage with Rev. John Hancock and his family I charted the date range of production for each identified vessel based on its ceramic ware type for each of the three cellar contexts (Note that some vessels are duplicated in the case of cross-mends between cellars. Also, this was not done for vessels from "No Context" since it is likely that they came from one of the examined cellar deposits.). The working assumption is that where ceramics types cluster will suggest likely periods of occupation. All three cellars suggest a similar period of occupation (Fig. 4.1, Fig. 4.2, and Fig. 4.3). In all three seriations, the ceramic types seem to cluster between 1700 and about 1800. This period can be refined to the period of about 1700 to ca. 1750, if waretypes such as redware with long durations of production are removed and the midpoints of production are considered.

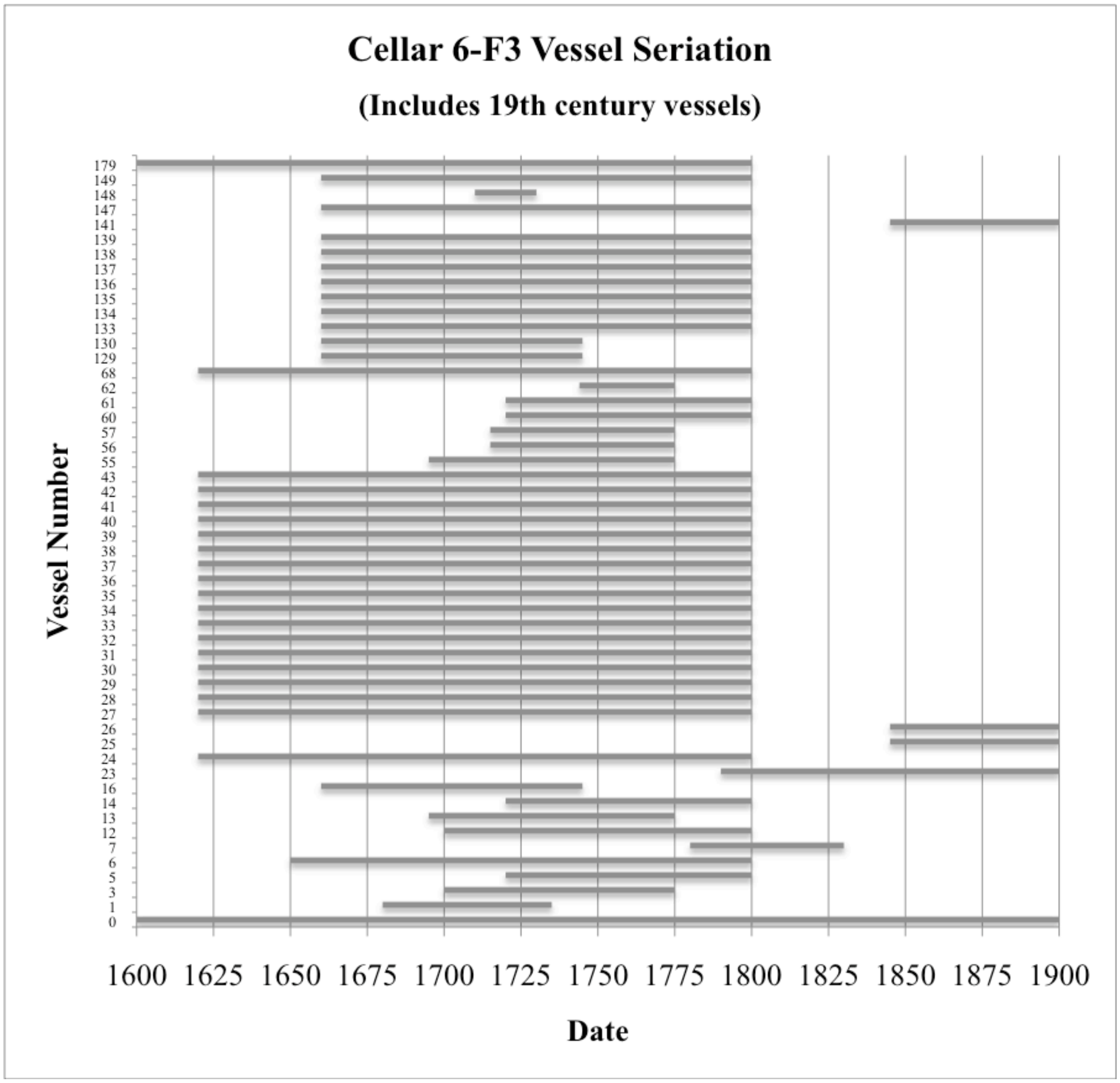

Fig. 4.1 Cellar 6-F3 vessel seriation ("0" represents all 48 redware vessels).

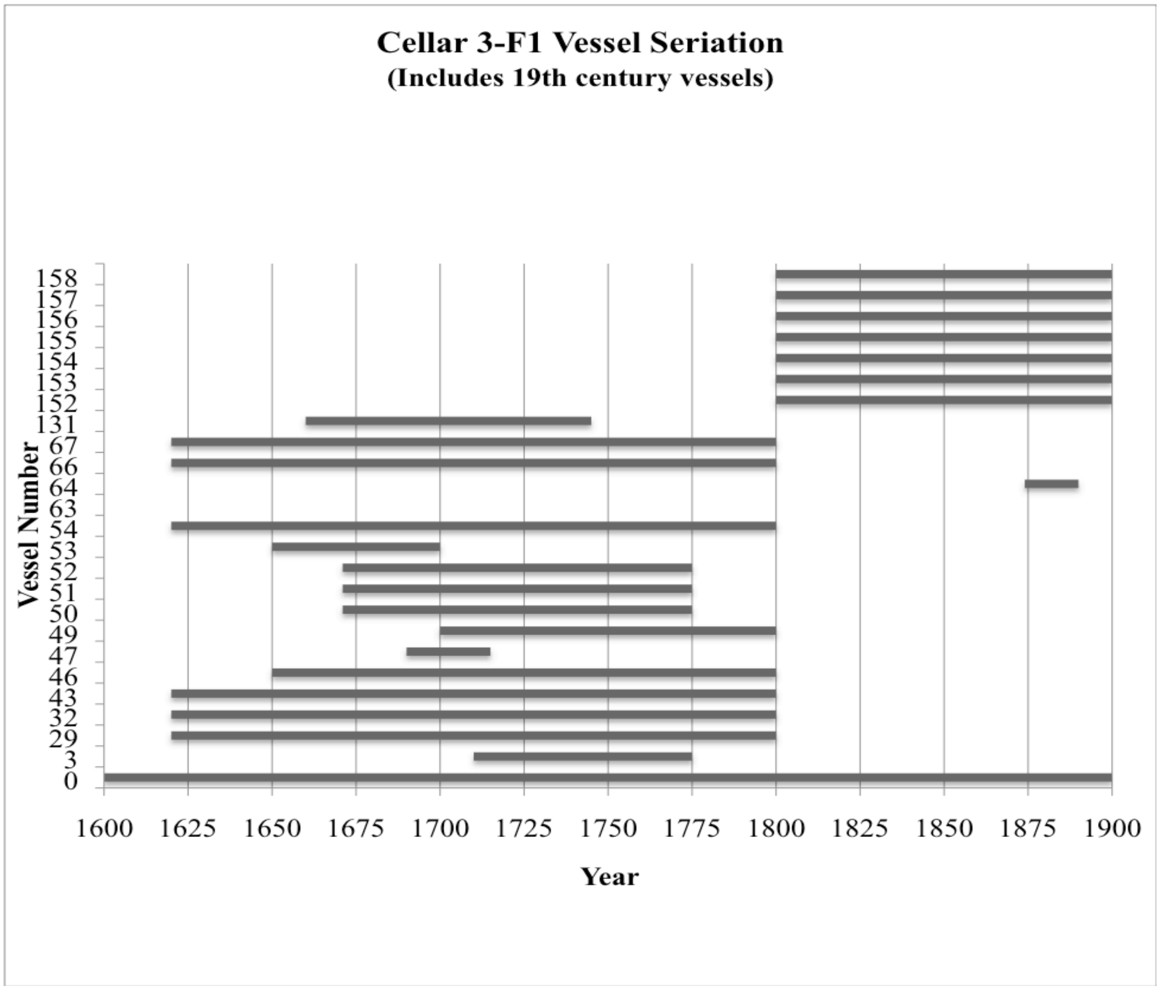

Fig. 4.2 Cellar 3-F1 vessel seriation ("0" represents all 42 redware vessels).

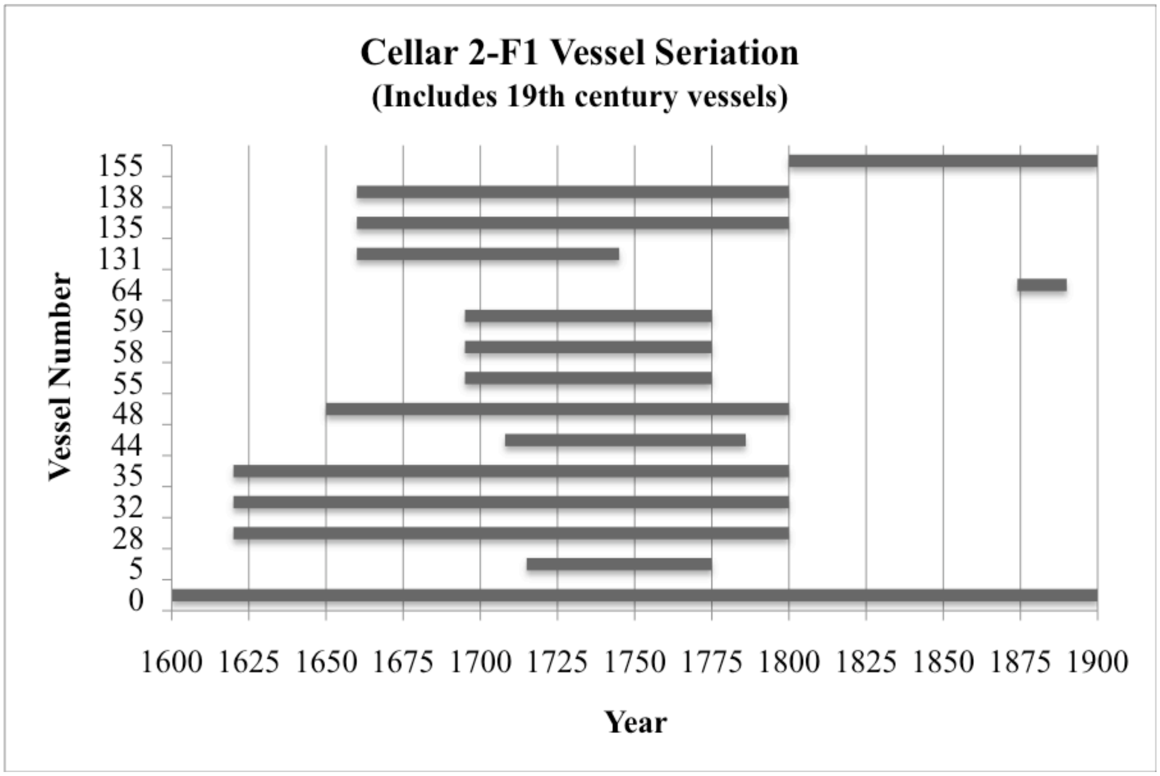

Fig. 4.3 Cellar 2-F1 vessel seriation ("0" represents all 52 redware vessels).

Existing documentation validates that Rev. Hancock and his family owned and lived on the property during this period. According to the ceramic evidence, as discussed in the above section, it appears that there is an absence of ceramic ware types popular during the mid- to late-eighteenth century. It is possible to take this occupation examination one step further to speak more specifically about when deposition began and ended. What can account for this sizeable deposition? Considering that the cellar holes belong to buildings most likely associated with the original house built by John Hancock at the beginning of the eighteenth century, it is likely that deposition of the primary deposit occurred as the original house was dismantled and the new house was constructed. It appears from the way in which the ell of the new house was constructed that the two homes existed together for a period of time (Rykerson Architecture and Grady 2007: 3-5). Therefore, we can estimate that deposition began sometime around the 1740s when the new home for the minister and his family was completed and ended sometime around the mid-1750s according to ceramic evidence. Additionally, according to the documentary record, during this period of time Thomas Hancock acquired the property from his father and his other son, Ebenezer Hancock died. According to other studies, episodes of house-cleaning, or "one generation disposing of material culture reflecting the taste of an earlier generation" is an occurrence that is "well documented as a common facet of eighteenth-century New England society" (Mrozowski 2006: 164). It is possible that the primary deposit in cellar 6-F3 may be the result of a housecleaning episode associated with the change in ownership of the dwelling.

Laboratory Methods

My study of the archaeological material from the Hancock-Clarke house is focused on artifact classes broadly defined as tableware. Specifically, I use ceramic tableware, glass tableware, and assorted metal cutlery to discuss the props that the Hancock family would have used to entertain and serve guests. (For a full discussion of the additional artifact classes in this collection see Beranek and Kosack 2009) I chose these artifact classes in order to provide material evidence for performances of rural gentility because foodways in the eighteenth century were and continue to be a collection of highly ritualized actions that occur in a social setting. In this way, the accoutrements of eating and drinking serve as material evidence of the consumption behaviors of their owners, which in turn can provide insight into the socio-economic status of the actors.

Ceramics were cataloged identifying ware type, decoration, and vessel type when possible. In addition to the cataloging process, I also did a complete vesselization of all of the ceramics identifying possible cross mends between sherds from all contexts. Each unique vessel was given a vessel number (the numbers used to identify vessels in this analysis) and was described as fully as possible. Vessel numbers were assigned based on unique rim sherds or other significant vessel portions. In addition, pattern/decoration and vessel forms were also considered when assigning vessel numbers. For these reasons, the minimum number of vessel counts (MNV) discussed below are most likely conservative counts and are thus, supplemented by additional information from the collection not covered by the vesselization process when significant. Similarly, glass tableware was cataloged as to object, portion, color, manufacture method, and style. Glass vessels were not assigned vessel numbers and will be referenced using associated record numbers. The MNV counts for glass tableware was calculated based on unique stems for stemware and identifiable bases for other types of glass tableware such as tumblers and dishes. Finally, material and object type were identified and recorded for the collection of table utensils.

Ceramic Analysis

The ceramic tableware collection from cellars 6-F3, 3-F1, and 2-F1 corresponding to the Rev. John Hancock's household includes 12 different identifiable ceramic types. The table (Table 4.1) showing the number of different ceramic ware types according to sherd counts shows that overall the most common types of ceramics in the collection are redware and tin-glazed earthenware. Additionally, if the same ware types are examined based on numbers of vessels, this same pattern is consistent (Table 4.2). The vessel numbers in this chart include both utilitarian and tableware vessels from the collection. For this research tableware vessels are considered the most significant in the performance of gentility. Overall, tableware accounted for 34% of all the vessels (Fig. 4.4). The large collection of utilitarian vessels, while significant, is not discussed further. The function and meaning of the tableware vessels is discussed below according to waretype.

Total Sherd Counts from the Hancock-Clarke Collection by Waretype*						
Ceramic Type	**Cellar 6-F3**	**Cellar 3-F1**	**Cellar 2-F1**	**No Context**	**Total**	**%**
Redware	1546	543	459	1	2549	53
Staffordshire Slip-ware	84	5	4	0	93	2
North Devon	1	0	0	0	1	.02
Tin-glazed Earthenware	1848	96	0	25	1969	41
Rhenish*	4	17	10	1	32	0.6
English Brown	1	16	1	0	18	0.4
Nottingham	7	2	0	0	9	0.2
White Salt Glazed**	45	10	16	0	71	1
Asian Porcelain	58	3	10	2	73	2
Grand Total	3594	692	500	29	4815	
% of total per cellar	75	14	10	0.6		
*Does not include 19th century ware types						
**Includes unidentified gray SW						
***Includes Scratch Blue Stoneware						

Table 4.1 Total sherd counts from the Hancock Collection by waretype.

Total Vessels from the Hancock-Clarke Collection by Waretype*		
Ceramic Type	**# of Vessels**	**% of Total**
Redware	128	68
Staffordshire Slip-ware	4	2
North Devon	1	0.5
Tin-glazed Earthenware	25	13
Rhenish**	4	2
English Brown	3	2
Nottingham	2	1
White Salt Glazed***	11	6
Asian Porcelain	9	5
Total	187	99.5
*Does not include 19th century ware types, total from cellars 6-F3, 3-F1, 2-F1		
**Includes unidentified gray SW		
***Includes Scratch Blue Stoneware		

Table 4.2 Total vessels from the Hancock Collection by waretype.

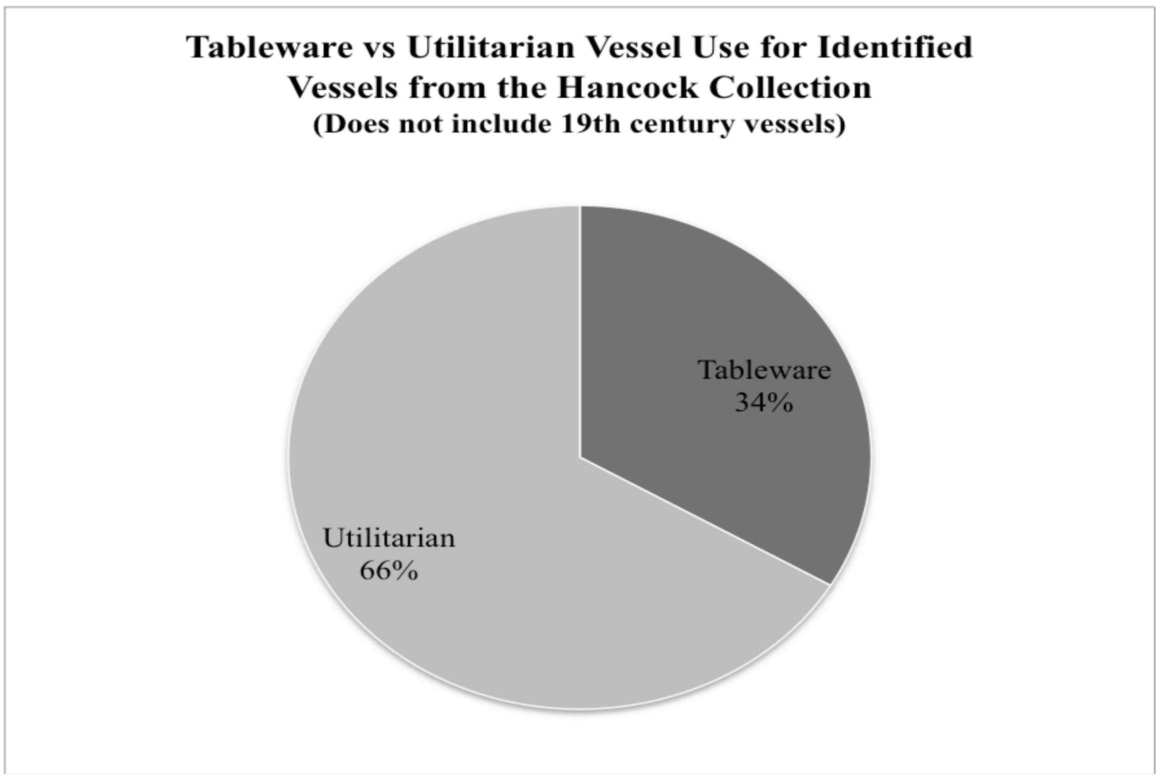

Fig. 4.4 Tableware versus utilitarian vessel use for identified vessels from the Hancock Collection.

The collection of ceramics from these three cellars included an overwhelmingly majority of coarse redware. Redware is easily the most common ceramic type found on historic sites, because it was easy to produce domestically and as a result relatively cheap. Redware vessels are utilitarian wares including dairying, storage, and cooking vessels. Although not discussed in this particular analysis it is significant to note that this assemblage from Rev. Hancock's household included a high number of milkpans and storage vessels, consistent with Hancock's other presumed role as a farmer. Although most of the redware and other coarse earthenware in the assemblage were utilitarian wares, the collection also included seven mugs in this ware type, reflecting the more everyday ceramics used by the Hancock household or remainders of ceramics left over from the earliest periods of occupation at the homestead.

In addition to these vessels, the Hancock assemblage also included another five vessels in other coarse earthenware ware types including Staffordshire Slipware and North Devon. These types are characteristic of the last portion of the seventeenth century and were less common by the mid-eighteenth century. Staffordshire slipware was produced in the Staffordshire region of England and is a buff-bodied earthenware frequently decorated with slip in stripes, dots, and other patterns that appears dark brown after glazing and firing. Of the Staffordshire Slipware vessels the assemblage included two possible posset cups, one candleholder, and one hollowware. The single North Devon vessel (Vessel 132) is a plate. Specifically, the posset cups (Vessel 129 and 130) are multi-handled cups or drinking pots. These vessels suggest communal drinking and consumption at the Reverend's table. These communal cups and the chamberstick, used to light one’s path to the bedchamber (Noël Hume 1969: 96-97), may seem out of place in a refined household. However, these wares may have been for more everyday use or are leftover from an earlier, different way of living that middling families like the Hancocks were accustomed to early in the eighteenth century and began to transition from as the century continued.

The incorporation of more refined, individual tableware can clearly be seen in the assemblage of refined stoneware vessels from the Hancock household. There are six different types of stoneware represented in the ceramic assemblage from the Hancock collection: Rhenish, English Brown, Nottingham, Slip-dipped White Salt Glaze, fully developed White Salt Glaze, and Scratch Blue. Combined there are at least eight mugs, five bowls, one cup, one saucer, two tea pots, and one unidentified hollowware spanning these six ware types. Since the manufacturing process makes stoneware non-porous, they were most often used to hold liquids. Of the eight mugs identified in the Hancock assemblage, four of these in Rhenish (Vessel 48, 46, and 6) and one in Fulham (Vessel 50) are of coarser stoneware. Of the remaining four mugs, three are versions of White Salt glazed Stoneware (Vessel 58, 59, and 5) and one (Vessel 49) is Nottingham stoneware (Fig. 4.5). The more refined nature of these mugs are indications of the incorporation of more refined types of tableware for the serving of beverages and dining over the course of the early eighteenth century. It should be noted that the sheer number of mugs (15 in total) in either redware or stoneware ceramics types suggest that socializing, even over common beverages, like beer or cider, was taking place within the Hancock’s parsonage. Even while the beverages might have been common, the behavior at these social gatherings, perhaps of other ministers or other prominent townsmen, would have reflected the influence of the polite behavior of the eighteenth century.

The stoneware assemblage also included a number of vessels more generally associated with specialized beverage consumption. For example, among the assemblage of vessels is an almost complete Nottingham bowl (Vessel 12), one of only two vessels in Nottingham ware in the collection (Fig. 4.6). Nottingham stoneware is a fine-bodied brown stoneware noted for its lustrous, metallic finish that was often decorated with engine-turned designs. Vessels of this type include tankards, or mugs like the one discussed above, but were more rare in the form of tea equipage on American sites. The bowl from this assemblage appears to be part of tea service. The form is similar to what has been identified as a slop or waste bowl recovered from Mount Vernon (Skerry and Hood 2009: 86-87). In general, the presence of these few pieces of Nottingham stoneware in the assemblage signal the high status taste and behavior of the Hancock household as this type of English brown stoneware was found in the dining rooms of elite households throughout the eighteenth century (Skerry and Hood 2009).

The production of stoneware tableware reached its height in the mid-eighteenth century with the introduction of an almost entirely white-bodied stoneware. These entirely white wares were typically used for the production of tableware including tea ware, plates, bowls, and mugs. A more practical choice—more sturdy than easily broken delftware and cheaper than porcelain—it had both the qualities of "delicacy and durability" (Skerry and Hood 2009: 93). The production of White Salt glazed stoneware was attempted as early as the 1690s. Unable to perfect the production of an entirely white-bodied ceramic at first, English potters produced a gray-bodied stoneware that they then covered with a white slip and fired (Skerry and Hood 2009: 93-95). The majority of White Salt glaze ceramics in the Hancock collection are of this early type, including two of the mugs discussed above (Vessel 58 and 59) and two small matched bowls (Vessel 13 and Vessel 55). These two bowls may also have been part of tea service wares. The assemblage also includes at least two teapots (Vessel 56 and 57) with white paste and a thin layer of white slip (Fig. 4.6). In addition to the two teapots identified, the collection also includes a lid and a handle of a teapot (Record 367 and 370). It is likely that these white-slip dipped teapots can be attributed to the Dwight pottery in England (Skerry and Hood 2009: 108-110). Fully developed White Salt glaze would become “the typical English tableware of the mid-eighteenth century,” eclipsing the popularity once enjoyed by tin-glazed ceramics (Noël Hume 1969: 115). Soon thereafter, white tableware was ornamented with elaborately molded rims and blue decoration, known as Scratch Blue. The collection includes what can be interpreted as early examples of this fully developed ware including one mug (Vessel 5), two bowls (Vessels 14 and 61), and one cup (Vessel 60). One scratch blue saucer (Vessel 62) was also indentified. It is possible that the White Salt glazed bowls and cups were part of tea service as well, serving as waste bowls and tea vessels respectively. In general, the large collection of stoneware, especially the vessels associated with tea service and alcohol consumption are further evidence that Hancock and his family were choosing wares that are consistent with the style of the time and necessary for the proper performance of genteel dining and drinking.

Fig. 4.5 Rhenish stoneware mug (left) and white salt glazed mug (right). Photographs by Melody Henkel

Fig. 4.6 Tea ware including a white salt glazed octagonal teapot spout (top left), teapot handle (top right), and Nottingham stoneware slop bowl (bottom). Photographs by Melody Henkel

Perhaps even more illustrative of the props that Rev. Hancock and his family would have displayed in the parlor and presented to guests filled with equally luxurious food and drink are the vessels of tin-glazed earthenware and Asian export porcelain. Of the more refined wares, the tin-glazed earthenware assemblage from this collection is remarkable for its size and variety. It is a rarity to find such a large collection of tin-glazed ceramics in a variety of designs and forms on rural sites from the early-eighteenth century. Tin-glazed earthenware (note that this term will be used rather than delftware that connotes place of production as well as ware type) was a relatively expensive ware type in the early eighteenth century since the soft-bodied ware required two firings: one to form the body and the other to set the glaze. Furthermore, the ware was always hand-painted, with blue on white and polychrome palettes being the most popular. As a result of these elements, tin-glazed ceramics appeared much like the immensely popular Asian export porcelain, but at a cheaper price. In this way, tin-glazed ceramics were "a status symbol for aspiring middle class or gentry families" (Lange 2001: 13).

From cellars 6-F3, 3-F1, and 2-F1 at least 24 vessels identified as tableware were recovered. Of the 24 vessels in these three contexts associated with the Hancock household, there were at least six bowls, five other hollowware, one punchbowl, one small cup, four plates, five other flatware vessels, one saucer, and one vase. Additionally, a pair of tin-glazed decorative spirals was also recovered, although the vessel to which they belong cannot be determined. What the data indicate is that the Hancocks were choosing tin-glazed ceramics for a variety of tableware associated with dining and the entertaining of guests. The appearance of plates in the early eighteenth century is further evidence of the shift to individualized and polite dining, although we can presume that some of the Hancock's other plates would have been made of either pewter or wood (Deetz 1996). In terms of tin-glazed plates, the three flatware vessels (Vessel 33, 34, and 68) identified specifically as plates are further indicators of refined dining because all three are decorated with a similar Chinoiserie patterns that features a floral rim pattern and most likely a center portion with a Chinese Rock motif with flowers springing from a hollow 'tufa' rock. The presence of the 'tufa' rock, a volcanic rock, is a signal that the pattern was borrowed from porcelain decoration of the Quing Dynasty, which dates post-1720 (Britton 1982: 182-183, 190). Additionally, a smaller plate (Vessel 24), almost fully intact, was also recovered and features a similar Chinoiserie decoration including Chinese scenery with buildings and vegetation (Fig. 4.7). This pattern seems to date a bit earlier than the other pattern discussed above, being indicative of the porcelain decorations influenced by the Ming Dynasty from the mid-seventeenth century to the early-eighteenth century (Britton 1982: 167-168). Although it is impossible to know exactly what types of flatware the other five vessels may have been, it is most likely that they were either plates, chargers, or saucers all used in the serving and consuming of food and drink. Like the three aforementioned plates these vessels also show limited attempts at forming sets considering many have similar rim patterns such as floral patterns, arcs and crescents and other geometric border patterns. In addition to the flatware, there is a set of bowls in a matching pattern that could be identified as a pattern known as "hatched flowers" or "quillwork flowers." In this pattern, flowers are created using thin, painted lines and were typical of "London potters of Lambeth and Vauxhall during the 1740s" (Archer and Morgan 1977: 93-94). These bowls are an indication that the Hancocks were using some sets of tableware to set their tables and serve their guests. Similarly, the other hollowware most likely used as serving vessels are also in corresponding patterns in blue on white and polychrome palettes.

In addition to the flatware and dining-related wares, the assemblage also includes a variety of vessels related to novel beverage consumption. For example, the Hancocks owned at least one punchbowl, which most likely would have been featured in the parlor, or best room and used on the social occasions with other ministers and parishioners that dotted their yearly calendar. The punchbowl (Vessel 43) recovered from cellar 6-F3 and 3-F1 was identified based on its tall footring and was nicely decorated with polychrome colors in blue, green and brown in an overall leaf pattern with some geometric elements. Likewise, the small saucer (Vessel 39) has floral, blue on white decoration and was most likely used in the serving of tea or as a small serving plate. A small cup (Vessel 66) with straight sides, a slightly flared rim, and a small footring on the base was also recovered (Fig. 4.8). These characteristics seem indicative of those cups that were used for coffee or chocolate, rather than tea. The cup also features hand-painted polychrome decoration in a floral design. These new beverages would have been exceedingly rare novelties in the first half of the eighteenth century. Considering the time period for deposition, as described above, it appears that Rev. Hancock and his household was acquainted with these luxurious beverages before they reached their height of popularity. This could be a result of his son's merchant profession. Regardless of the way in which Hancock acquired the vessels and the novelties, he certainly would have also had a working knowledge of the way in which to serve and consume such novel beverages.

Finally, in keeping with the novel style of the other ceramic pieces that most likely adorned the Hancocks' parlor, the tin-glaze collection also included a few decorative pieces. For instance, a flower vase (Vessel 30) was recovered from cellar 6-F3 and identified by its intact pedestal base. The base has a hand-painted blue on white decoration in an unidentifiable pattern, but the form of the base is similar to the examples of flowers vases shown in the Bristol Collection (Britton 1982: 98) and can be attributed to the late-seventeenth century (Noël Hume 1969: 109). Two decorative spiral attachments are also part of the Hancock collection (Fig. 4.9). They were not assigned a vessel number since the pieces could not be identified specifically, but appear to be decorative elements from a larger tin-glaze vessel. Similar pieces are found on a variety of ornate vessels like plain white salts, flower vases, and pitchers (Archer and Morgan 1977: 31, 39, 66-67; Noël Hume 1977: 28-29). At any rate, these pieces are an indication that the Hancock household purchased not only 'functional' pieces used in the service and consumption of food and drink, but also decorative pieces that adorned their home and created a refined setting in which to partake in these episodes of refined consumption.

Fig. 4.7 Tin-glazed earthenware plate with Chinoiserie decoration. Photograph by Melody Henkel

Fig. 4.8 Tin-glazed earthenware cup with polychrome decoration. Photograph by Melody Henkel.

Fig. 4.9 Tin-glazed earthenware decorative spiral attachments. Photograph by Melody Henkel

Besides their large collection of tin-glazed vessels the Hancock household also owned a relatively impressive number of Asian export porcelain vessels. The collection of porcelain from the Hancock collection is almost exclusively Chinese porcelain, with one vessel of possible Imari porcelain, and one other vessel of an unidentified porcelain ware. Porcelain was one of the highest priced ceramics during the seventeenth and eighteenth century since it was exclusively produced in Asia and in high demand throughout Europe and the British colonies, as is evident from the English attempts to produce the ware and the popularity of imitations of Asian porcelains in other ware types. Probate inventories from households during this same period, indicate that porcelain vessels filled a social, rather than practical need. Rather than everyday drinks, porcelain vessels were the necessary accoutrements of proper tea service. With the social weight of the serving of tea in mind, it is no surprise that the Hancocks—a middling sort of household—would confine their purchases of porcelain to tea wares in an effort to display their wealth and social capital. The Hancock assemblage of porcelain includes at least five saucers, two tea bowls, one bowl, and one unidentified vessel (the potential Imari porcelain vessel) (Fig. 4.10). Further research on the porcelain vessels also suggests that there are at least two sets of saucers (Vessel 133 an 134; Vessel 135 and 136). If the mere presence of porcelain in the first half of the eighteenth century was indication of genteel status, certainly at least two matching sets of tea wares would have been an even greater luxury and distinguished the Hancocks and associated them with other prominent households in Lexington.

Fig. 4.10 Chinese porcelain tea bowl (top) and saucer (bottom). Photographs by Melody Henkel

Glass Tableware Analysis

Rev. Hancock also signaled his social status and desire to participate in genteel-inspired food and drink consumption through his use of glass tableware including a variety of stemware. Overall, the glass assemblage from the Hancock household includes a relatively small number of tablewares such as bowls and dishes, but does include an impressive number of highly ornate and decorated vessels for beverage consumption and service such as stemmed glasses and tumblers. A total of seventeen glass tableware and stemware vessels were identified based largely on the presence of diagnostic bases for tableware and diagnostic stems for stemware.

Of the seventeen total vessels, three tableware vessels were identified. One of these vessels is acid etched (Record 1647 & 1660). One other tableware vessel, a footed dish (Record 1621) was recovered from cellar 6-F3. The vessel appears to be a small dish with decoration including cut decorations on the body and an applied foot with decorative raspberry prunt (Fig. 4.11). The shape of the vessel and placement of the one remaining foot signify that the small dish most likely had three feet. A comparative example from the Winterthur Collection, suggests that the vessel may be similar to a prunted, three-footed salt cellar from the late part of the first half of the eighteenth century (Palmer 1993: 260). The footed dish was most likely used as a container to hold the "extras" for food and drink at the table such as salt or sugar.

The remaining vessels in the assemblage include at least four tumblers and eleven different examples of stemware. These vessels were largely used for the consumption of a variety of alcoholic beverages. For instance, tumblers were common drinking vessels during this period. Tumblers are usually cylindrical with a thick, flat base. These types of glasses were the type generally encountered at taverns of the period, but were also commonly found in homes. Their commonality as a drinking vessel associates them with typical beverages of the time including beer, rum, and flip—a mixture of the two (Palmer 2003: 85). All four tumblers are made of colorless glass, with bases about 5 to 5.5cm in diameter, and represent the typical types of decoration applied to these vessels including a plain circular tumbler (Record 1574), green and yellow enameling (Record 1579), as well as pressed (Record 1620) and cut (Record 1619) fluting (Fig. 4.12).

In contrast to the “common” beverages associated with tumblers, the collection of stemmed drinking vessels from the Hancock household are more typically associated with the consumption of more luxurious beverages such as imported wines that were only available to the more affluent members of colonial society (Palmer 2003: 57). The Hancock assemblage of glass stemware includes two different “sets” of stemware. One set includes at least four identical stems (Record 1610, 1611; 1609; 1612; 1973) and one almost complete glass suggests this set represents stemware used for the consumption of wine (Fig. 4.14). All four stems are straight, drawn stems with an internal air bubble in the base of the bowl and have plain conical feet with no folds. Pontil marks on the bases (Record 1611 and 1973) suggest that these glasses were manufactured at least partially by hand and date from the Hancock period. The other “set” of glasses have been grouped based on function. These three stems (Record 1606; 1607; 1605, 1615) are more heavily decorated stems and the majority are balisturoid stems. It is also possible that these stems are related to evidence of folded feet (Fig. 4.13). These pieces of stemware from the Hancock assemblage were probably used for different alcoholic drinks besides wine, or represent stems of glasses used for desserts or sweet meats. Without the bowls of these stems it is difficult to move beyond speculation, but based on historical data it is likely that the Hancocks’ would have used other forms of stemware in addition to wine glasses for the consumption of different food and drink.

Hancock's collection of glassware for the consumption of beverages, whether they were of more common or elite tastes, reveals that socializing while drinking was taking place in the household. Furthermore, it appears, as evidenced by the number of matched stemmed drinking glasses that, at least in some circumstances, Hancock was choosing to serve pricey beverages like imported wines to guests. The glasses he chose also reflect popular styles and trends in glassware that contributes further evidence that Hancock was aware of, and had the means to, purchase types of goods that were in style at the time. Finally, whether or not the glass tableware was the most refined the sheer volume of drinking vessels for such a small family suggests that Hancock entertained a number of guests in his home on a regular basis.

Fig. 4.11 Glass salt cellar with cut design and prunted foot. Photograph by Melody Henkel

Fig. 4.12 Glass tumbler base with cut decoration. Photograph by Melody Henkel

Fig. 4.13 Partial wine glass stems, one with decorative knops (left) and other with internal air twist (right). Photographs by Melody Henkel

Fig. 4.14 Wine glass, one of four matching stems with internal air bubble at bowl base. Photograph by Melody Henkel

Flatware and Cutlery Analysis

Similar to glass and ceramic tableware, cutlery and flatware—utensils of the table—were signals of more refined eating in the early eighteenth century. The presence of multiple pieces of eating utensils would signify middling or elite standing in the first part of the century as lower-class families regularly only had a few serving utensils and the hands were more often used to deliver food to the mouth. In fact, Levi-Strauss noted that eating with utensils is not a natural human condition, but a learned social behavior

(Coffin et al. 2006: 104-106). The use of utensils at the table evolved gradually from a few serving pieces—mostly spoons—to individualized place settings toward the end of the eighteenth century. Spoons, for serving, and knives, for cutting, were always common utensils for eating, however their numbers began to increase as hosts began to provide guests with flatware rather than expecting guests to bring their own (Coffin et al. 2006: 52). Forks, on the other hand, were more uncommon utensils even during the eighteenth century and early on were mainly used as a means to stabilize food while cutting or serving. It appears that forks became a part of the table as the concern over cleanliness reached its apex (Coffin et al. 2006: 32; Deetz 1996; Carson 1994; Bushman 1992: 74-78). This includes a movement away from communal dining and sharing of vessels and utensils. The fork represents "diners [becoming] increasingly aware of their tablemates and [taking] pains not to offend anyone with coarse manners" (Coffin et al. 2006: 123). In other words, flatware is an indicator of an adoption of genteel behaviors and practices, as "flatware has represented far more than merely a means to bring food to the mouth…its differing styles, forms, and uses signify cultural associations, class, and gender differences…ultimately, the tools of the table feed our desire" (Coffin et al. 2006: 9).

The archeological collection from Rev. Hancock's household includes a number of utensils that would have been used for dining at the table. The assemblage includes at least two forks, four spoons, one knife, and about nine other handles and shafts in metal, bone, and wood. In addition, there are two unidentified utensils made of iron, or composite material with iron, that may be a spoon and a knife respectively. Overall, it appears that most of the flatware is of the late seventeenth century to the first half of the eighteenth century. Both Hume and Dunning in their identification guides to cutlery and spoons suggest that popular during this period were bone or wood handled flatware made from iron composite, latten, other copper alloys, and pewter, with pewter being more popular during the eighteenth century (Noël Hume 1969; Dunning 2000). More specifically, one possible pewter or latten spoon (Record 1746 (bowl) & 1747 (handle)) recovered from cellar 6-F3 is indicative of "rat tail" spoons with plain, rounded spatula terminals of the early eighteenth century. "Rat Tail" spoons are so named because of the strengthening rib applied to the back of the bowl to attach the handle (Noël Hume 1969: 183). Similarly, a spoon bowl recovered from cellar 2-F1 (Record 1766) appears to be of the same style as the spoon aforementioned. This spoon also includes a maker's mark that is illegible. The two remaining spoons (Record 1716 & 17167) are made from copper alloy and feature large oval bowls, called "Puritan" bowls (Noël Hume 1969: 182-183) (Fig. 4.15). A handle missing its terminal (Record 1713) and two other handles with decorative trifid ends (Record 1720), also made of copper alloy, may be related to these two spoon bowls. The "Puritan" style bowls with trifid terminals suggest that these spoons may date from the first part of the eighteenth century as trifid terminals were replaced by spatula terminals as early as 1715 (Noël Hume 1969: 183). These spoons could have served a number of uses at the Hancocks' table including serving and dining, but are indicators of an abandonment of more "coarse" methods of consumption including communal vessels.

Knives, like spoons, are more common types of cutlery found on early eighteenth century tables. Knives could be used for a number of tasks including utilitarian uses, as well as for the cutting of meat at the dining table. It is certainly possible and most likely that the collection of archaeological material from the Hancock's cellars include more knives than have been identified, but the poor preservation of iron in the ground coupled with less than ideal long-term storage after excavation has resulted in a loss of valuable material due to natural decay. Two possible table knife blades (Record 1789 and 1828), however, were identified. Both of these blades have rounded tips that replaced the pointed tip of knives common in the previous centuries that functioned much like a fork. Although it is impossible to know what the handles of these utensils may have looked like, the presence of other bone and wooden handles and intact tangs connected to the blade suggest that they may have had handles of such materials. Other examples of knives and spoons from the first half of the eighteenth century have "pistol-grips," so it is possible that Hancock's utensils had similar handle shapes (Noël Hume 1969; Dunning 2000).

As was suggested above, scholars argue that forks became more prevalent over the course of the eighteenth century and signaled the shift to more refined eating. This assemblage included only two forks (Record 1823 and Record 1824). Both of the forks are made of iron composite and have two tines (Fig. 4.15). There are also traces of a wooden handle on one of the fork tangs. Identification guides suggest that two-tined forks are common during the period 1700-1740 and were most likely used to hold meats while cutting and serving (Dunning 2000; Noël Hume 1969; Coffin et al. 2006).

The practice of each individual bringing their own utensils was still common during the early part of the eighteenth century, which would explain the fewer numbers of individualized flatware settings in the Hancock assemblage (Coffin et al. 2006). Despite the fact that few forks and even fewer knives are represented in Rev. Hancock's collection, the number of large spoons and the presence of two-tined forks suggest that Hancock had the necessary implements for serving food to guests. Concern for serving, rather than continuing to eat communally, is related to the increased awareness of self-control and concern for hygiene that occurred as a result of genteel regulation of consumption.

Fig. 4.15 Copper-alloy spoon bowl with maker's mark (left) and an iron composite two-tined fork (right). Photographs by author

CHAPTER 5

INTERPRETATION AND CONCLUSIONS

Reverend John Hancock’s Genteel Inclinations

The data from the Hancock assemblage indicate that Rev. Hancock and his family were in the process of cultural and material transition in the first half of the eighteenth century—moving away from the style of life in the late seventeenth century and towards the refined style that became the norm in the last half of the eighteenth century. Considering Rev. Hancock’s modest beginnings, his personal story is one of social mobility and status transformation in colonial Massachusetts during the first half of the eighteenth century. Hancock represents the power of education and the ministerial profession to catapult an individual up the social ladder. His social transformation played out in his adoption of genteel behavior as well as specialized wares. This is evidenced in the ceramic data by a few examples of late seventeenth century wares that suggest communal dining that stand in contrast to the refined and specialized wares of the eighteenth century that suggest refinement in production and the incorporation of mannerly behavior. Deetz suggests that materially, there is an increase in the number of individual dishes and utensils as the eighteenth century wore on and this is an indication of a move towards more refined ways of eating and drinking (Deetz 1996). His argument is overly simplified and more recent scholarship has expanded his argument. Scholars have suggested that rather than a stark shift from one style of living to another, the opportunity to live a more refined life was open to more individuals and eventually the culture surrounding consumption and dining would come to reflect the ideas of refinement and politeness being incorporated into the culture of the American colonies (Bushman 1992; Carson 1994; Goodwin 1999; Hunter 2001).

It appears, however, that Rev. John Hancock was consuming novel consumer products and participating in mannerly entertainment over the first half of the eighteenth century. Broadly speaking, the sheer volume of tableware and specialty wares related to dining and beverage consumption for such a small family evidence the common occurrence of socializing and mannerly entertaining in the Hancock household. Drawing inferences from the historical record, namely contemporary Congregationalist minister Ebenezer Parkman, the proliferation of glass and ceramic vessels related to beverage consumption, coupled with vessels and utensils for dining and the refined consumption of food fit the socializing typical of town ministers. For instance, Parkman's entries commonly reference dining with other ministers, selectmen, and other townspeople either in their homes or entertaining them in his dwelling (Walett 1974). In January of 1745 Parkman records, "We began the Year with a Little Assocation at our House. Reverend Ministers Cushing, Stone, and Smith came up and din'd with me and Smok'd a Pipe" (Walett 1974: 109). Additionally, his diary provides ample evidence that ministers during this period were not only aware of the novel consumer products and exotic imports, but also had access. Parkman makes mention on occasion of his conspicuous consumption and records several occasions upon which he received, consumed, or was entertained with such luxury items as silver spoons, gloves, rum, chocolate, and tea. In February of 1739 Parkman writes, for instance, that "a considerable Variety…Chocolat, Flower, Raisins, Currants, Spices, Limes, and Several sorts of Bisketts" were delivered to him (Walett 1974: 60-61). Furthermore, he also records that "14£ of Sugar and my Kegg of 3 Gallons of Rum from Boston" were delivered and that "Mr. Ebenezer Maynard brot up a variety of Things for us—Sugar, Molasses, and Chocolate" (Walett 1974: 117, 171). Congregationalist ministers were clearly active consumers of novel foodstuffs.

The material assemblage from the early eighteenth century Hancock household suggests that Rev. Hancock also participated in conspicuous consumption and likely used novel material props and their associated behaviors in the entertaining of guests. For instance, there are clear indications of attempts at matching tableware such as the set of glass stemware and the attempted matching of porcelain saucers. Even more telling is the specialized function of many of the vessels in the assemblage. The glass and ceramic vessels from the Hancock assemblage were reexamined and displayed as to specialized function (Fig. 5.1). Forty-one percent of the glass and ceramic tableware from the collection were related to food consumption—both serving and dining. This evidence, plus the examples of flatware and cutlery from the assemblage, indicates that the Hancock household served and consumed food with guests in their home in a manner consistent with refined entertaining. Also, about 43% of the ceramic tableware is associated with beverage consumption. This total includes mugs, punch-related wares, tumblers, stemware, and any wares related to the social consumption of alcoholic drinks, as well as more exotic and novel beverages such as imported chocolate. At least 16% of the ceramic and glass tableware are vessels that are directly associated with the taking of tea. The analysis of the tea ware indicates that the Hancocks were choosing to purchase salt-glazed and rather expensive Asian export porcelain for these wares. Moreover, due to the projected date of deposition, these tea wares would have been used during the early part of the eighteenth century. During these initial decades tea and tea equipage were rather expensive especially for non-elite families. Considering the temporal and social context of Hancock and his family, these items would have likely been displayed in the best room of the house and would have been used to entertain important guests to the home. Employing McCracken's terms, the Hancock's tea ware would have been material symbols of novelty and through their use, Hancock would have been able to demonstrate his understanding of gentility and refined society.

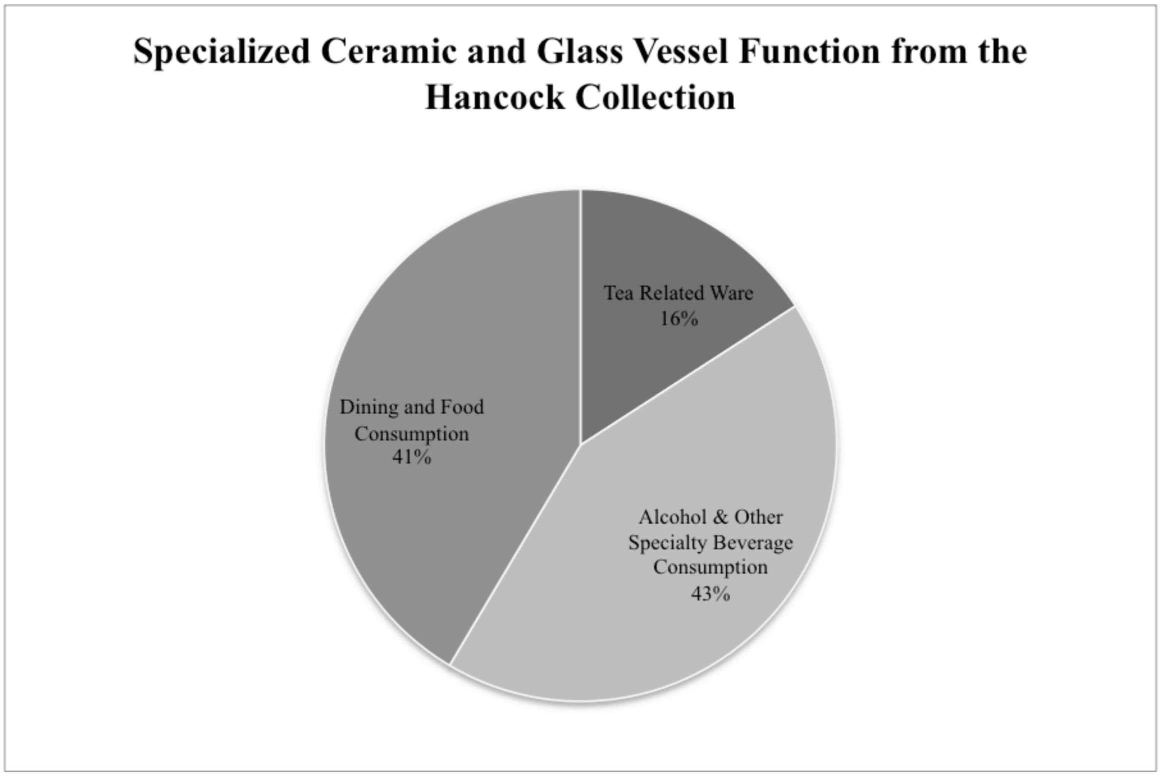

Fig. 5.1 Specialized ceramic and glass vessel function from the Hancock Collection.

Clearly, by mid-century, and perhaps before, Rev. John Hancock was an informed consumer of status-laden goods and choose specific goods for their function in entertaining and eighteenth century sociability. How does Rev. Hancock's level of luxury consumption compare to others in Lexington? Returning to the evidence from probate research it appears that for luxury items such as forks and imported food, as well as tea items and China, Hancock seems to be a part of a consuming minority. Portraits, although not a part of entertaining, present another point of comparison. In Lexington it appears that Hancock would have been one of the few to be captured on canvas. Within the farming community of Lexington Hancock's social positioning and relative wealth allowed him the opportunity to engage with such refined items and behaviors.

The notion of performance at times implies an audience. The acquisition and maintenance of genteel status required public performance. This performance could take the form of entertaining, intellectual pursuits, personal dress, or all of the above. It also required that others recognize these performances as genteel striving and include those individuals as part of the genteel class. Without specific documentation of Rev. Hancock's wealth, such as probate records or tax assessments, we can only speculate as to his actual economic station within society. Economic classifications, however, are ineffectual in this case since it possible that his apparent specialized material wealth were products of both the community's generous support of their minister through gifts and a benefit of his son Thomas Hancock's career as a merchant. Whether or not his profession or his son's provided Rev. Hancock with increased exposure to novel goods and/or monetary "breaks" on the cost of such items, Hancock used these items and it is through those performances that the material and his behavior reflected and created his social status.

In 1733 Hancock preached, "I have great reason to gratify you in every thing I may, considering your cordial respects to me and mine. I have been sorry to see in some place how little respect hath been shown unto the families of their Ministers; I am obliged and glad to say it has been otherwise in this place" (Hancock 1733: i). There was a mutual respect between Hancock and the town of Lexington. His statement reveals that the town was gracious to him and his family and reveals the high level of respect for

Hancock within the community. Rev. Hancock's professional achievements and role as spiritual leader earned him the respect and acclaim of his fellow Lexingtonians. This status is also reflected in his material possessions that suggest that he adopted genteel entertaining protocols prior to their widespread popularity. Moreover, the performance of refined entertainment would have provided Hancock with the stage and audience to reveal his embodiment of genteel morality and self-control—personal traits that would have also been important elements in spiritual leadership. While it does not appear from the material record, and there is no historic documentation of rural ministers claiming elite status, Hancock could easily be described as part of the middling to upper-middling sort. Rev. Hancock's performance of mannerly entertaining is just one aspect of his life that reflects his high social status. In thinking about the totality of refinement, this type entertaining and consuming were in a manner consistent with other genteel aspects of his life, including his high level of education and his title as town minister.

Drawing Parallels between Clerical Professionalization and Gentility: The Ordination Ceremony and Gala as an Example

Rev. John Hancock is a single example of a minister whose material remains suggest that he was an active participant in the entertaining protocols of refined living in the first half of the eighteenth century. Using documentary evidence it is also possible to see that his entertaining behavior correlates with his social status within Lexington society. Comparing Hancock's entertaining behavior to those events recorded in Rev. Ebenezer Parkman's diary it appears that the incorporation of refined behavior like entertaining occurred among eighteenth century Congregationalist ministers. Do the cultural practices of these men speak to the interplay between gentility and religion in this period?

The rise of genteel ideology appears to parallel attempts by clergymen to professionalize during their authority crisis in the first part of the eighteenth century. As was discussed in chapter three, professionalization was the method by which members of the ministry attempted to legitimize and retain their authority within the community. Since refinement was a particularly strong cultural force during this period and, had the benefit of supplying its owner with status within the community, it seems that the incorporation of refinement would do the same for ministers who felt like their societal clout was waning. To use Bourdieu's terms, both gentility and professionalism provided distinction and set individuals apart within colonial society. It is possible, in other words, that understanding and incorporating genteel elements into one's life could have functioned as a social strategy to elevate one's social position and bolster influence as a spiritual leader in the secular community.

To illustrate this point, consider the celebration and elaboration surrounding the ordination ceremony as an example. In the eighteenth century, the ordination ceremony was overhauled to exclude laymen from laying their hands during the process. Other ministers thus only performed the laying of the hands during ordination. Scholars argue that this was a way in which ministers were able to assert that their spiritual authority stemmed from their education and training, not from the people directly (Schmotter 1975; Youngs 1976). According to Youngs "ordination by other ministers…emphasized the young man's initiation into a clerical order" (Youngs 1976: 33). Sacred meanings, however, were celebrated with secular gaiety and sociability. From historical sources it appears that "the ordination ceremony itself was often treated as a time for merriment rather than as a sober occasion" (Youngs 1976: 33). By all accounts the celebration after the ordination were galas where ministers and select parish members gathered together over food and drink to commemorate the ordination of a young minister. One scholar's description of such an occasion in Woburn in the 1720s suggests that the ordination event took place over four days, included sixty guests of the parish, and dinner accompanied by six and a half barrels of cider, twenty-eight gallons of wine, four gallons of rum, and two gallons of brandy (Allan 1948: 370-371).

Records show that John Hancock, as Lexington's senior minister, chaired the ordination councils for twenty-one local ministers (Kollen 2010). As a result, Hancock would have likely attended a number of these ceremonies during his tenure and would have played an important role in both the sacred ceremony and secular celebration that followed. The ordination gala evidences a public venue for the performance of mannerly behavior and that ministers took advantage of the new consumer world and gentility by appropriating material goods and behaviors for use within their spiritual ceremonies and their own homes. At the intersection of the worldly and the sacred, ministers found ways to improve their social situation through performance in terms of their clerical authority and social status.

Conclusion

Ministers, it appears, like other high-status individuals during the eighteenth century incorporated novel goods and mannerly behavior as a means of status maintenance. In turn, the goods and an individual's performance with those goods came to embody genteel morals and refinement of the mind and body. Entertaining, especially dining and novel drinking, were important public performances. The exploration into Rev. Hancock's sociability reveals that he was an active participant in refined entertainment, necessitated not only be his social status, but also by the many social roles he assumed as town minister. Rev. Hancock was essentially economically middling, but culturally elite. Hancock's societal importance and high status is further confirmed by his other genteel characteristics such as his education and his honored profession.

Extending this further, it seems that religion and gentility were not in conflict, but complementary. Both stressed self-control, provided an ideal level of societal distinction, and as far as religious leaders were concerned, genteel props and behaviors were in keeping with their social status. Rev. Hancock's illustrious career as town minister, his title as Bishop, and the collection of novel goods suggests that this was especially true for Hancock in Lexington. Indeed, it appears that neither Hancock nor his followers saw conflict between his genteel tendencies and his position as minister. In colonial Massachusetts, ministers appear to have enjoyed a relatively high social status and adopted luxury goods and other elements of a refined lifestyle along with other members of the colonial elite over the course of the first half of the eighteenth century.

APPENDIX A

CERAMIC CATALOG

Vessel No.	Ceramic Ware	Ware Type	Vessel Type
1	Earthenware	Tin Glazed	Chamber pot
3	Stoneware	Rhenish gray	Chamber pot
4	Earthenware	Redware	Chamber pot
5	Stoneware	White salt glazed	Mug
6	Stoneware	Rhenish gray	Tankard
7	Earthenware	Pearlware factory-made slipware (dipt ware)	Mug
8	Earthenware	Redware	Milk Pan
9	Earthenware	Redware	Milk Pan
12	Stoneware	Nottingham	Bowl
13	Stoneware	White slip dipped	Bowl
14	Stoneware	White salt glazed	Bowl
16	Earthenware	Staffordshire Slipware	
23	Earthenware	Yellow Ware	Bowl
24	Earthenware	Tin Glazed	Plate
25	Earthenware	Rockingham	Bowl
26	Earthenware	Rockingham	Bowl
27	Earthenware	Tin Glazed	Bowl
28	Earthenware	Tin Glazed	Flat ware
29	Earthenware	Tin Glazed	Bowl
30	Earthenware	Tin Glazed	Vase
31	Earthenware	Tin Glazed	Bowl
32	Earthenware	Tin Glazed	Hollow ware
33	Earthenware	Tin Glazed	Plate
34	Earthenware	Tin Glazed	Flat ware
35	Earthenware	Tin Glazed	Bowl
36	Earthenware	Tin Glazed	Flat ware
37	Earthenware	Tin Glazed	Flat ware
38	Earthenware	Tin Glazed	Flat ware
39	Earthenware	Tin Glazed	Saucer
40	Earthenware	Tin Glazed	Hollow ware

41	Earthenware	Tin Glazed	Bowl
42	Earthenware	Tin Glazed	Bowl
43	Earthenware	Tin Glazed	Punch bowl
44	Earthenware	Tin Glazed	Hollow ware
46	Stoneware	Rhenish gray	Mug
47	Stoneware	Hohr gray	Hollow ware
48	Stoneware	Rhenish gray	Mug
49	Stoneware	Nottingham	Mug
50	Stoneware	British brown	Mug
51	Stoneware	British brown	Bottle
52	Stoneware	British brown	Bottle
53	Earthenware	Tin Glazed	Hollow ware
54	Earthenware	Tin Glazed	Hollow ware
55	Stoneware	White slip dipped	Bowl
56	Stoneware	White salt glazed	Tea Pot
57	Stoneware	White salt glazed	Tea Pot
58	Stoneware	White slip dipped	Mug
59	Stoneware	White slip dipped	Mug
60	Stoneware	White salt glazed	cup
61	Stoneware	White salt glazed	Bowl
62	Stoneware	Scratch blue	Saucer
63	Stoneware	Fine gray	Bowl
64	Stoneware	American gray	Crock
66	Earthenware	Tin Glazed	Cup
67	Earthenware	Tin Glazed	Flat ware
68	Earthenware	Tin Glazed	Plate
69	Earthenware	Redware	Hollow ware
70	Earthenware	Redware	Hollow ware
71	Earthenware	Redware	Dish
72	Earthenware	Redware	Flower pot
73	Earthenware	Redware	Hollow ware
74	Earthenware	Redware	Saucer
75	Earthenware	Redware	Hollow ware
76	Earthenware	Redware	Flower pot
77	Earthenware	Redware	Hollow ware
78	Earthenware	Redware	Dish
79	Earthenware	Redware	Dish
80	Earthenware	Redware	Bowl
81	Earthenware	Redware	Hollow ware

82	Earthenware	Redware	Dish
83	Earthenware	Redware	Dish
84	Earthenware	Redware	Hollow ware
85	Earthenware	Redware	Hollow ware
86	Earthenware	Redware	Bowl
87	Earthenware	Redware	Bowl
88	Earthenware	Redware	Flower pot
89	Earthenware	Redware	Basin
90	Earthenware	Redware	Flower pot
91	Earthenware	Redware	Mug
92	Earthenware	Redware	Milk Pan
93	Earthenware	Redware	Milk Pan
94	Earthenware	Redware	Storage jar
95	Earthenware	Redware	Hollow ware
96	Earthenware	Redware	Bowl
97	Earthenware	Redware	Pan
98	Earthenware	Redware	Storage jar
99	Earthenware	Redware	Bowl
100	Earthenware	Redware	Bowl
101	Earthenware	Redware	Storage jar
103	Earthenware	Redware	Milk Pan
104	Earthenware	Redware	Bowl
105	Earthenware	Redware	Storage jar
106	Earthenware	Redware	Bowl
107	Earthenware	Redware	Bowl
108	Earthenware	Redware	Storage jar
109	Earthenware	Redware	Milk Pan
110	Earthenware	Redware	Hollow ware
111	Earthenware		Hollow ware
112	Earthenware	Redware	Milk Pan
113	Earthenware	Redware	Pot
114	Earthenware	Redware	Milk Pan
115	Earthenware	Redware	Milk Pan
116	Earthenware	Redware	Hollow ware
117	Earthenware	Redware	Mug
118	Earthenware	Redware	Flat ware
119	Earthenware	Redware	Pitcher
120	Earthenware	North Devon (refined)	Dish
121	Earthenware	Redware	Storage jar

122	Earthenware	Redware	Storage jar
123	Earthenware	Redware	Storage jar
124	Earthenware	Redware	Bowl
125	Earthenware	Redware	Hollow ware
126	Earthenware	Redware	Hollow ware
127	Earthenware	Redware	Hollow ware
128	Earthenware	Redware	Mug
129	Earthenware	Staffordshire Slipware	Hollow ware
130	Earthenware	Staffordshire Slipware	Hollow ware
131	Earthenware	Staffordshire Slipware	Hollow ware
132	Earthenware	North Devon (refined)	Plate
133	Porcelain	Chinese	Saucer
134	Porcelain	Chinese	Saucer
135	Porcelain	Chinese	Saucer
136	Porcelain	Chinese	Saucer
137	Porcelain	Chinese	Tea bowl
138	Porcelain	Chinese	Saucer
139	Porcelain	Chinese	Tea bowl
141	Earthenware	Rockingham	Bowl
142	Earthenware	Redware	Milk Pan
143	Earthenware	Redware	Milk Pan
144	Earthenware	Redware	Milk Pan
145	Earthenware	Redware	Flower pot
146	Earthenware	Redware	Storage jar
147	Porcelain		Bowl
148	Porcelain		Indeterminate
149	Porcelain	English	Strainer
152	Porcelain	English	Cup
153	Porcelain	English	Fruit basket
154	Porcelain	English	Basin
155	Porcelain	English	Plate
156	Porcelain	English	Saucer
157	Porcelain	English	Saucer
158	Porcelain	English	Plate
159	Earthenware	Redware	Jug
160	Earthenware	Redware	Storage jar
161	Earthenware	Redware	Storage jar
162	Earthenware	Redware	Pan
163	Earthenware	Redware	Crock

164	Earthenware	Redware	Bowl
165	Earthenware	Redware	Storage jar
166	Earthenware	Redware	Bowl
167	Earthenware	Redware	Storage jar
168	Earthenware	Redware	Storage jar
169	Earthenware	Redware	Storage jar
170	Earthenware	Redware	Milk Pan
171	Earthenware	Redware	Milk Pan
172	Earthenware	Redware	Milk Pan
173	Earthenware	Redware	Milk Pan
174	Earthenware	Redware	Milk Pan
175	Earthenware	Redware	Milk Pan
176	Earthenware	Redware	Milk Pan
177	Earthenware	Redware	Storage jar
178	Earthenware	Redware	Flower pot
179	Earthenware	Iberian	Storage jar
180	Earthenware	Redware	Colander
181	Earthenware	Redware	Dish
182	Earthenware	Redware	Flat ware
183	Earthenware	Redware	Storage jar
184	Earthenware	Redware	Mug
185	Earthenware	Redware	Mug
186	Earthenware	Redware	Hollow ware
187	Earthenware	Redware	Mug
188	Earthenware	Redware	Jug
189	Earthenware	Redware	Jug
190	Earthenware	Redware	Mug
191	Earthenware	Redware	Mug
192	Earthenware	Redware	Jug
193	Earthenware	Redware	Hollow ware
194	Earthenware	Redware	Hollow ware
196	Earthenware	Redware	Storage jar
199	Earthenware	Redware	Flat ware
200	Earthenware	Redware	Flat ware
201	Earthenware	Redware	
202	Earthenware	Redware	Dish
203	Earthenware	Redware	Milk Pan
204	Earthenware	Redware	
205	Earthenware	Redware	Storage jar

206	Earthenware	Redware	
207	Earthenware	Redware	Milk Pan
208	Earthenware	Redware	Milk Pan
209	Earthenware	Redware	
210	Earthenware	Redware	Dish
211	Earthenware	Redware	Dish
212	Earthenware	Redware	Bowl
213	Earthenware	Redware	Bowl
214	Earthenware	Redware	Pot
215	Earthenware	Redware	Storage jar
216	Earthenware	Redware	Storage jar
217	Earthenware	Redware	Bowl
218	Earthenware	Redware	Milk Pan
219	Earthenware	Redware	Bowl
220	Earthenware	Redware	
221	Earthenware	Redware	Hollow ware
222	Earthenware	Redware	Hollow ware
223	Earthenware	Redware	
224	Earthenware	Redware	Storage jar
225	Earthenware	Redware	Pan

APPENDIX B

GLASS CATALOG

Record No.	Object	Portion	Description
1568	stemware	fragment	
1605	stemware	stem	Heavy, double cushioned knop with internal air bubbles
1606	stemware	stem	inverted baluster with internal tear drop
1607	stemware	stem	Drawn stem with internal air twist
1608	stemware	stem	Straight stem, height 8.5cm
1609	stemware	stem	Straight stem with internal tear drop, height 8 cm
1610	stemware	stem	Straight stem with tear in bowl base
1611	stemware	base	Plain, conical base
1612	stemware	stem	Straight stem with tear in bowl base
1613	stemware	stem	
1614	stemware	stem	
1615	stemware	stem	Annular knop with internal tear drop
1616	stemware	base	Plain conical base with portion of stem
1617	stemware	stem	
1618	stemware	stem	Folded base frags
1651	stemware	base	Folded, conical foot
1652	stemware	base	Conical
1653	stemware	stem	
1920	stemware	base	Plain conical base with 6-sectioned interior, “star” around stem attachment
1932	stemware	stem	Decorative knop from stemware
1973	stemware	foot	Sraight stem with internal tear drop in bowl base. Base, stem, and partial bowl.
1508	tableware	rim	
1597	tableware	rim	Possible bowl. Pressed diamond pattern with raised dashes at rim
1598	tableware	handle	
1599	tableware	body	

1600	tableware	body	stippling
1601	tableware	body	Molded floral design all over
1621	tableware	complete profile	Three-footed salt or sugar dish with molded radial lines on body and an applied foot with decorative raspberry prunt
1642	tableware	rim	plain
1647	tableware	body	etched (acid)
1659	tableware	rim	fluted
1660	tableware	base	etched (acid)
1680	tableware	rim	
1907	tableware	rim	
1908	tableware	body	
1914	tableware	rim	
1915	tableware	body	etched (acid)
1574	tumbler	base	circular
1579	tumbler	base	Green/yellow enameling, base diameter 5 cm
1619	tumbler	base	Cut flutes, base diameter 5.5 cm
1620	tumbler	base	fluted pontil mark

APPENDIX C

FLATWARE AND CUTLERY CATALOG

Record No.	Object	Material
1711	Utensil shaft	Metal - nonferrous
1713	Handle	Organic
1716	Spoon bowl	Metal - nonferrous
1720	Utensil handles	Metal - nonferrous
1746	Spoon bowl	Metal - nonferrous
1747	Utensil handle	Metal - nonferrous
1766	Spoon bowl and partial handle	Metal - nonferrous
1767	Spoon bowl	Metal - nonferrous
1789	Knife blade and tang	Metal - ferrous
1818	Handle fragment	Composite
1823	Fork	Metal - ferrous
1824	Fork	Metal - ferrous
1826	Unknown, possible spoon	Metal - nonferrous
1827	Unknown, cutlery	Unknown
1828	Unknown, possible knife	Metal - ferrous
1737	lid for tankard, tea pot, other vessel	Metal - nonferrous

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Allan, Herbert S.
1948 *John Hancock: Patriot in Purple*. The Macmillan Company, New York.

Archer, Michael and Brian Morgan
1977 *Fair as China Dishes: English Delftware*. International Exhibitions Foundation, Washington, D.C.

Baker, Vernon G.
1975 South’s Ceramic Dating Formula: An Application and Addition. *The Society for Historical Archaeology Newsletter* 8-9: 12-17.

1977 Carrillo’s Statistical Study of English Wine Bottles: Some Comments and Further Considerations. *The Conference for Historic Site Archaeology Papers 1976*, pp. 111-131. Institute for Archaeology and Anthropology, Volume 11, Columbia, SC.

Beranek, Christa M. and Katie L. Kosack
2009 Collections Inventory of the Roland Robbins Archaeological Collection from the Hancock-Clarke House, Lexington, Massachusetts. Report to Lexington Historical Society, Lexington, from Fiske Center for Archaeological Research, University of Massachusetts Boston, Boston.

Bourdieu, Pierre
2000 *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, Richard Nice, translator. Routledge, London.

Bushman, Richard L.
1992 *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities*. Alfred A. Knopf, New York.

Britton, Frank
1982 *English Delftware in the Bristol Collection*. Sotheby Publications, London.

Carson, Cary
1994 The Consumer Revolution in Colonial British North America: Why Demand? In *Of Consuming Interests: The Style of Life in the Eighteenth Century*, Cary Carson, Richard Hoffman, and Peter J. Albert, editors, pp. 483-697. University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville and London.

Cochran, Matthew D. and Mary C. Beaudry
2006 Material Culture Studies and Historical Archaeology. In *The Cambridge Companion to Historical Archaeology*, Dan Hicks and Mary C. Beaudry editors, pp. 191-204. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Coffin, Sarah D. and Ellen Lupton, Darra Goldstein, Barbara Bloemink, Suzanne von Drachenfels, Philippa Glanville, Jennifer Goldsborough, Carolin C. Young
2006 *Feeding Desire: Design and the Tools of the Table 1500-2005*. Assouline Publishing, New York.

Cummings, Abbott Lowell
1964 *Rural Household Inventories, establishing the names, uses, and furnishings of rooms in the colonial New England home, 1675-1725*. Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, Boston.

1979 *The Framed Houses of Massachusetts Bay, 1625-1725*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Deetz, James
1996 *In Small Things Forgotten*. Anchor Books, New York.

Douglas, Mary and Baron Isherwood
1979 *The World of Goods: Towards an Anthropology of Consumption*. Allen Lane, London.

Dow, George Francis
1935 *Every Day Life in Massachusetts Bay Colony*. The Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, Boston.

Dunning, Phil
2000 Composite Table Cutlery from 1700 to 1930. In *Studies in Material Culture Research*, Karlis Karklins editor, pp. 32-45. The Society for Historical Archaeology.

Elias, Norbert
1978 *The History of Manners*, Edmund Jephcott translator. Basil Blackwell, Oxford.

Fuhrer, Mary
2004 Sowing the Seed of Liberty: Lexington and the American Revolution. Exhibition Files, MNH004, Scottish Rite Masonic Museum and Library, d.b.a. National Heritage Museum.

n.d. The Battle for Freehold Farms: Lexington, 1735-1800. Unpublished. Lexington, Massachusetts.

Fowler, Willam M., Jr.
1980 *The Baron of Beacon Hill: A Biography of John Hancock*. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston.

Goldstein, Karin J.
2001 The Creation of a New England Gentry: The Winslows of Plymouth Colony. Master's Thesis, Department of History, University of Massachusetts Boston, Boston.

Goodwin, Lorinda B.R.
1999 *An Archaeology of Manners: The Polite World of the Merchant Elite of Colonial Massachusetts*. Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, New York.

Hall, David D.
1984 Religion and Society: Problems and Reconsiderations. In *Colonial British America: Essays in the New History of the Early Modern Era*, Jack P. Greene and J.R. Pole editors, pp. 317-344. Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore.

Hancock, John, M.A.
1722 *Rulers Should Be Benefactors*. B. Green printer to His Excellency and Council, Boston.

1726 *A Sermon Preached at the Ordination of Mr. John Hancock. A.M. In the North Precinct of Brantree*. Printed for Thomas Hancock, Boston.

1733 *The Lord's Minister's are the People's Helper's. A Sermon Preached at the Ordination of the Reverend Mr. Ebenezer Hancock, at Lexington*. Printed for Thomas Hancock, Boston.

Hodder, Ian and Scott Hutson
2008 *Reading the Past: Current Approaches to Interpretation in Archaeology*, 3rd edition. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Hunter, Phyllis Whitman
2001 *Purchasing Identity in the Atlantic World: Massachusetts Merchants, 1670-1780*. Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London.

Kollen, Richard
2004 *Lexington: From Liberty's Birthplace to Progressive Suburb*. Arcadia Publishing, New Hampshire.

2010 Lexington's Reverend John Hancock. Unpublished. Lexington, Massachusetts.

Lange, Amanda E.
2001 *Delftware at Historic Deerfield, 1600-1800*. Historic Deerfield, Inc., Deerfield, Massachusetts.

Linebaugh, Donald W.
2005 *The Man Who Discovered Thoreau: Roland Robbins and the Rise of Historical Archaeology in America*. University of New Hampshire Press, Durham, New Hampshire.

Main, Gloria L.
1987 The Distribution of Consumer Goods in Colonial New England: A Subregional Approach. In *Early American Probate Inventories*, Peter Benes editor, pp. 153-168. The Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife Annual Proceedings 1987. Boston University, Boston.

Martin, Ann Smart
1996 Frontier Boys and Country Cousins: The Context for Choice in Eighteenth-Century Consumerism. In *Historical Archaeology and the Study of American Culture*, LuAnn DeCunzo and Bernard Herman editors, pp. 71-102. University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville, Tennessee.

Massachusetts State Archives
Middlesex County Massachusetts Probate Records. Microfilm, Massachusetts State Archives, Boston.

McCracken, Grant
1988 *Culture and Consumption: New Approaches to the Symbolic Character of Consumer Goods and Activities*. Indiana University Press, Bloomington and Indianapolis.

McKendrick, Neil and John Brewer, J.H. Plumb
1982 *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England*. Indiana University Press, Bloomington.

Meskell, Lynn
2008 Archaeologies of Identity. In *Archaeological Theory Today*, Ian Hodder editor, pp. 187-213. Polity Press, Cambridge and Malden, Massachusetts.

Mintz, Sidney
1985 *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History*. Viking, New York.

Mrozowski, Stephen
2006 *The Archaeology of Class in Urban America*. Cambridge University Press, New York.

Noël Hume, Ivor
1969 *A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America*. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.

Palmer, Arlene
2003 *Glass in Early America: Selections from the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum*. W.W. Norton, Winterthur, Delaware.

Robbins, Roland
1966 The Archaeological Excavations of the Hancock-Clarke Homestead. Unpublished, Lexington, Massachusetts.

Roth, Rodris
1988 Tea-Drinking in Eighteenth-Century America: Its Etiquette and Equipage. In *Material Life in America, 1600-1860*, Robert Blair St. George, editor, pp. 439-462. Northeastern University Press, Boston.

Rykerson Architecture and Anne Grady
2007 The Hancock-Clarke House 2007 Preservation Report. Unpublished, Lexington, Massachusetts.

Schomotter, James W.
1975 Ministerial Careers in Eighteenth-Century New England: The Social Context, 1700-1760. *Journal of Social History* 9: 249-267.

Seeman, Erik R.
1999 *Pious Persuasions: Laity and Clergy in Eighteenth-Century New England*. The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore.

Sibley, John Langdon
1885 *Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University in Cambridge, Massachusetts*. Charles William Server, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Skerry, Janine E. and Suzanna Findlen Hood
2009 *Salt-glazed Stoneware in Early America*. University Press of New England, Lebanon, New Hampshire.

Smith, Woodruff D.
2002 *Consumption and the Making of Respectability 1600-1800*. Routledge, New York and London.

Spencer-Wood, Suzanne, editor
1987 *Consumer Choice in Historical Archaeology*. Plenum Press, New York.

Stephens, Sarah
2010 Modest Ministers or Posh Puritans? A Study of the Personal Adornment Collection of the Hancock-Clarke House, Lexington, Massachusetts. Master's Thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Massachusetts Boston, Boston.

Tilley, Christopher
2006 Objectification. In *Handbook of Material Culture*, Christopher Tilley, Webb Keane, Susanne Kuchler, Michael Rowlans, and Patricia Spyer editors, pp. 60-73. Sage Publications, London.

Turnbaugh, Sarah Peabody
1977 Ideo-Cultural Variation and Change in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. *The Conference for Historic Site Archaeology Papers 1976*, pp. 169-235. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, Volume 11, Columbia, South Carolina.

Walett, Francis G., editor
1974 *The Diary of Ebenezer Parkman, 1703-1782*. American Antiquarian Society, Davis Press, Worcester, Massachusetts.

Weber, Max
2004 Class, Status, Party. In *Social Theory: The Classic Tradition to Post-Modernism*, 4th edition, James Farganis editor, pp. 116-125. McGraw Hill, New York.

Wurst, LouAnne
2006 A Class All Its Own: Explorations of Class Formation and Conflict. In *Historical Archaeology*, Martian Hall and Stephen W. Silliman editors, pp. 190-206. Blackwell Publishing, Malden and Oxford.

Yentsch, Anne and Mary C. Beaudry
2001 American Material Culture in Mind, Thought, and Deed. In *Archaeological Theory Today*, Ian Hodder editor, pp. 214-240. Polity Press, Cambridge and Malden, Massachusetts.

Youngs, J. William T.
1976 *God's Messengers: Religious Leadership in Colonial New England, 1700-1750*. The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore and London.