6-2011

Farmstead and Household Archaeology at the Barrett Farm, Concord, Massachusetts

Thomas P. Mailhot
University of Massachusetts Boston

FARMSTEAD AND HOUSEHOLD ARCHAEOLOGY AT THE BARRETT FARM, CONCORD, MASSACHUSETTS

A Thesis Presented

by

THOMAS P. MAILHOT

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

MASTER OF ARTS

June 2011

Historical Archaeology Program

HOUSEHOLD AND FARMSTEAD ARCHAEOLOGY AT THE BARRETT FARM, CONCORD, MASSACHUSETTS

A Thesis Presented

by

Thomas P. Mailhot

Approved as to style and content by:

_____

David Landon, Associate Director of the Fiske Center
Chairperson of Committee

_____

Christa Beranek, Research Scientist at the Fiske Center
Member

_____

Heather Trigg, Research Scientist at the Fiske Center
Member

_____

Stephen Silliman, Program Director
Historical Archaeology Program

_____

Judith Zeitlin, Chairperson
Anthropology Department

ABSTRACT

FARMSTEAD AND HOUSEHOLD ARCHAEOLOGY AT THE BARRETT FARM, CONCORD, MASSACHUSETTS

June 2011

Thomas P. Mailhot, BA., Franklin Pierce College
MA., University of Massachusetts Boston

Directed by Professor David Landon

Changes in the landscape across the Barrett farmstead in Concord, Massachusetts, are examined and related to changes in the household during the 1850s and 1860s. Although the Barrett family had a long and prosperous tradition of farming in Concord, this changed at the end of the 19th-century, as the farm was reduced in size and the operation reduced in scale. The majority of artifacts and data recovered from an excavation in 2007 by UMass Boston dealt with the 19th-century occupation of the farmstead. Changes in the household and across the farmstead in the 19th-century can be seen archaeologically through the formation of features, including a ceramic midden behind the collapsed east ell. Changes in the landscape are linked to specific households. The economic factors affecting the 19th-century households are examined. The archaeological evidence, supported by documents, help show how external pressures shaped the landscape of a New England farmstead.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express special gratitude to the people at Save Our Heritage for allowing me to work on the Barrett Farm collection. I would like to thank everyone there for working closely with myself and everyone else at UMass during and after the excavation. I would like to thank my committee, David Landon, Christa Beranek and Heather Trigg. They put up with endless drafts and questions for over a year. I would like to thank everyone who helped us excavate at the farmstead, from UMass, BU or the local community. Whether a paid digger or volunteer, I wouldn't have been able to finish this thesis without their hard work. Finally, I would like to thank my family for being understanding while I spent my free time working on my research.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

Table Page

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The Barrett farmhouse in Concord, Massachusetts, is important to American history due to its ties to the opening of the American Revolution. The farmhouse belonged to Colonel James Barrett, the commander of the Concord militia in 1775.

Figure 1: The Barrett Farmhouse in the late 19th century.

Seizing weapons and munitions at this property was one of the objectives of the British soldiers who marched out of Boston on April 18th, 1775. The British soldiers were not able to locate the weapons at the Barrett farmstead. The muskets, powder and shot were well hidden and Colonel Barrett had fled before their arrival. The march of the British soldiers did lead to the battles of Lexington and Concord, which were the opening battles of the American Revolution. As a result, Colonel Barrett and his farm cemented their place in history. However, after April 19th, 1775, the Barrett farmhouse continued to be used and changed by numerous households. The Barrett house was placed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1973 (Detwiller

2007: 8). The house is still standing, slightly changed, on Barrett's Mill Road in Concord. The property was purchased by Save our Heritage (SOH), a non-profit organization, in 2004. The property is currently undergoing renovations with the hope that it will be integrated into Minute Man National Park.

An archaeological survey was conducted at the property in the spring of 2007 by the Fiske Center for Archaeological Research at The University of Massachusetts, Boston (UMass Boston). The archaeology was carried out as part of the preservation and restoration of the property by SOH. The focus of the restoration is on the late 18th century, dozens of years and several generations prior to this study. This thesis looks at the changes in the Barrett household and changes in the landscape during a time of great transformation in late 19th-century America (Figure 1). The term "household" refers to anyone living in the farmhouse at any time, including members of the Barrett family, laborers or boarders. The term "landscape" refers to the entire farmstead, not just the farmhouse. The "landscape" of the farmstead can extend to multiple locations, such as wooded lots or pasture owned by the farmer. During the middle part of the 19th -century, Prescott Barrett, the grandson of Colonel James Barrett, was expanding and changing the farmstead. This expansion brought about a number of changes to the landscape. During the course of the archaeological investigations, a nearly intact mid-nineteenth-century midden was discovered in the east ell. This midden, or localized trash deposit, was created during a time of transformation in this farm, as well as other farmsteads across New England.

This thesis looks at the internal and external factors affecting general purpose farming in New England in the mid 19th-century. I link landscape changes to specific households and then try to analyze what these changes mean. The ceramics from the midden are analyzed because they can be linked to specific landscape changes and can provide a solid link to a particular household. The greatest amount of change in the 19th-century landscape appears to date to the household of Prescott Barrett (1831-1861). This thesis, using Prescott's household as an example, shows how middle to upper class farmers dealt with the changing economy. This household represents a time in the history of the house that has a potential to be overlooked, as it was during the twilight of the Barrett family's occupation.

Although not related to Colonel Barrett or the American Revolution, this thesis is important to interpreting the later occupations in the household. These changes were taking place at a time when, as Groover (2008: 6) notes, "millions of farmsteads were established" in the United States, in addition to those already established and in operation since the 17th and 18th century. Although the midden gives us an understanding of the changes taking place within the household and across the farmstead the, examination of a single feature is not enough to understand something as complex as a farmstead (Beaudry 2002). For this reason, I am going to examine changes taking place across the landscape during the same time period. In addition, I cannot look at the "landscape" of a farmstead without considering the household (Brandon and Barile 2004: 6-7).

The remainder of this introduction outlines the methods used in this thesis. This includes techniques used to examine and date the ceramics found within the midden. Chapter 2 looks at the archaeology of farmsteads. Relevant case studies are examined, including works that focus on landscape changes across the farmstead. In addition, Chapter 2 explains how the Barrett Farmstead can contribute to the archaeology of 19th-century farms.

Chapter 3 examines the archaeology of the household. Chapter 3 also looks at the various households that occupied the Barrett farmstead through the 19th century. First, the chapter reviews a few relevant works on household archaeology. Next, this chapter breaks up the Barrett households and looks at each one individually. Drawing on census data and the extensive family history complied by SOH, each subsection is labeled with the person believed to be the head of the household and the dates in which their immediate family occupied the farmhouse.

Chapter 4 covers the archaeological excavations carried out by UMass Boston. This chapter gives a brief overview of the entire archaeological survey. This overview covers the excavations across the property and focuses on the ceramic midden. The results of the ceramic analysis, including relevant dates derived from it, are included in this chapter.

Chapter 5 looks at changes in the landscape that have been recorded or that have been noted archaeologically. This chapter starts with the 18th century, giving a brief history of the property and the changes that were noted during that century. Chapter 5 then focuses on the recorded changes in the 19th century landscape.

Whenever possible, changes to the landscape are attributed to a particular household. Summaries of the changes in each century are then grouped into categories, as changes either to the dwelling, houselot or settlement pattern. This chapter also summarizes recorded landscape changes dating to the 20th century.

Chapter 6 presents the conclusion of this thesis. This chapter summarizes the study and presents the results. The results are put in perspective of the changing economic climate of the late 19th century. In addition, directions for future research on 19th century Barrett households are given.

Four appendices are attached to this thesis. Appendix A is a list of vessels recovered from the ceramic midden. Appendix B compiles the 19th century census data used in this thesis and presents the data in summary tables. Appendix C is a 19th century family tree based on the genealogy research carried out by SOH. Appendix D is a summary, level by level, of the excavations of the ceramic midden.

Methods

This section explains the methods used in the artifact analysis, documentary research and archaeological excavations. Ceramic analysis was used to date the midden found behind the east ell. This midden is an important part of linking landscape changes, which were brought on by changes in the economy, to the household of Prescott Barrett. The ceramic midden appears to be the result of a single dumping episode, which occurred after a major change in the household. In addition, the majority of the artifacts recovered were ceramics. Only a small amount of glass,

metal and other artifacts was found in the midden, with a total of 1418 ceramic items compared to 971 other artifacts.

After the artifacts were processed and the ceramics analyzed, individual vessels were identified. Only ceramic vessels from the midden were analyzed in this thesis. First, a minimum number of vessels (MNV) was established. Any ceramic sherds with identifiable or unique features were sorted. The sherds were separated based on the type of ware, decoration and makers' marks (when present). For example, a surface treatment such as transfer print would be enough to separate two sherds of pearlware. The groups of sherds were examined for crossmends. After the sorting was completed, the groups of sherds were compiled into a list of vessels (Appendix A). The vessels were then analyzed and a range of dates was established.

A mean ceramic date (MCD) was recorded for every applicable vessel. This technique was developed by Stanley South as a way to obtain a single date for a specific ceramic deposit. In order to calculate the MCD for a deposit, the median manufacture date for each vessel needs to be determined. The median dates could be calculated or taken from an existing source. For the sake of accuracy and to avoid mistakes, date ranges from the Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery (DAACS) mean ceramic date table was used (2006). The probable date range for each vessel is listed in Appendix A. Although this table was useful when gathering median manufacturing dates for refined earthenware, it was less useful for stoneware. The number of each type of vessel was multiplied by the median manufacture date. These numbers are added together and then divided by the total number of vessels. This

dating technique gives a date that is relatively accurate in certain cases. This type of dating is considered more accurate when dealing with deposits that were formed suddenly or over a short period of time. This is relevant to the research on the Barrett ceramic midden because it appears to be the result of a short term dumping episode.

Next, I established a terminus post quem (TPQ) for the ceramic midden based on the MNV. A TPQ is useful for the study of this midden because this technique can establish the most recent date that the midden could have been deposited. For example, if three vessels were excavated in an undisturbed level, deposits beneath this could not have been made earlier than the latest manufacture date. If the three vessels date to 1775, 1800 and 1820, the TPQ for this deposit (and any undisturbed deposits below it) would be 1820. That is the earliest time a vessel made in 1820 could have been deposited. Following this logic, any artifacts beneath this vessel could not have been deposited before 1820. Dates for the TPQ were established using Miller, et al. (2000) and the DAACS Type File (2006). When necessary, addition sources were consulted for a start of manufacture date on a vessel.

Establishing a TPQ for the midden was essential for my research because I could not determine which household to attribute certain landscape changes to without understanding when the ceramic vessels could have deposited. Since the deposit was likely made in the mid 19th century, the railroad, the changing economic climate and possibly even the Civil War, were major external factors. Getting accurate dates on the ceramic vessels found was important for understanding the data and pinpointing the time period of changes in the landscape. Although archaeological and historic

research cannot give an exact calendar date for the midden formation, these sources can help narrow down the time period.

Documentary research for this thesis involved using a variety of sources. The 19th century census data was obtained online from Ancestry.com. Although the census data was fragmentary (much change can take place within a household in 10 year gaps), having access to it greatly helped interpreting the 19th households. Probate records for 19th century heads of household were obtained at the Massachusetts State Archives. In addition, the special collections at the Concord library and local town histories were examined for pertinent information on the Barrett family in the 19th century. Additional useful documents include the historic structure report (Detwiller 2007), cultural resource management report (Beranek 2008), historic maps of Middlesex County and the town of Concord, and the genealogy complied by SOH. The historic structure report was particularly useful because it provided a summary of documented changes to the house proper and the landscape. In some instances, this data could be compared to the results of the archaeological survey. In addition, a number of historical and archaeological source materials were utilized when conducting this research.

Archaeological fieldwork consisted of 23 50 x 50 cm test pits, 6 1m x 0.5m test trenches and 5 1m x1m excavation units. There were three major questions attached to the field work. First, UMass Boston wanted to gather "information about areas that would be affected by immediate stabilization and repair work" (Beranek 2008: 1). Second, the excavations hoped to uncover changes in the landscape which would help

Save Our Heritage interpreting the house (Beranek 2008: 1). The third research question involved using the archaeological research to answer questions about the architecture of the building, such as the location of the original cellar bulkhead (Beranek 2008: 1).

CHAPTER 2

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF FARMSTEADS

This section looks at research that has been conducted on 19th-century farmsteads. Archaeologists and historians agree that farmstead research should be approached in a certain manner. An important first step in studying farmsteads involves defining what constitutes a "farmstead" (Klein and Baugher 2002: 169). In other words, the research should define exactly what it is that is being studied in "farmstead archaeology." The next step is "the definition of appropriate research objectives" (Klein and Baugher 2002: 169, Beaudry 2002: 129). In this thesis, my research objectives involved linking changes in the household to landscape changes across the farmstead.

None of these steps can be taken if the importance of 19th-century farmsteads is not recognized. Over the last decade, a number of researchers have written about the importance of 19th-century farmsteads to American history. Miller and Klein (2002) went one step further and developed a ranking system for farmsteads from the 19th and 20th centuries. They placed value on the farmstead based on research potential by using a numerical ranking system with seven different categories. These categories are Site Type, Structural Evidence, Archaeological Evidence, Documents, Oral History,

Occupation Period and Length of Occupation. Typical scores for similar 19th-century farms ranged from 18 to 27 points. Miller and Klein do not suggest this system as the "end all" of farmstead research. Instead, they assert that it is a good system to build on or adapt to particular research needs. Still, it was interesting to evaluate the Barrett Farm site based on this ranking system. According on the Miller and Klein categories, the Barrett Farmstead scored a 23 out of a possible high score of 49.

According to the Miller and Klein scoring system, the Barrett Farmstead would be valuable to archaeology for several reasons. The Barrett farm scored high in several of the categories, including Structural Evidence (farm house still standing: 3 points), Archaeological Evidence (intact features: 6 points), Documents (various sources totaling 7 points), Oral History (various sources totaling 3 points) and Occupation Period (4 points). Although the value of the Barrett farm to 18th-century research has already been established, this scale helps to quantify the value this farmstead has to 19th-century research.

Although this section lists some of the steps to starting farmstead research, Groover (2008) points out that there is still no standard method for studying farmsteads. Researchers have taken different approaches to those studies. For example, Wilson (1990), Catts (2002) and Klein and Baugher (2002), look at farmsteads in a wider context and examine regional changes. Others, like Mary Beaudy (2002), conducted comparison studies of two farmsteads. Groover (2008) and Pinello (1996) took a more direct route by studying individual farmsteads.

This thesis looks at a New England farmstead at a time of great change in America, especially for farmers. The Barrett farm was a medium-sized, family-owned and operated farm. For the majority of its existence, and through most of the 19th century, the inhabitants practiced general farming. In regards to late 19th and early 20th century farms, Groover states, "farmsteads occupied during the late 1800's and into the 20th century are also important archaeological resources because they represent the end of a substantial culture history sequence in American life" (2008: 98). There was a high point in New England farming in 1880. At the start of that decade more than 50% of New England, or 21.5 million out of 40.3 million acres, was under the plow (Luloff 1989: 58). However, change was already in the works. For example, although the number of farms was increasing during the second half of the 19th century, the average acreage under cultivation at each farm was decreasing (Catts 2002: 143).

A common approach to the study of farmstead involves looking at landscape. "Through careful dating of architectural features and archaeological deposits, architectural and landscape site events…can be linked chronologically to specific household events" (Groover 2008: 25). These events include major changes like "the addition of a new wife or husband" (102). However, it is important to remember that a farm is still a unit of agricultural production (Beaudry 2002: 129). With all the changes in the household, farming itself was still essential to the Barretts, who made a living from it. Most of the improvements or changes to the landscapes that the Barretts made would have reflected this fact.

Studying the farmstead involves looking beyond the farmhouse. Beaudry points out, "an archaeology geared to the level of the household is not adequate for comprehending farms as farms" (2002: 139). Instead, researchers should take a step back and look at the landscape and understand how it functioned and changed in relation to the household. Stokes et al. (1992) state, "the farm complex takes on a significance that any one building alone lacks; viewed as a group, these buildings tell the changing story of agricultural life" (38). Groover (2008) sees the farmstead as a continuation of the household. He explains, "reconstructing the life history of the domestic landscape at a site provides important insights about the people who lived there" (2008: 24). Beaudry (2002:129) feels that historical archaeologists would be most effective when "employing the range of techniques developed by landscape archaeologists for wide-scale survey along with analysis of the full range of documents, especially historical maps and photographs." Catts (2002:144) looked at how historians from the early 20th century felt about agricultural history and how researchers today repeat these themes.

This relationship between household and landscape also works in reverse. The researcher needs to consider what was taking place within the household in order to understand the changes to the landscape. To do this, the study of the household, on some level, should be integrated into the archaeology of the farmstead. For example, Pinello (1996) looks at the correlation between household life cycles and building phases at the Labree farmstead in New Hampshire. At this site, she identified four distinct households. Pinello was then able to assign 22 of the 23 features found during

the archaeological survey to one of the four occupations (1996: 23). Although the focus of the thesis is on the creation of a single feature, the results of Pinello's research are similar to what I am trying to accomplish.

Groover (2001, 2008) looks at family cycles within the household at the Gibbs Farmstead site in Tennessee. The Gibbs Farm site, much like the Barrett Farm, had continual, multi-generational occupation by the same family. Groover was able to link archaeological assemblages to specific households (2001: 39). Going further, Groover divides each households up into phases or lifecycles; *young*, *mature* and *old* (2001: 40). He states, "Household succession, in which senior household members pass authority to junior members, is also an important source of household restructuring that can result in major site events and landscape changes" (2008: 80-81). With the Gibbs Site, Groover hypothesizes that changes in the heads of household (passing from the "old" phase of one household to the "young" phase of the next) brought about sudden changes in the landscape. Groover links the formation of features with a generational change in the household. At the Gibbs farmstead, changes in the landscape could be linked to a junior member taking over as head of household from a senior member.

"Junior household members, when they came of age and assumed ownership and management of the family farm, also undoubtedly altered the landscape" (Groover 2008:102). When thinking about these changes in terms of agricultural production, these alterations to the landscape could be a case of "out with the old, in with the new." Senior household members may have resisted changes, especially during the

"progressive farming" of the 19th century. Junior members could have seen their ascension as a way to implement modern or more efficient practices. While this is a possibility, Catts feels that 19th-century farmers were willing to "change and adapt readily and quickly to fluctuation in markets, new or improved transportation routes and population trends" (2002: 145).

In addition, at the Spencer-Pierce-Little farm site, Beaudry (2002:133) found that "changes in the farmyard went hand in hand with renovations to the house" during the early and mid-19th century. At the Barrett farmstead, events like this can be seen archaeologically through the construction of the east ell, a retaining wall and the formation of the ceramic midden. Major changes like these can help interpret changes in the Barrett household.

Using the Gibbs farmstead as another example, Groover claims "maintenance decline and midden accumulation at the site" was a byproduct of "increasing levels of consumerism, especially during the second half of the 19th century" (2008: 83). This is very interesting. Although I do not think mass-produced products turned families like the Barretts into mindless consumers, the idea that "outdated" designs and the influx cheap, easy-to-replace wares influenced the formation of the midden is worth noting. Groover, however, makes a direct connection between household changes and the "use and discard of hand-painted tableware and teaware" (2008: 86).

Groover (2008) also identifies an interesting pattern of ceramic-vessel acquisition among rural farmsteads in the mid-19th century. Since supply was sporadic and limited to what was in stock, he suggests that matching colors with transfer-

printed wares was much more important than matching patterns (Groover 2008:103). It may seem common sense but items valued by one household might not be valued by others. Groover concludes that the Loren Potter household placed a high value on transfer printed flatware. Loren's son, Charles Potter, placed a high value on "expensive tablewares" (2008: 106).

Groover looks at the Shepard Farm site in Michigan and examines how the "progressive faming movement" influenced the set up of the farm after 1850. In addition, he states these changes could be seen archaeologically (2008: 91). Large expansion in the size of the farmstead without a significant increase in the size of the household could be an indication of the adoption of modern farming techniques or machinery. In addition, Groover looked at the landscape for the addition of outbuildings that were "promoted in progressive literature" (2008: 92). In New England, one way agricultural reform manifested itself is through the construction of the connected farm building (Hubka 1984: 201). This is an arrangement where the main house is connected to other parts of the farmstead, such as a barn, kitchen area ("little house"), workshop, privy ("backhouse"), or carriage house. However, there are many combinations of structures that constituted a connected farmhouse. Although there were some additions to the Barrett Farm during the 19th century, such as the east ell with its privy, there is no indication that the family attempted to build a connected house. This type of structure is not the sole indication of progressive farming, however. Other indications could come from the adoption of new planting and fertilizing techniques or the purchase of new, modern tools and machinery.

In New England during the 19th century, the new "progressive" farming techniques, combined with the influx of produce-buying "customers" from numerous mills and their associated mill villages created a short-lived Golden Era for some small farmers (Russell 1976: 186). In the long run, however, the growth of industrialization had a permanent, negative effect on New England farmers. Several factors, including mechanization, the rise of mills, and availability of land out west sounded a death knell for the small, general-purpose farmer in New England (Luloff 1989, Russell 1982). Mrozowski (1987:7) states, "the introduction of mechanized industry meant a reorganization of labor and a restructuring of economic priorities in New England." These changes were felt in the farming community. In addition to these changes brought about by industrialization, tension was an ever-present factor. Towns with "mill villages," such as Concord, found themselves at odds with the mill owners. Drawing labor away from farmsteads created tension with farmers while problems with the mill owners dodging taxes created friction within the town (Prude 1985: 80-81).

Furthermore, gender plays an important role in the study of the farmstead. The role of women, either as heads of household, wives or daughters of farmers, was changing rapidly in the 19th century. Industrialization was taking away work traditionally done by women on farms to supplement income. This was seen on many levels. Small-scale manufacturing, especially weaving, and early "cottage industry" switched from the farmstead to the mills between 1800 and 1860 (Dublin 1985: 51-52, Clark 1990: 274-275). A slightly alternate view on the role of gender on a farmstead

comes from Baker and Paterson (1986). While looking at Worcester County in the 19th century, they found that one type of industry, the textile mill, actually benefited the general-purpose farmer. These mills "offered farmers a direct market for wool, and their product-inexpensive manufactured cloth eliminated the necessity of time-consuming household production" (Baker and Paterson 1986: 98). Although home-based industry was declining, women in the household benefited from a system of "outwork" as well as jobs in some mills (Dublin 1985, Baker and Paterson 1986). Research has shown that millwork could be very hazardous to young women. However, at the time, those jobs may have appeared to be great opportunities.

These changes affected dairy work, as well as manufacturing. The switch from small-scale dairy production to commercial dairy production contributed to a change in gender roles in New England farmsteads (Clark 1990, McMurry 1995). The former was "female-centered" while the latter was "male-centered" (Groover 2008: 108). Archaeologically, the changes in dairy practices in the late part of the 19th century could be seen through the disuse of "dairy rooms" and the discarding of milk pans or other dairy items. In addition, female heads of household, such as Mary Prescott Barrett and Olive Barrett, would have had to deal with loss of labor to mills, just like other farmers in the 19th century.

The Barrett farm can add to our general understanding of 19th century farmsteads. The Barrett Farm is unique because extensive genealogy research has been conducted and historic documents have been complied before the archaeological component was even considered. This level of research goes beyond what is usually

done for a historic farmstead site and provides a chance for archaeology to be compared to well-documented households. In addition, with the property in the possession of the Barrett family for the entire 19th century, we have an opportunity to link specific landscape changes to a specific household. The household changes can then be compared to external changes, such as economic fluctuation or war.

CHAPTER 3

HOUSEHOLD ARCHAEOLOGY

In addition to examining the farmstead, the household is also the focus of this study. This section reviews works in household archaeology that are relevant to this thesis. The household exists within the farmstead. It is a central nervous system, with the ebb and flow of the household members controlling events and changes across the farm. Understanding how the surrounding land was used gives a better understanding of decisions made inside a household (Beaudry 1986: 38). Along that same line, Beaudry states, "deciphering site formation processes has been shown to be critical to the archaeology of households" (1999:123). Both are spaces created and used by the individuals who inhabited them. The major difference is one of scale (Brandon and Barile 1999: 6, Pauls 2006:66). The farmstead falls under "landscape archaeology" while the "household" remains the basic unit of social structure that can easily be studied (Franklin 2004). For this reason, the study of the household has been a common theme in historical archaeology. Early work on household theory came from Charles Fairbanks in the 1970s. A decade later, Beaudry (1984) and Mrozowski (1984) brought the household back into historical archaeology.

Suzanne Spencer-Wood edited a large volume on household archaeology in 1987, *Consumer Choice in Historical Archaeology*. The various authors in that volume use archaeological evidence, such as ceramics and faunal remains, to make deductions about a household. This work looks at "the relationship between the site residents' socioeconomic status and their acquisitions of goods available at different prices in the market, with the possibility of other variables being important under certain conditions" (Spencer-Wood, 1987: 3). Several works in that volume are relevant to the study of household at the Barrett farmstead.

Baugher and Venables (1987) looked at how ceramics found by archaeologists could be an indication of social status at seven sites in New York State. Four of these sites were rural, and the researchers found that the wares available in urban areas, such as Manhattan, were also available in the rural settings. They found that class, as opposed to geographic location, was a better indication of wares found in a household in the late 18th and early 19th century (Baugher and Venables 1987: 31). Their study is based on the principles of "core" and "periphery." However, they found that those on the agricultural "periphery" were able to consume trade goods just as readily as they were able to supply the "core" (Baugher and Venables 1987: 34). In addition, the researchers found that outside factors, such as war, had a direct effect on the sites, regardless of class or social status (Baugher and Venables 1987: 48). This study is relevant to the Barrett farmstead because it shows how outside influences affect households.

Suzanne Spencer-Wood and Scott Heberling (1987) examined socioeconomic standing based on ceramics in eleven 19th-century sites. They wanted to find a correlation between "socioeconomic status" and the types of wares and the decorations found on refined white earthenware at a site (Spencer-Wood and Heberling 1987: 57). They found that this type of distinction was possible when looking at cups and saucers, but not plates and bowls. The researchers used George Miller's 1980 ceramic index as a guide. As a result, Miller's index was found to be an accurate guide when it was primarily related to cups and saucers (Spencer-Wood and Heberling 1987: 81).

Spencer-Wood (1987a) tested George Miller's ceramic indices on five 19th-century sites in Boston, Massachusetts. Her research was intended to "assess the relationship between the household socioeconomic status and alternate methods of calculating Miller's price-scaling ceramic indices" (Spencer-Wood 1987a: 322). She concluded that although a price-scaling index is a useful tool, it should not be the sole means of calculating wealth and status of a household. When used in conjunction with other techniques and indexes, it gives a clearer picture of a household (Spencer-Wood 1987a: 338). Both of Spencer-Woods' studies are useful to the Barrett farm because they test existing, accepted data versus a wide range of sites. In both cases, Spencer-Wood found that Miller's work was beneficial to her interpretations. However, works like Miller's indices should be just one of many tools used by archaeologists. When using another researchers work, the data will not always fit a particular site. At the Barrett farm, I used methods and findings by other researchers, such as Groover and

Miller. Like Spencer-Wood, I found that the work of others does not always match your findings.

Charles LeeDecker et al. (1987) examined ten 19th-century households in an urban section of Wilmington, Delaware. The focus of the study was consumer behavior and social status, with "upper," "middle" and "lower" class determined by "occupation of the head of household" (LeeDecker et al. 1987: 233). However, the researchers considered other non-economic factors that could have affected consumer choices, such internal and external factors. Although LeeDecker et al. looks at households in an urban context, their study is relevant to this thesis in several ways. First, it looks at alternate income strategies. For various reasons, several members of the Prescott Barrett household sought incomes outside of the farmstead during the 1850s and 1860s. Second, the researchers looked at how consumer behavior changed as household life cycles changed. Again, this is relevant because, at the Barrett farm, a major change was made in the ceramics at some point after Prescott Barrett became the head of household. Their findings showed that, in addition to taking boarders, the main alternate income strategy was multiple members of the household working outside the household (LeeDecker, et al. 1987: 248). In addition, they found that, regardless of "class," household consumption changed as the lifecycle changed. Ceramic purchases became more refined as a household "matured" (LeeDecker et al. 1987: 255).

Nesta Anderson (1999) looks at 18th and 19th century "nested" households in the Bahamas. This study looks at the use of space, race and ethnicity but also examines

household lifecycles. However, the author makes several relevant points on household composition. Anderson notes that, although there is a level of fluidity to household composition, certain boundaries need to be established (1999: 110). Despite constant births, deaths, marriages and other events, households cannot be studied in a constant state of flux. In my study, I created boundaries between Barrett "households" based on heads of household, not household composition.

Mark Groover (2004) presented several case studies while examining how changes in the heads of households can affect the landscape. Revisiting the idea of household lifecycles, Groover states, "Archaeologically, the family cycle is an important systemic cultural-historical process that serves as a perpetual engine or catalyst for day-to-day motion and movement in the household" (2004: 26). He defines three major areas of landscape change that could be related to household lifecycles: settlement patterns, houselots and dwellings. Settlement patterns involved expansion of the family's landholding, the houselot involves changes in activity areas, fencelines, and outbuilding function and location as well as "shifts in midden locations" (Groover 2004: 27). The dwelling deals with expansions to the house as well as repair and renovation of the existing structure. To some extent, these types of landscape changes were carried out through multiple Barrett households in the 18th and 19th century. In addition, all three of these types of landscape changes had taken place during the Prescott Barrett household. In examining each of these types of landscape features at five different sites, he finds "that landscape change due to impending or recent

household succession will potentially occur within 5- to 10-year periods before or after household transition" (Groover 2004: 39).

Study of Household at the Barrett Farmstead

Within a farmstead, the household is the basic social unit. Understanding and defining what constituted a "household" is important to studying farmsteads in historical archaeology. In New England, farmsteads constitute a major type of household and an important resource. Groover identifies three stages to the household "lifecycle" at a farmstead, the "young", "mature" and "old" phase (2008: 80-81). This thesis will look at the various 19th century households, but focusing in on a particular one, the Prescott Barrett household. At the Barrett farmstead, extensive changes to the landscape were carried out during the "mature" or middle phase of the Prescott Barrett occupation.

I will look at the different Barrett households as economic units. However, this will not be a strict study of the household as a "unit of production" in the Marxist sense of the term. Instead, the farmhouse and associated households will be defined as an area of social interaction and the main component of economic production apparatus that was the farmstead proper. There was some difficulty in discovering who was living at the house, aside from the head of household. Census data helped, but this only provided a "snapshot" of how the farmstead looked every 10 years, and may not have been indicative of normal life. In addition, early censuses did not provide names

of the members of household, other than the head. For this reason, I decided to shift my focus to economic production, with social interactions as a secondary area of study. Although the fortunes of the Barrett family waxed and waned during the 19th-century, they were still considered a well-off, upper-class family. As an interesting side note, 2 major 19th-century wars happened while there were female heads of household at the Barrett Farmstead. The War of 1812, and the subsequent economic depression happened during the Mary Prescott Barrett period. The Civil War, and resulting changes to farming and American consumers, happened during the Olive Barrett occupation.

The Barrett Households of the 19th Century

The town of Concord was granted a charter in 1635, and settled in 1636. The first settlers had a difficult time, and there were setbacks for the town. The Barretts arrived in town in 1639, making them some of the earliest settlers (Potter 1887). The property on which the farmhouse is located was purchased by the Barrett family in 1684. In 1728, this land was split between two brothers, with James Barrett getting 20 acres, including the farmhouse. There is architectural evidence that the current structure, built in 1768, used materials from earlier structures located on the property (Detwiller 2007). James Barrett was a colonel in the Massachusetts militia and considered one of the town's elite residents. By the 19th century, the Barretts and their Mansion House were well known in the town.

Documentary evidence from the Barrett family probates shows that general-purpose farming was carried out on the Barrett farm throughout the 19th century. During the 19th century, the Barrett family stayed in control of this property. I recognize 5 major "households" during that period of time. Peter Barrett, who was the son of Col. James Barrett, was the first to occupy the house during the 19th century. The house then passed to Mary Prescott Barrett, the widow of Peter. Mary occupied the house until it was taken over by her son, Prescott Barrett, in 1831. He may have had a hand in running the farmstead before 1831. However, he had moved his large family to Westford, Massachusetts some time before. Mary Prescott lived at the property off and on until her death in 1846. Upon the death of Prescott in 1861, the house was taken over by Olive Barrett, his widow. Olive lived in the house until her death in 1873. The deed to the farmhouse was willed to Olive and Prescott's children. After Olive passed away, George Barrett occupied the house for an unknown period of time. I do not have any documentary evidence detailing who lived there, for how long, or if there was another established "household" (as defined by this thesis) during the 19th century.

Concord underwent a variety of changes during the 19th century. The town itself moved from mostly agriculture, towards specific and specialized food production and finally into industrial production. During this time, the Barrett Farmstead also underwent changes, although they did not always follow the trends taking place across the town. The farmhouse stayed in the Barrett family throughout

the 19th century. It was the family's second century of ownership of the house and surrounding property.

The Peter Barrett Household (1779-1808)

The Barrett farmstead continued to be used as a means of agricultural production in the early 19th century. For example, the probate record for Peter Barrett in 1808 included a number of domestic animals and farm implements. The acreage used by the Barretts appears to have been greatly reduced during that century. Following the death of Col. James Barrett, all his land in Concord went to his eighth child and youngest son, Peter. The farm, and all the associated tools and buildings, except what was left to James's widow, Rebecca, also went to Peter Barrett (Massachusetts State Archives [MSA], Probate of Peter Barrett, Boston, 1808). Peter passed away fairly young. He was just 53 years old in 1808. Peter Barrett appears to have been in debt, and a large portion of his land was sold off by his brother, James Barrett, Jr. At the time of his death in 1808, Peter owed $6,840.56 (MSA, Probate of Peter Barrett, Boston, 1808). In 1809, one third of the property passed to Peter's widow, Mary Prescott Barrett (MSA, Probate of Peter Barrett, Boston, 1808). This included almost 90 acres of the Barretts' land in Concord and 215 acres in the town of Acton.

Evidence from probate records suggests that Peter Barrett conducted "general purpose" farming. The items in Peter's probate are consistent with those of other

small farmers at the time. Wheeler gives the example of Colonel Buttrick, an "average, successful" general-purpose farmer in 1810 (1967: 140). With just himself and his three sons, Buttrick raised 50 bushels of corn a year and hay both for his own animals and for trade/sale. In 1810, Col. Buttrick had just "one horse, a yoke (a pair) of oxen, four or five cows and one or two hogs" (Wheeler 1967: 140). This was almost standard for most probate records for the early part of Concord's history. In 1809, Peter Barrett had a pair of oxen, five hogs, three horses, five cows and three calves at the farm (MSA, Probate of Peter Barrett, Boston, 1808). In addition, he had several animals of his own and others in pasture at a different, unspecified, location.

Corn and hay appear to be the crops of choice for general-purpose farmers in the early 19th century (Kimenker 1983). Peter Barrett had fifteen bushels of corn listed in his probate, as well as four plows and other general farming tools, such as hoes and shovels (MSA, Probate of Peter Barrett, Boston, 1808). Haying provided a huge payout for the small farmer, who would make $10 on every $5 spent (Kimenker 1983). Peter Barrett had 12 old scythes, 6 hay forks, 3 rakes and 2 hay hooks listed in his probate. However, there is no evidence available as to whether this haying was done for Peter's own livestock, for resale, or both.

Available census data shows the Peter Barrett household as large and thriving by the turn of the century. Data from the 1800 census lists 13 "free white" members of household. At least 3 of these were probably free farm laborers (Appendix B). This data, combined with the amount of debt Peter Barrett incurred suggests that he was attempting to expand farming operations.

The Mary Prescott Barrett Household (1809-1831)

With high inflation in the post-Revolutionary War era, and the near-worthless paper money being circulated, people in Concord and everywhere in the young United States suffered. Farmers, however, had much of their capital in land and were not as badly affected by the poor economy (Wheeler 1967: 140). Peter Barrett's extensive debt could be an indication that the family was hard hit in the post-Revolution economy. However, by the time Mary Prescott Barrett took over the farm 1809, the economy and the American government had stabilized. She was in charge of a moderate-sized household. In addition to Mary, the 1810 census lists one female, aged 26-45, three males, aged 26-45 and one male, aged 16 to 26. The pre-1830 census data was very basic, only listing the heads of households and the number of persons in a particular age group (Appendix B).

After a slight population decline following the end of the Federalist Period (1775-1830), Concord grew steadily through the mid-19th century (MHC 1980). However, the good economy was short lived. By the War of 1812, American farmers were in financial trouble again. Massachusetts was especially hard hit from the loss of trade from the War of 1812 (Handlin and Handlin 1969: 58). The agricultural economy had scarcely recovered from the war when freak weather patterns struck, including a hurricane force gale in 1815 and an early, devastating frost in 1816 (Russell 1976: 136).

Although there is no written record of how the war and the freak weather affected those living at the Barrett farm during this time period, life was probably hard. Despite this, Mary Prescott had four young sons and one daughter living at home to assist her with farming. In addition to Mary Prescott, the other people living at the farmhouse in 1810 would have been Prescott, Henry, Sherman and Rebecca. The youngest, Benjamin, would have been 14, which was old enough to help around the farm. However, with the economic downturn of the late 1810s, the Barrett farm was in trouble. Farming may have been decreased. By 1820, there were few people to provide help around the farm, either hired labor or family members. The 1820 census lists two females. One is aged 45 and over, and was Mary Prescott Barrett herself. One male, 16-26, was also listed. This could have been a hired worker, but more likely it was Benjamin Barrett, who might have stayed with the farm to help his mother and sister. The other person is probably Rebecca Barrett and is listed as female aged 26 to 45. In 1821, Mary Prescott Barrett had to mortgage the property to a pair of Connecticut merchants, Benjamin Prescott and Roger Sherman (Brown 1896, Beranek 2008). The mortgage agreement stated that the property would revert to Prescott and Sherman if Mary Barrett could not repay $1,800 in one year. However, there is no evidence she ever repaid the pair. Roger Sherman, who happened to be one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, was married to one of Mary's sisters (Brown 1896: 117). It is probable that this mortgage was not meant to be repaid within the year. It may have served to save the property and keep

it in the Barrett family. Ten years later, in 1831, the mortgage was finally repaid by Prescott Barrett and the house and associated land reverted to him.

It is probable that Prescott assisted in running the farm in years before the property officially belonged to him. Since he assumed control of the farm early in the 1830s, I compiled the size and composition of Prescott's household based on the Westford census data (Appendix B). In addition to Prescott, the household consisted of five male children (one under 5, two between 5 and 10, one between 15 and 20 and 1 between 20 and 30 years old), and one unidentified adult between 20 and 30 years old. This person was probably a hired laborer. There were three female children (two between 5 and 10, and one between 10 and 15), and one adult female (listed age between 30 and 40) in the household. The latter female was Olive Barrett, Prescott's second wife. The former female was someone outside the immediate family and may have been married to the farm laborer.

The Prescott Barrett Household (1831-1861)

Farmers in Concord faced several major changes during the Early Industrial Period (1830-1870). The new Boston to Fitchburg railroad in 1844 resulted in changes in agricultural production. Emphasis changed from "general farming" to dairying and fruit production (MHC 1980). The railway provided quick transportation for milk and dairy products. In addition, the introduction of the Concord grape caused fruit production to rise. The influx of Irish workers in the 1840s and 1850s greatly helped Concord's farm-based economy. Although the treatment of this new source of

labor is questionable, Irish workers helped to provide the workforce necessary to run Concord's larger, more diverse farmsteads (Wheeler 1967: 178). Documentation shows that Prescott used immigrant labor several times during his occupancy, including at least one person of Irish descent.

Concord should not be considered a "dairy town" during the 19th century. The introduction of the railroad saw an increase in the number of farmers producing dairy products for market in town. However, the average pounds per capita for Concord (4.9) was well below the average for the state of Massachusetts (8.1) (Kimenker 1983). Concord was one of a few towns that combined to be Boston's main providers of fresh dairy products. By 1847, Boston was receiving 14,400 quarts of fresh milk by rail from small towns 10-30 miles away (Kimenker 1983). Concord was one of the contributors of both milk and another important dairy product, butter.

The Barrett farm, like some other farmsteads in the 19th century, had a dairy shed attached to the main house. The probate record for Peter Barrett mentions "lumber in the cheese room," and lists 12 tin milk pans, 3 milk pails, a churn, and 102 bottles (MSA, Probate of Peter Barrett, Boston, 1808). The probate records for Mary (MSA, Probate of Mary Barrett, Boston, 1846) make no mention of additional dairy production items. Prescott made an attempt to expand into dairy production during his occupation. Fruit growing also became popular in Concord during this period. Apples, peaches, strawberries, and after 1844, Concord grapes were exported on the railroad (MHC 1980). However, there is no evidence in the archaeological or documentary record that large scale fruit raising took place at the Barrett farm.

The 1840 census shows 10 people residing at the Barrett farm (Appendix B). In addition to Prescott and Olive, they had seven children ranging in age from 3 to 21 years old living on the farm. In addition, there was one unidentified male, who was listed as between 15 and 20 years old. This was probably a young farm laborer. At least one of Prescott's adult children worked off of the farm. The Concord school committee report of 1849 shows Mary Elizabeth earning $14 a month as a teacher at the Number 4 School (School Committee Report 1849).

By 1850, Prescott had been married his second wife, Olive, for a number of years. Most of his children, now young adults, were still living at home. The 1850 census lists seven of his eight children, with ages ranging from 13 to 30 years old, as still living at the farmhouse (Appendix B). In addition, a single hired laborer named Angus Cameron, aged 37, from Nova Scotia, was also living at the Barrett farm. In addition to Prescott, three of his sons were listed as farmers. William Barrett, aged 27, was listed as a carpenter. It was during this period that the ceramic midden was formed, possibly between 1850 and 1860.

Prescott Barrett was 43 when he officially assumed control of the farmstead. He may have been running the farmstead before this date as well. Between the time he assumed control of the farm and his death in 1861, Prescott made an attempt to expand farming. This can be seen through the documentary record. This expansion can also be seen through the archaeological record with the major changes to the landscape carried out during the mid-19th century.

According to the probate records, the Barretts continued to practice general-purpose farming throughout the Early Industrial Period. The inventory for Mary Prescott Barrett lists only her personal estate, and has no items pertaining to the running of the farm or keeping of livestock. This would be due to the fact that Prescott was now in charge of the farm. However, by 1861, Prescott Barrett had a large field of planted corn, 10 tons of "English hay", a hay wagon, a mowing machine and scraper, a hay cutter, 6 plows, a cultivator, and "a lot of" hoes, shovels, forks, sickles, scythes, rakes and corn cutters (MSA, Probate of Prescott Barrett, Boston, 1861). This shows that haying and the growing of corn continued to be important at the Barrett farm throughout this period. In addition, Prescott increased his number of livestock. His probate lists 4 heifers, 17 cows, a pair of oxen, 1 hog, 3 turkeys, 22 hens and 7 horses. While this is a large number of cows, there is nothing listed in the probate to suggest large-scale dairy production was taking place. Prescott apparently tried his hand at dairy farming while not changing the overall focus of the farm. This could also be an indication that Prescott was interested in an enterprise that many of his neighbors profited from. However, the middle part of the 19th-century was not a good time to become involved in the dairy business. The increasing price of cheese immediately before, and during, the Civil War lead to many dairy operations being switched from rural homesteads to factories (Gibbs, et al. 1990: 19).

Prescott Barrett had the means to expand production of the farm, if he desired. He and other members of the household took work outside of farming. The 1858 Reports of the Selectmen and Other Officers, of the Town of Concord list both

Prescott and George H. Barrett as supplying fuel to the town for $20.00 and $14.38, respectively. The wood would have come from lots he owned off site of the farmstead. In addition to the farmstead itself and extensive personal property, he also owned $3,973.02 in "money stocks and notes" (MSA, Probate of Prescott Barrett, Boston, 1861). Prescott was also rich in land. In addition to the farmhouse and buildings, there was the "17 ½ acres of land that they stand upon" (MSA, Probate of Prescott Barrett, Boston, 1861). Around the farmstead there was also "21 acres on the south side of the road in front of the house & barn" and "21 acres of hill & swamp land back of house" (MSA, Probate of Prescott Barrett, Boston, 1861). Prescott also owned 97 acres of meadows, fields and wooded lots at various locations across Concord, as well as houses in Waltham and Stoneham. The 1860 census lists the value of this real estate at $11, 500 (Appendix B). The real estate, combine with the stocks and the notes, would have been worth over $350,000 today. Prescott was reaching the end of his life as the Civil War was beginning. Prescott himself would have been too old to serve in the army, but the Barrett farm may have been affected by the loss of laborers. For example, his probate lists a mowing machine, which was an item that increased in popularity once farm hands were in short supply.

The Olive Barrett Household (1861-1873)

Following the death of Prescott, the farmhouse and land passed to his widow, Olive Barrett (MSA, Probate of Prescott Barrett, Boston, 1861). Although the property was deeded to Prescott's five children, census data suggests that Olive

continued to occupy the farmhouse until her death in 1873. Olive inherited the farm at a point when the Civil War was escalating. It is not known how the various factors of this war affected Olive and the Barrett farmstead but one or more of her five sons may have served in the army. Olive's 1873 probate listed only her monetary worth, minus debt. It did not list her other items, land and livestock. However, this limited list may give an indication of the success of the farm during this period.

The genealogy research done by Save Our Heritage, as reprinted in Detwiller (2008) lists this time period as the George and Marion Barrett period. This is at odds with the 1870 census, which makes no mention of either George or Marion Barrett and lists Olive as the head of household (Appendix B). However, I don't think this is a problem in the research. What we may be seeing is a conflict within the household. Aging Olive was willed the farmhouse. She was Prescott's second wife, and her transition to head of household in 1861 may not have been warmly welcomed.

The Civil War had a deep affect on farming in the northeast. There was an immediate and increased demand for any foodstuff the United States government could obtain. In addition, horses, of which the Barretts owned a few, were in great demand. There was also an adverse effect: many farmers or farm hands were called up or enlisted. Farmers, who could have made financial gains during this time, were instead hurt. Howard Russell states that, in contrast to "the world of manufacturing and commerce," there was not much profit in farming at this time (1976: 245).

With the addition of the federal prison in Concord, more industry, and the influx of immigrant workers, the town continued to grow during the Late Industrial

Period (1870-1915). At a time when many New England towns were shrinking, Concord, like many mill towns, was growing. The post-Civil War era saw a large movement of people out of rural areas. Some of them went west. The Homestead Act of 1864 made it very easy for a former soldier to receive up to 160 acres of land (Russell 1976: 245). Many soldiers who survived the war never returned home. Others flocked to the mill towns for steady employment. Concord had an industrial economy based around the pail factory, the freight depot and Damon's Mill (MHC 1980).

Farming in Concord seemed unaffected by these changes. Farming remained important to the economy, especially the general-purpose farmer. New "market gardeners" entered the agricultural economy, and Concord started producing "cash crops" of cucumbers and rhubarb (Russell 1976: 270). There were five residents of the household in 1870, including Olive, aged 80, Mary, aged 50, and twins Martha and Augusta, both 44. In addition, a young immigrant man named Thomas Clifford, aged 24, was listed as a "farm laborer" at the Barrett Household.

The 1870 census shows that the Barrett farm was still in operation, but probably in a reduced capacity (Appendix B). There was only one person listed as "farmer," and this was a hired hand. In addition, every other member of the household, with the exception of Olive, had an outside job. Mary and Augusta Barrett worked as schoolteachers, while Martha Barrett was listed as a housekeeper. In 1860, the Concord school committee's annual report showed Augusta making a salary of $20 a month as the head teacher of the North Quarter School (School Committee

Reoprt 1860). The reduced amount of labor from within the household could have been the result of increased mechanization. However, it is likely that this was also the result of decreased farming operations. The size of the farmstead itself must have decreased. In the 1860 census, the value of Prescott's real estate was over $11,000. By the time of the 1870 census, the value of the property had dropped to $5,000. Olive Barrett would have had a difficult time running a large farm at her age. It appears that none of her children were interested in being farmers or working the family land. Even the three adult children that stayed with her still worked outside of the house.

George and Marion Barrett Household

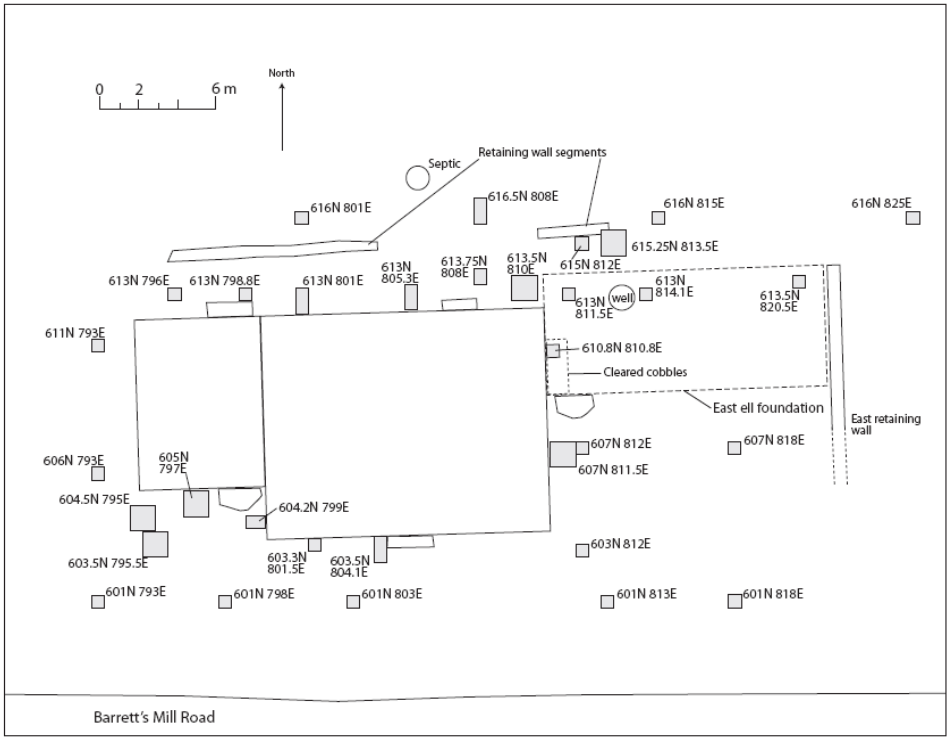
Sometime between 1877 and 1905, the house was transferred to Marion Barrett. Census data suggests that George Barrett, eldest son of Prescott and Olive, also lived at the house during this time. I was unable to locate information for the household during this time period. However, it was Marion Barrett who sold the house to Patrick, Thomas and Bernard McGrath on December 11th, 1905. Detwiller (2007) states that George Barrett continued to live at the farm as a boarder after the McGraths purchased the property.

CHAPTER 4

SUMMARY OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS

The Fiske Center at the University of Massachusetts, Boston was contracted to conduct an archaeological survey at the Barrett Farmstead in 2007. The excavation was done "in conjunction with high-priority architectural stabilization and in advance of other restoration projects" (Beranek 2007: 1). Before any excavations were carried out, Dr. John Steinberg conducted remote sensing on the grounds to locate features at a distance from the house itself. Fieldwork was conducted in May and June of 2007, with an additional day in March of 2008. All of the test units were excavated with shovel or trowel, in 10 cm arbitrary levels within natural stratigraphy. Test pits were labeled based on their UTM coordinates. Two datum points were placed at the east end of the site, the first near the dirt driveway and the second near Barrett's Mill Road (Figure 2).

Figure 2: Map of the Excavations Carried out by UMass Boston



Each test pit, unit or trench was given a shortened label based on the location of the northeast corner in relation to one of these datum points (Beranek 2008:3). For example, the 1m x 1m unit placed near the retaining wall had the initial coordinates of 913615.25N 209813.5E. This was shortened to 615.25N 813.5E.

The Save our Heritage foundation originally intended to turn the Barrett Farmhouse into a "living history" museum, restored to the way it was in 1775. Their plans involved having the farmhouse eventually incorporated into Minuteman National Park. However, the archaeology brought to light the extent of the alterations to the landscape since the Colonial Period (Beranek 2007: 47). The landscape around the house had been raised considerably since the 18th century. In the east front yard,

an 18th-century horizon was discovered under nearly a meter of historic fill. In addition to the yard fill, there was a 19th-century cobbled surface buried around the south, east and west portions of the farmhouse (Figure 3). A small area of cobbling was also detected immediately north of the house. This surface appeared anywhere between 10 and 35 centimeters below surface (cmbs). In the south and east yards, these cobbles were mapped and removed so that excavations could continue below them. In the west front yard, test pit 605N 797E contained a buried A horizon at approximately 68 cmbs. Excavations continued until a natural B horizon was encountered at 85 cmbs. This test pit demonstrates the amount of historic fill that has been used at the Barrett Farmstead since the 18th century.

Figure 3: Cobble Surface unearthed on East Side of house

There were five primary test areas, the west side, the north (back) yard, the south (front) side, the east ell and the basement interior (Beranek 2008). Testing on the west side of the house consisted of three 50x50 cm test pits. Two of these pits showed recent disturbance from a drainage culvert, with 20th-century artifacts at 70 cmbs. The third test pit in this area contained construction debris and 19th-century fill.

However, there was a deposit of late 18th and early 19th century ceramics (Beranek 2008: 17). There was no evidence of intact cobble pavement on this side of the house.

Excavations in the north (back) yard consisted of six 50 x 50 cm test pits, three 1 x .50 meter test trenches and one 1x 1m excavation unit. The back yard was divided into two sections, one north of a fieldstone retaining wall, and the other south of it. All the test pits north of the wall encounter a high water table with very little cultural material (Beranek 2008: 20). There was no evidence of intact cobble pavement on the north side of the retaining wall. The majority of testing in the back yard happened on the south of the retaining wall, between the wall and the house reconstruction. Three 50 x 50 cm test pits, two 1 x .50 meter units and the single 1 x 1 m were placed in this area. These units were limited in depth due to scaffolding. A test pit of unit could only be as deep as the distance it was from the scaffolding. In other words, if a 50 x 50 was 70 cm from the footing of the scaffolding, it could only be excavated 70 cm deep. The cobble surface was present near the rear of the house, with a low-density late 18th century horizon beneath it. Testing in the south side, or front yard, involved a total of 14 test pits and excavation units (Figure 4). Two 1 x 1 meter units, two 1 x .50 meter trenches and one 50 x 50 cm test pit were placed up against the

Figure 4: UMass Boston Students Excavating in the Front Yard

house foundation. In addition, two 1 x 1 meter units and eight 50 x 50 cm test pits were placed across the front yard. Beside the ever-present cobble surface, these test pits revealed some interesting finds. In 607N 818E, there was a deeply buried 18th-century horizon. Beneath an artifact rich layer of 19th-century fill was a compacted layer of soil rich with charcoal and ash. Below this, 86 to 96 cmbs, there was a level containing a small number of late 18th-century artifacts including Jackfield and two fragments of creamware. The creamware had decorations that dated to the last third of the 18th century. This was unique because in other test pits where 18th century artifacts were uncovered, they were in association with 19th or even 20th century items.

Excavations in the East Ell consisted of five 50 x 50 cm STP's and a 1 x 1 meter EU (Figure 5). This structure was added to the house in the mid-19th century and survived until the 1970s. The cobble surface was also present in this area. In addition, a test pit discovered a mid to late 19th century ceramic deposit between the old well and retaining wall. This was a unique find and the 1x 1 unit was placed just east to investigate the midden further (Figure 6). The midden was mostly in primary context and probably the result of a single dumping episode or multiple dumpings over a very short period of time.

Figure 5: Map of the East Ell.

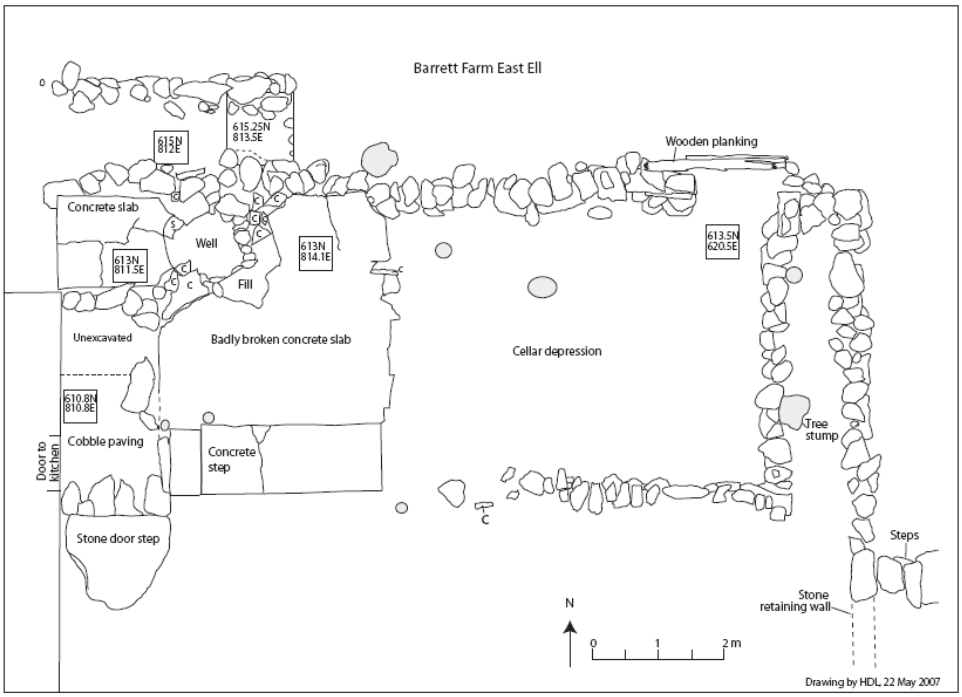


Figure 6: Excavation Unit 612.25N 813.5E, Investigating the Ceramic Midden.

A possible privy was uncovered in east ell. Shovel test pit 613.5N 620.5E tested the northeast corner of the east ell. The artifact rich test pit was placed in the location where Patrick McGrath, owner of McGrath's farm stand and nephew of the last occupant of the farmstead, remembers the privy being located. This appeared to be an ideal setup for a bucket privy. A break in the wall, like the one found in the north section of the east ell, would have been made for dumping the bucket on occasion (Beranek 2008: 35). One of the most exciting finds on the entire site came from the possible privy. A molded rose pipe bowl, dating to the late 19th century, was found in level 4 of the possible privy fill. A cross-mending floral decorated pipe stem was found in test pit 603N 812E in the front yard, approximately 15 meters away.

The largest primary deposit was a ceramic midden located behind the east ell (Figure 6). That ceramic midden is the one examined in this thesis. It was located between the old well and the north retaining wall and remained undisturbed by the late 19th and 20th century changes. The excavations of the midden consisted of a 50 x 50 cm test pit (615N 812E) and a 1 x 1 m excavation unit (615.25N 813.5E). Test pit 615N 812E contained 395 ceramic artifacts out of the 578 total artifacts recovered. Fragments from 26 of the 49 vessels identified in the ceramic midden where found in this test pit alone. Excavation unit 612.25N 813.5E contained 1,418 ceramic artifacts out of the 2,389 total artifacts recovered.

The final area investigated was the basement. A single unit, measuring 1.5 meters by .5 meters was placed in the basement interior. Although this was an area that was going to be impacted, not much was expected from it. The basement was

very wet in the spring and early summer, but dried up the rest of the year. This had the potential for poor artifact preservation. The levels in this unit either had a low density of artifacts or were completely sterile.

The Ceramic Midden

The ceramic midden was discovered in the back yard, just north of the east ell. The initial test pit, 615N 812E, was placed immediately south of a retaining wall segment. The majority of the artifacts were ceramics, although a small number of nails, glass and ferrous iron artifacts were found. More important, the stratigraphy appeared to be intact. A 1 x 1 m excavation unit, 615.25N 813.5E, was placed one meter east, directly between the retaining wall segment and the old well (Figure 7). A datum point was established in the southwest corner of the unit. The initial topsoil was removed with a shovel. The remaining levels were troweled. All soil was screened through ¼ inch mesh. The unit was excavated down to a bottom depth of 96 cmbd in the northwest corner, 97 cmbd in the center, and 99 cmbd in the

Figure 7: Close Up of the Excavations on the Ceramic Midden

north wall. Excavations in the southwest corner reached a depth of 91 cmbd. The southeast corner went down to 93 cmbd.

The MVC for these two units identified at least 49 ceramic vessels (Appendix A). Dates were obtained on the majority of the vessels, mostly from the 19th century. This midden is probably the result of several deposits over a short period of time or one single deposit. Cross-mending vessels in different levels and different soil matrices suggest that little time passed between deposition events. For example, sherds from vessel 34, a pearlware basin or platter, are found in levels 3, 12 and 12B. Recent rodent disturbance was given its own context number and screened separately. Some of these crossmends can be attributed to the rodents. However, since the disturbance was isolated and treated as a separate entity, most of the crossmending vessel fragments are the results of the initial deposition.

The following section summarizes the excavations at the Ceramic Midden. Table 1 presents the artifacts found, by level, in the 50 x 50 cm test pit while table 2 does the same for the 1mx1m EU. The excavation revealed mostly intact soil horizons (Appendix D). A total of 2924 artifacts were recovered in the midden excavation. The 50 x 50cm test pit contained 594 artifacts, including 397 ceramic sherds (Table 1). Bone and porcelain were only found in this unit. They were not present in the 1 x 1 meter excavation. A total of 2330 artifacts, including 1411 ceramic sherds were found in the 1 x 1 meter EU (Table 2).

Table 1: Summary of artifacts found, by level, in test pit 615N 812E

Artifact Type	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5	Clean up	Total
Earthenware	64	33	127	135	2	21	382
Stoneware			1	13			14
Porcelain			1				1
Bone	35						35
Small Finds	3	1	4	2			10
Flat Glass	8		21	1		2	32
Curved Glass	15	1	2	12			30
Wire Nails	6						6
Cut/Wrought Nails	19	11	6	4	3	1	44
Coal	1						1
Ferrous Other	10	3	4	6			23
Brick		5	8				13
NonFerrous Other					1	2	3
Total Artifacts Per Level	161	54	174	173	6	26	594

Table 2: Summary of artifacts found, by level, in excavation unit 615.25N 813.5E

Artifact Type	Level	L.1	L.2A	L.2B	L.3A	L.4	L.5	L.6	L.7	L.8	L.9B	L.12	L.12B	L.13	L.13B	L.14	LV.15	Feature 13	Wall Clean Up	Rodent Borrow/ Clean up	Total Artifact By Type
	Total Artifact Per Level	71	408	257	543	142	98	50	12	2	33	31	44	5	2	4	1	211	15	401	2330
	Plastic						1														1
	NonFerrous Other			2													1				3
	Mortar/ Plaster	1																		2	3
	Brick	13	17		7				1			11	17			4		2		18	90
	Ferrous Other		14	4	144	31	1						2					5		78	279
	Coal		1																		1
	Cut/Wrought Nails	8	13	21	89	22	1	5			1		3					6	2	15	186
	Wire Nails	8	7	2	6				1												24
	Curved Glass	2	11	3	69	2		1					2					2		3	95
	Flat Glass	18	67	83	4	12	1	4			2	4	3					7		16	221
	Small Finds	4	2	2	3				2										1	2	16
	Bone																				0
	Porcelain																				0
	Stoneware		1		21	5	5	15	1		2				1			53	9	7	120
	Earthenware	17	275	140	200	70	89	25	7	2	28	16	17	5	1			136	3	260	1291

Results of Ceramic Analysis

In order to interpret the data from the Ceramic Midden, a MCD was used. When doing the calculations, I ruled out certain ambiguous whiteware vessels (28, 35, 37, 46 and 52). These types of wares continued to be made and used into the 20th and even the 21st century. With no firm "ending" date, these were not calculated in the MCD. In addition, two vessels of "refined white earthenware" were also not calculated. These vessels (8 and 43) were categorized based on decoration. However, the sherds were too small to determine whether it was whiteware, pearlware, creamware or so on.

Although the MCD can be useful to archaeologists, there are several drawbacks to this technique. South's method has been criticized for various reasons. There are two issues that are pertinent to the Barrett Farm collection. First, the MCD is considered more accurate for 17th- and 18th-century ceramics than those of the 19th century. Despite this, the MCD calculated from the 19th century ceramic midden falls within a few years of documented landscape changes at the Barrett farmstead. Second, a small sample of vessels can greatly skew the MCD. Luckily, this thesis deals with 42 datable vessels. The third issues deals with the lack of "use lag" in South's equation. The range of manufacture dates for ceramics found in the midden stretches from 1700 to 1920. This date range rules out the ambiguous whiteware vessels mentioned above (28, 35, 37, 46 and 52) as well as the ones too small to identify (8 and 43). Based on these factors, a MCD of 1857.6 was calculated.

During the 19th century, the Civil War had a major impact on the American economy. However, the change in farming and the economy in New England predated the Civil War. Related to the economic changes were changes in the way that Americans bought goods. Neil Ewins (2008) makes a note about American consumer patterns in the 1850s and 1860s. During the 1850s, one of the most popular wares that were produced in the Staffordshire potteries and shipped to the United States was undecorated whiteware and ironstone (Ewins 2008: 121). However, by 1862, a number of factories producing these types of wares had closed because the "American market" had been reduced (Ewins 2008: 121). The majority of the vessels found in the midden were decorated in some manner. These midden vessels would have been purchased and used before the flood of undecorated wares.

I calculated the TPQ date based on vessels in the midden that had a solid date for the start of production (Table 3). The start dates were calculated based on ware type, decoration and/or patterns. This dating technique is used to show the latest date at which the midden could have been formed. By itself, a TPQ date would not be good enough for solid dating. However, when combined with the MCD, the TPQ creates secondary and complementary dating technique. The latest date for the midden is 1845, well within the time frame given by the calculation of the MCD. Given a ten year "use life" for any vessel, 1857 fits closely with the TPQ of 1845. Most vessels date to decades before this.

George Miller (1991) argues against "lumping" all the artifacts in a midden into a single deposit. While this is certainly valid in many instances, archaeological

evidence from the east front yard midden points to a single deposit. Pieces of the same vessel are spread among several levels and contexts. For example, a blue shell edged pearlware platter (vessel 12), is found in between levels 1,3, 5 and 6. In addition, pieces of this vessel were found in level 12A, which was the "backfill" from a recent rodent disturbance. This fill was carried up from beneath level 6, meaning at least a piece of vessel 12 was below this.

Table 3: List of vessels with dates from the Ceramic Midden

Vessel Number	Type of Ware	Decoration	*Terminus Post Quem*
4	Pearlware	Blue Transfer Print	1775
6	Stoneware	Salt Glazed	1840
7	Stoneware	Salt Glaze with Cobalt	1840
8	Stoneware	Salt Glaze with Cobalt	1840
9	Nottingham Stoneware	Glazed	1700
10	Stoneware	Salt Glaze with Cobalt	1840
11	Ironstone	Blue Underglaze	1813
12	Pearlware	Blue Scalloped Edged	1775
13	Pearlware	Blue Shell Edged	1780
14	Whiteware	Blue Shell Edged	1820
15	Pearlware	Blue Sponge Decorated	1820
16	Whiteware	Blue Sponge Decorated	1840
17	Whiteware	Red Transfer Print	1828
18	Refined White Earthenware	Purple Transfer Print	1828
19	Pearlware	Brown Transfer Print	1809
20	Pearlware	Brown Transfer Print	1809
21	Pearlware	Brown Transfer Print	1809
22	Pearlware	Brown Transfer Print	1809
23	Pearlware	Green Transfer Print	1828
24	Pearlware	Blue Transfer Print	1783
25	Refined White Earthenware	Flow Blue	1845
26	Refined White Earthenware	Flow Blue	1825
27	Pearlware	Blue Transfer Print	1775
28	Whiteware	Blue Transfer Print	1820

29	Pearlware	Blue Transfer Print	1775
30	Pearlware	Blue Transfer Print	1775
31	Pearlware	Blue Transfer Print	1775
32	Pearlware	Blue Underglaze Paint	1775
33	Pearlware	Applied Sprig Molding	1775
34	Pearlware	Applied Sprig Molding	1775
35	Refined White Earthenware	Copper Luster Overglaze Paint	1740
36	Pearlware	Cut Sponge	1775
37	Refined White Earthenware	Factory Slip Decorated	1740
38	Pearlware	Factory Slip Decorated	1790
39	Creamware	Factory Slip Decorated	1797
40	Pearlware	Factory Slip Decorated	1775
41	Whiteware	Factory Slip Decorated	1820
42	Yellowware	Undecorated	1830
43	Yellow Bodied Refined Earthenware	Lustrous Glaze	N/A
44	Porcelain	Blue Over Glaze	1751
45	Pearlware	Undecorated	1780
46	Whiteware	Undecorated	1820
48	Pearlware	Undecorated	1775
49	Pearlware	Undecorated	1775
50	Creamware	Undecorated	1762
51	Creamware	Undecorated	1762
52	Whiteware	Undecorated	1820
53	Pearlware	Undecorated	1785
54	Whiteware	Undecorated	1785

During the 1850's, American tastes were changing, and plain, undecorated (and relatively cheap) ironstone wares were becoming the fashion. The Barrett household, based on changing consumer interests, upgraded their tablewares to what is in vogue. During his occupancy at the Barrett farmstead, Prescott spent large amounts of money changing the dwelling, houselot and even the overall settlement pattern of the farm's landscape. Prescott Barrett had attempted to "upgrade" production at the farmstead. One result of this was buying a number of dairy cows. Other changes may have been

instituted that do not show up in the archaeological or documentary record. The formation of the midden could be an indication that money was spent within the household, not just on the farmstead.

Table 4: Table showing the number of vessels by ware type and function

	Function			
Ware Type	Tableware	Kitchenware	Utilitarian	Other/Unknown
Stoneware		3	1	1
Porcelain	1			
Creamware	3			
Pearlware	25			1
Whiteware	6			
Yellowware			1	1
Ironstone	1			
Refined White Earthenware	4			1

Table 4 shows the differences in the types of wares and their function based on the vessels recovered from the ceramic midden. A tableware vessel is any vessel used to serve or eat/drink food or beverages for one or more people. Tableware could be part of a set or an individual piece, such as a tea cup. Tablewares would have been the most "visible" type of vessel in this study. They would have been used to for meals for the entire household as well as for guests. Large bowls and platters were counted as tableware, even though these items could also have been used in the kitchen.

Kitchenware consists of item used for cooking, storing or processing of foods. In the ceramic midden at the Barrett Farm, kitchenware was mostly storage items, such as a stoneware crock. Utilitarian items are ceramics used for everyday or

mundane tasks. Utilitarian ceramics would include a chamber pot and ink jar. Other/Unknown is a category for the ceramic vessel too small to identify. Refined white earthenware describes any white clay vessel that could not be positively identified as creamware, pearlware, whiteware or ironstone. Many of these vessels were categorized as tableware based on decorative patterns, such as transfer prints.

This table shows a large amount of tablewares in the vessel count. In addition, the majority of the tablewares are pearlware. By the time this midden was formed, whiteware had been available in America at least two decades, possibly longer. This information, combined with the fact that the midden was a single dumping episode, suggests a sudden and drastic change in the tablewares being used at the Barrett Farmhouse. In other words, the ceramics replaced were those most visible in the household. Tablewares were on display, not just for household members, but for guests. During the changes initiated by Prescott, namely the building of a retaining wall and the placement of a cobbled surface in the east side of the house, Olive Barrett could have upgraded her tablewares. If the family did ugrade its tablewares when throwing out the old one, the early 1850s would have been a fortunate time to do it. By 1858, the aging Prescott and oldest son George both needed to seek work outside of the farmstead (Concord Library Special Collection, Selectmen Report, 1858). General purpose farming was on the decline. Prescott's attempt to expand beyond "general-purpose" farmer, although not a failure, was far from a complete success. However, the plain wares available in the 1850s may have been affordable

for the Prescott household. The latter part of the decade would not have been good time for them “upgrade” all the tablewares in the household.

CHAPTER 5

LANDSCAPE CHANGES ON THE FARMSTEAD

In addition to testing areas that may be impacted by the house renovations, the archaeological survey was also used to located features indicative of change in the landscape. Over the course of the excavation, features related to these changes were uncovered. Certain features were never found, including the location of the early 19th-century cheese room and the original entrance to the cellar. The features that were uncovered, along with ones mentioned from historic documents, are listed below. The landscape changes are separated by century and include all three of the areas defined by Groover: settlement pattern, houselot and dwelling (2004: 27). Following each century description is a table summarizing the major landscape changes during each household. These tables list the century, who the head of the household was, what the change was, and what part of the landscape (settlement pattern, houselot or dwelling) was affected by the change.

18th-Century Landscape Changes

The Barrett family resided in Concord since the 17th century. In 1702, Benjamin Barrett received this property from his father, Humphrey (Detwiller 2007: 9). Detwiller believes the first Euro-American structure on this site was a house built

by Benjamin around 1705 (2007: 10). Aside from the farmhouse, there is no record of any major changes to the landscape during the Benjamin Barrett occupation. While changes to the landscape most likely were carried out, there is no documentary or archaeological evidence to show what those changes might have been.

The property was passed to James Barrett in 1728. The major documented landscape change during the James Barrett period involved the building of a new main house in 1768. This structure was a 2-story saltbox house (Detwiller 1768: 11). There is evidence to suggest that parts of the original house were incorporated into James Barrett's house (Detwiller 2007: 9-11). Documentary evidence also states that the Barrett property consisted of a barn (within 40 feet of the house) and a small corn house, in addition to the farmhouse (Detwiller 2007: 11). None of these early outbuildings were located during the archaeological survey. The 300 acres of land owned by James Barrett could have had multiple outbuildings located on it. However, there were no references located about this land or buildings not in the vicinity of the farmhouse.

Two of the additions to the main house probably date to the James Barrett period. Detwiller believes the west ell was erected during James' lifetime (2007: 11). In addition, a small wood shed existed on the east side of the house. This would have been under the location of the 19th century east ell, but would have been on a smaller scale (Detwiller 2007:11). Since James Barrett practiced general purpose farming, once the land was set up as a farm, few changes would have been made to the landscape during his occupation. Around the farmhouse itself, there was an episode of

filling and leveling that may date to the late 18th century. Artifacts recovered from fill in test pits in the north and west side of the house date the late 18th century (Beranek 2008: 48).

Table 5: Summary of known 18th-Century landscape changes.

Century	Household	Change	Landscape
18th	Benjamin Barrett	Original Farmhouse Built	Dwelling, houselot
18th (1768)	James Barrett	Rebuilt Farmhouse	Dwelling, houselot
18th	James Barrett	West Ell	Dwelling
18th	James Barrett	18th C. Barn	Houselot
18th	James/Peter Barrett	Corn House	Houselot
18th	James/Peter Barrett	Wood Shed	Dwelling
18th	Unknown	Filling/raising yard	Houselot

19th-Century Landscape Changes

Multiple changes to the landscape and farmhouse were undertaken in the 19th century. Peter Barrett appears to have been expanding farm operations before his death in 1808. In addition, Detwiller suggests the amount of lumber and nails present in Peter's probate shows that he planned to expand the farmhouse (Detwiller 2007: 15). In addition to the farmhouse, cornhouse and barn, Detwiller believes there would have been a "chaise house" built during Peter Barrett's occupancy (2007: 15). Peter's probate lists a "chaise and harness" (MSA, Probate of Peter Barrett, Boston, 1808). A chaise was a two wheeled vehicle that would seat two people. A vehicle such as this would have been uncommon for farmers in the early 18th century. Most families traveled by foot, on horseback, on utilitarian wagons (such as farm wagons) or by

stage (Lee 1993: 42). Only prosperous or wealthy families would have been able to afford and maintain private, non work related transportation like a chaise (Lee 1993: 42). Detwiller believes this vehicle could have belonged to James Barrett because of his advanced age at the time of the battles of Lexington and Concord (2007: 12). Getting around on horseback or on foot would have been difficult for Colonel Barrett. However, at this time, there is no archaeological or documentary evidence to support this.

The farm house and the ground surrounding it were raised at some point in the mid to late 19th century (Beranek 2008: 8). In addition, the foundation had been repeatedly repaired. Given the time frame, these changes would have taken place during the occupancy of Peter, Mary Prescott or Prescott Barrett. In the days before refrigeration, storing food in cellars was the prominent method of preservation. A cheese room, also used for preservation of food, was mentioned in the probate of Peter Barrett (MSA, Probate of Peter Barrett, Boston, 1808). Although the exact location of this room was not discovered during the excavation, Detwiller suggests the cheese room existed on the east side of the house, before the ell was erected (2007: 23). With the cellar and cheese room as the primary means of food storage, a wet cellar with a high water table was a major threat (McMahon 1994: 171-172). During the 2007 field work, a high water table, damp basement and wet back yard were noted by UMass archaeologists. Raising the foundation and the ground surface as well as the constant repairs could have been an attempt to combat the water problem at the property.

After recovering from the economic hardships of the early 19th century, Prescott Barrett attempted to expand and diversify the farm. It was most likely during the Prescott occupation that the barn was rebuilt and expanded. An old barn foundation currently sits, abandoned, just west of the farmhouse. The 18th-century barn was recorded as being within 40 feet of the house (Detwiller 2007: 11). Although an exact date on the 19th-century barn does not exist, Detwiller shows architectural evidence that it dates to the early to mid 19th century. Detwiller (2007: 15) states, "The high foundation of heavy large drill-quarried granite block is also characteristic of the early-to-mid 1800s". The 19th century barn most likely dates to this period. This rebuilding of the barn would fit with Prescott Barrett's attempts to expand farming. Although the location of the original barn was never determined, it could be on the same ground as the later barn. Detwiller states, "Some hand-hewn mortise-and-tenon fragments observed in the ruins indicate that parts of the earlier eighteenth century barn may have been incorporated within the later barn structures" (2007: 15).

The incorporation of dairy farming would have required changes to the landscape beyond a new barn. Although the barn was the most important addition, land would have been needed to support the cows, even the relatively small herd that Prescott had. In 1907, Jared Van Wagenen wrote a small paper on the steps required to set up a dairy farm in the northeast. Although this was decades after Prescott Barrett started dairying, some of the procedures would have been the same. The change in technology between the mid 19th century and the early 20th century did not

affect the amount of land needed to tend cows. Ideally, a small herd of up to 30 cows would be kept on 100 acres (Van Wagenen 1907: 178). Van Wagenen also listed the equipment necessary to a dairy farm. Writing in the days before "sanitary" milk was a requirement, the basic equipment for extracting milk would have been the same for Prescott Barrett. This would have included milk pails, a strainer, cooler or aerator and milk cans (Van Wagenen 1907: 179). However, the probate for Prescott does not list any of the items necessary for a dairy farm, other than the livestock. This could indicate two things; either Prescott gave up the idea of running a dairy farm and started selling off his equipment, or he died before he got the dairy operation fully running. The landscape changes, such as the barn and amount of pasture used, would still have taken place, regardless of the success of his operation.

Figure 8: Historic photograph with arrows pointing to the "board ramps."

The east ell appears to have a complex history. The term "east ell" is used to describe the structures that stood off of the east side of the house. In addition to the cheese room which may have been on this side of the house, the probate of Peter Barrett mentions an attached "wood house" (MSA, Probate of Peter Barrett, Boston, 1808). This structure could have been located on the east side of the house (Beranek 2007: 35). If located on that side of the house, this

structure must have been torn down after 1808 and rebuilt during the mid 19th century. Artifacts recovered from testing underneath the east ell revealed mid-19th century items. These artifacts were similar to ones found in the ceramic midden and in the west side of the house, which indicates the date of deposit as post 1845.

In addition, the presence of a depression and field stone foundation suggest a structure more substantial then a "wood shed" (Figure 5). The rebuilding of the east ell would have taken place during the Mary Prescott/Prescott Barrett occupancy. Considering the cellar hole and foundation, a construction project of this size could have been carried out during the attempts of Prescott Barrett to expand farming during the mid-19th century. In addition, ceramics found under the east ell match those found in the ceramic midden. The midden has a TPQ of 1845. This building is seen in photograph from 1880. Therefore, the east ell was probably built sometime after 1845 but before 1880. This building stood until 1977. During the 20th century, the east ell was changed in appearance and function. Detwiller compiled photographic and oral evidence about the changes to the east ell, including a "three-seat privy in the NE corner" (2007: 18). In addition to storage, the east ell may have been used as a carriage house. Detwiller remarks that "board ramps for cart wheels are visible in old photos" (Figure 8), suggesting a wheeled vehicle was stored inside (2007:18). The carriage house was incorporated into the east ell, although it is not clear if that was the only function of the ell.

A retaining wall was constructed on the north side of the house during the mid to late 19th century. Portions of this wall are still present. The wall ranges in height up

to 2 ½ feet (Beranek 2008: 20). The retaining wall sections "enclose a built-up area that surrounds the house, while the north and east yard areas outside the retaining wall are 70 to 110 cm lower than the house" (Beranek 2008: 20). Because of the difference in height and the presence of the east ell, the retaining wall appears to have been built to hold back fill which would have been brought in during construction of ell and/or raising of the foundation. However, an intact feature (early 19th century cobble paving) was located between the house and retaining wall was only buried beneath 10 and 25 cm of soil (Beranek 2008: 21). This wall is linked to the formation of the ceramic midden. The MCD and the location of the midden between the wall and the rebuilt east ell date this retaining wall to the Prescott Barrett household. There were artifacts located inside the midden that match those found beneath the cobbled surface under the east ell.

Figure 9: Historic photo with arrow showing exposed cobble surface.

The archaeological excavations discovered two addition major changes to the landscape. The subsurface investigation was able to show how much yard fill was used at the property during the 19th and 20th century. The archaeological excavations at the Barrett farmstead revealed many episodes of filling. These fill episodes, dating

from the late 18th and early 19th century, were probably made because of a problem with spring flooding (Beranek 2008: 47). This fill would have been used to bring the yard up to the level of the house after the foundation was raised. The filling was extensive in some cases. In the east front yard, nearly 1 meter of fill was present on top of the 18th century horizon. It is difficult to attribute these early fill episodes to particular households.

The other major 19th century landscape change was the addition of the cobbled surface to the yard (Figure 9). Beranek suggests separate episodes of cobbling (2008: 49). The cobbles on the north and west side of the house, which were larger and created a flat surface, appear to be the earliest. They could date as early as the 1770's, and were definitely before the mid 19th century (Beranek 2008: 49). The cobbles in the east front yard and the east ell were made of smaller, rounder stones. In addition, this cobbled surface was shallower, suggesting that it was not buried as long (Beranek 2008: 49). These cobbles were probably laid down around the 1850's (Beranek 2008: 49). Artifacts found under the cobbles in the east ell are contemporaneous with those found in the ceramic midden, which would date the surface to the mid-late 19th century. Late 19th-century photographs show the east ell surrounded by cobble pavement (Figures 1 and 9). The reasons for the cobbling episodes are unknown. The surface could have been purely aesthetic, or could have been placed to "facilitate rain-water run off as well as to create a cleaner and less muddy surface adjacent to the house" (Beranek 2008: 49). This cobbled surface was also present beneath the location of the east ell, showing that the cobble pavement on

the east side of the house predates construction of the ell. The cobble surface on the west and north side of the house can be attributed to either the James Barrett or Peter Barrett household. The cobble surface in the front and east side of the house probably date to the Prescott Barrett household.

Table 6: Summary of known 19th century landscape changes.

Century	Household	Change	Landscape
18th/19th	Peter Barrett	Chaise House	Houselot
19th	Unknown	Foundation Raised	Dwelling
19th	Prescott Barrett	19th C. Barn	Houselot
19th	Prescott Barrett	Expanded Dairy Operation	Settlement pattern
19th	Prescott Barrett	East ell	Dwelling, houselot
19th	Prescott Barrett	Retaining Wall	Houselot
19th	Unknown	Extensive Yard Fill	Houselot
19th	Unknown	Cobble Surface	Houselot

20th-Century Landscape Changes

Although the studying of the 20th-century occupation was outside the scope of this thesis, landscape changes carried out during that century could have impacted earlier features. A drainage ditch was excavated on the west side of the house during the 20th century. This culvert was added to help the drainage problem (Detwiller 2007: 19). This included the addition of a small footbridge over the culvert for access to the barn. Three test pits were placed on the west side of the house. Two of these pits confirmed the disturbance due to the culvert. This culvert dates to the McGrath occupancy.

Archaeological excavations also revealed that additional work had been done to the foundation during the 20th century. Every excavation unit or shovel test pit placed against the foundation uncovered evidence of 20th-century disturbance. While some of the disturbance is the result of 20th century utilities, such as a pipe being placed, other units showed deep disturbance against the foundation. Archaeological excavations north of the house, but south of the retaining wall, showed disturbance in the rear of the house due to a 20th century pump (Beranek 2008: 24). In addition to deep 20th century artifacts, excavation unit 607N 811.5E revealed a very large stone penetrating into the east foundation wall. This stone could have been "included to abut/reinforce the foundation wall, although it does lie at a haphazard angle" (Beranek 2008: 26). Due to the presence of 20th century artifacts beneath the stone, this foundation work is attributed to the McGrath period. These artifacts included polypropylene sheet plastic, which has a TPQ of 1933.

Figure 10: A 20th century photo showing dilapidated state of the 19th century barn.

At some point during the 20th century, a formal garden was placed north of the house, in the back yard (Detwiller 2007: 19). Aside from the change in the

appearance of the landscape, the addition of a garden of this size would signify other changes. Although this thesis does not deal with farming at the property during the 20th century, this could show a further decline in the use of the landscape for agricultural production. Land that was previously used for agriculture was then used for aesthetic appeal. The formal garden in the back yard dates to the McGrath occupation.

Additional filling episodes were also carried out. A small amount of landscape fill was used around the farmhouse in either the late 19th or early 20th century (Beranek 2008: 49). The major change created by the later fill episodes was the covering of the cobbled surface. This changed the appearance of the landscape around the farmhouse with a return of a grass covered lawn. Although this later fill could be attributed to George Barrett, it probably dates to the McGrath period.

By the last quarter of the 20th century, both the barn and the east ell were torn down (or collapsed). Since the east ell was possibly used as a carriage house in the 19th century, it may have continued to be used as a garage in the 20th century. Two test pits were placed inside the ell. The archaeological survey did not uncover any items that would suggest the storage of motorized vehicles. The large barn that was built by Prescott Barrett was demolished around 1977 (Detwiller 2007: 17). Photographic evidence shows the barn was in a dilapidated state in the early 1970s (Figure 10). The foundation of this structure still remains, along with a number of rusted farm equipment. The demolition of the barn, without any type of replacement, signifies a

final change in the settlement pattern at the Barrett Farm Site. Farming, of any type, could no longer be carried out at this site.

Table 7: Summary of known 20th century landscape changes.

Century	Household	Change	Landscape
20th	McGrath	Culvert/Footbridge	Houselot
20th	McGrath	Foundation Repair	Dwelling
20th	McGrath	Modern Well Pump	Dwelling, Houselot
20th	McGrath	Formal Garden	Houselot, Settlement pattern
19th/20th	George Barrett/McGrath	Landscape Fill over Cobble Surface	Houselot
20th	McGrath	Demolition of East Ell	Houselot
20th	McGrath	Demolition of Barn	Houselot, Settlement pattern

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

This thesis sought to link landscape changes to a particular 19th century household, and to see if the reasons for these changes could be ascertained. In this thesis, I also wanted to link the changes in the landscape to significant changes in the household, specifically the head of household. However, I found that the major 19th century landscape changes had no connection to changes in the head of household. As a result, the conclusion will focus on the economy and changing landscape during the middle of the Prescott Barrett occupation. The Barrett Farm site provides an example of how the changing economic conditions in New England affected a general purpose farmstead and upper class farming family. General purpose farming, as represented by the Prescott Barrett household was under pressure from internal and external forces during the mid-19th century. External pressure took the shape of a changing economic climate and consumer patterns. Internal pressure would have resulted inside the household, from births, deaths, marriages or possibly stemming from a disagreement between a junior and senior household member. This pressure caused changes in the farmstead. These changes can be seen through the archaeological record by changes in the landscape. The archaeological investigation, combined with documentary research, gives us a better interpretation of changes in the landscape.

The majority of the 19th-century landscape changes were undertaken during the Prescott Barrett occupation. Prescott's response to the external pressure on general purpose farming was to expand and diversify production at the Barrett farmstead. In Concord, the changes to the economy in the 19th century were first brought in by the railroad in 1844. Although Concord never became a major dairy supplier to Boston, it was a contributing source for that city (Kimenker 1983). In his attempts to expand farming and adapt to the changing economy, Prescott Barrett, like some other farmers in Concord, began dairying. Extensive changes to the farmstead and landscape coincide with the Prescott Barrett household's middle or "mature" phase of the lifecycle. Comparing this to Mark Groover's findings (2004), the Prescott Barrett household does not follow the expected pattern. He found that "landscape modifications often occurred during the beginning or end of a household cycle, coinciding with generational junctures" (Groover 2004: 27). Therefore, the changes to the landscape at the Barrett farm appear to be the result of external pressure more than internal pressure.

The documentary research suggested multiple changes in both the household and the landscape during the 19th century. The archaeology supports this find. The majority of artifacts found date to the 19th century. In addition, major changes to the landscape, such as the raising of the foundation, updating and expanding the barn and the building of the cobbled surface, date to the 19th century. Another hypothesis posed by Groover (2008: 80-81) at the Gibbs Site suggests that major landscape changes would coincide with major household changes. In some cases, my findings

did not match Groover's hypothesis. Archaeological data helped to attribute certain landscape changes to a particular household. However, contrary to Groover's household change hypothesis, the mid 19th century was a time of household stability at the Barrett Farmstead.

The analysis of the ceramic vessels found inside the midden is important to the study of the landscape changes. The midden, with a TPQ of 1845 and MCD of 1857, is useful to attribute certain landscape changes to a particular household. Since the midden is linked to the creation of the retaining wall and the cobbling of the east and north sides of the house, both these events can be linked to the Prescott Barrett household. The archaeological excavation also showed that the some of the 19th century fill and construction activities might have been contemporaneous with the creation of the ceramic midden. Pearlware vessels with similar decorations were found in testpits match two found in the ceramic midden (Vessels 19-22). In addition, a similar transfer print pattern was found on a vessel that was unearthed under the cobble surface in the east front yard. However, later 20th century activity could have caused the ceramics to be redeposited. As a result, these other landscape changes could not be linked to the creation of the midden and could not be positively attributed to the Prescott Barrett household.

Landscape changes during the Prescott Barrett occupation showed a significant shift in farming. Although Prescott did not change the overall focus of his farm (he would still be considered a "general-purpose" farmer), the shift was enough to leave an archaeological footprint. I placed all documented landscape changes in

three categories (changes to dwelling, houselot or settlement pattern) based on Groover's (2004) work. Although there were landscape changes before and after Prescott, he is the only one to make a documented change to the settlement pattern (in other words, the overall focus of the farm) without a complete departure from farming. For example, Prescott tried to adapt to the changing times by buying a number of dairy cows. However, the foray into dairy production appears to have been met with limited success. Spencer-Wood and Heberling point out that ceramic expenditures were not high on the list of purchases for farming families. "Some wealthy families, particularly in occupations such as farming, might choose to invest less then would be expected in ceramics due to competing investments in land and other goods" (Spencer-Wood and Heberling 1987: 61). These other investments would have included the dairy cows and items used in dairy production. Investments of this scale could then be seen in changes to the overall focus, or settlement pattern, of the farmstead. During the 20th century, the McGrath family made two documented changes to the settlement pattern. However, these represented a departure from farming altogether. It should be noted that the McGrath family continue to have a strong farming presence in Concord, and the popular McGrath Farmstand is located across the street from the Barrett Farm Site. However, farming was no longer carried out at the Barrett house lot by the last half of the 20th century.

The archaeological excavation was able to expand SOH interpretation of the Barrett house. Instead of focusing exclusively on April 19th, 1775, it was decided that different rooms in the house would be set up to interpret different eras of the Barrett

and even McGrath occupation. The interpretation of archaeological features and artifacts helped to give a broader understanding of the past at the Barrett farm. This thesis was able to link changes in the landscape to a particular household and look at the external causes of the changes. I hope this thesis will assist in interpreting the Prescott Barrett occupation and provide insight into that particular time in the properties history.

Further Research

Although much research has been done on the Barrett family, there is still much more to learn about this fascinating and historic family in the 19th century. The Barrett Farm Site has potential for additional research. Although this thesis was able to link a dateable archaeological feature to major landscape changes, I was not able to learn much about the creation of the midden. Additional artifact analysis from other test units may give insight into the internal (household) factors involved in the landscape changes. By identifying other vessels that match those from the mostly undisturbed midden, it may be possible to positively link other landscape changes to the Prescott Barrett household.

Studying the remains of 19th century barn could yield additional information on changes in the landscape during the Prescott Barrett occupation. Future renovation plans by SOH involve the barn. If these plans are carried out, UMass Boston could be in a position to pursue excavations and research on the 19th century barn site. A study

of historic documents may give clues as to whether this barn was built before or after Prescott attempted to try dairying. Was this barn purpose built as a dairy barn? Or was it a normal, albeit large, general purpose farm barn? Perhaps a separate structure was used for the cows on a different part of the farmstead. An excavation of the barn could lead to information on the set up and utilization of mid 19th century New England dairy barns.

For additional information about how the Barrett family responded to changing economy, an entire study of holdings of Prescott could be done. By finding out how many lots he owned, how many acres on each lot, and what was carried out on each lot, we could have a better understanding of changes other than dairying that might have taken place. In addition, the later 19th century occupations, Olive and George and Marion Barrett could be researched further. Was it changes in the household, the economy, or something else that lead to the farmstead being sold out of the family? The same type of research into the 20th century McGrath occupation could be valuable to SOH. What lead to the final separation of the farmhouse from farming? Was it economic or household?

A comparison study of other mid-19th century farmsteads would also be informative. By looking at other farmers with similar socio-economic status, we can get an idea of how the changing economy affected farmers across New England. Although the Prescott Barrett household is an interesting case study, it is a single study and a single example.

The Barrett Farm site also presents interesting research questions for gender in historical archaeology. At two points in the 19th century, there was a female head of household listed. Both of these cases came at time of war. Further study of the Mary Prescott household (War of 1812) and Olive Barrett household (Civil War) could greatly expand our knowledge of 19th-century New England farmsteads with female heads of household. In the 21st century, women would be just as likely as men to be at war. However, in the 19th century, it was common for women to be at the head of a farmstead while the men were fighting.

APPENDIX A

VESSEL DESCRIPTION

This section deals with the 49 vessels found in the 1 x 1 m excavation unit, 615.25N 813.5E, and the 50 cm x 50 cm test pit, 615N 812E. Vessel numbers 1 - 3 and vessel 5 were found outside the midden and not included in this appendix. Vessel 47 does not exist. In addition to the description of the vessel, this appendix includes a range of probably manufacture dates based on the DAACS Type File and my own calculations (when they differed). The median manufacture date is listed in parenthesis following the range of dates.

Vessel 4: This is a pearlware oval serving dish with blue transfer print and a molded rim. The rim is similar to the "Queensware" pattern, however, it is not an exact match. This vessel should not be confused with a Wedgwood Queensware, which was a type of creamware. Pearlware was first made in 1775. However, it did not become widely popular until 1779, when Josiah Wedgewood began producing "China glaze" (Miller and Hunter 2001: 135). Pearlware, as it is called today, was produced by adding a small amount of cobalt to the glaze. These wares were made in English potteries and shipped in large quantities to the United States. By 1820, however, this type of ceramic was in decline. Pearlware managed to hang on to a small market by producing simple wares for poorer families (Arman and Arman 1998: 13). After 1840, the only types of pearlwares to be produced and sold in America were

"commemorative" vessels (Ewins 2008). No pearlware of this latter type was found at the Barrett farm. Transfer prints on pearlware date to about 1820, although they can go later. Molded designs date until about 1830. After this, whiteware became the more popular ware. Molded rims were common and popular on early whiteware vessels. Many of these rims also resembled the "Queensware" pattern. This vessel probably dates between 1775 and 1830. The DAACS mean ceramic date file gives this vessel a MCD of 1795 to 1830.

Vessel 6: An intact salt-glazed stoneware bottle. This was very similar in size and shape to a half-pint ink bottle. These bottles were often made from stoneware with a brown to dark brown glaze. However, ink bottles often had a small spout on the lip for ease of pouring. The pour spout was absent from vessel 6. Although ink was a very common household item in the 19th century, stoneware ink bottles varied in size and shape. The majority of these were made in England and many were imported into America. American manufacture's made stoneware inkwells, but the half-pint or larger ink bottles were probably imported. Vessel 6 closely resembles the ink bottle in Hume's example (Hume 1969: 78). Smooth glaze stoneware bottles were popular from 1840 until 1890. However, some were made earlier. Although common in the 17th and 18th centuries, they gradually declined in use until 1812. The heavy taxes placed on glassware in England created a surge in the popularity of stoneware (Hume 1969: 79). Clear glass was taxed more heavily than colored glass. Hume notes that stoneware bottles made prior to 1840 were "vastly more imaginative and reminiscent of the early artistry" (Hume 1969: 79). Vessel 6, plain and similar to other stoneware

bottles, was probably made after 1840. The duty on clear glass bottles was eliminated in 1843, but stoneware bottles continued to be used on a regular basis for nearly 50 more years. Despite their rapid decline at the turn of the 20th century, American made buff-bodied smooth-glazed stoneware bottles persisted until 1920. This vessel probably dates from 1840 to 1920. The DAACS mean ceramic date file gives this vessel a MCD of 1787 to 1920.

Vessel 7: This vessel is a large stoneware jug with gray salt glaze on the exterior and a small amount of cobalt decoration scattered across the surface. Portions of the neck, collar and handle were still present on the sherds. The interior consisted of a dark brown glaze. American stoneware became common after the American Revolution. Higher duty on foreign imports fostered an indigenous stoneware industry (Goldweitz 1984: 17). This buff-bodied American stoneware vessel dates between 1840 and 1890. American stoneware was popular before and after these dates, but the blue cobalt decoration narrows the dates of this vessel to that 50-year span.

Vessel 8: Vessel 8 consisted of several small sherds of American buff-bodied stoneware. It was a type of hollowware and possibly a jug. These sherds were different from those that constituted vessels 7 and 9. The exterior was made up of a smooth, salt-glazed gray exterior and reddish brown interior. There are small amounts of blue cobalt in the exterior glaze. This vessel, like vessels 7 and 9, probably dates between 1840 and 1890.

Vessel 9: Vessel 9 was a single sherd of Nottingham type English stoneware. The vessel was a type of hollowware, but not enough of it exists to tell what kind. This

type of ware was first manufactured in the late 17th century (1683) (Miller 2000: 10). However, Noel Hume states that, despite an earlier patent, these vessels began to appear around 1700 (1969: 114). Nottingham type continued to be made up to 1810. Despite only a single piece being recovered, this was one of the oldest vessels in the midden. Hume believes that most Nottingham type stoneware in America dates to before 1775 (Hume 1969: 114). This vessel probably dates from 1700 to 1810.

Vessel 10: This was a large, buff-bodied American stoneware crock. The vessel had many sherds that cross-mended, giving a rim-to-base profile. In addition, a handle was still present. The color of the glaze varied from gray to brown with cobalt around the handle and rim. American gray-bodied, salt glazed stoneware was popular throughout most of the 19th century, although the dates can range from 1720-1900. However, the vessel's two-toned glaze with cobalt decorations narrows the dates to 1840-1890. The latter part of the 19th century was the heyday of this ware. The stoneware vessels, especially crocks, had a wide range of storage and utilitarian uses. However, like stoneware bottles (see vessel 6), crocks and other items were driven out by the glass industry. Storage bottles-such as Mason jars- cheaply and efficiently replaced stoneware (Johnson 1995:3).

Vessel 11: This was an ironstone tea bowl with blue underglaze painting. The vessel was nearly complete with a rim-to-base profile. The interior featured a blue hand-painted geometric pattern. This shape was popular between 1810 and 1840. A partial maker's mark read "-ATENT IRONSTONE/CHINA." This is similar to the Mason mark on that brand of ironstone. The ware that would later be known as ironstone

was first patented in 1800 by William Turner of England. Turner called this ware "stone china." However, after financial hardships and eventual bankruptcy, the patent may have been sold (Tharp 2006). Josiah Spode began producing "stone china" in 1805, and Mason entered his ironstone patent in 1813 (Hume 1969: 131). When Mason's patent expired in 1827, many other manufacture's adopted his term "ironstone" and this showed up in many imitators' maker's marks (Tharp 2006). Ironstone became very popular and common in America during the 1840's (Ewins 2008: 121). However, the early ironstone pieces tended to be hand-painted in "Oriental" designs. The later pieces, also called "white granite" tended to be plain, undecorated tablewares. If this is a true hand-painted Mason ironstone vessel, it is probably pre-1840. Two pieces of this vessel have identical designs. They could represent two tea bowls or one that has the same decoration on both sides. This vessel probably dates from 1813 to 1840.

Vessel 12: This was a blue, shell-edged pearlware plate or platter. This style dates between 1780 and 1820, although types of pearlware persisted into the 1840's. This was one of the cheapest and most common forms of pearlware (Lockett 1996). The shell-edged design continued with the advent of whiteware, and these types of plates or platters were made up to the 20th century. This vessel probably dates from 1775 to 1840.

Vessel 13: This vessel consisted of a piece of scalloped-edged pearlware, probably a plate or saucer. There were no traces of transfer prints or blue paint. Undecorated scalloped-edge pearlware dates 1780 and 1830.

Vessel 14: This was a piece of blue shelled-edged whiteware. Unlike the pearlware version of this type of plate, the edges of the whiteware had not been incised. Instead, the vessel featured straight, impressed lines on the shell edge. Production of shell-edged plates ranges from 1795 to 1880, spanning creamware, pearlware and whiteware (Miller 1991: 12). Whiteware was first developed in England in 1805 by Wedgwood (Miller 2000: 13). However, it did not become common in America until after 1820. However, after it was introduced, it rapidly replaced pearlware as the most popular ceramic type. Whiteware continued to be manufactured into modern times. Since this is a shell-edged whiteware vessel, the likely dates are 1820-1880.

Vessel 15: Vessel 15 was a piece of blue sponge decorated pearlware. The decoration appeared on the interior. The sponge decoration appeared at the end of the reign of pearlware. It was manufactured in England and imported to America between 1820 and 1860. Pearlware dates from 1775 until 1840. However, the post 1840 sponge-decorated vessels were all whiteware, so this pearlware vessel dates between 1820 and 1840.

Vessel 16: This was a blue sponge-decorated whiteware vessel, possibly a tea bowl. Spongeware was made for import to American between 1820 and 1860, with the sponge decoration commonly being on whiteware after 1840. This vessel probably dates between 1840 and 1860.

Vessel 17: This vessel was a piece of red transfer printed whiteware. It is a large hollowware vessel with floral patterns on the interior and exterior. Red transfer print was introduced in 1828 and was used on both pearlwares and whitewares. However,

the majority of colored transfer prints appear to be on the hard paste whitewares. It continued to be produced until the 20th century. This vessel probably dates between 1828 and 1855, which was the height of its popularity.

Vessel 18: This was a piece of purple transfer-printed refined white earthenware. The sherd was too small to determine whether it was whiteware or pearlware. The design was a scroll and floral pattern. Like red transfer prints, purple was introduced in 1828 on both types of wares. The small size makes it impossible to determine what the function of the vessel was. The only solid date on this vessel is post 1828.

Vessel 19: This was a brown transfer printed pearlware plate. The vessel featured a scroll and floral design around the edges and a landscape design in the center. Brown transfer prints were introduced in 1809 on pearlware and in 1825 on whiteware. However, pearlware continued to be used up until 1840. This vessel probably dates between 1809 and 1825, but could be as late as 1840. Brown was one of the most common colors for transfer prints and was the least expensive. Inexpensive pearlware dishes continued to be produced for nearly two decades after whiteware was introduced, so this vessel probably dates between 1809 and 1840.

Vessel 20 and 21: These two vessels were two pieces of the same set. Both are brown transfer print pearlwares, with floral patterns and a maker's mark on the under side. The mark read "JESSAMINE / J. WEDGWOOD." Both of these vessels have a pattern from transfer printing that Miller and Earls (2008) demonstrate to be a cost cutting measure. A "wallpaperlike" floral pattern for a border combined with a "simple vignette or floral spray pattern" allowed the potter to use "one or two

engraved copperplates to accommodate the different sizes of a vessel" in the same set (Miller and Earls 2008:102). Transferwares decorated in this manner were popular between the War of 1812 on the start of the Civil War. This decoration method, combined with the fact that brown was the cheapest type of transfer print available, meant that this set was probably at the low end of cost. This vessel, like vessel 19, dates between 1809 and 1840.

Vessel 22: This was a small pearlware plate or saucer with a brown transfer print. This vessel had the same floral pattern as vessels 19, 20 and 21. It was probably part of the same set. Like the other similar vessels, this one dates between 1809 and 1840.

Vessel 23: This unusual vessel was a green transfer printed rectangular item, possibly the lid of a teapot or tureen. It featured small holes, possibly for venting. Green was a very rare color for a transfer print on pearlware. This color was introduced around the same time as purple and red transfer prints (1828) while pearlware itself dates between 1775 and 1840. The dates for this vessel range from 1828 to 1840.

Vessel 24: This was a blue transfer-printed pearlware plate. It featured a basket weave/geometric pattern on the edge. The majority of pearlware dates between 1775 and 1840. Blue transfer prints were introduced in 1783 and continued to be made as long as pearlware was manufactured (1840). However, after 1828, when different color transfer printing was introduced, blue became less common. Still, this vessel probably dates between 1783 and 1840.

Vessel 25: Vessel 25 was a refined white earthenware plate with a flow blue decoration. The rim is molded and the vessel has a willow pattern on it. Flow blue was first produced in the 1820's in England. However, it did not become popular in America until 1845, when it began to be exported in large numbers. Production of flow blue continued into the 20th century. Later pieces of flow blue, 1860 to 1880, tended to have scalloped rims and floral patterns. This vessel could be a "later" piece of flow blue, but the date ranges from 1845 to 1880.

Vessel 26: This was a refined white earthenware plate with a flow blue decoration. The rim is decorated in a Chinese pattern. There was discoloration on the sherds, but this appeared to be post-depositional. Two sherds cross mend, but only one of the sherds has the discoloration. Earlier pieces of flow blue were ironstone vessels with "Oriental" patterns and designs that covered most of the object. After 1860, flow blue tended to be more rounded and had elaborate decorations, usually with gold trim. Judging from the pattern and rim, this vessel dates between 1825 and 1860.

Vessel 27: This vessel was a pearlware plate with blue transfer print. It had a floral pattern around the edges and a landscape scene, similar to that of a "Willow Ware" pattern. That pattern was used on various wares. According to Miller (1991) it was one of the earliest underglaze prints and continued to be used throughout the 19th century (8). It is easier to narrow down the date by the type of ware (pearlware) instead of the pattern. Pearlware dates between 1775 and 1840.

Vessel 28: This was a whiteware vessel with blue transfer print. It was possibly a plate, saucer, platter or other form of flatware. The decoration consisted of a floral

pattern with line and stippled dots on the rim. Whiteware, although introduced in 1809, did not become popular in America until 1820. It continued to be used until the present. This vessel probably dates between 1820 and the present.

Vessel 29: This was a blue transfer-print pearlware vessel. It was a flatware vessel with a molded rim and floral print design. Pearlware dates from 1775 to 1840.

Vessel 30: Vessel 30 was blue transfer printed pearlware. It had a floral design that was different from that of vessel 29. The sherd was too small to determine vessel size, shape or type. Pearlware dates from 1775 to 1840.

Vessel 31: This vessel was a blue transfer-print pearlware. It was a piece of flatware with a molded rim and floral design. The sherd was too small to determine vessel size, shape or type. Pearlware dates from 1775 to 1840.

Vessel 32: This was a small pearlware tea bowl or teacup. Vessel 32 featured blue, hand-painted underglaze decoration. A small band was visible on the interior rim. Pearlware dates from 1775 to 1840.

Vessel 33: Vessel 33 was a pearlware pitcher with blue applied sprig molding in a floral design. The sherds of this vessel contained a handle fragment. Pearlware dates from 1775 to 1840.

Vessel 34: This was a large piece of pearlware, possibly a basin or a platter. It had applied blue sprig-molded decorations in floral patterns. There was only one sherd of the actual vessel. The other pieces were the molding that spalled off. Pearlware dates from 1775 to 1840.

Vessel 35: This was a refined white earthenware vessel, possibly a teacup. It had a copper luster hand-painted overglaze design. One of the sherds had the fragment of a handle. It was impossible to determine the ware type from the small sherds. Refined white earthenware was first introduced in the 1660's. European attempts to mimic this ware resulted in the introduction of creamware in 1740. The attempts continued into the 19th century. Refined white earthenware continues to be produced up to the present. This vessel could date between 1740 and the present.

Vessel 36: This vessel was a piece of pearlware. The sherd was too small to say much about it other than that it was a from hollowware vessel adorned with brown decoration. The decorations could have been done with cut sponge. Pearlware dates from 1775 to 1840.

Vessel 37: A small sherd of refined white earthenware. It was too small to tell if it was pearlware, creamware or white ware. Refined white earthenware dates from 1740 to the present.

Vessel 38: This small sherd of pearlware was factory-made slipware. This vessel featured a dendritic decoration on top of orange glaze. Although it was too small to identify, it was very similar to designs found on Mocha wares. Mocha wares were first made in 1784. They were commonly found on creamware (Sussman 1997: 60). However, a significant amount of Mocha decorated pearlware was made between 1790 and 1840. These pieces were usually hollowware – cups, bowls, jugs and other similar shapes. Mocha decorated wares continued to be made until at least the 1860's

(Ewins 2008: 124). However, these tended to be on whiteware. This vessel probably dates from 1790 to 1840.

Vessel 39: This was a small sherd of factory-made slipware. Unlike vessel 38, this is identifiable as creamware. The sherd had many small spalls missing from the exterior. It was decorated with a dendritic line and yellow and blue bands. Generic creamware dates from 1762 to 1820. Factory-made slipware dates from 1780 to 1895. However, based on the design, we can narrow the date down further. The "mocha" design of dendritic lines was manufactured between 1784 and 1895. The banding on the vessel dates between 1797 and 1890. Based on ceramic type and decoration, this vessel probably dates from between 1797 and 1820.

Vessel 40: Vessel 40 was factory-made slipware. This pearlware vessel featured brown slip dripped dots on a light blue field. Pearlware dates from 1775 and 1840. Factory-made slipware dates from 1762 and 1895. The vessel probably dates between 1775 and 1840.

Vessel 41: This piece of factory made slipware featured brown lines on a whiteware body. Whiteware dates from 1820 to the present day. Factory-made slipware dates from 1762 to 1895. This vessel probably dates from 1820 to 1895.

Vessel 42: This was a large yellowware vessel, possibly a chamber pot. The sherds have no decoration. Plain yellowware dates between 1830 and 1900.

Vessel 43: Vessel 43 consisted of several small sherds of yellow-bodied refined earthenware. The vessel had a dark brown, lustrous glaze on it. Only one small sherd

had the glaze on both sides. Due to the small sample size, there are no dates available.

Vessel 44: This piece of porcelain was decorated with a band of hand-painted, blue overglaze design. The date on this vessel could vary greatly depending on whether it is Chinese export porcelain or English manufactured porcelain. Although the sherd is small, it does appear to be English. The porcelain factory at Worcester produced a soft paste product with blue or brown Chinese type designs beginning in 1751. The company was bought out in 1840, but many of its designs were imported into America in the late 18th and early 19th century. This vessel probably dates from 1751 to 1840.

Vessel 45: Vessel 45 was an undecorated pearlware bowl with molded panels. Pearlware dates from 1775 to 1840. Molded sides were popular between 1780 and 1830. This vessel probably dates between 1780 and 1830.

Vessel 46: This was a simple piece of whiteware. It was too small to determine the vessel's shape and function. Although the whiteware fragment was decorated in a molded floral pattern, the sherd is too small for further identification. Whiteware in America dates from 1820 and continues to be used into the present day.

Vessel 48: These two pieces of pearlware represented a large serving bowl or washbasin. Much of the exterior glaze of this plain, undecorated vessel's fragments had spalled off. The rim diameter of this large vessel was 26 cm. Plain pearlware dates from 1775 to 1840.

Vessel 49: This vessel was a small plate or saucier of undecorated pearlware. The glaze had spalled off in many areas of the interior and exterior. There was a partial makers mark on one of the sherds. It was too small to read. This small saucier had a rim diameter of 12 cm. Pearlware dates from 1775 to 1840.

Vessel 50: This single sherd of creamware represented a hollowware vessel. It was plain and undecorated, but much of the glaze had spalled off. This vessel is likely a large bowl or chamber pot. This type of creamware dates from 1762 and 1820.

Vessel 51: Vessel 51 was an oval creamware serving platter. The five sherds counted had a portion of the glaze spalled off. The vessel was plain and undecorated. Creamware dates from 1762 and 1820.

Vessel 52: This was a small fragment of a whiteware vessel. Due to the small size, it was impossible to tell the vessels shape or function. There does not appear to be any decoration. Whiteware dates from 1820 to the present day.

Vessel 53: This was a pearlware vessel, possibly a plate or platter. It was undecorated with a slightly scalloped rim. Glaze had spalled off from two sides. Pearlware dates from 1775 and 1840. This type of rim was popular between 1785 and 1840. The vessel probably dates from 1785 to 1840.

Vessel 54: Vessel 54 was a large pearlware plate or platter. It was undecorated with a slightly scalloped rim. Pearlware dates from 1775 to 1840. This type of rim was popular between 1785 and 1840, so this vessel probably dates from 1785 to 1840.

APPENDIX B

CENSUS DATA

The requirements for a census were written into the United States Constitution. In order to get accurate tax information, and set the number of Representatives from each state, an actual counting of the population "shall be made within three years of the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct" (United States Constitution, 1789). The first United States census was carried out in 1790. A wide range of data was collected in the censuses during the 19th Century. During the early to mid part of the century, the data collected was specific and spelled out by federal legislation. During the latter part of the 19th century, the data became less specific, and the content questions asked were left to the superintendent of the census to decide. The data is divided based on the year it was taken. For the tables below, I listed the head of household first. Below the head, the other residents are listed in the order that they appear on the census. If a laborer, farmhand or other "outsider" appeared in the census, I included them in the household. As Barille (1999) notes that households studied as "socioeconomic units" can include non-relatives such as "slaves and indentured workers and those paid for daily labor" (123).

1800: This census was very similar to the 1790 census, which was the first nation-wide, federally mandated census. Any heads of household, including "free white males", "free white females", free blacks and "Indians not taxed" were also counted.

Slaves were listed in a separate column. There were no standardized forms, but enumerators had to collect specific details. Aside from heads of household, "free white males", "free white females", "free colored" or "Indians not taxed", age brackets were divided as "to 10", "to 16", "to 26", "to 45", and "45 and older".

Year	Total Number of Residents	Census Data	Identity	Additional Comments
1800	13	Male, 45 and over	Peter Barrett	Head of household. He would have been 46.
1800		Male, 0-10	Sherman Barrett	3rd son of Peter and Mary. b. 1793.
1800		Male, 0-10	Benjamin Barrett	Youngest son of Peter and Mary. b. 1796
1800		Male, 10-16	Henry Barrett	2nd son of Peter and Mary. b. 1790
1800		Male, 10-16	Prescott Barrett	Oldest son of Peter and Mary. b. 1788
1800		Male, 16-26	Unknown	Probably a farm laborer.
1800		Male, 16-26	Unknown	Probably a farm laborer
1800		Male, 16-26	Unknown	Probably a farm laborer
1800		Female, 10-16	Rebecca Barrett	3rd daughter of Peter and Mary. b. 1786
1800		Female, 16-26	Mercy Barrett	2nd daughter of Peter and Mary. b. 1783
1800		Female, 16-26	Mary Barrett	1st daughter of Peter and Mary. b. 1781
1800		Female, 26-45	Mary Prescott Barrett	Peters wife, she would have been 40.
1800		Female, 45 and older	Rebecca (Hubbard) Barrett	Widow of Col. J. Barrett She would have been 83.

.

1810: Mary Prescott Barrett had seven children with Peter. The oldest son, Prescott, inherited the farmhouse during the 1830's, so it is assumed that he was living and

working on the farm before that. He had not married his first wife, Betsey, when the census was taken. In addition, the age groups for the males living at the household fit with their other sons, so it can be assumed that they were living at home and working the farm. Of their daughters, Mary Barrett, age 29 at the time of the census, was probably not living at the farmstead. Second daughter Mercy Barrett was 27 in 1810. Although she was not married until 1811, there is no record of her living at the farmhouse. The female, 16-26, must have been the couples 3rd daughter, Rebecca, who would have been 24 at the time of the census. It is interesting to note that the household has shrunk considerably from the 1800 census. Aside from Mary and Mercy Barrett, all the "unknowns" from the last census were missing. It is assumed that these were laborers who were no longer living and working at the farm. Also missing is Rebecca (Hubbard) Barrett, the widow of Col. James Barrett. She passed away in 1806.

Year	**Total Number of Residents**	**Census Data**	Identity	**Additional Comments**
1810	6	Female, 45 and over	Mary Prescott Barrett	Female head of household. She would Have been 50.
1810		Male, 10-16	Benjamin Barrett	Youngest son of Peter and Mary. b. 1796
1810		Male, 16-26	Prescott Barrett	Oldest son of Peter and Mary. b. 1788
1810		Male, 16-26	Henry Barrett	2nd son of Peter and Mary. b. 1790
1810		Male, 16-26	Sherman Barrett	3rd son of Peter and Mary. b. 1793
1810		Female, 16-26	Rebecca Barrett	3rd daughter of Peter and Mary. b. 1786

1820: The 1820 federal census showed separate listings for Mary Barrett and Prescott Barrett, showing that Prescott was not yet residing at the farm he would

eventually take over. The 1820 federal census recorded the name of the head of the household, number of free white males and females in age brackets similar to the 1810 census (0-10, 10-16, 16-26, 26-45, 45 and older). This census also tracked other categories such as number of other free persons except Indians not taxed; number of slaves; and town or district and county of residence. None of these pertained to the Barrett household. In addition to Mary, one female aged 26-45 is listed. This is was probably Rebecca, who would have been 34 when the census was conducted. I found no evidence that she ever married. She may have been assisting her mother with running the farm. The one male, 16-26, was probably Benjamin Barrett, who would have been 24. With no hired labor, Benjamin may have been helping his mother and sister with the farm work.

Year	**Total Number of Residents**	**Census Data**	Identity	**Additional Comments**
1820	3	Female, 45 and over	Mary Prescott Barrett	Female head of household. She would Have been 60.
1820		Female, 26-45	Rebecca Barrett	3rd daughter of Peter and Mary. b. 1786
1820		Male, 16-26	Benjamin Barrett	Youngest son of Peter and Mary. b. 1796

1830: The 1830 census expanded the age categories. Ages were listed in 5-year increments for those under 20 (0-5, 5-10, 10-15 and 15-20). After age 20, the categories went every 10 years until age 100. The final category was 100 and over. The 1830 census separated between genders and specified between free white and free colored persons. I have two census records from 1830, one for Mary Barrett and

one for Prescott Barrett. Aged Mary was still listed as head of household in 1830. Her small household still consisted of three people. There are two females listed, one between 70-80, which would have been Mary, and one between 40-50, which I assume is still Rebecca. A third resident, a male between 15-20 is listed. This is too old to Benjamin Barrett, and may be a hired laborer. Prescott is listed as a resident of nearby Westford in 1830. This is interesting considering his close proximity to his mother 10 years prior. In less than a year after this census was taken, he assumed control of the Barrett Farmstead. For this reason, I included his 1830 household information. Prescott and Olive's second youngest son, Haywood, was born in 1830. The 1830 census began in early June, and he was likely born after this since there is only one child under five. This child would have been Charles Mason, who would have been three.

Mary Barrett (Concord, MA)

Year	**Total Number of Residents**	**Census Data**	Identity	**Additional Comments**
1830	3	Female, 70-80	Mary Prescott Barrett	Female head of household. She would Have been 70.
1830		Female, 26-45	Rebecca Barrett	3rd daughter of Peter and Mary. b. 1786
1830		Male, 15-20	Unknown	Probably a farm laborer

Prescott Barrett (Westford, MA)

Year	**Total Number of Residents**	**Census Data**	**Identity**	**Additional Comments**
1830	11	Male, 40-50	Prescott Barrett	Head of household. He would have been 42.

1830		Male, under 5	Charles Mason Barrett	Sixth child of Prescott and Olive. b. 1827
1830		Male, 5-10	William Gibbs Barrett	Third child of Prescott and Olive. b. 1823
1830		Male, 5-10	George H. Barrett	Second Child of Prescott and Olive. b. 1821
1830		Male, 15-20	Henry Barrett	Oldest son and only surviving child of Prescott and Betsey. b. 1811
1830		Male, 20-30	Unknown	Probably a farm laborer
1830		Female, 5-10	Martha Barrett	Twin daughters of Prescott and Olive. b. 1824
1830		Female, 5-10	Augusta Barrett	Twin daughters of Prescott and Olive. b. 1824
1830		Female, 10-15	Mary Barrett	Oldest child and first daughter of Prescott and Olive Barrett. b. 1819
1830		Female, 20-30	Unknown	Could be hired domestic help or the wife of unknown male (laborer?).
1830		Female, 30-40	Olive Barrett	Second wife of Prescott.

1840: The 1840 federal census used the same categories for age and sex as the 1830 census. In addition, 1840 saw the return of "Free Colored Persons" as a category. Prescott assumed control of his mothers' farm in 1831 and moved his sizable family there from Westford. Mary Prescott Barrett is reported to have lived at the house until her death in 1846. However, she does not appear on the 1840 census. A Mary Barrett, aged 60-70 is listed as living elsewhere in town, possibly the Damon's Mill section of Concord, based on the neighbors listed in the census. This suggests that Mary Prescott may have lived elsewhere for a short period of time while her son ran the farm. She returned to the Barrett Farmhouse before her death. Despite their age,

Prescott and Olive had another child before 1840. Olive would have been 47 years old when Frank Barrett was born.

Year	Total Number of Residents	Census Data	Identity	Additional Comments
1840	10	Male, 50-60	Prescott Barrett	Head of household. He would have been 52.
1840		Male, under 5	Frank Barrett	Eighth child of Prescott and Olive. b. 1837
1840		Male, 5-10	Haywood Barrett	Seventh child of Prescott and Olive. b. 1830
1840		Male, 10-15	Charles Mason Barrett	Sixth child of Prescott and Olive. b. 1827
1840		Male, 15-20	William Gibbs Barrett	Third child of Prescott and Olive. b. 1823
1840		Male, 15-20	Unknown	Probably a farm laborer
1840		Female, 15-20	Martha Barrett	Twin daughters of Prescott and Olive. b. 1824
1840		Female, 15-20	Augusta Barrett	Twin daughters of Prescott and Olive. b. 1824
1840		Female, 20-30	Mary Barrett	Oldest child of Prescott and Olive Barrett. b. 1819
1840		Female, 40-50	Olive Barrett	Second wife of Prescott.

1850: The 1850 census broke down the household, listing each person on a separate line and providing their age, sex and color. It also listed their profession, place of birth and whether they had attended school or were married in the last year. This census also added a category for "value of real estate owned." George Barrett was living at the farm, presumably helping his father (he is listed as a "farmer"). However, on an 1853 historic map, George Barrett is seen living down the street from Prescott on what appears to be the former James Barrett Jr. property (Walling 1853). Augusta Barrett is not living at the farmhouse by this time. She is also absent from

the 1860 census, but has returned to the household by 1870. Interestingly, there is an Augusta Barrett listed San Diego's "second school marm" in the 1860's. Augusta's profession in 1870 is "teacher." Although I have no evidence that she traveled to the west coast during her absence, it is a possibility. Olive Barrett's age is listed here as 53, although she would have been 60 in 1850. The age, names and gender of everyone else in the household match. Olive's age discrepancy may have been a mistake.

Year	**Total Number of Residents**	**Census Data**	**Identity**	**Additional Comments**
1850	10	Male, 62	Prescott Barrett	Head of household. Farmer.
1850		Female, 53*	Olive Barrett	Second wife of Prescott
1850		Female, 30	Elizabeth Barrett	This was Mary E. Barrett who went by her middle name.
1850		Male, 28	George Barrett	Oldest son of Prescott and Olive. Listed as a farmer.
1850		Male, 27	William Barrett	Second son of Prescott and Olive. Listed as a carpenter.
1850		Female, 25	Martha Barrett	Twin sister of Augusta. No profession listed.
1850		Male, 23	Charles Barrett	Third son of Prescott and Olive. Listed as a farmer.
1850		Male, 19	Haywood Barrett	Fourth son of Prescott and Olive. Listed as a farmer.
1850		Male, 13	Frances "Frank" Barrett	Youngest son of Prescott and Olive.
1850		Male, 37	Angus Cameron	From Nova Scotia. Listed as a laborer.

* Olive Barrett's age should have been 60 in 1850.

1860: This asked the same questions and was set up in the same format as the 1850 census. The only major addition was a category for "Value of Personal Estate" near

the "Value of Real Estate" column. The 1860 census conirms that George Barrett was no longer helping his father run the farm. However, Frank Barrett, now 23, is listed as "farmer" and may have had a big hand in running the farm with his elderly father. Haywood Barrett, who was listed as a "farmer" in 1850, was now earning a living as a carpenter. In addition, one laborer appears on this census, Rennus Mahonay, a 21 year old worker from Ireland.

Year	Total Number of Residents	Census Data	Identity	Additional Comments
1860	8	Male, 72	Prescott Barrett	Head of household. Farmer.
1860		Female, 70	Olive Barrett	Second wife of Prescott
1860		Female, 40	Mary Elizabeth Barrett	Oldest child of Prescott and Olive Barrett. Listed as teacher.
1860		Female, 35	Martha Barrett	Twin daughters of Prescott and Olive. Listed as teacher
1860		Female, 35	Augusta Barrett	Twin daughters of Prescott and Olive. Listed as teacher
1860		Male, 29	Haywood Barrett	Fourth son of Prescott and Olive. Listed as a carpenter.
1860		Male, 23	Frank Barrett	Youngest son of Prescott and Olive. Listed as a farmer.
1860		Male 21	Rennus Mahonay	Hired laborer from Ireland.

1870: This census began to collect more detailed information. Every individual's age was given as of June 1st, 1870. Prior to this, the ages were given for an individual as of the day the enumerator visited the household. In addition, people who were members of a household as of June 1st were listed, not just the ones that were currently residing there. For example, if a household member moved out in October

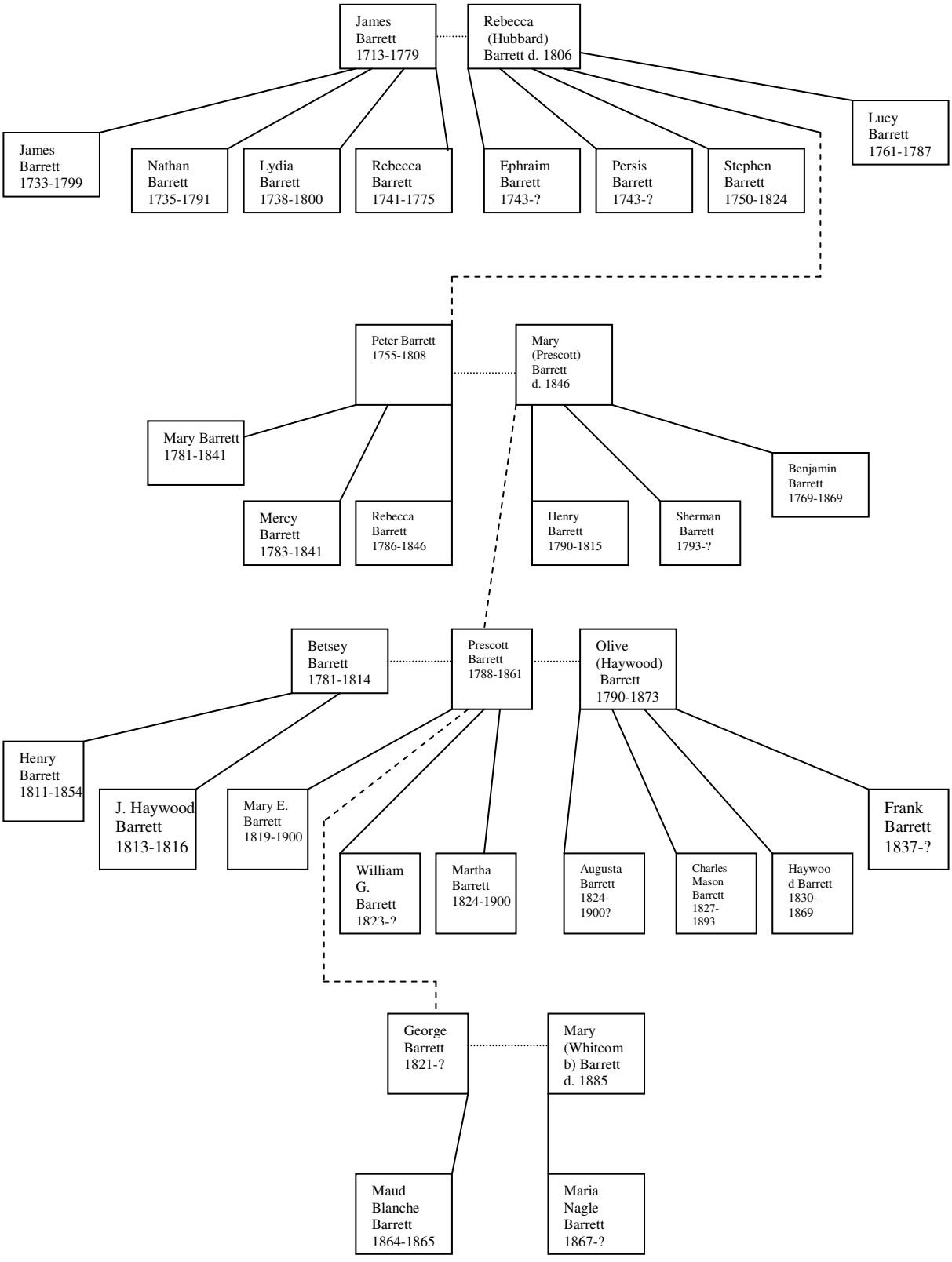
1870 and the enumerator visited in December 1870, they would list the person that moved in their tally. The 1870 census also began tracking "parents of foreign birth," with mother and father listed separately. A column was also added for "Male citizen of the United States, aged 21 or over." This was possibly done for the purpose of a draft. The Barrett household had shrunk considerably by this time. However, both Martha and Augusta Barrett are still working as teachers. Mary Elizabeth Barrett, who was listed as a "teacher" in the 1860 census, no longer had a profession listed.

Year	**Total Number of Residents**	**Census Data**	**Identity**	**Additional Comments**
1870	4	Female, 80	Olive Barrett	Head of household. No occupation listed.
1870		Female, 50	Mary Elizabeth Barrett	Oldest child of Prescott and Olive Barrett. b. 1819
1870		Female, 44	Martha S. Barrett	Twin sister of Augusta. Listed as a teacher.
1870		Female, 44	Augusta H. Barrett	Twin sister of Martha. Listed as a teacher.

APPENDIX C

19TH CENTURY BARRETT FAMILY TREE

Extensive genealogy research has been done by Save Our Heritage on the Barrett Family during the 17th, 18th and 19th century. Their research traces the descendants of Humphrey Barrett, grandfather of Col. James Barrett. Using this data, I compiled a family tree for the late 18th, early 19th century occupation of the farmhouse. This focuses on how the occupants of the farmhouse connected with one another. This data is used to give the reader a clearer understanding of who was living at the farmhouse during the time periods referenced above. This information should be used in concert with the census table (Appendix B).


James Barrett 1713-1779
Rebecca (Hubbard) Barrett d. 1806
James Barrett 1733-1799
Nathan Barrett 1735-1791
Lydia Barrett 1738-1800
Rebecca Barrett 1741-1775
Ephraim Barrett 1743-?
Persis Barrett 1743-?
Stephen Barrett 1750-1824
Lucy Barrett 1761-1787
Peter Barrett 1755-1808
Mary (Prescott) Barrett d. 1846
Mary Barrett 1781-1841
Mercy Barrett 1783-1841
Rebecca Barrett 1786-1846
Henry Barrett 1790-1815
Sherman Barrett 1793-?
Benjamin Barrett 1769-1869
Betsey Barrett 1781-1814
Prescott Barrett 1788-1861
Olive (Haywood) Barrett 1790-1873
Henry Barrett 1811-1854
J. Haywood Barrett 1813-1816
Mary E. Barrett 1819-1900
William G. Barrett 1823-?
Martha Barrett 1824-1900
Augusta Barrett 1824-1900?
Charles Mason Barrett 1827-1893
Haywood Barrett 1830-1869
Frank Barrett 1837-?
George Barrett 1821-?
Mary (Whitcomb) Barrett d. 1885
Maud Blanche Barrett 1864-1865
Maria Nagle Barrett 1867-?

APPENDIX D

SUMMARY OF CERAMIC MIDDEN STRATIGRAPHY

The following section describes the stratigraphy of the ceramic midden as excavated in unit 612.25N 813.5E. The stratigraphy consisted of an organic silty fine sand, very dark brown (10YR 2/2) level 1. This soil horizon was a loose fill with contemporary trash on the surface. A total of 71 artifacts were found in this level, including 17 ceramic sherds. Level 2 was divided into two sections, which were given letter designations. Level 2A consisted of the southwest and northwest quadrants of the unit. The level was sandy and had a concentration of artifacts in it. In all, 5 bags of artifacts were recovered from this level. There were 408 total artifacts in level 2A, with 276 ceramic sherds. Level 2B featured 257 artifacts, with 140 ceramic sherds. These artifacts included a variety of glazed redware, glass, nails and brick. There was a possible root disturbance in the northwest corner of level 2A. Level 2B consisted of a slightly mottled yellow sandy layer, up against several vertical rocks belonging to the north retaining wall. A broken plate and some flat glass were recovered from this level.

Level 3 was a mottled, root-filled transition between levels 2A and 2B and level 4. This level was rocky, with large gravel and pebbles. There was recent rodent disturbance in the southeast quad of the unit. That level was removed to expose the more consistent yellow, sandy soils of level 4. A total of 543 artifacts were found in this level, including 221 sherds of ceramic. These artifacts included whiteware, window glass, nails brick, ferrous iron fragments and a portion of a shoe sole.

Level 4 was an ambiguous layer located in the southeast quad of the unit at 34 cm below datum. This level was given a separate level designation because its sequential relationship with the rest of the unit was not understood at the time of excavation. Isolating that area and excavating it separately revealed extensive rodent and root disturbance.

The artifact-laden, loosely packed soil was not related to the rest of the excavation unit. Once the soil was removed and screened, a cavity underneath the retaining wall was uncovered. Level 4 contained 142 artifacts, including 75 ceramic sherds. Artifacts from this small level included window glass, heavily corroded sheet metal, unidentifiable nails, whiteware, glazed redware, stoneware and coal.

Feature 13, which was identified as a dense refuse deposit against the north retaining wall. This feature was discovered directly below level 4. Located in the northwest corner and north wall of the unit, this feature was 10.5 cm thick and was excavated in three arbitrary levels. Each level consisted of a very dark olive brown (2.5Y 3/2) fine loamy sand. Level 1 was only 1.5 cm deep. However, this level yielded two bags of artifacts. The total number of items found was 211, with 180 ceramic sherds. These included gray-bodied stoneware, window glass, vessel glass, whiteware, cut nails, brick and red ware. Level 2 of the feature went from 36.5 cm below datum (bd) to 46 cmbd. In addition, this level had cobbles that were used as support for the north retaining wall. These cobbles were removed during the excavation. Level 3 of feature 13 was only 1 cm deep.

Level 5 was a very loose, highly mottled sand layer with root disturbance. This level was at the same depth as but separate from level 13. This level was most probably the result of a single deposit or multiple deposits in close succession. Artifacts in level 5 were similar and several pieces of blue transfer print whiteware cross-mended. The total number of items recovered from this level was 98, with 94 of them being ceramic sherds. Artifacts included fragments of a flowerpot, window glass, whiteware and an ironstone teacup.

Level 6 was a dark organic layer beginning at 45 cmbd. The soil was a very dark grayish brown (10YR 3/2) loamy sand with patches of a 2.5Y 5/6 coarse sand. It was another concentration of ceramics, although not as dense as level 5. It does have some of the same artifact types as the above level, such as the gray-bodied stoneware crock and blue shell-edged pearlware. Additional artifacts from this level include flowerpot fragments, whiteware, ironstone, stoneware, corroded nails, glass, and a gray-bodied stoneware fragment stamped "A.S." A total of 50 artifacts were recovered from this level, including 40 ceramic sherds.

Level 7 consisted of an olive brown (2.5Y 5/6), loose, coarse sand with patches of very dark gray brown (10YR 3/2) fine sand. The soils were very damp with a small number of pebbles mixed in. The soil color became more consistent by the end of the level. There was a sharp decrease in the number of artifacts (12 total), which consisted mainly of whiteware (7 sherds) and stoneware (1 sherd).

Level 8 started at 68 cmbd and consisted of a brown (10YR 4/3), wet, silty sand. Level 8 was excavated directly below level 7 in the west half of the unit. At

the bottom of the level, a dark linear scar was visible running from the northwest to the southeast. Only two small pieces of ceramic were recovered from this level.

Level 9A consisted of a highly mottled rodent disturbance in the eastern half of the unit, beginning at 37 cmbd. Level 9A was located below level 4 and adjacent to level 5, not below level 8. Levels were numbered based on the order in which they were excavated, not their stratigraphic position. Artifacts in the first 10 cm of the rodent disturbance included corroded fragments of sheet metal, corroded wire, redware, whiteware and a hammer head. In addition, some sheet plastic was recovered in the disturbance, but not saved.

Level 9B began at 46 cmbd and was a continuation of the rodent disturbance from 9A. This level contained two distinct soil types; a lighter, sandy soil in the western portion of the level adjacent to level 5, and a darker, coarser sand in the eastern portion. Sheet plastic was also present at this level. The lighter sand was removed and screened first. This portion of the level contained no artifacts. The darker, coarse sand was removed next. This section contained a rectangular whiteware teapot cover with green transfer print.

Level 10 consisted of a yellowish brown (10YR 5/4) fine sand with a high gravel content. The soil also contained patches of light yellowish brown (2.5Y 6/4) fine sandy clay. Level 10 was located directly below the rodent disturbance and appeared to be a shallow, straight-sided level of fill. This level also cut partially into level 12, which was adjacent to it at a depth of 49 cmbd. This level was sterile.

Level 11 is a continuation of level 10 and the stratigraphy and soil content was the same. This level was also sterile.

Level 12A consisted of a dark yellowish brown (10YR 4/6) silty sand. This level was related to the rodent disturbance in level 9B, although not as disturbed. Level 12A was 7.5 cm deep, starting at 49 cmbd and terminating at 56.5 cmbd. This level contained redware and whiteware.

Level 12B consisted of mottled dark yellowish brown (10YR 3/4) and yellowish brown (10YR 5/6) silty sand and gravel. There were two rodent burrows present in this level. A portion of an older burrow was visible in the east wall and related to the burrow that was recorded in levels 9 and 12A. This area had loosely packed dark yellowish brown (10YR 3/4) silty sand. The excavation unit had been covered up for three weeks, and when the field crew returned, a rodent had made another burrow in the southwest section of the unit. The artifact-laden soil from the recent rodent disturbance was collected and screened separately. Cultural material disturbed by the rodent included ceramics, brick, nails and ferrous iron fragments. Sheet plastic was present in the older burrow. Artifacts recovered from level 12B include brick, ceramic, glass, nails and ferrous iron fragments.

Level 12C consisted of dark yellowish brown (10YR 4/6) silty sand, mixed with small patches of yellowish brown (10YR 5/6) soil. The opening depth for this level was 65 cmbd and it continued until 72 cmbd. This level was brought down to the same depth as level 8, making the eastern and western halves of the excavation

unit even. The rodent disturbance in the east wall disappeared towards the end of level 12C. This level was sterile.

Level 13A began where both level 8 and level 12C ended. The soil consisted of a yellowish brown (10YR 5/6) silty sand and gravel. The rock content increased, with 15% rock inclusion consisting of pebbles and cobbles. The soil was loosely packed in some areas, with a patch of brownish yellow (10YR 6/6) sand in the southeast corner. Artifacts recovered included brick, redware and whiteware. All the artifacts found in level 13A came from the area directly beneath level 8. The area below level 12C was sterile.

Level 13B consisted of a yellowish brown (10YR 5/8) silty sand with small patches of dark yellowish brown (10YR 4/6) soil. A thin layer of light yellowish brown (2.5Y 6/4) appeared at 85 cmbd. This layer was 2 cm thick and made a thin cover over level 14. Two artifacts were recovered from this level, a stoneware fragment and a piece of redware. Both artifacts came from the first 2 cm of the southwest corner.

Level 14 consisted of dark yellowish brown (10YR 3/4) coarse silty sand. This thin level went from 87 cmbd to 91 cmbd and contained loosely packed soil on top of a heavily mottled area. Four pieces of brick were recovered from this level.

Level 15 began at 91 cmbd. It consisted of heavily mottled and compacted silty sand. The colors ranged from yellowish brown (10YR 5/6) to olive brown (2.5Y 6/6) and a thin but inconsistent lense of dark yellow brown sand. Level 15 was excavated 5 cm, and then the bottom was covered with a tarp and backfilled, in case

the excavation unit needs to be reopened. Two artifacts were recovered in this level - a piece of brick and a ferrous iron fragment.

WORKS CITED

Anderson, Nesta
1999 Finding the Space Between Spatial Boundaries and Social Dynamics: The Archaeology of Nested Households. *Household Chores and Household Choices: Theorizing the Domestic Sphere in Historical Archaeology*, pp 109-120. Edited by Kerri S. Barile and Jamie C. Brandon. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.

Baker, Andrew, H and Holly Izard Paterson
1986 Farmers' Adaptations to Markets in Early-Nineteenth-Century Massachusetts. In
The Farm: The Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife, Annual Proceedings.
Ed. Peter Benes and Jane Montague Benes. pp 95-108. Boston University, Boston.

Barille, Kerri
1999 Hegemony within the Household: The Perspective from a South Carolina Plantation. *Household Chores and Household Choices: Theorizing the Domestic Sphere in Historical Archaeology*, pp 121-137. Edited by Kerri S. Barile and Jamie C. Brandon. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.

Baugher, Sherene and Robert Venables
1987 Ceramics as Indicators of Status and Class in Eighteenth-Century New York. In *Consumer Choices in Historical Archaeology*. pp 31-52. Plenum Press, New York.

Beaudry, Mary
1984 Archaeology and the Historical Household. *Man in the Northeast*, pp 27-38. Volume 28 (1).

1986 The Archaeology of Historical Land Use in Massachusetts. In *Historical Archaeology*, volume 20 (2) pp. 38-46). Edited by Ronald L. Michael.

1999 House and Household: The Archaeology of Domestic Life in Early America. In *Old and New Worlds*, edited by G. Egan and R. Michael. pp 117-126.

2002 Trying to Think Progressively About 19th Century Farms. In *Journal of Northeast Historical Archaeology Special Issue, Historic Preservation and the Archaeology of Nineteenth-Century Farmsteads in the Northeast*. Vol. 30-31. pp. 129-142. Edited by Sherene Baugher and Terry H. Klien. UMass Boston, Boston.

Beranek, Christa
2008 Site Examination of the Col. James Barrett Farm Property, Concord, Massachusetts. Report on file at the Massachusetts Historical Commission, Boston, MA

Brandon, Jamie C. and Kerrie S. Barile
2004 Introduction to *Household Chores and Household Choices: Theorizing the Domestic Sphere in Historical Archaeology*, pp 1-12. Edited by Kerri S. Barile and Jamie C. Brandon. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.

Brown, Abram E.
1896 *Beneath Old Roof Trees*. Lee and Shepard, Boston.

Catts, Wade P.
2002 Research Questions for the Archaeology of Rural Places: Experiences from the Middle Atlantic. In *Journal of Northeast Historical Archaeology Special Issue, Historic Preservation and the Archaeology of Nineteenth-Century Farmsteads in the Northeast*. Vol. 30-31. pp. 143-154. Edited by Sherene Baugher and Terry H.
Klien. UMass Boston, Boston.

Clark, Christopher
1990 *The Roots of Rural Capitalism: Western Massachusetts, 1790-1860*. Cornell University Press, Ithica.

Concord Library Special Collection,
1858 Selectmen Report. On File at the Concord Library Special Collections.

Detwiller, Fredrick
2007 *Col. James Barrett Farm, Historic Structure Report*. Unpublished HSC report on file at the Massachusetts Historical Commission, Boston, MA.

Digital Archaeological Archives of Comparative Slavery
2006 Mean Ceramic Date-Type File. Thomas Jefferson Foundation. http://www.daacs.org/aboutDatabase/MCDTypes.html. Accessed 4/2010

Donohue. Brian
1983 The Forests and Fields of Concord: An Ecological History, 1750-1850. *In Concord: The Social History of a New England Town, 1750-1850*. Edited by David Hackett Fischer

Dublin, Thomas
1985 Women and Outwork in a 19th Century New England Town: Fitzwilliam, NH 1830-1850. In *The Countryside in the Age of Capitalist Transformation*. pp. 51-67. Edited by S. Hahn and J. Prude. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.

Ewins, Neil
2008 Comparative Studies in Anglo-American Ceramic Demand. *Ceramics in American*. Pp. 109-142. Edited by Robert Hunter. Chipstone Foundation, Milwaukee.

Franklin, Maria
2004 Forward to *Household Chores and Household Choices: Theorizing the Domestic Sphere in Historical Archaeology*. Edited by Kerri S. Barile and Jamie C. Brandon. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.

Gibbs, James G., David Bernstein and Daniel Cassedy
1990 Making Cheese: Archaeology of a 19th Century Rural Industry. *Historical Archaeology* vol. 24(1).

Goldweitz, Harriet Carlton
1984 Origins and Terminology of Ceramics. In *Unearthing New England's Past: The Ceramic Evidence.* pp 15-24. Lexington, Massachusetts.

Groover, Mark
2001 Linking Artifact Assemblages to Household Cycles: An Example from the Gibbs Site. *Historical Archaeology*, 35 (4). pp. 38-57.

2004 Household Succession as a Catalyst of Landscape Change. *Historical Archaeology*, 38 (4): 25-43.

2008 *The Archaeology of North American Farmsteads*. University of Florida Press, Gainseville.

Handlin, Oscar and Mary Flug Handlin
1969 *Commonwealth: A Study of the Role of Government in the American Economy*, *Massachusetts 1774-1860*. Revised Edition. Belknap, Cambridge.

Hubka, Thomas C.
1984 *Big House, Little House*, *Back House, Barn: The Connected Farm Buildings of New England*. University Press, Hanover NH.

Johnson, Nicholas
1995 A Family of Jars. Derbyshire Jars. Draft copy of article.

Kimenker, James
1983 The Concord Farmer: An Economic History, 1750-1850. In Concord: The *Social History of a New England Town, 1750-1850*. Edited by David Hackett Fischer. Brandeis University, Massachusetts.

Klein, Terry H. and Sherene Baugher
2002 Addressing a Historic Preservation Dilemma: The Future of 19th Century Farmstead Archaeology in the Northeast. In *Journal of Northeast Historical Archaology Special Issue, Historic Preservation and the Archaeology of Nineteenth-Century Farmsteads in the Northeast*. Vol. 30-31. pp. 167-180. Edited by Sherene Baugher and Terry H. Klien. UMass Boston, Boston

Lee, Alan, E.
1993 American Transportation: Its History and Museums. Hildesigns Press, Charlottesville.

LeeDecker, Charles H, Terry H. Klein, Cheryl A. Holt and Amy Friedlander
1987 Nineteenth-Century Households and Consumer Behavior in Wilmington, Delaware. In *Consumer Choices in Historic Archaeology*. pp 233-259. Plenum Press, New York.

Lockett, Terrance A
1996 *Pearlware: Origins and Types*
http://www.thepotteries.org/features/pearlware.htm

Luloff, A.E.
1989 The Changing New England Landscape: A Sociodemographic History. In *New England Landscapes*, Vol. 1. pp. 55-63. Edited by Robert Yaro. University of Massachusetts, Amherst.

Massachusetts Historic Commission (MHC)
1980 MHC Reconnaissance Survey Report for Concord, MA. On file at the Massachusetts Historical Commission, Boston, MA.

Massachusetts State Archives (MSA)
1808 Probate of Peter Barrett. On file at the Massachusetts State Archives, Boston, MA.

Massachusetts State Archives (MSA)
1846 Probate of Mary Prescott Barrett. On file at the Massachusetts State Archives, Boston, MA.

Massachusetts State Archives (MSA)
1861 Probate of Prescott Barrett. On file at the Massachusetts State Archives, Boston, MA.

McMahon, Sarah F.
1994 Laying Foods By: Gender, Dietary Decisions and the Technology of Food Preservation in New England Households, 1750-1850. In *Early American Technology: Making and Doing Things from the Colonial Ear to 1850*. Edited by Judith A. McGaw. UNC Press, Chapel Hill.

McMurry, Sally
1995 *Transforming Rural Life: Dairying Families and Agricultural Change*, *1820-1885*. John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore.

Miller, George
1991 *Thoughts towards a User's Guide to Ceramic Assemblages*. CNEHA Newsletter, April (18): 2-5.

Miller, George, Patricia Samford, Ellen Shlasko, and Andrew Madsen
2000 Telling Time for Archaeologists. *Northeast Historical Archaeology*, Volume 29: 1-22.

Miller, George and Robert Hunter
2001 How Creamware got the Blues: The Origin of China Glaze and Pearlware. In *Ceramics in America.* Chipstone Foundation, Milwaukee.

Mrozowski, Stephen A.
1984 Prospects and Perspectives on an Archaeology of the Household. *Man in the Northeast*, pp 31-50. Volume 27.

1987 Exploring New England's Evolving Urban Landscape. In *Living in Cities: Current Research in Urban Archaeology*. Society for Historical Archaeology Special Publication Series number 5. Edited by Edward Staski.

Pauls, Elizabeth, P.
2006 The Place of Space: Architecture, Landscape and Social Life. In *Historical Archaeology*, pp 65-83. Edited by Martin Hall And Stephen Silliman. Blackwell, Cornwall.

Pinello, Martha E.
1996 The Homestead Once at North Road, Brentwood, New Hampshire. In *The New Hampshire Archeologist*, vol. 36, number 1. pp. 16-37. Concord, NH.

Potter, Charles
1887 *Genealogies of Some Old Families of Concord, Massachusetts* reprint, 1995. Heritage Books, Maryland

Prude, Jonathan
1985 Town-Factory Conflicts in Antebellum Rural Massachusetts. In *The Countryside in the Age of Capitalist Transformation*. pp. 71-102. Edited by S. Hahn and J. Prude. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.

Russell, Howard S.
1976 *A Long, Deep Furrow: Three Centuries of Farming in New England*. University Press, Hanover.

Shattuck, Lemuel
1835 *History of the Town of Concord*. Russell, Odiorne and Co, Boston.

School Committee Report
1849 *The Annual Report of the School Committee of Concord, for Year ending April 26, 1849*. Report on file, Concord Public Library Special Collections Database. http://www.nautilusone.biz/CFPL/anteBellumDocs/reports/pages/1849/schoolCommittee/page_08.html. Accessed 4/09

1860 *Report of the School Committee of Concord, for the Year ending April 1, 1860.* Report on file, Concord Public Library Special Collections Database. http://www.nautilusone.biz/CFPL/anteBellumDocs/reports/pages/1860/schoolCommittee/page_35.html. Accessed 4/09

Spencer-Wood, Suzanne
1988 Introduction to *Consumer Choices in Historical Archaeology*. Plenum Press, New York.

1987a Miller's Indices and Consumer-Choice Profiles: Status-Related Behaviors and White Ceramics. *Consumer Choices in Historical Archaeology*. pp 321-358. Plenum Press, New York.

Spencer-Wood, Suzanne and Scott Heberling
1987 Consumer Choices in White Ceramics: A Comparison of Eleven Early Nineteenth-Century Sites. *Consumer Choices in Historical Archaeology*. pp 55-84. Plenum Press, New York.

Stokes, Samuel, A. Elizabeth Watson, Genevieve Keller and Timothy Keller
1992 Saving America's Countryside: A Guide to Rural Conservation. John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore.

Sussman, Lynne
1996 Mocha, Banded, Cat's Eye and Other Factory-Made Slipware. *Studies in Northeast Historical Archaeology, number 1*.Boston University, Boston.

Tharp, Lars
2006 *The Origin of Ironstone China*. http://www.thepotteries.org/features/ironstone.htm

United States Constitution
1789 Article 1, section 2. Referenced at http://www.census.gov/history/pdf/Article_1_Section_2.pdf

Van Wagenen, Jared
1907 Setting up a Farm Dairy Business in the Northeastern United States. In *Cyclopedia of American Agriculture, Volume I*. Edited by L. H. Bailey. Macmillan, London.

Walling, H.F.
1857 Map of the town of Concord. Henry Francis Walling, Concord. http://maps.bpl.org/details_12773/?mtid=373

Walcott, Charles H.
1884 *Concord in the Colonial Period*. Estes and Lauriat, Boston.

Wheeler, Ruth
1967 *Concord: Climate for Freedom*. Concord Antiquarian Society: Concord, MA.