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CHASE HOME FOR CHILDREN: CHILDHOOD IN PROGRESSIVE NEW ENGLAND

A Thesis Presented

by

KATHERINE M. EVANS

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

MASTER OF ARTS

August 2016

Historical Archaeology Program

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ABSTRACT

CHASE HOME FOR CHILDREN: CHILDHOOD IN PROGRESSIVE NEW ENGLAND

August 2016

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Directed by Dr. Christa M. Beranek

This thesis aims to further the study of childhood in archaeology through the examination of a children's aid institution in Progressive New England. Specifically, this research explores how the Progressive and Victorian aims of Chase Home for Children, as expressed in primary sources, are manifested in the material culture. Chase Home participated in the larger Progressive movement in its mission to train children "in the practical duties, to encourage habits of honesty, truthfulness, purity and industry, to prepare them to take their position in life as useful members of society" (Children's Home Pamphlet 1878). An analysis of small finds from excavations at Chase Home includes fragments of toy dolls, tea sets, marbles, and slate pencils and boards. These objects illustrate the Home's physical progress towards its goals. Further analysis of the individuals who lived in Chase Home examines the effect of the institution on their life trajectories. This thesis aims to further the inclusion of children in archaeological analysis due to their importance in evaluating larger socio-cultural movements.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

It is impossible to ignore the lifelong impact of one's early years. While there is no strictly predictive relationship between youth and adult life, the formative years of one's childhood indelibly shape their future personal and professional life trajectories. Despite this significance, historians and archaeologists have only recently begun examining the importance of childhood within larger cultural movements and the role of children as social actors. Previously, children have been characterized as the invisible segment of society—as non-active producers, consumers, or political players, their actions were thought to have little widespread effect (Pollock 1983; Derevenski 2000; Baxter 2005; Montgomery 2009). This historical neglect is especially visible within archaeology, where children's relationship to objects has been viewed as ambiguous at best, because of their status as informal producers of material culture (Derevenski 2000; Baxter 2005).

Project Overview

However, children have played immense roles throughout history—through their relationships with each other and with adults, as economic producers and consumers, and as political movers. In my thesis, I examine how the archival records and material culture of Chase Home, an institution for children that operated from 1884 until 1915 in

Portsmouth, New Hampshire, illustrate a tension between Progressive and Victorian ideologies and the realities of the individuals who lived there. During the period in which Chase Home operated, children became the pinnacle cause for Progressive reformers. Simultaneously, the second Industrial Revolution recognized children as a valuable market and began manufacturing material culture intended for children's use specifically (Formanek-Brunell 1993). Children's position at the forefront of these phenomena creates an interesting context for a historical and archaeological analysis. Progressive reformers were advocating publicly for restrictions on child labor and for the creation of safe spaces for children to play in the increasingly populated cities (Jaycox 2005; Pastorello 2014). This reform environment, coupled with Victorian ideas of a nurtured and free childhood, prompted a surge in new orphanages and children's institutions across America (Cmeil 1995; Meyers 2008). In my analysis of Chase Home, I examine how the Home's mission and material record are influenced by these ideologies, while my investigations into the true outcomes for the children of Chase Home speak to shortcomings in the Progressive movement.

The Chase Home mission statement claims the intent of the Home was to house "Motherless children whose fathers, especially seafaring men, are obliged by occupation to be much away from home" or "Children rendered temporarily homeless by fire or other accident" (Children's Home Pamphlet 1878). Alternatively, Chase Home accepted, "Children whose home has been broken by the intemperance or desertion of father or mother; under such circumstances the parent remaining pays, according to ability, a certain sum at regular periods" (Children's Home Pamphlet 1878). Census records demonstrate that the latter reason was more common. Chase Home's romanticized

version of saving children left displaced by fire or some dramatic event was rarely the cause bringing children to Home. Instead, most children came from poor families, many of which were new immigrant families, who found it difficult to care for multiple children on the average wages of the time. While Chase Home aimed to save children from these unfortunate situations, they also operated within the Victorian class structures of the time. My analysis focuses on the mission of the Home, as expressed in primary sources, and the real life outcomes of Chase Home residents found in the census records.

Figure 1. The children and matrons line up outside Chase Home: 1903 (Harvard University Museum)

Research Aims

My thesis aims to explore the opportunities provided by the unique historical and geographical location of Chase Home with respect to four key questions: How did Progressive and Victorian philosophies affect the mission and organization of Chase

Home? How is this mission expressed in the material culture? Did Victorian ideas of refinement clash with Progressive notions of reform and education? How did these ideologies, expressed in Chase Homes' annual reports and the material record, affect the future lives of the children, as suggested in the census records?

Research Organization

To address this topic, I first explored the field of childhood studies, especially within the disciplines of history, anthropology, and archaeology. This review of previous literature and theoretical background demonstrates how social change often plays out through the lives of children.

Furthering my theoretical background, I describe the usefulness of institutional studies in archaeology. According to archaeologist James Gibb, institutions allow us to examine, "community attitudes and identity from a vantage point other than that afforded by the single domestic site" (Gibb 2009: 4). The early 19th century began a "golden era" for institutions, as social reformers approached their work with increasing professionalization and scientific assessment (Casella 2009). People build institutions to address specific concerns, and it is important to explore how social ideas, authority, and personal experience interact in an institutional setting (De Cunzo 2006; Gibb and Beisaw 2009).

Next, I study the historical context of Victorian New England and the ideologies fueling the Progressive movement. In reality, the Progressive movement comprised many separate reform efforts, guided by different and sometimes conflicting philosophies and aims (Jaycox 2005; Pastorello 2014). For example, some Progressive reformers sought to remove children from their poor and/or immigrant families in order to provide what they

deemed was better education and skills training. Other activists argued for higher wages and federally funded welfare, so that children could remain with their families, who were best able to care for their upbringing according to Victorian ideas of motherhood and nurturance (Kauffman 1998; Jaycox 2005). While both methods aim to alleviate the problems of poverty and its ill effect on children, neither are without criticism, which I address.

Building on the theoretical background of Victorianism and Progressivism, I then examine the rise of social welfare and institutions like Chase Home. With the previous sections aiming to situate my site theoretically and historically, I begin to analyze the organization and mission of Chase Home specifically. Primarily using the annual reports, I discuss how the institution of Chase Home is structured and how this structure is influenced by Progressive and Victorian ideologies. Primary sources also describe the kinds of donations that Chase Home received and offer insights into daily life at the Home.

Comparing similar children's institutions in New Hampshire helps contextualize my findings at Chase Home, and allows for broader conclusions. This section also explores the differing directions of Progressive efforts and how these varying philosophies affected the organization of other institutions.

For my final line of evidence, I analyze the excavations at Chase Home—the archaeological methods, excavated features, and material culture. I use an analysis of

small finds, as employed by Beaudry (2006, 2009), Loren (2009), and White (2005, 2009), to examine the ways that a small collection of objects, such as children's toys, can illuminate larger concepts, such as the socialization of children and cultural trends.

Using the recovered artifacts, I then begin a discussion of how Progressivism and Victorianism are manifested in the material culture. These artifacts reveal volumes about gender, race, ethnicity, and class during a specific time and place in history. Synthesizing the historical and theoretical background with the written and material lines of evidence, I can then compare the reform intentions of the institution and how these aims were actually received by the children. Examining the census records for individual children during the years after their stay in Chase Home, I can evaluate the success of the teachings of the Home based on their occupations after leaving the Home.

Research Overview

The annual reports and recovered artifacts demonstrate that the children at Chase Home were exposed to signature objects of Victorian culture: the porcelain doll, toy tea sets, and glass marbles. Similarly, the donation of children's papers, recovery of 85 slate board and pencil fragments, and practice crochet work suggest that the Home was working towards its goal of training children, "in the practical duties, to encourage habits of honesty, truthfulness, purity and industry, to prepare them to take their position in life as useful members of society" (Children's Home Pamphlet 1878). Chase Home endeavored to train its wards with useful skills for life outside of the institution, producing well-read young adults, knowledgeable in the social etiquettes of tea time. However, few of the children that passed through Chase Home secured occupations that would actually employ these skills in their personal lives. Instead, many girls became

domestics and bar maids, where they would have used their knowledge about tea etiquette in a service role. Alternatively, many of the boys become farm hands and factory workers, where they would have had little time to read for pleasure.

The booming industrial markets and modern technologies of the day were meant to have an equalizing effect, improving the lives of the masses (Jaycox 2005; Pastorello 2014). However, class disparities were growing—millions of fully employed people lived below the poverty line, forcing some children to join the workforce (Jaycox 2005). As this phenomenon came to light, upper and middle class reformers began to organize, aiming to combat the social ills brought on by the second Industrial Revolution (Jaycox 2005; Pastorello 2014). They argued that children deserved individual attention, nurturing, and the space to grow and play freely. However, there is a strong dichotomy between these intentions and the reality of poverty. Few of the children who learned and grew at Chase Home actually secured occupations better than their parents. Despite the benevolent motivations of Progressive institutions, their goals and methods were often unable to help the children overcome the economic and class realities of the time.

The Chase Home for Children presents an excellent case study for exploring how important social ideologies played out in an institutional setting for children. Chase Home is situated just 60 miles north of Boston, a city leading many of the reform movements (Jaycox 2005). The site itself presents a strong case for this analysis with the multiple and robust sources of evidence. The surviving annual reports detail life within the home and add substantial context to the recovered artifacts. Furthermore, the history of the Chase Home for Children presents an important story, until now unobserved, as the Home is currently interpreted to its 1820s occupation. The Home for Children played an

essential role in the Portsmouth community, filling a stark need during a time when class disparities were growing, yet governments had not yet taken responsibility to aid the poor. Furthermore, this narrative is useful for examining a social movement in history which is often un-criticized. While the Progressive reformers had benevolent aims, and the material record indicates that the Chase Home provided children with Victorian playthings and opportunities for play, the institution simply perpetuated the existing class norms.

Introduction to the Site

Figure 2. Bird's eye view of Portsmouth, illustrating Puddle Dock tidal inlet and corner of Court and Washington Streets (Charles 2015)

Portsmouth, New Hampshire is home to some of the richest sites for historical archaeology (Garvin 1974). Situated on the Piscataqua River and a natural harbor on the New England seaboard, Portsmouth was an important merchant and sailing town in the New World (Charles 2015). Specifically, Chase House (the name for the building when it was a private residence) is located on a former tidal inlet, which made the site optimal

for its previous merchant inhabitants. In honor of this geographical feature, the neighborhood of Chase House was termed Puddle Dock (Charles 2015).

Chase House was already a historic structure by the time the children moved in. Built in 1762 for a mariner from Maine, Chase House was one of the most lavishly designed mansions in Portsmouth (strawberybanke.org). After the Revolutionary War, Stephen Chase, a wealthy merchant and celebrated patriot, bought the home in 1790 though his family had already been living there for some time (Charles 2015). The house remained in the Chase family until Stephen's grandson, George Bigelow Chase, offered the home as the new location for the "Portsmouth Children's Home" in 1881 (Charles 2015). The Home was quickly renamed, "The Chase Home for Children" in honor of Mr. Chase's generosity (strawberybanke.org).

During the 18th and 19th centuries, Puddle Dock hosted an impressive array of warehouses and industrial buildings, but by the 20th century, the inlet had become filled with trash and silt and was no longer considered a safe place (Charles 2015). These conditions prompted the move of Chase Home in 1915 to a healthier location with more land for the children to play on (Chase Home Annual Reports; Portsmouth Journal 1915).

The deterioration of this historic neighborhood almost resulted in its demolition, until the area was saved from urban renewal in the early 1960s to be preserved "as a tribute to the past" (Robinson 2007:219 as quoted in Charles 2015). The neighborhood of Puddle Dock was transformed into a living history museum, Strawbery Banke, which was the original name given to Portsmouth by early colonists in 1630 in observation of the abundant wild strawberry bushes (Charles 2015). Thanks to the original supporters of Strawbery Banke, the Chase House site has been mostly preserved.

Chase House was the first structure at Strawbery Banke to be returned to its historic appearance, with restoration on both the interior and exterior starting in 1966 (Charles 2015). Unfortunately, there are few records detailing the restoration of Chase House, including what the house looked like before restoration began. The annual reports of Chase Home note that significant alterations and additions were made to the structure and site, but one can only speculate about what these changes actually looked like (Chase Home Annual Reports). The only known notes detailing the restoration reference that the kitchen ell was removed, and that the kitchen fireplace and staircase were reconfigured (Charles 2015). No archaeology was performed at the time of restoration in 1966—estate and other historic records offered a detailed enough picture of the interior design, furniture, and tableware for the home to be restored to its 1820s appearance (Charles 2015).

Excavation at the Chase House homestead began in 2008 because of possible construction at the site (Charles 2015). Sheila Charles and the Strawbery Banke team were specifically looking for historic outbuildings on the Chase House lot, suggested on a number of historic maps, which depicted a water closet with a privy, a kitchen ell, and an outbuilding. Using the measurements of these structures from the historic maps, Charles then converted the approximate outlines of each building onto the physical ground behind Chase House (Charles 2015). The Strawbery Banke team was able to confirm the location of each of these features. Further excavation uncovered the west and south wall of a brick-lined privy, the approximate outline of an outbuilding or barn, as well as pipes and wood sill foundation on the south east corner of the kitchen ell.

Of the previous structures, the water closet and kitchen ell are depicted on Sanborn maps from 1887 until 1956, placing them within the Children's Home period. When George B. Chase donated the house, he included the "grounds and outbuildings adjacent thereto" with an additional $100 for repairs and remodeling in order to equip the home for children (Portsmouth Journal 1881; Chase Home Annual Reports). Excavation of the privy behind Chase House demonstrates that the privy was enlarged and reinforced with brick, likely around the time that the Children's Home moved in (Chase Home Annual Report 1886).

Sanborn insurance maps from 1887 to 1956 also depict architectural additions to the back of the main house, including a 2-story kitchen wing and a one story kitchen ell (Charles 2015). Kitchen ells attached to the rear of a house were popular in the mid-19th century and would have resembled a lean-to, constructed from wood (Charles 2015). The kitchen additions were likely constructed around the time of the privy enlargement, while the Home was fitted for its new use. This structure would have provided additional space for food preparation of large meals, especially to feed the upwards of 16 children housed at Chase Home at any given time.

Material culture associated with these features further attest to the activities of the Home for Children. Excavations revealed approximately 26,800 artifacts, including 232 children-specific artifacts. Doll fragments, bits of toy tea sets, marbles, and slate boards and pencils help tell the story of this Progressive and Victorian home for children. Archaeologists often turn to size, perceived function, and level of refinement to distinguish children's objects (Baxter 2005). At Chase House, there is the added support of the annual reports, which prove that dolls, marbles, toy tea sets, and a plethora of other

toys were donated to the Home for children's use. Twelve annual reports from Chase Home survive, detailing the organization and mission of the institution in general, while also listing the names of children, donations, and well-being of the Home each year. These reports, combined with historic newspapers articles on the Home create a picture of how the institution perceived itself, and how its mission was interpreted and often celebrated by the larger Portsmouth community.

CHAPTER 2

THE STUDY OF CHILDHOOD

Introduction

Mapping the history of the study of childhood as an academic focus brings to light how theories of childhood have evolved. Most telling is how the study of childhood has changed in relation to the historical eras in which these ideas are situated. Childhood is constantly reinterpreted under the sway of contemporary modes of thought, beginning with G. Stanley Hall, an important early researcher of childhood, writing during Chase Home's operation. The approaches and methods below offer important analytical tools for viewing childhood, especially considering which methods and ways of thinking have been successful, and which have been discounted. Studying these seminal ideas of childhood is important to my research aims because it examines how children have been integral social players and movers, meriting specific study. Progressive reformers made some of the first concerted efforts to study children in order to better understand their needs. While this practice did not always result in the most effective aid, their theories are useful to study.

G. Stanley Hall and Late 19th Century Ideas of Childhood

Organized studies of childhood first emerged in the late 19th century, partially initiated by the newly discovered market of children-specific toys and accoutrement (Pollock 1983; Mergen 1992; Formnek-Brunell 1993; Rotundo 1998). With the second

Industrial Revolution in full swing, production of children's toys moved from the home or local shops into factories, where capitalists and manufacturers were forced to contemplate children's play and social interactions. Many of the first mechanized dolls, created by well-known industrial innovators, actually scared children, who preferred their plush, cloth-bodied dolls (Formanek-Brunell 1993). It became clear that children's tastes, and their manners of play, were little understood. In fact, manufacturers began consulting psychologists, such as G. Stanley Hall, in order to improve their products (Formanek-Brunell 1993).

Figure 3. "Creeping Baby Doll Patent Model" (National Museum of the American History)

For the first few decades, psychologists were the predominant academics studying childhood. Inspired by the theory of evolution, these early psychologists saw childhood as one stage in a set maturation path to adulthood (Hall 1904; Mrozek 1992; Montgomery 2009). G. Stanley Hall is credited as one of the first psychologists to make the study of children and adolescents his primary focus (Pollock 1983; Mrozek 1992). His most popular books are the two volumes of *Adolescence* released in 1904, and *Youth: Its*

Education, Regimen, and Hygiene released in 1906. Much influenced by evolutionary theory, Hall strove to understand how people came to act the way they did, between the pulls of natural disposition, and social influence (Mrozek 1992). Hall was especially interested in children because he saw them as closer to nature and less corrupted by modern society (Hall 1897; Hall 1906; Mrozek 1992). This philosophy was widely adopted in Victorian concepts of youth as a free and natural stage in life, which should be nurtured and protected (Hall 1897; Jaycox 2005; Frost 2009). Similarly, the uncorrupted nature of children helped drive Progressive reforms to "save" children from the corruptibility of urban spaces and improper homes (NHCAPS 1914; Jaycox 2005; Pastorello 2014).

According to Hall, adolescence was especially influenced by biology, as a time when "physiological changes have an overwhelming impact" on how children act (Hall as quoted in Montgomery 2009: 202). However, Hall did not evaluate his study cross-culturally—as an evolutionist, he considered his analyses to be universal, since his theories stemmed from human biology. Therefore, Hall sought to uncover, through children, the ways that humans "naturally" interacted with each other and how these traits are connected throughout evolutionary history (Hall 1906). In discovering these traits, Hall hoped to apply them to modern society, in an attempt to encourage more "natural" interactions during a time when factory work and increasing urbanization was radically altering people's lives (Hall 1906). Hall echoed many of his contemporaries' disdain for the corrupting effects modern life had on the family and children, hoping to find "the true homes of childhood in this wild, undomesticated stage from which modern conditions have kidnapped and transported him" (Hall 1906:4). Hall's ideas were easily used by

Progressive reformers in their attempt to make their aid efforts more scientific and legitimate.

Hall also insisted that there was meaning in children's play, which he observed extensively (Hall 1897). Though Hall was explicitly searching for an underlying structure to child's play for his evolutionary thesis, he is credited with emphasizing play as an important aspect of children's lives—not just a frivolous leisure activity (Hall 1897; Mrozek 1992). Hall concluded that play was critical for child development, as an activity that helped develop motor and social skills (Mrozek 1992). This idea of play as a crucial and natural component of childhood was also well championed during the Progressive and Victorian eras, again legitimized by Hall's studies (Pollock 1983; Mergen 1992; Formnek-Brunell 1993; Rotundo 1998; Wilkie 2000; Baxter 2008; Feister 2009). This ideology had a tangible effect on the lives of children at Chase Home, who were often invited to beach trips, boat rides, and picnics around the Portsmouth community—it is clear that ample time for play was encouraged.

While some of Hall's ideas are less accepted in modern anthropology, such as his purely evolutionary stance, Hall succeeded in highlighting childhood as a legitimate field of study. Furthermore, Hall's methods were ground breaking—Hall interviewed children themselves for his studies, giving their voices a type of agency few psychologists had offered before. While Progressive reformers used many of Hall's ideas in their advocacy, there is little record of reformers actually speaking with children to inform their efforts, as Hall did.

Philippe Ariès

In contrast to Hall's perspective of childhood as an innate and static life stage, Philippe Ariès is one of the first historians to tackle the changing nature of childhood over time (Ariès 1960). Writing in the 1960s, Ariès studied children from the medieval to modern times in the French context, relying heavily on artistic representations of children (Ariès 1960). Ariès argues that before modern times, there was little conception of childhood as a special stage separate from adulthood (Ariès 1960). Due to this lack of special attention, Ariès argues that children prior to modern times were treated indifferently, or even poorly, constituting the lowest segment of society (Ariès 1960). Childhood historian Linda Pollock summarizes Ariès' reasoning for his conclusions—high death rates among children kept emotional attachment down, feudalism viewed children as workers, just like adults, and the reigning religious ideology constructed people as inherently wicked from birth (Pollock 1983).

However, in the 17th century, Ariès argues that there was a perceptible shift in sentiment and development of a distinct conception of childhood around the 17th century (Ariès 1960). According to Ariès, the modern conception of childhood begins to emerge in the 17th century and is fully recognized during the Industrial Revolution (Ariès 1960). In the 17th century, children were considered mostly innocent, but weak and in need of special instruction (Ariès 1960). Therefore, upper class children started receiving more targeted education and were excluded from some adult work activities (Ariès 1960). By the 18th century, Ariès argues that children have taken a specific and special place in the family (Ariès 1960).

Ariès' case seems compelling at first, considering the increase in public attention to childhood that occurred in the 19th century. However, many historians and archaeologists have criticized much of Ariès reasoning and lines of evidence (Demos 1970; Brobeck 1976; Wilson 1980). Archaeologist John Demos offers useful criticisms of Ariès' reliance on paintings to make his case (Demos 1970). Demos suggests that the children depicted in art are often of a higher class and therefore do not depict the norm (Demos 1970). Demos also argues that portraits fail to delve into the actual lived experience of children's daily life, which Demos argues can be remedied by studying material culture (Demos 1970). Indeed, as a segment of the population lacking much written word, archaeologists have discovered that material culture is one of the most effective ways to explore the lives of children throughout history (Demos 1970; Wilkie 2000; Baxter 2005; Feister 2009).

However, Ariès' study was profound because he demonstrated that childhood is a social construction that changes over time and place, rather than a biological given. Therefore, it is fruitful to examine the social constructions of childhood during Victorian America, and explore the socio-cultural trends that influenced these constructions. Furthermore, Ariès brought historians and other academics into a conversation previously relegated to psychologists. Many of the most thoughtful and useful analyses of childhood emerged from studies aiming to criticize Ariès' conclusions (Demos 1970; Brobeck 1976; Melching 1975; Wilson 1980; Pollock 1983).

Childhood in Anthropology

As historians begin studying childhood more analytically, anthropologists found

that their theories and methods resonated in the field as well (Conkey and Spector 1948; Mead 1949; Whiting 1977; Dommasnes 1982). However, earlier anthropologists do mention children in their studies, though usually to serve as a parallel population for the "other," as anthropologist Heather Montgomery explains (Montgomery 2009). Children, like "uncivilized" cultures, progress through stages—starting in the wild and natural stage, they become more cultured and socialized over time (Montgomery 2009). In the 19th century as evolutionary influences took hold, Montgomery explains that British anthropologists such as John Lubbok (1870) and Edward Tylor (1871) positioned the children in their ethnographies as the "savage"; not yet fully realized or matured beings (Montgomery 2009). This is merely one of the ways that children were devalued and divorced from any culture of their own. Such views subdue the importance of early socialization and the integral role that children play in society before adulthood (Bock, Gaskins and Lancey 2008). Additionally, children were studied by early anthropologists for their role in inheritance and transfers of wealth and land—also adult pursuits (Firth 1936; Fortes 1949 in Montgomery 2009). Because of their dependence on adults, children were analyzed based on their interactions with and usefulness to adults.

Children *do* require adult care and socialization. However, socialization is most telling when studied contextually, since the path to maturation changes over time and across cultures. Margaret Mead was one of the first anthropologists to highlight how important children are for a more holistic and comprehensive study of a group of peoples (Mead 1928). Under the tutelage of Franz Boas, Mead was encouraged to view the differences between people as cultural rather than biological (Montgomery 2009). In 1975, Langness proclaims that Margaret Mead, "broke the stranglehold [that] biology and

genetics held on studies of childhood development" (Langness 1975 as quoted in Montgomery 2009: 25). Her thesis directly challenges that of G Stanley Hall's, only a few decades before. Montgomery explains that Mead was also one of the first anthropologists to establish a connection between the study of children and the study of women and gender (Montgomery 2009). Relegated to the private sphere and home life, the study of women and children was marginalized, their contributions to their immediate community and history more broadly subdued. Mead sought to change this tradition as she followed Samoan girls from infancy to adolescence (Mead 1928). In her revolutionary publication, *Coming of Age in Samoa* (1928), Mead studied children as children, not just in their relationships with adults. Mead draws attention to the ways adults influence children, but also how children influence each other (Mead 1928). Montgomery explains how Mead highlights the importance of the everyday life, and puts children on the anthropological agenda (Montgomery 2009). Mead and her colleagues were instrumental in establishing childhood as a field of study—children first emerge in academia as women break into anthropology (Dommanes and Wrigglesworth 2008).

Using children as informants, as Mead did, became a turning point in the study of childhood within anthropology. Researchers strove to understand the childhood experience by highlighting the importance of children's own thoughts and conceptions of the world (Montgomery 2009). Montgomery highlights anthropologist Jean La Fontaine as she addresses the problem with previous anthropologists who viewed children as passive, whose ideas and social interaction were unimportant compared to adults (Montgomery 2009). La Fontaine explains, "anthropology has retained an outdated view of children as raw material, unfinished specimens of the social beings whose ideas and

behavior are the proper subject matter for social science" (La Fontaine 1986 as quoted in Montgomery 2009:44). La Fontaine, along with Allison James (1997), Alan Prout (1997), Virginia Morrow (1996), and Pia Christensen (1999) ushered in a more analytically dynamic phase of child-centered anthropology, tackling subjects such as childhood friendships, terminally ill children, and playground interaction. This new approach to the study of childhood shifted the focus from the role adults play in socializing children, to how children themselves perceive their daily activities, and interactions with adults and other children (Montgomery 2009). While this first-hand account from the children of Chase Home is unfortunately not available, my study aims to move beyond simply examining how the children were socialized to Victorian norms, to include how this socialization may have effected their life trajectories.

Child-centered research supports the reality that children's actions influence their lives and the lives of those around them in ways just as significant as adults. Whether physically raising each other, as some older siblings do, or simply interacting on a daily basis at schools, on playgrounds, and within neighborhoods—children end up socializing each other just as much, if not more, than adults in some situations (Baxter 2005; Gutman and de Coninck-Smith 2008; Montgomery 2009). Therefore, a one-way study of socialization, simply from adult to child is incomplete. This is an important axiom in studying the history of childhood, as children's voices are rarely recorded—it is easy to envision children and their experiences based solely on adult perceptions since these are better preserved. Montgomery explains, with a deeper appreciation for agency in mind, one can explore how children's interactions can both reproduce and elude certain class and social hierarchies as well (Montgomery 2009). This is an important frame when

studying Chase Home, as the children are being taught certain upper class etiquettes and values, through toy tea sets, and emphasis on reading and schooling. However, it is difficult to ascertain how the children received these lessons, coming from immigrant families and lower classes. Did they reimagine or alter some of these practices? Did the children carry on these activities in their working class lives after the Home?

Anthropologists demonstrate how this disregard for adult hierarchies can highlight the ways that children often create and maintain their own social systems. Even when borrowing motions of adult life, children do not reproduce them exactly—they are always reinterpreted through the lens of a child. While Victorian boys and girls were encouraged to play differently, their diaries show that children mostly played the same games and together, especially when young (Grover 1992; Formanek-Brunell 1993; Jenkins 1998; Wilkie 2000; Baxter 2005).

While social identities of gender and class, in addition to ethnicity, religion, and other demographics certainly influence children's play, they are not the ultimate structuring power. Montgomery explains that play is, "both spontaneous and joyful and stylized and regulated, revealing imbalances of power and social hierarchy, and also blurring the boundaries" (Montgomery 2009:143). This fluctuating concept of children's play and interaction helps form a more nuanced conceptualization of how the children at Chase Home may have played. The excavated marbles and toy doll fragments represent more than just boys play and girls play—they represent child's play more generally.

Conclusions

The anthropology of childhood is still a relatively new subject with a short repertoire. However, anthropologists such as Mead, La Fontaine, and Montgomery demonstrate that it is possible to shed light on children's experiences, by examining the ways that children play and interact with each other, often crossing social and cultural boundaries. Furthermore, these anthropologists have asserted that childhood is important beyond studies of cultural socialization or analyses focusing solely on children's relationship with adults. Mead and Boas demonstrated that a culturally specific and contextualized study of childhood is essential, and using the voices of children themselves is further revealing.

Material Culture of Children

Using these ideas, an anthropologically-infused study of material culture has been instrumental in fleshing out more nuanced analyses of childhood and children's larger social role. Influenced by this previous work, the archaeology of childhood also developed in independent ways as well, as feminist theory and a focus on small finds gained traction within archaeology (Wilkie 2000; Beaudry 2006; Loren and Beaudry 2006). Beginning with Demos' study in Plymouth, archaeologists studying childhood have recognized the importance of objects to elucidate a culture with little first-hand written accounts (Demos 1970; Wilkie 2000; Baxter 2005; Feister 2009). Studies by archaeologists such as Jane Baxter, Lois Feister, and Laurie Wilkie demonstrate that children often establish physical areas of play, identifiable archaeologically, which offer meaningful insight into how children interacted with the space around them and with each other (Hammond and Hammond 1981; Wilki 2000; Baxter 2005; Feister 2009).

Children leave their mark spatially, and are influential socially as well. The archaeology of children's toys and small finds can illuminate children's daily lives in profound ways by demonstrating their activity areas, social interactions, socialization, as well as how their self-created meanings are integral parts of every culture.

However, women, children, and the poor became topics within historical archaeology only recently, meaning institutions such as orphanages have not received proper analysis. In the past decade, the study of small finds has helped focus analysis on more individual artifacts, beyond the dominate ceramics, nails, and glass, which do not adequately speak to the more marginalized groups of people (White and Beaudry 2005; Beaudry 2006; Loren and Beaudry 2006; White 2009). Highlighting these smaller more personal artifacts can aid interpretations of localized daily life, while also speaking to larger cultural trends. In their study of small finds, Beaudry and White emphasize that artifacts are tangible representations of social relationships (White and Beaudry 2005). Individuals can use objects to build relationships, and negotiate status (White and Beaudry 2005). Small finds can also hold substantial meaning regarding family or household structure, the acquisition of culture, and social life at home and beyond (White and Beaudry 2005). However, one must first define how to highlight which artifacts hold the most significance for children.

Size is the most employed technique by archaeologists for identifying children's objects—smaller than average thimbles, tea sets, and other tiny versions of adult artifacts are often identified as child-related (Derevenski 2000; Baxter 2005). However, this rule is not universal. Smaller versions of objects can often be votive, decorative, or even used for adult play (Derevenski 2000). Quality is also often considered, as sometimes

children's artifacts are often more crudely made because they break or are lost frequently, whereas adult objects are more finished, being functional or viewed more publically (Baxter 2005). However, this is not the case at Chase Home, where children played with well-made and decorated tea wares and fancy manufactured toy dolls. Finally, primary sources are also extremely helpful in identifying children's artifacts, especially during the late 1800s and early 1900s as store catalogs became widely printed (Praetzellis and Praetzellis 1990; Hunter 2003; White 2009).

While focusing on these small finds and toys can highlight important aspects of children's lives, archaeologists remind us that children's artifacts extend beyond small finds, especially when one considers the multitude of objects children encounter each day. Children often repurpose objects not intended specifically for their use, because children do not always distinguish between toys meant specifically for their play and self-imagined playthings (Mergen 1992; Wilkie 2000; Baxter 2005). Historian Bernard Mergen analyzes first-hand accounts of Victorian childhoods, where many interviewees emphasized the importance of household furniture in children's play (Baxter 2005; Wilkie 2000). Similarly, sticks, stones, strips of cloth, trees, and other bits of discard or the natural world, never to survive archaeologically, were fundamental play items as well. The changing and multifaceted ways that children employ objects speaks to the challenges of defining an artifact of childhood.

Further complicating the material culture of children, objects hold varying and often dichotomizing meanings for adults and children (Baxter 2005). While children's toys in Victorian America were marketed with children in mind, they were still conceived of and created by adults. Archaeologists such as Jane Baxter and Laurie Wilkie explain

how adults often employ toys for didactic purposes, encouraging socially correct behaviors of gender and class (Wilkie 2000; Baxter 2005). In her analysis of an upper class Victorian home, Wilkie compares the material culture and the diary of a little girl who lived there. Though porcelain dolls are a poignant symbol of feminine and maternal values during the Victorian age, Wilkie found them beheaded and deliberately broken or burned (Wilkie 2000). The girl's diary seems to explain this behavior as she details her displeasure over a new sibling, suggesting she may have broken her dolls as a form of protest. Wilkie concludes that adult intentions sometimes go unnoticed by children, while sometimes children actively rebel against them. Studying the ways that children accept, reinterpret, or actively reject adult meanings highlights the agency of children, but also highlights how children practice a culture of their own.

Additionally, children typically acquired toys from adults, rather than purchasing objects themselves (Formanek-Brunell 1993; Hunter 2003). In her analysis of a Victorian orphanage, Feister explains that the popularity of store catalogs at the turn of the century meant that more children were able to view and pick out specific toys. However, purchasing power still remained with adults (Feister 2009). Therefore, adult intention and meaning play a large role in interpreting children's toys and how they are handled archaeologically. A single object contains a richness of meanings—meanings for adults, children, historians, and archaeologists. When analyzing the archaeological context of children's toys, archaeologists must remember the myriad of preservation factors and object histories, determined both by adults and children.

Beyond material culture alone, studying the spatial context of artifacts can greatly strengthen interpretations of children's daily lives (Wilkie 2000; Baxter 2005). While

there is no universal spatial thumbprint of children's activities, it is possible to find distinct spatial patterns that suggest the presence of children (Baxter 2005; Feister 2009). In her comparative spatial survey of five different 19th century American sites, Baxter observes how children's activities often occur in areas separate from adults, which offer clues to their individual work and play behaviors. Often, there are areas seen as unsuitable for children because they are dangerous or deemed areas for adult-specific activities (Baxter 2005). Alternatively, children often create play spaces of their own where they can feel autonomous from adults—these are merely two examples of how separate spaces develop. Baxter explains how people use space in culturally specific ways and children are socialized into using space "correctly" over time (Baxter 2005).

Historical archaeologists have found that children's areas tend to be near their home, close enough for supervision, but with enough space for independent play as well (Baxter 2005). Baxter is able to highlight a few general spatial trends. One dominant theme is the especially low counts of children's artifacts in front yards relative to the higher artifact counts in back yards (Baxter 2005). This is likely because the front yard was seen as the more "public" face of a house, whereas playing, washing, food prep, and in the case of Chase Home, privy business, was carried out in the back yard (Baxter 2005). Besides these general categories of adult vs children and public vs private, archaeologists have noticed spatial trends related to gender as well (Wilkie 2000; Baxter 2005; Feister 2009). While the artifact distribution at Chase Home is not conducive to significant spatial analysis, it is important to imagine the spatial context in which the children operated, carrying objects to different locations around the yards and

neighborhood and establishing specific areas of play—especially as play was encouraged by the administrators of Chase Home, and the material culture corroborates.

Institutional Archaeology

James Gibb and April Beisaw's 2009 compilation of archaeological studies of institutions provides helpful examples, methods, and theories for studying institutional sites (Gibb and Beisaw 2009). Gibb explains that institutions speak to larger social values in ways distinct from domestic sites (Gibb and Beisaw 2009). Institutions are more public and often more explicit representations of community values than home sites. Within Gibb and Beisaw's volume, Sherene Baugher extrapolates that institutions have a "history that is a microcosm of broader social and cultural history" (Baugher 2009: 213). Institutions are built by a group of people that gather around a common goal, and it is important for historians to dissect the motivations behind this. Progressive reform occurred on many different levels, but is best viewed through the public policies that were passed and institutions that were created. These were instances where reformers organized to advance their specific aims.

In studying institutions, some archaeologists, such as Eleanor Cassella's study of a women's prison, analyze architectural layout to decipher areas of access and restriction, public and private areas, and how the layout conveys power and controls movement through the institution (Casella 2009). While little is known about the interior space of Chase Home at 53 Court Street, when the institution moved in 1915 there is specific reference to separate wards for boys and girls, and a floor for the matron, her assistants, and offices (*Portsmouth Journal* 1915). Access would likely have been restricted to certain areas, especially based on Victorian gender norms.

However, material culture can also highlight institutional values and how these values were followed or rebelled against. Casella was able to use material culture to highlight resistance to the institution, by recovering prohibited artifacts such as smoking pipes and alcohol bottles (Casella 2009).While there are no surprising objects at Chase Home, the material culture is illustrative of Victorian and Progressive ideologies, which will be explored further. Casella and many other historians have termed the 19th century a "golden era" for institutions (Casella 2009: 17). Progressive movements, aimed to benefit the larger public good, translated easily into institutions such as community houses for working women, schools to teach immigrants industrial skills and American culture, and of course, orphanages and children's aid institutions (Jaycox 2005). Victorian values translated into these institutions as well, including Magdalene societies that were specifically governed by Victorian ideals of purity and gender constructions (Casella 2009).

Institutions are structured by cultural norms, just as domestic sites are, but institutions offer a different vantage point from which to view larger social trends (Gibb and Beisaw 2009). An institutional study of archaeology prompts important questions of identity and individuality when viewing the material culture. Chase Home did not have an institutional set of tableware, as some orphanages did, nor did there seem to be uniforms (Feister 2009). Questions of institutionality ask, were the children issued dolls generally, or did they have some level of individual choice? Lois Feister's excavation of a Victorian orphanage in upstate NY demonstrates that some children asked for specific dolls for Christmas, while the artifact record indicates that their individual choices were sometimes met (Feister 2009). The archaeology at Chase Home shows great variety,

suggesting that most toys and children's items were donated, and therefore not institutionally issued. The level of institutionality, organization of Chase Home, and how these structures are informed by community attitudes is important to analyze.

Conclusion

Archaeologists have offered many helpful methodologies and theories for studying children through material culture. Beaudry, White, and Wilkie's focus on small finds demonstrates how even objects that are physically small and less frequently found, such as children's toys, can reveal volumes. Wilkie also stresses the importance of considering the myriad of preservation factors and object histories, determined both by adults and children, that effect what is uncovered (Wilkie 2000). Beyond the socio-cultural effect children have on material culture, Baxter speaks to the ways that children leave their mark spatially as well. Within all of these studies is the argument that socio-historical context is supremely important for understanding childhood and children's lives at a particular point in history. Furthermore, Casella, Feister, Gibb, and Beisaw demonstrate how the archaeology of childhood within an institution must be studied differently than childhood at home.

CHAPTER 3

THE PROGRESSIVE ERA AND RISE OF CHILD PROTECTION AGENCIES

Introduction

The second Industrial Revolution began in the 1870s as rapid industrial growth occurred in Western Europe, Britain, and America (Jaycox 2005). Innovations in machine technology, creation of the Bessemer process to mass manufacture steel, and revolutions in communication to help share these inventions were some of the main instigators of the second Industrial Revolution (Jaycox 2005). This quick and radical increase in factory production spurred economic and social changes as well. The Progressive Era generally refers to a trend of organized reform movements from the 1890s to the 1920s, originating in the northeast, largely in response to a rapidly growing industrial, urban, and immigrant America (Jaycox 2005; Pastorello 2014). Historians such as Faith Jaycox explain that the second Industrial Revolution created an America faced with new technologies and increasing political power, which set society apart significantly from Civil War America just proceeding (Jaycox 2005). Factories encouraged the predominantly rural and agrarian country to move into cities, and by the 1920s, 51% of Americans lived in urban areas. Populations in northeastern cities grew immensely, coupled with an unprecedented influx of immigrants from Europe (Jaycox 2005; Pastorello 2014).

Given this historical context, with the arrival of new groups of people and cultures, American society was forced to re-identify itself. Cites were faced with radically crowded neighborhoods and the new industrial economy created massive wage gaps (Jaycox 2005; Sloane 2008; Pastorello 2014). The American public began to take notice of who was benefitting from this massive surge of production and who was struggling (Jaycox 2005; Pastorello 2014). Horrified by the suffering that poverty and overcrowded housing brought, groups of mostly educated urban men and women aimed to expose the deplorable conditions in cities and the greed of manufactures. Jaycox summaries that Progressive reformers strove to "alleviate the corruption, or economic injustice, or the human suffering that had accompanied America's explosion of industrial growth, urbanization, and new ways of life" (Jaycox 2005: viii).

Class Ideologies within the Progressive Movement

The Progressive movement emerged out of and was heavily informed by Victorian culture. In some ways, Victorian America saw the emergence of a middle class, as education, books and newspapers, and the material symbols of status became more accessible (Praetzellis and Praezellis 2001; Jaycox 2005). However, class divisions remained, coupled with increasing feelings of nativism, as new immigrants arrived (Spencer-Wood 1994; Jaycox 2005). These trends persisted in the Progressive movement and structured how Progressive institutions and campaigns were organized.

The obligation of wealthy citizens to donate portions of their money to charity was an effective Victorian ideal, rooted in moralism and religion (Blodgett and Howe 1976). Through their philanthropy to welfare institutions, wealthy patrons were also encouraging notions of betterment and self-improvement, to the advancement of society

as a whole (Spencer-Wood 1994). This Victorian philosophy was adapted easily within the Progressive movement. Historians Blogdett and Howe explain how reformers wanted gentility to be achieved, rather than an ascribed status (Blodgett and Howe 1976). Towards this goal, Progressive institutions sought to teach useful skills for a productive and refined life—however, these skills and the philosophies behind their teaching had American and classist overtones (Spencer-Wood 1994).

Victorian philosophy believed that women possessed innate domestic abilities, and were therefore most successful when employed in the home (Praetzellis and Praeztellis 2001; Jaycox 2005). However, the upper class Victorian version of this domesticity differed from the working classes; poorer women used these skills as employed domestics, servicing upper class families. In the wealthier families, these service women allowed for the lady of the house to devote time towards teaching her children proper etiquette and morals for their upper class future (Spencer-Wood 1994; Pastorello 2014). These philosophies translated into the organization of many Progressive institutions.

Archaeologist Suzanne Spencer-Wood explains how women's cooperative homes aimed to equip working-class immigrant women with important job skills to help them succeed in their new life (Spencer-Wood 1994). However, many of these homes used this platform to Americanize immigrant families, teaching their wards how to cook American recipes, adopt specific cleaning customs, and conduct themselves in culturally American ways, which often included instruction on the etiquettes of tea time (Spencer-Wood 1994). Therefore, while many Progressive movements and organizations aimed to better

the lives and skill sets of immigrant or disadvantaged peoples, they also propagated specific ideas of these peoples' place within the existing class, race, and gender norms.

However, with its vast array of causes, Progressive activity was not one monolithic movement. Instead, the era was comprised of many diverse and sometimes contradictory efforts (Jaycox 2005). Some Progressive campaigns took the national stage, but most began in, "scattered municipalities in the 1890s," as Chase Home did (Jaycox 2005: viii). Movements during the Progressive Era were both social and political—some efforts urged the government to use its powers to regulate, while others strove to expose the corruption in government, and called on communities to support those at risk locally (Abel 1950; Annual Report of the NHCAPS 1914; Cmeil 1995; Sloane 2008). Chase Home benefited from the latter—as an institution that received no government aid, Chase Home relied on donations from the community, either monetary, or through discounted services, gifts of food, clothing, and toys (Chase Home Annual Reports).

Figure 4. Child laborer (Wisconsin Department of Workforce Development)

Children in the Progressive Movement

Chase Home was part of a larger trend within the Progressive movement, which viewed children as the most worthy cause (Abel 1950; Cmeil 1995; Nelson 2003; Sloane 2008). Despite ample job opportunities, millions of fully employed people lived below the poverty line, making it difficult for families to live securely (Jaycox 2005). Many families lived one paycheck away from disaster, brought by the loss of one wage earner, or addition of another child. Between 1880 and 1920, the number of children in institutions more than tripled, many of them half orphans, who had at least one parent (Jaycox 2005). Jaycox elaborates, "In an era with meager wages, high rates of disease, no unemployment insurance […] and no state aid, such families often had no choice but to put their children in an institution" (Jaycox 2005: 326). Reformers involved in urban housing and resettlement movements encountered overcrowded families first-hand, and turned their attention to children (Jaycox 2005).

In 1914, the 1st Annual Report of the newly established New Hampshire Children's Aid and Protective Society (NHCAPS) deplored a world where money is given by the government to help disease in cattle and trees, but does not offer children the "opportunity which is their birthright to become efficient, self-supporting and self-respecting citizens" (NHCAPS Annual Report 1914). Children's right to a safe and productive youth was an innate human right. Furthermore, children deserved a special world, where they could be encouraged to play and learn, as was also their natural right (Nelson 2003). Lillian Wald, a respected reformer known for her work in the resettlement movement, advocated for children using this philosophy (Jaycox 2005). She argues that the best way to influence children "is given to those who play with, rather than to those

who teach them only" (as quoted in Jaycox 2005: 139). Progressive reformers began calling for public playgrounds, restrictions to child labor, and institutions which could provide a productive and nurturing environment for needy children.

The Progressive movement inspired many tangible improvements for American society at a time when there was neither financial aid nor investigative power from federal or state governments (Myers 2008). Before the late 19th century, historian John Myers explains that help for neglected or abused children, "came—if it came—from family and neighbors willing to get involved" (Myers 2008: 452). Traditionally in America, family matters were meant to be solved privately, without interference from the state. However, starting in 1875 with the New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (SPCC), community sponsored protection agencies emerged around the country (Myers 2008). Interestingly, the New York SPCC was organized with the help of the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, which was founded 15 years before any formal society for the protection of children (Myers 2008). By 1922, 300 nongovernmental child protection agencies existed across America (Myers 2008).

During the late 19th century, institutions like Chase Home, such as the New Hampshire Orphan's Home and the Portsmouth Female Asylum, sprang up across New England. While all emerging from the same social context, each private institution operated uniquely, guided by different founding ideals (Cmiel 1995). Generally however, historian Kenneth Cmiel explains that this surge of new orphanages was accompanied by a comprehensive change in organization during the end of the 19th century (Cmiel 1995). Mimicking a shift in hospital architecture and patient care philosophy, orphanages became less institutional in appearance and practice, instead more resembling a home or

cottage (Cmiel 1995). This was partially due to better understandings of germ theory and the dangers of grouping a large number of sick people in one room, but also partners a shift in ideology regarding medical and children's aid (Cmiel 1995; Casella 2009; Feister 2009).

Figure 5. Contemporaries of Chase Home, demonstrating the shift in orphanage architecture to the home-style buildings shown here (Harvard University Museum)

Progressive emphasis on the importance of a more feminine nurturance in hospitals and orphanages changed institutions fundamentally (Cmiel 1995; Gutman and De Connick-Smith 2008; Vogel 2008). Children deserved affection, individualized attention, toys, and the opportunity to play freely in order to live healthy lives (Mrozek 1992; Cmiel 1995; Feister 2009). Hospitals began opening children-only wings that included playrooms and kindergartens (Sloane 2008). The Boston Children's Hospital, opening in 1869, was the first focused on caring for children specifically and many more children's hospitals were established in the 1880s and 1890s (Vogel 2008).

Recognizing the differing and specific needs of children, institutions became increasingly specialized and segmented into separate wards in hospitals, orphanages,

Magdalene societies, girls' homes and industrial schools (Abel 1952; Cmiel 1995; Casella 2010). In New Hampshire alone, there existed the Portsmouth Female Asylum, New Hampshire Orphan's Home in Franklin, NH, a school for "feeble minded" children, and an industrial school all within close proximity to Chase Home. A simple reading of the different institutions' rules and objects demonstrates the diversity of organizations and in turn heterogeneous nature of the Progressive movement.

As the number of children's aid institutions grew in New Hampshire, civic leaders deemed it necessary to create the New Hampshire Children's Aid and Protective Society (NHCAPS) in 1914 to raise funds and awareness for problems specific to children. The Society released annual reports, featuring various children's institutions across New Hampshire and articles recounting successful adoption or reformation stories (NHCAPS Annual Reports). While such an increase in children's aid institutions is certainly an improvement from just decades before, funding for these institutions fluctuated from year to year (Myers 2008, Chase Home Annual Reports, New Hampshire Orphan's Home Advocates 1877-1898).

Though the federal Children's Bureau was established in 1912, funding was not secured until 1921 (Myers 2008). By the 1930s, the private and financially floundering societies began calling for a shift in governmental agencies (Myers 2008). Douglas Falconer of the Social Work Yearbook in 1935 implored—"For many years responsibility for child protection was left almost entirely to private agencies…The belief has become increasingly accepted that if children are to be protected from neglect, the service must be performed by public agencies" (Falconer as quoted in Myers 2008). Finally, the passing of the Social Security Act in 1935 created the Aid to Dependent

Children, which secured a reliable pool of funding directed especially for children's aid (Myers 2008). For the first time, money was also allocated directly to poor families, to help families lift themselves out of poverty and adequately care for children, rather than being forced to send their children into institutions (Myers 2008). Before this time however, private societies and local communities provided immeasurable aid to needy children, filling the void where the federal and local governments dared not enter.

Establishment of Chase Home

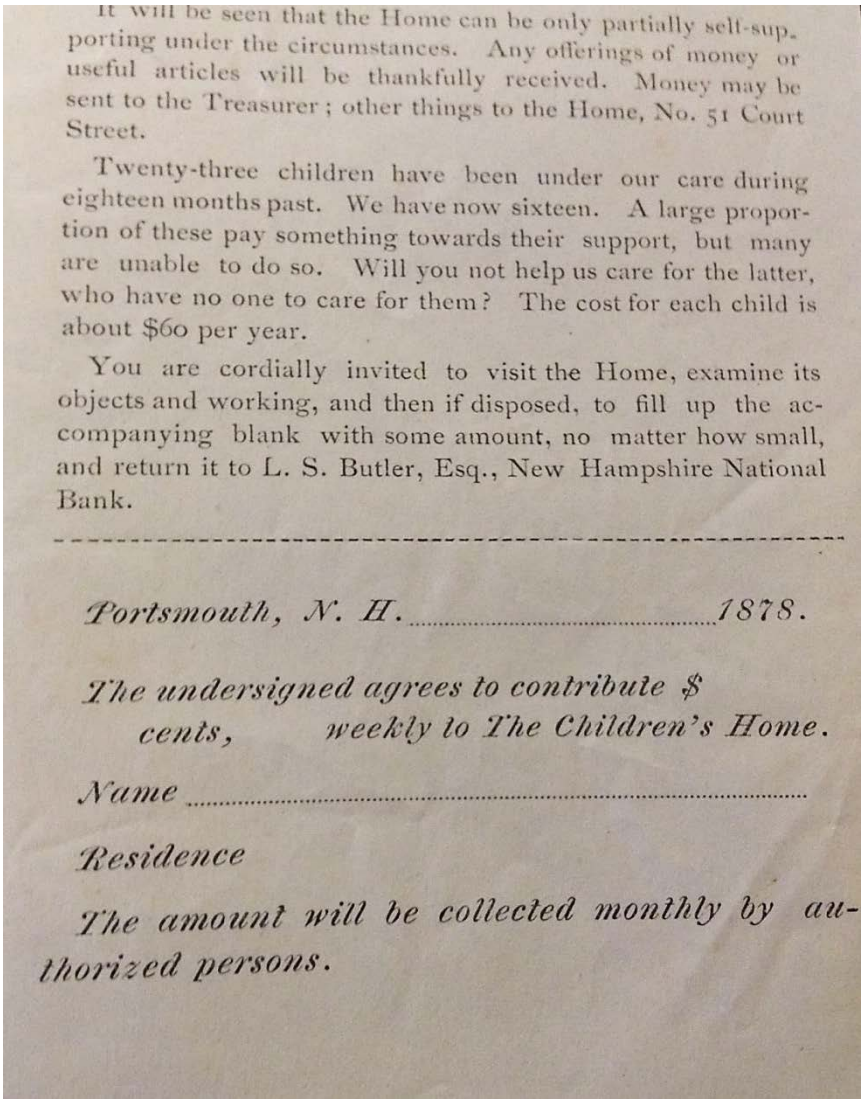
Though this expansion of private children's institutions and protection agencies is part of the larger Progressive movement, each institution was organized differently, according to specific philosophies and aims. This diversity of institutions means that there is fruitful analysis in examining the way that Chase Home was structured, and how this structure spoke to both overt and underlying principles. Aspects of the Home's mission are visible from the creation of the Home, until its decision to move location in 1915.

Before its move to Chase House, the Portsmouth Home for Children had been previously established in 1877, founded by the popular Reverend Mr. Hollbrook, who was instrumental to the support and establishment of the Home (*Portsmouth Journal* 1881). By May of 1879, the institution was officially incorporated, with various religious organizations acting as sponsors (Chase Home for Children; Our History). Together, leaders of local Portsmouth churches began actively seeking local funds for the Home's operation (Chase Home for Children; Our History). Throughout the Home's history, it was consistently supported by both Catholic and Protestant religious organizations of many sects, which constitutes a notable difference from the all Catholic or all Protestant-

sect institutions that were typical before the Progressive Era (Abel 1950; Jaycox 2005). In general, Chase Home is a unique institution because of its wide base of community support that crossed many of the social, religious, and racial boundaries that dictated Victorian America.

Dedication of Chase Home

On New Year's Day in 1884, the new Chase Home opened, "fitted in the most thorough and inviting manner for the new purpose, and the visitors were delighted with its attractive and home-like appearance" (*Portsmouth Journal* 1884). Visitors highlighted the domestic environment of the Home, just as Cmeil noted in the shift from large institution to cottage style orphanages during the end of the century (Cmiel 1995). On the dedication day, Chase Home was open for tours, allowing the local community to come appreciate the "Home for Children which for comfort and completeness would seem to answer for every requirement" (*Portsmouth Journal* 1884). This is not a description of an institution focused solely on discipline or didactics; there is ample emphasis on comfort and entertainment as well. Inviting the public to tour the home served multiple purposes—this was a venue where the Home could display its cause and mission while also making the case for increased philanthropy from the community. At the dedication, organizers passed around a pamphlet, likely similar to the appeal from 1878 below, encouraging attendees to make donations (*Portsmouth Journal* 1884). Mr. Chase even offered another $3,000 for further restorations of the Home (*Portsmouth Journal* 1884).



It will be seen that the Home can be only partially self-supporting under the circumstances. Any offerings of money or useful articles will be thankfully received. Money may be sent to the Treasurer; other things to the Home, No. 51 Court Street.

Twenty-three children have been under our care during eighteen months past. We have now sixteen. A large proportion of these pay something towards their support, but many are unable to do so. Will you not help us care for the latter, who have no one to care for them? The cost for each child is about $60 per year.

You are cordially invited to visit the Home, examine its objects and working, and then if disposed, to fill up the accompanying blank with some amount, no matter how small, and return it to L. S. Butler, Esq., New Hampshire National Bank.

Portsmouth, N. H. ..... *1878.*

The undersigned agrees to contribute $
cents, weekly to The Children's Home.

Name .....

Residence

The amount will be collected monthly by authorized persons.

Figure 6. 1878 Appeal for the Portsmouth Children's Home (Portsmouth Athenaeum)

Also in attendance were local clergy from a number of nearby of churches, united to serve the non-denominational Chase Home (*Portsmouth Journal* 1884). An Episcopal priest donated funds collected from his clergy and congregation, while Father Eugene M. O'Callaghan donated "a substantial sum to be expended in presents for the children" (*Portsmouth Journal* 1884). The emphasis on gifts for fun, rather than clothes or food, is telling. Throughout its tenure, the Home continued to benefit from the monetary and in-

kind support of diverse channels within the Portsmouth community, from Catholic Fathers, dentists, families next door, and even visitors from England and Canada.

Objectives of Chase Home

At the time of its move in 1883, the institution housed 19 children, "cared for by the faithful matron, Miss Hannaford, and thoroughly trained in the practical duties of life, and impressed with the necessity of habits of industry and integrity" (*Portsmouth Journal* 1883).

As an institution, Chase Home aimed not only to nurture the children under its care, but also to teach them useful skills for a fulfilling and successful life after the orphanage. The orphanage offered, "a happy home for children, who without its seasonable care might have grown up to become a menace to society" (*Portsmouth Journal* 1881). The language used by the press to describe Chase Home and appeals written by the Home itself regularly employed the Progressive philosophies popular during this time. Chase Home followed a list of objectives, as set in 1878:

> The reception of homeless children under 12 years of age, without distinction of creed or color, of the following classes:
>
> 1. Motherless children whose fathers, especially seafaring men, are obliged by occupation to be much away from home, who have no proper person to care for their children during absence.
> 2. Children of poor parents, obliged by long continued sickness to neglect their families, and who place their children for a season in our care, expecting upon recovery to claim their own.
> 3. Children rendered temporarily homeless by fire or other accident.
> 4. Children whose home has been broken by the intemperance or desertion of father or mother; under such circumstances the parent remaining pays, according to ability, a certain sum at regular periods.
> 5. Children left orphans, or abandoned by both parents, whose friends or relatives bring them temporarily to us while finding a proper home for them elsewhere.
>
> To train the children practical duties, to encourage habits of honesty, truthfulness, purity and industry, to prepare them to take their position in life as useful members of

society, to give a Christian Home to those who otherwise would have perhaps no home at all; such are some of the aims and objects of the work.

Children placed at the Home are not surrendered to the Institution, but are held subject to the personal or written order of parents or authorized relatives.

Children who are old enough, will be sent to the Public Schools in the District in which the Home is situated, and when specially desired, will be allowed to attend such places of Religious worship as their parents or guardians may desire.

When it is possible, it is expected that those who place their children in the Home, will pay according to ability, towards their support.

It will be seen that the Home can be only partially self-supporting under the circumstances. Any offerings of money or useful article will be thankfully received. (Children's Home Pamphlet July 1st, 1878).

These objects are telling in many ways about the philosophy and operation of Chase Home, and the Home's role in the Portsmouth community. The Home seems to have different expectations for care depending on the circumstances that bring a child in. There is no mention of payment for children brought in by motherless, seafaring men, or children made homeless by accident, or children of poor parents if the parents are sick. However, for poor families where a parent is sick, they are expected to remove the child from the Home once recovered. Furthermore, payment is expected for children whose family has been broken by intemperance or desertion. While it is difficult to know the entire situation that brought a child to Chase Home, the annual reports and census records do offer clues.

By Chase Home's 20th year, 127 children had "passed a longer or shorter period here" benefitting from the "mental training of public schools" while also learning the merits of "truthfulness, cleanliness, [and] obedience," as written in the 1897 Report (Chase Home Annual Report 1897). The annual reports list each child's name and their age while the account of donations offers a detailed picture into the material culture they used. The Home housed on average 16 children at one time (Chase Home Annual Reports). However little is written about the children themselves. Using their names and

ages, the local census records are able to fill in some of the gaps. The children's ages range from 2-13 any given year, and some children remained in the Home for 5 years, while others only stayed a few short months. Their families are predominantly from the New England area, though there are multiple families whose parents are from Ireland, Sweden, French Canada, Denmark, and one child whose mother is from Shanghai (Census Records Rockingham County, New Hampshire 1890-1910).

Figure 7. Historic photo of children outside Washington St side door (Charles 2015)

Delving into the census records sheds more light onto the children's families and backgrounds. The average family in 1890 consisted of 4.93 people. Assuming this number represents a nuclear family, there were likely around 3 children per family (U.S. Census Bureau 2008). However, some of the children at Chase Home came from families with up to 9 children. Many of these children came from Catholic families with Irish or European origins, which had a higher than average number of children (U.S. Census Records for Rockingham County 1890-1910).

In an age before social welfare, it was difficult for a family to care for more than 3 children, especially if tragedy struck. Ms. Snow, an Irish immigrant, was left widowed with five children, whom she chose to rotate through Chase Home (Chase Home Annual Reports 1895-87). Ms. Snow placed her youngest daughters, Nettie, Ella, and Flossie, in the Home a year at a time, while her two older sons worked as a day laborer and shoe maker (U.S. Census Records for Rockingham County 1900). Ms. Snow's sons were never placed in Chase Home, probably because they were important earners for the family. The Walker family faced a similar circumstance—Lena, Glentwood, and Florence's mother is listed as French Canadian in the 1900 census and was abandoned by her husband sometime before, finally divorcing him in 1904 (New Hampshire Marriage Records Index 1904). The Walker children are only listed in the Chase Home reports for 1895 and 1896, while Flossie Snow is in the Home from 1895 until 1902 (Chase Home Annual Reports). Apparently, Ms. Walker only needed temporary help, while the Snow family experienced continued hardship. Though the census records offer revealing snapshots into the situations of these families, much is left to speculation. The annual reports do state that half of the children had money contributed to their board, but no information is given about which families gave money, and what their circumstances were.

Another especially important tenant in the objects of Chase Home is the clause that suggests the Home accepts children, "without distinction of creed or color." This is a liberal statement for 19th century New England, but one that Chase Home may not have completely realized. Using the available archives, there is no direct evidence that the Home housed any African American children, but census records do prove that there

were European, Irish, French Canadian, and Chinese immigrant children (Census Records Rockingham County, New Hampshire 1880-1910). However, not every child is represented in the archives, so there is still the possibility of further diversity. Many of the 1890 census records for all of New Hampshire were lost in a 1920 warehouse fire, complicating the history of Chase Home residents (ancestry.com).

However, Chase Home may have still fulfilled its pledge under the terms of the time, considering that Irish and Italian Catholics and Eastern Europeans were essentially regarded as other, non-white races during the late Victorian Age (Jaycox 2005; Mullins 2001; Battle-Baptiste 2011). Furthermore, it is notable that Chase Home searches for a more "suitable" home in 1915 when a large proportion of Puddle Dock's residents are immigrants and African Americans (Charles 2015). By the 1920s, approximately 25% of the neighborhood was born in Eastern Europe (Charles 2015).

Organization of Chase Home

Examining how the children came to Chase Home is an important first step to understanding the overall goal of Chase Home, and how this institution affected their life trajectories. Beyond listing the names of the children, the annual reports are further enlightening because they offer insight into how the Home was managed on different institutional levels. The establishing body of Chase Home for Children organized similar to many other aid societies during the late Victorian and Progressive Eras (Blodgett and Howe 1976; Cmeil 1995; Meyers 2008). There was a board of trustees, who helped establish the Home both financially and through community organizing among the upper echelons of Portsmouth society. The board of trustees was comprised of local luminaries—well educated men that were church leaders or business men. The role was

primarily honorary, but also an advisory role, where the trustees likely met once or twice a year to review the finances of the Home, and write the annual report.

Women carried out most of the daily work on the ground as board managers, committee members, matrons, and assistants (Chase Home Annual Reports). Following Victorian gender divisions, the men of the institution handled the finances and report to the public, while the women oversaw the actual child care and house management. In an 1884 article, one trustee notes, "let us not omit the commendation due to those ladies who have so judiciously and tastefully expended the money applicable to the interior fitting and decoration of the house" (*Portsmouth Journal* 1884). Many of the board managers, one step below the board, were wives of trustees or unmarried upper class women and did make decisions about how and where to spend Chase Home's budget. Volunteering one's time for aid societies and philanthropy was a perfectly respectable avenue for wealthier women's public activity (Blodgett and Howe 1976; Cmeil 1995; Jaycox 2005). However, the women who worked as matrons and assistants did so for their livelihood, as professionals.

Miss Lizzy Hannaford was the first matron of Chase Home, and remained in this role until her marriage and retirement in 1886. All of the matrons of Chase Home were unmarried, as part of a married Victorian woman's wifely duties was to stay home and mind their own house and family (Wilkie 2000; Wilkie 2003; Feister 2009). Next, Miss Elizabeth Ayers assumed the role of matron, before leaving to become a waitress (Census Records Rockingham County, New Hampshire 1890). She too was married later in life at the age of 43 (Portsmouth, New Hampshire Directories 1888, 1890, 1892). Miss Annie Miller was matron of Chase Home for only a few short years until she left to study as a

nurse and her sister, Mrs. Louise Davis took her place in 1895 (Census Records Rockingham County, New Hampshire 1930*)*.Though the first married woman to assume this role, Louise was a widow with no children. Annie and Louise's family emigrated from Denmark, and the two sisters lived together until Annie's death (New Hampshire Death and Disinterment Records, 1754-1947).

According to a 1894 report, Annie's matron duties were described as managing the children in everything "relating to their morals, manners, health, clothing, study, and recreation" (Chase Home Annual Report 1894). As such, the matron was responsible for holding morning and evening prayers, blessing each meal, and encouraging the children to "attend a divine service in some church once every Sunday and to be present for religious instruction on Sunday afternoons" (Chase Home Annual Report 1894). This phrase again references the tolerance of some religious choice, but also the religious morality, integral to Victorian culture, that informed the Home's activities. The matron was in charge of maintaining order and a clean home, in addition to leading the children in a proper and religious lifestyle. In 1900, the board members commend Mrs. Davis, for it is "no little task to rule with firm but kindly hand fifteen or more children, mostly coming from homes where discipline has not been a prominent factory" (Chase Home Annual Report 1900). This comment suggests more gentle, though stern disciplining, in comparison to the language from a 1915 Children's Protection Agency Report, which claimed many orphan children were "wild," "feeble-minded," and "plague spots" in their communities (President's Report 1915). This distinction again speaks to the diversity of the Progressive Era, which introduced over-arching themes, but practice on the ground varied. Luckily, the matron had the help of other women.

The Children's Home Chapter of Chase Home chose two women each month to visit the Home weekly, in order to help assess and mend the children's clothing (Chase Home Annual Report 1887). Though only two thimbles and no needles were found archaeologically, the annual reports reference the large amount of sewing that occurred through the copious donations of related materials in the form of cloth, needles, and patterns that were given weekly (Chase Home Annual Reports). Watching these women sew could have been a learning experience for the young girls at the Home, and perhaps some of the older girls also helped to mend, as the reports mention the older girls frequently participated in household chores (Chase Home Annual Reports). This would have been in keeping with the Home's mission to train its wards in practical duties, especially along gender lines.

In addition to the Chapter volunteers who helped sew, the reports mention extra nurses and assistance when the Home had a surplus of younger children or when children were sick. Diphtheria, an upper respiratory disease, plagued the children on multiple occasions, and extra money was spent on their medicine and nurses to care for them. In 1893, 13 children contacted diphtheria and were moved next door to the cottage hospital (Charles 2015; Estes and Goodman 1986). Sadly, 2 children died from the disease (Chase Home Annual Report 1893).

As the Home grew and accepted more children of varied ages, an official Assistant Matron, Miss Helen E. Miller was hired from 1895 until 1911 (Chase Home Annual Reports). In the census, the matrons are sometimes referred to as "nurses" as well, indicating some of these women had practiced skills, either officially, or through experience. The job of matron fell somewhere in the middle in terms of Victorian

respectability—a respected position for unmarried women with no children, but not suitable for wives of the board members. These middle to upper class "ladies" helped raise funds and in kind donations through benefit concerts and written appeals.

Finances of Chase Home

Since the beginning, the Chase Home's trustees invested money in railroad bonds and real estate to constitute a portion of the Home's yearly income (Chase Annual Home Reports). Of course, this money was only a small foundation for the Home's daily operational costs, and the constant stream of donations by the Portsmouth community was crucial. Chase Home accepted physical donations of every kind, from "trips down the harbor with Steamer James" to books, and items even as specific as a "birthday cake for Harry and Willie" (Chase Home Annual Report 1887). Money donations were equally diverse, with monthly subscriber gifts, bequests, and small contributions from children's mite boxes (Chase Home Annual Reports). Even with all its supporters, the annual reports and newspaper articles demonstrated that Chase Home was sometimes financially secure and sometimes on the brink of bankruptcy, often oscillating between the two in consecutive years.

In 1885, The Portsmouth Journal states that "interest in the home is undiminished, and there is evidence of a public appreciation of the good work being done by the charity" (*Portsmouth Journal* 1885). However, by October of 1886, the "ladies interested in the management of the Children's Home" were organizing a charity concert as "the treasury is depleted and the demands of the coming winter are of themselves an eloquent appeal to the generosity of our People. The value of the Home in its relations to youthful humanity are too well known to need any special plea" (*Portsmouth Journal* 1886).

Chase Home's first response was always an appeal to the local community, which gave readily.

Again in 1895, treasurer Miss Lizzie Freeman issued a plea stating that, "the Directors of Chase Home for Children, representing every religious body in Portsmouth, appeal to the public to give the Home a support which will be *systematic* and *continuous"* (Chase Home Annual Report 1895). Miss Freeman called on the Home's religious tolerance, stressing the importance of unfaltering support, especially for an institution with no consistent government funding to depend on. However, in 1895 the Home did ask for appropriations from the government of Portsmouth, "on the ground that the institution saves the city a large amount every year in the care of its poor children…doing a work which otherwise the city would have to do" (Chase Home Annual Report 1895). The city voted unanimously to aid the Home with an unreported sum. This is still decades before secure federal funding for children's societies became available in the 1920s (Myers 2008). Also in the year 1896, Chase Home acquired the property of 51 Court St, which was formerly a hospital for the children and poorer members of the community (Chase Home History). Rent from this property continued to help bail the Home out of its two year slump. The Home was not alone in their financial ups and downs, as America experienced recessions in both 1888 and 1891 (Jaycox 2005).

In-Kind Donations

The amount and diversity of in-kind donations to Chase Home is extraordinary. These donations, carefully listed in each annual report reveal volumes in regard to what the home needed, valued, and what the inhabitants were using on a daily basis. The most commonly donated items were clothing, shoes, food, and books—the former obvious

necessities, the latter indicate the importance of reading and self-learning that was highly encouraged in Late Victorian culture (Chase Home Annual Reports). The reading materials often came in the form of children's papers such as *St. Nichols* and *Youth's Companion*. Children's desks and blackboards were donated as well, further illustrating the learning that occurred at home (Chase Home Annual Report 1898). These items corroborate Chase Home's pledge to produce "useful members of society" (Children's Home Pamphlet 1878).

The reports also demonstrate the importance of fun and entertainment as dolls, bats, sleighs, hammocks, pails, and buckets were regularly donated, while trips down the harbor in steamers and outings to plays occur frequently as well (Chase Annual Home Reports). These toys and outings demonstrate Chase Home's commitment to more than just teaching the children knowledge and skills for their futures. While the children needed molding, they still deserved special attention and opportunities to play freely, as was their nature according to Progressive ideologies (Jaycox 2005).

Holidays were special times for the Home as well and included valentines, Easter picnics, Thanksgiving feasts, and copious numbers of cards, oranges, and toys for Christmas (Chase Home Annual Reports). The local schools that Chase Home children attended were especially attentive as well, sewing quilts, raising money, and hosting picnics for the children (Chase Home Annual Reports). Local legend, the U.S.S Kearsage, which defeated the Confederate CSS Alabama during the Civil War donated 14 of its hand-painted plates, glassware, and crockery in 1886 (Chase Home Annual Report 1887). Such a donation demonstrates the strong community-wide support for the Home.

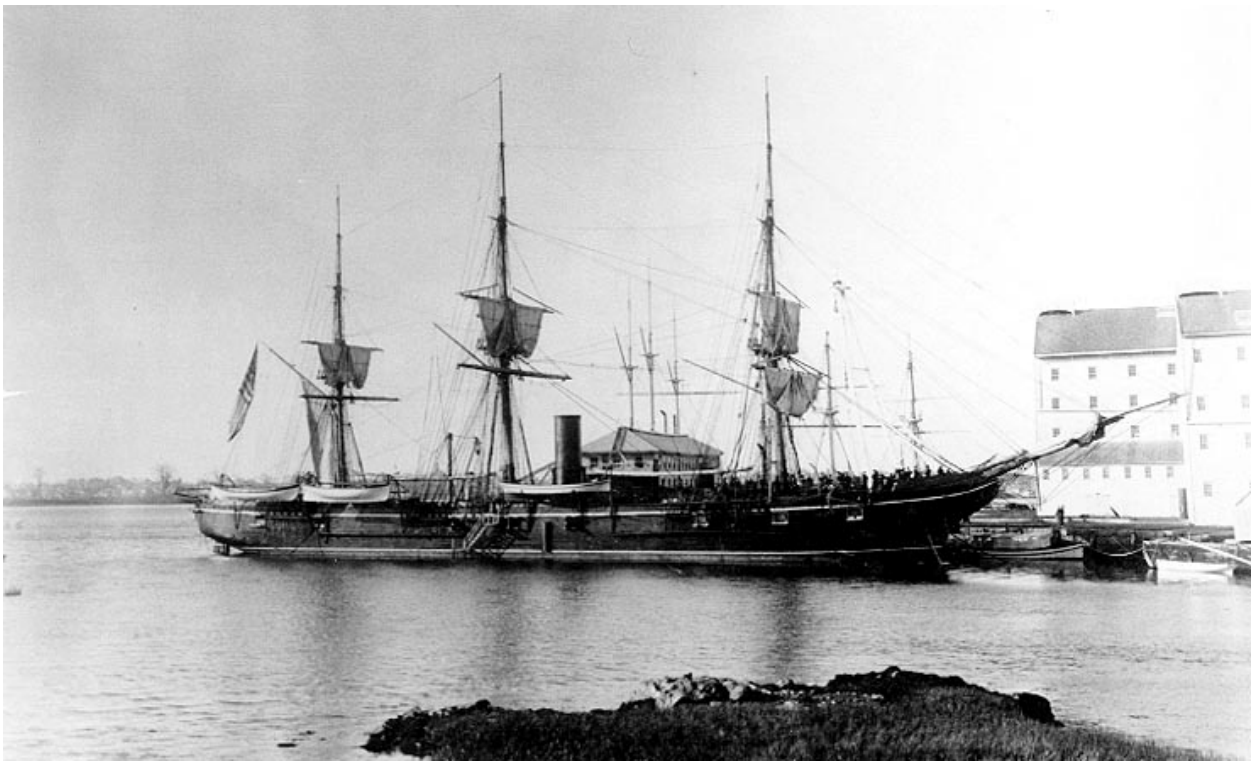


Figure 8. Image of the USS Kearsage docked in Portsmouth in 1886 when the ship donated part of its mess to Chase Home (Photo #NH 86060 in the US Library of Congress)

In addition to these items donated directly to the children, the Home received many services as well. Dr. Parsons, a trustee for the Home, provided health care for the children for decades, especially during times of diphtheria cases (Chase Home Annual Report 1900). When the children were sick, the community took notice, donating extra oranges and vitamins during these times (Chase Home Annual Reports). Dr. Goodall provided free dentistry, including the extraction of three teeth in 1884 (Chase Home Annual Report 1884). In fact, a human tooth was discovered archaeologically in the privy excavations (Charles 2015). Faunal analysis indicates that the tooth belong to an adult, which could have been a matron or nurse, or perhaps a previous inhabitant of Chase Home (Charles 2015). The Home itself received various repairs and paintings through the year, including the addition of a "hopper and trap," a more sophisticated toilet,

installed for free in 1899 (Chase Home Annual Report 1899). The diversity and specificity of many in kind donations is a testament to how well informed the Portsmouth community was with the status and needs of Chase Home. The neighbors in Portsmouth felt compelled to aid the Home when they could, especially during difficult times. On a larger scale, the entire community of Portsmouth was participating in this Progressive endeavor.

Mission of Chase Home

Of the 19 children at the Home in 1882, about half had nothing contributed towards their room and board (Chase Home Annual Report 1882). Reflecting on 20 years of operation, the Board of trustees in 1897 wrote that the Home's "intention has been to help those willing to help themselves, and, therefore, whenever possible, a payment, according to ability, has been required of those placing children in our care, thus encouraging self-respect and industry on the part of the parents" (Chase Home Annual Report 1897). The reports do not mention how the institution was able to determine which families should pay and their abilities. However, the trustees likely believed, through this clause, that they were addressing a larger social problem involving the whole family. Though many Progressive institutions had benevolent aims, the fault of poverty still largely rested on the shoulders of poor families, rather than an unfair system. However, this philosophy was perhaps kinder than many others espoused by children's institutions during this time that claimed to "save" children from their "feeble-minded" family (NHCAP Annual Report 1914).

At Chase Home, the children were not surrendered to the institution, nor purposefully kept from interacting with their family, which was often the case at other

institutions (Portsmouth Female Asylum 1815). The annual reports for Chase Home show that family members visited their children often, bringing gifts such as toys and candies (Chase Home Annual Reports). Though the Home sought to educate the children, they were not as forceful in their actions as other institutions, such as the aforementioned efforts to "save" children form ill-equipped families. Progressive institutions fell somewhere on this spectrum, from maintaining that the innate nurturing power of one's mother and family were the most powerful in shaping children, and the public should therefore help families as a whole and keep the children at home, to believing that children must be removed from the family in order to be reformed. By allowing family members to visit, Chase Home likely viewed their wards' interaction with family as positive, or at least not distracting to their efforts.

Though sometimes contradictory, pieces of both Victorian and Progressive ideology structure the mission and lessons of Chase Home. While the Progressive movement was largely run and organized by women, Victorian culture still dictated gendered divisions to work activities. The Home was run externally by important local men, especially regarding matters of the budget and investments of the Home. Meanwhile internally, the women handled any work related to housekeeping and nurturing the children. Living and growing in this environment, the children of Chase Home were certainly exposed to a system where roles were ultimately divided by gender. As mentioned in the annual reports, the matron was responsible for both the moral/manners and academic/skills education of the children. Therefore, the Home was interested in teaching the children the full range of religious, academic, and industrial skills lessons, whereas many homes highlighted *one* of these endeavors to focus on. While the

archaeology further elucidates the activity of Chase Home towards its goals, a brief comparison to similar institutions in the region helps to position Chase Home within the scale of institutionality and its role within the region.

Contemporaries of Chase Home

The Portsmouth Female Asylum opened its doors in 1804, well before the Progressive Era, but remained open until 1904 (Portsmouth Female Asylum 1815). The institution's "Rules, Regulations, &c" stated that it was created for "relieving, instructing, employing and assisting within the town of Portsmouth, female orphan children and others whose parents shall be unable to support them" (Portsmouth Female Asylum 1815). The young girls at the asylum were "bound to service in virtuous families until the age of eighteen years, or marriage, and such children to be so received [are] bound to service" (Portsmouth Female Asylum 1815). The institution acted as guardian and instructor until the girls were old enough to work or be married. Life at the asylum appears well regulated as, "the children of the Asylum shall be attired in a plain and simple uniform," "conduct meals with propriety," were required to read the Bible for an hour three times a day, and were to wash themselves in cold water (Portsmouth Female Asylum 1815). The asylum allocated an hour for play each morning, but the young girls' time was closely scheduled (Portsmouth Female Asylum 1815). Unlike Chase Home, the Portsmouth Female Asylum was direct and less-flexible in its class expectations—these destitute young girls were trained specifically for domestic service from their time entering the home, until they were placed in a respectable upper class family.

The matrons of the Asylum placed heavy importance on the virtue of the girls, while crafting them into studious and productive members of the community through

sewing, knitting, and educational classes. The Asylum even paid the city of Portsmouth to employ a sewing teacher from 1849 until 1856 for the four public schools in order to reach other poor children not in their care (Portsmouth Athenaeum) In accordance with the institution's strict proceedings, "The *interference* of relatives of friends in the management of the children shall be prohibited" (Portsmouth Female Asylum 1815, italics original). Unlike Chase Home, which allowed parents to drop off, recollect, and visit children, a girl's family at the asylum was considered an "interference" to their system.

However, this rules and regulations pamphlet dates to 1815, and the asylum's philosophies likely changed over the decades. Alternatively, perhaps the Asylum played the stricter role opposite Chase Home in town. These institutions co-existed in Portsmouth, so one wonders how families or guardians made the decision to place a child in one home over the other. The Female Asylum is an interesting contrast to Chase Home in terms of mission, daily life, and guiding principles.

The New Hampshire Orphan's Home in Franklin, NH was another contemporary children's institution and shared many of the same principles as Chase Home. The Orphan's Home opened their doors a decade before Chase Home in 1871 and operated out of Daniel Webster's historic family home (Orphan's Home Advocate 1877). The directors of the Orphan's Home were concerned about the safety of children in almshouses and instead wanted to give children the opportunity to "flourish outside city limits." Aptly employing Progressive Era philosophy, the Home's inaugural magazine emphasizes, "the great and superior advantages of multiplying these country retreats, and industrial schools for destitute children upon the cottage family plan, instead of herding

them together in large numbers in crowded cities" (Orphan's Home Advocate 1877). Both Chase Home and the Orphan's Home adopted this model. The Orphan's Home set out to encourage "intelligence, industry, habits of economy and self-reliance" therefore helping their wards "to become useful citizens," which bears close resemblance to the language in Chase Home's mission statement (Orphan's Home Advocate 1877). Like the Portsmouth Female Asylum and Chase Home, the Orphan's Home sought to educate the children and teach them useful skills for the working world so that they may become productive members of a community. Unlike an almshouse, the Orphan's Home sought more than temporary relief—the Home strove to give the children the life opportunities they deserved.

Like Chase Home, the Orphan's Home did not receive any federal or state funding (Orphan's Home Advocate 1877). Instead, the home relied on contributions from the local community. In 1880, the Orphan's Home called together local dignitaries to campaign on behalf of the institution. The former governor of the state, Benjamin Prescott praised the Home for molding children into proper citizens: men and women who were married, employed, and educated enough to vote contentiously (Orphan's Home Advocate 1880). Prescott commends the home as a "step in the right direction, [that] has already done much to reclaim men and boys who have fallen victims to alcoholic drinks, and to teach the young the dangers that are besetting their paths" (Orphan's Home Advocate 1880). The movement to protect the children of New Hampshire was just as salient across the state as in the larger cities of the northeast.

Conclusion

The annual reports from Chase Home offer a multitude of information, including names of the individuals involved, the organization of the institution, how the Home was financed, and its status from year to year, while demonstrating the breadth of contributors in various forms. Reports and documents from other children's institutions during this time present important contrasts to the mission and organization of Chase Home. The Portsmouth Female Asylum enforced much stricter rules within the institution though perhaps with visions of a similar goal as Chase Home—to produce productive citizens from at-risk children. Alternatively, the New Hampshire Orphan's Home in Franklin, NH strove to establish a place for these needy children to flourish outside of city limits, and promoted many of the same ideals as Chase Home. Delving deeper into the archaeology helps further illustrate the mission of Chase Home, while adding physical and spatial dimensions to the overall story.

CHAPTER 4

ARCHAEOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

This chapter focuses on the archaeological analysis of Chase House including excavation strategy, discovered features, and a summary of the material culture. In this chapter, Chase "House" refers to the site, whereas Chase "Home" will still refer to the institution. The detailed reports and primary sources on Chase Home, referenced earlier, bring to life many of the objects found in the ground. Children lived at Chase Home between 1883 and 1915, a span of 32 years, which is adequate time to leave a robust material and spatial footprint. Small finds are an important component for studying children archaeologically, however, just as adult and children's lives intersect on many social levels, their material worlds overlap as well. A comprehensive analysis of artifacts would take into account the impact of children's specific objects, while remaining open to the possibility of children affecting the adult-associated record as well. Artifacts such as discarded buttons, a plethora of which are found at Chase Home, can easily become substitute pieces for a game, while furniture can be transformed into anything from a house to a train car in a child's imagination. However, at Chase Home, the most compelling artifacts are those that speak to Victorian childhood, the Progressive movement, and the function of social welfare in a community before systematic

government support. Therefore, I focus my analysis on toy dolls, toy teaware, marbles, and slate boards and pencils.

Excavations

Excavation at the Chase House homestead began in 2008 because of possible construction on the site (Charles 2015). The Strawbery Banke team, consisting of field school students and volunteers was led by then director of archaeology at the museum, Sheila Charles. Charles and her team were specifically interested in locating historic outbuildings on the Chase House lot, suggested on a number of historic maps (Charles 2015). Sanborn Insurance Maps depict a water closet with a privy, a kitchen ell, and outbuilding, though not all present at the same time. Historically, homes were often built right on the street, lacking front yards, instead heavily utilizing backyard space for all of the activities that were traditionally carried out outside of the home (Charles 2015). Using the measurements of these structures from the Sanborn Maps, Charles then converted the approximate outlines of each building to the physical ground behind Chase House, a method she terms “ground-truthing” (Charles 2015). Through a combination of systematically placed as well as targeted test trenches, the Strawbery Banke team was able to confirm the location of each of these features. Further excavation uncovered the west and south wall of a brick-lined privy, the approximate outline of an outbuilding or barn, as well as pipes and wood sill foundation on the south east corner of the kitchen ell.

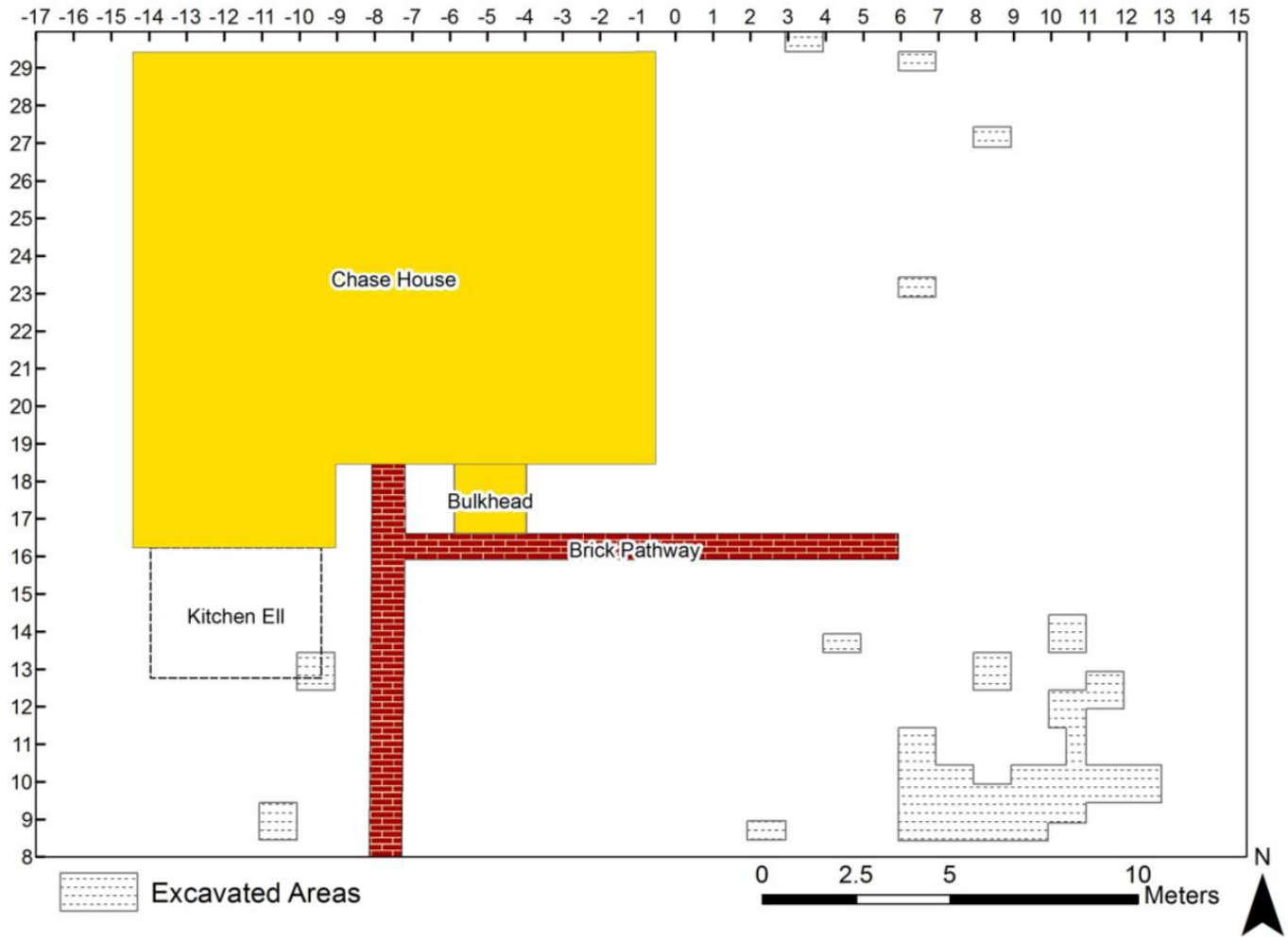


Figure 9. Map of excavated area (Alexandra Martin and Kent Miller 2013)

Targeting these structures, Charles and her team used surface surveys and test pits, in addition to 29 full excavation units. Eleven of these units measured 1m by 50cm, while the other 18 measured 1m by 1m (see Appendix A). Units terminated on sterile subsoil or when the high water table impeded excavations (Charles 2015). These targeted units include 14 associated with the water closet, 6 units locating a trash deposit, 4 units in the north-east yard to test the alley east of the home, 5 units in the south yard by the kitchen ell, and 1 unit intersecting the foundation of the former kitchen ell (Charles 2015). Excavation layers were screened through ¼ inch mesh and were defined by

changes in both natural and cultural stratigraphy in the soil (Charles 2015). In total, excavations measured approximately 23.5 total square meters in order to locate important historical features (Charles 2015).

Features and Previous Structures

Of the previous structures, two are associated with the Chase Home for Children, as evidenced by historic maps and material culture. The outbuilding or barn structure is absent by 1857 Sanborn maps, proving that this feature is not associated with Chase Home, and was likely used instead to house some of the extensive mercantile goods from the earlier occupation of Stephen Chase (Charles 2015). However, the water closet and kitchen ell are depicted on Sanborn maps form 1887 until 1956, placing these structures firmly within the Children's Home period. When George B. Chase donated the house, he included the "grounds and outbuildings adjacent thereto" with an additional $100 for repairs and remodeling (*Portsmouth Journal* 1881). The Chase Home annual reports indicate that many local craftsmen and plumbers offered their work gratis or at a discount in order help mold the home into something more suitable for the children (Chase Home Annual Reports).

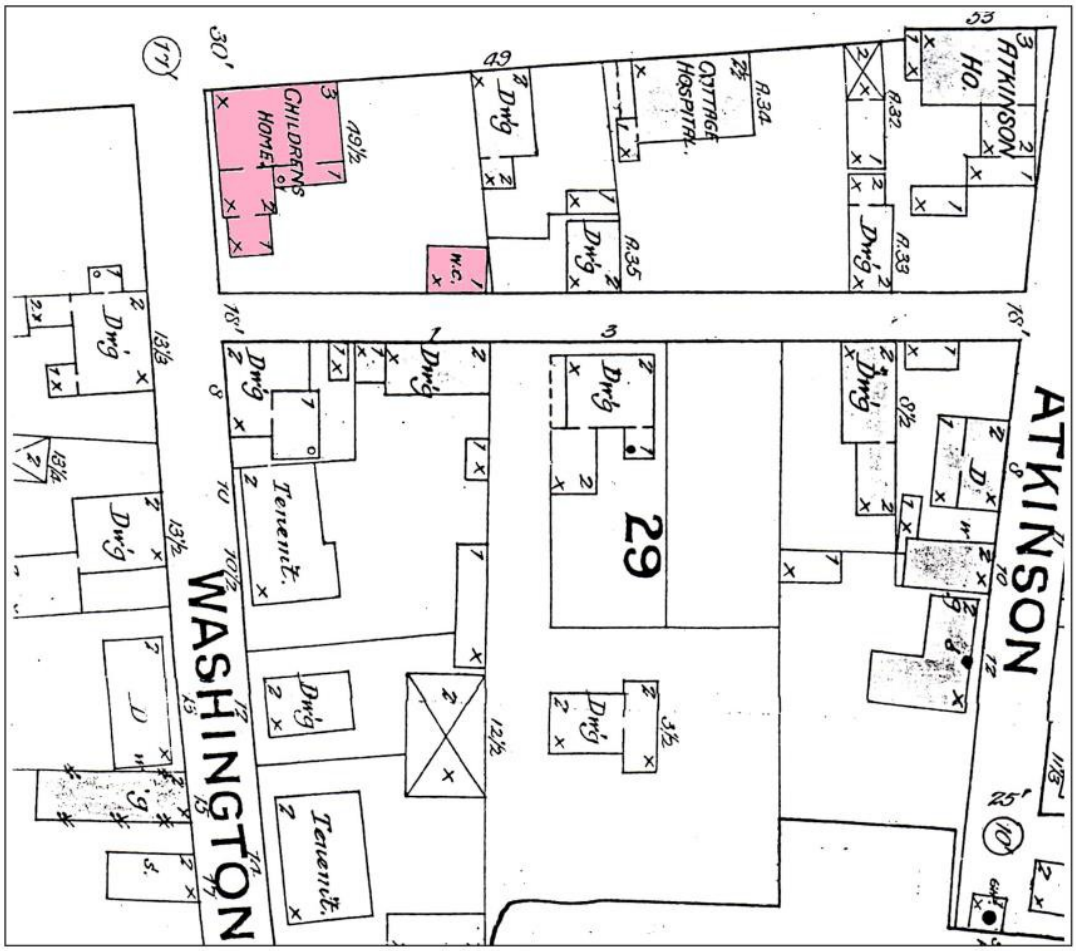


Figure 10. 1887 Sanborn Map with Chase House and outbuilding shaded

Privy Feature

The water closet is specifically noted on Sanborn maps from 1887 until 1956. However, the privy was likely located here previously as well, during the earlier Chase family occupation. Measuring 78cm on the west wall and 3m 30cm, along the south wall, the size and construction suggest a “multi-holer” (Charles 2015). The excavated privy shows two different construction methods in the brick laying, suggesting that the privy likely became a multi-holer with risers of varying heights to accommodate the children (Charles 2015). The two construction methods are both present in the privy pit’s south wall, including an alternating stretcher-header method and an English bond pattern of all

stretchers, popular in the 17th century (Charles 2015). Mortar lining and wood from postholes or flooring indicate that the privy was substantially built. Around the time of construction for the Children's Home, the house's privy was likely enlarged and reinforced with brick. (Charles 2015). The donation report from the Home states that a "bathroom" was added in 1886 (Chase Home Annual Report 1886).

Figure 11. Plan drawing of privy excavation (Alix Martin, Kent Miller 2015)

The water table behind Chase Home and throughout the Strawberry Banke neighborhood is quite high, as the area was host to a tidal inlet (Charles 2015). This environmental characteristic affected excavation, especially in the privy units, causing excavation to terminate at 98 cm below surface. However, due to the wet anaerobic

environment in the privy, textile fragments were preserved. These textiles include leather fragments from shoes, parts of a child's size vest with buttons, machine stitched sleeves, and practice crochet work, that are all almost undoubtedly related to the Children's Home.

The environment in privies is often conducive to preserving evidence of botanicals and parasites as well, and analysis was done for both of these at the Chase House privy (Charles 2015). Peach and cherry pits, seed pods, and nut fragments were all found in the privy feature (Charles 2015). However, there was no evidence of parasites, indicating that there was likely no night soil present (Gallagher 2014). The privy was capped with a layer of coal ash, which was easily sourced from household stoves. Coal ash was prescribed by the city of Portsmouth to cap waste for health reasons, and its existence here further proves that the privy was well cleaned (Gallagher 2014).

Figure 12. South wall and coal ash layer within privy (Charles 2015)

Privy features are often excellent archaeological treasure troves, capturing refuse and objects that have fallen out of pockets (Gallagher 2014). Afterwards, they are often filled with secondary refuse from the yard and home (Gallagher 2014). As a hot spot for archaeological evidence, artifacts recovered from in and around the privy make up 49% of the total assemblage of Chase Home, thus skewing much additional horizontal spatial analysis. Units from in and around the privy yielded 122 child-related artifacts, including 18 toy tea fragments, 35 marbles, 29 toy doll fragments, bits of 22 slate boards, and 18 slate pencil fragments.

The stratigraphy, including both natural and cultural layers, is not clearly demarcated. Eighteenth and 20th century artifacts are found simultaneously in one layer,

while some 18th century artifacts are found above 20th century artifacts. Charles and her colleagues posit that perhaps the rising and falling of the Puddle Dock water table could have contributed to flushing and mixing of the cultural layers (Charles 2015). The absence of night soil recovered in privy excavations suggests that the privy was filled with layers of mixed artifact content. Alternatively, this spatial phenomenon could indicate episodes of partial clean out and refilling.

Figure 13. View of the south wall with alternating brick construction methods (Charles 2015)

Kitchen Ell

Sanborn insurance maps from 1887 to 1956 depict architectural additions to the back of the main house, including a 2-story kitchen wing and a one story kitchen ell (Charles 2015). One excavation unit, N13W9 revealed the southeast corner of the former kitchen ell (Charles 2015). Kitchen ells attached to the rear of a house were popular in the mid-19th century and would have resembled a lean-to, constructed from wood (Charles 2015). The kitchen additions were likely constructed around the time of the privy enlargement, while the Home was fitted for its new use. This structure would have

provided additional space for food preparation of large meals, especially to feed the upwards of 16 children. The excavation of the south east corner of the kitchen ell revealed an iron water pipe, extending vertically from a brick feature. This pipe would have pumped water into the ell, possibly to multiple sinks, suggesting that the ell may have hosted laundry activities as well (Charles 2015). Nineteen mostly white Prosser buttons were found in the 6 units by the kitchen ell.

Charles and her team estimate that this kitchen ell measured approximately 4 meters on each side (Charles 2015). NH State Architectural Historian James Garvin suggests that the kitchen ell was likely placed on wooden posts to deal with the insubstantial subsoil sill, thus explaining the wood fragments found during excavation. Just outside the kitchen ell to its south east, a trash pit was identified. This feature contained 697 faunal fragments, which further confirms the function of the kitchen ell. Those cooking for Chase Home would have found it extremely convenient to simply toss food remains out the window (Charles 2015). Notably, an iron horseshoe was discovered in the southeast corner of the ell foundation—a traditional symbol for good luck (Harrington 1989; Manning 2014; Charles 2015). The material culture found in the ell units further support the Children's Home date for the kitchen additions, as five toy tea fragments, five marbles, four toy doll fragments, and 16 whiteware sherds were also discovered. In 1960, these kitchen wings were removed as Chase House was reconfigured to fit the 1820 interpretation (Charles 2015).

Trash Pits

The entire back and side yards of Chase House contain artifact scatter, outside of structural features. However, Charles and her team were able to identify several

distinctive trash pits (Charles 2015). The most artifact-rich trash deposit was encountered just north and west of the privy and previous outbuilding (Charles 2015). After the privy, these six units intercepting the trash pit contain the second largest recovery of artifacts. This trash pit is located within the footprint of the previous outbuilding in which the privy was situated, absent by a 1857 Hales Map (Charles 2015). Once demolished, the builders' pits from the previous outbuilding would have formed a convenient place to drop household refuse, without filling the volume of the valuable privy. Many of the ceramics found in the trash pit units were large fragments, and it was possible to reconstruct almost complete vessels (Charles 2015). The majority of the artifacts found in this trash pit date to the beginning of the 19th century. However, this trash pit also contains a large proportion of the artifacts associated with children, including slate pencils, marbles, toy tea service ware, and doll fragments.

Figure 14.West wall of privy and exterior trash deposit (Charles 2015)

Four units were also placed in the east yard of Chase House. Refuse patterns in America during the 18th-20th centuries involved "trash being discarded in open middens directly beyond the back door, in narrow alleyways, and near privy sites" (Wheeler as quoted in Charles 2015:32). This historical knowledge helped guide the Strawbery Banke team's excavations. The east side yard proved to be less fruitful in terms of artifacts than other units, but still contained one clay marble, one toy doll fragment, and 2 slate board fragments, possibly related to the Children's Home occupation.

Each excavation unit at the Chase House site revealed artifacts from both the 18th century mercantile occupation through to the 19th-20th century Children's Home, a testament to the long and fruitful history of the homestead. With its long history of inhabitance and shifting water tables near the tidal inlet, excavation was often complicated, and cultural strata were difficult to decipher horizontally. In sum, Charles notes, "subsurface investigation revealed a stratigraphic sequence indicative of building construction, abandonment, and demolition; changes in the historic streetscape, landscape modifications, and intrusions, filling and grading, as well as dispersed and concentrated trash disposal patterns" (Charles 2015:41). However, the excavations identified clear activity areas, such as the privy, kitchen ell, and trash middens, which speak volumes about how previous inhabitants moved through and utilized the space behind Chase House. As the private face of the house, the back and side yards would have played host to generations of children playing in addition to domestic activity. However, the area likely felt quite cramped with the 3-story kitchen wing and water closet, prompting the Home to move location in 1915 specifically to find ample space for the children to play outside (Chase Home Annual Report 1911; *Portsmouth Journal* 1912). The artifacts

recovered from excavation prove that the yards were utilized heavily nonetheless—the material culture associated with these features provide even greater information about daily life at Chase Home.

Material Culture in Depth

Excavations at Chase House revealed approximately 26,800 artifacts—41% of this total comprise creamware and pearlware, which date strongly to the earlier mercantile period of the House. However, there are 232 children-specific artifacts, which include doll fragments, bits of toy tea sets, marbles, and slate boards and pencils. Given the long occupation of the house and mixed stratigraphy, it is likely that some of the clay marbles, toy tea set fragments, and slate writing artifacts, which do not have an easily defined chronology, were deposited by children in the house before Chase Home. However, the large quantity of slate writing utensils and marbles far exceeds what is typically found in a domestic site, indicating that a portion of these artifacts are from Chase Home, and therefore can be included in my analysis.

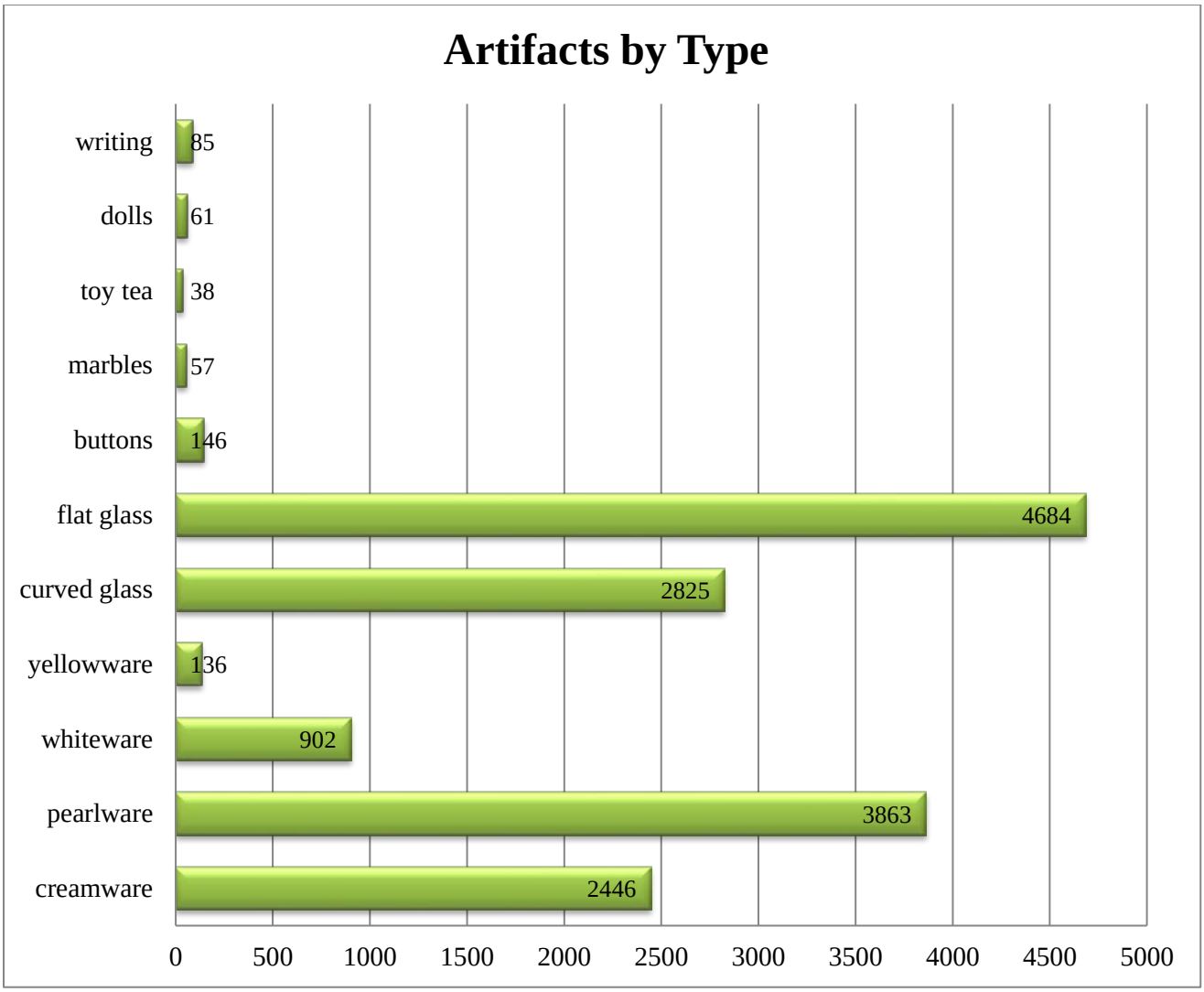


Figure 15. Artifact totals by type

Of course, these categories of "adult" and "child" objects are fluid, as adults also played with marbles and children used "adult" intended objects as well, sometimes turning them into playthings or altering their use. However, there is useful analysis in breaking artifacts into children-intended or children-associated classes. These specific artifacts help tell the story of a segment of the population that has historically been difficult to identify. Archaeologists often turn to size, perceived function, and level of

refinement to distinguish children's objects (Derevenski 2000; Baxter 2005; Wilkie 2005). At Chase House, there is the added support of the Annual Reports, which prove that dolls, toy tea sets, and a plethora of other toys were donated to the Home for children's use. My material culture analysis focuses on sherds of toy dolls, toy teawares, marbles, and slate boards and pencils. These artifacts are explicitly related to children, and are also strong material evidence of the Progressive and Victorian ideologies I aimed to evaluate. Primary records played a key role in identifying and interpreting these classes of artifacts.

The annual reports tell a story of what the Home valued and needed, while store catalogs from this era suggest how the objects were marketed and understood in economic terms. While we are missing the direct voice of the children themselves, studying key small finds, as prescribed by Beaudry (2006, 2009), Loren (2009), White (2005, 2009), and numerous others, enhances the potential to understand the more individual, daily experiences.

Small Finds

Area/Unit	Toy Tea	Marbles	Toy Doll	Slate Board	Slate Pencils	Children's Artifacts as % of Total in Area	Total Excavated Artifacts
BACKYARD	**5**	**5**	3	3		0.43%	3380
EAST SIDE YARD		1		2		0.17%	1739
PRIVY	18	35	24	22	18	0.89%	13145
TRASH PIT	4	16	14	17	15	0.77%	8535

Figure 16. Children's Artifacts by area and percentage of total artifacts in area

Small finds are characterized not just by physical size, but by their uniqueness within a material collection (Beaudry 2006). Traditionally, historical archaeology has

focused on the artifact “trinity”: pipes, ceramics, and glass, as the most commonly found, and therefore, most informative classes of artifacts (Beaudry 2006). Instead, Beaudry and her colleagues demonstrate that even something as small as a needle, while not found in large quantities like ceramics, can entail a vast array of different meanings. Even their quality of uniqueness gives meaning to these artifacts, and can help to tell a deeper story. A study of small finds is particularly well suited to a study of children in archaeology, as toys and slate pencils are not found in large quantities. At the Chase House site, children’s artifacts constitute a small percentage of the overall artifact collection, but contain a vast amount of information about the philosophies and operations of Chase Home as an institution, which the vast quantities of whiteware alone could not.

Figure 17. Doll fragments, marbles, and toy tea sets from Chase House (Charles 2015)

Artifacts such as marbles and bits of toy doll fragments conjure up particularly individual vignettes, as one could imagine a child playing with his or her precious doll, and groups of children skipping marbles. Considering Chase House’s long occupation

and expansive material collection, small finds artifacts become more valuable to tell the story of Chase Home specifically, as these artifacts are more easily dated to the Children's Home occupation in contrast to the 902 sherds of whiteware, which has a popularity span of 1830-1900 (Charles 2015). Archives demonstrate that children were present at Chase House each generation, yet, stylistic elements and manufacturing techniques of many of the dolls and marbles point exclusively to the late Victorian era. These children-specific artifacts in particular are illustrative of the Progressive and Victorian lessons that the Home endeavored to teach, which is why I focus my material analysis primarily on marbles, toy tea service, dolls, and slate writing objects.

Late Victorian America and the Rise of Youth Culture

In order to understand the material world of Chase Home's children, one must address the context of the second Industrial Revolution, which produced these children-specific objects. The manners and fashions of Victorianism emerged during a second wave of Industrial Revolution as manufactures were able to mass produce the products that were tangible social indicators of wealth and culture. While North America followed many fashions of Victorian England, the American context, and New England in particular, was unique (Blodgett and Howe 1976; Hunter 2003; Feister 2009). Unlike the landed gentry in England, America saw the rise of "new money" as families struck success in the evolving industrial markets (Blodgett and Howe 1976).

Victorianism was adaptable—though dominated by the urban upper class, Americans of various social and economic standings were able to adopt pieces of or imitate the signature fashions and mannerisms (Blodgett and Howe 1976; Formanek-Brunell 1993; Hunter 2003). The adoptable nature of Victorian culture through objects

was a key asset in Chase Home's mission, especially as these objects became more attainable. Children in particular had access to more toys than previous generations, especially those of less economic means, for whom store-bought toys would have previously been out of reach. The material culture and archival resources indicate that Chase Home adapted this Victorian goal of social refinement in their mission to prepare the children for a "better" life than they would have had otherwise. The porcelain toy tea ware, fancy glass marbles, and porcelain-bisque dolls were all signature parts of the ideal Victorian childhood. In their analysis of a late Victorian site in Sacremento, Praetzellis and Praetzellis conclude that "while earlier generations believed that human nature was largely set and unalterable, Victorians began to appreciate the role of environment in the formation of 'character.' If one surrounds children with morally uplifting influences, claimed contemporary wisdom, they will grow up with the appropriate values and attitudes" (Praetzellis and Praetzellis 2001: 646). The organizers of Chase Home believed in the Victorian notion that material surroundings can have a real impact ones' personality, intelligence, and social grace.

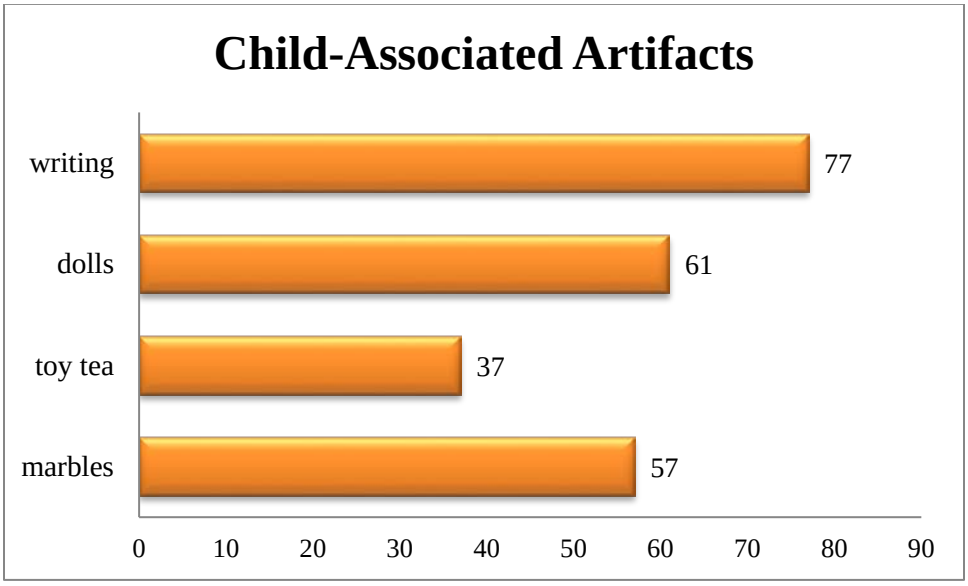


Figure 18: Count of child-associated artifacts

Toy Dolls

The toy doll became the quintessential symbol of Victorian childhood, and the Chase House excavations produced 61 fragments of variously made dolls (Formanek-Brunell1993; Frost 2009). After the Civil War, doll consumption increased dramatically within just a generation (Formanek-Brunell1993). Until the late 1800s, most children played with handmade dolls, constructed from leftover cloth and other plush materials (Formanek-Brunell 1993). An early doll collector, Laura Starr proclaimed in 1909 that, "History could by taught by means of dolls. The future historian will have no difficultly reconstructing our age if he finds merely a few toys" (Formanek-Brunell 1993:6). The majority of dolls at Chase House were uncovered in the privy units, as with all other classes of toys. This spatial phenomenon is likely more an indication of disposal patterns, rather than doll-playing activity. The children would have played in the backyard of the house, though likely not in the privy proper.

Toy Doll Fragments by Area	
Backyard	5%
Privy	47%
Trash Pit	25%
South Yard Other	23%

Figure 19. Percent of total toy doll fragments in each area

All of the recovered doll fragments at Chase House are porcelain, either pink bisque or white. Most of these fragments include bits of faces, legs, arms, and a boot, suggesting that many of the doll bodies were likely made of a perishable soft material. Facial fragments show signs of decorative painting, such as rosy cheeks, black eyelashes, blue eyes, and molded curly blonde hair. A few fragments are inscribed with various numbers, probably a manufacturer's or serial number, though none were directly

identifiable in catalogues by number. Research indicates that prior to 1860, most doll figurines were not marked, which places this fragment within the Chase Home time period (Fawcett 1964). While the serial numbers were not easily indicative of a particular doll, facial features of many of the fragments resemble French and German-made dolls that were popular in catalogs during this time (Fawcett 1964).

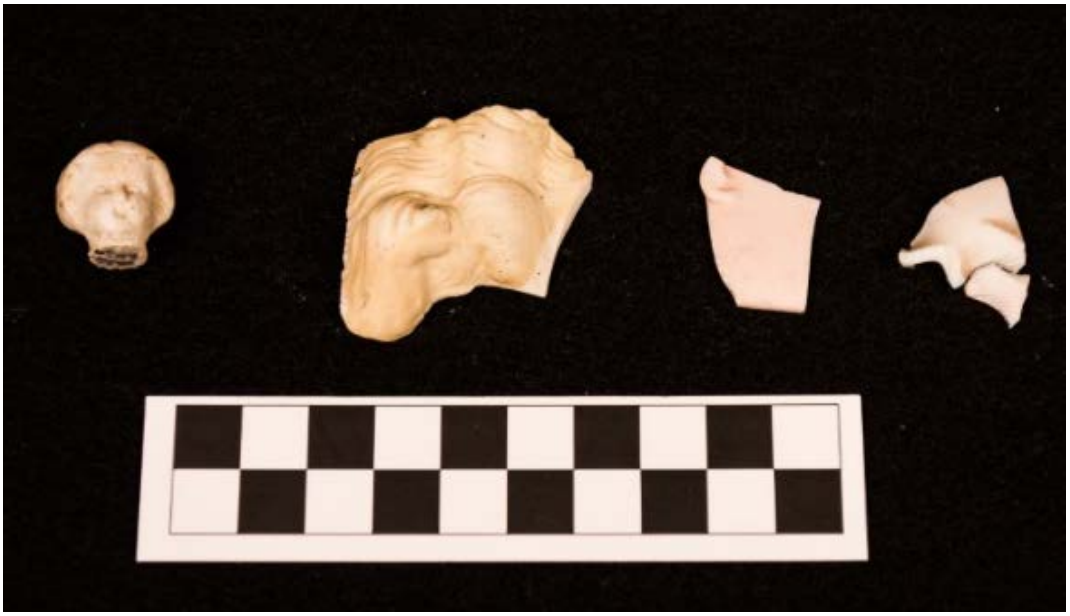


Figure 20. Toy doll fragments from Chase Home. Left to right: figurine head, molded hair, doll ear, and portion of doll face with eyebrows

Figure 21. Photo of doll fragments from Chase House exhibit

The shift from household to industrial production of dolls dramatically increased the number and styles of dolls available (Formanek-Brunell 1993). Jumeau, a very popular French doll manufacturer recorded making 85,000 dolls in 1881 and 115,000 in 1883 (Fawcett 1964). The doll market was exploding and dolls were readily available at local shops or by mail order. Frozen Charlottes, standing only a few inches tall and named for their completely porcelain bodies, were some of the most popular dolls imported to America from Germany or England, and sold for only a few cents (Pritchett and Pastron 1983). The number of dolls manufactured after the Civil War and their affordability completely altered the material world of children, and the larger market place.

Some of the earlier and especially expensive dolls on the market were completely porcelain, and therefore very fragile. Historian Miriam Formanek-Brunell discovered a marked difference between dolls manufactured by male industrialists versus those created by women. Using the philosophies of G. Stanely Hall, women doll makers were

cognizant of the *way* that children played, and therefore made dolls that were softer, durable, and more safe (Formanek-Brunell 1993).

Shipping weight, 14 ounces.
No. 59306 Kid body doll with bisque head, flowing hair, stationary eyes and full jointed body. Length, 13 inches. Price, each.....25c
Shipping weight, 28 ounces.
No. 59307 Kid body doll with bisque head, flowing hair, teeth, stationary eyes and jointed body. Length, 18 inches. Price, each.....50c
Shipping weight, 32 ounces.
No. 59308 Kid body doll with bisque head, flowing hair, teeth, stationary eyes, and full jointed body. Length, 19 inches. Price, each.....70c
Shipping weight, 48 ounces.
No. 59309 Kid body doll with flowing hair, teeth, stationary eyes, full jointed body. Length, 22 inches. Price, each.....95c
Shipping weight, 6 pounds.
No. 59310 Kid body doll, bisque head, flowing hair, stationary eyes, teeth, and full jointed body. Length, 25 inches. Price, each, $1.50
Shipping weight, 7 pounds.

Kid Dolls with Moving Eyes.

No. 59312 Kid body doll, with bisque head, flowing hair, movable eyes, full jointed body, shoes and stockings. Length 16 inches. Each.....50c

eyes are clear and tender, are flexible at the bust, and are fitted with sewing holes, making it easy to adjust and fasten them to the body.

Height, in.		Inches across shoulders.	extra. Postage,	Price, Each.
No. 1	3	2⅜	6c	19c
No. 2	3¼	2⅝	6c	25c
No. 3	3⅝	3	6c	35c
No. 4	4	3⅜	6c	45c
No. 5	4½	3⅝	7c	55c
No. 6	5	4	8c	65c

Bisque Doll Heads.

No. 59329 First quality bisque doll heads, the faces are especially beautiful, showing teeth, have stationary eyes, curly flowing wigs, either blondes or brunettes, and full model bust. Sizes: 4x2 inches, each.....(Postage, extra, 9 cents.) 20c

Figure 22. Advertisement for bisque doll (Sears, Roebuck and Co. Catalog, 1900)

Toy Tea Service

Figure 23. Matching toy tea service on display at Chase House

Closely related to the toy doll, is the toy tea set. Fragments of toy tea sets are usually identified by their size, as they are typically too small to be functional. The recovered toy tea sherds at Chase House were all porcelain, which would have been quite fancy and expensive in adult size vessels. Three saucer sherds were hand-painted with

intricate overglaze designs, and 3 included molded decorations. The 37 recovered toy tea fragments include one tea spout, one dainty teacup handle, one intact teapot lid, one whole small pitcher, four rim fragments, nine base fragments, four ½ to ¾ complete saucers, and 16 other body or unidentifiable fragments. One collection of three artifacts, pictured below, do seem to constitute a set. None of the other sherds are obviously from matching sets, though the diversity of vessel types indicates that the children could have easily paired donated cups and saucers to create their own sets.

Toy Tea Service by Area	
Backyard	13%
Privy	49%
Trash Pit	11%
South Yard Other	27%

Figure 24.Percent of total toy tea service in each area

Similar to the toy doll, half of the sherds from toy tea vessels at Chase House were found in and around the privy. However, a larger percentage of toy tea fragments were recovered from the south yard, behind where the kitchen ell would have been. This spatial phenomenon could suggest that the area just behind the kitchen was an activity hub for girls and boys, where the adults could have some supervision. Unlike dolls, toy tea sets were smaller and fragile, perhaps more easily discarded where they broke. Comparatively more doll than teaware sherds were found in the privy and trash pit units, obvious places for refuse. Jane Baxter demonstrates in her spatial analysis of children's toys that there can be identifiable spatial patterns for children's activities, sometimes segmented by gender (Baxter 2005). Other archaeologists have found clusterings of specific children's toys as well (Wilkie 2000; Feister 2009).While none of these archaeologists argue for a precise spatial thumbprint for children, their findings do

illustrate the effect that children and their daily activities have on the environments around them.

Figure 25. Left to right top: toy saucers with molded decoration. Left to right bottom: two toy tea spouts, over-glazed tea cup

Marbles

People have been playing with marbles since ancient times, making the marble one of the most identifiable and common indicators of play activity across archaeological sites. These little round balls of various sizes and material are uniquely persistent because they could be easily made from local clay. Therefore, marbles also have a long and sometimes indistinguishable chronology. Clay marbles, sometimes called “commies” are the most common because they were the cheapest to buy (Randall 1971; Baumann 2004). As opposed to fancy toy dolls, almost everyone could afford a marble, either store bought or handmade. Fifty of the marbles from Chase House were made of buff clay, 8 from glass, and one from marble—a handful of fancier marbles can be directly dated to the

Chase Home period. Also important to note is that marble games were not just child's play either (Mergen 1992; Rotundo 1998). Many adult games required marbles as well, meaning that their presence is not a simple correlation with children's activities.

Figure 26.Compilation photo of clay marbles from Chase Home

Marbles by Area	
Backyard	9%
East Side Yard	2%
Privy	61%
Trash Pit	28%

Figure 27. Percent of total marbles in each area

Most of the recovered marbles at Chase House came from the privy and nearby trash pit. Interestingly, very few marbles come from the back and south yards, where a larger percentage of toy tea set fragments were recovered. This could be a small indication of segmented activity areas, but overall, these simple spatial analyses likely

reveal more about discard patterns than activity. Notably, all of the fancier glass marbles and shooters were found in the privy and trash pit, where they may have slipped from pockets, unaware. These nicer marbles would have been too precious to forget in the backyard carelessly. Some of the more decorative marbles include a china marble with a hand painted helix pattern, 8 colorful glass marbles of greens, blues, reds, and oranges, as well as one large Lutz shooter marble. This Lutz marble is identifiable by its sparkly internal gold band, made with goldstone and tiny bits of copper (Baumann 2004). While the history of the Lutz marble is debated by marble enthusiasts, these marbles may have been made in the Lutz glass factory, nearby in Sandwich, Massachusetts, which operated from 1825 until 1888 (Baumann 2004).

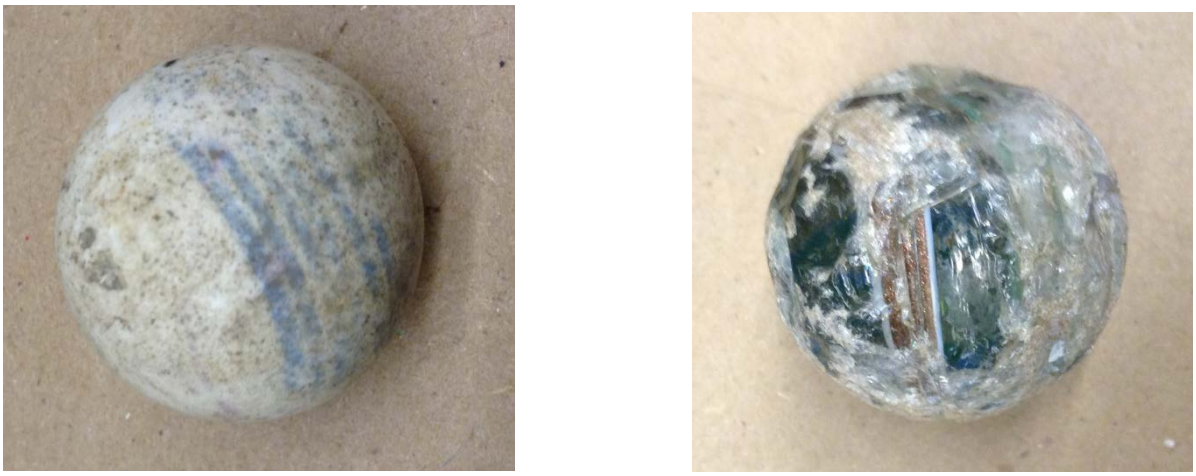


Figure 28. Photo of marbles from Chase House. Left is a stone marble with a handpainted plaid pattern. Right is a glass "Lutz" marble with sparkly gold interior band

Many drawings of children playing with marbles portray groups of boys huddled together playing popular games like "Ring Taw" or "Ringer" (Baumann 2004). Ringer was a highly competitive game, where players would use a shooter marble to knock opponent's marbles out of a drawn ring (Baumann 2004). Therefore, this game could be played virtually anywhere. However, just as dolls were played with by both boys and

girls, often together, marble games were enjoyed by all as well (Formanek-Brunell 1993; Mergen 1992). Archaeologist Jane Baxter explains: “general historical sources, suggest that, given a choice, young girls preferred the active, interactive toys designed for boys” (Baxter 2005:78). Therefore, if the artifact distributions for dolls versus marbles were statistically significant, they would suggest different activity areas, not gendered spaces per se. However, gender segmented play was encouraged in the 19th century and boys and girls were often allowed different parameters (Mrozek 1992; Rotundo 1998; Baxter 2005).

Figure 29. Boys playing marbles around 1900 (Alexander Turnbull Library)

Artifacts of Education

While the children at Chase Home had many different toys to occupy their free time, the children did much more than just play. They helped with chores according to

their age and gender to keep the Home running smoothly. Additionally, the material culture and annual reports prove that reading, study, writing, and learning in general occurred in the Home as well. The children attended local Portsmouth schools where they learned and played beside the other children of the neighborhood. Donations to the Home included school desks, books, and magazines (Chase Home Annual Reports). In all, 35 writing implements and 50 pieces of slate board were recovered archaeologically, which is a notable amount in comparison to other sites. Only slate board fragments with lines, writing, or obvious human-made etchings were included in this total. Most of the writing utensils include slate pencils, though a few chalk balls were present as well.

Archaeologist Deborah Rotman excavated a late 19th century school site in Indiana, where she recovered only three slate pencils from the privy feature (Rotman 2009). The number found at Rotman's site could suggest that slate boards were taken home at the end of the school day, for pupils to practice on. Additionally, the high number of slate objects found at Chase Home further testament to the many children who passed through the Home, where they lived and learned. Similar to the other material culture, the majority of writing artifacts were discovered in the privy or nearby trash pit. Interestingly, the writing utensils are found almost exclusively in and around the privy. These small objects would have been easily carried around in pockets and accidentally dropped into the privy.

Writing Utensils by Area	
Privy	51%
Trash Pit	43%
South Yard Other	6%

Figure 30. Percent of total writing utensils in each area

Slate Board by Area	
Backyard	6%
East Side Yard	4%
Privy	44%
Trash Pit	34%
South Yard Other	12%

Figure 31. Percent of total slate board in each area

Paper was still expensive during this time, so school children primarily etched their work onto slate boards using slate pencils, which could then be sanded down (Slate & Slate Pencils 2012). The collection from Chase Home includes various sizes of slate pencils; some appear more like markers, with a much wider circumference. Perhaps these different sizes were appropriate for different ages of children, much like the larger markers for smaller children's hands today (Charles 2015).

Introduction to Analysis

The number and diversity of these artifacts demonstrate that Chase Home did make concerted efforts towards their mission of teaching their wards about the manners and skills they would need for a respectable life after their stay in the Home. This analysis of the material culture explores how the artifacts described above are indicative of Victorian and Progressive ideologies and the didactic purposes behind them. Additionally, I theorize how these lessons may have been received by the children at Chase Home.

Gendered Play and Learning

As the quintessential Victorian toy, dolls were much more than just fashionable. These porcelain dolls were extremely important for teaching young girls how to properly dress, behave, and learn to care for their own children one day (Formanek-Brunell 1993; Wilkie 2000; Frost 2009). The dolls found at Chase Home could have taught the children about childcare and housekeeping, as children often learned how to sew by making clothing for their dolls, and would learn to care for dolls when they were sick (Feister 2009). On the social side, young girls were encouraged to attend mock tea parties and make social calls with their friends' dolls (Formanek-Brunell 1993, Wilkie 2000). Thus, girls were practicing for an adult life both of domesticity and feminine society. An entire "doll culture" emerged around dolls, as authors wrote books featuring dolls and girls were encouraged to form deep social connections with these playmates (Formanek-Brunell 1993).

While young girls specifically were encouraged to play with dolls, historical sources indicate that boys often played with dolls as well. In 1897 Hall recorded that 76% of boys in Victorian New England claimed to play with dolls regularly until the age of 12, with or without young girls (Formanek-Brunell 1993; Wilkie 2000). The wards of Chase Home played amongst a diverse group of children—some biologically related, of varying ages, diverse cultural backgrounds, and an almost equal number of boys and girls, which likely created unique dynamics of play.

Biographical sources show that girls and boys created fantastical stories together as they played, in which dolls played both good and bad characters (Mergen 1992; Formanek-Brunell 1993; Wilkie 2005). Despite their parents' intentions, Formanek-

Brunell suggests that, “girls in the process of constructing their own notion of girlhood engaged their parents in a preconscious political struggle to define, decide, and determine the meaning of dolls in their own lives and as representations of their own culture” (Formnek-Brunell 1993: 364). Victorian diaries demonstrate that girls punished their dolls as often as they coddled them, sometimes forcing their dolls to eat dirt or coal when badly behaved (Formnek-Brunell 1993). In fact, T.R. Croswell’s 1899 poll of 2,000 girls in Worchester, MA concluded that only a quarter of girls selected their doll as their favorite toy (Formnek-Brunell 1993). These studies, contemporaneous with Chase Home, prove that though dolls were highly sought in the market, how these dolls were received by adults and children differs, and children decided to play with their dolls in self-determined ways.

The porcelain and bisque dolls found at Chase Home demonstrate that the institution was participating in Progressive ideas of a nurtured childhood, where children were given nice toys and encouraged to care for them. However, the children at Chase Home came from working class families, and might not have previously been exposed to the “correct” social practices to imitate. Even at the Home, direct adult supervision would have been limited during play times due to the number of children under the care of only the Matron and her assistant. Therefore, it is difficult to determine how organized or purposeful any lessons of gender or etiquette were, if they occurred. Perhaps the children devised their own stories and ways of playing with dolls at the Home, or learned from their classmates at school. Still, these small finds are physical demonstrations of the larger guiding principles of an institution, whether realized or not, and highlights the Home’s participation in larger social and economic movements. Though most dolls were

donated to Chase Home, the organization is still participating in the larger economic phenomenon of store-bought dolls, a bastion of the second Industrial Revolution and Victorian culture.

Toy tea sets are integrally tied with the toy doll in terms of function and follow many of the same ascribed gender expectations. Together, toy tea parties, attended by toy dolls, were encouraged activities of play, aimed to teach young girls about social etiquette. While children often cared for their dolls in both private and social ways, the toy tea party was strictly practice for the more public side of a Victorian woman's social life (Wilkie 2000; Feister 2009). The children at Chase Home played with fancy toy tea sets made from porcelain with delicately molded designs. Some sherds even come from matching sets, which the annual reports suggest as well. These decorated and matching sets are not reflective of the undecorated whiteware vessels that the children themselves were eating and drinking from in their daily lives.

Of course, tea time looked very different for different classes of people. It is unlikely that the parents of children at Chase Home had much time to travel around the neighborhood making social calls. Census records indicate that most of the children at Chase Home had two working parents, if they did have two parents. However, archaeologist Diana diZerega Wall posits that tea time looked very different for the upper and middle to lower classes in Victorian America (Wall 1991). For the wealthier families, tea time was a public affair, where one presented guests, often on work or ritualized social calls, with their finest ceramics (Wall 1991). Alternatively, lower class Victorians may have used tea time as an intimate reprise for family members to catch up on their days.

Therefore, the elegant toy tea sets at Chase Home could instead illustrate the measures those leading the institution took to teach the children important manners that could prepare them for life in service. In 1887 the trustees implore that the children in their care are in "the period of life when character is in the process of formation, the habits are being fixed, and the general direction taken which in most cases determines the future career" (Chase Home Annual Report 1887). Through these fragile pieces, Chase Home is making identifiable efforts towards their goal of exposing children to the finer points of Victorian society.

While many have written about the sociality of the toy tea party and doll culture, Victorian boy culture is less studied. However, boy culture is just as embedded with Victorian gender norms. Boys were encouraged to play differently, and both archaeological and historical documents suggest that boys were allowed a wider berth of play from the homestead (Hall 1897; Rotundo 1998; Baxter 2005). Unlike their female counterparts, it was not necessary for boys learn domestic skills such a sewing and washing—it was more important for them to be free and their time less structured (Hall 1897; Hunter 2003). Boy culture was allowed to "spill outside, to adjacent fields and vacant lots" where boys were allowed to roam more freely (Rotundo 1998: 337). Historian Anthony Rotundo's 1994 book, *American Manhood*, is one of few on this topic. Rotundo describes, "the 'free nation' of boys was a distinct cultural world with its own rituals and its own symbols and values […] a social sphere, it was separate from both the domestic world of women, girls, and small children, and from the public world of men and commerce" (Rotundo 1998: 337). From the colonial days until the Civil War, New England boys had worked with their fathers or guardians from a young age, learning

trades and apprenticing, but by the end of the 19th century, boys had more free time and opportunity to socialize with other boys (Rotundo 1998). Urbanization and increased schooling physically brought boys closer together (Rotundo 1994; Hunter 2003).

Boy culture was not only separate from adults and other young girls. Boys were often described in terms of Native Americans and primitive Africans, according to perceptions of these groups of people during this time (Rotundo 1998). Indians vs settlers was a popular game for young boys, where they pined to be the more "aggressive" and "wild" Native Americans (Rotundo 1998). In their "primitive" state, young boys also cultivated a close relationship with nature through hunting, fishing, hiking, and swimming (Mrozek 1992; Rotundo 1998; Hunter 2003). These activities would be completely unacceptable for girls. Furthermore, they are activities that would be difficult to identify archaeologically.

Boy culture also stressed comradery and loyalty through fights with other boys, and amongst themselves—these attributes such as independence and strength were seen as the skills boys needed for adulthood (Rotundo 1998). Much of the hostility with other groups of boys stemmed from class, ethnic, and religious divides (Rotundo 1998). Henry Canby of Wilmington, Delaware wrote about his tense walks to private school through the yard of the public school, where boys from the nearby Irish slums attended (Rotundo 1998). Henry and his friends walked through enemy territory together in order to avoid being chased and taunted by a public school boy (Rotundo 1998). Like children today, young boys mimicked the social divides they noticed among adults and larger community in general. In a home with boys and girls from so many immigrant and religious backgrounds, did children of Chase Home band together at school or in the

neighborhood, or did they forge separate groups? These questions are almost impossible to answer, but important to consider.

Of course, boys did not exist in their "free nation" alone, they migrated in and out of their lives at home and among other groups of children (Rotundo 1998). Boys still shared the school yard and neighborhood spaces with girls, whom they regularly played with (Formanek-Brunell 1993; Rotundo 1998). Young boys and girls were almost interchangeable during their earliest stages in life—they remained in the home, where mothers nurtured and instilled their children with morals and integrity as prescribed by Victorian culture (Rotundo 1998; Wilkie 2000; Hunter 2003). Though boy culture was characterized by attributes such as comradery, aggression, and independence, the boundaries of boy culture were flexible, allowing aspects of the feminine and home life to trickle in.

These gender norms were expected or encouraged to varying extents by adults and are reflected in the material culture and primary sources. The Chase Home annual reports indicate that at Christmas, each boy was given a book, while each girl was given a doll, suggesting that gender was a deciding factor in how donations were allocated (Chase Home Annual Reports). The reports show that toy soldiers, fishing poles, and a horse saddle were donated as well. Perhaps the children did play with these toys together, but they also suggest a boy culture that may have existed at Chase Home. Many schools, including the Orphan's Home in Franklin New Hampshire, had separate spaces for boys and girls to exercise, such as a trapeze and gymnastic rings for the boys on one side of the building and swings for the girls on the other (Mergen 1992). Gender can be expressed in especially visible ways in institutional settings such as children's homes.

The practice crochet work found in the privy is also a telling artifact. This object illustrates that the children at Chase Home were likely learning important gender-specific skills for life after the institution. As young girls learned how to knit and sew while making clothing for their dolls, they would carry these skills into their adult life as well, where they would sew and mend clothing for their families (Wilkie 2000; Feister 2009). The annual reports reference a large amount of sewing happening at the Home by matrons and volunteers, but only two brass thimbles were recovered archaeologically. Still, with so much sewing activity in the Home, it is probable that the children looked on and were perhaps taught how to sew. Older girls at Chase Home were often promoted to "domestic" within the home itself or around the neighborhood, proving they must have learned useful housekeeping skills while at the Home (Chase Home Annual Report 1885).

Revolutions in Education

However, increased access to education was revolutionary for young girls, especially as more respectable job opportunities were opening up for women, such as store clerks and cashiers at department stores, where skills like arithmetic were valuable. The late 19th century was a transformative time for education in America. As an important tenant of the Progressive agenda, schools during this time encountered pressure to become more accessible to children of all economic means, both urban and rural (Hall 1906; Blodgett and Howe 1979; Hunter 2003).

Public schools encouraged young girls to attend school especially, and in many urban areas of New England, female students made up 60% of high school students (Hunter 2003). The advent of co-ed schools meant that girls and boys were competing

directly for the first time and girls often out-performed boys (Hunter 2003). By attending local public schools, the children of Chase Home participated in co-educational schooling as well. The number of slate pencils and slate boards recovered archaeologically prove that the children took their studies seriously, completing lessons or studying outside of school. While there are no records of their academic achievements, the equalizing effects of education are well known. Job opportunities for young women expanded as their education enabled them to leave home and participate in more public ventures. However, in direct contrast to the Progressive philosophies, despite their increased education, Victorian gender expectations dictated that women hone their domestic skills as well, as they were expected to eventually marry and return to life at home (Wilkie 2000; Hunter 2003).

Still, the increased access to education was potentially revolutionary for the children of Chase Home. Pre-Civil War, poor children, like those at Chase Home, would not have gone to school—they would have worked by necessity (Rotundo 1998; Hunter 2003). Part of the nurtured childhood that Progressives advocated for included the opportunity for children to grow their minds freely as well. This philosophy, partnered with the technological innovations of the second Industrial Revolution, had a positive impact on the learning materials that children were able to access. Revolutions in printing meant that books, newspapers, and magazines became cheaper and more widely distributed (Mergen 1992; Hunter 1993; Forman-Brunell and Paris 2011). This increased circulation of knowledge and connection to a wider culture helped to lessen the gap between upper and middle classes (Hunter 2003). The annual reports at Chase Home

demonstrate that books and children's papers were some of the most donated items apart from food.

Figure 32. 4th Grade Students at the Whipple School in 1903 (Portsmouth Athenaeum)

Children's Magazines

With more vigorous education and the prevalence of printed materials, reading and writing dominated Victorian culture, especially among children (Hunter 2003). Just as children were becoming a reckonable market for manufactures, publication houses took notice as well. Children's magazines and books increased manifold, as producers recognized the buying power of children (Hunter 2003). New magazines such as *The Youth's Companion* and *St. Nicholas* were cheap and often passed around groups of neighborhood kids, allowing even those who could not afford subscription a chance to read them (Hunter 2003). The annual reports of Chase Home reference subscriptions to many "children's magazines" given during the Christmas season, as well as old copies of *The Youth's Companion* were donated regularly (Chase Home Annual Reports). Printed

and distributed from Boston, *The Youth's Companion* featured themes and stories relevant to children, especially in New England (Baer 2007). Writers such as Harriet Beecher Stowe, Mark Twain, Emily Dickinson, Booker T. Washington, and Jack London contributed stories to *The Youth's Companion* (Youth's Companion Library). The magazine is also responsible for the writing of and distribution of the Pledge of Allegiance, now a controversial part of American school life (Baer 2007). With its Christian themes and patriotic tone, one wonders how the immigrant children of Chase Home received these magazines.

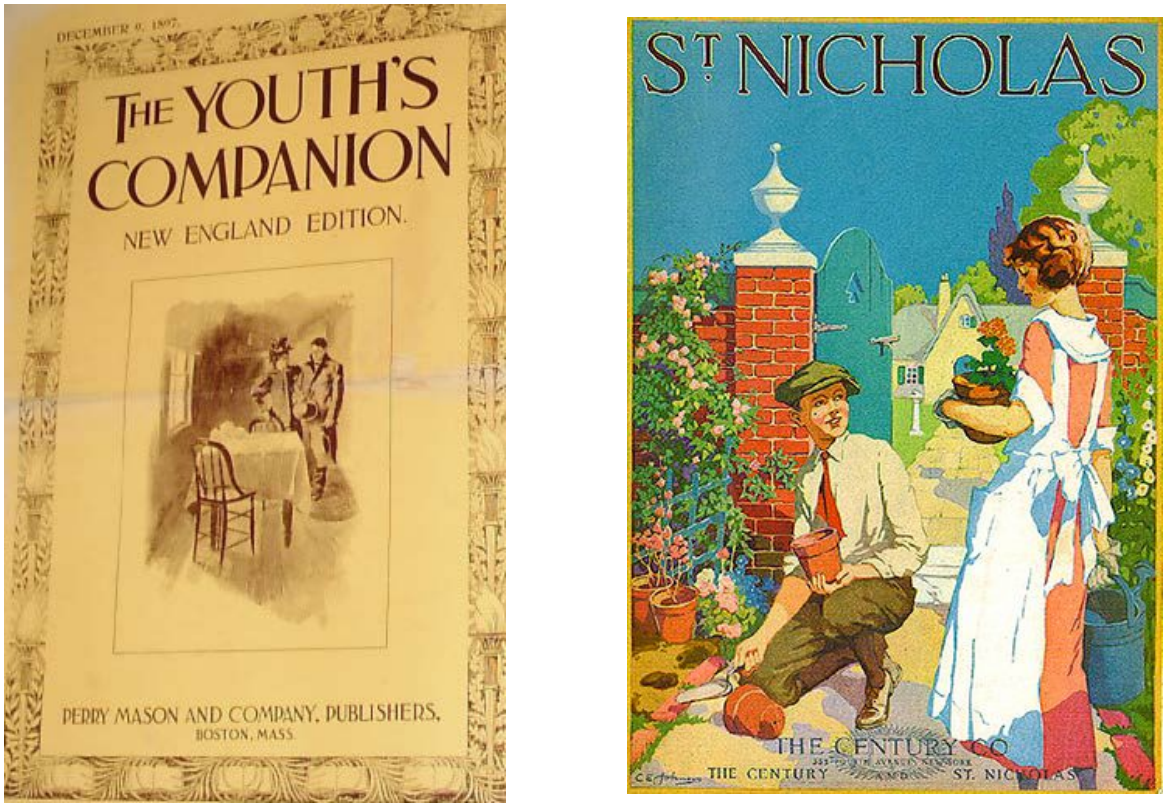


Figure 33. Historical issues of "The Youth's Companion" and "St. Nicholas" (Youth's Companion Library)

The other bastion of children's magazines, *St. Nichols* included a "letter box" section, for children to write in, asking for advice or to voice their appreciation for the

magazine (Hunter 2003). The children of Chase Home also perused issues of *St. Nichols*, as well as the *Times*, *Penny Post*, *Chronicle*, *Happy Hours*, and *Household* according to the donation records (Chase Home Annual Reports). This collection includes magazines for both children and adults, either serving as entertainment for the matrons and staff of the house or encouraging the children to be well-read in more adult themes as well. While magazines fostered a more connected and educated society, children's magazines in particular helped contribute to and shape an emerging children's culture. Through issues of *St. Nichols*, children were able to express themselves to their peers across the nation, their voices and opinions validated by the printed word. These magazines, plus the growing number of children together in schools offered children new, more public interactions outside of the family (Hunter 2003).

The annual reports list these magazines more than any other item specifically meant for children, suggesting that they were a crucial part of life at the Home. Reading materials were highly valued and likely encouraged by the managers of Chase Home. Being well-read would have been an important tenant of preparing the children for a productive life after the Home. The annual reports are invaluable for noting that children had access to these papers, as they would have rarely survived archaeologically. Together, the material culture and primary sources paint a more complete picture of the material world that surrounded the children of Chase Home. They played with fancy Victorian dolls, shot marbles, and enjoyed copies of popular children's magazines.

Conclusions

As mentioned, the children of Chase Home undoubtedly had more material culture directed specifically for their use than any previous generation—especially for

poor children like those placed Chase Home. The children at Chase Home had access to porcelain Victorian dolls, school desks, tea sets, and children's papers that were likely not abundant in the homes they came from. While these elegant Victorian toys and abundance of reading materials were likely appreciated and well used before they entered the archaeological record, these children's lives were likely far from comfortable—the children were living the formative years of their lives away from home, during a time when biological mothers were supposed to nurture children and impart crucial knowledge about society and life in general (Wilkie 2000; Hunter 2003).

While the institution of Chase Home and its peers were committed to instilling good habits and education for the children's future, these homes were not as strict as the orphanages portrayed in Dickens and other literature. Behind the practice of giving each girl a doll and each boy a book for Christmas, besides the obvious gender implications, is the philosophy that these children deserved individual attention and amusement, and were therefore each deserving of many and varied toys. The annual reports demonstrate a fuller breadth of donated toys than those found in the archaeological records and focused on above: toy soldiers, acrobats, bats and balls, horse reins, pails and shovels, sleds, in addition to car and boat rides, and tickets to various lectures and shows were also important parts of life at Chase Home (Chase Home Annual Reports).

Analyses regarding the amount and variety of children's objects help tell the story of larger themes such as Progressivism, Victorianism, market revolutions, and social welfare. In order to fully understand and contextualize the material and archival collection from Chase Home, extensive research into history, gender, race, and society during this time was necessary. Children and the economically disadvantaged are difficult

to highlight in history and archaeology, so their stories often go untold. However, the example of Chase Home demonstrates vividly how important and telling the history of children is to wider understandings of a particular place and time. Chase Home was a private institution, completely funded, supported, and stocked by members of the local community. Thus, it is also a commentary on social welfare during a time preceding governmental funding. The toy doll and tea set play into larger ideas of Victorian refinement and social etiquette. While the material culture can be expanded out to highlight larger social movements, a toy doll was also a little girl's own plaything, perhaps her vehicle for socializing with her peers. Artifacts are physical components for both the larger social fashions of a changing culture, as well as the objects people interact with in sometimes personal ways, as tangible aspects of everyday life.

CHAPTER 5

ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSIONS

After Chase Home

One of the main aims of this thesis was to evaluate the effect of Chase Home's Victorian and Progressive mission on the lives of the children that the institution served. The theoretical and literature background helped define the aims of the Progressive movement, while the annual reports and material record from Chase Home demonstrated how the Home functioned towards its goal. Now, using census archives, I am able to track the names of some of the children through their lives after the institution. How successful was Chase Home in preparing and encouraging the children towards a productive and respectable life? Despite their education and access to an abundance of Victorian toys, census records indicate that the children mostly entered professions similar to those of their working parents. However, this may have been the end goal of the institution. Even with their Progressive aims, the organizers of Chase Home were likely offering these children the protected and nurtured childhood they believed they deserved, while also preparing the children with skills for successful lives as working class people. Childhood was the crucial stage in life where these children could be socialized into their working class roles in life.

By the ages of 12 to 14, many of the girls were hired young as domestics in the neighborhood, and many boys found positions on farms through the Wanderers Home in

Boston, “where it is believed they will obtain an honorable and useful start to life” (Chase Home Annual Report 1895). The average age to leave school in 1900 was 12-13 years old, though the Board of Education was advocating for 14 (Tyack and Cuban 1995). Therefore, the children at Chase Home were receiving the same amount of education as the majority of children in the United States, though the age of leaving school may have been higher in New England specifically. Post Chase Home, future employment paths also included blacksmith, barmaid, barber, milliner, butcher, coachman, and navy yard worker (Rockingham Census records 1900-1930). Many of the boys appeared in draft records for both world wars (Rockingham Census records 1900-1930). Most went on to marry and have children of their own. There are some unusually successful stories, such as the O’Neil family. Rosa and John O’Neil boarded the Home for four years, but John moved on to become a lawyer with five children and a servant, while his brother was a physician, and three sisters became store clerks (Census Rockingham County, New Hampshire 1903).

The children of Chase Home all secured a job at some point, and many of these professions are respectable working class positions. Chase Home, influenced by Victorian ideologies, strove to teach young girls domestic skills such as sewing, laundry, housekeeping, childcare, and the rituals of teatime, which would have set them up for successful lives in service. For the young boys, the arithmetic they may have learned in public schools and practiced at home would have served them well in managing supplies for local farms.

The fancy toy tea sets found at Chase Home may relate directly to the institution’s work towards preparing the girls for a life of service. While the Progressive movement

aimed to better the lives of the people it endeavored to serve, reform efforts continued to operate within the social structures of the day.

Discussion

Ultimately, Chase Home had benevolent intentions and succeeded in ensuring that the children who passed through its doors were fed, clothed, and schooled, at a time when severe poverty and child labor were real alternatives. Chase Home filled a need in the Portsmouth community before federally funded welfare for children or families was secured. Perhaps the children did not find use for the more genteel lessons of Victorian society in their personal lives, but the children had definitely been trained in "the practical duties" and taken their "position in life as useful members of society" (Chase Home Annual Reports). The fact that so many girls moved on to become domestics immediately leaving the Home, does suggest that they had learned valuable housekeeping skills while at Chase Home.

The material record and annual reports present the many different faces of Chase Home. There seem to be both a Progressive Chase Home, and Victorian Chase Home, the values of which are sometimes conflicting. The children at Chase Home were meant to study hard and learn industrious skills, but also needed the time and space to play freely. Perhaps there was an age component to these two aims, or perhaps they were able to exist simultaneously. Similarly, the Progressive philosophy that encouraged education for all children, conflicts with Victorian expectations for women to remain in the private sphere. Even the girls from Chase Home who married and had children continued to hold a job. While the children at Chase Home and the families they came from did not fit the mold of proper upper class Victorians, their reformation from destitute children to functional

members of society is a theme that runs through both Victorian and Progressive philosophies.

Conclusion

This thesis aimed to use material and documentary sources to explore how Progressive and Victorian philosophies affected the mission and organization of Chase Home. Childhood is a distinct though constructed stage in each person's life, the study of which merits unique methods and analysis. The second chapter of this thesis reviewed the previous literature on childhood and illustrated how social change often plays out through the lives of children.

Secondly, the overview of institutional archaeology discussed how institutions are useful archaeological sites that offer a different perspective on "community attitudes" (Gibb 2009: 4). Chase Home operated during a golden era for institutions, as Progressive reformers found institutions to be most conducive to achieving their goals. Institutions often make social trends and cultural values explicit and physical, which is especially true at Chase Home.

My discussion of the Progressive movement and Victorian America laid out the historical context for Chase Home. Exploring the inception of the Progressive movement as a reaction to increased industry, urbanization, and immigration, helps explain the goals of institutions like Chase Home. Examining the key tenants of the Progressive movement helped me identify these aims at Chase Home specifically. Comparing the institution of Chase Home with other children's aid organizations in the region proved that the Progressive movement was not monolithic, and therefore studying the specific organization of Chase Home is revealing.

Finally, I examined the excavations and material culture of Chase Home, which corroborated many of the institution's aims as laid out in the annual reports. The children were playing with signature objects of Victorian childhood, such as fancy toy tea sets and porcelain dolls. Additionally, the children were learning practical skills and participating in a larger effort towards more inclusive education. As prescribed by Progressive philosophies, play was encouraged at the Home as well, as the children were allocated a vast array of toys and weekend excursions. The material culture confirms that Chase Home made tangible efforts towards its goals, while census records suggest that many children possessed the appropriate skills to enter the workforce and hold respectable jobs.

Importance of Study

This case study is meant to address the dearth of archaeological analyses of childhood that persists, perhaps due to lack of established methods and theories to distinguish children archaeologically, or to the assumption that their actions leave less of a trace in general. As a children's home, analysis of this site naturally lends itself to questions about how children affected the material and social around them, but such questions should be a staple in any archaeological study. Though children-specific objects are not always found, children were present at almost every archaeological site, so their consideration is necessary for a comprehensive analysis.

It is essential to view the material, historical, and spatial evidence of Chase Home with a child-centric lens. How much supervision occurred when the children were playing? Would a less structured play time result in children playing in different ways? How were children from the Home treated at school? How might the children of immigrant families feel in a home away from their family customs? Such questions are

difficult to answer, without the direct voices of the children, but important to consider. Historical archaeologists have tackled the challenge of identifying children's direct effect on archaeological findings, often with telling findings.

Unfortunately, the site of Chase Home did not reveal any explicit evidence of children's voices or telling spatial patterning in the archaeological findings. Of course, their existence did have real effects on the histories and environments in which they interacted, but we are left to ask the important questions about their thoughts, social interactions, and experiences within the Home, with no ready answers. However, archaeologists such as Baxter, Feister, and Wilkie have been successful in identifying children's individual effect on the archaeological record, and their conclusions and methods are important to consider for future research.

Both Baxter and Feister were able to distinguish specific play areas at their sites, perhaps broken down by gender, or activity. In her late 19th century excavations at a New York orphanage, Feister uncovered a cluster of tea set fragments by a wall close to the home, suggesting that little girls may have gathered there, within adult supervision (Feister 2009). At a 19th century domestic site, Wilkie found deliberately decapitated dolls, a practice she was able to explain through the girl's diary. This example speaks to the importance of a holistic approach, involving archival and primary source research, towards fully understanding the impact of children on the archaeological and historical records. Each area of excavation at Chase Home revealed multiple artifacts related to the activities and lives of the children that lived there. Though their individual voices or deliberate activities were not recovered, their experiences at the institution are still an important topic of study.

The story of Chase Home is a story of childhood, the Progressive movement, Victorian America, poverty, and of social welfare in America during a time before governments accepted responsibility for the aid of needy children. The diversity of these narratives alone presents a strong argument for the importance of childhood studies, considering the widespread effects children's lives had on late Victorian society and economy in America.

Children are important sustainers of culture, though their socialization with adults, they carry on certain manners and customs (Baxter 2005; Wilkie 2000). Alternatively, children can initiate cultural change, by choosing how to react to the environments and objects around them. Children who rejected to play with their dolls as intended, forcing then to eat dirt instead of play tea party, were in a way rejecting Victorian ideals of gendered play (Wilkie 2000). Analyses of childhood can be expanded out to explain these larger social movements, but can alternatively be zoomed in to tell the story of specific children. The children, their relationships, and creation of themselves during some of their most formative years, is just as important.

Childhood is not only important for its role within large transnational movements or trends. Archaeologist Jane Baxter concludes, "Recognizing the culturally constructed nature of childhood is an important way to look at the complex, bilateral relationships that took place between children and the people, places, and things that surrounded them in the past" (Baxter 2005: 110). Children used objects differently than adults, but also took advantage of the social and identity-negotiating powers that adults often used objects for. Similarly, people use space in culturally specific ways and children are socialized into using space "correctly" over time (Baxter 2005). Before this happens,

children create their own ways of being separate from adults, often developing their own areas of social interaction. Children do not experience the material, social, or natural world in the same way as adults. Therefore, analyzing childhood is an integral part to forming the larger picture of a past society. For a segment of the population with few surviving first-hand accounts, archaeology and the study of material culture becomes all the more integral to telling the story of children.

APPENDIX A
EXCAVATED UNITS

All tables courtesy of Sheila Charles, Alix Martin, and Strawbery Banke

Table 1: Chase House (SB26) Archaeological Excavation Units

Location	*Unit Coordinates*	*Size*	*Depth*
Water Closet/Privy	N8E6	.5m x 1m	11 cmbs
	N9E6	1m x 1m	120 cmbs
	N9E7	1m x 1m	84 cmbs
	N9E8	1m x 1m	121 cmbs
	N9E9	1m x 1m	73 cmbs
	N9E10	.5m x 1m	53 cmbs
	N10E6	1m x 1m	110 cmbs
	N10E7	1m x 1m	84 cmbs
	N10E8	1m x 1m	94 cmbs
	N10E9	1m x 1m	71 cmbs
	N10E10	1m x 1m	56 cmbs
	N10E11	1m x 1m	53 cmbs
	N10E12	1m x 1m	70 cmbs
	N11E6	1m x 1m	113 cmbs
Trash Pit	N11E10	.5m x 1m	53 cmbs
	N12E10	1m x 1m	85 cmbs
	N12E11	.5m x 1m	110 cmbs
	N13E8	1m x 1m	76 cmbs
	N13E11	.5m x 1m	114 cmbs
	N14E10	1m x 1m	59 cmbs
South Yard	N9E2	1m x 1m	86 cmbs
	N9W10	1m x 1m	70 cmbs
	N13W0	.5m x 1m	61 cmbs
	N14E5	.5m x 1m	61 cmbs
Kitchen Ell	N13W9	1m x 1m	76 cmbs
East Side Yard	N23E6	.5m x 1m	65 cmbs
	N27E8	.5m x 1m	69 cmbs
	N29E6	.5m x 1m	20 cmbs
	N30E2	.5m x 1m	68 cmbs

APPENDIX B
ARTIFACT TOTALS BY AREA

Table 2: Artifact Totals by Functional/Material Class

Functional/Material Class	**Privy**	**Trash Pit**	**Back Yard**	**East Side Yard**	**Total**
Structural Material	280	95	89	27	**491**
Nails/Fasteners	2157	1622	711	303	**4793**
Architectural Material/Hardware	3110	1462	500	275	**5347**
Household Furnishings	6244	4194	1794	856	**13088**
Personal Objects	330	180	77	29	**616**
Tools/Implements	115	60	11	8	**194**
Fauna	776	697	61	220	**1754**
Flora	8	14	0	0	**22**
Fuel/Fire Byproducts	29	9	18	0	**56**
Maritime	96	202	119	21	**438**
Total	**13145**	**8535**	**3380**	**1739**	**26799**

Table 3: Artifact Totals by Functional/Material Categories

Categories	Privy	Trash Pit	Back Yard	East Side Yard	Sub Total	Total
Structural Material					**491**	
Brick	32	13	23	10		**78**
Linoleum	1					**1**
Lithic	5	1	1	1		**8**
Plaster/Mortar	40	4	54	7		**105**
Roofing Shingle		2		2		**4**
Slate Shingle/Paving	25	6	2	1		**34**
Tar Paper/Asphalt Shingle	35		1	3		**39**
Wood	125	66	8			**199**
Zinc (lead) Flashing	17	3		3		**23**
Nails/Fasteners					**4793**	
Hand Wrought Nails	29	121	19	4		**173**
Machine Cut Nails	459	421	333	157		**1370**
Roofing Nails	14	2	1	12		**29**
Screws/Bolts/Nuts	39	18	4	4		**65**
Unidentified Nails	1581	1000	316	121		**3018**
Wire Nails	35	60	38	5		**138**
Architectural /Hardware					**5347**	
Builder's Hardware	16	4	4	1		**25**
Ceramic Tile	6	1				**7**
Door Hardware	8	4	2			**14**
Electrical Fittings	4	3	2			**9**
Metal/Iron/Other	335	185	49	52		**621**
Window Glass	2741	1265	443	222		**4671**
Household Furnishings					**13088**	
Chamber Pot	35	38				**73**
Decorative	22	22	3			**47**
Flower Pot	131	62		8		**201**
Furniture Hardware	2	2	1			**5**
Bottle, closures	12	8	3			**23**
Ceramic, bottles		1				**1**
Glass, bottle/jars	1039	520	215	120		**1894**
Glass, indeterminate	266	118	97	36		**517**
Metal Vessels		2				**2**
Redware	607	531	209	128		**1475**
Stoneware	35	20	7	7		**69**
Tools	2					**2**
Yellow ware	51	61	12	10		**134**
Lamp Glass/Parts	146	17	27	6		**196**
Medicinal/Pharmaceutical	4					**4**
Glass, bottle	7	8	21			**36**
Stove Elements	1		4			**5**
Other	73	17	2	4		**96**
Tableware/Teaware						
Ceramic/other	10	8		16		**34**
Creamware	958	794	472	178		**2402**
Earthenware	89	93	65	16		**263**
Earthenware, tin-enameled	24	22	11	11		**68**

Pearlware	1879	1207	471	240		**3797**
Porcelain	164	151	43	19		**377**
Rockingham	4	7				**11**
Westerwald/Bellarmine	3	5	2	2		**12**
Saltglazed Stoneware	82	149	29	41		**301**
Nottingham		2		1		**3**
Whiteware	522	283	70	8		**883**
Utensils	13	5				**18**
Glass Tableware	54	41	30	5		**130**
Synthetic	9					**9**
Personal Objects					**616**	
Apparel/Shoes	2					**2**
Buckles/Fasteners	25	7	18	1		**51**
Buttons	88	40	19	4		**151**
Clay Marble	35	14	6	1		**56**
Clay Pipes	76	87	21	18		**202**
Coins	14		1	1		**16**
Jewelry	10	9	5	1		**25**
Other Personal	27	6	6	3		**42**
Recreational/Toys	53	17	1			**71**
Tools/Implements					**194**	
Hand Tool	6	4				**10**
Lithic	2					**2**
Machine Parts	8		2			**10**
Other Tools	17	11	1	1		**30**
Transportation associated	11	1	2			**14**
Weaponry/Ammunition	11	2	2	2		**17**
Writing (slate pencil/slate)	60	42	4	5		**111**
Fauna					**1754**	
Bone, Fish	17	9				**26**
Bone, Other	671	626	7	7		**1311**
Shell	88	62	54	213		**417**
Flora					**22**	
Nut		1				**1**
Seed	8	13				**21**
Fuel/Fire Byproducts					**56**	
Charcoal		3	7			**10**
Coal	16	5	11			**32**
Compressed Ash						**0**
Slag/Clinkers/Cinders	13	1				**14**
Maritime					**438**	
Ballast	96	202	119	12		**429**
Other				9		**9**
TOTALS	**13145**	**8535**	**3380**	**1739**	**26799**	**26799**

Table 4: Privy Artifact Totals by Functional/Material Class and by Unit

Functional/Material Class	# of Artifacts	Class Totals	% of Collection
Structural Material		280	2.13%
N8E6	3		
N9E10	4		
N9E9	2		
N9E8	64		
N9E7	7		
N9E6	81		
N10E12	4		
N10E11	19		
N10E10	1		
N10E9	10		
N10E8	10		
N10E7	40		
N10E6	13		
N11E6	22		
Nails/Fasteners		2157	16.41%
N8E6	1		
N9E10	51		
N9E9	46		
N9E8	111		
N9E7	171		
N9E6	206		
N10E12	186		
N10E11	61		
N10E10	112		
N10E9	106		
N10E8	65		
N10E7	269		
N10E6	366		
N11E6	406		
Architectural Material/Hardware		3110	23.66%
N8E6	2		
N9E10	58		
N9E9	160		
N9E8	163		
N9E7	299		
N9E6	230		
N10E12	80		
N10E11	45		
N10E10	88		
N10E9	268		
N10E8	105		
N10E7	481		
N10E6	325		
N11E6	806		
Household Furnishings		6244	47.50%
N8E6	7		
N9E10	131		
N9E9	149		
N9E8	300		
N9E7	445		

N9E6	652		
N10E12	422		
N10E11	336		
N10E10	693		
N10E9	389		
N10E8	176		
N10E7	775		
N10E6	875		
N11E6	894		
Personal Objects		330	2.51%
N8E6	1		
N9E10	7		
N9E9	9		
N9E8	31		
N9E7	50		
N9E6	29		
N10E12	18		
N10E11	4		
N10E10	12		
N10E9	12		
N10E8	7		
N10E7	72		
N10E6	42		
N11E6	36		
Tools/Implements		115	0.87%
N8E6	0		
N9E10	0		
N9E9	0		
N9E8	17		
N9E7	17		
N9E6	5		
N10E12	2		
N10E11	0		
N10E10	15		
N10E9	8		
N10E8	4		
N10E7	28		
N10E6	5		
N11E6	14		
Fauna		776	5.90%
N8E6	0		
N9E10	0		
N9E9	2		
N9E8	17		
N9E7	16		
N9E6	185		
N10E12	111		
N10E11	22		
N10E10	10		
N10E9	79		
N10E8	4		
N10E7	94		
N10E6	175		

N11E6	61		
Flora		8	0.06%
N8E6	0		
N9E10	0		
N9E9	0		
N9E8	3		
N9E7	1		
N9E6	1		
N10E12	1		
N10E11	0		
N10E10	0		
N10E9	1		
N10E8	0		
N10E7	1		
N10E6	0		
N11E6	0		
Fuel/Fire Byproducts		29	0.22%
N8E6	0		
N9E10	0		
N9E9	0		
N9E8	0		
N9E7	1		
N9E6	6		
N10E12	0		
N10E11	0		
N10E10	1		
N10E9	12		
N10E8	0		
N10E7	0		
N10E6	9		
N11E6	0		
Maritime		96	0.73%
N8E6	0		
N9E10	4		
N9E9	2		
N9E8	1		
N9E7	5		
N9E6	18		
N10E12	14		
N10E11	2		
N10E10	8		
N10E9	9		
N10E8	1		
N10E7	13		
N10E6	8		
N11E6	11		
TOTALS	**13145**	**13145**	**100.00%**

Table 5: Trash Pit Artifact Totals by Functional/Material Class and by Unit

Functional/Material Class	# of Artifacts	Class Totals	% of Collection
Structural Material		95	1.11%
N11E10	0		
N12E10	19		
N12E11	27		
N12&13E11	1		
N13E11	33		
N13E8	0		
N14E10	8		
N14E5	7		
Nails/Fasteners		1622	19.00%
N11E10	86		
N12E10	296		
N12E11	239		
N12&13E11	13		
N13E11	288		
N13E8	269		
N14E10	359		
N14E5	72		
Architectural Material/Hardware		1462	17.13%
N11E10	57		
N12E10	172		
N12E11	138		
N12&13E11	3		
N13E11	182		
N13E8	438		
N14E10	341		
N14E5	131		
Household Furnishings		4194	49.14%
N11E10	238		
N12E10	823		
N12E11	594		
N12&13E11	42		
N13E11	651		
N13E8	608		
N14E10	1043		
N14E5	195		
Personal Objects		180	2.11%
N11E10	6		
N12E10	28		
N12E11	30		
N12&13E11	1		
N13E11	44		
N13E8	30		
N14E10	28		
N14E5	13		
Tools/Implements		60	0.70%
N11E10	4		
N12E10	6		
N12E11	6		
N12&13E11	0		
N13E11	8		

N13E8	19		
N14E10	10		
N14E5	7		
Fauna		697	8.17%
N11E10	105		
N12E10	192		
N12E11	144		
N12&13E11	14		
N13E11	15		
N13E8	89		
N14E10	137		
N14E5	1		
Flora		14	0.16%
N11E10	12		
N12E10	0		
N12E11	0		
N12&13E11	0		
N13E11	0		
N13E8	1		
N14E10	1		
N14E5	0		
Fuel/Fire Byproducts		9	0.11%
N11E10	0		
N12E10	0		
N12E11	2		
N12&13E11	0		
N13E11	1		
N13E8	0		
N14E10	2		
N14E5	4		
Maritime		202	2.37%
N11E10	2		
N12E10	31		
N12E11	50		
N12&13E11	6		
N13E11	62		
N13E8	19		
N14E10	31		
N14E5	1		
TOTALS	**8535**	**8535**	**100.00%**

Table 6: Back Yard Artifact Totals by Functional/Material Class and by Unit

Functional/Material Class	# of Artifacts	Class Totals	% of Collection
Structural Material		89	2.63%
N13W9	8		
N13W10	7		
N9E2	73		
N9W10	1		
Nails/Fasteners		711	21.04%
N13W9	280		
N13W10	105		
N9E2	180		
N9W10	146		
Architectural Material/Hardware		500	14.79%
N13W9	160		
N13W10	57		
N9E2	135		
N9W10	148		
Household Furnishings		1794	53.08%
N13W9	568		
N13W10	168		
N9E2	494		
N9W10	564		
Personal Objects		77	2.28%
N13W9	33		
N13W10	8		
N9E2	28		
N9W10	8		
Tools/Implements		11	0.33%
N13W9	8		
N13W10	2		
N9E2	0		
N9W10	1		
Fauna		61	1.80%
N13W9	6		
N13W10	10		
N9E2	42		
N9W10	3		
Flora		0	0.00%
N13W9	0		
N13W10	0		
N9E2	0		
N9W10	0		
Fuel/Fire Byproducts		18	0.53%
N13W9	0		
N13W10	2		
N9E2	16		
N9W10	0		
Maritime		119	3.52%
N13W9	24		
N13W10	4		
N9E2	85		
N9W10	6		
TOTALS	**3380**	**3380**	**100.00%**

Table 7: East Side Yard Artifact Totals by Functional/Material Class and by Unit

Functional/Material Class	# of Artifacts	Class Totals	% of Collection
Structural Material		27	1.55%
N30E2	4		
N29E6	0		
N27E8	12		
N23E6	11		
Nails/Fasteners		303	17.42%
N30E2	68		
N29E6	14		
N27E8	140		
N23E6	81		
Architectural Material/Hardware		275	15.81%
N30E2	68		
N29E6	8		
N27E8	129		
N23E6	70		
Household Furnishings		856	49.22%
N30E2	186		
N29E6	32		
N27E8	372		
N23E6	266		
Personal Objects		29	1.67%
N30E2	6		
N29E6	1		
N27E8	13		
N23E6	9		
Tools/Implements		8	0.46%
N30E2	0		
N29E6	0		
N27E8	5		
N23E6	3		
Fauna		220	12.65%
N30E2	75		
N29E6	0		
N27E8	118		
N23E6	27		
Flora		0	0.00%
N30E2	0		
N29E6	0		
N27E8	0		
N23E6	0		
Fuel/Fire Byproducts		0	0.00%
N30E2	0		
N29E6	0		
N27E8	0		
N23E6	0		
Maritime		21	1.21%
N30E2	3		
N29E6	0		
N27E8	9		
N23E6	9		
TOTALS	**1739**	**1739**	**100.00%**

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