



Naveaux, Ralph

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Naveaux, Ralph, Rachel Wilkie, and Monroe County Historical Society

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Exploring Class, Gender, and Consumption in Southwest Michigan, 1852–1870 (submitted by Jeff Burnett, Dan Lauterbur, James Robertson, and Christine Stephenson, Michigan Department of Transportation)

Abstract: Here we introduce some preliminary findings from archaeological excavations of the Shoudy Site (20BE634) located in Berrien County, Michigan. In the summer of 2019, archaeologists from the Michigan Department of Transportation (MDOT) conducted shovel testing, the excavation of 1 x 1 m test units, and mechanized stripping at the location of a home, which appears on a single historic map dating to 1860. Historical investigations revealed that the home was occupied by the Shoudys, a white, European American settler family. While no intact structural or subsurface features were identified, shovel test survey identified a location with a high density of mid-19th-century structural- and domestic-associated material culture and extensive survey was conducted at that location. Our analysis of the ceramic assemblage suggests that the Shoudys exhibited a particular classed and regional perspective of gender, more common to the urban middle class, which they presented to those in their community through the ceramics they used. The presence of these artifacts at the Shoudy site demonstrates that local gender ideologies, along with economic relationships, were changing in the mid-19th century in southwest Michigan. This survey and subsequent laboratory work were funded by MDOT and the Federal Highway Administration (FHWA).

Resumen: Aquí presentamos algunos hallazgos preliminares de las excavaciones arqueológicas del sitio Shoudy (20BE634) ubicado en el condado de Berrien, Michigan. En el verano de 2019, los arqueólogos del Departamento de Transporte de Michigan (MDOT) llevaron a cabo pruebas con palas, la excavación de unidades de prueba de 1 x 1 m y un desmontaje mecanizado en la ubicación de una casa, que aparece en un único mapa histórico que data de 1860. Las investigaciones históricas revelaron que la casa fue ocupada por los Shoudys, una familia de colonos blancos, europeos y estadounidenses. Si bien no se identificaron características estructurales o subterráneas intactas, el estudio de prueba con pala identificó una ubicación con una alta densidad de cultura material estructural y doméstica asociada de mediados del siglo XIX y se llevó a cabo un estudio exhaustivo en ese lugar. Nuestro análisis del ensamblaje cerámico sugiere que los Shoudy exhibieron una perspectiva de género particular clasificada y regional, más común a la clase media urbana, que presentaron a los miembros de su comunidad a través de las cerámicas que usaban. La presencia de estos artefactos en el sitio de Shoudy demuestra que las ideologías de género locales, junto con las relaciones económicas, estaban cambiando a mediados del siglo XIX en el suroeste de Michigan. Esta encuesta y el trabajo de laboratorio posterior fueron financiados por MDOT y la Administración Federal de Carreteras (FHWA).

Résumé: Nous présentons ici quelques résultats préliminaires des fouilles archéologiques du site de Shoudy (20BE634) situé dans le comté de Berrien, Michigan. À l'été 2019, des archéologues du département des transports du Michigan (MDOT) ont effectué des tests à la pelle, l'excavation d'unités d'essai de 1 x 1 m et le décapage mécanisé à l'emplacement d'une maison, qui apparaît sur une seule carte historique datant de 1860. Des enquêtes historiques ont révélé que la maison était occupée par les Shoudy, une famille de colons blancs européens et américains. Bien qu'aucune caractéristique structurelle ou souterraine intacte n'ait été identifiée, un levé d'essai à la pelle a identifié un endroit avec une forte densité de culture matérielle structurelle et domestique associée au milieu du XIXe siècle et un levé approfondi a été effectué à cet endroit. Notre analyse de l'assemblage des céramiques suggère que les Shoudy présentaient une perspective particulière classée et régionale du genre, plus commune à la classe moyenne urbaine, qu'ils présentaient à ceux de leur communauté à travers les céramiques qu'ils utilisaient. La présence de ces artefacts sur le site de Shoudy démontre que les idéologies locales de genre, ainsi que les relations économiques, évoluaient au milieu du XIXe siècle dans le sud-ouest du Michigan. Cette enquête et les travaux de laboratoire qui ont suivi ont été financés par le MDOT et la Federal Highway Administration (FHWA).

Here we introduce some preliminary findings from archaeological excavations of the Shoudy Site (20BE634) located in Berrien County, Michigan. In the summer of 2019, archaeologists from the Michigan Department of Transportation (MDOT) conducted shovel testing, the excavation of 1 x 1 m test units, and mechanized stripping at the location of a home belonging to an "F. Shoudy", which appears on a single historic map dating to 1860. Historical investigations revealed the Shoudys to be a white, European American settler family who arrived in Berrien County from La Fayette County, New York, in 1852. While no intact structural or subsurface features were identified, the mid-19th-century structural and domestic material cul-

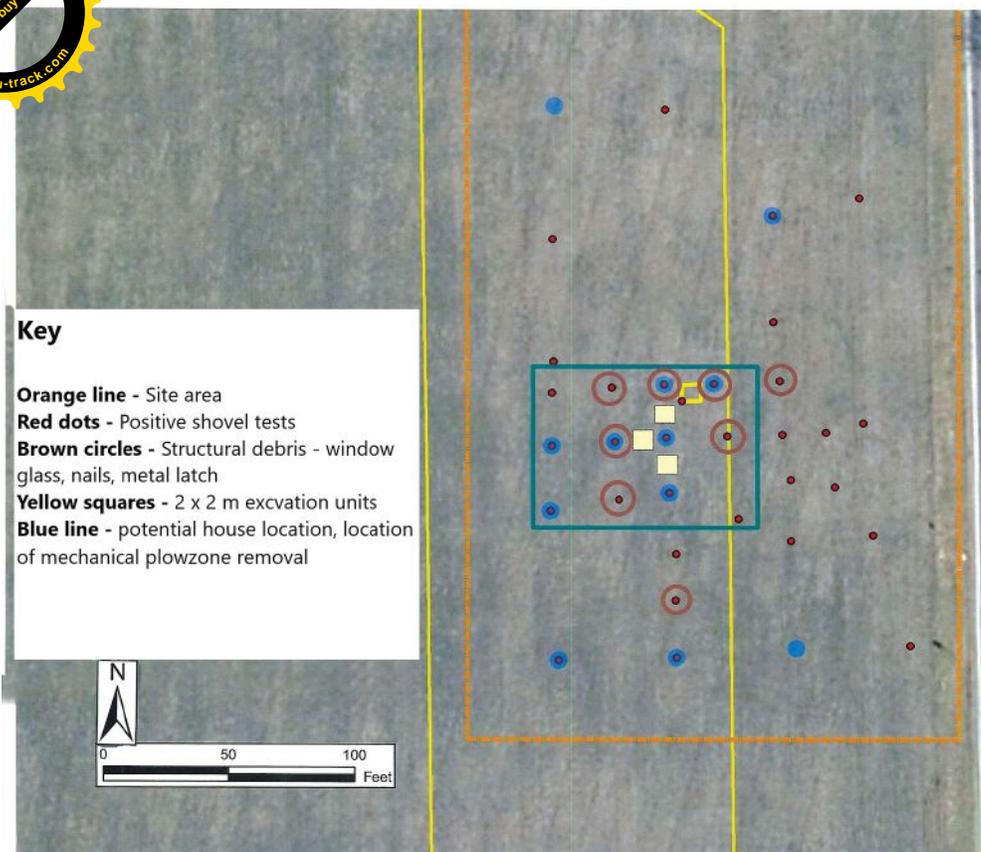


FIGURE 1. Map showing areas of artifact density as well as the location of shovel test pits (STPS) and excavation units at the Shoudy Site (20BE634). (Map produced by James Robertson using ArcMap.)

ture from the site provides rich insights into the nature of early settlement and rural lifeways in southwest Michigan (Figure 1). This project was funded by MDOT and the Federal Highway Administration (FHWA).

In the 1860 federal census, the Shoudy family consisted of David Shoudy, listed as a farmer, his wife Jane, and their three adult children, Rebecca, Fundy, and Kate, all of whom worked as teachers. From an agricultural perspective, it seems that the Shoudys likely lived on a small and unproductive farm, having little wealth and security. This understanding is complicated when considering the three Shoudy children's occupations as teachers, an underpaid but socially middle-class occupation. The class background of the family is further contextualized by census data and archival evidence showing that, prior to their arrival in Michigan, the Shoudys lived on a moderately productive farm and also owned a retail tobacco shop in Syracuse, New York.

The Shoudys' occupation of the site from 1852 to 1870 coincides with regional and national shifts in economic production and relations. Processes of urbanization and industrialization as well as an increased emphasis on "progressive farming" were rapidly changing southwest Michigan, as it shifted from a territorial "frontier" into a state with capitalizable/exploitable lands and labor (see Nassaney et al. 2001 for an extended discussion of these processes in southwest Michigan). The Shoudy site provides insights into how an influx of newcomer-settlers altered economic dynamics and dialogues of gender and good citizenship in the area.

To better understand the material expression of the family's particular socio-economic status, we conducted analysis to calculate the minimum number of vessels (MNV) within the ceramic assemblage recovered from the site. This work occurred from the fall of 2019 and into the summer of 2020. Partway through the MNV analysis the MDOT archaeology lab was closed due to the COVID-19 pandemic and Jeff Burnett continued the work from home in a makeshift lab and photography station (Figure 2). The ceramic assemblage recovered from the Shoudy site is made up of 1673 sherds and 184 vessels and includes several floral decorated transfer print and flow blue ceramics. Some of the most surprising finds were four pairs of transfer-printed vessels with matching decorations, indicating the Shoudys may have purchased some of their ceramics in matched sets. These were surprising, because matched sets are uncommon finds for rural farmsteads in the Midwest during the second half of the 19th century.

The ceramics recovered from the Shoudy site include a minimum of 32 trans-

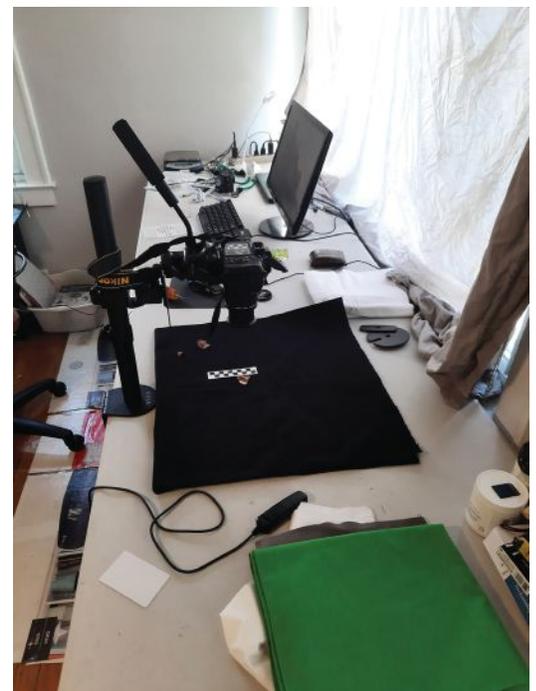


FIGURE 2. (slide show) The home lab used by Jeff Burnett to complete MNV analysis and to photograph artifacts for the forthcoming report to the Michigan State Historic Preservation Office. (Photos by Jeff Burnett.)



FIGURE 3. (slide show) Floral-decorated transfer-printed ceramics recovered from the Shoudy Site (20BE634). (Photos by Jeff Burnett.)

dwelling, European American female social reformers as they dealt with “productive labor” (essentialized as male labor) from the home. The ideology utilized various material expressions of the domestication of nature within the home, including gothic-shaped ceramics and floral-printed wares, to emphasize symbolically the role of white, middle-class women as ministers of the home and to demonstrate their closeness to the divine (Spencer-Wood 1996, 2006). As such, the gender ideology reinforced the myth of “separate spheres” based on presumed biologically determined gender roles and promoted the idea that women should work from home to ensure the moral worth of their families.

fer-printed and flow-printed vessels (71% of the total vessel assemblage). Focusing on ceramic decoration, 20 of the 32 printed vessels (63%) exhibited floral motifs, and of these several had discernible patterns, which enabled us to identify central scenes that also displayed floral/garden motifs. Sixteen of these vessels (80%) were printed in blue, while three were printed in black and one in green. Lastly, three of the four matched pairs were decorated with floral motifs (Figure 3). The uniformity of decorative themes and color in the assemblage, as well as the presence of matched pairs, strongly indicate that the Shoudys purchased ceramic vessels in sets and they were at least somewhat intentional about what patterns they chose.

Archaeological research has connected blue floral-decorated printed wares with the cult of home religion. This was a particular expression of mid-19th-century gender ideologies promoted by middle-class, predominantly urban-

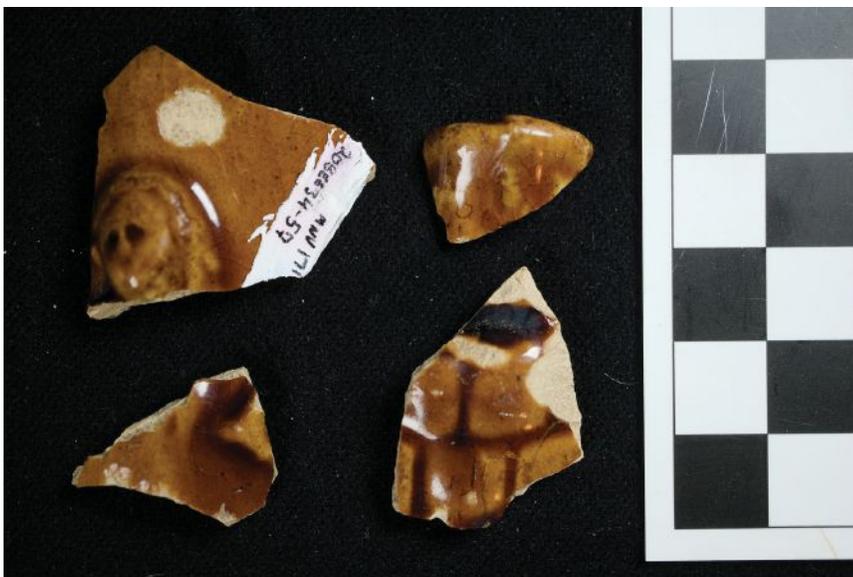


FIGURE 4. Fragments from a Rockingham “Rebekah-at-the-Well” ware teapot depicting a scene from the religious narrative “Rebecca at the Well.” Top left: fragment showing Rebecca; top right: fragment of the spout; bottom left: fragment that seems to show the edge where two of the vessel’s panels met; bottom right: fragment showing the well. (Photos by Jeff Burnett.)

This symbolic pattern is seen in other ceramics from the site, including a gothic paneled Rockingham ware “Rebekah-at-the-Well” teapot (Figure 4). This teapot exhibits both the gothic form and floral/garden motif associated with the gender ideology of the cult of home religion. These symbolic elements are heightened by the specifically religious imagery of the story of Rebecca from the Jewish Tanakh and Mishnah and Christian Bible. We cannot, however, ignore the possibility that the purchase and use of the “Rebekah-at-the-Well” teapot could be related to the eldest Shoudy daughter’s being named Rebecca. This is an interesting possibility, because of (a) the personalized nature of the purchase and the seeming connections between the gendered, moralistic story of the motif that imagined Rebekah as a dutiful, submissive servant to the family and to guests; (b) the ways in which the tea service reproduced that dynamic; and (c) the life of Rebecca Shoudy, who lived at home for years and was, along with Fundy, one of the leaders of the family as the parents aged.

Our analysis of the ceramic assemblage suggests that the Shoudys embodied and performed a particular classed and regional perspective of gender, which they presented to those in their community through the ceramics they used. Theirs was unlikely to have been a common gender ideology or symbolic system in rural southwest Michigan prior to the second half



of the 19th century. However, the presence of these artifacts at the Shoudy site demonstrates that local gender ideology as well as economic relationships were changing in the mid-19th century, though it is not yet possible to say how and the change was throughout southwest Michigan at the time. We view the adult Shoudy children's occupations, rural teachers, the low productivity of their Michigan farm, and their more solidly middle-class experience in New York as reasons why they seemingly performed this specific gender ideology with their ceramic consumption. As teachers, the Shoudys may have held minor leadership roles in the community, and they were also somewhat disconnected from the agricultural labor of their neighbors. They may have believed they were in a position to "educate" their adult neighbors as to proper ways of being American derived from white, middle-class, urbanized gender and consumer ideologies. Lastly, the evidence indicates that the Shoudys were not simply emulating the dominant ideologies of consumerism, but interpreting and engaging with them on their own terms.

We look forward to finishing this study and adding to the archaeological conversations on the radical changes that accompanied 19th-century processes, settler-colonialism, and economic change in southwest Michigan. We again want to thank MDOT and FHWA, who funded this work.

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Educating the Next Generation in Archaeology: Southwest Michigan Fifth-Grade Curriculum, Archaeology CSI (Cultural Scene Investigation) (submitted by Sue Reichert, Western Michigan University)

Abstract: In Michigan, the goals of the educator are to teach their students based on the Common Core and Grade Level Content Expectation (GLCE) curricula mandated by the State of Michigan; one of the needs of the archaeologist is to ensure that the next generation of students are the stewards of our archaeological sites. A program using archaeology to develop critical-thinking, problem-solving, and analytical-reasoning skills was needed in the Michigan public schools' curriculum, but there was no model for it. Fortunately, archaeology is an excellent teaching subject; it is interdisciplinary, participatory, and ideal for developing cognitive and affective skills in children. Archaeologists have ignored working with educators in the past; however, working collaboratively, teachers and archaeologists developed a program for fifth-grade students that met the goals and needs of all involved.

Resumen: En Michigan, las metas del educador son enseñar a sus estudiantes en base a los planes del Common Core y de estudio de las expectativas de contenido de nivel de grado (GLCE, por sus siglas en inglés) exigidos por el estado de Michigan; una de las necesidades del arqueólogo es asegurarse de que la próxima generación de estudiantes sean los administradores de nuestros sitios arqueológicos. Se necesitaba un programa que utilizara la arqueología para desarrollar habilidades de pensamiento crítico, resolución de problemas y razonamiento analítico en el plan de estudios de las escuelas públicas de Michigan, pero no había un modelo para ello. Afortunadamente, la arqueología es una excelente materia de enseñanza; es interdisciplinario, participativo e ideal para desarrollar habilidades cognitivas y afectivas en los niños. Los arqueólogos han ignorado el trabajo con educadores en el pasado; sin embargo, trabajando en colaboración, los maestros y arqueólogos desarrollaron un programa para estudiantes de quinto grado que cumplió con las metas y necesidades de todos los involucrados.

Résumé: Au Michigan, les objectifs de l'éducateur sont d'enseigner à leurs élèves en se basant sur les programmes d'études du tronc commun et des attentes de contenu au niveau de la classe (GLCE) mandatés par l'État du Michigan; l'un des besoins de l'archéologue est de veiller à ce que la prochaine génération d'étudiants soit les gardiens de nos sites archéologiques. Un programme utilisant l'archéologie pour développer des compétences de pensée critique, de résolution de problèmes