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"The True Spirit of Service": Ceramics and Toys as Tools of Ideology at the Dorchester Industrial School for Girls

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“THE TRUE SPIRIT OF SERVICE”: CERAMICS AND TOYS AS TOOLS OF IDEOLOGY AT THE DORCHESTER INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL FOR GIRLS

A Thesis Presented

by

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ABSTRACT

"THE TRUE SPIRIT OF SERVICE": CERAMICS AND TOYS AS TOOLS OF IDEOLOGY AT THE DORCHESTER INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL FOR GIRLS

August 2018

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This thesis examines the ceramics, both full-scale and toy, and dolls recovered from the Industrial School for Girls (1859-1941) in Dorchester, MA, in order to assess the ways in which the Managers who ran the School used material culture to enculturate the girls, as well as how the girls used material culture to shape their own identities. This site provides a unique opportunity to study the archaeology of a single-gender, and predominately single-class and single-age. The Industrial School for Girls, as an institution whose aim was to better the lives of poor girls and give them economic opportunities, as well as to create a better class of domestic servants, embodies the complicated moralities of Victorian domesticity, gentility, and womanhood. Analysis of the function and style of adult and doll scale ceramic vessels indicates the control that the Managers had over the School's material culture and how it was used to expose the girls to the proper goods that would help shape them into successful and well-behaved domestic servants. The ceramic vessels represented some of the forms required by the

etiquette of the time to set a proper dining table, and many of them exhibit Gothic and floral motifs, representing purity and morality in the home. These items suggest that the Managers were making an effort to include the material culture of a proper Victorian home in order to raise their girls to be comfortable in and enculturated to that environment. The porcelain dolls recovered from the site, in both their number and condition, hint at some amount of material self-fashioning among the girls, suggesting that perhaps not all of their experiences were pleasant ones. The fact that so many dolls were discarded in the privy suggests that there was some manner of discontent among the girls that was taken out on their own dolls or the dolls of others.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The girls and women who populated the Industrial School for Girls are missing from most mainstream historical records. Like most women in the Victorian era, they were unable to vote, and unlikely own property or do anything else deemed worthy of recording. The girls who attended the School were also entirely lower-class, which further compounded the lack of attention paid them by the historical sources. As such, archaeology is one of the best ways to recover information about the lives of these girls. The archaeological record does not discriminate on the basis of sex, gender, race, or class. Thus, it can help to tell the stories of those who were largely forgotten by written historical records.

The students at the Industrial School for Girls in Dorchester, MA, were girls, aged 6-15 years, and impoverished. If not for archaeology and the internal records of the School, many of them would likely be lost to history. These lines of evidence are complicated, however, by of the nature of institutional life. In an institution like the Industrial School, many of the choices of daily life would likely have been made for the students, calling into question just how much agency can be read into the archaeological and documentary records.

This thesis examines both the archaeological and documentary records of the Industrial School for Girls in an attempt to determine the amount and nature of

control held by the Managers of the School. Specifically, it examines the ceramics, both adult- and doll-scale, as well as the dolls, from the Industrial School assemblage. As a Victorian era institution predicated on rescuing vulnerable girls from lives of poverty and ruin, control would have been seen as vital to the mission of the Industrial School.

History of the Industrial School for Girls

The Industrial School for Girls was founded in Winchester, MA, in 1853 with the following mission:

> to remove from their miserable homes children whose circumstances surrounded them with temptation, and whose education furnished them with no means of resistance; to train these children to good personal habits; to instruct them in household labor; and to exert a moral influence and discipline over them which should fit them to be able and efficient in domestic service (Industrial School for Girls 1876:3).

The founders were all women, from the upper echelons of Boston society, and a rotating group of women from this segment of society served as the Board of Managers through the years. These women felt that they had a duty to shepherd and protect vulnerable girls from unsuitable homes, where their parents were dead, neglectful, away from home, or otherwise unable to take proper care of them. In these circumstances, the girls were seen as "like fuel stored to feed a devouring fire," in danger of falling victim to and contributing to the evils of the world (Industrial School for Girls 1860:8). The girls were given a basic education, as well as extensive training in all aspects of domestic life. Their training in these areas was almost entirely accomplished through the running of the household. While the School did employ a varying number of servants throughout its history, the vast majority of the work was done by the girls themselves. In 1876, the students "[took] the whole care of the two small furnaces and the range, [made] all the bread, [did] all the cooking and

housework, and some of the washing, with the help of a woman hired by the day" (Industrial School for Girls 1876:5). For the first nearly thirty years of its existence, the girls' days were split in half, with housework and sewing in the mornings and schoolwork in the afternoons (Industrial School for Girls 1904:8). By having the girls themselves do so much of the household labor, the School was less expensive to run and was also able to provide practical experience to its students.

Six years after its founding, the Industrial School moved to a new location on Centre Street in Dorchester. Here, the building it occupied was purpose-built to house the School, a three-story structure with at least twenty-six rooms on an acre and a third of land, as seen in Figure 1 (Industrial School for Girls 1876:3-4). The School remained at this location for the remainder of its existence, until it merged with the New England Home for Little Wanderers in 1941 (Bagley et al. [2018]:51).

Figure 1. The Industrial School for Girls building, as it appeared in 2015 (Joseph Bagley)

The School was built to house thirty girls, which was generally the limit on admission through the years. The girls at the School were usually between the ages of six and fifteen, and they were allowed to remain until they turned eighteen, though the goal was for them to be placed in homes as domestic servants before this time. This placement, called "at service," was another facet of the students' training, and often led to more permanent employment. While at service, the students received room and board, and sometimes clothing and other forms of payment. The School's Board of

Managers kept a careful eye on each of its charges, assigning one Manager to act as guardian for each girl as she went out to service for the first time. The guardian's role was "to inquire into the character of applicants for her services, to take charge of all wages paid by her employer, to make occasional visits, and keep up a correspondence so that the girl may never feel herself forgotten among strangers" (Industrial School for Girls 1876:7). This guardian had authority over the girl until she turned eighteen, after which time attempts were still made to keep in contact and track the girl's progress. It is important to note that the girls admitted to the School were under the legal guardianship of the Managers. Their parent or guardian had to surrender the girl to the School before she was allowed to be admitted. This was one of the ways in which the Managers ensured that they would have control over the lives of their students, in order to shape them as they saw fit.

Project Overview

This thesis aims to address the ways in which the Industrial School for Girls, a Victorian-era institution, was able to control the behaviors and identities of its students. Specifically, it examines the messages perpetuated by the material culture that the girls would have been exposed to on a daily basis, and compares these messages with the stated mission of the School.

To do this, this thesis first addresses the social and historical backdrop against which the Industrial School for Girls was founded. It discusses the Second Great Awakening, the notion of separate spheres, and the Cult of Domesticity, all of which contributed to the idea that morality was something that must be guarded, and that women, in their carefully maintained homes, were best suited to do so. This continues with a discussion of institutions and reform movements, which extended the role of

woman as protector of the home to woman as protector of society. The motivations of female reformers are considered, both selfless and selfish, as they endeavored to save and protect vulnerable women and girls. Then, the thesis examines the ways in which women were seen as vulnerable and in need of control, and how institutions like the Industrial School addressed these concerns.

The thesis next explains how these cultural ideologies, particularly domesticity and morality, were expressed through the material goods that people used every day. It is especially interested in the use of Gothic patterns to explicitly tie the home to the Christian Church (Wall 1991; Fitts 1999; Wall 1999). This leads into a discussion of practice theory, which suggests that people are the product of their behaviors and the material aspects that make up their world. This is one of the framing theories for my thesis, as it describes how the environment that the Industrial School for Girls created for its students could have played a major role in shaping their worldviews and identities.

The work next address more modern critiques of the use of the ideologies of separate spheres and the Cult of Domesticity and explain why it is still relevant to include them in this interpretation. These critiques bring up the importance of intersectionality in studies like this one, which is then discussed through the use of feminist theory. Feminist theory calls on us to question the dominant narratives and begin to understand the complexities of identity. The use of this theory necessitates the consideration and inclusion of gender, class, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, and other factors when interpreting the past and the individuals who made it up. The final theoretical approach is the concept of material self-fashioning, which suggests that people form their identities through their interactions with material culture.

Material self-fashioning is useful in this study as it allows for an investigation of agency and resistance in a population that was otherwise so tightly controlled.

A note is included about the use of institutional records, explaining the biases that must be considered in their interpretation. It specifically addresses the annual reports and monthly secretary reports produced by the Managers of the Industrial School for Girls.

This section concludes with a discussion of the archaeological fieldwork undertaken at the Industrial School for Girls site in 2015 by Boston's City Archaeologist and his crew. This provides an important background for the artifact analysis to follow.

In order to address the main research question, namely how the material culture present at the Industrial School contributed to or was detrimental to the control that the Managers tried to assert over the students, the artifact analysis focuses on the ceramics from the site. This ceramic analysis focuses on both the dishes that were used functionally as well as ceramic toys in the form of toy dishes and dolls. The comparison of the adult-scale and toy-scale ceramics on a stylistic level provides an analysis of the messages about morality and domesticity present in the ceramic vessels that the students would have interacted with on a daily basis. It was theorized that if the two scales of ceramics were stylistically different, this may have represented a disconnect between the messages the girls were receiving in their lessons and those they were reinforcing in their play. A statistical analysis of the decorative elements of the adult- and doll-scale ceramics proves that in fact, there was no significant difference between the two classes. This analysis was subsequently determined to be not particularly useful or meaningful, and the focus of the analysis was switched to the form of function of the ceramic vessels. The vessels identified in

the archaeological assemblage are compared to the tablewares prescribed by the literature of the time, in order to determine how closely the Industrial School adhered to the trappings of a genteel Victorian table. While neither the adult or doll ceramic vessels contained all of the prescribed vessel forms, it is interesting to compare what was present or absent across scales, especially the teawares, which were much more prevalent at the doll scale.

An analysis of the dolls found at the Industrial School indicates that perhaps the Managers' control of the girls was not as complete as the ceramic vessels would suggest. The large number of dolls found in the privy deposit at the site, in combination with many examples of bad behavior described in the private monthly secretary reports, provide a glimpse of the individual agency of the girls at work, rebelling against their circumstances. While they were very much under the control of the Managers in most aspects of their lives, as exemplified by the ceramic analysis, that control could not reach everywhere at all times.

Personal Background

Before the ground had even been broken on the site, I had some ideas about what I hoped we would find. Knowing that this was a school for girls who came from underprivileged backgrounds, and that the women who ran the school were attempting to mold them to fit their own worldview, I could not help but imagine what life would have been like for the girls. I imagined them as resentful, angry at being torn from their families. I pictured simmering frustration, boiling over in small acts of rebellion. As a twenty-first century feminist, I hoped that the archaeological record would contain evidence of these rebellions, proof that some of the girls acted out against the roles they were being forced into.

As it turns out, the actual evidence both supports and refutes my fantasy. On one hand, the internal documents of the Board of Managers for the Industrial School shows that the girls were not nearly as docile and well behaved as the public-facing reports would have one believe. The secretary reports and admission records are full of instances of girls running away, being returned from their places for bad conduct, and general troubles with keeping order at the School. On the other hand, the archaeological record did not produce the evidence of clandestine rebellious behavior that I hoped it might. While we did find the privy the girls would have used, which presumably would have been a logical place to dispose of any illicit materials, it was almost entirely free of smoking pipes, liquor bottles, or anything else that would have been forbidden to the girls. The only exception might be the high number of porcelain doll fragments recovered from the privy vault, as mentioned above.

This experience has forced me to confront the ways in which I have projected my own ideals onto people, especially women, in the past. As much as I would love to think of the Industrial School girls as full-fledged twenty-first century feminists in their own right, it is not right or fair of me to do so. These were complex women and girls, navigating an often-hostile world, and they must be considered within the context of that world. The fact that they may not have rebelled outright against what I may conceive of as the confines of their lives does not make them somehow weak or less-than. If I am disappointed in not finding what I hoped, that says much more about me and my preconceptions and biases than it does about the girls. I am thankful to them and this project for readjusting the lens with which I view the past.

CHAPTER 2

BACKGROUND

The turn of the nineteenth century saw the rise of two major societal changes that would have a significant impact on the worlds of women in America. These two phenomena, the rise of industrialization and the Second Great Awakening, produced effects that cannot easily be separated from one another, so they will be discussed in tandem.

The Second Great Awakening was a rejection of the Calvinist idea of predestination, in which people were destined from birth to either go to heaven or not, so that nothing one did on earth mattered at all in terms of one's ultimate fate (Fitts 1999; Kruczek-Aaron 2015). Predestination did not lend itself to ideas of reform or enforced morality, because nothing could change a person's predetermined outcome. The Second Great Awakening rejected this ideology, instead suggesting that "humans were naturally good and moral creatures who were born into a wicked world" (Fitts 1999:46). This was a rather radical transition in belief, and with it came a shift towards the importance of moral behavior. If children were born without sin, then they must be protected at all costs from any polluting influences. The home was seen as the front line of the battle for morality, and women especially "began to transform their homes into sanctuaries designed to instill their children with Christian values and provide their husbands with refuges from the outside world" (Fitts 1999:47).

Around the same time, the rise of industrialization created a division between home life and the working world, as more and more work was done outside of the home (Morgan 1996:4). Often referred to as "separate spheres," this ideology came to be a real driving force for society and individual identity (Morgan 1996:10; Poovey 1988:8-9). The heart of this ideology was the distinction between men and women, masculinity and femininity. The separate sphere ideology "used the biological differences between women and men to explain other emotional, spiritual, intellectual, and moral differences" (Commachio 1999:20). Men were seen as having the innate ability to succeed in the public, working world, while women were inherently suited to home life. Women were at once too fragile to survive in the public sphere, while also being superior to men in very particular ways. As Purvis states, the "qualities that were supposed to make them [women] superior are precisely those attributes which would have made them particularly suited for supportive, nurturing roles as wives and mothers" (1989:55). At the same time, these traits made women vulnerable and justified inequality. Women were seen as emotional and thus unable to be trusted with such responsibilities as voting and economic participation (Poovey 1988:11). Women were to be appreciated and revered for their mothering and caretaking activities, but these were not "work" on the same scale as that which men did. Men's work required effort and skill, while women's labor was simply a fulfillment of "biological destiny," "a 'natural' activity that required no special skill and … took little effort" (Errington 1995:xiii). Men were expected to provide for the family, while women were expected to protect and safeguard it, maintaining the morality of their men through the home environment.

The notion of separate spheres and the emphasis on the home as a bastion of morality led to a glorification of womanhood and the ideology of the Cult of

Domesticity, also called the Cult of True Womanhood. At its heart, this is the idea that women are responsible for the morality and purity of their homes and families. Much of the basis for this responsibility was credited to the seemingly innate "maternal instinct," which "accounted for the remarkable fact that women were not self-interested and aggressive like men, but self-sacrificing and tender" (Poovey 1988:7). The maternal instinct granted women "extraordinary power over men," as their "stronger moral rectitude and self-control" allowed them to stave off men's baser sexual urges (Poovey 1988:7; Comacchio 1999:22). At the same time, women were expected to help their children become "upstanding, Christian, self-disciplined, and capable adults" (Errington 1995:72). Their inherent morality, it was argued, made them the only ones truly capable of shielding their children from the world and its corrupting influences.

It is crucial to note that the ideologies discussed above were created by and for the middle and upper classes. Gender does not exist in a vacuum, and none of these "women's issues" stand alone. As Morgan notes, gender identity and expression are altered by other relationships like "race, class, and religion" (1996:9). The ideals of the Cult of Domesticity were inexorably tied up with class. If a "real" woman was one who was sheltered from the working world and any and all manual labor, then "truly genteel and pure women could only be a relatively small proportion of the population" (Davidoff 1995:74). Someone, obviously, must do all of the manual labor involved in keeping these women's homes clean and food on their tables. In these cases, it became very convenient to have different standards of "true womanhood" for different social and economic classes. People at the time realized that many women would have to work; this was also a convenient truth because it meant a steady supply of labor for the upper classes. It was believed that "a modified form of the feminine

ideal could be inculcated in working-class girls, and that a modified form of the ideal pattern of domesticity could be designed for them" (Gorham 1987:45). Importantly, these ideals of modified femininity and domesticity for the working-class would have come from upper-class women's ideas of what working-class women were like, not from any real experience. Upper-class notions of lower-class existence, notions of "poverty, squalor, poor housing conditions, lack of hygiene, intermittent patterns of work," were then transposed onto the people themselves; "objective conditions" of life "became defined as the qualities of their personalities" (Purvis 1989:63). Lower-class women were the most vulnerable and the most in need of "saving" – and also the most dangerous. If women were supposed to be the moral foundation of the home, then an amoral woman had the power to infect all who lived beneath her roof. Indeed, "working-class women were often blamed for a host of social problems among the working classes, such as alcoholism, crime, prostitution, spread of disease, a high infant mortality rate, poor educational effort among children and lack of worldly success" (Purvis 1989:66).

Institutions and Reform

A woman's duty of preserving morality extended from the immediate family to the community as a whole, contributing to the rise of reform work and social activism among women. In order to address what they saw as social problems arising from poverty and the debasement of working women, it was imperative to upper-class women that they "rescue" working-class women and girls – and thus preserve society. They had to do it in a way, however, that also preserved their place in society, namely at the top. Reformers were not necessarily thinking only of the interests of those they were presumably serving, though it must be acknowledged that women's reform

movements were motivated at least in part by a desire to improve the lives of fellow women (see Gender and Institutions, below). Behind this charitable work was a desire to keep the lower classes, and especially lower class women, "in their place." As Gorham notes, there was a "desire on the part of reformers to inculcate in working-class girls a twofold sense of subservience, one based on social inferiority as well as on the inferiority of gender" (1987:45-46).

Working-class women had to be at once feminine, moral, and available as cheap labor. As mentioned previously, this was done by "redefining the ideals of femininity upheld for middle-class women into forms more appropriate for their working-class sisters" (Purvis 1989:67). Purvis describes this as the "good worker" and "good domestic servant," as opposed to the "good wife and mother" (1989:67). Domestic service was seen as one of the only appropriate professions for working-class women, as it ensured that they remained in the home, upholding the ideals of domesticity and femininity and ensuring that they stayed out of sight and in their "proper place." Domestic service "was seen as an extension of domesticity, a form of femininity appropriate for girls of the lower orders" (Purvis 1989:67). It was also a way to reinforce class divisions as it ensured that lower-class women remained under the control of higher-class women. Higher-class women could at the same time feel that they were performing a charitable act by allowing the lower-class women to take in the culture of their betters, thereby ostensibly improving their chances in life (ChiefCalf 2002:27). They were able to improve themselves only to a certain point, however, never to such a degree as to challenge the position of the higher-class women. Emphasizing domestic service as a reform tactic and profession for working-class women not only kept women in their place, it also ensured that there would

continue to be a steady stream of well-trained servants for the upper classes (Purvis 1989:67; Spencer-Wood 2009:42).

As the Industrial School Managers themselves admitted, reformers were often motivated by the perceived lack of "good" servants, those who knew their place and did not think themselves too good for the work. As Errington notes, "personal characteristics and willingness to work were of greater importance than skill or training" when it came to choosing suitable servants (1995:142). The Industrial School Managers wrote at length about the faults and flaws of bad servants and those who thought themselves too good for service. They wrote: "half – two-thirds the annoyance, weariness, waste, and positive suffering which arise among us from bad servants, spring from a false and vulgar estimate of service" (Industrial School for Girls 1860:6). Institutions became a place to indoctrinate women and girls into the "true spirit of service" (Industrial School for Girls 1860:7). It was within the institution, and especially the institution's schoolroom, that young girls learned their place. Schools "play an essential role in cultural reproduction," as they are "engaged in a constant process of transmitting ideologies, values and attitudes such that dominant social relations between classes, sexes and ethnic groups are maintained and perpetuated" (Summerfield 1987:149). Institutions like the Industrial School, which are much more immersive and controlling than a traditional school, would have had even more indoctrinating power over their charges. Among the many complaints made about domestic servants was that they "had a propensity to 'ape' their betters and a wish to dress 'above' their station in life" (Purvis 1989:64). By controlling every aspect of the girls' lives from an early age, institutions like the Industrial School attempted to eradicate the root of these behaviors before they could begin.

Gender and Institutions

The Industrial School for Girls was an exception to the majority of institutions that were built by men for women, as a means of control. In the Victorian Era, men often had complete legal control over their female relatives. As such, if the women in their lives displeased them, men could take any action they saw fit; the threat of this possibility was often enough to keep women in line (Spencer-Wood 2009:35). The most common "crimes" that women were punished for were those involving extramarital sex and childbirth out of wedlock, exemplifying the "systematic patriarchal control of women's bodies and their sexuality" (Spencer-Wood 2009:35). The prevailing cultural belief held that women were inherently moral and pure, and thus any woman who stepped outside of the boundaries of male control was to be reviled and shamed. Due to this belief in the purity and morality of women, early prisons did not include space for women and it took time for institutions for women to be created because it was not thought that women could ever do anything necessitating institutionalization (Spencer-Wood 2009:36).

Institutions were seen as "substitutes for homes," providing the structure of a home and a family to those who needed it. As we have seen, and will continue to see, women and girls were intimately tied to the home and family life, so to be without these things put them in grave danger. These women and girls were at risk of becoming untethered from proper society; nothing was more dangerous than a woman who did not know her place. The vast majority of these women's institutions focused on domestic work. As Davidoff notes, this was used both as a means of control and as training for life outside the institution (1995:25-26). Women and girls were socialized into "proper" female roles, like cleaning and sewing, and also cleansed themselves, scrubbing away the corruption of their previous lives. Housework was a repetitive,

never completed task that was an effective tool to keep women in their place. Its eternal nature ensured that a woman could never leave the home, because there was always more to do. Furthermore, housework was not a productive task; it did not give women anything they could point to as the product of their labor (de Beauvoir 2009). The only "product" was a clean home, the bare minimum expected of a woman in society. Women were marginalized and kept in their private sphere, which was an effective means of control for those who ran institutions. The women they trained and sent into the world would, they hoped, find domestic employment and be confined to the home, where they could do no damage.

When women were institutionalized, male domination continued through the coercion of women's unpaid labor. Marxist-feminist theory explains that capitalism is gendered in such a way that women's unpaid domestic labor is simultaneously devalued by men while it is essential to the continuation of the capitalist system (Spencer-Wood 2009:37). This was the case within institutions, as women were forced to do domestic tasks, like sewing and laundry, for no pay to both keep the institution running and provide financial support to it. At the same time, this unpaid institutional labor "contributed to the maintenance of nonliving wages for women's work outside of the institution," which in turn led more and more women to have to resort to thievery or prostitution to survive, creating a vicious cycle (Spencer-Wood 2009:38).

Not all institutions were dominated by men, however. Some Victorian women demonstrated their social agency by creating their own institutions for other women (Spencer-Wood 2009:40). This was acceptable in the patriarchal system due to the belief that the morality and purity of women made them uniquely suited to carry out charity and social justice work. Just because an institution was run by women,

however, did not mean that it was necessarily more progressive. In fact, female-led institutional reform actually increased the number of women who were incarcerated, as the middle-class women running the institutions strictly enforced their own ideals of true womanhood (Spencer-Wood 2009:42). "Reforming" women for minor infractions may have been a self-serving plan on the part of the middle-class women to "address the shortage of adequately trained servants" at the time (Spencer-Wood 2009:42). Thus, while institutional reform may have helped to alleviate some of the abuses suffered by female inmates, it did not necessarily change societal attitudes towards women's behavior and in fact may have actually increased pressures on women to conform.

At the same time, domestic reformers could be said to be among the forerunners of the women's rights movement. They aimed to make women economically independent, and thus increase their status, by "transforming housework into skilled occupations for which wages could be demanded" (Spencer-Wood 1987a:11). Increasing the status of women, they argued, would improve quality of life for them and their families, and cut down on disease and other public health concerns associated with poverty. It is interesting to note that in some cases the middle- and upper-class women who were the main advocates of the domestic reform movement focused their efforts entirely on working-class women, and "saw no need to improve their own status" (Spencer-Wood 1987a:14). Improving the lives of women, in their eyes, only extended to the very poor who needed to work to support themselves, not to the more well-to-do. This seems to highlight the mindset of the Victorian advocate of women's rights, focusing only on labor and not on what we today might consider more fundamental human rights.

It has been challenging, throughout this study, to come to terms with the roles and intentions of the female reformers in general, and the Managers of the Industrial School in particular. On the one hand, these women genuinely believed that they were doing good work and in many cases were ahead of their time in terms of social justice. On the other, looking back it is possible to see their motivations as less than purely good. It is difficult to reconcile these two equally true and yet seemingly contradictory facts, and perhaps they should not be reconciled but set alongside one another to be wrestled with and considered. This thesis has attempted to keep a relatively neutral approach, presenting both aspects of the female-led reform movement without passing undue judgment.

Domesticity and Morality in Material Culture

These new ways of thinking about womanhood and the role of women in the home were also played out in the material culture. Women used material goods to make their homes into the moral sanctuaries that they were expected to be, in order to protect their families and encourage their goodness and purity (Kruczek-Aaron 2015:15). The prevailing wisdom, as well as the threat of shame from neighbors and the community, encouraged the adoption of the symbols of a proper Christian home (Fitts 1999:48). These symbolic objects would aid in the performance of moral behaviors and help to create an atmosphere that would protect the family members from polluting outside influences, and spread that atmosphere of purity and salvation to the world beyond as well (Fitts 1999; Wall 1999; Kruczek-Aaron 2015).

Advice literature suggested that the family should surround themselves with Christian symbols and goods that would help to foster a Christian environment (Fitts 1999:47). Gothic-style tablewares, usually in white ironstone, reflected the design of

churches, explicitly tying the home to religion and morality (Wall 1991:78). These plain white dishes were also tied to purity and modesty (Fitts 1999:58). Another way to create the proper home environment was to incorporate nature and nature motifs into the home. Proximity to nature was thought of as representing closeness to God, and a natural environment was healthier for the body and mind (Fitts 1999:48). These beliefs manifested in the use of nature motifs on material goods throughout the home, as well as in the creation of gardens and collections of potted plants. Fitts found that nearly every household assemblage he studied from the Atlantic Terminal area in Brooklyn contained "Gothic ceramics, household furnishings with floral and naturalistic motifs, and flowerpots," indicating the pervasiveness of these symbols of morality and virtue in Victorian homes.

Practicality was also important to maintaining a proper, moral home. Advice and design literature at the time emphasized modesty and restraint, always being sure to constrain one's choices in material culture to one's proper station in life (Kruczek-Aaron 2015:35). Quality and cleanliness were more important than keeping up with the latest fashions.

In some instances, however, fashion and morality were inextricable. Gentility was intimately connected to morality and respectability, and these material symbols were part of maintaining a genteel status in society. Additionally, etiquette, especially at the dining table, was key to maintaining one's place in the middle class and ensuring that one's children continued on in that same place. The ritual of dining was a way to display one's knowledge of genteel etiquette, and table manners were believed to be "a direct reflection of [one's] morality" (Fitts 1999:49). This was important not just in public but in private as well, and the emphasis in dining was much more on the form of service than the substance of the meal (Wall 1991; Fitts

1999). Teawares are taken to represent the public face put forward when entertaining, and the style of teawares reflects the message behind that face. Wall found that the upper-middle-class household in her study had two sets of teawares, a Gothic-style ironstone set for use with the family and a porcelain set for use with guests (1991:79). This implies that family teas reinforced the same ideals of morality and religion as did dinners, while teas with guests served to highlight the family's gentility and refinement (Wall 1991:79). The lower-middle-class household had only one set of teawares, a Gothic-style ironstone set, which indicates that they were not trying to impress their guests with their refinement but instead emphasizing community values (Wall 1991:79).

A specific set and style of ceramic dishes was considered necessary to set the proper genteel Victorian table. As mentioned above, teawares were an important symbol of both the outward- and inward-facing life of the family. Matched sets of ceramic dishes reinforced ideas of order and symmetry, as well as a sense of community (Fitts 1999:50; Wall 1999:113). Fitts found that the household assemblages he investigated all contained at least one set of matching, or complementary, ceramic vessels, suggesting that this concept of stylistic uniformity was an important one at the time (1999:52). In addition to being stylistically similar, a genteel Victorian dining table had to contain specific vessels. The nineteenth century saw the rise of specialized vessel forms to conform to the etiquette of the time, which prohibited the sharing, or mixing of foods (Fitts 1999:52-53). Fitts identifies 20 unique vessel forms which made up the standard genteel dining set: "dinner plates, soup plates, twifflers, muffin plates, sauce tureens, a soup tureen, a variety of platters in different sizes, covered serving dishes, open serving dishes, bakers, a butter dish, a

pitcher, and a gravy boat," as well as a tea service including "cups, saucers, a tea pot, a slop bowl, a sugar, a creamer, and often muffin plates" (Fitts 1999:53).

Practice Theory

A material culture approach to the Victorian ideologies of domesticity and womanhood necessitates the use of practice theory. Practice theory, originating from Bourdieu (1977, 1984, 1990), suggests that people are the product of their behaviors and practices. A significant element of these behaviors and practices is the material objects that are involved; their use in these behaviors grants them meaning in the cultural reproduction that results. These objects become an integral part of doxa, the experience of social practices as self-evident due to their constant repetition (Bourdieu 1984:471).

When practices and structures are so engrained in the culture and in one's own mind, they become accepted as natural. This is an important tool of the dominant culture in keeping the "other" in their place. If people are continuously told, through word, action, and material culture, that they occupy a particular place in the world, then they will come to believe it. They will "learn their place" to the extent that they will accept and reinforce that place for themselves (Bourdieu 1984:471). They will police themselves and their place to such an extent that those in power no longer need to do it.

Thus, material culture is an important tool by which the dominant majority can enforce and reproduce their status and the status of those they dominate. Material goods form a significant aspect of the social and cultural structures which create the social order, and continued exposure to certain goods, access to which is controlled by the dominant majority, can create within the dominated group a sense of their place

and situation as natural to the extent that they will reproduce it on their own. These goods contain messages about social status and power, and so they must be taken seriously in the archaeological record. It is through this kind of analysis, the lens of practice theory, that archaeologists can begin to understand the relationship between material culture and larger social structures (Preucel and Mrozowski 2010:132).

Material Self-Fashioning

Material self-fashioning refers to the ways in which individuals utilize objects, in any number of ways, to define their identity. The objects in question do not need to be things they themselves own or have access to, but can also include things they have seen or only know about. These can be things they like, hate, desire, or reject (Goetz 2013:3). The ways in which individuals react to objects or the idea of objects is a means of constructing themselves.

Material self-fashioning is related to practice theory, as both are interested in the ways that repeated practices and familiar objects construct a life, but while practice theory refers to habits that are often unrecognized, material self-fashioning can be quite a bit more deliberate. Material self-fashioning is important to this study as it gives the girls of the Industrial School back some of the agency that was otherwise stripped from them.

Critiques of Separate Spheres and Cult of Domesticity

Some scholars have come to criticize the frameworks of separate spheres and the Cult of Domesticity. They argue that the concept of separate spheres has become something of a crutch for historians, an accepted truth to fall back on without question (Kerber 1988). Several authors claim that separate spheres and the Cult should be seen as serving women, rather than entirely oppressing them. Women, they argue,

utilized the ideas of purity and morality ascribed to them by these ideologies to wield power over the men in their lives (Kerber 1988; Kelley 2001; Hewitt 2002). Some have claimed that women used the power of their separate sphere to assert some amount of control over their lives, including sexual control that led to a lower birth rate (Degler 1981). Others suggest that upper class women exploited these ideologies to maintain their status and continue to oppress those of the lower classes (Kerber 1988; Kelley 2001; Hewitt 2002; Roberts 2002). It has also been claimed that the separation of spheres strengthened female relationships by forcing women to turn to each other for help and support (Kerber 1988).

These arguments have been made to claim that women were not as powerless as the ideologies of separate spheres and the Cult of Domesticity might otherwise suggest, and thus that perhaps these frameworks are not entirely relevant to our current understanding of this period of the nineteenth century. While each of these critiques likely comes from a place of truth, as the ways in which individuals experience cultural ideologies are as varied as the individuals themselves, I do not agree that this means that these frameworks are irrelevant. These ideologies were incredibly prevalent at this time in history, and whether consciously or subconsciously, they shaped the lives of the women and girls touched by the Industrial School for Girls, restricting the paths and practices available to them and to most women of the era. Thus, they are important frameworks to consider for the present study. It is true that a singular focus on separate spheres and the Cult can leave out the importance of intersectionality, focusing on gender to the exclusion of race, class, and other categories (Kerber 1988; Roberts 2002). This is why a feminist approach is crucial.

A Feminist Approach

It is important to approach the present study, and any research focusing on girls and women, from a feminist perspective. Girls and women are overwhelmingly underrepresented throughout traditional historical narratives; these narratives tend to reflect their authors, who are nearly always wealthy, powerful, straight, cisgender, white men. Women are left out of first-hand accounts, which leads to a lack of women in history altogether. If those who are recording history are the same as those who are writing about and studying it later on, there is little motivation to change the narrative. As Purvis neatly puts it, "men have defined their experiences as '*history*' and left women out" (1989:13). When women are included in history, they have generally been presented in the context of the men in their lives, as supporting members rather than full actors in their own right.

A feminist approach to history and archaeology is vital because it begins to question the objectivity of traditional historical narratives. It draws attention to the people and events that have been overlooked and provides a plurality of voices. Through a feminist lens, gender is explicitly acknowledged and treated as a factor of importance rather than taken for granted, and women are seen as actors, not merely passive beings to whom things happen (Purvis 1989:14; Gero and Conkey 1991:23; Spencer-Wood 1999:163). This is especially important for lower-class women, as they are even more likely to have been forgotten by history. Feminism can provide insight into the intersections between gender, class, race, and other identities, all of which have tended to be overlooked by traditional historical narratives. The Industrial School for Girls provides an interesting opportunity to study the intersections of gender and class, as it was an environment in which a group of privileged women controlled a group of poor girls.

It is important to note, of course, that many believe that sex and gender are social constructions that have little bearing on reality (Foucault 1978; Butler 1988; Herdt 1994; Morris 1995). There has been a long-standing assumption in archaeological discourse that male and female, man and woman are binary opposites and meaningful categories. This idea states that sex is biological and gender is cultural and that the two are linked, with gender identity following from biological sex (Ghisleni, Jordan, and Fioccoprile 2016). As research evolves and becomes more nuanced, however, it becomes apparent that this idea of biological sex and its ties to identity are not as irrefutable as they first appeared (Ghisleni, Jordan, and Fioccoprile 2016). Identity is much more complex than this and it is not possible to project current ideas of how biology affects identity onto the past. As Ghisleni, Jordan, and Fioccoprile state, "genitalia do not necessarily emerge as the most significant points of reference for social recognition as a man or woman" in studies of the past (2016:771). However, these categories of sex and gender, and the relationship between them, were perceived as real by the dominant society in the Victorian era, and are to a lesser extent to this day, so it is necessary to address them in meaningful ways. These categories and all of the societal norms and structures built around them had real and lasting impacts on the lives of people, so they cannot be ignored. We cannot know for sure how the students and adults at the Industrial School for Girls self-identified, but all of the associated documents give at least a picture of how society identified them. This provides a starting point for analysis, while still keeping in mind that the identity society prescribed may not have encompassed all of the complexities of the individual.

The Archaeology of Childhood

The same cultural prejudices and conceptions that have caused archaeology to overlook the role of women have also contributed to the overlooking of children. Both women and children have been connected to the domestic sphere, which has been undervalued throughout much of history (Spencer-Wood 2014). While the archaeology of childhood arose from "feminist critiques of the neglect of women's roles in archaeological analyses", feminist archaeology has not addressed the subject in much depth (Spencer-Wood 2014; Baxter 2017). As is the case with much of archaeology in general, feminist archaeology has largely overlooked the place of children, treating age as a homogenous category (Wilkie 2000a:148). However, children must be treated as actors in their own right, not simply objects to be acted upon.

Artifacts related to children, specifically toys, are not always considered by archaeologists to be completely the domain of children, in order to avoid putting modern interpretations on people in the past (Sofaer-Derevenski 1994; Wilkie 2000a:149). In historical archaeological contexts, however, it is more clear that certain objects are in fact toys and were more than likely used by children. Not simply playthings, it is important to acknowledge the larger cultural roles of toys. These objects were most often provided by adults and thus "represent adults' attempts to suggest and enforce certain norms of behavior for a child based upon gender, age, socioeconomic class, and even sociocultural ideals of beauty" (Wilkie 2000a:149). Play, then, is a "mediator of cultural transmission between the child's world and the adult world", as adults use toys, among other things, to attempt to guide play to shape children according to their cultural conceptions (Lillehammer 2015:79). Children, meanwhile, respond to and act against these forces and conceptions through their

play. As toys are the objects most readily attributed to children in the archaeological record, it is mainly through play that archaeologists can see the actions and identities of children (Lillehammer 2015:79). It is important, when considering such factors as gender, race, and class at the Industrial School, that we do not forget that these girls were children.

A Note about Institutional Records

Throughout this thesis, I will make reference to and cite from internal and external documents written by the Managers of the Industrial School for Girls. To put these in their context and use them responsibly, I present these thoughts on the use of institutional records.

Institutional records were nearly always created by those who ran the institution and thus came from a place of power. The people in the institution were presented as the management saw them, which may have been quite different than how those individuals would have seen themselves. As discussed previously, the lower classes were generally seen to be at best weak and at worst dangerous. These ideas color the way that they were written about and, because we almost never find documents written by the lower classes themselves, we rarely have a more balanced view of their lives. In the Industrial School records, we had access to annual reports and monthly secretary reports, which were created to serve two different audiences and purposes.

External-facing institutional documents, such as annual reports, were created to serve a specific function in furthering the goals of the institution. To that end, they may have presented a more or less positive view of the goings-on within the organization, to either prove that the work was valuable or to elicit more support,

financial or otherwise. Anything that did not fit in with the picture they wanted to show to the intended audience would have been ignored, leaving potentially significant gaps in the documentary record. In particular, anything that could have been harmful to the reputation of the institution, such as records of failure or mistreatment, were unlikely to have been included in these types of documents. While some less than positive anecdotes may have been included to showcase the need for more outside support, these would have been only minor problems, not anything that would show the institution in a poor light. Thus, we are unlikely to see any major issues in the documents created by the institution for the broader public, meaning that if we are not careful, we may be led to believe that these institutions were overwhelmingly successful and positive influences on the community. It is crucial to remember that we are not seeing the entire picture in these external records, only what the institution wanted to show to the world. This is why it is valuable to combine documentary research with archaeological research in these cases.

Despite these major limitations, however, annual reports do hold some significant research potential. Because they were often used for partially administrative functions, as in reporting to stakeholders and donors, these records may include quantitative data on the day-to-day operations of the institution. Expenditures, donations, intake and outtake of residents, and other similar types of information were often included in reports. While these can still be subject to reporting bias, they are potentially more likely to be accurate than more qualitative data such as quality of life and participant satisfaction. Participant rosters can provide the names, ages, and other biographical information of those served by the institution, enabling further research into their lives and possibly presenting opportunities to find records of institutional life from their perspective. Expenditures and donation lists can

be particularly useful archaeologically because they give us an idea of the material culture that was present in the institution. We can potentially learn the types of foods that were served, the clothes that were provided, the recreational activities that were available, and many other insights into the everyday lives of those within the institution.

At a broader level, annual reports provide insights into the ideology behind the institution. While this is sometimes a source of significant bias in the recording process, it can also be a strength. Understanding the purpose behind the institution allows us to begin to understand how it may have been run and what may have been involved in life there. These organizations were generally explicit in outlining their goals and objectives and what they expected of those they served, topics that are mostly lacking in the more day-to-day records found in the monthly secretary reports. This can be particularly useful for us as modern archaeologists with the twofold disadvantage of generally having access to only the mute architecture and material culture and of being from a different time when the ideologies of the past are no longer with us in most cases. Having these documents to explain, although in nonobjective ways, what the people who made these sites were thinking and planning is a rare gift for the historical archaeologist.

A more comprehensive, less edited narrative of events at the School can be found in the internal-facing, monthly secretary reports, the minutes of each monthly meeting of the Board of Managers. These were unpublished, internal documents, and they record the minutiae of the day-to-day operations of the School. As they were not published, there was not the same impulse to "put on a good face" or play up certain aspects of the School for the sake of donors and the watching public. Clearly bias remains; the women on the Board brought all of their preconceived notions about the

poor and disadvantaged and their ideations about the necessity and righteousness of the work they were doing. However, with the gloss of the public presentation stripped away, a much more realistic picture of life at the School can be found in these internal documents.

Taking these two types of documents together provides a multi-faceted picture of the Industrial School, both how it wished to be seen and how it was more realistically. For example, the annual reports seem to play down tensions and difficulties with the students, while the secretary reports detail many disciplinary issues and dissatisfactions. Archaeology can serve as an interface between the two types of records, providing a way to test the veracity of the claims made by each. It can also shed light on aspects of life at the School that were not recorded at all. Of course, no analysis, documentary or archaeological, can reveal the true picture of life at the Industrial School, but combining and comparing these lines of evidence can provide a clearer view than either on its own.

Archaeological Background

The site of the Industrial School for Girls is located at 232 Centre Street in Dorchester, Massachusetts (Figure 2). The original structure was purpose-built to house the School in 1858, when the School moved from Winchester to Dorchester. The 1859 annual report explains "the house which we rented in Winchester was inconvenient for so many reasons that we decided to leave it" (Industrial School for Girls 1860:3). After an extensive search, the Managers "bought an acre and a third of land on Centre Street, Dorchester" and built "an excellent, well-arranged house, with suitable bed-rooms, a good school-room, dining-room, kitchen, laundry and play-

room" (Industrial School for Girls 1860:3-4). The total cost for the building project was $13,097.28 (Industrial School for Girls 1860:4).

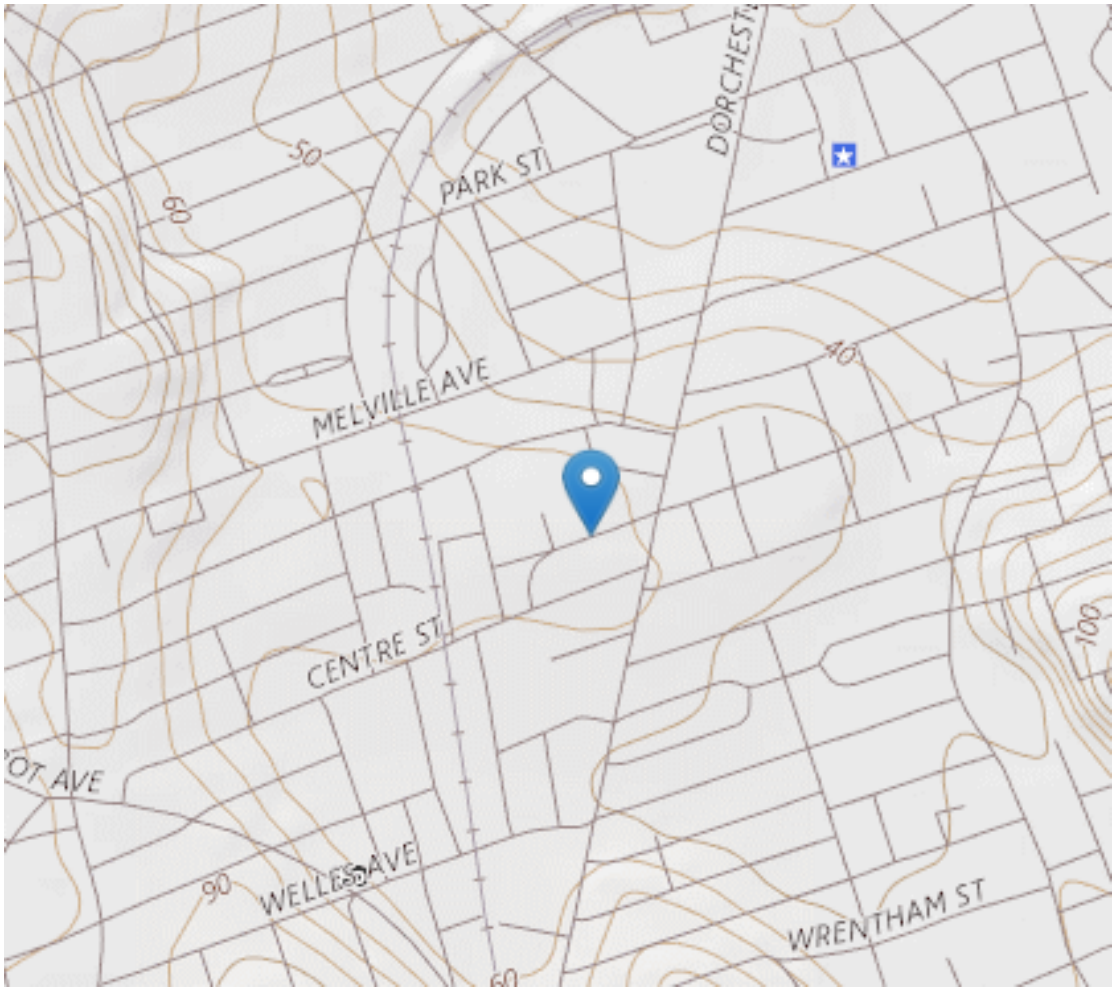

Figure 2. 2018 USGS map showing the location of the Industrial School for Girls (United States Geological Survey)

The original structure still stands today and has changed little, at least from the outside. The building is currently owned by the Epiphany School, a tuition-free middle school serving economically disadvantaged children in Dorchester, and is used to house some of that school's teaching staff (Epiphany School, Inc. 2015:8). Around 2014, the Epiphany School announced their intention to demolish the Industrial School and construct an early childhood education center on the Centre Street property. This proposal caught the attention of the Dorchester Historical Society, who

went to the City of Boston Landmark Commission for assistance in keeping this historic structure standing. The Historical Society had hoped to acquire landmark status for the building, thus preventing any changes from taking place. While the application for landmark status was not approved, this process did put the City's Landmarks Commission in contact with the Epiphany School directors. The City expressed its desire that the original building should be saved, if possible, and the Epiphany School agreed to modify their plans to avoid demolition and instead build a new structure in an L shape, preserving the School building (Epiphany School, Inc. 2015:11). Given that the School sits on a large parcel of land, this left the Epiphany School with plenty of room for their ambitious construction.

While the negotiations between the Landmarks Commission and the Epiphany School were going on, however, the City Archaeologist Joseph Bagley had begun to take an interest in the project, as a staff member of the Landmarks Commission engaged in discussions with Epiphany. Saving the original structure was undoubtedly a victory for historic preservation, but the City Archaeologist realized that the proposed construction would still impact the historical nature of the site. Deeds research and historic property maps revealed that this particular parcel of land had been undeveloped up to 1858, and had not been dramatically altered since then. This meant that there was the potential for an incredibly rich archaeological deposit in the yard surrounding the School, and that it likely was relatively intact. Learning this, the City Archaeologist began a conversation with the Epiphany School. As the land is privately owned and not landmark designated, the City could not require Epiphany to do any archaeological work, but the City Archaeologist made the case for having it done regardless, emphasizing the free archaeological services that the City Archaeology Program could provide, the unique nature of the potential deposits, and

the possibilities for using the archaeology as an engagement tool for Epiphany's students. Epiphany agreed, and archaeological mitigation occurred during the permitting and public hearing phases of the new school project, with no impact to the planned construction schedule.

The City Archaeologist conducted deed research on the parcel of land where the Industrial School sits today, and found a relatively limited history. The specific parcel first appears in records in the 1840s, when two parcels are transferred from Asa Robinson to James Hildreth (Bagley 2015a:7). By 1850, a building appears on the parcel, though not in the vicinity of the portion where the School stands (Bagley 2015a:7). After changing hands several more times, the parcel was divided into sixths, but appears to have only ever been agricultural land until it was purchased to build the School in 1858 (Bagley 2015a:7). Thus, no earlier archaeological deposits were expected before work began.

Figure 3. 1874 G.M. Hopkins map showing location of the carriage house (Ward Maps LLC)

An 1874 G.M. Hopkins atlas map, seen in Figure 3, shows a smaller wooden structure behind and to the left of the School building, marked with an "X", which indicates that it is a carriage house (Bagley 2015a:10; Bagley et al. [2018]:19). Subsequent maps still show this building, but it is never again marked with an "X". A permit from 1950, in which this structure is requested to be torn down, gives its dimensions as 18 feet by 14 feet, a one-story structure called a "shed" (Bagley 2015a:11; City of Boston Building Department 1950). The secretary's monthly reports from the Industrial School many times make mention of a "shed." The first such mention is in March of 1861, when the managers discuss laying down a "plank

walk… between the house + the shed, as it was frequently muddy" (Industrial School for Girls 1861[3]). Based on these lines of evidence, as well as knowledge of other properties from this time period, the City Archaeologist decided to focus the project on attempting to find the carriage house, as it was thought that it would be a likely location for a privy. Since the property did not receive running water until 1879, it was assumed that there must have been a privy on the property somewhere. The yard is very large and open, so it was not going to be possible to survey the entire space in the time allotted and with volunteer labor. Thus, it became necessary to make an educated guess and excavate only in the most likely areas. That is why it was determined to focus the search on the location of the carriage house.

In July of 2015, the City Archaeologist and a group of volunteers started work at the Industrial School for Girls site. The project began with a series of test trenches, mostly located in the vicinity of a demolished porch. The initial hypothesis was that this porch was likely built on top of the former carriage house, perhaps incorporating its foundation into the porch's construction (Bagley 2015a:6). Fifteen 2 x 0.5 meter trenches, four 1 x 0.5 meter trenches, and nine judgmental test pits were placed and excavated, revealing mostly twenty-first century fill and old utility lines (Bagley 2015b:8). The carriage house was not found under the porch, contrary to the original theory, and it began to look as though a larger survey grid would need to be established. One of the final trenches (N103 E90), however, revealed a small portion of a 0.5 meter wide stone foundation wall, and the archaeologists resolved to follow this wall in hopes that it might be the carriage house (Bagley 2015b:12). A series of ten zig-zagging 2 x 0.5 meter trenches was laid out to maximize the possibility of hitting the wall in each, regardless of where the corners ended up being located, and so that the inside and outside of the structure could be seen in each trench (Bagley

2015b:12). A plan of the excavation units in Phase 1 can be seen in Figure 4. The archaeologists were unsure if the potential privy would be located inside or outside of the carriage house, so this plan guaranteed that they would have the best chance of seeing it either way.

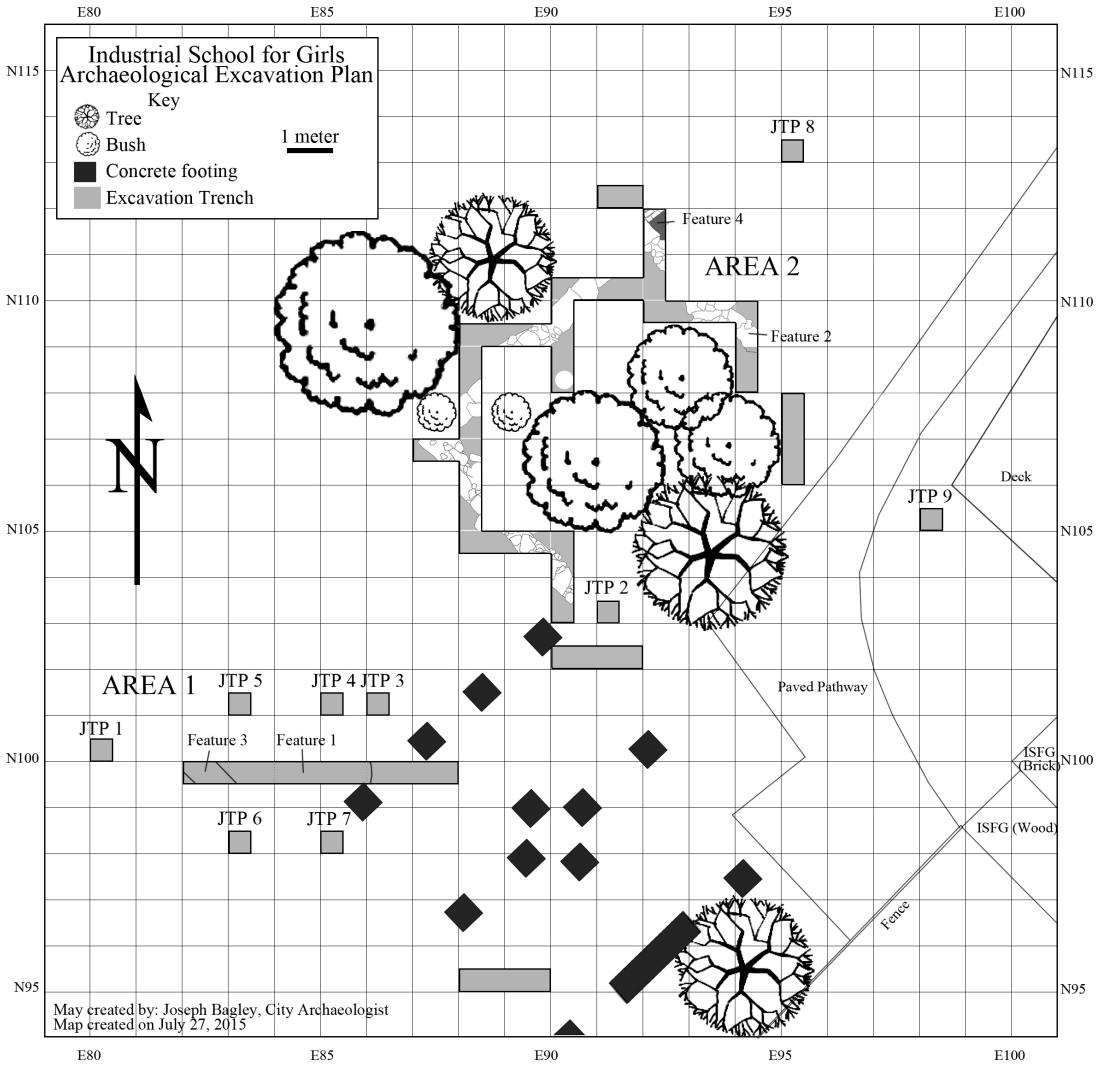

Figure 4. Plan of Phase 1 excavation units (Joseph Bagley)

The zig-zag layout of the trenches worked as planned, and all but the street-facing walls of the carriage house were revealed, giving a clear picture of the dimensions of the structure. At the northeast corner, the edge of a two-brick-wide wall was uncovered, extending out from the exterior corner of the stone foundation

(Bagley 2015b:12). The archaeologists excavated along this wall, designated Feature 4, to determine if it was in fact a wall of any substance, and it was found to go down at least 1 meter below datum before encountering large cobbles (Bagley 2015b:12). This was the best evidence that the archaeologists had yet found for a privy, and it was located in a reasonable spot for one: at the far end of the carriage house furthest from the house, but still within a clear, short, level walk from the building. This made sense in terms of minimizing smells but also ensuring that the girls did not have far to walk to the privy in inclement weather.

Meanwhile, there was also an unexpected discovery at the opposite end of the dig site. One of the test trenches (N99 E86/87) had uncovered the edge of what appeared to be a trash deposit, filled with coal ash and large ceramic sherds (Bagley 2015b:8). As this had been found in the end of the trench, one 2 x 0.5 and two 1 x 0.5 meter trenches were added on to the west to follow the deposit. Each additional trench came down upon the same layer of coal ash and partially intact artifacts, designated Feature 1 (Bagley 2015b:8). It was not clear from the documentary research what this deposit could be, and most of the ceramics that could be seen on the surface appeared to predate the opening of the School. With these results in hand, the City Archaeologist applied for a Phase II permit to investigate Features 1 and 4 more thoroughly.

Feature 1

Phase II of the project began in August 2015 with the goal of excavating the entirety of the trash pit feature and following the brick wall abutting the carriage house to determine if it was in fact the privy. Seven 0.5 x 0.5 meter judgmental test pits were dug in a radius around the 1 x 4 meter trench over the trash pit in an attempt

to determine its extent (Bagley 2015b:8). When all of these test pits failed to uncover the trash pit, it was decided to excavate a 2 x 4 meter area around the original trench (Bagley et al. [2018]:33). The trash pit ended up being only slightly wider than the original trench that uncovered it. In the end, the feature measured 6.5 x 0.7 meters, appearing as a long, narrow trench filled with mainly coal ash and burned ceramics extending diagonally away from the main School and shed buildings (Bagley et al. [2018]:33).

Industrial School for Girls site
Plan of units within features 1 and 3

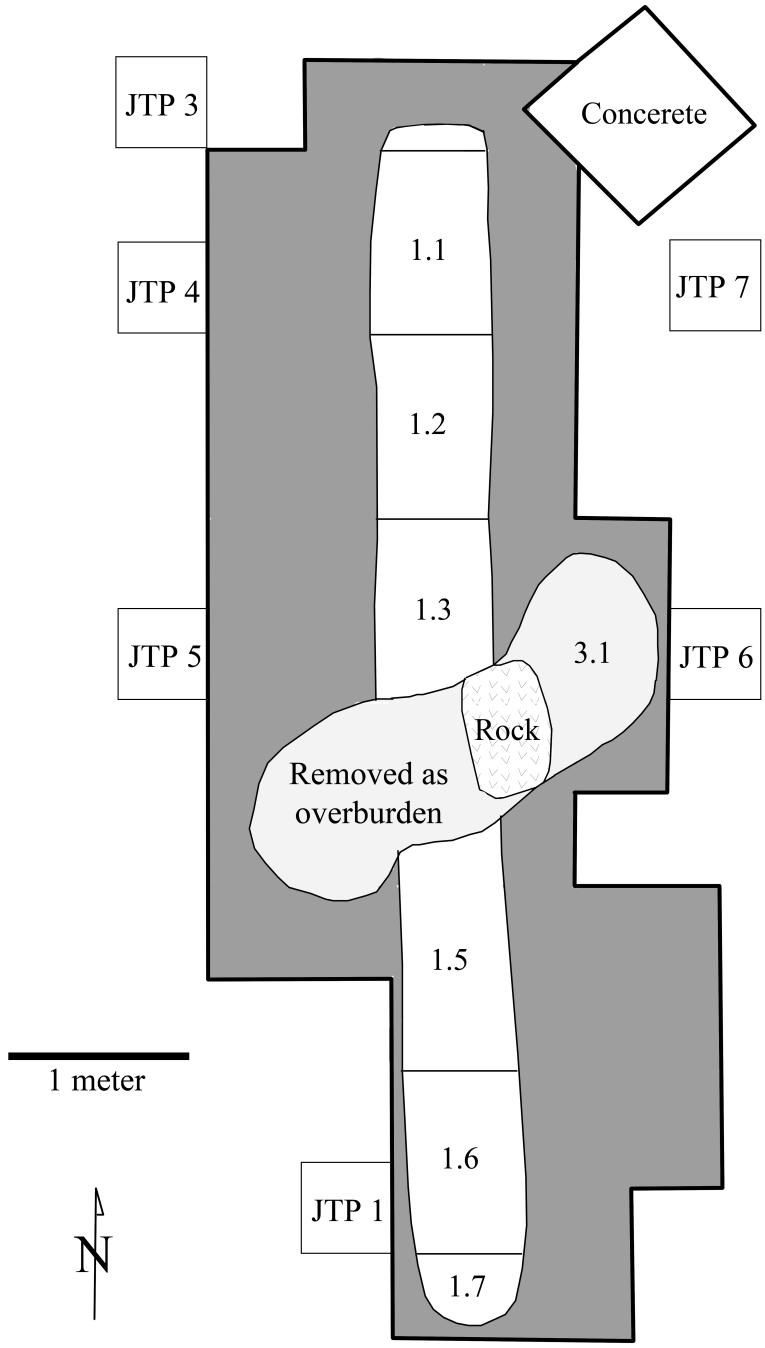

Figure 5. Plan of Feature 1, showing unit locations (Joseph Bagley)

The entire feature, designated Feature 1, was excavated in 1 x 0.7 meter units, designated 1.1-1.7; 1.7 was smaller than the rest, only 0.5 x 0.7 meters (Bagley et al.

[2018]:34). A plan of the feature and its excavation units can be seen in Figure 5. Each of these units was excavated in 0.1 meter arbitrary levels, as no discernable strata could be seen (Bagley et al. [2018]:34). The contents of the feature were screened through 1/8 inch mesh. This lack of strata, along with the fact that similar ceramics were found across the feature, led the archaeologists to speculate that this trench represented a single deposition episode (Bagley et al. [2018]:39). The trench appeared in profile as a nearly-square cut through natural A, B, and C soil horizons, with an artificial slope downwards towards the southern end created by a later grading episode (Bagley et al. [2018]:34).

A diagonal cut was found running across Feature 1 in the vicinity of unit 1.4 and initially caused concern because it was thought that it could be a grave cut. No bones or grave goods were found within it, however, only a large puddingstone boulder (Bagley et al. [2018]:35). It was determined that this cut, designated Feature 3, was likely dug to deposit this stone and was unrelated to Feature 1, though it contained artifacts that likely originated in Feature 1 suggesting Feature 3 was of a later date.

A search of the Industrial School's monthly secretary reports turns up several references to ashes and their disposal, though none provides hard evidence that would give a date to this particular deposit. The first mention of ashes is in July of 1862, when the secretary states, "the cellar had been cleaned of ashes" (Industrial School for Girls 1862[7]). She goes on to say that a discussion was begun about where the ashes were to be kept going forward, which picks up in August of that year when she writes "that the ashes were to be carried into the shed + placed in iron barrels – a man to come + empty them into a heap on the grounds" (Industrial School for Girls 1862[8]). This apparently did not come to pass exactly as planned, however, as in

November of 1863 the report mentions a suggestion by Mrs. May that "a place should be prepared in the cellar where the ashes could be sifted and kept, till desirable to remove them in large quantities" (Industrial School for Girls 1863[11]). By the next month, this was already a problem, and the matron had apparently "begged that several barrels of ashes might be taken from the cellar" (Industrial School for Girls 1863[12]). The matter had been resolved by January of 1864: "the ashes had been removed" (Industrial School for Girls 1864[1]). The report for January of 1865 mentions an ongoing discussion about an ash pit, stating that "Mrs. Reed suggested that the children could sift the ~~ashes~~ cinders, & the ashes could afterwards be thrown into the pit by the choreman" (Industrial School for Girls 1865[1]). The discussion continued in March of that same year, with a rather enigmatic comment: "The ash-pit seemed to Mrs. P. calculated for young giants rather than Yankee children" (Industrial School for Girls 1865[3]). It is unclear what was meant by this statement, but perhaps it was suggesting that the ash pit was too large to be dealt with by the girls. In June of 1866, the secretary reports that "the ashes had been removed by the town" (Industrial School for Girls 1866[6]). If regular pick-up of ashes began sometime between March of 1865 and June of 1866, this may suggest that Feature 1, with its mainly ash fill, dates to sometime before this period. By June of 1867, arrangements had been made for the ashes to be collected by the town once a month (Industrial School for Girls 1867[6]). It appears that this did not always happen as planned, but no more mention is made of an ash pit. Instead, when regular pick-up was not forthcoming, the ashes were apparently stored in iron barrels until they could be collected. In June of 1870, the secretary reports, "The whole matter of the ashes had been laid to rest by the purchase of three extra iron barrels wh. would keep all that accumulated till called for" (Industrial School for Girls 1870[6]).

Feature 4/5

The search for the privy began by opening a 2 x 2 meter area along the outside of the west wall of the carriage house where the original brick wall had been found (Bagley et al. [2018]:30). Excavations were done in 0.1 meter arbitrary levels, changing when a new strata was uncovered, until the top of the brick wall was uncovered. The excavation area was expanded by another 2 x 6 meter area in order to expose all of Feature 4. Initially, a rectangular wall of double-course bricks was found that was 1 x 3 meters in area, but at the southern end, a second, single line of bricks appeared to be joined to the first rectangle, resolving into a second rectangle of single-course bricks measuring approximately 2 x 1.2 meters (Bagley et al. [2018]:32). At first, this confused the archaeologists, because they were expecting a single large vault for the privy, not two adjoining vaults or a vault with an addition on it. The northern rectangle was designated Feature 4, and the southern rectangle was designated Feature 5. Each was divided into 1 x 1 meter units, designated, north to south, 4.3, 4.2, 4.1, 5.1, and 5.2. A plan of the feature and units can be seen in Figure 6. Once they began to excavate inside the rectangular space, however, they discovered that the line of bricks that appeared to separate the two rectangles was not in fact a substantial wall, but just a relatively ephemeral line on the surface. This was hypothesized to have been a later feature, put in place after the vault had been filled. Thus, the differentiation between Features 4 and 5 was an artificial one (Bagley et al. [2018]:32). As they had already been named and excavated separately, the differentiation was kept in place. However, the two features will be analyzed as one. From this point on, they will be referred to as Feature 4/5.

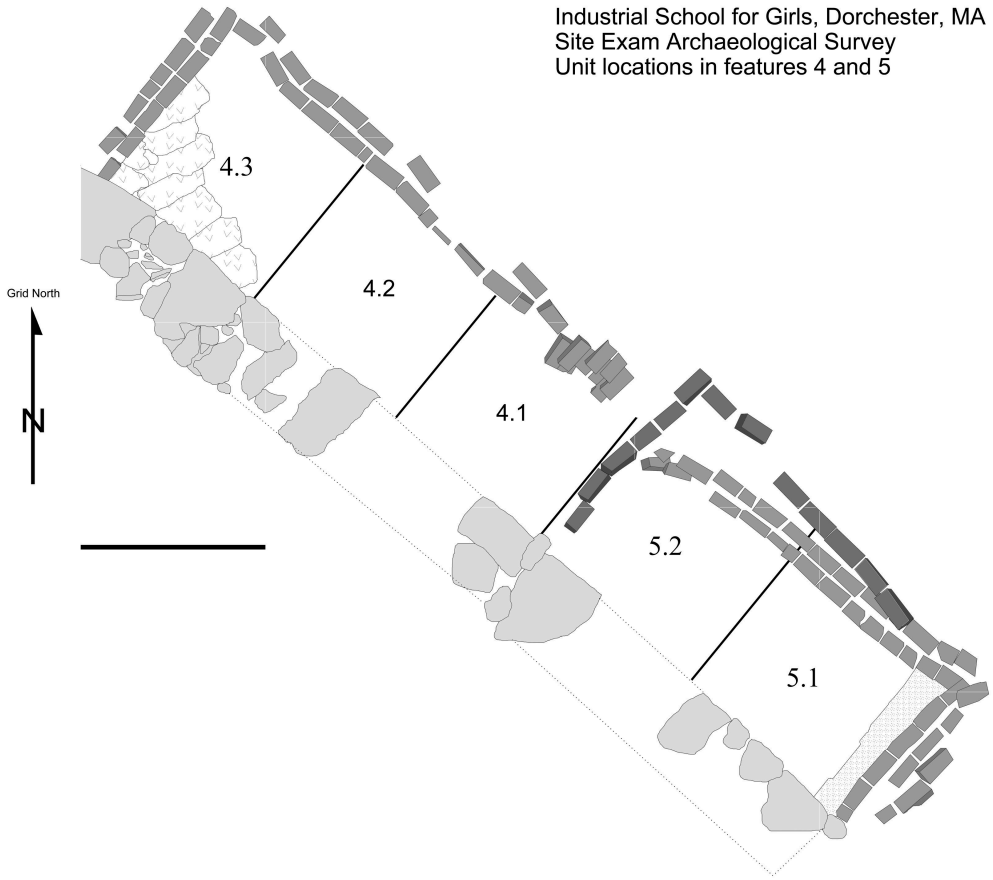

Figure 6. Plan of Feature 4/5, showing unit locations (Joseph Bagley)

Feature 4/5 was excavated in the aforementioned 1 x 1 meter units, with alternating units excavated simultaneously. This allowed for multiple units to be excavated at once, while still leaving unexcavated units in place so that profiles could be drawn. Units 4.1, 4.3, and 5.1 were excavated first, in arbitrary 0.1 meter levels, changing when a new strata was found. Approximately the top 0.4 meters appeared to be early twentieth century fill across the two features, with notable finds including art deco-style makeup items and a large concentration of flowerpot sherds in Feature 5 (Bagley et al. [2018]:31-32). These flowerpots, taken in conjunction with the later

separation of this part of the vault from the rest, led the archaeologists to hypothesize that this part of the vault could have been used as a garden or greenhouse area after it had been mostly filled in (Bagley et al. [2018]:38).

All five units contained over a meter of clean sand fill under the upper twentieth century deposits (Bagley et al. [2018]:31). In the first units dug, this deposit was excavated in 0.1 meter levels, but once its depth and sterile nature was known, it was excavated with shovels and minimal screening in later units to save time and effort. The first unit to get through this fill was 4.3 at the northwestern end of the feature. At a depth of 0.9 meters below datum, while the sand fill continued, most of the unit was covered by flat stone slabs, leaving only a small area in which to continue digging. At 1.5 meters below datum, the sand suddenly transitioned to a dark, rich soil, and the first artifacts in over a meter began to appear (Bagley et al. [2018]:31). A nearly-intact flow blue urn-shaped vessel, a doll's head, and two neatly stacked green striped plates were uncovered at the top of this dark deposit, likely confirming they had found the privy they had been searching for. The same dark, artifact-rich deposit was uncovered in each of the subsequently excavated units. This deposit was excavated in arbitrary 0.1 meter levels and wet screened through a 1/8-inch screen to ensure the recovery of any small artifacts (Bagley et al. [2018]:31). The archaeologists chose to wet screen this deposit because it allowed small artifacts to be seen more easily by removing some of the dark clinging soil. This was a slow, tedious process, but it proved to be well worth the effort due to the many hundreds of pins, beads, and other small artifacts that were recovered.

The privy deposit, while artifact-rich, did not contain night soil. This is because the vault was not lined with clay or another material that would have kept moisture in; rather, the walls on three sides were made of mortared brick, which

would have allowed any liquids to seep out over time (Bagley et al. [2018]:31). Thus, there was not the same level of preservation of organic materials that is often seen in privy deposits, though bones and leather goods were recovered.

Once the entirety of Feature 4/5 had been excavated, it was clear that the privy vault was five meters long by one meter wide, lined with bricks on three sides with the outer wall of the carriage house as the fourth wall. The privy deposit itself was not especially deep, with a maximum depth of 0.53 meters in unit 5.2 where it mounded up, possibly indicating that the students were prone to using the seats closer to the door rather than walking to the far end of the privy. The shallowness of the deposit seems to suggest that the privy was not in use for very long, which is supported by documentary evidence stating that running water was installed in 1879, or that it had been periodically cleaned out throughout its use life (Bagley 2015a:7). Another factor in the compact and shallow nature of the deposit may have been a possible stone-lined drain in the northwest corner of the privy vault, the flow through which may have in essence flushed out much of the organic material and loose dirt, compacting the remaining material (Bagley et al. [2018]:39). This would help to explain the density of the material and its relative shallowness. It also may have contributed to the homogeneity of the deposit, as distinct deposition layers would have been mixed (Bagley et al. [2018]:39). Despite its short use life, however, the privy proved to be incredibly artifact-rich, containing 7.534 total artifacts, and especially rich in personal items that may help tell the story of the girls who lived at the School.

The archaeological findings, analyzed within the social and historical context of the Industrial School for Girls, present a fascinating picture of what life may have truly been like for the girls who lived and learned at the School, as well as the control that the Managers held over their charges.

CHAPTER 3

METHODS

After the excavation, described in Chapter 2, was completed in August of 2015, all of the artifacts were taken back to the City of Boston Archaeology Laboratory in West Roxbury, Massachusetts. Once there, the City Archaeologist and his team of volunteers began to process the artifacts, beginning by washing them, one context at a time. In the field, each context had been given a unique identification code, formatted as "ISG ###". All material types, except for large brick fragments, wood, and other fragile organics, were brushed with a wet toothbrush and left to dry on wire mesh trays for at least two days (Bagley et al. [2018]:35) and then sorted. Artifacts were sorted by material type, portion of the object (such as rim or base of a ceramic vessel, or end or tip of a straight pin, for example), decoration, size, and any other distinguishing features. Sorting was done down to the lowest common denominator for an artifact, so that all pieces in a final sorted lot could be described in exactly the same way. Each final lot was bagged separately in an archival, 4 mil plastic zip-top bag, and each bag was labeled with the context from which it came, a description of the contents, and the number of artifacts enclosed (Bagley et al. [2018]:35).

Cataloging

The City Archaeology Lab used the Massachusetts Artifact Tracking System (MATS), developed by the Massachusetts Historical Commission in 2006. It is a Microsoft Access-based system, and is the standard for Massachusetts government archaeology (Bagley 2017a:263). While it is a good system, it relies on previously defined categories and is nearly impossible to update, which means that all artifacts must be made to fit into these categories. This is not usually a problem, but can prove difficult with some more specific types of artifacts. For example, there is no artifact category for "tea cup," only "cup" or "tea bowl." Cataloging using MATS requires some creative thinking, and it is helpful to have only one or two people catalog an entire site so that the categories used remain consistent. The cataloging for the Industrial School collections was done mostly by Andrew Glyman and I.

Once the catalog had been completed, the artifacts from Feature 1 and Features 4/5 were separated from the rest of the artifacts and split into categories by material type and utility. The categories used were ceramics, metals, glass, bone, dental (teeth and toothbrushes), toys, dolls, doll dishes, sewing, beads, buttons, slates and slate pencils, personal adornment, and vice (smoking pipes and liquor bottles).

Vesselization

The first step in the analysis for this thesis was to vesselize the ceramics from Feature 1 and Feature 4/5, and to come up with *terminus post quem*s (TPQs) and mean ceramic dates (MCDs) for each feature. This would give the sample to be used for analysis and also provide dates for the relevant parts of the site. The vesselized ceramic details are presented in

APPENDIX 1: VESSELIZATION.

The analysis began with Feature 1's ceramics, because it was hypothesized from the lack of stratigraphy in the deposit and the relatively high frequency of similar-looking ceramics that the contents of that feature had been deposited in a single episode and thus would likely contain a large number of refitting ceramic sherds. First, the ceramics from the feature (Stratum 1) were separated from those in the overburden, labeled with their MATS catalog number, and separated into ware type. Volunteers then began attempting to find sherds that refit and gluing them back together using B-72. It soon became clear that there were only a relatively small number of vessel types included in this assemblage, and that a large proportion of the sherds could be refit. The end result was many nearly complete vessels, which gave a much better picture of what the originals had looked like and of what the school's ceramic collection might have consisted.

When there were no more refits to be made, the vesselization of the ceramics from Feature 1 began. Again, all of the ceramics were laid out, both those that had been refit and those that had not, and the pieces that represented unique vessels were identified. This meant looking for rims and bases, in particular, that could not have refit with other pieces, as well as sherds that represented ware or decoration types that were not seen elsewhere. Each unique vessel or fragment of vessel was given a vessel number and added to a spreadsheet for further analysis. The spreadsheet included such information as ware type, decoration, and manufacturer information, and was designed to help discern the mean ceramic date (MCD) and terminus post quem (TPQ) for Feature 1. MCDs were determined using the Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery (DAACS) Mean Ceramic Date-Type File, a PDF accessed through the DAACS website. TPQs were determined using maker's mark

information if possible, and the website of the Stoke-on-Trent potteries (www.thepotteries.org) proved especially helpful in tracking down specific marks. If there was no maker's mark, or no information could be found about it, the beginning date of the MCD range from the DAACS Mean Ceramic Date-Type File was used as the TPQ for that vessel. The TPQ for the vessels was determined by finding the latest date of the individual TPQs for each vessel.

The MCD was calculated using the formula laid out by Stanley South (1972). To do this, a new spreadsheet was created including all of the ceramics, excluding the doll dishes, from Feature 1, which was then rearranged so that all sherds of the same ceramic type were grouped together. Another spreadsheet was created with columns for ceramic ware type, number of sherds, and MCD, and the first spreadsheet was used to fill in the first two columns. Using the DAACS Mean Ceramic Date-Type File, the mean date was calculated for each ware type and added to the spreadsheet (DAACS 2006). Next, the mean date for each ware type was multiplied by the number of sherds for that type, and all of those numbers were added together. The total was divided by the total number of sherds, excluding those that did not contribute to the MCD, to find the mean ceramic date for the feature.

With the ceramics from Features 4/5, it was not thought necessary or efficient to repeat the process of labeling and refitting, as there did not appear to be the same level of homogeneity in the assemblage. Rather, there appeared to be a higher diversity of ceramic types represented, with smaller sherds overall and only a few sherds of each type, rather than nearly complete vessels as in Feature 1. With this in mind, the ceramics from the privy contexts were separated from the rest of the assemblage and laid out, still in their bags, on a table. The bags were sorted by ware type and decoration and individual vessels were identified using the same techniques

as had been used with Feature 1. Another spreadsheet was created listing each numbered vessel, along with ware type, decoration, and manufacturer information, in order to determine the MCD and TPQ for the ceramic vessels in Features 4/5. The MCD and TPQ were calculated following the same procedures as with Feature 1.

Feature Terminus Post Quem

With the TPQ and MCD for the ceramic vessels in Features 1 and 4/5 calculated, the TPQs for each feature more generally were calculated. All of the artifact categories were included in these TPQs, rather than just ceramics. This involved a great deal of research, searching the internet and other sources for invention dates for different material types, such as vulcanized rubber and plastic, and for objects like light bulbs and records. Once this was completed, the latest TPQ in the list was used as the TPQ for the entire feature.

Feature 4/5 was a bit more complicated, as it was made up of multiple deposits. Feature 1 was a single deposit, as will be discussed in Chapter 5, so it could all be taken together to calculate the TPQ. Feature 4/5 was made up of five excavation units, each of which treated the multiple deposits slightly differently. The units that were excavated first were done carefully, stratum by stratum, because it was not known what would be found. Units 4.1, 4.3, and 5.1 were excavated in this way. Units 4.2 and 5.2 were excavated later, after the first three had been completed and left 4.2 and 5.2 as freestanding soil blocks, with stratigraphy visible on two sides. Because of this excavation method, it was possible to see where the privy deposits began before excavation commenced. It was known that the upper levels were not relevant to the research interests, and so the top strata were removed all together as a single "overburden" deposit. Thus, units 4.1, 4.3, and 5.1 are broken down into multiple

strata above the privy deposit, while 4.2 and 5.2 are only divided into "overburden" and "privy".

When calculating TPQs for Feature 4/5, each stratum was treated separately. The same strata across units were combined to get one final TPQ for each stratum. In this case, the overburden strata from units 4.2 and 5.2 were ignored, since they combined strata that had been separated out in the other units.

Statistical Analysis

In order to determine if there was a significant difference between Feature 1 and Feature 4/5, the percentages of each type of artifact needed to be calculated compared to the overall total artifacts in each feature. To do this, a spreadsheet was created of all of the artifacts from Feature 1, as well as a spreadsheet of all of the artifacts from the privy deposit in Feature 4/5. These were then subdivided into functional categories. It was determined to use functional categories rather than material types in order to see which aspects of life showed up more in each feature. If the artifacts had been divided by material type, tablewares would have been in the same category as porcelain dolls and doll dishes; these clearly serve different functions. The functional categories used were food acquisition, food preparation, food storage, food service, household, hygiene, school, personal adornment, toys, sewing, gardening, vice, architecture, heating, and uncategorized. The category of shells was only used for Feature 4/5, as that feature had a large concentration of shells that appeared to have been used for some sort of decorative purpose rather than for food. Most of these categories were copied from the "function" category in MATS, but others were created to better serve the purposes of this study. Most of the sorting could be done just by looking at the object name and the comments in the exported

MATS spreadsheet, though occasionally it was necessary find a particular artifact and look at it more closely if the data from MATS was not adequate.

Once all of the artifacts from each feature had been sorted into functional categories, the total number of artifacts in each category was calculated, as well as the total number of artifacts in each feature. These numbers were then used to calculate if the two features were significantly different, which was important in order to discuss and analyze differences in use between the two features.

A two-sample t-test between percentages was used to determine statistical significance. First, the percentage of the total artifacts in the feature represented by each category of artifact was calculated, for both Feature 1 and Feature 4/5. Then, using the two-sample t-test formula

$$t = \frac{\bar{x}_1 - \bar{x}_2}{\sqrt{\left(\frac{(N_1 - 1)s_1^2 + (N_2 - 1)s_2^2}{N_1 + N_2 - 2}\right)\left(\frac{1}{N_1} + \frac{1}{N_2}\right)}}$$

the p-value, or significance level, was calculated for each pair of percentages. A two-tailed hypothesis and a significance level of 0.05 were used, with the null hypothesis being that there would be no difference between the percentages. The significance level of 0.05 means that at that level, there would be a 5% chance of the outcome happening by chance. Anything under 0.05 would be considered significant, or unlikely enough to not have happened by chance. Anything above 0.05 would be considered not significant. After calculating the p-value for each pair of percentages, it was possible to determine whether or not the comparison between the two features was a meaningful one.

Ceramic Analysis

Next, the focus was narrowed to a stylistic analysis of the tablewares from Feature 1 and Feature 4/5, both adult- and doll-scale. First, the same vesselization analysis that had been done with the adult-scale ceramics needed to be performed with the doll-scale ceramics. This was significantly easier than with the adult-scale ceramics, as the doll-scale ceramics were much less fragmentary. Nonetheless, the same process of labeling sherds with their MATS catalog number and then refitting as much as possible was performed. Once refitting was completed, unique vessels were identified by looking for complete vessels, unique rim and base sherds, and sherds with unique stylistic elements. Each unique vessel or fragment of vessel was given a vessel number and added to a spreadsheet for further analysis.

With vesselization of both adult-scale and doll-scale ceramics completed, the stylistic analysis could commence. I separated out the vessels, as identified in the vesselization described earlier, that could be identified as tableware, leaving out vessels that were clearly not used on the table such as chamber pots and flower pots. I then divided the vessels into two stylistic categories. The categories used were "white or undecorated" and "color". "White or undecorated" contained both plain ceramics and those with a white molded decoration. These two types were grouped together because it was thought that they would have represented a similar stylistic message, which will be discussed further in Chapter 5. "Color" encompassed a range of styles, from blue shell edge plates to porcelain with gilded decoration. The unifying element, of course, was that all of the sherds in this category had some added color and were not plain white. The total vessels in each category was counted for both scales of ceramics, and the percentage of the total for each was calculated. With these values, a chi-square statistical analysis was employed to determine if the difference in each

category between the adult- and doll-scale ceramics was statistically significant. Chi-square was used because it is a statistic that determines the independence or interdependence of two groups.

Additionally, the adult- and doll-scale ceramics were analyzed at the functional level. Each vessel, identified during the vesselization analysis, was matched as closely as possible to its form and function, and the list of identified vessels was then compared with the set of tablewares that would have been expected to be present on a genteel Victorian table (Fitts 1999). The adult- and doll-scale vessels were compared separately to determine what was present and absent at each scale.

Doll Analysis

The goal of my analysis of the dolls from the Industrial School was to determine how many individual dolls were present in the assemblage. In order to do this, I adapted the Minimum Number of Individuals framework usually used for analysis of skeletal material. To begin, I first crossmended any doll fragments that I could. Then, working only with doll fragments from Feature 1 and the privy stratum of Feature 4/5, I separated the fragments from each feature into body part categories, i.e., head, left arm, right arm, left leg, and right leg. I counted the total number of fragments from each category and then, because each doll could only have one of each of these body parts, I took the largest number and used that as representative of the minimum number of total dolls from each feature. I did not account for size or stylistic differences between individual body parts because with many of these dolls, heads and limbs could be sewn onto new bodies again and again, without necessarily

accounting for consistency in style or size. Thus, these sorts of differences may not have indicated different dolls. The results are discussed in Chapter 4.

CHAPTER 4

DATA

In this chapter, the results of the methods described in the previous chapter are discussed. It begins with a comparison of the functional classes of artifacts in Feature 1 and Feature 4/5 to determine if there were any significant differences between the two features. This is followed by vesselization, TPQs, and MCDs for Feature 1 and Feature 4/5. I then discuss the statistical analysis performed on the stylistic data to determine the significance of adult- and doll-scale ceramic vessels. Finally, the results of the doll analysis are presented.

Feature Comparison

The first goal of my statistical analysis was to determine if Feature 1 and Feature 4/5 were significantly different from one another in terms of the function of the artifacts in each feature.

It was first necessary to separate all of the artifacts from Feature 1 and the privy stratum of Feature 4/5 into functional categories. As discussed previously, functional categories were used rather than material ones in order to identify the potential use of each feature. The categories used were food acquisition, food preparation, food storage, food service, household, hygiene, school, personal adornment, toys, sewing, gardening, vice, architecture, heating, and uncategorized, with the additional category of shells for Feature 4/5 only.

A brief description of each category may be helpful. Food acquisition refers to artifacts that are byproducts of hunting, fishing, or other food gathering activities, and may include animal bones and large seeds and pits. Food preparation refers to objects that would have been found in the kitchen and would not have made it to the dining table, such as most redware vessels. Food storage refers to anything that was used to hold food long term, including ceramic crocks, glass bottles, and tin cans. Food service refers to items that would have been present on the dining table, such as tablewares and utensils. Household refers to anything that would have been placed inside the home, including lighting elements, furniture hardware, and decorative objects. Hygiene refers to anything having to do with health, including toothbrushes and medicine bottles. School refers to objects that would have been used in the schoolroom, including slates and slate pencils. Personal adornment refers to anything decorative that would have been worn on the body, including beads, buttons, and headbands. Toys refer to items the children would have played with, such as dolls and marbles. Sewing includes elements from any sort of handicraft, including pins and knitting needles. Gardening was used as a category to encompass any flowerpot sherds. Vice refers to any items that would have been forbidden by the rules of propriety at the time, especially tobacco pipes and liquor bottles. Architecture refers to any elements of the house that were part of the physical building, including bricks, roof tiles, and window glass. Heating refers to anything used to heat the home, in this case almost exclusively coal and its byproducts. Uncategorized refers to any objects that did not fit easily in another category. In Feature 4/5 only, the category of shells was added in order to represent the large number of seemingly non-food-related shells that were recovered from this feature. These were determined to be non-food-related

because the majority of them were not native to New England and were not among the types of shellfish generally used for food.

A total of 3,294 artifacts were recovered from Feature 1, the household trash deposit. Table 1 breaks this number down into the functional categories described above. The Heating category represents only a representative sample, as nearly the entire soil matrix of the feature was made up of coal, coal ash, and slag.

Table 1. Percentages of individual artifacts in each functional category from Feature 1.

Category	Count	Percentage
Food Acquisition	93	2.8%
Food Preparation	7	0.2%
Food Storage	179	5.4%
Food Service	1277	38.8%
Household	184	5.6%
Hygiene	58	1.8%
School	45	1.4%
Personal Adornment	160	4.9%
Toys	46	1.4%
Sewing	14	0.4%
Gardening	2	0.06%
Vice	9	0.3%
Architecture	765	23.2%
Heating	211	6.4%
Uncategorized	245	7.4%

A total of 7,534 artifacts were recovered from Feature 4/5, the privy deposit. Table 2 breaks this number down into the functional categories described above.

Table 2. Percentages of individual artifacts in each functional category from Feature 4/5

Category	Count	Percentage
Food Acquisition	1468	19.5%
Food Preparation	15	0.2%
Food Storage	207	2.7%
Food Service	240	3.2%
Household	213	2.8%
Hygiene	39	0.5%
School	428	5.7%
Personal Adornment	2668	35.4%
Shells	238	3.2%
Toys	234	3.1%
Sewing	910	12.1%
Gardening	70	0.9%
Vice	12	0.2%
Architecture	574	7.6%
Heating	52	0.7%
Uncategorized	162	2.2%

A two-sample t-test was used to calculate the significance level for each pair of percentages, comparing the percentage of the total for each functional category between the two features. This can be seen in Table 3. Only the categories of food preparation (p=0.88) and vice (p=0.215) were not significant. Every other category had a p-value of 0, meaning that the difference in the percentages between the two features was statistically significant. Given this, it can be stated that the deposits from Feature 1 and Feature 4/5 were significantly different. The z-scores for each pair of percentages were also calculated, giving the number of standard deviations from the mean for each value. This helped to determine which categories were the most significantly different; the higher the z-score, the more significant the difference can be said to be. Food service (z=49.098), personal adornment (z=-33.3007), food acquisition (z=-22.7089), architecture (z=22.6944), sewing (z=-19.9695), and heating (z=17.7738) had the highest z-scores. Thus, food service, personal adornment, food acquisition, architecture, sewing, and heating were the most significantly different between the two features.

Table 3. Z-scores and P-scores for comparison of functional categories between Feature 1 and Feature 4/5. A P-score of 0.05 or less indicates statistical significance. A higher Z-score indicates a more significant result. Positive numbers indicate that the category was more prevalent in Feature 1, while negative numbers indicate that the category was more prevalent in Feature 4/5. (Note: The Heating category for Feature 1 represents only a sample of the artifacts recovered from this feature, as nearly the entire soil matrix of the feature was made up of coal, coal ash, and slag.)

Functional Category	Feature 1 Total	Feature 4/5 Total	Z-score	P-score
Food acquisition	93 (2.8%)	1468 (19.5%)	-22.7089	0
Food preparation	7 (0.2%)	15 (0.2%)	0.1426	0.88
Food storage	179 (5.4%)	207 (2.7%)	6.9369	0
Food service	1277 (38.8%)	240 (3.2%)	49.078	0
Household	184 (5.6%)	213 (2.8%)	7.0275	0
Hygiene	58 (1.8%)	39 (0.5%)	6.3162	0
School	45 (1.4%)	428 (5.7%)	-10.1066	0
Personal adornment	160 (4.9%)	2668 (35.4%)	-33.3007	0
Toys	46 (1.4%)	234 (3.1%)	-5.1563	0
Sewing	14 (0.4%)	910 (12.1%)	-19.9695	0
Gardening	2 (0.06%)	70 (0.9%)	-5.1154	0
Vice	9 (0.3%)	12 (0.2%)	1.2399	0.2150
Architecture	765 (23.2%)	574 (7.6%)	22.6944	0
Heating	211 (6.4%)	52 (0.7%)	17.7738	0

A comparison of the breakdown of functional categories of artifacts in Feature 1 and Feature 4/5 can provide possible insights into the depositional practices that contributed to the formation of these two features. The most statistically significant differences between percentages of functional categories were food service

(z=49.098), personal adornment (z=-33.3007), food acquisition (z=-22.7089), architecture (z=22.6944), sewing (z=-19.9695), and heating (z=17.7738). Food service, architecture, and heating were much more prevalent in Feature 1 than in Feature 4/5. Personal adornment, food acquisition, and sewing were much more prevalent in Feature 4/5 than in Feature 1. Among the less dramatically different categories, those more prevalent in Feature 1 were food storage (z=6.9369), household (z=7.0275), and hygiene (z=6.3162). Those more prevalent in Feature 4/5 were school (z=-10.1066), toys (z=-5.1563), and gardening (z=-5.1154).

These results suggest that the depositional behaviors that contributed to each feature may have been quite different. The types of artifacts that ended up in Feature 1, the trash deposit, tend to be more household-level items rather than personal possessions. They also were likely to have been higher visibility items; the matron and others in charge would have noticed if they were broken and may have been personally involved with their disposal if it occurred in a group or supervised setting such as dining, cooking, or cleaning. Indeed, the secretary report for August 1871 makes special mention of broken dishes:

> Mrs. Smith thought some attention ought to be given to the broken dishes. The children were careless in handling the mugs + plates. It was suggested that a small fine should be charged for every dish that was broken carelessly. Miss Everett was asked to attend to it. New mugs were to be supplied in place of the cracked + broken ones. (Industrial School for Girls 1871[8])

Due to this visibility and the relatively impersonal nature of these objects, it is likely that they would have been disposed of in the prescribed way. It appears that the Industrial School may have been one of the few archaeologically investigated sites that followed the rules of the day regarding disposal of trash in privies. Boston laws at the time forbade disposal of household garbage in privies, in order to keep privy soils

clean for use as fertilizer. Archaeologically investigated privies usually prove that most people ignored these laws and threw the majority of their garbage into their privy, but the women of the Industrial School may have been law-abiding in this regard. It may be that, because of the managers' status as high society women, they were more likely to follow laws like this one to the letter in order to preserve their standing and good face among their peers. It also may be that the significant lack of larger objects in the privy is due to repeated cleanings. Whatever the reason, however, the privy of the Industrial School is lacking in many of the larger ceramic and glass vessels, as well as other categories of more general domestic debris, that are often seen in privy deposits. Feature 1 may suggest that anything that was broken or otherwise fell out of use was put first into the furnace, as evidenced by the large amounts of coal, coal ash, and slag, along with coal slag on ceramics and glass, and then deposited into a purpose-built hole, at least for a brief period of the School's history. As previously stated, the artifacts in Feature 1 are largely domestic, somewhat impersonal items, perhaps representing one or more general household cleaning episodes.

In contrast, the types of artifacts in Feature 4/5 are overwhelmingly small, personal items. Beads, buttons, and pins may have fallen out of pockets or otherwise have been dropped accidentally in the privy or been swept up with the general dust and dirt that accumulated day-to-day. Perhaps the results of this sort of cleaning were not considered to fall into the category of things that should not be put into the privy and the children were allowed to dump their sweepings there. It is significant, however, that dolls and other toys were also significantly more prevalent in the privy deposit than in the trash deposit. Larger dolls, and broken dolls, are much less likely to have fallen out of pockets or been swept up with the smaller items that predominate

in this deposit, suggesting that there was another, perhaps more clandestine depositional use for the privy. The presence of dolls and other toys may indicate that the privy was in part a place where the girls disposed of their personal belongings, away from the otherwise omnipresent eyes of the matron and teacher. The privy was likely one of the only places, if not the only place, where the girls had any real privacy, especially since it likely had individual stalls instead of one long bench. Here, they may have disposed of the things they were ashamed of, the things they did not want anyone to know about. Of course, clandestine activity is not the only explanation for the presence of objects in the privy, but it is the explanation that I found most useful when thinking about how the girls of the Industrial School reacted to the messaging they were presented through the material culture in their environment.

Ceramic Analysis

A total of 17,723 artifacts were recovered from the Industrial School for Girls site. Of these, 3,294 were from ash pit in Feature 1, and 7,534 were from the privy deposit in Feature 4/5. The remaining artifacts were from other contexts, including test pits, Features 2 and 3, and the overburden of Features 1 and 4/5.

Of the 3,294 total artifacts in Feature 1, 1,276 were ceramic sherds. One thousand two hundred and fifty-six, or 98% of the total ceramics, were adult-scale ceramic sherds. Twenty, or 2%, were doll-scale ceramic sherds. Of the 7,534 total artifacts in the privy deposit in Feature 4/5, 298 were ceramic sherds. Two hundred thirty-nine, or 80%, were adult-scale ceramic sherds. Fifty-nine, or 20%, were doll-scale ceramic sherds. Table 4 shows this breakdown.

Table 4. Adult-scale and doll-scale ceramic sherd totals from Features 1 and 4/5

Ceramic Type	Feature 1 Total	Feature 1 Percentage	Feature 4/5 Total	Feature 4/5 Percentage
Adult-Scale	1256	98%	239	80%
Doll-Scale	20	2%	59	20%

Vesselization

The adult-scale ceramics from each feature were divided, along with the rest of the artifacts, into functional categories. The ceramics fell into the categories of food preparation, food storage, and food service. Food preparation refers to ceramics that were used in the kitchen and likely would not have been found on the dining table. Food storage refers to ceramics that were used to hold foods long term, such as crocks and jars. Food service refers to ceramics that would have been present on the dining table, off of which food was served or eaten. Once the ceramics from each feature were vesselized, these vessels were analyzed as to form, ware type, and function. Table 5 compares the forms of vessels from Feature 1 and Feature 4/5, while Table 6 compares ware types and functional categories across the two features.

Table 5. Comparison of vessel forms from Feature 1 and Feature 4/5

Vessel Form	Feature 1	Feature 4/5
Mug	9	6
Flatware	15	15
Pitcher	1	0
Bowl	2	0
Basin	2	0
Flower pot	1	10
Chamber pot	4	0
Soap dish	1	0
Teacup	1	0
Unidentified	8	19
Total	44	50

Table 6. Comparison of vessels by ware type and functional category from Feature 1 and Feature 4/5

	Feature 1				**Feature 4/5**			
Ware Type	Food Prep.	Food Storage	Food Service	Other	Food Prep.	Food Storage	Food Service	Other
Ironstone								
Blue transfer printed			1					
Molded			10				10	
Cream colored			1					
Green banded							3	
Undecorated			1	3			5	1
Whiteware								
Factory decorated slipware			1					
Flow blue							2	
Blue transfer printed							1	
Undecorated				2				
Pearlware								
Molded			8				4	1
Blue hand painted			1				1	
Blue transfer printed			1				1	
Blue shell edge			6				1	
Undecorated			1	1				1
Creamware								
Hand painted							1	
Redware								
Brown glazed					2			
Green glazed				1				
Blue painted								1
White slipped								1
Undecorated				1				9
Lusterware				1				
Porcelain								
Gilded			1				1	
Undecorated							1	
Yellow ware	2				1			
Stoneware								
Westerwald							1	
Gray						1		
Unidentified				1				
Total	2	0	32	10	3	1	32	14

In all, 89 of the 94 total vessels from Feature 1 and Feature 4/5 could be identified as to function. The vast majority of these, 64 vessels, were identified as having a food service function. The importance of these vessels and their functional role in the School's mission will be discussed further in Chapter 5. These food service vessels, especially, could often be distinguished by their decoration and maker's marks. Particularly notable were the large number of matched sets of vessels.

Figure 7. Matching fluted ironstone mugs (Joseph Bagley)

Figure 8. Matching Trent plates (Joseph Bagley)

Seven fluted ironstone mugs (Figure 7) and six John Alcock Trent pattern plates (Figure 8) were identified across the two features. Additionally, twelve other vessels, both cups or mugs and flatware, had paneled or similarly Gothic style molded designs, which fit into the same stylistic vein as the Trent pattern plates. Another six flatware vessels were decorated with molded floral or other nature designs. Seven blue shell edge pearlware flatware vessels and three green banded ironstone flatware vessels were also identified. The significance of these matching sets will be discussed further in Chapter 5.

Maker's marks were identified on several vessels. As previously mentioned, six plates with the maker's mark of "John Alcock Imperial Ironstone China" were identified, all in the Trent pattern. Other marks were identified as "Ridgway Bates &

Co. Cauldon Place," "T & R Boote Ltd.," "Improved Opaque China, E F & C," "Henry Alcock & Co.," "Oxford," and "J.W. Pankhurst, Hanley." All of these flatware vessels were undecorated or had a molded decoration. Only one other vessel was identifiable, a flow blue hollowware vessel in the Scinde pattern by J & G Alcock. Relevant dates for these patterns and makers are included below. None of the other transfer printed vessels had identifiable patterns, in large part because there was not enough of the pattern to identify.

Returning to the comparison of the two features from earlier in this chapter, it is worth mentioning that the relative completeness of the ceramic vessels from the two features was quite different. The majority of the vessels from Feature 1 were relatively complete, while most of the vessels identified from Feature 4/5 were represented by only one or two sherds. This may be explained by the depositional patterns described in the earlier section. If the ash pit (Feature 1) was where more conspicuous disposal took place, while the privy (Feature 4/5) was the site of more clandestine or small-scale disposal, then the relative scale of the ceramics seems to fit this pattern. Vessels that were broken and disposed of all at once ended up in the trash pit, where their disposal would be overseen. On the other hand, perhaps the vessels from the privy, most identified by only a few sherds, represent bits that were not cleaned up with the majority of the broken vessel but instead were later swept up with other small items. Perhaps they were pocketed by a girl and later thrown away or dropped. It may be that the more complete vessels found in the privy represent items that were broken in a more private setting and disposed of similarly privately. It may also be that the size discrepancy is due to the fact that Feature 1 apparently represents a single depositional episode while Feature 4/5 represents many smaller deposits over time. Whatever the case, and it is likely that many of these theories are at least

partially true, it is clear that, as mentioned previously, there were quite different depositional practices at work in these two features.

Feature 1 Depositional Analysis

The provenience (unit and level) for each sherd in each of these vessels was recorded in an attempt to determine the uniformity of the Feature 1 deposit. If there were sherds from opposite ends and depths of the feature that refit within a single vessel, that would be taken as proof that Feature 1 had been deposited in a single episode, as had been postulated since it was first discovered in the field. Vessel 38, a blue shell-edge pearlware plate, proved to be the key factor. While most of the sherds in Vessel 38 were from the first three units of Feature 1 (1.1, 1.2, and 1.3) and from relatively deep levels (9, 10, 11, and 12), one sherd was from Unit 1.6 Level 4, nearly the opposite end of the feature and at the top of the deposit. While other vessels also contained sherds from across the feature, Vessel 38 was the most extreme example and its presence in many contexts within the feature provided confirmation that Feature 1 represents a single deposition episode.

Feature TPQs from Ceramics

Once the vesselizations were complete, I used these tables to determine TPQs for each feature based on ceramics alone. I used the DAACS start date for ware type, as well as any information that could be gathered from visible makers marks, to assign each vessel its own TPQ, then took the latest of these dates as the TPQ for the entire assemblage. The ceramic vessels from Feature 1 had a TPQ of 1856, which came from Vessel 25, a Ridgway Bates & Co. pearlware plate. In addition to the manufacturer's name, this plate was also marked with "Cauldon Place." A search of www.thepotteries.org revealed that Ridgway Bates & Co. only operated out of the

Cauldon Place pottery works from 1856 to 1858, which gives a very tight date for this particular vessel (Birks 2016a). However, here there is a discrepancy between the ceramic dates and the dates of the occupation of the site. Historical records show that the Industrial School was built and first occupied in 1859, which supersedes the date given by the ceramics. Thus, the true TPQ for Feature 1 is 1859. The earlier ceramic dates may speak to the fact that the Industrial School was first founded in Winchester in 1853 and perhaps new ceramics were purchased for the School at that time and brought to the Dorchester location. The fact that no newer ceramics were found in this feature may suggest that Feature 1 represents a relatively early deposit, perhaps one of the first furnace cleaning episodes in the School's Dorchester history. If this is the case, these ceramics represent one phase of the School's life, and thus it is difficult to say how representative they may be. However, given the similarities between the ceramics in Feature 1 and those in Feature 4/5, which has a later TPQ, may suggest that there was some continuity in style and function of ceramics over the years.

The ceramic vessels from Feature 4/5 had a TPQ of 1880, based on the presence of Vessels 5 and 10. Both of these vessels were plain ironstone saucers, marked with "Henry Alcock & Co.". Again, a search of www.thepotteries.org proved illuminating. As it happens, the Henry Alcock company only added the "& Co." to the end of their makers mark in 1880 (Birks 2016b). Thus, given that no other vessels from Feature 4/5 were identified as having a later starting date of manufacture, the TPQ for this assemblage is 1880.

The significant difference in TPQ dates for Feature 1 and Feature 4/5 is striking, and brings up questions about the comparability of the two feature assemblages. The early date of Feature 1 may indicate that the School was using older ceramics for a time, and it may indicate a one-time disposal of older, perhaps

outdated, ceramics and other goods. Feature 4/5 likely had a much longer use life than Feature 1, which may help to explain the later TPQ.

Overall TPQ and MCD

In order to get the most accurate dates for Feature 1 and Feature 4/5, it was next necessary to calculate TPQs and MCDs using all of the artifacts from each feature. As discussed in the previous chapter, this was done by creating a spreadsheet containing all of the artifacts from each feature and then systematically going through the list, adding dates wherever possible. As it turns out, however; the TPQ dates achieved using only the vesselized ceramics were in fact the TPQ dates for the features overall. No artifacts were found that dated later than these ceramics. Thus, the overall TPQ for Feature 1 is 1856, based on the Ridgway Bates & Co. plate, and the overall TPQ for Feature 4/5 is 1880, based on the Henry Alcock & Co. plate. As discussed above, while the artifacts may indicate at TPQ of 1856 for Feature 1, the site's history makes it clear that a more accurate TPQ is 1859.

The MCD for each feature was calculated as discussed in the previous chapter, using a formula adapted from Stanley South:

$$Y = \sum_{i=1}^{n} x_i f_i$$

where Y is the mean ceramic date, x_i is the median date for a particular ware type, f_i is the number of sherds of a particular ware type, and n is the total number of ware types (South 1972). A total of 1,161 ceramic sherds from Feature 1 (Table 7) gave a MCD of 1840.1. A total of 208 ceramic sherds from Feature 4/5 (Table 8) gave a MCD of 1863.98. It is interesting to note that the MCD of Feature 1 is nearly 20 years earlier than the opening of the School in Dorchester. This suggests that the ceramics

used by the School were not purchased new when the School was opened. Rather, they were likely bought secondhand or donated. Based on the evidence provided by the annual reports put out by the Managers, which indicates that the School relied heavily upon donations, it makes sense that these ceramics would be donated or purchased at a discount. The 1858 Annual Report, for example, openly describes itself as "a begging letter", and asks its readers "to remember us" as the School will "fall much short of our usual income" (Industrial School for Girls 1858:1-2). In the 1859 Annual Report, the Managers put out a call for donations, stating that "a few yards of cotton or calico, a pair of shoes, a bundle of shoe strings, anything that is fit for the common use of a country household, or gives innocent pleasure for children, will find a hearty welcome, and can be sent to any of the Managers in town, or to the School, as convenient" (Industrial School for Girls 1860:5). The annual reports often feature requests like these and they seem to have been answered, as many of the reports include lists of donations at the end. Many of these donations appear to have been perishable items, such as fruit or cake, but household items were also included. Notably, in the 1878 report, Miss E. Goodwin is listed as donating "soup tureen and side dishes", while Miss E. C. Putnam is listed as donating "a dozen plates" (Industrial School for Girls 1879:18-19). Thus, there is evidence that at least some of the ceramics used at the School were donated.

Table 7. Ware types, with median dates and number of sherds for each, from Feature 1.

Ware Type	Number of Sherds	Median Date
Creamware	1	1791
Ironstone	171	1920
Molded Ironstone	63	1920
Lusterware	2	Not found
Stoneware	1	DNC
Factory Decorated Pearlware	5	1810
Blue Hand Painted Pearlware	1	1798
Blue Shell Edge Pearlware	61	1798
Blue Transfer Printed Pearlware	4	1813
Pearlware	649	1803
Porcelain	8	DNC
Redware	7	1800
Flow Blue Whiteware	1	1870
Blue Transfer Printed Whiteware	1	1910
Yellowware	197	1885
Unidentified Earthenware	84	DNC

Table 8. Ware types, with median dates and number of sherds for each, from Feature 4/5.

Ware Type	Number of Sherds	Median Date
Yellowware	7	1885
Whiteware	27	1910
Flow Blue Whiteware	10	1870
Green Hand Painted Whiteware	7	1825
Molded Whiteware	5	1910
White Salt Glazed Stoneware	1	1762
Porcelain	23	DNC
Redware	15	1800
Pearlware	51	1803
Green Hand Painted Pearlware	2	1813
Molded Pearlware	6	1803
Blue Transfer Printed Pearlware	2	1813
Blue Shell Edge Pearlware	2	1798
Polychrome Hand Painted Pearlware	1	1813
Molded Ironstone	17	1920
Ironstone	49	1920
Green Hand Painted Ironstone	2	1920
Stoneware	7	DNC
Creamware	4	1791
Unidentified Earthenware	1	DNC

Doll-Scale Ceramics

All of the doll-scale ceramics from Feature 1 and Feature 4/5 fell into the functional category of toys. Twenty doll-scale ceramic fragments were identified from Feature 1, and fifty-nine were identified from Feature 4/5. As most of these could be identified through to the vessel level, a sherd description will be omitted in favor of a vesselization description, to follow.

Doll Dish Vesselization

The doll-scale ceramics from Feature 1 and Feature 4/5 were vesselized in the same fashion as the adult-scale ceramics, though these were not analyzed for MCD or TPQ, as they were all made of porcelain and thus would all have the same date for these analyses. Only the ceramic, service vessels were included in this analysis, as that was the category analyzed at the adult scale. Some of the doll-scale dishes can be seen in Figure 9.

Feature 1

A total of seven unique doll vessels from Feature 1 were identified. All were made of porcelain. They included a molded dish, a burned plate, a molded lid, a plain teacup, a pink hand painted over-glaze teacup, a plain handle, and a burned handle.

Feature 4/5

A total of 29 unique doll vessels from Feature 4/5 were identified. All were made of porcelain. They included four plain plates, two molded pitchers, two paneled teacups, two teacups molded with a ribbed pattern and gilding, one bowl molded with a ribbed pattern, one plain bowl, one plain bowl with a flat rim, one dish with a molded pattern along the rim, one square dish with a molded floral pattern and gilding, one gilded teapot spout, one molded teapot spout, one bisque handle, one blue

hand painted dish, two polychrome hand painted overglaze floral dishes, one polychrome hand painted overglaze floral teacup, one molded and gilded polychrome hand painted overglaze floral plate, one gilded pitcher, one gilded plate, two molded paneled dishes, one floral molded and gilded dish, and one plain dish.

Figure 9. A selection of doll-scale ceramic vessels (Joseph Bagley)

Stylistic Analysis

The goal of the stylistic analysis was to determine if there was a statistically significant difference in the ways in which the adult- and doll-scale tablewares were decorated, in an attempt to answer larger questions about the implicit messaging conveyed by these two types of ceramics. For this analysis, ceramics from Feature 1 and Feature 4/5 were grouped together, as the interest was more in the differences between the scales rather than any difference between the features.

The vessels identified as tablewares were separated out and divided into two stylistic categories: white or no decoration, and color. A total of sixty-five adult-scale

vessels were counted, as seen in Table 9. Of these, forty-five, or 69.2%, had white or no decoration. Twenty, or 30.8%, had color decoration.

Table 9. Stylistic breakdown of adult-scale vessels.

Decoration Type	Number of Vessels	Percentage of Total
White or None	45	69.2%
Color	20	30.8%

A total of thirty-six doll-scale vessels were counted, as seen in Table 10. Of these, twenty-one, or 58.3%, had white or no decoration. Fifteen, or 41.7%, had color decoration.

Table 10. Stylistic breakdown of doll-scale vessels.

Decoration Type	Number of Vessels	Percentage of Total
White or None	21	58.3%
Color	15	41.7%

Using the chi-square test, the significance level was calculated for the totals from the adult- and doll-scale vessels in each stylistic category. With a significance value of $p<0.05$, the result was not significant, with a p-value of 0.2703 and a chi-square statistic of 1.215.

Thus, according to this analysis, there was no significant stylistic difference between the adult- and doll-scale ceramic vessels. As the thesis progressed, however, it became evident that this analysis was flawed. A closer look at the assemblage indicated that the category of "color decoration" conflated, for example, blue shell

edge pearlware and gilded porcelain, ware types that clearly hold different cultural capital. Thus, it was determined to move away from a stylistic analysis and towards a functional analysis.

Functional Analysis

The functional analysis of the adult- and doll-scale ceramics focused on the vesselization discussed previously. In this analysis, each vessel was identified as closely as possible as to its function, and then the Industrial School assemblage was compared with the ideal genteel table setting prescribed by the etiquette of the Victorian period, as described by Fitts (1999). While this proved challenging due to the fragmentary nature of many of the ceramics, and also because some of the vessels may have been made of metal and thus would be less likely to be present archaeologically, every effort was made to match archaeologically recovered vessels with those that the etiquette required. The results of this comparison will be presented and discussed in Chapter 5.

Doll Analysis – Minimum Number of Individuals

Figure 10. A selection of doll fragments (Joseph Bagley)

The doll fragments from Feature 1 and Feature 4/5 were analyzed in order to determine the number of individual dolls present in each deposit. To do this, after crossmending, all of the doll fragments were identified as closely as possible with a body part. Hands, feet, arms, and legs were sided left or right, if possible. The breakdown of doll fragments from Feature 1 and Feature 4/5 can be seen in Table 11. A few of the doll fragments are pictured in Figure 10.

Table 11. Identification of doll fragments from Feature 1 and Feature 4/5.

	Number Identified	
Body Part	**Feature 1**	**Feature 4/5**
Left hand/arm	1	10
Right hand/arm	3	9
Unsided hand/arm	0	4
Right leg/foot	0	5
Left leg/foot	0	6
Unsided leg/foot	4	11
Head	2	7
Shoulder/neck	0	1
Unidentified limb	3	5
Nearly complete (missing right arm, left leg)	0	2
Waist-down (both legs)	0	1

Based on the body part identifications, I was able to determine the minimum number of individual dolls from each feature. The minimum number of individuals corresponds to the largest number of any one body part found in the assemblage. In this case, the minimum number of individuals for Feature 1 was three, based on the right arms and hands, and the minimum number of individuals for Feature 4/5 was ten, based on the left arms and hands. As mentioned in Chapter 3, the size and style of doll parts was not taken into account in this analysis because dolls could be reconstructed from new or recycled parts over and over again, often without regard for matching the size and style of the original. Therefore, it is not out of the question that a doll could be made up of widely varying parts.

CHAPTER 5

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

In this chapter, I discuss the results laid out in the previous chapter and provide possible explanations for these results. I address the stylistic analysis of the adult- and doll-scale ceramics, then move on to an analysis of the dolls. Both of these analyses are then tied to a larger discussion of institutions, domesticity, and control.

Comparison of Adult- and Doll-Scale Ceramics

The Managers placed a real emphasis in their writings on the School as a home and a family. For example, in the 1856 Annual Report, they describe their purpose as "to exert on these children the influences of *home*," noting that "in most cases, it is the first true home they have ever known" (Industrial School for Girls 1856:7). In that same report, they claim that "the children feel themselves not so much inmates of a public institution as members of a family" (Industrial School for Girls 1856:8). In 1857, the Managers state that "the radical idea of the School" is that "it should exert what may be called a family influence" (Industrial School for Girls 1857:6). Because the home was the proper place for all women, and the family the moral backbone of the culture, a woman or girl without either was in danger of falling victim to the worst of society. Institutions like the Industrial School sought to fill this void by creating a home-like environment and preparing lower-class women and girls

for life in the home as domestic servants. Domestic service was seen as an appropriate vocation for lower-class women, as it was a way in which they could be useful while still fulfilling the mandate of domesticity that applied to all women. It provided the protection and moral influence of the home and the family setting. The Managers of the Industrial School clearly believed in the appropriateness of domestic service for their charges, stating "we believe that young girls who require watch and ward are best off under the family discipline of respectable households" (Industrial School for Girls 1860:6). They had nothing but scorn for those women who rejected service and instead went to work in factories or other employment. These women, they said, "are most exposed to the worst evils that befall women," and their lives "are sore shame and grief to others, and ruin, physical and moral, to themselves" (Industrial School for Girls 1860:7).

If the goal was to create a home-like atmosphere at the School, it is important to ask what kind of home the Managers were attempting to replicate. Based on the emphasis on Gothic and nature motifs, it seems that the goal was likely a middle-class home, as these motifs were especially prominent in the type of domesticity espoused by middle-class homemakers (Wall 1991; Fitts 1999; Wall 1999). This also fits with the "proper place" that the Managers likely envisioned for their charges – an improvement on their lower-class origins, but not so far above their station as to be improper.

A proper middle-class Victorian home would have had a precise set of tablewares to facilitate the appropriate genteel dining experience (Fitts 1999:50). Ideally, these would be a matched set, as a symbol of morality, gentility, order, and symmetry (Fitts 1999:50). The Industrial School assemblage suggests that the Managers attempted to facilitate a matched table setting at meals. Seven matching

fluted mugs, six Trent-pattern plates, and six blue shell edge flatware vessels were identified, indicating that matching, at least within individual vessel types, was considered important. The fluted mugs and Trent plates, as well as 20 other drinking and flatware vessels, had complementary white molded decorations. Complementary patterns may have been considered matching in the Victorian era, so these vessels may represent a matching set (Fitts 1999:52). At the doll scale, there is also some appearance of matching sets. Five identical undecorated flatware vessels, two dishes and a teacup with matching floral painted design, and two matching ribbed and gilded teacups were identified. Additionally, 15 vessels, including flatware, drinking vessels, pitchers, teapots, and bowls, had complementary white molded decorations. This suggests some degree of importance placed on matching at the doll scale as well.

The genteel middle-class Victorian dining set would have had particular vessel forms, as well as matching designs. Fitts describes the set of tablewares required by the rules of genteel dining: "dinner plates, soup plates, twifflers, muffin plates, sauce tureens, a soup tureen, a variety of platters in different sizes, covered serving dishes, open serving dishes, bakers, a butter dish, a pitcher, and a gravy boat," as well as a tea set including "cups, saucers, a tea pot, a slop bowl, a sugar, a creamer, and often muffin plates" (1999:53). In his analysis, he suggests that having 14 out of the 20 listed vessel forms would indicate that a household was practicing the rules of genteel dining (Fitts 1999:53-54).

It can be difficult to identify specific vessel forms from the fragmentary archaeological assemblage. Additionally, some serving vessels may have been made of metal, such as silver, and thus would be unlikely to show up in the archaeological record (Wall 1991:76). Despite these challenges, an attempt was made to identify which of the genteel dining vessel forms were present in the Industrial School

collection. At the adult scale, at least three sizes of plates were identified, likely corresponding to dinner plates, twifflers, and muffin plates, as well as soup plates, a pitcher, and one teacup. At the doll scale, teacups, saucers, teapots, pitchers, bowls, one lid of a covered serving dish, a possible serving dish, and several sizes of plates were identified, though it was difficult to tell whether size differences were due to different intended uses or different scales of toy sets. Thus, at least six forms were identified at the adult scale and at least eight at the doll scale, neither matching up to the 14 forms identified by Fitts as befitting a genteel middle-class dining set. However, this could be due to the aforementioned challenges of identifying vessel forms from the archaeological material. It is interesting to note the differences between the two scales. The doll dishes were considerably more upscale than the adult vessels. All of the doll vessels were porcelain, and many had gilded decoration, while almost all of the adult vessels were earthenwares and only one was gilded. Also notable is the almost complete lack of tea service vessels at the adult scale. Only one teacup was identified at the adult scale and no teapots, while at the doll scale, seven teacups and two teapots were identified. The lack of archaeologically recovered teawares at the adult scale may suggest that these items were so important as to be afforded special protections. Perhaps the girls were not allowed to handle these items as casually as they did some of the more everyday dishes, and this is why we find only one broken teacup among the archaeological assemblage. If this was the case, then doll sized teawares would have been the main source of practice for the tea service. Toy ceramics were an indication that the children who used them were learning genteel dining practices, so perhaps it was primarily by this method that the girls of the Industrial School learned the tea service (Fitts 1999:55; Evans 2016:93).

A large part of creating the necessary home-like environment, as well as of the education in service, would have been the proper material goods. Material culture is an important tool in creating social structures, as objects that are used in everyday practices become symbols for and the means of reproducing the messages inherent in those practices. Through material culture, the women who ran institutions like the Industrial School would both create the protecting moral influence of the home and also prepare their charges for their future home lives. These objects reinforced the ideologies of the pure and moral home and also the girls' proper place within the home and the wider society. In this context, it becomes clear that the ceramics at the Industrial School served a purpose beyond simply dining. They were both teaching tools and tools of ideology. The Gothic patterns present on many of the ceramics at the adult and doll scales evoked the church and positioned the home as an extension of that pure, moral space (Wall 1991; Fitts 1999). Floral motifs and flowerpots represented the purity of nature, while matching sets and specific vessels forms indicated gentility and proper middle-class dining. These dishes also served to demonstrate to the students the types of environments in which they would, it was hoped, spend their lives in service. They prepared them to be proper, moral parts of the homes in which they served.

It is unsurprising that the doll-scale and adult-scale ceramics at the Industrial School seem to largely support the kinds of messaging about home and domesticity that the Managers were likely trying to impart. Given the amount of control the Managers of the School wielded over most aspects of the girls' lives, it makes sense that they would work hard to ensure that the material culture the girls interacted with reinforced their teachings. In the monthly secretary reports, there are several instances of items being rejected from families or donors due to their "unsuitability". For

instance, in January of 1862, the Manager Miss Parkman notes that a few girls "had received from their family presents of clothes not suitable in their position" (Industrial School for Girls 1862[1]). While it is not entirely clear how the Industrial School obtained its ceramics, it can be assumed that everything that came into the School was first scrutinized to ensure that it was consistent with the environment that the Managers felt was appropriate for the girls. Some of the annual reports mention tablewares in their donation lists, but this does not occur often enough to account for all of the items that the School would have needed. Thus, at least some of the ceramics must have been purchased or brought in by the Managers themselves. However they were obtained, it seems evident that they would have been carefully selected. This level of control was important to the success of the School. By managing all aspects of the girls' lives, materially and socially, the Managers could create within the girls a sense of conformity and "knowing their place." If their lives were tightly controlled enough, this mentality would become second nature to the girls and they would come to regard it as natural. Thus, the Victorian social order would self-replicate and the Managers' place in that order would be assured. That is not to say that any of this was necessarily consciously considered by the Managers. Rather, it is simply the way in which the dominant forces in any society reinforce their position.

It is tempting to see items like doll-sized ceramics as merely toys, in the sense of being frivolous or recreational. While the doll-sized ceramics at the Industrial School were likely used in a recreational environment, these were not simply toys, and like all toys provided by adults to children, they represent an attempt "to suggest and enforce certain norms of behaviour" (Wilkie 2000:101). These doll dishes were both instructional and aspirational. They were instructional in the sense that they

served as teaching tools, which complemented the lessons the girls learned as they cooked, served, and ate their own meals. The girls were able to practice those lessons as they served their dolls and "taught" them to do the same. In doing so, they were reinforcing their place in the domestic sphere (Wilkie 2000:102). In the case of the tea service, as discussed previously, it may be that the main part of the lesson happened with these "toy" vessels. Through repetition and mimicry, these toy replicas would have enculturated the girls into a life of service and allowed the lessons about domesticity and the structures of the world to become natural to the girls who played with them.

For a child whose life revolved around training for service, the nature and purpose of these objects would likely have been quite obvious. The dishes were imbued with all of the meaning of the future for which they were being primed – the proper genteel middle-class lifestyle that they were taught to create for those they served, and all of the emotions they felt about that future. Perhaps some of the girls were excited by the prospect of living in the house of a more well to do family, or truly enjoyed the work they were being trained to do. For these girls, the toy dishes may have been aspirational, representing the types of objects they hoped one day to have responsibility for in the home where they lived and worked. Other girls may have dreamed of being the type of lady who could own such items herself, perhaps employing servants of her own. These girls, too, would have seen the doll dishes as aspirational, but in a slightly different way. Yet others might have resented the meanings embedded within the doll dishes, seeing a life they did not choose and had no real power to change. The feelings that these items evoked were likely as numerous and as varied as the girls themselves, and it is important to not take them as a monolithic group. While the present study attempts to draw conclusions about the

mindsets of the girls, these conclusions can never be complete or entirely accurate. The complexities of each girl's experiences and identity would have gone into shaping her relationships with the items that she used in her everyday life at the Industrial School.

Dolls and the Material Self-Fashioning of Girls

The dolls with which the girls of the Industrial School played and interacted were tied up in the same messages about domesticity as the rest of the material culture at the School. The dolls would have been a tool with which to practice skills the girls would need in their lives at service. Dolls would have been a necessary part of the curriculum at the School, as the girls practiced sewing by making clothes for their dolls and other domestic tasks by serving their dolls meals and tea. Dolls are almost never merely toys. They are ideological in nature, given by adults to promote specific ideological aims (Wilkie 2000b). In this case, rather than being aspirational for the girls of the Industrial School, the dolls they interacted with may have instead represented the people they would eventually serve. Thus, the girls may not have seen themselves in their dolls, but rather their future mistresses and charges. They may also have represented their own future children, containing messages about motherhood and responsibility and the proper place of women in the home. These dolls were as much a part of the messaging about domesticity and gentility that the Managers were attempting to pass on as were the ceramic vessels.

Dolls are a particularly poignant artifact, especially at a girls' school. A broken doll was not inevitably destined for the trash. Broken limbs could easily be replaced, and often a child would bury a doll that was beyond repair, rather than simply tossing it on the garbage pile or in the privy (Wilkie 2000a:150; Wilkie

2000b:103). Wilkie discusses a site with a relatively high number of doll fragments found in a privy, where it appeared that the destruction of the dolls was intentional (2000b). In this instance, the destruction of the dolls was interpreted as being tied to the birth of a younger sibling and the stresses resulting from the loss of only child status (Wilkie 2000b:103-104). Destroying her dolls was one of the only ways that this girl could "protest or express her frustration in ways that would draw a response from her parents" (Wilkie 2000b:104). In another piece, Wilkie provides another poignant example of destruction or discard of dolls and other toys as an act of resistance (2000a). The children of a Black family, living as sharecroppers on the plantation of a White family in Louisiana, were given toy tea sets and porcelain dolls by the White family. Many of these items, most of them intact, were found in trash deposits (Wilkie 2000a:153). Wilkie suggests that the disposal of these items, especially the dolls, may have been an act of resistance on the part of the Black children, as a response to the fact that the dolls did not look like them and perhaps because possessing these items created a rift between them and their peers (2000a:153). Children, especially children in disadvantaged or restrained settings, were limited in their ability to affect the world around them, and their treatment of their toys was one of the few ways they were able to express themselves and their feelings (Wilkie 2000a:153).

Katherine Evans' thesis on the Chase Home for Children in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, mentions that nearly fifty percent of the dolls recovered from the site were found in the privy (2016:79). She notes that in an institutional setting, girls' play could not always be closely supervised, and that despite societal intentions, play with dolls often took different, less proper paths. In some instances, girls punished their dolls by forcing them "to eat dirt or coal when badly behaved" (Evans 2016:91). This

type of behavior suggests that dolls were not always held as sacred objects, but that they may have been subjected to rather rough treatment including, perhaps, intentional breaking.

As with all objects in the privy, the dolls likely came to be there in many ways, for many reasons. They may have fallen in by accident or been disposed of with other household debris if the School did not find it possible or prudent to repair a doll. This thesis, however, will focus on the disposal of the dolls in the privy as a symbol of the discontent that the girls may have felt, as this is the explanation that is the most striking and evocative for the argument that is being made here. This is a likely explanation for at least some of the dolls, given the reparability of the dolls and the frugality of the Managers.

Exploring the argument that at least some of the doll depositions represent discontent or clandestine behavior, several possible reasons for disposal appear. It may help to explore where the dolls may have come from, which can shed some possible light on the girls' reactions to them, their sense of ownership and sentimentality.

If the dolls were brought by each girl from home, it is harder to imagine that they would have been so seemingly casually thrown away. Even if a girl's home life was less than idyllic, as was certainly the case for many of the Industrial School girls, there may have been some sentimental attachment to her doll, which she would then care for (Wilkie 2000b:102). This line of thought then leads to two possible conclusions. First, if the dolls were in fact personal objects with some sentimental meaning due to a connection to home or simply a love for the doll, they may have ended up in the privy through malice on the part of other girls. Perhaps destroying another girl's doll was a way to get back at her for some perceived insult. The second

possibility is that the dolls were distributed at the School and thus did not hold the same sentimentality for some of the girls. Since these girls were coming from impoverished backgrounds, many from broken homes or from being orphaned, it is possible that their former caretakers did not have the money to provide "frivolous" items such as dolls. While some dolls, like Frozen Charlottes, were quite inexpensive, the privy also contained much larger, and more expensive, dolls (State Museum of Pennsylvania 2009). Thus, it seems reasonable to assume that these dolls were instead purchased by or donated to the School and then distributed to the girls, perhaps as gifts or perhaps simply as learning tools as discussed above. Indeed, there is evidence of at least one doll being donated to the School, included in the donation list in the 1882 Annual Report: "large doll with clothes", donated by Miss D. Hayward (Industrial School for Girls 1883:21). It makes sense, then, that the Managers would have wanted each girl to have a doll with which to reinforce her lessons. The discrepancy in sizes and styles of dolls could be explained if the dolls were donated, rather than purchased in bulk, and given the reliance upon donations in other areas, this does not seem far-fetched.

If the dolls were given out at the School, rather than brought from home, this could help to explain why so many of them met their end in the privy. A doll impersonally assigned by the institution would likely not carry the same emotional weight and attachment as a doll given by a parent or other family member. At its most benign, then, the privy deposition could simply reflect the apathy of the girls towards their dolls; rather than cherishing a doll even after it was broken, they instead threw away the broken pieces as they would any other trash. This practice could also represent the only real act of rebellion to be seen in the archaeological record at the Industrial School. One can imagine an unhappy girl, angry at being removed from her

home, however hard, and forced to conform to strict new rules, taking out her frustration on one of the few objects now in her possession, given to her by the very institution she blamed for her misery.

Kathryn Goetz discusses the significance of material goods in the self-fashioning of girls in her 2013 thesis. She describes how important it was for girls to "learn how to use, value, desire, or reject specific elements of their material world" in order to become the "correct" type of young lady (Goetz 2013:7). It was crucial that girls' desires be strictly controlled, in order to avoid becoming "fallen" women (Goetz 2013:14). In fact, popular thinking in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries held that "the formal educations of young women were inexorably linked to physical objects" (Goetz 2013:178).

While Goetz's thesis focuses largely on middle- and upper-class girls, who would have had more control over the material culture in their lives, her ideas and conclusions can also be applied to lower-class girls like the students at the Industrial School. It was not only things that girls owned that affected their self-fashioning, but also furniture and spaces around them, as well as things they talked about, saw, thought and dreamed about (Goetz 2013:6). In this way, the Industrial School girls, despite their lack of consumer choice, would have actively participated in material self-fashioning. The things they wanted, as well as the ways in which they reacted to the items in their world, shaped the ways in which they saw themselves.

This can be seen in a few examples from the monthly secretary reports, especially in an instance in July of 1868: "Mrs. Philbrick said that Miss Macy thought the shoes which the girls were wearing were not suitable for them. They were boys' shoes and the girls (the older ones especially) were ashamed of them" (Industrial School for Girls 1868[7]). Presumably in response to the girls' feelings, the Managers

agreed to get them different shoes for special occasions. In this way, despite their lack of personal buying power, the girls nevertheless were able to affect some measure of choice over the material goods in their lives.

I would argue that this can also be seen in their apparent treatment of the dolls. Goetz suggests that just as important as positive choices were material goods that girls "rejected, did not want, or could not have" (2013:3). By disposing of their dolls in the privy, rather than treasuring them as beloved objects, the girls of the Industrial School were making a statement about their rejection of these items and what they signified. It may be that these dolls did not fit within their own self-image or were simply not fashionable and thus potential objects of shame and ridicule (Wilkie 2000a:150). If a girl deliberately destroyed another girl's doll and hid the pieces out of shame or a desire to avoid punishment, this could be interpreted as a reaction to the stressful and regulated environment in which they lived. In either case, the destruction or deliberate disposal of a doll represents a significant act of material self-fashioning in a population that likely felt quite constrained in their choices.

The treatment of the dolls also represents one of the only possible archaeological indications of discontent at the School. The interpretation of the dolls' treatment as discontent is strengthened through the documentary record, as the monthly secretary reports contain many instances of misbehavior and resistance. Polly Parsons was recommended to be "transferred to the State Industrial School at Lancaster – as her conduct had been so bad … that the Matron thought her an injury to the other children" (Industrial School for Girls 1861[5]). Dora Stockwell was "a great trial to the Matron – lazy + passionate" (Industrial School for Girls 1861[9]). Emily Harney and Christy Sias ran away in March of 1863, "intending to go to Boston" (Industrial School for Girls 1863[3]). Eliza MacTier caused a great deal of

trouble in September of 1863, meeting with a young man while she was at work and afterwards being "disorderly and impudent" (Industrial School for Girls 1863[9]). Following this incident, she ran away from her workplace and when found by police, she stated that "she would rather go to prison, than return to the school" (Industrial School for Girls 1863[9]). In May of 1865, Annie Barrett was returned from her place "for petty misdemeanors," having "taken some trifles belonging to the family" and being "artful & deceptive" (Industrial School for Girls 1865[5]). These are only a few examples, but they speak to the fact that all was not as idyllic at the School as the Managers might have tried to portray to the general public. The girls, in their limited ways, were able to resist the rules and lifeways that were being thrust upon them by the School, the Managers, and Victorian society as a whole.

Relevance to Greater Scholarship and Future Work

In a broad sense, the Industrial School for Girls and the present study have much to offer to historical archaeology literature and the study of gender in general. While some of the Victorian ideas of gender roles and class discussed in previous chapters might seem very old-fashioned, it is important to remember the ways in which present-day society still relies on some of the same ideas. Progress has been made, clearly, but there are holdovers. It is still much more common for women to be the homemakers, performing the cooking, cleaning, and child-rearing duties. Women's work is still undervalued; white women in the United States made $0.77 for every dollar made by white men in 2016, and women of color made even less (American Association of University Women 2017:10). Lower income individuals still have by-and-large many fewer opportunities than do wealthier individuals. Children born to the lowest income families are ten times for likely to stay in the

lowest income bracket than to move to the highest, and the inverse is true of those children born to the wealthiest families (Greenstone et al. 2013). Socioeconomic status impacts test scores, college enrollment and graduation, and everything that follows from these opportunities (Greenstone et al. 2013). Upper-class individuals and institutions still attempt to define lower-class individuals by the specifications that they have set for how a "proper" lower-class person should look and act. For example, governmental programs such as welfare and the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program overwhelmingly favor what they see as the "deserving poor." The "deserving poor" is generally defined as those individuals who are able-bodied and working, rather than those described as "lazy" and unwilling to work (Moffitt 2015; Bridges 2017; Lowrey 2017). This dichotomy does not take nuances such as mental illness, access to childcare and other support systems, as well as many other factors into account. In this way, institutions force individuals to conform to certain behaviors and morals in order to benefit. This is not so different that the rules of morality and behavior enforced at the Industrial School, with those who did not comply being forced out to try to find help elsewhere.

On a more specific note, the Industrial School for Girls is an important archaeological site because it is so very rare to find a site inhabited by such a narrow swath of society. The Industrial School was an exclusively female site, with most of its inhabitants representing the very poorest social class and a very narrow age range, from approximately 6 to 15 years of age. It is, to the author's knowledge, the only Industrial School of its kind to be excavated archaeologically in the United States. It will provide a valuable comparison for other school sites, perhaps especially other single-gender school sites. It would be interesting to compare the Industrial School to an all-male reform institution, to investigate differences in gender treatment at these

types of institutions, or to all-male or all-female upper-class schools, to investigate the role that class and gender played in the lives of students.

A more intensive search of archives, libraries, and private collections may uncover personal documents written by individuals intimately involved with the School, including students, staff, and Managers. These documents, if they exist – and it seems likely that some do – could provide greater insight into the minds of these individuals and the motivations and emotions tied up with the School's practices and material culture.

More work could be done with the analysis of material self-fashioning, broadening it to include other artifact categories, interpreting the entire site and its assemblage through this lens. This site, and this type of analysis, represents a significant contribution to the literature, as it uses a material self-fashioning approach with a population that is often not seen as having much choice in its material culture. Goetz's thesis addresses middle- and upper-class girls, and the Industrial School site could provide an interesting and important addition to her work.

This thesis has looked at the girls of the Industrial School mainly as female, and has used a framework of feminist archaeology. It has briefly touched on its connection to the field of childhood archaeology, but it would be interesting to focus more closely on this site's contribution to that area. As mentioned previously, the two fields and foci are related, as both women and children are underrepresented populations in archaeology, and the Industrial School site has important implications for both of these areas.

Conclusion

The Industrial School for Girls represents a unique opportunity to analyze a site occupied by a single gender, age group, and social class, a population that is largely absent from historical records. Taking the archaeological record in conjunction with written documents from the School allows for a more complete picture of what life was actually like for the students who lived and learned at this institution. The School's Managers, influenced by the ideologies of the Victorian era, especially the notions of domesticity and true womanhood, attempted to create an institution where their charges would come to learn their place in society, namely service, and a sense of morality. An analysis of the archaeologically recovered ceramics from the site suggests that they were largely successful in creating an environment in which the girls were exposed to material culture that reinforced the lessons they received about their social roles. Looking at the depositional behaviors represented by the privy, however, complicates the idea of complete control by the Managers. The fact that so many dolls were thrown away may indicate that the girls of the Industrial School were not as meekly accepting of the roles into which they were being fitted. This thesis has been an attempt to begin to understand the complicated factors at play in this fascinating institution. It reveals both the level of control that the Managers had over their charges and the ways in which that control was subverted by the girls, through possibly the only channels available to them.

APPENDIX 1: VESSELIZATION

Vesselization Feature 1

Vessel Number	Ware Type	Description
1	Ironstone	Fluted mug
2	Ironstone	Fluted mug
3	Ironstone	Fluted mug
4	Ironstone	Fluted mug
5	Ironstone	Fluted mug
6	Ironstone	Fluted mug
7	Whiteware	Soap dish
8	Pearlware	Trent plate
9	Pearlware	Trent plate
10	Ironstone	Cream mug
11	Ironstone	Teacup
12	Ironstone	Paneled mug
13	Ironstone	Paneled mug
14	Redware	Lusterware
15	Redware	Flowerpot
16	Whiteware	Annular
17	Redware	Green glazed
18	Pearlware	Blue hand painted

19	Pearlware	Blue transfer printed
20	Ironstone	Blue transfer printed
21	Porcelain	Gilded
22	Whiteware	Narrow opening
23	Pearlware	Blue shell edge plate
24	Ironstone	Molded pitcher
25	Pearlware	Ridgway Bates & Co
26	Pearlware	Trent plate
27	Pearlware	Trent plate
28	Pearlware	Paneled rim plate
29	Pearlware	Floral rim plate
30	Ironstone	Floral rim plate
31	Pearlware	Floral rim plate
32	Pearlware	Rolled rim chamber pot
33	Ironstone	Chamber pot
34	Ironstone	Chamber pot
35	Ironstone	Chamber pot
36	Pearlware	Flared rim bowl
37	Pearlware	Blue shell edge plate
38	Pearlware	Blue shell edge plate
39	Pearlware	Blue shell edge plate
40	Pearlware	Blue shell edge plate
41	Pearlware	Blue shell edge plate
42	Yellow ware	Bowl

43	Yellow ware	Basin
44	Refined earthenware	Burned basin

Vesselization Feature 4/5

Vessel Number	Ware Type	Description
1	Westerwald	Base
2	Pearlware	Trent plate
3	Porcelain	Gilded
4	Ironstone	Molded, wavy
5	Ironstone	Plain saucer
6	Ironstone	Floral plate
7	Creamware	Hand painted
8	Ironstone	Faceted dish
9	Ironstone	Floral dish
10	Ironstone	Plain saucer
11	Ironstone	Faceted cup
12	Yellow ware	Plain yellow ware
13	Stoneware	Gray stoneware
14	Ironstone	Vine decoration
15	Pearlware	Hand painted
16	Redware	White slipped flowerpot
17	Ironstone	Green banded plate
18	Ironstone	Green banded plate
19	Ironstone	Green banded saucer

20	Ironstone	Pankhurst plate
21	Ironstone	Plain saucer
22	Pearlware	Blue transfer printed
23	Porcelain	Plain
24	Whiteware	Blue transfer printed
25	Redware	Brown glazed
26	Redware	Brown glazed
27	Ironstone	Faceted cup
28	Redware	Blue painted
29	Pearlware	Blue shell edge plate
30	Whiteware	Flow blue
31	Pearlware	Molded mug
32	Ironstone	Plain
33	Ironstone	Molded
34	Ironstone	Fluted mug
35	Whiteware	Flow blue
36	Ironstone	Plain mug
37	Pearlware	Faceted cup
38	Pearlware	Molded handle
39	Pearlware	Handle
40	Ironstone	Handle
41	Pearlware	Trent plate
42	Redware	Flowerpot
43	Redware	Flowerpot

44	Redware	Flowerpot
45	Redware	Flowerpot
46	Redware	Flowerpot
47	Redware	Flowerpot
48	Redware	Flowerpot
49	Redware	Flowerpot
50	Redware	Flowerpot

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