"THEY GAVE THE CHILDREN CHINA DOLLS": TOYS AND ENSLAVED CHILDHOODS ON AMERICAN PLANTATIONS

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A thesis submitted to the faculty at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in the Department of Anthropology

Chapel Hill
2017

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ABSTRACT

Colleen Betti: "They Gave the Children China Dolls": Toys and Enslaved Childhoods on
American Plantations
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The lives of enslaved children are often overlooked in archaeological studies of

plantation life and historical discussions of changes in how children were viewed in American

society. Using children's toys from fifty-two slavery related archaeological sites from the United

States in the Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery (DAACS), I argue that

enslaved children were included within the larger shifts in the ideas surrounding childhood that

occurred between the early 18th and mid-19th centuries. This analysis of the types of toys and

changes in the amount and types of toys over the 18th and 19th centuries on plantation sites,

shows that toys given to enslaved children by white slave owners, and potentially enslaved

parents, provided an important source of gendered socialization and are evidence of the inclusion

of enslaved children within larger societal shifts in the meaning of childhood.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The common perception of children in the United States today is one of "precious, innocent, and cute *cherubs*" (Lancy 2008:2). They are seen as economically worthless, but emotionally priceless (Zelizer 1985). However, this is not a universal definition of childhood, and ideas surrounding children in the United States have changed greatly over the past three hundred years. Historians have identified a number of shifts that led from a 17th century perspective of children as incomplete adults, or even evil and sinful creatures, to the modern day concept of childhood (Calvert 1992; Chudacoff 2007). While these shifts have been well documented historically, at least for the white, middle-class, northern United States, little attention has been paid to conceptualizations of childhood on plantations in the American South, especially enslaved childhoods, or how childhood is represented materially in the archaeological record.

The ways in which socialization occurs and is perceived within a society helps determine how members of that society understand childhood and children. Socialization is an important process through which cultural values and practices are passed on to children (Christensen and Prout 2005). According to historians, as the dominant ideas regarding childhood changed in the United States, so too did socialization. Once children were viewed as a separate category from adults and seen as innocent rather than evil, public education, educational games, and restrictions on child labor came into being (Clement 1997). Importantly, these were all ideas and practices controlled by adults and imposed on children.

Formal toys, such as marbles and china dolls, were part of the socialization process. They were designed, manufactured, and purchased by adults for children. Even toy advertisements were directed towards adults until the mid-20th century (Cross 2009). As adult perceptions of children shifted from incomplete adults to priceless and innocent beings, the toys they were given to play with also underwent changes. Because of this, toys that are found archaeologically, especially without highly specific context data, often tell more about the adults who purchased them than the children who may have played with them.

Toys are used by adults to socialize children, reflect the dominant ideas surrounding childhood, and can be identified archaeologically. This study uses artifacts, specifically toys, in the Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery (DAACS) to conduct research. Using toys found on plantation contexts associated with enslaved Africans that have been cataloged into the DAACS, this project is looking to determine whether Southern adults, including those who were enslaved, were part of the same changes in dominant discourse surrounding childhood, as white, middle-class, northerners and the effects of this discourse on enslaved children. The toys are from slave quarters, work yards, and other sites inhabited and used by enslaved Africans, not the free white families living on plantations. As such they represent the experiences of enslaved children, not all Southern children. While clear patterns are apparent in the data, I also discuss challenges with the data set, especially in dating, that resulted from using the DAACS database.

By examining when toys appeared, at what sites they are found, and what kinds of toys are found on sites associated with enslaved Africans[1], I hope to understand whether changes in

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[1] Free white and enslaved African are common terms used by historians and archaeologists to refer to these two groups in the United States. The terms are not perfect and are debated. Free whites refers to people of European decent who were not indentured servants, although this

the number and types of toys relate to shifts in the understanding of childhood rather than only changes in manufacturing. Does the increasing emphasis on the innocence and playfulness of childhood in the late 18th and 19th century result in an increase in manufactured toys for enslaved children? What do toys reveal about the socialization of enslaved children and who is using manufactured toys for socialization? In answering these questions, I argue that the increase in the number and variety of toys in slave associated contexts through the late 18th and early 19th centuries reflects changes in white slave owners' understandings of childhood, including seeing enslaved children as inherently playful, and the effects of an innocent conception of childhood on the paternalistic nature of slavery. To do this, I begin by discussing the anthropology of childhood and the relationship between the social construction of childhood and socialization. I then examine the historical background of childhood in 18th and 19th century America before turning to the analysis of the toys in the DAACS database.

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practice was no longer common during the time periods looked at in this study. White is used rather than European because not all Europeans were considered white during the 18th and 19th centuries. The term enslaved African is used rather than slave to avoid dehumanizing language and bring attention to the fact that their status as a slave was imposed on them rather than a natural category. African is the noun in the phrase to draw attention to the fact that slavery in the United States was based on race and the fact that a person had African ancestry.

CHAPTER 2: ANTHROPOLOGY AND ARCHAEOLOGY OF CHILDREN

Childhood as a Cultural Construct

Ideas surrounding childhood were able to change drastically in the 18th and 19th century

United States because childhood is defined culturally and is not a universal or natural state.

Childhood is similar to gender, as it is a social construct surrounding a biological reality.

Children's behaviors are culturally specific and influenced by the political, social, and economic

context in which they live (Kamp 2006; Baxter 2008). The amount of parental involvement in

children's lives, how much work they are expected to do, and when children become persons

within a society have a significant impact on perceptions and experiences of childhood

(Montgomery 2008; Lancy 2008). This has lead Hutson (2006) to define childhood as "an

interpretation of what it means to be a child" (103). Anthropological research has shown that the

modern Western concept of a biological and innocent childhood is actually at odds with much of

the rest of the world and historical patterns (Lancy 2008). The cultural nature of childhood

results in changes over time and differences between societies, such as between free whites and

enslaved Africans, and potentially even between white society in the northern and southern

United States.

Culturally created definitions of childhood are a form of dominant discourse, something

that is known by everyone within a society and usually controlled by elites (Kamp 2006). In the

case of childhood, these elites are all adults. This discourse defines who qualifies as a child, the

potential rituals surrounding children, and appropriate childhood activities. The dominant

discourse is an ideal and does not always reflect reality. Individuals within a society, especially

those not controlling the discourse, are able to recognize that it is an ideal (Kamp 2006). For example, while the current American understanding of childhood sees work as unnatural for children, it is often necessary for children living in poverty to help support their family and these families are able to see the discrepancy between the ideal and the reality. However, Schwartzman (2006) suggests that the basic understanding of childhood is a very powerful ideology that appears to be natural and universal to those living within a culture, but has been created by those in power. These concepts are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Childhood can be viewed as a natural and universal state, such as biological childhood in the West, while individuals within a society can still recognize people or groups that fall outside of this definition, such as working children. This is in part because of the distinction between childhood and a child. Childhood is a culturally defined life stage, while a child is a specific individual with a unique life story (Kamp 2006). While individual children can be identified in the archaeological record, childhood is more easily recognized and reveals more about the larger culture than a specific child.

Socialization

Adults create and enforce the dominant discourse surrounding childhood as a way to socialize children (Baxter 2006; Kamp 2006). Socialization is the process by which children internalize cultural values and prepare for adult life through learning and development. This process takes place through children's interactions with parents, other adults, and other children. Children play an active role in socialization by negotiating with adults and are not simply passive receivers (Christensen and Prout 2005; Montgomery 2008). Children learn through explicit instruction and observation. Learning through observation is a universal process, and more

commonly practiced than learning through explicit instruction (Gaskins and Paradise 2009). The dominant discourse and the social and economic context in which children live both influence the process of socialization (Baxter 2006). This means that two children belonging to the same culture may be socialized differently due to their socioeconomic status and other factors.

For example, gendering plays a large role in socialization and begins at a young age in most cultures (Kamp 2001). It is important for children to reproduce the gender roles they are taught, as societies need to reproduce culturally as well as biologically (Sanchez Romero 2009). Children are socialized into behaviors, roles, occupations, and traits associated with their gender. (Sofaer Derevenski 1997). Markers of gender are also physically present in the clothing and other bodily adornment children wear and the activities and possibly rituals they take part in (Joyce 2000). The age at which this process happens varies and it can be part of a formal ceremony or a more gradual process. Differences in how children are treated by adults, how much attention they receive, how much food they are given, what tasks they are allowed to do, and what they are forbidden to do can all be part of socialization into gender roles. While adults play an important role in gendered socialization, other children play a role through teasing or bullying children who do not obey prescribed gender roles (Lancy 2008).

Play

Play has an important role in the socialization of children. All young mammals play, but among humans play is culturally constructed as activities that are considered appropriate for play, how much time is allowed for play, gendered play, and other aspects of play vary between societies (Thomas 2006; Ember and Cunnar 2015). While there are cultural differences in play, it is one of the defining features of childhood in all cultures and one of the key behavioral

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separations between children and adults (Kamp 2001; Lancy 2008). The urge to play is strong in children, and they tend to incorporate elements of play into daily activities.

There is a strong connotation, at least in the West, that play is fun and meaningless, but it serves a number of social purposes. Through play, children learn about their position in society, relations with other people, and prepare for adulthood by practicing adult roles, physical and mental skills, cooperation, competition, and social strategies (Thomas 2006; Kamp 2001). It is an important part of a child's behavioral, social, intellectual, and physical development into an adult (Chudacoff 2007). Cultural norms are learned through play, as adults and other children either approve or disprove of various play activities (Lancy 2008; Kamp 2001). Additionally, play may differ for children of different social classes within a society, such as free white children and enslaved African children on American plantations. This difference is why it is important to look at the toys played with by enslaved children as separate and potentially having a different meaning from those owned by free white children.

While play is a large category and the activities within it are mostly culturally dependent, the majority of play activities can be divided into three general categories. The first, play with objects, includes play using formal toys, natural objects, or cultural objects. The second, locomotor play, involves physical activity of some kind and includes running games and swimming. The last category, rough and tumble play, is a specific form of locomotor play that involves play-fighting. One of the most common examples of this is wrestling (Lancy 2008). Play can also cross-cut these categories and involve objects, physical activity, and play-fighting.

In addition to these three categories, play takes two forms. Children create child-structured play separate from adults, while adult-structured play involves toys and games given to children by adults (Schwartzman 1976; Baxter 2008). Adult-structured play reveals

information about the key values of a society and adult's attempts at socialization, while child-structured play presents an opportunity to study children themselves and their agency (Baxter 2005). Adults often see play as imitation of adult activities and as preparation for adult life, which is reflected in toys such as dolls, tea sets, guns, and toy soldiers (Montgomery 2008). Adults use toys to purposefully manipulate children's play for their own purposes (Kamp 2001). Adult-structured play, especially involving adult provided toys is relatively rare outside of the modern West (Lancy 2008).

Because of the nature of the archaeology data for this project, I am looking at adult-structured play through the formal toys adults were providing children. The contexts in the DAACS database are all from slave quarters, work yards, and service buildings on plantations and do not include data from the plantation main houses lived in by free white children. Due to this fact, this study is looking specifically at the toys found in contexts associated with enslaved children, not free white children, although the historical record on childhood from the 18th and 19th centuries is almost exclusively focused on free whites.

CHAPTER 3: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: CHILDREN AND CHILDHOOD IN 18TH AND 19TH CENTURY AMERICA

Phillip Aries (1962) set forth one of the earliest histories of childhood, focused on France, positing that concept of childhood did not emerge in Europe until the 17th century. Evidence of affection and age distinctions in earlier periods has emerged challenging Aires' view of childhood (Calvert 1992; Carencza 2008), but despite this new evidence, there still appear to have been major shifts in perceptions of childhood between the 17th century and the modern day. Because childhood is a culturally dependent concept, a variety of conceptions of childhood have emerged in the United States due to temporal, regional, and ethnic differences. White, middle and upper class, Northern children, have received the most attention in historical studies of childhood, with limited attention given to enslaved African children.

Karin Calvert (1992) provides a useful division how ideas evolved surrounding American childhood through the analysis of children's portraits. Her analysis is based on the clothing worn by the children, the objects included in the portraits, and how the children are posed. She proposes three main periods: 1650-1750, childhood was viewed as incomplete maturity; 1750-1830, childhood was seen as separate from adulthood, when individuals were simple and malleable; and 1830-1870, childhood was a distinct period of playfulness and innocence. Other authors (Reinier 1996; Clement 1997) have slightly different boundaries, and the portraits are almost exclusively of the white elite, but Calvert's periods remain the most useful for discussing the archaeological record as they are based on material culture rather than historical documents and the discussion of ideals. While the artists may have added details to the portraits not

completely reflecting reality, these added details may reinforce cultural ideas about an ideal childhood and the portraits provide a key insight into expectations and conceptions of childhood by white American society. Understanding how childhood as a concept developed over each of Calvert's three periods is necessary for analyzing the archaeological record of children's toys.

1670-1750

Historians maintain that in the 17th and early 18th centuries children were seen as evil and sinful beings whose will needed to be broken in order to become good adults. However, this view was only common in Puritan New England, but has been applied generally to all of the American colonies due to the greater number of historical records about children in the New England compared to other regions (Chudacoff 2007). Infants in both the North and South were seen as an "other," or not quite human with no real sense of the world, so their distress and discomfort was generally ignored. Crawling was highly discouraged and viewed as a bad habit as it was associated with animals and sub-human behavior (Calvert 1992). While less information is available in the more Anglican South during this period, personal letters show that by the early 18th century Southern families were more tolerant of children than Northern Puritans and commonly showed them affection (Smith 1986; Chudacoff 2007). For example, in 1728, Rachel Cocke of Virginia wrote that her six-year-old niece was "exceedingly fondled at [the] other House, more than I think necessary" (in Smith 1986:43) and in 1743 Jane Swann of North Carolina admitted that her four year old daughter was "very lively & full of Inocent Prattle with which she often pleasantly amuses her Father & my Self" (in Smith 1986:45).

However, extremely high mortality rates in the American South for both adults and children meant that family structures were not stable. A study of Middlesex, Virginia families

during the 17th and early 18th centuries shows that a quarter of children lost a parent by the age of five, half by the age of thirteen, and 73.2% of children had lost one or both parents by the age of twenty-one (Rutman and Rutman 1979). According to county court proceedings, children who lived with step-parents or other family members were often mistreated and valued for economic reasons more than familial love. Estimates from parish records in 17th century Maryland and Virginia suggest that between 20% and 45% of all children died before the age of 20 (Walsh 1979). Letters and diaries from this time suggest that parents, especially fathers, kept an emotional distance from their young children due to the high likelihood of childhood death (Smith 1986). As high mortality rates decreased through the mid-18th century and families became more stable, attachment and affection towards children increased.

Despite increased attachment, it appears that Southern parents encouraged autonomy in their children earlier than European parents. Infants were weaned between twelve and eighteen months in the colonies rather than around twenty-four months in Europe (Smith 1986). There was not a distinct children's material culture and once children learned to walk they were expected to fit into the adult world. Even items such as child-sized furniture were rare according to 17th and early 18th century probate inventories (Calvert 1992). These inventories also never list playthings, so any toy a child owned would be homemade and of little value (Walsh 1979). Children were simply seen as existing in a state of incomplete maturity and needed to learn to assimilate into adult society. A book of manners originally published in 1701 includes rules such as "Play not wantonly like a Mimick with thy Fingers or Feet," "Avoid sinful and unlawful Recreations: All such as prejudice the welfare either of body or mind," and "Children must meddle only with the affairs of Children" along with numerous rules about being deferential to

superiors and proper behavior at school, church, and the table (Garretson 1701: 22, 37). Being a child was not an excuse for not behaving with the same propriety as adults.

Children's activities were not necessarily distinct from adults. For example, children's literature as a genre did not exist in the English-speaking world until 1744 with the publication of John Newbery's *A Little Pretty Pocket-Book*. The small book contained poems based on the alphabet and illustrations focused on children playing (Darton 1932). Before the *Pocket-Book* was published, children would have read the same books as adults and enjoyed the same games and toys. People of all ages participated in amusements like blindman's bluff and gambling. In a 1664 diary entry, Samuel Pepys of London wrote, "my people and wife innocently at cards very merry, and I to bed, leaving them to their sport and blindman's buff."

Toy originally meant "something frivolous or inconsequential," and things such as dolls, soldiers, and miniature houses were displayed by the wealthy of all ages, not exclusively reserved for children (Chudacoff 2007, Calvert 1992). Records documenting the commission of elaborate dollhouses in Europe show they were made for wealthy adult women (Moseley-Christian 2010). Surviving dolls from the period and newspaper advertisements reveal that wooden dolls were used to show the latest women's fashions, although these dolls may have eventually been passed on to children (Taylor 2012). None of the portraits examined by Calvert from this period included toys or showed children playing (Calvert 1992). Looking at probate and court records, Walsh (1979) suggests that sugar was likely the only treat parents would ever purchase specifically for their children in the 17th and early 18th centuries.

Although children were expected to integrate into the adult world quite young, all children were initially part of the women's world. This distinction was marked by dress and the changes in fashion as one aged can be seen in portraits from the American colonies and in

surviving clothing. Young boys were dressed identically to women and girls in long petticoats and bonnets and stayed at home with their female family members. Once boys were given breeches at six or seven years old, they were allowed to enter the outside world through work or schooling. Breeches were a mark of hierarchical superiority of older boys and men over women and young children (Calvert 1992; Baumgarten 2002). As children got older, gender differentiation became stronger, including which activities they took part in. Interestingly, Newbery's *A Little Pretty Pocket-Book* came with a ball for boys and a pincushion for girls. The full title of the volume suggests, "the use of which will infallibly make Tommy a good Boy, and Polly a good Girl" (quoted in Darton 1932). While children, especially those above the age of seven were part of the adult world, the world they entered depended on their gender.

1750-1830

Changes to common perceptions of childhood in the mid-18th century can be largely attributed to the writings of John Locke, which became popular in the 1740s. Between 1700 and 1776, 25% of colonial libraries contained a copy of Locke's *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* and it was reprinted 19 times in America during this period (Reinier 1996). Locke believed that both parents share power over their children, but this power is only meant to keep children safe and provide for them until they can be self-sufficient. In his *Second Treatise of Government*, he describes this as "the bonds of this subjection are like the swaddling clothes they art wrapt up in, and supported by, in the weakness of their infancy: age and reason as they grow up, loosen them, till at length they drop quite off, and leave a man at his own free disposal" ([1689] 2012: 25). While parents had power over children, this was limited and for the good of the children, not the parent.

In *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1693), Locke encouraged discipline especially ignoring children when they do wrong and avoiding indulgence as "The great mistake I have observed in people's breeding their children has been, that this [discipline] has not been taken care enough of its due season; that the mind has not been made obedient to discipline, and pliant to reason, when it was most tender, most easy to be bowed" (33). While Locke's suggestions for discipline were often ignored, his view of children as malleable and in need of proper shaping was highly influential.

While he believed children were rational beings, they should not be treated as adults. Locke stated, "I consider them as children, who must be tenderly us'd, who must play, and have play-things." (1693: 39). In fact, he saw play as a crucial part of childhood advising that "playing and childish actions, are to be left free and unrestrain'd, as far as they can consist with the respect due to those that are present." (1693: 62). He recognized that "this gamesome humour, which is wisely adapted by nature to their age and temper should rather be encourag'd to keep up their spirits, and improve their strength and health" and that parents should "make all that they [children] have to do, sport and play too" (1693: 63). However, while play was to be encouraged, it was still seen as something that should be structured and purposeful due to the malleable minds of children (Chudacoff 2007).

The writings of Locke and others beginning to write on childhood had a visible impact on how children were viewed in America and started the practice of "enlightened childrearing." Demographic shifts, changes in inheritance patterns, and a growing economy that allowed for stronger domestic relationships, including bonds with children, compounded this impact. Additionally, revolutionary rhetoric commonly framed the colonies' issues with Great Britain in terms of being treated like a child, which led to strong anti-patriarchal sentiments and a

rethinking of how children should be treated (Reinier 1996). In general, parents began giving

their children more freedom, including letting their infants crawl and putting off entry into adult

society until after children had been properly educated (Calvert 1992).

By the 1770s, historical documents indicate that openly showing affection towards family

members was common for the Chesapeake gentry and that children were viewed as inherently

good (Reinier 1996, Smith 1986). In 1775, Daniel Blake Smith observed that among the elites

"children became the centerpiece of family attention" (in Reinier 1996: 24). Grandparents in

particular played a large role in the development of an affectionate childhood, as they did not

have as much responsibility for discipline, which was in the hands of fathers (Smith 1986).

Childhood was viewed as a separate stage of development, and following Locke, children were

seen as simpler and more malleable than adults (Calvert 1992). Education and environment were

important elements to molding children's personalities (Reinier 1996). Because of this, play was

intended to teach "decorum and discipline" and control the development of children, both

intellectually and morally (Chudacoff 2007: 26).

The American Revolution brought increased change to childhood in the new United

States. Republican Motherhood was emphasized and childhood education was recognized as

important to raising the proper republican citizens who were the key to the nation's future

(Reinier 1996, Chudacoff 2007). The malleable child was crucial to this as a child's character

needed to be molded or "domesticated" through industrious activities and self-control.

(Chudacoff 2007). Martha Laurens Ramsay from South Carolina described a model mother in

her memoir as someone who:

> In addition to her steady attention to their [her children's] education, she exerted herself
> to keep them constantly in good humour; gave them every indulgence compatible with
> their best interests; partook with them in their sports; and in various ways amused their
> solitary hours so as often to drop the mother in the companion and friend [sic]; took a

lively interest in all their concerns and made every practical exertion for their benefit (Ramsay 1812).

As raising one's children into proper citizens became an important task, mothers began relying on parenting books and institutions. Books of manners for children were a popular genre and children were encouraged to read the biography of George Washington to learn how industrious behavior and a good character made him a great man (Reinier 1996).

Play was recognized as an inherent part of childhood by the early 19th century. Toys became more common and were part of a new and separate children's material culture (Calvert 1996, Chudacoff 2007). According to portraits, clothing changed as children were dressed in garments to allow more freedom of movement and emphasized the difference between adults and children (Chudacoff 2007). Older boys were allowed less restrictive breeches than men and young boys and girls wore simple frocks rather than heavy petticoats (Calvert 1992). By 1825 clothing had loosened enough that Dr. Dewees reported that "stiff stays for female, and the tight waistbands of breeches for male children…have now yielded to the unconfined frock, in one, and the modern invention of suspenders in the other" (in Renier 1996:57). However, proper adult-structured play remained utilitarian and children were often required to make their own toys (Reinier 1996). Parenting books suggested ways to protect children from dangerous play, both physically dangerous and morally dangerous. For example, an 1802 pamphlet, *Youthful Sports*, suggested that playing marbles was morally acceptable as long as no money was involved and the winner did not take the losers' marbles (Chudacoff 2007) and William Buchan wrote in his 1804 advice book for others that "a child should never be left alone in a place of danger, or in any situation where he may… be exposed to the destructive elements of fire and water" (249). Through controlling play, adults were able to discuss morality and proper behavior with their children, while defining what was moral and proper (Reinier 1996).

With the increase in toys, gendered differentiation of children was strengthened in the second half of the 18th and early 19th centuries. An advice book written by Enos Hitchcock in 1790 advises that mothers should raise both boys and girls until the age of seven. At this point, boys were to be given breeches and their education should be taken over by their father. Girls were supposed play with dolls, learn how to manage a household, hold themselves with modesty and delicacy and know how to protect their reputation (Reinier 1996). The portraits examined by Calvert (1992) show that Hitchcock's advice seems to have been common practice in the South, even if he was a New Englander. Girls are depicted playing with dolls, dishes, hoops, and dominoes while boys are shown with balls, toy wagons, toy horses, and tin soldiers. Proper toys and games for girls allowed them to practice being an adult woman. Boys generally had more freedom to roam and were more active as play was seen as a way to refresh their mind for their studies rather than practice for later life. Learning proper gender roles was a large part of the education parents endeavored to give their children.

1830-1880

By the Antebellum period, there was an increased emphasis on the innocence and playfulness of children, similar to that described by Locke. This was the beginning of the romantic view of childhood and families centered on children that remains dominant in the United States today (Reinier 1996). These changes became even more striking by the mid-19th century. White middle class Americans saw children as unique individuals and the idea of a sentimental childhood gained acceptance (de Schweinitz 2012). This change can be seen most clearly in elaborate cults of mourning that began for young children who died (Clement 1997). Childhood was treated as one of the most important stages of life, leading John S.C. Abbott to

say in 1834 that "the influence which is exerted upon the mind, during the first eight or ten years of existence, in a great degree guides the destinies of that mind for time and eternity" (in MacLeod 1994:101). While the family was centered on children, childrearing remained the job of mothers who were expected to provide a nurturing environment for their children (Clement 1997). As child mortality rates continued to fall, the mother-child bond was emphasized and even romanticized. Laws, especially in the North, began to change so that parents were given custody, rather than ownership over children and at times children were taken away from abusive parents (de Schweinitz 2012).

Children in some social classes, especially in the North, were required to do less work than in the past. Beginning in the 1830s, Labor movements in the North sought the end of children's apprenticeships and the hiring of children (Reineir 1996). In 1832 a New England labor Union stated that "children should not be allowed to labor in the factories from morning till night…[because it] endangers their….well-being and health" (in Ishay 2008:166). In the South, however, the laws regarding families, apprentices, and various custodial agreements show children's emotional value was not prioritized over the economic value of children and the patriarchal family until after the Civil War. For example, George Fitzhugh wrote "The father may not sell his child forever, but may hire him out until he is twenty-one" (1854: 89) and poor and orphaned children were forced into apprenticeships in most southern states (Zipf 2005). Strict obedience was expected from children in both the North and South, but this was generally enforced through love not punishment (Clement 1997). The gulf between adults and children continued to increase, both due to the perceived innocence of children and decreasing birthrates which lead to wider gaps between generations of a family (Clement 1997; Chudacoff 2007).

As the innocence and playfulness of childhood became emphasized, children were

encouraged to engage in self-structured play that was enjoyable and not simply in preparation for adulthood. Writing in 1857, Samuel G. Goodrich stated, "It is certainly a mistake to consider childhood…as only a period of constraint and discipline…It is the only portion [of life] which seems made for unalloyed enjoyment" (in Chudacoff 2007; 46). Children were still encouraged to play in ways that imitated adult roles, but it became less about morality and character and more about fantasy and happiness (Chudacoff 2007, Clement 1997). The formation of character was increasingly left up to schools or tutors rather than parents (Reinier 1996).

Young boys and girls continued to be dressed alike in frocks until the age of three when both were given half-length petticoats and pantaloons. By dressing children identically until the age of seven, the divide between childhood and adulthood was visually strengthened. While dress was unisex for younger children, toys remained highly gender segregated. Girls were still given mainly dolls and doll-related items. These were often fragile, which required girls to stay near the house and play gently with their toys. According to portraits, it appears that boys were given more toys than girls, both in number and variety, a trend that has continued into the modern period. Many of the boys' toys were meant for the outdoors or were military in nature, showing that parents expected boys to be active and dominant in society (Calvert 1992).

Before the Civil war, formal toys were still relatively rare, although games such as dominoes, checkers, and puzzles, along with hoops, sleds, hobbyhorses, dolls, tin soldiers, and marbles were more commonly available to white children than earlier in the colonial period according to diaries, letters and memoires. Marbles and balls were the most common toys for enslaved children (Chudacoff 2007). By the mid-19th century, mass-produced toys became more common, although children commonly valued homemade toys over manufactured toys (Chudacoff 2007, Mergen 1992). Thomas Ripley remembered that "'Boughten' toys were soon

disposed of. Our best toys were made by ourselves" (1937:84) and an antebellum author observed that girls preferred homemade cloth dolls over wax dolls (Leslie 1831).

Connections between children and the market economy were strengthened during the Civil War and more products were made specifically for children, although they were still advertised to adults (Ringel 2012, Chudacoff 2007). However, until the 1870s, most toys were imported from Europe and were relatively expensive. It was only after domestic toy production began in the late 19th century and businesses such as the Macy's toy department formed in 1875 that mass-produced toys were widely available (Clement 1997) Manufactured toys played an important role in the formation of child-centered, middle-class families as parents used toys as a way to promote their children's happiness, show their status, and define their identity (Chudacoff 2007; Mergen 2012).

Enslaved Childhoods

The number and proportion of enslaved children in the Americas can be difficult to determine due to a lack of records, a tendency of some slave owners not to record children under the age of three, and the great variation in defining when a child becomes an adult (Teelucksingh 2006). However, from the surviving records, it is apparent that children were a significant age group within the enslaved African population. By 1830, 30% of enslaved Africans in the Chesapeake were under the age of ten, and thirty years later 45% of the enslaved population in this region was under the age of 15 (Schermerhorn 2009). Determining who was considered a child can be difficult, especially from the perspective of the enslaved. In Virginia, a law was passed in 1680 that declared all enslaved Africans under 12 as children, although this age was raised to 16 in 1705. Later it became more common for adults to be defined by the onset of

menstruation for girls and by reaching maximum height for boys (Campbell 2006). The lives of enslaved African children certainly did not meet up to the post-1750 Western dominant discourse surrounding innocent childhood and enlightened childrearing, as most enslaved children entered the workforce at the age of three or four years (Barrett 2014, Campbell 2006). Additionally, while the European understanding of childhood may have been the dominant discourse in the Americas, it does not mean that enslaved Africans had the same understanding of childhood even if they were restricted in expressing their own ideas.

Enslaved children in the Americas were socialized by two different groups of adults, enslaved Africans and free individuals, most specifically slaveholder (Lovejoy 2006). In her memoir, Harriet Ann Jacobs remembered her brother's confusion between these two influences.

> One day, when his father and his mistress both happened to call him at the same time, he hesitated between the two; being perplexed to know which had the strongest claim upon his obedience. He finally concluded to go to his mistress. When my father reproved him for it, he said, "You both called me, and I didn't know which I ought to go to first." "You are *my* child," replied our father, "and when I call you, you should come immediately, if you have to pass through fire and water (1861:2).

The parents and other caregivers of enslaved children had to socialize them from a young age to endure their enslavement while still maintaining a sense of self-respect and knowledge of their heritage. At the same time, plantation owners were attempting to socialize them into being obedient slaves within Anglo-American society (King 2011, Lovejoy 2006). Black parents teaching children their own values often angered whites. Even simple things such as enslaved parents teaching their children "to feel they were human beings" was regarded as "blasphemous doctrine for a slave to teach; presumptuous in him [sic] and dangerous" (Jacobs 1861:19). Because enslaved parents did not have legal rights over their children, they had to be careful how and when they passed on values and traditions (Clement 1997; Marquis 1996). This often took

place at night within quarters. Stories and folktales were the main method parents used to teach children about their history, traditions, and values (King 2011; Clement 1997).

Mothers were primarily responsible for childrearing, but the amount of time they were allowed to spend with their children varied between plantations. Young children and infants were often left with elderly enslaved women or older children during the day (Clement 1997; King 2011). Tom Singleton who was enslaved as a child in Georgia recalled that he rarely talked to his family because "We were too busy to talk in the daytime, and at night we were so whupped [sic] out from hard work we just went off to sleep early and never talked much at no time" (Federal Writers Project of the Works Progress Administration 1938). This separation could be painful for both parents and children and some parents still created strong attachments to their children. Harriet Ann Jacobs recalled that when her young daughter was "Separated from me, with no one to look after her, she wandered about, and in a few days cried herself sick. One day, she sat under the window where I was at work, crying that weary cry which makes a mother's heart bleed. I was obliged to steel myself to bear it." (1861: 132). Many children were also raised apart from their parents because they or their parents were sold. Because of the constant threat of being separated, children were taught to rely on other Black adults than just their parents (King 2011).

Family was the most important part of the community and family ties were maintained whenever possible. Works Progress Administration (WPA) interviews with former slaves from the 1930s show both the pain and loss that resulted from not having these ties, but also that many people were able to maintain large extended family networks. Robert Loften recalled that in Georgia, "My mother had her kin folks who lived down in the country and my mother used to go out and visit them. I had a grandmother way out in the country. My mother used to take me and

go out and stay a day or so." (Federal Writers Project of the Works Progress Administration 1938: 270). Community was highly emphasized, which led to conflicts with Northern white teachers during Reconstruction. These teachers were emphasizing that moral, respectable individuals who worked hard would be able to gain monetary success. This individualism went against what African-American mothers were teaching their children about solidarity, community, and day-to-day survival (Clement 1997). It is likely that these same ideals were valued during slavery.

Obedience and discipline were emphasized for enslaved children by their parents, in part due to respect for their elders, but also so that they would learn to obey whites and escape punishment. While parents tried to shield their children from the violent reality of slavery, including taking beatings intended for their children, they also knew that children needed to be prepared (Marquis 1996). The main goal of enslaved parents was protection and one of the most important lessons was teaching children to keep quiet around whites (King 2011; Marquis 1996). Additionally, children were expected to be "smart," which was showing industrious behavior. Being smart indicated that a child was being raised properly (King 2011).

Because parents had few opportunities during the day to watch their children, play for enslaved children was less regulated than it was for white children, but they often had less time to play. The age at which an enslaved child was forced to work depended on the plantation, but could range anywhere between three and twelve years old (Barrett 2014, King 2011). Boys and girls were raised together and often worked and played in mixed-gender groups. However, some gendered differences did exist as observers noted boys in quarters playing with horseshoes and marbles while the girls played with rag and shuck dolls (Reinier 1996). As American toy manufacturing was minimal before the Civil War, enslaved children owned few if any formal

playthings except marbles. Improvised toys and games were typically the basis for play on plantations (Chudacoff 2007). Most porcelain dolls found in contexts associated with enslaved children were likely hand-me-downs from the slave owner's daughter and may not have always been well received or valued by enslaved girls (Wilkie 2000). While there is not an explicit understanding of the dominant discourses surrounding childhood for enslaved Africans in the United States and how this affected play, information on how children were raised can allow for comparisons with the white conceptions of childhood.

CHAPTER 4: ARCHAEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

Research Questions

While the historical record gives a few clues to how the lives of enslaved children compared to those of free white children in 18th and 19th century America, bringing in archaeological evidence allows for the role of play and socialization in enslaved childhoods to be better understood. Looking at the appearance of manufactured toys on archaeological sites associated with enslaved Africans provides a means to examine the effects of changes in the dominant discourse of childhood on enslaved children directly.

There are four main questions that arise from using archaeological toys to examine changes in enslaved childhood. 1) Is there an increase in toys through the 18th and 19th centuries that correlates with the shift in the historical record from seeing children as incomplete adults to innocent and playful? If so, enslaved children were likely included in the changes in the dominant discourse and if not, they were most likely excluded. 2) According to the types of toys found on sites related to enslaved Africans, how were enslaved children socialized through play? 3) Does the number and presence of manufactured toys in archaeological contexts reveal the extent to which play was considered an important factor in enslaved children's socialization or daily life by slaveholders or parents? 4) The historical record shows that toys and play were highly gendered for white children and played important roles in teaching them their proper place in society. What do the dates and quantities of toys specifically associated with girls, such as dolls and dishes, and boys, such as marbles and military toys, tell us about gendered socialization and expectations for enslaved children?

In order to answer these questions, toys from 18th and 19th century slave quarters, yard areas, and service buildings on twenty plantations in Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee were examined using a variety of analytical techniques. The rest of this paper describes my methods, analysis, and conclusions. I first begin by describing the various methods used in this analysis, including BLUE Mean Ceramic Dates, the Abundance Index, and the different site and context phasing used. Following that, I turn to the analysis, first looking at whole sites and examining an increase in the amount of toys found on these sites through the 18th and 19th centuries. I use two different sets of phases for the sites, the first based on dates from historical documents, the second other based on Mean Ceramic Dates (MCD). For first the historically based periods and then the MCD based phases, I use raw percentages and then an abundance index to quantify the amount of toys at each site. I also examine other factors besides time that may have affected how many toys were found at each site.

I then move into examining all of the toys as one large assemblage, regardless of which site they were found at. This allows me to look at general trends in quantities and types of toys through the 18th and 19th centuries. In order to compare the frequency of each type of toy through time, I once again use the historical periods and MCD phases. I first divide place the toys into historical periods based on the MCD of their context and then by the historical period of their site. I then do the same for MCD phases. Finally, I look at dolls, dishes, marbles, and other miscellaneous toys individually.

Archaeological Sites

The data used to look at changes in enslaved childhood is comprised of toys from the North American sites cataloged in the Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery

(DAACS), an online database with systematically described site contexts and artifact catalogs

from slavery-related sites in North American and the Caribbean (DAACS 2016a). The sites are

related to enslaved Africans rather than white slave holders, and do not include contexts from

plantation manor houses. There are fifty-two North American sites, from twenty plantations.

Some plantations, such as Monticello and the Hermitage, have multiple site entries in DAACS.

These sites are located in Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee,

with the majority from Virginia. They span the mid-17th through the late 19th century, with most

falling between 1750 and 1830. Toys were found at thirty-six out of the fifty-two sites. A

description of each site's location, date range, features, and inhabitants is given in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Site Descriptions

Site Name	Location	Plantation	Date Range	Site Details	Inhabitants
Ashcomb's Quarter (18CV362)	Calvert Co., MD	n/a	Early 18th century	3 outbuildings 2 trash pits Midden	Enslaved Africans and/or indentured servants
NAVAIR (18ST642)	St. Mary's Co., MD	Mattapany-Sewall	Mid - late 18th century	Brick chimney 3 pit features	Enslaved Africans and/or indentured servants
Chapline Place (18CV344)	Prince Fredrick Co., MD	Overton	Late 18th-early 19th century	Several impermanent dwellings	Enslaved Africans, free blacks, or an overseer
Fairfield Quarter (44GL24)	Gloucester Co., VA	Fairfield	First half of the 18th century	2 or 3 slave dwellings	Enslaved Africans
ST116	Westmoreland Co., VA	Stratford Hall	1770s-1820s	1 slave dwelling	Enslaved Africans
West Yard	Westmoreland Co., VA	Stratford Hall	1730s-20th century	Yard Area	Free whites and Enslaved Africans
44JC298	Williamsburg, VA	Governor's Land	Late 17th-early 18th century	3-bayed dwelling	Enslaved Africans
Palace Lands (44WB90)	Williamsburg, VA	Palace Lands	Late 18th-early 19th centuries	2-room dwelling Refuse-filled ravine	Enslaved Africans

Richneck Quarter (44WB52)	Williamsburg, VA	Richneck	1710-1740s 1740s-1778	Domestic site 2-room dwelling	Enslaved Africans
Utopia II (44JC32)	Williamsburg, VA	Utopia	1700-1730	3 dwellings 1 outbuilding 19 subfloor pits	Enslaved Africans
Utopia III (44JC32)	Williamsburg, VA	Utopia	1730-1750	2 dwellings 1 outbuilding 21 subfloor pits Trash pits	Enslaved Africans
Utopia IV (44JC787)	Williamsburg, VA	Utopia	1750-1775	3 dwellings 24 subfloor pits 9 trash pits	Enslaved Africans
House for Families (44FX762)	Fairfax Co., VA	Mount Vernon	1759-1793	Cellar in a slave dwelling	Enslaved Africans
Servant's Hall/Wash House (44FX762)	Fairfax Co., VA	Mount Vernon	2nd quarter of the 18th century	Trash pit associated with earlier washhouse	Enslaved Africans
South Grove (44FX762)	Fairfax Co., VA	Mount Vernon	1735-1800	Midden from kitchen and mansion	Enslaved Africans
Pope Site (44SN180)	Southampton Co., VA	Holladay/ Ridley Tract	Late 18th- early 19th	Frame house Cellar 2 structures with cellars Outbuilding	Free whites and Enslaved Africans
Mount Pleasant Kitchen Site	Orange Co., VA	Montpelier	1720s-1790s	Kitchen cellar Personal adornment items from cellar of the main house	Enslaved Africans
North Hill	Bedford Co., VA	Poplar Forest	1770-1785	Enslaved household 3 pits	Enslaved Africans
Quarter	Bedford Co., VA	Poplar Forest	1790-1813	3 log buildings Middens Gardens	Enslaved Africans
Wingos	Bedford Co., VA	Poplar Forest	1770s-1790s	1 cabin Yard spaces	Enslaved Africans
Building *C*	Charlottesville, VA	Monticello	1776-1826	Joiners shop	Enslaved Africans
Building *D/j*	Charlottesville, VA	Monticello	1790s-early 1800s	Blacksmith Nailery	Enslaved Africans
Building *i*	Charlottesville, VA	Monticello	1790s-19th century	Carpenter's shop Dwelling	Enslaved Africans
Building *l*	Charlottesville, VA	Monticello	1790s-1826	Domestic structure Iron storehouse	Enslaved Africans
Building *m* and MRS 4	Charlottesville, VA	Monticello	1790s-1809 1809- mid- 19th century	Smokehouse and dairy Dwelling	Enslaved Africans
Building *n*	Charlottesville, VA	Monticello	1796-1809 19th century	Washhouse A later dwelling	Enslaved Africans
Building *o*	Charlottesville, VA	Monticello	1770s- early 19th century	Dwelling	Enslaved Africans

					Enslaved Africans or free workmen
MRS 2	Charlottesville, VA	Monticello	1780s	Dwelling	
Building *r*	Charlottesville, VA	Monticello	1790s-1830	Dwelling	Enslaved Africans
Building *s*	Charlottesville, VA	Monticello	1790s-early 20th century	Dwelling A later post-Jefferson structured	Enslaved Africans and unidentified
Building *t*	Charlottesville, VA	Monticello	1770s-1830s	Barracks-style quarter Later dwelling	Enslaved Africans
East Kitchen Yard	Charlottesville, VA	Monticello	18th-20th centuries	Yard area	
West Kitchen Yard/Dry Well/MRS 1	Charlottesville, VA	Monticello	18th-19th centuries	Work yard Dwelling Well	Enslaved Africans
Elizabeth Hemmings Site (44AB438)	Charlottesville, VA	Monticello	1795-1807	Dwelling Cobble scatter	Elizabeth Hemmings
Stewart-Watkins Site	Charlottesville, VA	Monticello	1801-1810	Dwelling Cellar	White workmen
Site 7	Charlottesville, VA	Monticello	1750-1780	1 dwelling	Enslaved Africans and overseers
Site 8	Charlottesville, VA	Monticello	1770-1800	4 structures	Enslaved Africans
Stagville	Durham, NC	Stagville	Late 18th - mid 20th centuries	Slave cabin	Enslaved Africans and later free blacks
Curribbo 245 (38BK245)	Berkeley Co., SC	Curribbo	1740s-1800	11 structures including slave dwellings and outbuildings	Enslaved Africans
Yaughan 75 (38BK75)	Berkeley Co., SC	Yaughan	1750S-1820S	4 domestic structures 1 shed 2 possible structures	Enslaved Africans
Yaughan 76 (38BK76)	Berkeley Co., SC	Yaughan	1740s-1770s	13 slave dwellings An overseer's house	Enslaved Africans and overseers
Middleburg (38BK38)	Berkeley Co., SC	Middleburg	1750s-1825	12 slave cabins	Enslaved Africans
Silver Bluff	Aiken Co., SC	Silver Bluff	1740s-1770s	Main dwelling house	Unknown
Drayton Hall (38CH255)	Charleston, SC	Drayton Hall	18th century	South Flanker well	Unknown
Yard Cabin	Davidson Co., TN	The Hermitage	1820s-1865	Cabin	Enslaved Africans
Triplex	Davidson Co., TN	The Hermitage	1820s-1850s	Brick dwelling	Enslaved Africans
South Cabin	Davidson Co., TN	The Hermitage	1820s-1850s	Cabin	Enslaved Africans
Field Quarter Cabin 1	Davidson Co., TN	The Hermitage	1820s-1920s	Brick duplex cabin	Enslaved Africans and

					later free blacks
Field Quarter Cabin 2	Davidson Co., TN	The Hermitage	1820s-early 20th century	Brick duplex cabin	Enslaved Africans and later free blacks
Field Quarter Cabin 4	Davidson Co., TN	The Hermitage	1820s-1870s	Brick duplex cabin	Enslaved Africans and later free blacks
Field Quarter KES	Davidson Co., TN	The Hermitage	Early 19th century	Log cabin	Enslaved Africans
Field Quarter STP	Davidson Co., TN	The Hermitage	1804-early 20th century	STP survey	Enslaved Africans

Analysis

While, toys account for only a small percentage of artifacts at each site in DAACS, there are enough present to determine when toys began appearing as well as other patterns based on toy type and form and how these relate to historically documented changes in childhood. As of November 2016, there are 544 artifacts cataloged as toys in DAACS. This number excludes modern toys such as machine made marbles (patented in 1905), toy cars, and plastic action figures (DAACS 2016e; Gartley and Carskadden 1998). Of the toys in DAACS, 343 are marbles, 173 are doll parts, 21 are toy dishes, and 7 are other miscellaneous toys, including a lead horse, toy cannons, a whirligig, a miniature beer mug and a miniature pipe. One of the toys in the other category is listed only as "toy, other" with no additional details. Rag, corncob, and wax dolls, leather balls, and wooden toys do not survive in the archaeological record and so the toys in DAACS represent only a portion of toys enslaved children played with on these plantations. However, the toys that do survive are more likely to have been purchased rather than homemade. Because of this, these data reflect changes in manufactured toys rather than toys in general.

Methodology

To assess the changes in toy frequency and types overtime, the toys from these fifty-two sites needed to be assigned a date. As the data for this project are online, pictures of artifacts are limited, and some toys do not have detailed descriptions, context dates are more useful than attempting to date toys based on their period of manufacture. There are a number of methods used by historical archaeologists to date contexts and sites including Mean Ceramic Dates, Binford pipe stem bore diameter dates, Terminus Post Quem (TPQ), and Harrington histograms of pipe stems. MCDs and Binford pipe stem dates both provide a mean date for the assemblage, while TPQs determine the earliest possible date an assemblage may have been deposited, and Harrington histograms provide a visual representation of site occupation through time. Each of these methods have benefits and shortcomings and are best used in conjunction with each other to provide the fullest picture of the assemblage date and occupation (Deetz 1987:67).

Mean Ceramic Dates and Binford pipe-stem dates are the methods I chose to use for this analysis. Using known historical manufacturing periods, MCDs are based off of a formula developed by Stanley South are calculated by averaging the manufacture date midpoints for all ceramics in the assemblage. This aims to provide a mid-point for the occupation that created an assemblage or site (Deetz 1987:66). Similarly, Binford pipe-stem dates use the fact that bore diameters of tobacco pipes decreased steadily through the 17th and 18th centuries to calculate the midpoint of occupation. Pipe stem bores are measured using drill bits in 1/64th increments, each of which correlates to a set of years, originally worked out by Harrington. Binford took these periods and created a formula that averages the production date of the pipe stems (Binford 1962). MCD and Binford pipe stem dates have similar issues. While they provide a single year that can be assigned to a context or site, they are averages and thus easily influenced by outliers. If a site

has multiple periods of occupation or was more heavily used towards the beginning or end of the period of occupation, mean dates may not be accurate (Deetz 1987:67). MCDs in particular can be influenced by ceramics that have long periods of manufacture, such as whiteware and Chinese porcelain and also by vessels that were discarded long after they were purchased.

Despite these issues, I chose to use a form of MCDs and Binford pipe stem dates for my analysis because for the collections and contexts that I am using, TPQs and Harrington Histograms are not useful. TPQ stands for *terminus post quem,* meaning "the date after which." This dating method involves determining which artifact in an assemblage has the latest manufacturing date, to provide the earliest date that a context may have been created (Miller et al. 2000:1). While this is a very effective dating technique and would avoid some of the dating issues I encountered, including contexts with MCDs decades earlier than when certain toys began to be produced, I only have TPQs for some site phases from DAACS. Because the catalog is online and I do not have access to the original artifacts and not all entries include photographs, I am unable to determine the TPQs of contexts myself.

Harrington histograms are based on the same principles as Binford pipe stem dates. Instead of finding the mean date of the pipes, counts for each bore diameter measured in 1/64th intervals are taken and a histogram for each size is created. Because each size bore diameter corresponds to one of five time spans, these histograms can show how long a site was occupied, if it was occupied at two separate times, and when the heaviest occupation was (Deetz 1987). While this method avoids many of the problems that MCDs and Binford pipe stem dates have, it only works for imported ball clay pipe stems and needs a good size sample. Both the Harrington and Binford method are only useful for sites dating to before 1800 (Deetz 1987:64), and many of the contexts I am looking at are 19th century. In addition to the date constrains, because I need to

date individual contexts rather than entire sites, most of the contexts in DAACS do not have enough pipe stems to create histograms.

Despite the issues with using mean dates, MCDs and Binford pipe-stem dates are the most useful dating techniques for the sites and collections that I am using in this analysis. Additionally, although the midpoint may not encompass the entire site occupation and may be skewed due to outliers, mean dates also allow easy comparison between contexts and sites and allow contexts to be arranged in a relative chronological order.

I am using Best Linear Unbiased Estimate Mean Ceramic Dates (BLUE MCD) for all sites except those from the early 18th century. BLUE MCDs are similar to regular Mean Ceramic Dates (MCD), but the formula gives less weight to ceramics with long manufacturing spans, such as delftware and Chinese porcelain (Galle, personal communication, Jan 27, 2016). The DAACS database calculates BLUE MCDs for sites and individual contexts automatically when a MCD query is run. BLUE MCDs are not a perfect means of dating contexts because it is an average. For example, some of the Hermitage contexts have BLUE MCDs of 1808 but the structures were not built until the 1820s. However, BLUE MCDs do provide relative dates if not absolute dates.

$$MCD_{blue} = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^{t} m_i p_i \left(\frac{1}{s_i/6}\right)^2}{\sum_{i=1}^{t} p_i \left(\frac{1}{s_i/6}\right)^2}$$

Where m_i is the manufacturing midpoint for the $i'th$ ceramic type, p_i is its relative frequency, and s_i is its manufacturing span (Galle, personal communication, Jan 27, 2016).

MCDs do not work as well for early 18th century sites and Binford pipe-stem bore-diameter dates are used to calculate tighter and more accurate dates. There are nine sites in DAACS that Jillian Galle, the director of DAACS, recommended using pipe-stem dates: 44JC298 (Governor's Land), Fairfield Quarter, House for Families, Palace Lands Site, Richneck Quarter, South Grove, and all of the Utopia sites (Galle, personal communication, Feb 27, 2016).

The pipe-stem dates are only for site phases so the toys from these nine sites are dated by phase rather than context. Fraser Neiman, Director of Archaeology at Monticello, calculated the phase dates in R from the DAACS data (Galle, personal communication, Feb 27, 2016). There are also seven toys for which no BLUE MCD or Binford bore-diameter date could be calculated because they were found in surface collections, clean-up, or unphased contexts such as the plowzone.

In order to examine changes over time across the fifty-two sites, I employed two different ways of dividing up the 18th and 19th centuries, historically based periods and phases based on MCDs. Comparing shifts in the archaeological record to those in the historical record is a way to understand the influence of the dominant discourse of childhood on enslaved children. The sites were divided into three periods based on the periods of childhood devised by Calvert (1992): Period 1(pre-1750), Period 2 (1750-1825), and Period 3 (post-1825). The dates assigned to each site came from the DAACS website and are based on historically known occupation of the sites. Because the cut off for many of the historical site dates on DAACS is 1825 or the first quarter of the 19th century, 1825 is used as the transition from Period 2 to Period 3 rather than 1830 as Calvert suggests. Five sites date to Period 1, four span both Period 1 and Period 2, thirty-one are from Period 2, five span Periods 2 and 3, and six are from Period 3 (Table 2). For the purpose of analysis, sites that span multiple periods will be grouped with the later period. The majority of sites are from Period 2, which reflects the large number of sites from Monticello.

Table 2: Historical Periods and MCD Phases

Historical Period	Time	# of Sites	MCD Phase	Time	# of Sites
Period 1	pre-1750	5	Phase A	pre-1740	4
Period 2	1750-1825	35	Phase B	1740-1770	9
			Phase C	1770-1810	32
Period 3	post-1825	12	Phase D	post-1810	7

I also phased the sites based purely on their BLUE MCD or Binford pipe-stem date in order to obtain groupings not influenced by preconceived ideas from the historical record that mainly relates to Northern white middle-class children. Using the distribution in Figure 1, the sites can be divided into four phases, the Phase A from before 1720 until 1740, Phase B 1740-1770, Phase C 1770-1810, and Phase D 1810-1850. While based on the archaeological rather than the historical record, these phases still match up relatively well with the shifts in the dominant discourse of childhood seen in the historical literature. Both sets of phasing are used because they each provide a different, but still valid, way of dividing the sites, one based purely on the artifacts and the other based on the known historical occupation of the sites.

Figure 1. Distribution of sites plotted by BLUE MCD

Percentages are a useful way to look at changes in toy ownership by enslaved children through time because they provide an easy way to compare the number of toys found at sites with different sample sizes, but they have problems. Because the numerator, in this case, toys, is dependent on the denominator, all other artifacts, variation in the category of all other artifacts between different sites can throw the percentages off and present an inaccurate picture of the frequency of toys (Galle 2016). For example, if one of the sites had a large amount of architectural debris related to a building's destruction and another did not, it would inflate the total number of artifacts for the first site and lower the percentage of toys when compared to the second site. This does not mean they are an inaccurate basis of comparison, just not adequate on their own. One solution to this problem is to compare the toys to a class of artifacts that remains

relatively constant across sites and through time, or changes though time in a way that can be predicted. An abundance index does just that. It is calculated by dividing (artifact group 1) by (artifact group 1) + (artifact group 2) (Galle 2016).

$$Toy\ Index = \frac{Toys}{Toys + Ceramics}$$

Some historical archaeologists use wine bottle glass as artifact group 2 because it is common across all social classes throughout the 18th and early 19th centuries. However, because some of the sites I am looking at last through the late 19th and even early 20th century, wine bottle glass does not work. Based on recommendations from DAACS analysts, I am using ceramics as artifact group 2. While not perfect, due to the consumer revolution in the 18th century and changes in ceramic types and use, ceramics are found on all sites and can provide a baseline for comparison.

CHAPTER 5: TOYS ANALYZED BY SITE

Analysis using History-Based Periods

Based on historically based periods and the percentage of toys found at each site, the data suggests that enslaved children were included in shifts in meanings around childhood. Of the ten sites with the greatest percentage of toys, nine are from Period 3 and the tenth, the Field Quarter KES site, is located nearby four Period 3 sites which may be have had an impact on what artifacts were found there (Figure 2). Only one site that extends into Period 3, Building *i*, has no toys. However, there appears to be little difference between Period 1 and Period 2 sites and no discernable pattern based on date as to which sites have or do not have toys. A *t* test was run to check if there was a statistically significant difference between Period 1 and Period 2, and the P value was 0.2559, not statistically significant. Two out of five sites (40%) that date securely to Period 1 and thirteen of 34 Period 2 sites (38.2%) have no toys.
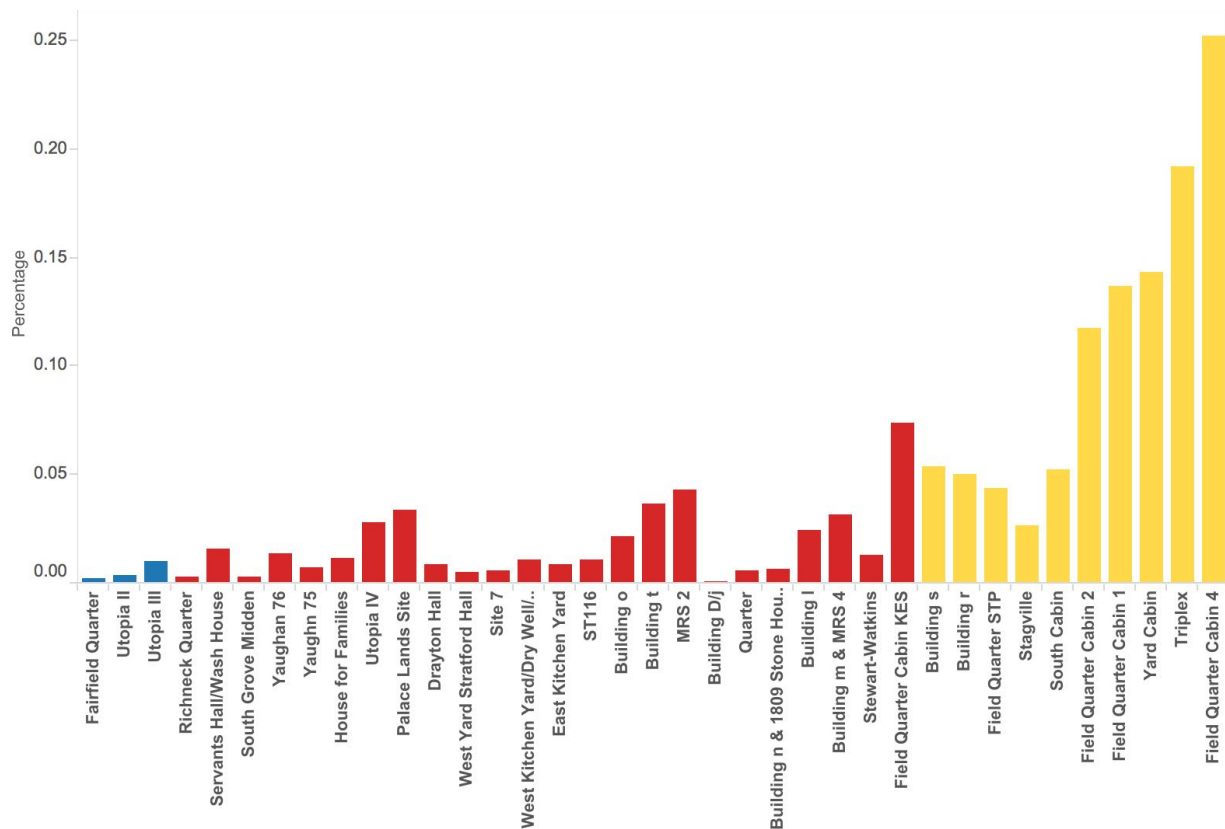
Figure 2: Percent of toys out of total artifacts for each site with toys Blue = Period 1, Red = Period 2, Yellow = Period 3. Periods based on the historical dates of sites.

The toy index gives a slightly different picture of changes in toys on slavery related sites through the 18th and 19th centuries, but still supports the inclusion of enslaved children in the larger changes in childhood. There is not as clear of an increase through time (Figure 3). Four of the five sites with the highest value on the toy index are from Period 3 (post-1825), but the site with the second highest value is Utopia II, which has the earliest MCD of any site with a toy (1723). This is because Utopia II only has 210 ceramics out of 102,285 artifacts, which inflates its toy index value but gives a very low percent of toys. However, Utopia II has some unusual attributes because of the incredibly low number of ceramics and other manufactured goods and as such should be viewed as an outlier and not as breaking any pattern (Samford 2011:92-94). In

general, the toy index using historical periods shows that there is not a completely straightforward increase in toys through time, although later sites have the most toys.
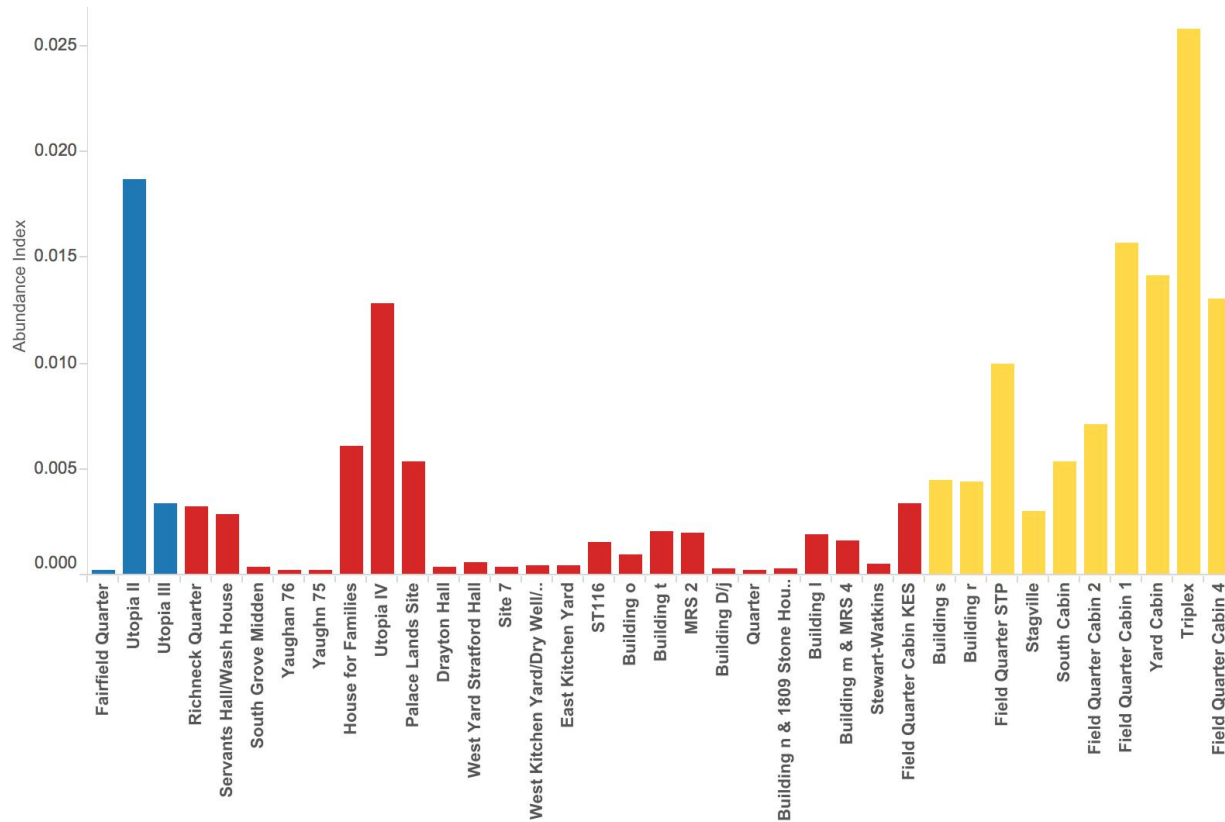
Figure 3: Abundance index for toys Blue = Period 1, Red = Period 2, Yellow = Period 3. Periods based on the historical dates of sites.

Analysis using MCD-Based Phases

There is little difference when comparing percentages of toys using historical periods and MCD phases. There is a higher percentage of toys at later sites, than earlier sites, with a general increase in toys through the 18th and 19th centuries (Figure 4). For the MCD phases, six out of the ten sites with the highest percent of toys belong to the Phase D (after 1810) and the other four are either from the Hermitage or Monticello, which have significant post-1810 occupations. There is

little difference between the Phase B and Phase C sites, suggesting that the 1770 divide is not very significant when you are looking at percentages. All of the sites with BLUE MCDs from before 1740 have very low amounts of toys. Out of four Phase A sites, one does not have any toys (25%), three out of nine Phase B sites (33%) and eleven out of 32 (34%) Phase C sites also have no toys, showing a decrease rather than increase in the amount of sites without toys over time. However, there is also an increase in the number of sites from Phase A to Phase C. All Phase D sites have toys. This strengthens the idea that the amount of toys found on slavery related plantations sites increases through the 18th century and especially by the antebellum.
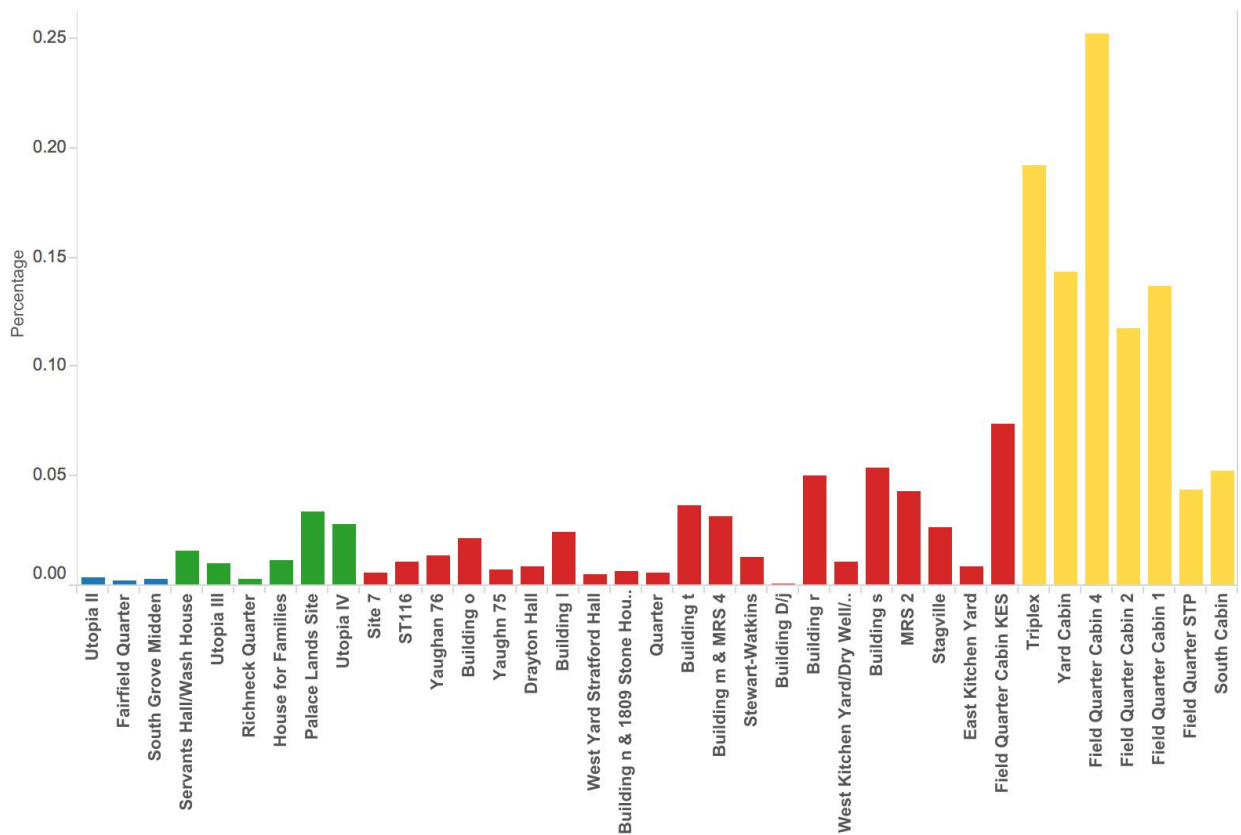
Figure 4: Percent of toys out of total artifacts for each site with toys **Blue = Phase A**, **Green = Phase B**, **Red = Phase C**, **Yellow = Phase D**. Phases based on site MCD.

MCD phases combined with the toy index allows the pattern from the historical phased and toy index to be more clearly seen (Figure 5). While Phase D sites generally have the highest values, Phase B sites have higher values than most Phase C sites. The toy index and MCD phases suggests that the key phases are between 1740 and 1770 and from 1810 -1850, with a decrease between 1770 and 1810.

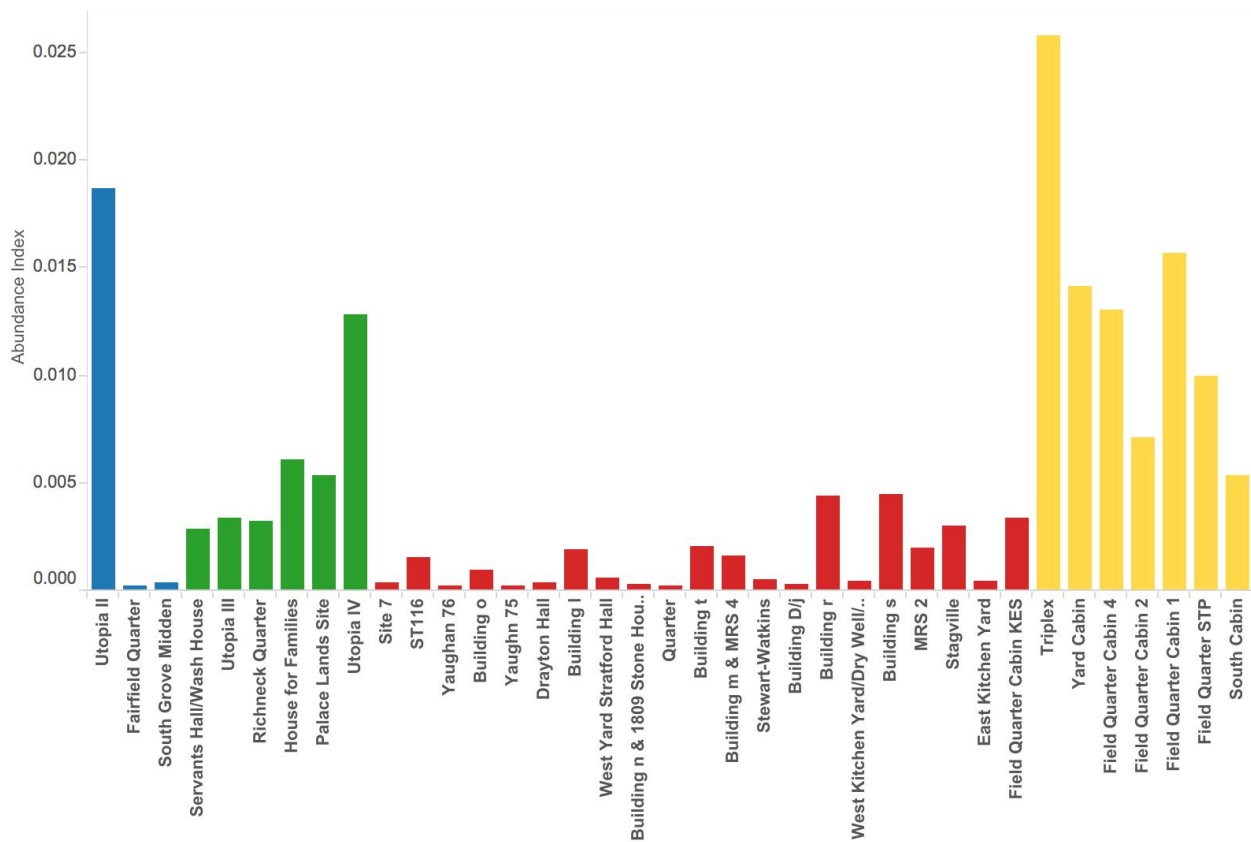

Figure 5: Abundance Index for toys **Blue = Phase A, Green = Phase B, Red = Phase C, Yellow = Phase D.** Phases based on MCD.

Table 3: Site Dates and Toys

Site Name	Total Artifacts	# Toys	% Toys	Toy Index	Historic Date	BLUE MCD
44JC298	5304	0	0.0000	0.0000	1675-1725	1719
Ashcomb's Quarter	20172	0	0.0000	0.0000	1684-1730	1760
Building C	61525	0	0.0000	0.0000	1775-1825	1798
Building D/j	118128	1	0.0008	0.0003	1790-1810	1797
Building i	4750	0	0.0000	0.0000	1790s-1850s	1804
Building l	12203	3	0.0246	0.0019	1775-1825	1795
Building m & MRS 4	31660	10	0.0316	0.0016	1790s-early 19th	1796
Building n & 1809 Stone House	14932	1	0.0067	0.0003	1790s-early 19th	1795
Building o	28269	6	0.0212	0.0009	1770s-early 19th	1790
Building r	21883	11	0.0503	0.0044	1790s-1920s	1798
Building s	52026	28	0.0538	0.0045	1790s-1920s	1799
Building t	19032	7	0.0368	0.0020	1775-1830	1796
Chapline Place	10052	0	0.0000	0.0000	late 18th-early 19th	1778
Curriboo 245	9640	0	0.0000	0.0000	1740s-1800	1775
Drayton Hall	11617	1	0.0086	0.0003	18th century	1794
East Kitchen Yard	56813	5	0.0088	0.0004	1769-1850	1806
Elizabeth Hemmings Site	2642	0	0.0000	0.0000	1795-1807	1799
Fairfield Quarter	90565	2	0.0022	0.0002	1700-1750	1732
Field Quarter Cabin 1	28492	39	0.1369	0.0157	1820-1920	1843
Field Quarter Cabin 2	42588	50	0.1174	0.0071	1820-1900	1841
Field Quarter Cabin 4	3960	10	0.2525	0.0130	1820-1870	1841
Field Quarter Cabin KES	12242	9	0.0735	0.0033	1800-1825	1808
Field Quarter STP	4553	2	0.0439	0.0100	post-1800	1844
House for Families	43986	5	0.0114	0.0061	1750-1800	1752
Middleburg	98960	0	0.0000	0.0000	1750-1825	1791
Mount Pleasant Kitchen Site	7619	0	0.0000	0.0000	1723-1790s	1760
MRS 2	18503	8	0.0432	0.0020	1780s-?	1801
NAVAIR	6559	0	0.0000	0.0000	1750-1825	1780
North Hill	17087	0	0.0000	0.0000	1770-1785	1794
Palace Lands Site	32341	11	0.0340	0.0053	1750-1800	1755
Pope Site	6449	0	0.0000	0.0000	late 18th-early 19th	1782
Quarter	17660	1	0.0057	0.0002	1790-1813	1795
Richneck Quarter	322800	10	0.0031	0.0033	1710-1770	1751
Servants Hall/Wash House	6480	1	0.0154	0.0023	1740s-	1747

Silver Bluff	33047	0	0.0000	0.0000	1740-1780	1758
Site 7	16490	1	0.0061	0.0033	1750-1805	1782
Site 8	127190	0	0.0000	0.0000	1770-1800	1787
South Cabin	51863	27	0.0521	0.0053	1820-1860	1848
South Grove Midden	125621	4	0.0032	0.0003	1735-1800	1734
ST116	9274	1	0.0108	0.0016	1775-1825	1785
Stagville	3805	1	0.0263	0.0030	1820-1900	1803
Stewart-Watkins	15598	2	0.0128	0.0005	1801-1810	1796
Triplex	66584	128	0.1922	0.0258	1820-1860	1825
Utopia II	102285	4	0.0039	0.0187	1700-1730	1723
Utopia III	96284	10	0.0104	0.0034	1730-1750	1750
Utopia IV	57152	16	0.0280	0.0128	1750-1775	1762
West Kitchen Yard/Dry Well/MRS 1	119385	13	0.0109	0.0005	1768-	1798
West Yard Stratford Hall	19052	1	0.0052	0.0006	1730-1930	1795
Wingos	1132	0	0.0000	0.0000	1770-1790	1781
Yard Cabin	76695	110	0.1434	0.0141	1820-1865	1840
Yaughan 76	29833	4	0.0134	0.0002	1740-1770	1785
Yaughn 75	14145	1	0.0071	0.0002	1750-1820	1792

There could be other factors influencing the presence of toys on sites in DAACS beside dates, including regional location, gender and age of site residents, distance from urban centers, and the location of sites on plantations. All sites completely within Period 3 and Phase D are from the Hermitage, although four Monticello sites have identified post-1834 contexts and Stagville is largely post-1820s. The Hermitage is the only plantation from Tennessee in DAACS and Stagville is the only North Carolina site. While there is some overlap in BLUE MCDs for Virginia and Tennessee, all post-1840 toys are from Tennessee and all early 18th century toys are from Virginia. Interestingly, there are later 19th century contexts from both Virginia and South Carolina but none of these have toys (Figure 6). Similarly, if the toys are divided into geographic regions of the Tidewater, Piedmont, and Inland, there is a similar shift through time, with the Tidewater sites being the earliest and Inland sites being the latest (Figure 7). This means that

regional variation also reflects variation in time; shown by Figure 8, and regional differences

cannot easily be discussed because it is impossible to separate them from chronological changes.

For Figures 6, 7, and 8, each line represents a single toy.
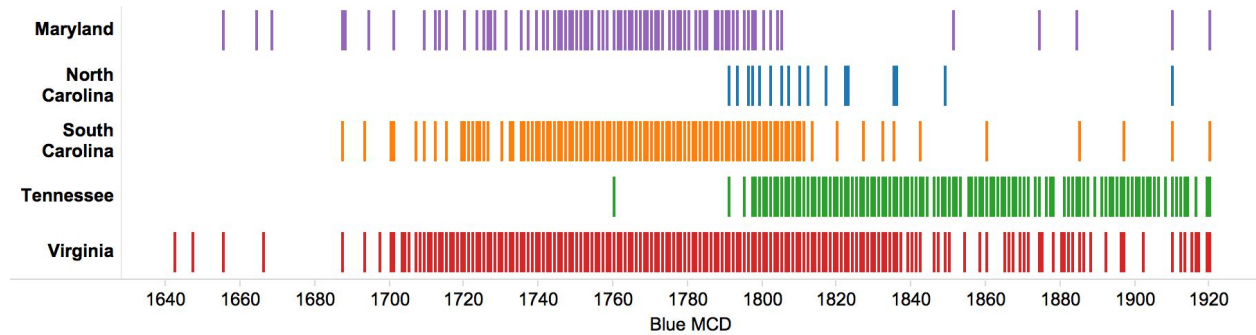

Figure 6. All contexts in DAACS by context BLUE MCD arranged by state.
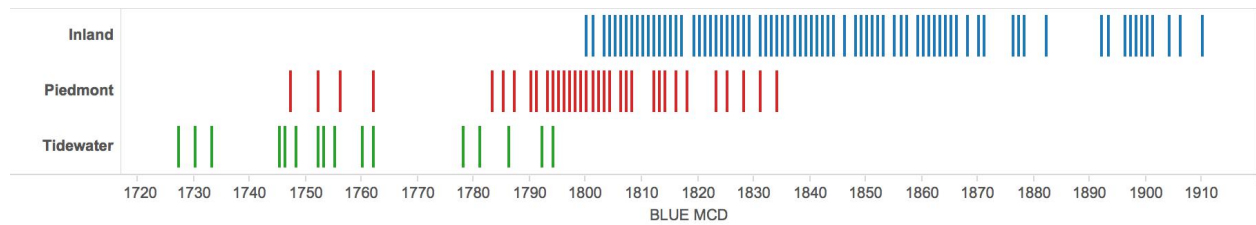
Figure 7: Toy BLUE MCD by geographic region.
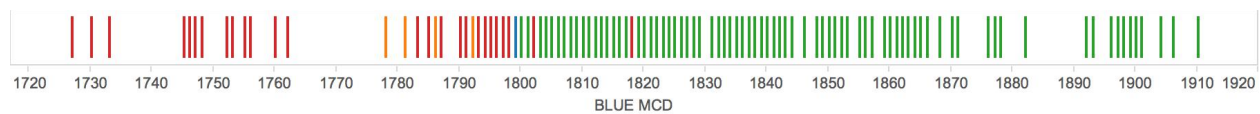
Figure 8: Toys by context BLUE MCD. Blue= North Carolina, Orange= South Carolina, Green = Tennessee, Red = Virginia.

The number of children and how many boys or girls can affect the number and types of

toys found at a site. If a household has no children, it is unlikely there would be many toys, and

more girls living in a household may increase the number of doll parts found. However, the lack

of historical information on exactly who was living at each site makes it impossible to account

for this factor. Using the percentage of toys among the total artifacts and an abundance index

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rather than counts removes biases that may arise from sample size and plotting the total number

of artifacts against the percent of toys shows that there is very little correlation between sample

size and toys with a r^2 value of 0.0253 (Figure 9). There is also not an increase in the number of

total artifacts in DAACS over time. There also does not appear to be a relationship between the

distance between the site and urban centers, which are here defined as cities known to exist

during the time period the site was occupied (Figure 10). Similarly, sites closer to the main house

on plantations may have had a greater access to toys, but there are no patterns of toys based

solely on home versus field quarters (Figure 11), except for the fact that no toy dishes are found
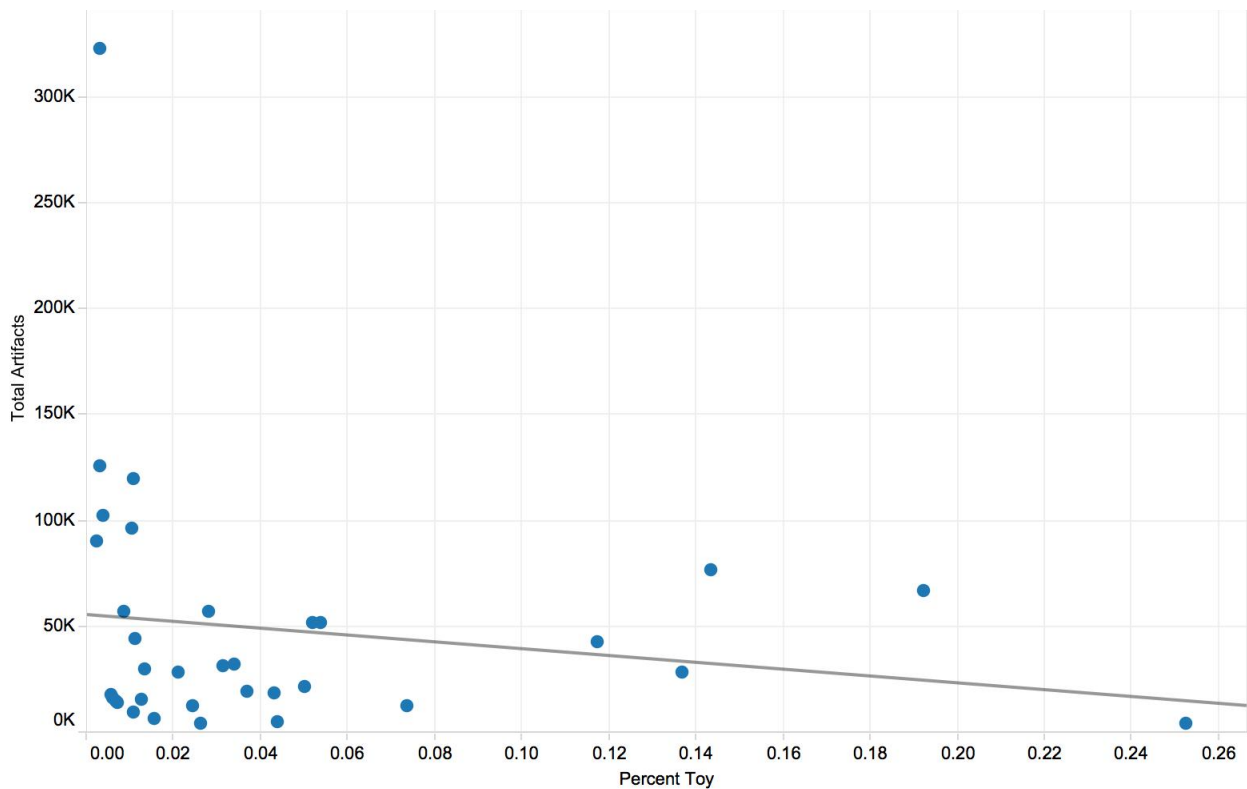
on field quarter sites.[2]

Figure 9. Total artifacts for each site plotted against the percent of toys, showing r-squared trend line.

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[2] Home quarters are slave quarters located near the main house while field quarters are located distant from the main house and housed field workers.
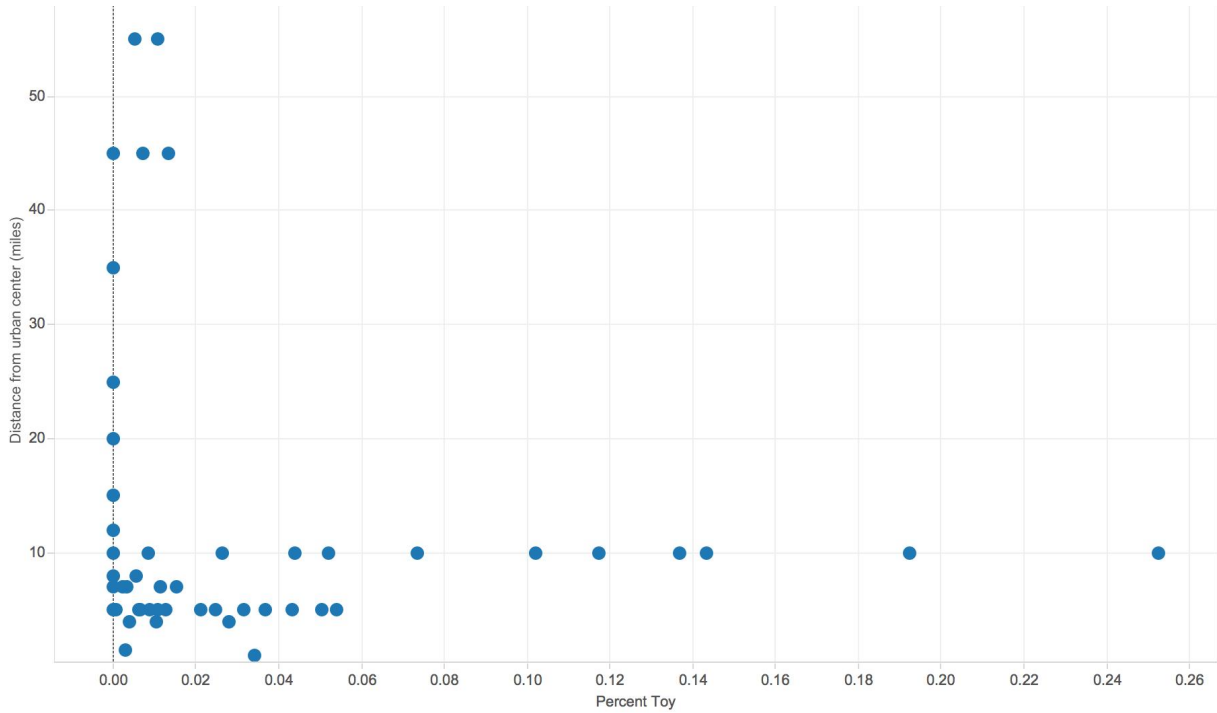
Figure 10: Distance from urban center in miles plotted against percent of toys for each site.
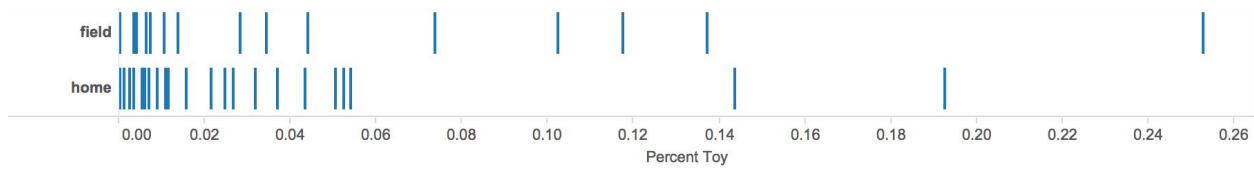
Figure 11: Percent of toys for field and home quarter sites.

The lack of evidence for other factors influencing the number of toys found on plantation sites suggests that time is the major variable associated with these differences. This fits with the idea that enslaved children were being included in the shifts in how childhood was being viewed in white American culture. The toy index suggests that there was an initial spike in the number of toys in the mid-18th century soon after the first emphasis on childhood and toys began thanks to John Locke, and then a decrease between 1770 and 1810, although this is not reflected in the

percentages. One possible explanation for the dip in toys in the abundance index for the period between 1770 and 1810 is disruptions to trade with England. This period encompasses the American Revolution, including political acts such as the First Continental Congress' 1774 Continental Association, which banned the importation of goods from Britain. This ban would have included most toys that survive archaeologically, with the exception of homemade marbles, as most others were imported from Germany, by way of England. Additionally, the Association included the clause that "We will…discountenance and discourage every species of extravagance and dissipation, especially all horse-racing and all kinds of gaming, cock-fighting, exhibition of shews [sic], plays, and other expensive diversions and entertainments." Imported toys would have been hard to acquire due to the ban on English goods, especially as homemade versions could have been easily made, and toys likely fell under the category of "expensive diversions and entertainments." While not all of the plantation owners and enslaved Africans in the American colonies and later the newly formed United States may have supported the ban, most of the sites in DAACS with toys from between 1770 and 1810 are from Thomas Jefferson's Monticello, someone who was highly dedicated to the cause of American independence and may have stopped importing objects such as toys.

The large increase in toys beginning around the 1820s fits well with the change in the dominant discourse surrounding childhood in the antebellum. While there were some technological developments in the antebellum period that led to increased production of toys, the large-scale mass-production of toys making them cheap and widely available did not occur until after the Civil War in the 1870s. There are only a few sites in DAACS that extend into the post-emancipation period, including Stagville, some of the Hermitage sites, and a few Monticello sites. None of these sites show a drastic increase in toys, when looking at both the toy index and

percentages, compared to those sites that only existed through the Civil War. The three sites with the highest percentage of toys all fell out of use by the 1870s. This suggests that the increase in toys after 1820 is not solely due to changes in manufacturing. It can also be attributed to new ideas about innocent childhoods and their influence on paternalistic slavery. Play began to be seen as a critical part of childhood around the same time slaveholders started to view themselves as parental figures towards their slaves. This may have led the slaveholders to give toys to enslaved children or allow them time to play as part of this parental duty. Because the increase in toys found archaeologically is not simply due to changes in manufacturing and availability of cheaper toys, it necessitates that attitudes of adults, including white slaveholders, towards enslaved children underwent a shift.

CHAPTER 6: TOYS ANALYZED BY DATE

While studying the toys in the context of their sites provides evidence for a general increase in toys over the 18th and early 19th centuries, the picture that emerges is not very detailed, especially as some sites have long periods of occupation or belong to more than one period/phase. To combat this problem, I combined all of the toys into a single data set focused on date and type of toy. Each toy was looked at as an individual entity rather than grouped by site. This allowed me to see more detailed trends in when exactly toys begin appearing in the archaeology record and to look at specific toys types.

In order to create this large data set, each of the 544 toys in the DAACS database was assigned a date based on their context's BLUE MCD or DAACS phase pipe-stem date. All toys with context dates were plotted by those dates, shown in Figure 12 (DAACS 2016f). There are no toys from 17th century contexts, and only nine from contexts dating to before 1745. There is a gap between 1760 and 1780 where no toys appear, although there is not a corresponding gap in contexts within DAACS (Figure 13). Toys begin to steadily appear around 1790, with a slight increase in the number of toys after 1820. Some of the toys did not begin to be manufactured until after their contexts MCD, such as glass marbles which were invented in the 1840s but are found in contexts with BLUE MCD in the first quarter of the 19th century and some Hermitage contexts have a BLUE MCD that is earlier than the construction date for the associated building. Because of this, it is likely that some of the context MCDs for other artifacts are also too early. Figure 12 illustrates a steady growth in the number of toys through the 18th into the 19th century,

although the exact point at which toys began steadily appearing may be later than the graph suggests.

Figure 12. Toys by context BLUE MCD.
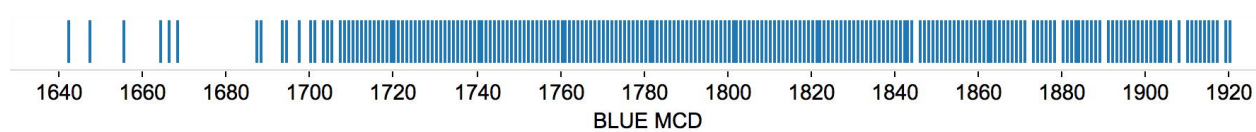
Figure 13. All contexts in DAACS by BLUE MCD

Toys were divided into the categories of marbles, dolls, toy dishes, and other. Differences among toy forms are important to understanding the effects changes in childhood had on enslaved children, especially in terms of gender roles and social status. The toy forms were then grouped into historical periods and BLUE MCD phases based on context BLUE MCDs to look at how the archaeological data correlates with the historical record. While the percent of toys grew through time, all toy types did not appear at once (Figure 14). According to the contexts' BLUE MCD, before 1750 (Period 1), marbles comprise 100% of the nine toys. Between 1750 and 1825 (Period 2), 77.57% of the 263 toys are marbles, with 17.11% being doll parts, 4.567% being toy dishes, and 0.76% falling into the other category, which includes one unidentified object and a lead horse. In contexts with BLUE MCD dates 1825 and onward (Period 3), only 47.74% of the 266 toys are marbles. 46.99% are doll parts, 3.38% are toy dishes and 1.88% are classified as other, including two toy cannons, one iron wheel, and a miniature beer mug and tobacco pipe. While the numbers for Period 3 are much lower when the Hermitage artifacts are

removed, dolls still make up half of the toys and marbles are not dominant, showing that this change it is not entirely based on regional differences.
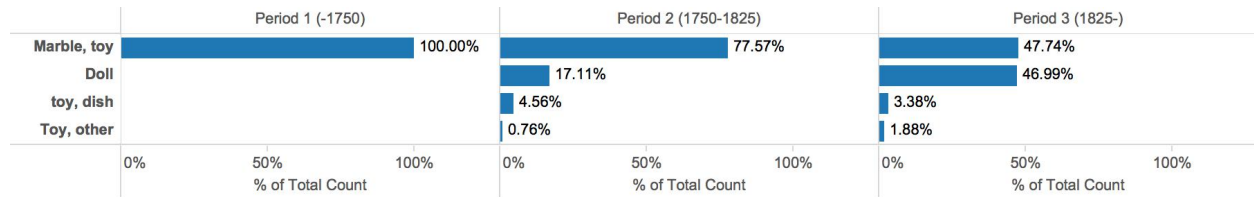
Figure 14: Percent of toy types for each historical period.

The results based on the MCD phases show the same pattern (Figure 15). Phase A (pre-1740) has marbles as 100% of the 5 toys. Phase B (1740-1770), 90.57% of the 53 toys are marbles, 7.55% are doll parts, and 1.89% are other toys. For Phase C (1770-1810) 78.43% of the 102 toys are marbles, 15.69% are dolls, and 5.88% are toy dishes. Finally, for Phase D (post 1810), 54.76% of the 378 toys are marbles, 39.68% are dolls, 3.97% are toy dishes, and 1.59% are other toys.
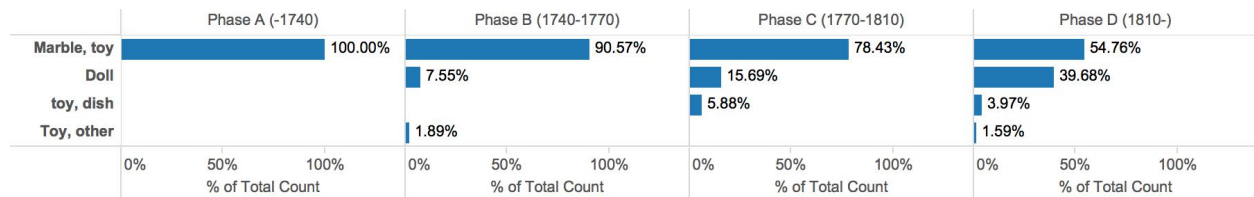
Figure 15: Percent of toy types for each MCD phase.

Toys were then divided by form and arranged by context date to determine when exactly each category began commonly appearing and how these correlate to the historically identified periods. The results are similar to those produced when toys are divided by period (Figure 16). Marbles are present from the early 18th century and are found in increasing numbers after 1750. Doll parts begin appearing by the mid-18th century and toy dishes by the late 18th. Additionally,

while there are doll parts found in contexts with BLUE MCDs in the period between 1790 and 1825, it is not until after 1825 when dolls begin to appear regularly. Understanding how the "other" category fits into these shifts is difficult as the one 18th-century toy cataloged as "other" is unidentified and objects such as toy horses, cannons, and wagons do not appear until the 19th century.
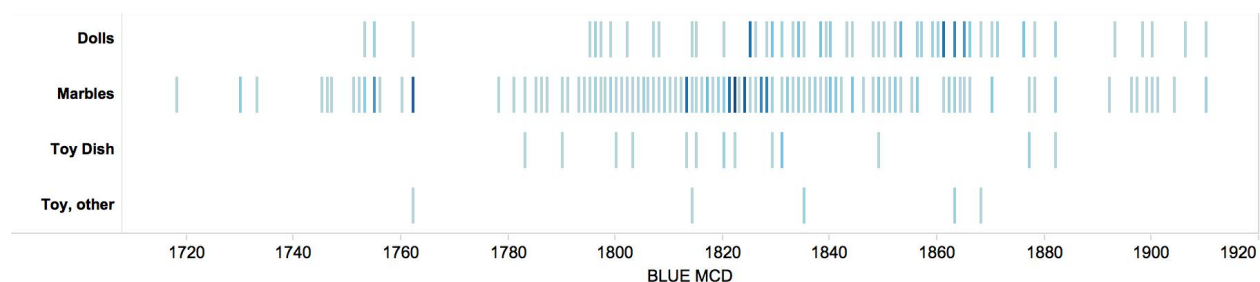
Figure 16. Toy types by context BLUE MCD. Gradient showing number of toys in each context from 1 (light blue) to 17 (dark blue).

According to the BLUE MCDs, toys besides marbles are not regularly found until after 1790. This pattern is not simply the result of the Hermitage contexts as the early shift is due to contexts from Monticello and other Virginia sites (Figure 7). This date is most likely skewed slightly early, as there are a number of toys with context MCDs that pre-date their manufacture start date by up to 40 years. There may have been some toys present in the late 18th century, but the large increase was likely in the antebellum period based on the manufacturing dates of marbles, doll, and toy dish ware-types.

The timeline for when the different types of toys begin appearing in the archaeological record matches up well with the historical changes in the dominant discourse of childhood and toy percentages by site, suggesting that enslaved children were viewed in a similar way to free white children. During the late 17th and early 18th centuries, games such as marbles would have been played by all ages and few other toys existed, and similarly, only there are only nine toys in DAACS from before the mid-18th century and they are all marbles. After the mid-18th century

when differences between adults and children were beginning to be emphasized and play became an important part of raising properly educated children, toys begin appearing in greater numbers on slave quarter sites and include dolls. By the antebellum period, when the playful nature of children became emphasized and they were encouraged to play for enjoyment, toys became an even larger proportion of the artifacts found on quarter sites and dolls appear in similar numbers to marbles. While the general chronological trends seem to support the idea that enslaved African children were viewed with the same dominant discourse of childhood as free white children, each toy type needs to be considered to understand where the toys were coming from and what they represent to adults.

Dolls

Changes in childhood and socialization for enslaved girls can be discussed using data such as the point in time when dolls began to appear on sites in DAACS and what parts of the doll were found. In order to properly understand the meaning and use of porcelain dolls, they need to be placed in the larger context of dolls in the 18th and 19th centuries. Porcelain dolls are the only dolls likely to survive in an archaeological context, but they were not made in large quantities until the 1840s and did not become affordable for most Americans until after the Civil War (Davis 1993; Formanek-Brunell 1993). Dolls were one of the first items to become part of a separate children's material culture as they became associated with young girls and not adult dressmakers during the 18th century (Calvert 1992).

Dolls were made of a variety of materials during the 18th and 19th centuries, including wax, paper, cloth, porcelain, rubber, wood, tin, and celluloid (Formanek-Brunell 1993). Wood and cloth were the most common types of dolls during the 18th century and were joined by paper

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maché in the first few decades of the 19th century (Goodfellow 1993; Davis 1993). Some

porcelain doll heads and limbs were made as early as the 1750s in Germany but these were

relatively rare and expensive (Davis 1993). Dressed and undressed dolls are listed in 18th century

newspapers such as the *Virginia Gazette* and the *South Carolina Gazette* in announcements of

goods arrived from England as early as the 1740s, but none provide any specifics as to the

materials used to make the dolls. In the 1840s, porcelain doll heads and limbs began to be mass-

produced. These heads and limbs were attached to wooden and cloth bodies. Heads and limbs

were commonly sold as separate parts before 1880 so customers could save money by creating

their own doll bodies. Frozen Charlotte dolls appeared in the 1850s. These dolls were one solid

piece with porcelain bodies and limbs frozen in place. Almost all dolls before the 1880s were

adult females with black hair and blue eyes (Davis 1993).

There are 173 doll fragments in DAACS, comprising 31.8% of the toys (DAACS 2016e).

Of these dolls fragments, two were from the plowzone at the mid-18th century site of Utopia II

and were not included in any of the analyses based on dates because their contexts are updatable.

Dolls in DAACS are divided into eyes, heads, limbs, Frozen Charlottes, and other. All doll parts

are relatively rare until contexts with BLUE MCDs in the 1790s (Figure 17). The 1790s would

be very early for porcelain dolls, as they did not become common until 1840s, and the context

BLUE MCDs may be slightly earlier than their dolls. There are two doll head fragments, a doll

limb, and one miscellaneous doll part from the mid-18th century. These were found at three

different sites in Virginia (Palace Lands, Utopia III, and Stratford Hall) and as such do not

represent a single doll or a single doll owner. Just under half of the dolls (82) are from the Yard

Cabin site at the Hermitage. Dolls were mainly found on sites where other toys, especially

marbles, were also recovered. There were only four sites where a doll was the only toy

recovered, and each of these sites had only one or two fragments. This indicates that dolls were

not commonly the only manufactured toy owned by enslaved children, and if they were going to

have only one type of toy, it was more likely going to be marbles.
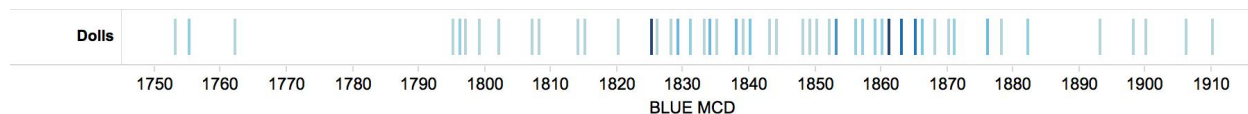
Figure 17: Dolls by context BLUE MCD. Gradient showing number of dolls in each context from 1 (light blue) to 12 (dark blue).

Ninety-three fragments across all of the DAACS sites came from unidentifiable portions

of a doll. Doll head fragments are the most commonly identified doll part, with twice as many

heads (59) as limbs (30) (Figure 18, Figure 19, Figure 20). There are only two doll eyes in the

database, both from the Stewart-Watkins site (Figure 21). According to the notes accompanying

their catalog entries, the eyes are from a Queen Ann style doll which were made of wood

covered with gesso and painted (DAACS 2016e). There are six Frozen Charlotte dolls; however,

some of the other doll fragments dating to after 1850 may also be Frozen Charlottes but are not

intact enough to be positively identified. Forty-seven doll fragments had decoration, recorded as

either molding or painting. Three doll fragments had evidence of blond hair, and eighteen have

black hair (Figure 18). The rest of the decorated fragments are painted faces, shoes, or

unidentifiable painting.

Figure 18: Doll Face from The Hermitage's Field Quarter Cabin 3. Artifact ID. 1405-95-01-012-DRS—00049.Downloaded from The Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery (http://drc.iath.virginia.edu/media/images/Optimized_ Artifacts/p_1405-95-01-012-DRS--00049.jpg) on April 7, 2016.

Figure 19: Doll Leg from Stratford Hall's ST116. Artifact ID 1006-187C-DRS--00002. Downloaded from The Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery (http://drc.iath.virginia.edu/ media/images/Artifact/1006-187C-DRS-00002b.jpg) on April 7, 2016.

Figure 20: Doll Arm from Monticello's Building *s*. Artifact ID 1002-830B3-NOS--00112. Downloaded from The Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery http://drc.iath.virginia.edu/ media/images/Object/579.jpg) on April 7, 2016.

Figure 21: Doll Eyes from Monticello's Stewart-Watkins. Artifact ID 102-1698B-DRS—00060. Downloaded from The Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery. (http://drc.iath.virginia.edu/media/images/ Optimized_Objects/p_1111.jpg) on April 7, 2016.

Dolls, along with toy dishes, are the toys most commonly associated with girls. While adults prized porcelain dolls, the author of an antebellum book of amusements for girls observed that cloth dolls "remain longer in favour with their young owners, and continue to give them more real satisfaction, than the handsomest wax doll that can be purchased" (Leslie 1831:301). Dolls were made in the shape of adult women as they were intended to help teach girls how to be mothers, how to sew, how to dress properly, and proper social manners. For many enslaved girls, these skills would be used to benefit their owners rather than themselves as they were forced to work as nurses, personal maids, and seamstresses.

Works Progress Administration interviews with former slaves in the early 20th century revealed that dolls were common, but most women remembered homemade dolls made by themselves and their mothers (Federal Writers Project 1938). The number of doll fragments found on archaeological sites associated with enslaved Africans, including those in DAACS, makes it clear that some enslaved girls also had more expensive porcelain dolls that were typically unaffordable for anyone not in the middle or upper class until after the Civil War (Formanek-Brunell 1993). It is possible that enslaved parents were able to save enough money to purchase dolls and evidence from post-emancipation graves shows that white porcelain dolls were not uncommon playthings for black girls (Teague and Davidson 2011). However, girls' preference for cloth dolls and historical evidence suggests that they likely came from the plantation owner or his family.

Dolls were used as gifts, bribes, and rewards on plantations (Katz-Hayman and Rice 2011). Letitia M. Burwell, a slave-owner's daughter from Virginia recalled, "We…found no pleasure greater than saving our old dolls, toys, beads, bits of cake or candy, for the cabin children, whose delight at receiving them richly repaid us." (1895: 5). While her book was

written in defense of the Southern elite and slavery and highly biased, her mention of bringing old dolls to the enslaved children fits with a few Works Progress Administration interviews. Susan Castle, who was enslaved in Georgia, told the WPA interviewer that on Christmas, the plantation owners "gave the children china dolls and they sent great sacks of….everything good out to the quarters." The doll fragments in DAACS from pre-emancipation contexts likely reflect the mindset of the white slaveholders rather than enslaved parents.

The six doll fragments from the mid-18th century are intriguing because porcelain dolls were quite rare and very expensive at this time (Davis 1993). The quarters in which the dolls were found were located ¾ a mile, ½ a mile, and 300 feet away from plantation main houses, meaning that it is not impossible that dolls were lost by the daughters of the plantation owners who sometimes played with enslaved children. The lack of historical references to enslaved children and their dolls from the 18th century makes it difficult to determine who would have owned the dolls originally, but they do show that enslaved girls were playing with dolls and that they likely also had rag or corncob dolls made by their mothers if rarer porcelain dolls were present. By this period, childhood and adulthood were becoming distinct life stages and dolls were important tools to socialize girls, both free and enslaved.

The increase in dolls by Phase D (post 1810) and Period 3 (post 1825) reflects changes in doll manufacturing, the dominant discourse of childhood, and the nature of slavery. The simplest explanation for why more dolls appear on archaeological sites after the first quarter of the 19th century is that changes in manufacturing made them more widely available, if still expensive. However, because it is likely that slaveholders purchased most of the dolls, the increase in availability does not completely explain why they are found on slave quarter sites. Just because dolls were more affordable did not necessitate that slaveholders purchase dolls for enslaved

children. By purchasing or handing down dolls to enslaved girls, whites could have been recognizing the inherent playfulness of enslaved children, although they usually denied them the innocence and freedom from work given to white children. This is reflective of both new ideas about the nature of children as well as the increasing paternalistic nature of slavery where slaveholders viewed their position in relation to their slaves as the same as a father's relationship to his children. The paternalistic attitude of many 19th century slave-owners was in part due to the changes in the dominant discourse surrounding childhood as slaves were viewed as children. According to this philosophy, a child owed their father love, respect, obedience, and service in return for basic necessities and his superior ability to make decisions, and slaves owed the same to their masters. (de Schweinitz 2012). As the playfulness and malleability of children became naturalized, slave-owners may have felt that it was their "paternal" duty to provide enslaved children with toys and ensure they were properly educated.

Dolls were used to educate girls into their proper gender role and enslaved girls were not excluded from this type of education. Porcelain dolls in the 19th century were almost exclusively white, and the fragments in DAACS are no exception. There is one black Frozen Charlotte doll that was found at the Hermitage, but it is from a site that has not yet been cataloged and so not included in this analysis. Interestingly, the doll is in a much more complete condition than any of the white Frozen Charlottes, potentially signaling that it was more highly valued by the girl who owned it. Black women including Toni Morrison and Alice Walker have frequently pointed out the association between expensive, beautiful, porcelain dolls and whiteness (Wilkie 2000). Wilkie (2000) believes that broken doll heads from a quarter at Oakley Plantation in Louisiana represent black girls expressing their distaste or anger after being given white porcelain dolls by the plantation owner's daughter, although there may be other explanations for these breakage

patterns. By gifting enslaved girls with white dolls that the girls needed to carefully tend for, sew

clothes for, and dress, whites were consciously or unconsciously reinforcing social roles based

on both gender and race.

Figure 22: Black Frozen Charlotte from the First Hermitage.
Photo courtesy of DAACS.

Evidence from Teague and Davidson's excavations of the post-emancipation Freedman's

Cemetery in Dallas, Texas shows that porcelain dolls comprise 80% of the toys buried in graves.

All are associated with young women and children, showing a strong correlation with gender and

socialization. A doll was even buried with a one year old who was likely too young to play with

it (Teague and Davison 2011). These burials date to a period when porcelain dolls were more

affordable, but still luxury items, and were from an urban area. Despite these differences to the

sites in DAACS, the burials reveal that white porcelain dolls were valued by black parents post-

emancipation, either for their role in socialization or in enhancing social status. The black Frozen

Charlotte from the Hermitage may also be evidence that enslaved or recently emancipated parents were purchasing dolls for their daughters in the period after 1850.While it is likely that most of the porcelain dolls from DAACS were purchased by whites and given to enslaved children as slaveholders began to adopt a paternalistic attitude, that would not have precluded black parents from using these dolls in the socialization of their daughters. Mothers also may have provided handmade dolls that served a similar role without the power imbalance inherent in the porcelain dolls.

Toy Dishes

Toy dishes, unlike dolls, were always made purposely for children, specifically young girls. They represent the some of the first toys manufactured and specifically intended for children. In a similar manner to dolls, the point in time when toy dishes appear in contexts associated with enslaved Africans and which common forms can be used to look at the experiences of enslaved girls during childhood.

Toy dishes in the form of children's tea sets were imported from China by the second half of the 17th century and European potteries were producing similar items in a variety of ware types by the early 18th century (Pardue 2008). John Carter advertised "compleat sets of China toys" in the *Virginia Gazette* on March 10, 1768 and Mary Dickenson announced that she had "Childrens Tea Sets" in the same newspaper on October 14, 1773. A 1779 letter written by Charlotte Delany describes one such set as "very fine and pretty of their kind, not quite so small as for baby things, nor large eno' for grown ladies…. there are twelve teacups and saucers, 6 coffee cups and teapot, sugar dish, milk mug, 2 bread-and butter plates" (in Pardue 2008: 1). There were also children's versions of tableware made by European potteries by the mid-18th

century, but there are no known examples of Chinese porcelain toy tablewares. This follows the same pattern observed in full sized ceramics at the time, where tablewares were refined earthenwares while teawares were often porcelain (Martin 1994).

There are only twenty-one identified toy dishes in the DAACS database, including nineteen ceramic and two pewter dishes (DAACS 2016e). Of the ceramic toy dishes, five are Chinese porcelain, eleven are porcelain, one is pearlware, and two are whiteware. Most are part of a child's tea set, with three saucers fragments, nine teacup fragments (Figure 23), and two fragments of unidentifiable teaware. One of the pewter dishes is a toy cup (Figure 24). Toy dishes first appear in the late 18th century and are only found on sites that have other toys. It is likely that there are other toy dishes that were too fragmented to be identified as toys and were cataloged as ceramic vessels instead. A search of the ceramics on DAACS brings up thirteen fragments that are noted as possible children's toys. Three of these are from Richneck and one from Utopia IV, placing them in contexts dating to the 1760s and 1770s, earlier than any of the positively identified toy dishes (DAACS 2016g). These thirteen artifacts have not been included in any other counts as they are not positively identified as toys, but they do suggest that there are likely many more toy dishes that are indistinguishable from other ceramics. The fact that they are only found on sites with other toys could indicate that either they were relatively rare toys for enslaved girls and were only available to children who were provided with a large variety of manufactured toys or that the presence of other toys at the site caused the catalogers to pay closer attention for other possible children's artifacts.
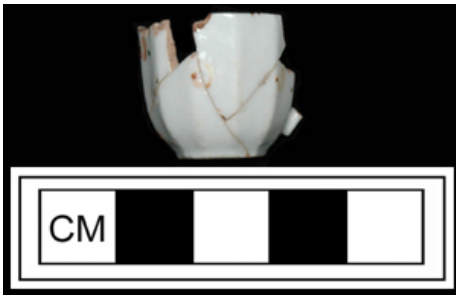
Figure 23: Chinese porcelain toy teacup from Monticello's West Kitchen Yard, Dry Well, & MRS. Artifact ID. 104-461TPS-NOS--00148 Downloaded from The Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery (http://drc.iath.virginia.edu/media/images/Optimi zed_Objects/p_1833.jpg) on April 7, 2016.

Figure 24: Pewter toy cup from Monticello's East Kitchen Yard. Artifact ID 110-1006B-NOS--00447. Downloaded from The Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery (http://drc.iath.virginia.edu/media/images/Optimi zed_Objects/p_2595.jpg) on April 7, 2016.

Toy dishes played a similar role to dolls in terms of girls' socialization. They were intended to teach girls how to be proper women and are highly connected to the tea ceremony and genteel living. According to historical sources, plantation owners most likely did not provide enslaved Africans with tea or coffee and while they brewed teas out of various plants such as sassafras, slaves did not participate in the elaborate English tea ceremony unless they served it in the main house (Meacham 2009; Miller 2013). Because of this, toy dishes, which are primarily tea sets, are not thought to have had an important role in the lives and socialization of enslaved girls. In her book on enslaved childhoods, King (2011) even states, "enslaved girls did not own miniature china tea sets" (127). The archaeological evidence shows that this is a least partially incorrect.

While toy dishes are not the most common toys in DAACS, they are present on slave quarter sites by the late 18th and early 19th century, a century after they first became available. Similar to dolls, these toy tea sets may have been gifts or hand-me-downs, especially as they are all found on quarters close to the main plantation house. It is a strong indication of the influence of paternalistic slavery and slaveholders acknowledging that enslaved children were also

children and allowing them to have some of the same items as their own children. If these toy

dishes were hand-me-downs from a slave owner's daughter, they are also a sign that white girls

were taught how to run a plantation under a paternalistic philosophy from a young age. However,

teaware is often found in slave quarters and would not have been unfamiliar to enslaved girls.

They may have played with toy dishes, including tea sets, in ways imitating how full sized

teaware was used by their parents and other enslaved adults. While white adults intended toy

dishes to teach white girls manners, these toys also allowed girls of all races to play a number of

other domestic roles. The presence of toy tea sets in contexts associated with enslaved children

shows how by the 19th century, play had become less about directly teaching girls how to behave

as adults, as it was not important for most enslaved girls to know the rules of the tea ceremony,

and more about allowing them to have fun while still imitating adult roles.

Marbles

Marbles were analyzed by date, frequency, material, and size to identify how marbles

associated with enslaved children changed in the 18th and 19th centuries and how their marble

collections compared to those owned by free children. Marbles has been a popular game in

continental Europe since the 16th century, but marbles have not been commonly found on

archaeological sites in England before the 17th century. This discrepancy may be reflected in the

American colonies where marbles are regularly found on French and Dutch sites but are rare to

non-existent on 17th century English sites. Marbles are a common find on British colonial sites

by the mid-18th century (Gartley and Carskadden 1998). By the 1760s, advertisements in the

Virginia Gazette and *South Carolina and American General Gazette* list marbles among the

items imported into Williamsburg and Charleston. Marbles are the earliest occurring toys in

DAACS, with one appearing in a 1718 context at Utopia II (Figure 16). In the mid-18th century when there are few other toys, sites commonly yield between five and fifteen marbles. There is an increase in the number of marbles through time but they make up proportionally less of the total toys for later periods.

 The material for each marble was recorded in DAACS, and these were used to identify shifts in marble types through time, how these related to the wider changes in marble materials in the United States and the value of marbles owned by enslaved children. The materials for marbles include: clay, earthenware, stoneware, porcelain, glass, limestone, marble, jasper, and other unidentified stones. Clay marbles were the cheapest and most widely available marbles, as they could be made by hand. This category includes the earlier white clay marbles (Figure 25) as well as later brown clay ones. In the 19th century they were known as "commies" due to how common they were (Gartley and Carskadden 1998). Limestone was the most common stone marble and was common in the Americas from the mid-18th century through the late 19th century (Figure 26). By the mid-19th century many were painted bright colors (Gartley and Carskadden 1998); however, none of the limestone marbles in DAACS had decoration. Marble (the stone) was one of the most prized materials for marble, especially if it had red veins, and they were produced from the late 17th century through the late 19th century (Gartley and Carskadden 1998) (Figure 27 and Figure 28). They were valued enough that Sara Pitt lists "alley," a common name for large marble marbles, separately from marbles in her 1769 *Virginia Gazette* advertisements. According to 19th and early 20th century accounts, children typically only had one or two marble marbles that they prized and used as shooters (Gartley and Carskadden 1998).

Figure 25: Clay marble from Monticello's Building D/j. Artifact ID 113-685AA-NOS—00058. Downloaded from The Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery (http://drc.iath.virginia.edu/media/images/Optimized_Artifacts/p_113-685AA-NOS--00058.jpg) on April 7, 2016.

Figure 26: Limestone marble from The Hermitage's Triplex. Artifact ID1 400-TXM3.2C-DRS—00370. Downloaded from The Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery (http://drc.iath.virginia.edu/media/images/Optimized_Artifacts/p_1400-TXM3.2C-DRS--00370.jpg) on April 7, 2016.
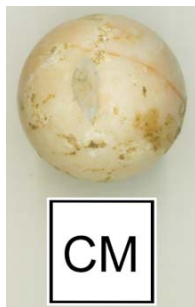
Figure 27: Red veined marble marble from The Hermitage's Triplex. Artifact ID 1400-TXM3.2C-DRS—00369. Downloaded from The Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery (http://drc.iath.virginia.edu/media/images/Optimized_Artifacts/p_1400-TXM3.2C-DRS--00369.jpg) on April 7, 2016.

Figure 28: Marble marble from The Hermitage's Triplex. Artifact ID 1400-TXM4.2C-DRS--00387. Downloaded from The Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery (http://drc.iath.virginia.edu/media/images/Optimized_Artifacts/p_1400-TXM4.2C-DRS--00387.jpg) on April 7, 2016.

Porcelain marbles, also known as chinas, and hand-made glass marbles were not introduced until the 1840s. Chinas (Figure 29) were much more popular than glass marbles due

to cost until glass marbles were made by machine beginning in 1905 (Gartley and Carskadden 1998). These dates do not match up well with the BLUE MCDs for the contexts in which the porcelain and glass marbles are found. The majority of these marbles are in contexts dating between 1790 and 1840, including all but one glass marble (Figure 30). All of the porcelain and glass marbles are from Monticello and Hermitage contexts and both sites were occupied into the early 20th century.

Figure 29: Painted porcelain marble from The Hermitage's Field Quarter Cabin 1. Artifact ID. 1406-95-03-42-DRS—00031. Downloaded from The Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery (http://drc.iath.virginia.edu/media/images/Optimized_Artifacts/p_1406-95-03-42-DRS--00031.jpg) on April 7, 2016.

Figure 30: BLUE MCD for glass and porcelain marbles.

Marbles are the most common toys in DAACS, with 343 marbles making up 63.1% of the total number of toys (DAACS 2016e). 221 of the marbles (64%) were found at the Hermitage. A third of the marbles in DAACS (118) were found at the Triplex at the Hermitage. This is a significantly higher number than the second largest amount of 34 at the Field Quarter Cabin 2.

The most common type of marble is unidentified stone with 132 (38.48%). Most of these stones are probably limestone, as that was the most common stone marble. Only 19 (5.54%) were identified as limestone though. Clay marbles are the most common fully identified type at 53 (15.45%) of the marbles in DAACS, although this percentage is likely low as some may be cataloged as one of the 28 (8.16%) ceramic, unid marbles and the 26 (7.58%) earthenware marbles. There are 37 (10.79%) marble marbles, 35 (10.20%) porcelain marbles, 8 (2.33%) glass marbles, 5 (1.46%) unidentified marbles, and one each cataloged as sandstone, quartzite, and jasper (Figure 31).
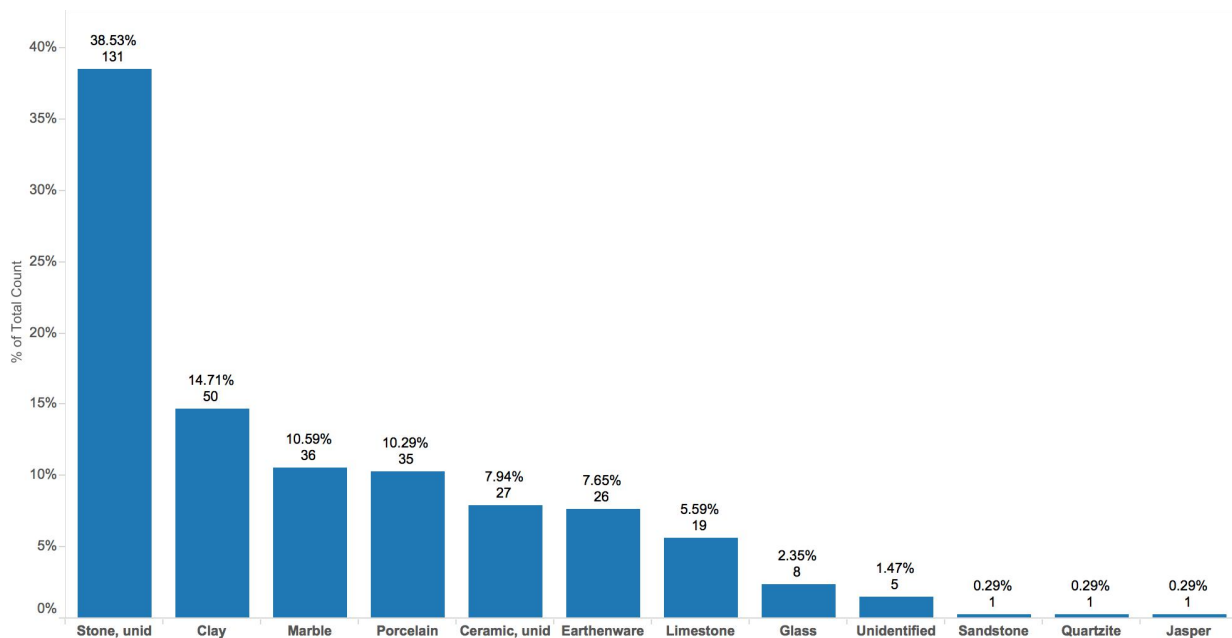
Figure 31: Marble materials showing percentage and count.

By dividing the marbles into ceramic, glass, stone, and unidentified materials, it is possible to see how the material changed over time. Similar to toy types, two sets of graphs were made, using context dates divided into both historical periods and MCD phases. According to historical period context dates, before 1750, 66.67% of the marbles were ceramic and 33.33% were stone (Figure 32). Between 1750 and 1825, 52.45% were ceramic, 1.96% were glass,

44.61% were stone, and material types for 0.98% were not recorded. The glass marbles should all be in the next period as they were not produced until the 1840s (Gartley and Carskadden 1998). Post-1825, 23.62% of marbles were ceramic, 3.15% were glass, and 70.87% were stone. These results are statistically significant based on a chi-squared test with a *p*-value of 0.000052 and significance level of 0.05.
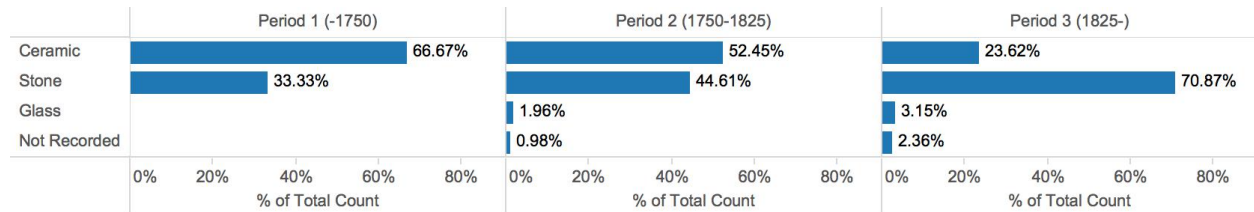
Figure 32: Marble materials by historic period.

Dividing these marbles into the four phases based on the site BLUE MCDs, a similar trend appears, with one key difference (Figure 33). Phase A (pre-1740), 60% of the marbles are ceramic and 40% are stone. During Phase B (1740-1770), the percent of ceramic marbles increases, something not seen with the larger date ranges in the historical periods. 87.5% of the marbles are ceramic and only 12.50% are stone, no glass marbles intrude into this phase. During Phase C (17701-1810), 63.75% were ceramic, 30% were glass, and 3.75% were glass marbles whose context BLUE MCD places them in too early of a phase. Phase D (post-1810) shows the large increase in stone marbles during the 19th century, with only 22.71% of the marbles being ceramic, 2.42% glass, and 74.43% stone. These differences are also statistically significant based on a chi-squared analysis even though Phase A is such as small sample size with a *p*-value of < 0.00001 and significance level of .05. While the exact percentages may be slightly different between, both historical periods and MCD phases show that ceramic marbles became slightly less popular over time as stone marbles increased in frequency and glass marbles were

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introduced. This matches with what Gartley and Carskadden (1998) observed in the historical

record for marble manufacturing.

	Phase A (-1740)	Phase B (1740-1770)	Phase C (1770-1810)	Phase D (1810-)
Ceramic	60.00%	87.50%	63.75%	22.71%
Stone	40.00%	12.50%	30.00%	73.43%
Glass			3.75%	2.42%
Not Recorded		2.50%	2.50%	1.45%
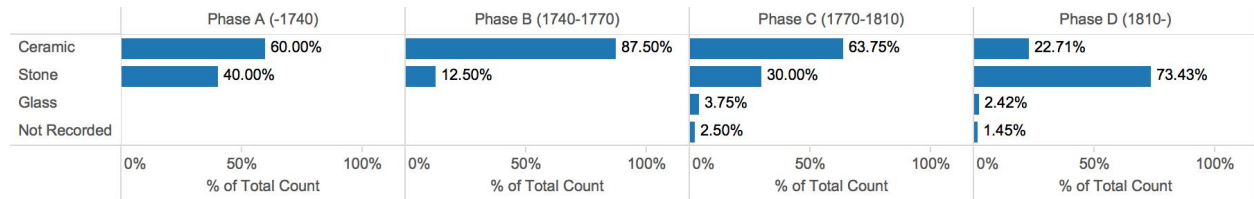
Figure 33: Marble materials by MCD phase.

Marble size, identified by diameter, can be used to look at what types of marbles were

owned by enslaved children. Marbles can vary in size based on function, especially depending on

if they are a target (regular marble) or a taw/shooter. Modern target marbles are 16mm and

modern shooters are typically between 18 and 25 mm (Moon Marble Company 2015). It is

unknown how 18th century marbles were classified, but clay marbles from this period and into

the 19th century came in all sizes, although rarely larger than 1 inch (25.4 mm) in diameter

(Gartley and Carskadden 1998; Baumann 2004). Antique marble collectors group marbles by 5/8

inch (16mm), ¾ inch (19mm), and 1 inch (25.4mm) (Baumann 2004).

Diameters could be taken for 267 out of 343 marbles in DAACS and they vary between

10 and 28mm (Figure 34). The majority of the marbles fall between 14 and 20mm, which is

within the modern standard range for modern targets and shooters. However, they do not group

evenly into the size ranges suggested by marble collectors, which may reflect the late 19th

century focus of these collectors. If the modern ranges were similar to those used in the 18th and

19th centuries there are more marbles that would have been used as targets, but as there was less

standardization of sizes for early handmade marbles, it is hard to say with accuracy. One of the

marble marbles was 22mm, larger than the ¾ of an inch (19mm) maximum for marble marbles

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seen by Gartley and Carskadden. The glass marbles, which were not produced until the mid-19th,

century all fall within modern marble sizes clustering around 16mm and 24mm. Additionally, all

marbles over 24 mm are made of porcelain, glass or stone, as these are harder materials and

make for better shooters. These were the most important marbles in a boy's collection as a good

shooter was necessary in order to be a successful marble player and win more marbles. Enslaved

boys owned high quality shooters, not simply cheap earthenware ones.
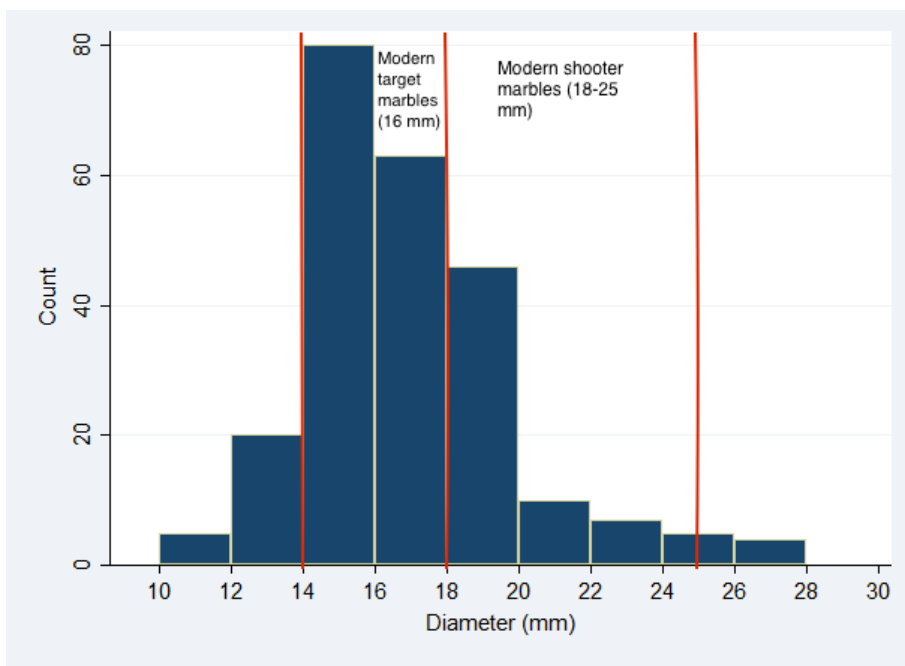
Figure 34: Marble diameters by count

Marbles were the most common toys owned by enslaved children, existed for the longest

period of time, and nearly all survive in the archaeological record, explaining why they comprise

over half of the toys in DAACS. While adults and girls also occasionally played with marbles,

they were largely associated with boys. A 1772 newspaper advertisement from the *Censor* in

Boston listed "boys marbles" for sale and depictions of marbles in art and descriptions in

literature nearly always associate them with boys, not adult men (Gartley and Carskadden 1998: 10). This gendered association can be seen in a 1790 account of a fictional family that describes the son as playing with marbles "of his own struction [sic]" and the daughter who can "dress and undress her doll" (Hitchcock 1790:145-146). A hundred years later, in a 1896 survey of children, marbles were consistently listed within the top ten preferred toys for boys but were listed 19th for girls (Clement 1997). This gendered association with marbles is also seen in WPA narratives, where boys commonly mention playing with marbles, while few girls do (Wiggins 1980).

Enslaved boys were able to make, buy, and win marbles and usually did a combination of the three. In a letter written in 1913, John Henry Washington remembered that he "usually had some store bought marbles, but the most of my marbles were made of red clay rolled out as nearly round as I could make them and put in the ashes in the fire place and baked hard. Dennis [another enslaved boy] would play marbles with me… then grab my store marbles and run" (in Harlan and Smock 1982:266). One of the marbles from Yaughan 75 has identified as colonoware and one from Yaughan 76 as locally made. These two marbles are probably made from the same material, colonoware which is a locally produced low-fired earthenware, but were labeled differently by the catalogers. Both were likely made on site, as Yaughan is a notable location where colonoware was produced.

The size and materials of the marbles in DAACS fit relatively well with the changes in marbles observed in the United States. Marbles in the 18th century were mostly clay, with some stone while stone began to dominate in the early 19th century. Most marbles were targets and each boy would only have one or two shooters. Marble marbles were the most valuable, followed by limestone, with clay as the cheapest. Marbles players in Ohio remember that in the early 19th century marble marbles were worth six clay marbles, and could be worth up to twenty if it had

enough prized red streaks (Gartley and Carskadden 1998:61). According to the sites in DAACS, enslaved boys in the 19th century had collections of marbles that were similar in value to free boys elsewhere in the country, as stone marbles, not clay, predominate. Even if boys did not have the money to purchase stone or marble marbles, they could use homemade clay marbles to win nicer marbles. However, as the large majority of marbles come from the Hermitage, this may simply reflect conditions at that one plantation.

Adults did not need to be involved in the procurement of marbles because children had the ability to make and win their own. Because adults were not necessarily the ones providing boys with marbles, marbles had less of a direct role in the socialization of boys when compared to the role dolls and toy dishes played for girls. This hands-off approach reflects both 18th and 19th century ideas regarding boys because they were viewed as more self-sufficient than girls (Clement 1997). So while the changes in marble types and the presence of marbles themselves do not necessarily reflect the mindset of adults, the association of marbles with boys and the willingness of adults to let boys take the lead in procuring marbles reflects how boys were socialized to be more independent than girls. The increase in the number of marbles does suggest that by the 19th century, boys were spending more time playing, as adults began to view play as intrinsic to childhood and important for shaping future adults.

Other

The forms and dates of the toys in the other category were used to discuss toys purchased for or gifted to enslaved boys by adults. Other is the smallest category of toys in DAACS, especially once modern toys such as cars and action figures are removed, leaving only seven objects comprising only 1.29% of the toys (DAACS 2016e). There is one unidentified pewter

object, a whirligig, a lead toy horse (Figure 35), two toy cannons, one-iron wheel (Figure 36), a miniature porcelain beer mug and a miniature porcelain tobacco pipe. The unidentified object is from Utopia IV and is likely a toy pewter watch (Franklin 2004). It comes from a phase dated to 1762. The lead whirligig part is from the plowzone at Palace Lands and may be associated with either the mid-18th or mid-19th century occupation there. The other eight objects are from solidly 19th century contexts.

Figure 35: Pewter horse from Monticello's Building s. Artifact ID 1002-840A-NOS-00035. Downloaded from the Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery (http://drc.iath.virginia.edu/media/images/Object/529a.jpg) on April 7, 2016

Figure 36: Metal wheel from the Hermitage's Triplex. Artifact ID 1405-90-01-049-DRS--00233. Downloaded from the Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery(http://drc.iath.virginia.edu/media/images/Optimized_Artifacts/p_1405-90-01-049-DRS--00233.jpg) on April 7, 2016

The other category is largely comprised of toys associated with boys, although both boys and girls would have played with the whirligig and the miniature beer mug and miniature pipe could be associated with dolls or dollhouses. Unlike marbles, these objects would have been purchased by adults, rather than made or traded and reflect the adult perspective on boys' play. While prices for these items before the Civil War are difficult to find, a catalog from the 1880s shows that tin horses were $0.50 at the cheapest (approximately $10 in 2016) and toy wagons were $2 at the cheapest (approximately $45 in 2016) (Vergho, Ruhling and Co. 1881). These items were likely even more expensive before the 1870s when most toys were imported from

Germany (Clement 1997). References to enslaved children playing with manufactured toy cannons, wagons, or horses do not appear to exist, although some did create these objects out of natural items, such as making horses from branches (King 2011). The lack of historical references and the high cost along with only a handful existing in DAACS suggests that metal toys were not commonly owned by enslaved boys, and occasionally may have been handed down or gifted in a similar paternalistic manner to dolls and toy dishes.

The wide variety of toys associated with boys in this category matches Calvert's (1992) observation that boys in 18th and 19th century portraits had many different toys while girls only had doll-related items. Free white boys had access to a wider variety of career paths than girls, were given more freedom, and their play was expected to help broaden their minds rather than learn skills (Calvert 1992). Male toys reflected these qualities of play. Enslaved boys did not have any access or choice in their career paths, but their games were generally more organizationally complex and based more on skill and strength than girls' play (King 2011). Military toys such as cannons, horses, and wagons lend themselves well to complex games based on skill. Although playing with military toys was not preparing enslaved boys for a life in the army, the new antebellum focus on play as imaginative and fun rather than simply educational may explain why boys were given or bought military inspired toys.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

The overall increase in children's toys through time on DAACS sites aligns relatively

well with the change in the dominant discourse of childhood in the United States. Before the

mid-18th century, there are only a few toys, all of which are marbles. Marbles at this time, were

played with by persons of all ages, reflecting the lack of differentiation between children and

adult amusements. Around the mid-century, more toys begin appearing, both in number and in

forms, showing the separation of childhood and adulthood and the beginnings of a unique

children's material culture. Bans on British imported goods and political discouragement of

purchasing luxury goods during the American Revolution appear to have decreased the number

of manufactured toys during the late 18th century. There was an increase in toys after the

Revolution as the malleable child and the importance of play in the proper education of a child

were emphasized. There was a definitive jump in the number and variety of toys during the early

antebellum as childhood was increasingly seen as a time of innocence and play.

However, this analysis ignores the fact that the toys from DAACS were found on sites

associated with enslaved Africans on Southern plantations. While it is possible that enslaved

Africans had the identical dominant discourse surrounding childhood as whites, most specifically

northern whites, it is highly unlikely due to the realities of enslaved life. Enslaved children were

not seen as future citizens of the United States and while some children remember their early

childhoods as a time of innocence and play, this was not universal and their parents were

certainly aware that this was not the reality (King 2011). By the early 19th century, the proper

education for a white child included learning gender roles, manners, and proper morals, all of which were taught through play. Enslaved parents were more concerned that their children learned obedience, the value of community, and how to avoid the cruelty of whites, for which manufactured toys were less important. Additionally, as black parents had less time to supervise and teach their children, they were not able to ensure that children were playing in the proper and moral ways demanded by the dominant discourse.

With the exception of marbles, the manufactured toys cataloged in DAACS were not commonly mentioned in slave narratives. Looking at enslaved children and toys from only a historical perspective leads to the conclusions that "Enslaved girls used rags or corn cobs to represent their babies…[and] Enslaved girls did not own miniature china tea sets or dollhouses" (King 2011: 127). While this may have been the case for the majority of enslaved girls, the archaeological evidence shows that some owned porcelain dolls and tea sets and that some boys owned metal cannons, horses, and wagons. As the white planter's family may have given the manufactured toys to enslaved children, the toys may not have been used, remembered, or liked as Wilkie (2000) suggests for the dolls and toy dishes from Oakley Plantation.

An increase in the number of toys found on sites associated with enslaved Africans in the 19th century cannot be attributed solely to the changes in manufacturing that occurred in the early 19th century, as just because toys were more available does not necessitate that they would be purchased. For example, toy dishes were being manufactured by the mid-17th century and yet do not appear at any site in DAACS until a century later. Porcelain dolls were expensive before the Civil War and especially rare before the 1840s but are present on earlier sites associated with enslaved African girls, not just the daughters of rich planters. Changes in ideologies that saw childhood as innocent, children as inherently playful, and play as fun rather than solely for

education influenced adults to purchase toys. It is the fact that adults were purchasing the toys for enslaved children, more than the fact that the toys were being manufactured that is important.

Whether the toys were bought by enslaved parents who were able to save up money for an expensive toy or the more likely scenario where by white slave-owners and their family members gifted toys to enslaved children, changes in the dominant discourse influenced purchases. The presence of manufactured toys on plantations reveals that white plantation owners likely experienced a similar change in the dominant discourse surrounding children as their Northern counterparts. Even marbles, which were commonly made, won, and purchased by enslaved children, increased in number through time suggesting that boys may have had more time to play and access to store-bought stone, glass, and porcelain marbles that were controlled by adults. Toys and play became more acceptable and expected of children through the later 18th and into the 19th century, enough that whites were giving toys, some relatively expensive, to enslaved children. Changes in the dominant discourse surrounding childhood along with the associated development of paternalistic attitudes towards slavery led slave owners to purchase or give toys to enslaved children before manufactured toys were cheap and widely available to most Americans.

Because of the issues surrounding the dates of contexts versus the initial manufacturing dates of some toys, it is unclear if the steady appearance of toys on sites dating after the American Revolution matches the increase in toys that Calvert (1992) noted in children's portraits after the 1770s or if this change should be placed solely during the antebellum. The portraits analyzed by Calvert were all of white and wealthy children, not the enslaved African children who are associated with the toys in DAACS. While the date of the initial increase in toys is unclear, it definitely occurred before the Civil War, not after, when toy production began

in the United States and manufactured toys become widely available and cheap. This is important as the archaeology shows that a change in ideology and attitudes towards childhood was the main driving force behind an increase in toys on plantation sites, not simply availability and a decrease in price of manufactured toys.

More in depth analysis of the toys, including how heavily they were used and breakage patterns is needed to understand them from the perspective of enslaved Africans. Additionally, comparisons to sites from other regions will help show how the toys played with by enslaved children compared to those of children in other circumstances. More information on the percentages, types, and changes through time of toys from white, middle-class Northern homes, plantation manor houses, and free black homes are needed to understand more fully how the toys in DAACS relate to various understandings of childhood. Looking at the landscapes the toys appear in, specifically what kinds of contexts they are most commonly found in and where these contexts are on the plantation landscape would also offer additional details on what role manufactured toys played in the lives of enslaved children.

The data on children's toys found on slavery related contexts in the DAACS database provides an understanding of how enslaved children were viewed by white slave owners, how enslaved children were socialized through toys, and the influence of paternalistic slavery on children and play. While this analysis was very much focused on the purposes of the individuals who provided enslaved children with toys and not the children themselves, it is an important place to begin to understand the lives and experiences of enslaved children. The dolls, marbles, toy dishes, and other toys enslaved children were given and played with reveal more than that they had time to play. These toys show that boys and girls received different messages about

their roles in life and appropriate activities and that enslaved children were at least partially

included in the shifts in how children were viewed in America

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