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Transitions: The Study of a Late Nineteenth Century Minnesota Farmstead During a Period of Agricultural Transition

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**Transitions: The Study of a Late Nineteenth Century Minnesota Farmstead
During a Period of Agricultural Transition**

by

Theresa D. Gilbertson

A Thesis

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of

St. Cloud State University

in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

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Thesis Committee:
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Abstract

The late 19th century in Minnesota was largely shaped by immigration, and Benton County was no exception. The region was a prime location for families, providing land that was both fertile and abundant. It was common for a couple members of a family to head west first, the rest of the family joining at a later time. Families could find land near each other and stick together in a new country. Benton County boasts a number of farmstead sites from this period of time. In 1873, John Keefe homesteaded one of these farms.

Diversity in population was not the only change happening in the region during this time. From the late 19th century to the early 20th century, Minnesota saw a shift in agriculture, with the trend moving from Wheat Monoculture to Dairying and Diversification between 1875 and 1885 (Granger and Kelly 2005). Historical archive research, research of archaeological data, and artifact analysis were all applied to answer the research question: was the Keefe farmstead originally built for a Wheat Monoculture economy, or as part of the shift toward Dairying and Diversification? Through the research involved, we see that the Keefe farmstead was built as a diversified farm, and can also achieve a richer understanding of the Benton County landscape during the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

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This thesis would not be complete with only my name on it. I have had plenty of help and guidance along the path towards completion of this degree. Dr. Muñiz, Dr. Gold, and Dr. Mann, all of my most sincere thanks for your continued support and encouragement the past year. Thank you to Renee Kampa, who was kind enough to show me the land where the farmstead was built and helped point me to Mary Ostby. Mary Ostby, the Executive Director of the Benton County Historical Society, was also incredibly helpful in pointing me to the right resources for my research question.

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Your thesis is like a puzzle. Except every piece in the box belongs to a different puzzle. There's no picture on any of the pieces. There is no big picture to look at for reference. Someone just handed you a box and said, put them together and we'll give you a degree.

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Chapter I: Introduction

Farmsteads are one of the most common potential sites in the United States, but are overwhelmingly underrepresented when it comes to excavation. While a strong study of farmstead historical contexts for the state of Minnesota exists (Granger and Kelly 2005; Terrell 2006), there is more to be learned from a farmstead that is treated as an archaeological site. This thesis seeks to gain more information from the Keefe farmstead site (21BN0028) in Foley, Benton County, Minnesota. The research done for this thesis studies historical documents, modern documents, and the findings of three archaeological excavations to determine how the Keefe family set up their farm.

John Keefe and his family settled their farmstead during a period of agricultural transition in Minnesota. Between 1875 and 1885, the state shifted from a period of Wheat Monoculture to a period of Dairying and Diversification (Granger and Kelly 2005). The Keefe farmstead paperwork dates to 1873, placing the family right around the beginning of this transitional period. Through the research required for this thesis, we learn that the Keefe family did, in fact, set their farm up as a diversified farm, including a milk house for dairy cows.

Chapter II: Literature Review

To form a complete understanding of the different nuances to this project, literature in many different subjects was referred to. First, a general treatment of historical archaeology, including methods and schools of thought. Within historical archaeology, there is a focus on the analysis of both historic ceramics and zooarchaeological remains. Next, sources regarding the historic archaeology of farmsteads were examined, and then the historic context for Minnesota farmsteads specifically. Finally, a discussion of the Irish diaspora provides the historical context needed for any complete archaeological project. This recognizes that archaeology is rooted in anthropology, and the field of anthropology stresses contextual evidence as crucial for a more thorough understanding of a given topic.

Historical Archaeology

The first part of this literature review will examine the general methods, approaches, and benefits of historical archaeology. As Noël Hume (1968:9) writes, “the past is worth studying as soon as it becomes in danger of being lost.” We often think that we will remember important moments, only to be reminded of them years later and think, ‘I wish I could remember that day better.’ Similarly, we also tend to take the everyday aspects of our lives for granted, and do not find them important enough to document. This is where historical archaeology comes in—it helps us to understand the past in a much clearer way, often requiring less speculation than prehistoric archaeology.

While some may see American historical archaeology as less glamorous or important than historical archaeology in Europe, Noël Hume would disagree. He claims that archaeological sites in the United States are lost at much the same rate as sites in Europe,

stressing that the remains of colonial America are just as important to our country as ancient Roman sites are to Europe, specifically Britain (Noël Hume 1968:9). Deagan expands on this, stating that “the multinational background of colonial America has not significantly influenced (or been incorporated into) popular American identity or ideology until quite recently” (Deagan 1991:97-8). She encourages current and future archaeologists to use their skills to paint the whole picture of the American past – practice historical archaeology as it pertains to Native Americans and African Americans as well as European Americans.

Learning more about the everyday activities of a group of people can really provide a better understanding of the past. As mentioned earlier, these everyday activities are often left undocumented. Some reasons for this could include: people that are kept illiterate (for example, African American slaves); cultures that document things in ways other than traditional western methods (for example, Native Americans); taken-for-granted activities that one would not even consider documenting; or illicit activities whose documentation would implicate participants. Kelly and Thomas see historical archaeology as the great equalizer:

Commonly less concerned with grand explanation, historical archaeologists can often shed light on lesser-known aspects of the historical past (such as the daily life of slaves), correct mistaken assumptions about history, and use the archaeological record to derive views of the past that sometimes contrast with the picture derived from documentary evidence alone. (Kelly and Thomas 2013:332)

Deetz further illustrates the point that relying on historical documentation alone is poor practice if one’s goal is to provide an accurate depiction of the history of the United States. Cato Howe was a black man who served in the military for five years, beginning in 1778. Deetz uses the historical documentation available to him to illustrate what he can of Howe’s life, and asserts that, “were it not for Howe’s having served in the Continental Army,

we would know hardly a thing about him” (Deetz 1977:191). Deetz was only able to outline parts of Howe’s life, only what he was able to learn through military records. Cato Howe is an example of many people whose stories are never recorded.

If one wants to tell a complete story, they cannot rely on the celebrities and fantastic events that we hear of in our introductory history books. Deetz continues his discussion on the African American past to illustrate the importance of historical archaeology, specifically as it relates to less ‘documented’ groups like African Americans and Native Americans. “If material culture makes a vital contribution to our understanding of the American experience, then it assumes critical importance in the accounting of the African American past” (Deetz 1977:212).

In his text, Deetz also examines architecture, ceramics, headstones, and artifacts that do not usually “provide direct reflections of ... people’s lives” (Deetz 1977:166), such as chairs, cutlery, fiddles, refuse disposals, and tableware. He provides a focus on other artifacts that do not always provide direct correlations. He uses those kinds of artifacts to discuss change; culture; and how, even though the artifacts may not provide detailed information as regularly as others, they still enrich our overall understanding of people in the past. It is critical that these small things are not forgotten.

Other topics Deetz covers are; the differences between prehistoric and historic archaeology, how literacy plays a part in historical archaeology, learning how words were used in the past, using comparative analysis between sites, using chronology to study fill, other dating techniques, and the tendency of archaeological projects to be taken on just because a given location was used by a prominent figure in history. He also asserts that

archaeologists are more interested in “broad cultural contrasts and basic human motivations” (1977:39) than in the great detail that often goes into the special sites that get the most attention. While America as a collective is often interested in learning about historic celebrities, the problem becomes this:

Not only does such archaeology make questions of general cultural significance secondary, but since most famous people were of the more elite sector of society, if we were to depend only on such data for our interpretation of the American past, the picture would be decidedly skewed in the direction of greater affluence and status. (Deetz 1977:41)

Besides this, we must also account for the fact that “humans have a marvelous and endearing capacity to indulge in whimsy, often realizing our ideas by the creation of incredible edifices...due allowance must be made for the totally idiosyncratic and occasionally eccentric behavior of certain people, now and in the past” (Deetz 1977:41-3).

Historical archaeologists need to consider a few things before excavating a site. Noël Hume stresses that a perfectly laid plan is key to excavation, as he is also a believer in start-to-finish excavation. No task, no paperwork, no piece of the puzzle can be left out, because, “if we embark on the excavation of a site that is otherwise in no danger, it is our responsibility to extract every last ounce of information from it” (Noël Hume 1968:21). I appreciate his sentiment, but I don’t believe this to be possible. As they are written, the cultural resources policies in this country lend themselves to quick-and-dirty fieldwork in an effort to learn whatever we can about a site in a very short period of time. Then, while trying to finish up post-excavation work on the site, we are hit with another and the cycle goes on. Unfortunately, in his time, Noël Hume (1968:22) noted that “We all know perfectly well that once a site has been partially dug, no one is going to come back to do the donkey work.”

Fortunately, today's archaeologists are more thorough and thoughtful. True, to completely excavate a site is still the less common practice. However, archaeologists today do their due diligence. When a site is not completely excavated, methods are used that saves the untouched portions of the site for future research. Even in the best of circumstances, when the site is "otherwise in no danger" (Noël Hume 1968:21), there will always be something we could have seen more clearly. This could come with new technologies or simply new studies about related sites.

Through archaeology, we can gain "the commemorative or associative benefits of heritage and the knowledge benefits of history" (McManamon 2002:31). Historical archaeology provides communities with a sense of a shared past, and also provides information for more broad conclusions when research from one area can be compared to research from another. Even on a smaller scale, using archaeology to teach can be beneficial. Teachers have observed "that incorporation of archaeological information and discussions of how the investigation of material remains can illuminate aspects of history stimulates student interest" (McManamon 2002:36). From a person's school years to their adulthood and beyond, archaeology encourages participation and critical thinking.

More current archaeological thought revolves around Modern World Archaeology, strongly promoted by archaeologists like Charles E. Orser, Jr. (2011 and 2012) and Barbara J. Little (2007). This newer theory holds that the study of historical archaeology is deeply impacted by colonialism, capitalism, racialization, and Eurocentrism, whether or not we choose to acknowledge it (Orser 2012:743). "The real intent is to investigate the constituents of the process of modernity" (Orser 2012:742). Modern World Archaeology offers unique

opportunities, but also special burdens (Orser 2012:742). Since much of archaeology is currently done on behalf of cultural resource management, “archaeologists may have difficulty making a case that a given site associated with ‘the poor’ is significant within federally mandated guidelines” (Orser 2011:152). Orser stresses that the problem is not within archaeology, but in the guidelines that cultural resource management archaeologists have to work with.

Little (2007) shares these sentiments. She brings up the fact that practitioners in many disciplines, while open to collaboration, often worry about the future of their discipline. They do not want to stray too far away from the primary focus of their field of study to the detriment of it. However, she reminds us that collaboration is both crucial and beneficial. “Historical archaeology is well situated in a cross-disciplinary era of the social and human sciences because it is oriented to places and topics” (Little 2007:14). The cross-disciplinary nature of historical archaeology can help answer research questions that pertain to more than one discipline and add depth to public knowledge. More formal forms of research shouldn’t shy away from public knowledge, as she writes, “it is important for the health of public history to encourage the trend away from disciplinary exclusivity and encourage the trend toward topical work” (Little 2007:15). Cultural resource management can play a strong role in this.

The strengths of historical archaeology lie in documentation. Having the ability to complement these documents with physical evidence allows researchers to confirm or contradict existing beliefs and assumptions. It is the duty of historical archaeologists to make conscious efforts to tell the stories of people who did not keep the documents typical of

European Americans, like African Americans and Native Americans. Noël Hume points out that, in a nation that keeps so many records, it is often assumed that these saved records will tell us all we need to know about the past. He says historical archaeologists know this assumption to be false, and illustrates how archaeological research of the historic past can teach us things we never imagined. “Digging in the documents and in the earth,” he writes, “must be understood to be part of the same research and that one cannot do without the other” (Noël Hume 1968:19).

Ceramics

Miller (1980) provides the bulk of the information used regarding ceramics for this project. His article provides a decoration-based classification for ceramics, as well as background information on English ceramics. In describing the different ware types, he discusses prices and different methods of analysis. Finally, Miller (1980) lists creamware index numbers, with detailed appendices to show the reader how they can be utilized. His later article (Miller 1991) contains revised CC index values and expands on his ideas and descriptions with more research than his 1980 article. The Miller (1991:1) article is a replacement for his previous one, as it “provides a clearer picture of the price structure for English ceramics.” For example, the author illustrates how some numbers may show a stable ceramic price over a given period of time, whereas other data will show that ceramic prices changed frequently (Miller 1991:2-3). Miller (1991) also provides clearer discussion on creamware index values and similar descriptions of ceramic types.

Miller and Hurry (1983) provide a more contextual study. In this article, the authors explore the idea of ceramic decoration as an indicator of status and wealth. The study focuses

on an economically isolated community, and the conclusion presented by Miller and Hurry (1983:80) is that “ceramics break down as status indicators under conditions of economic isolation.” The authors use discussions of banks, different ways to purchase ceramics, and private journal entries to illustrate their points, emphasizing the factor of human choice.

Zooarchaeology

A thorough introduction of zooarchaeology is presented by Jolley (1983), who covers the past, present, and future of zooarchaeology. He provides a brief background of how faunal remains have been dealt with in the past at archaeological sites. Olsen (1971) touches on this topic similarly, arguing that zooarchaeology needs to be applied more thoroughly in the United States, rather than archaeologists relying on other researchers when it comes to faunal remains. Jolley (1983)—while discussing procedures, methods, and analytical tools—tells us the problems they present and offers suggestions for improvement. Olsen (1971) also provides disadvantages and solutions regarding the smaller amount of attention paid to faunal remains by archaeologists.

Jolley (1983) and Olsen (1971) both also discuss interpretation of faunal remains. The latter focuses on fish, amphibians, reptiles, birds, and mammals (Olsen 1971), and the former focuses on settlement types, dietary practices, cultural inferences, and husbandry and butchering practices (Jolley 1983). Jolley goes on to illustrate the reasons why and how these different types of information can and should be studied through faunal remains found at archaeological sites. Archaeologists, says Jolley, “should establish goals that are concerned primarily with the documentation and comparison of inter- and intra-site variability in subsistence practices” (Jolley 1983:75). Olsen (1971) rounds his article out with two

additional sections; one focusing on domesticated and introduced animals, and another discussing the determination of an animal's age based on their remains.

Three different case studies examine faunal remains at archaeological farmstead sites. The first, Bowen (1975), is a prime example of historical archaeology through zooarchaeology. Bowen uses historical documents in concert with on-the-ground archaeological evidence to examine what was present at the Mott Farm. She begins the article with the background of the Mott Farm and an overview of her study. She puts the farm into an economic context and then presents the faunal remains found at the site (mostly sheep, cattle, and pig). Bowen also compares the archaeological evidence to the probate inventories from 1736, explaining discrepancies “in terms of varying uses of sheep, pig, and cattle” (Bowen 1975:11). The conclusion illustrates the strengths of historical archaeology—comparing physical evidence (in this case, faunal remains) with historical documents (probate inventories).

Two other case studies use archaeological faunal remains to determine what families ate on their farmsteads. While Peres (2008) studies four farmsteads to talk about one regional area, Price (1985) selects one farmstead to study in more detail. Peres uses four contemporaneous sites in Kentucky to study diet and cuisine during the 1800s. The author “compares the idealized Upland South foodways to the zooarchaeological records of ... [the sites] ... to better understand the role economic status played in the dietary reality of central Kentuckians” (Peres 2008:90). The four sites examine slaves, middle class farmers, and wealthy slave owners. While her primary sources are faunal remains, she recognizes the importance of using “multiple lines of evidence, including documentary sources, architectural

remains, and material culture in addition to faunal evidence” (Peres 2008:93) when forming interpretations for these types of sites.

Peres asserts that Upland South foodways have been idealized in the past, and her findings support this statement. The only constant in the diet of the Upland South, she says, “is the widespread consumption of pork” (Peres 2008:97). One major factor of diet composition for some economic classes would have been different access to food. Those people that may not have as great of access to domestic animals would supplement that part of their diet with wild animals. Peres concludes by stating that “the importance of domestic animals in Upland South foodways has been overstated” (Peres 2008:99).

Price (1985) uses the Widow Harris Site in Missouri to discuss intra-site distribution patterns in relation to patterns of cultural behavior. She tests the Ozark foodways patterns to see if they are applicable to the Widow Harris site—using ethnographic, historical, and archaeological data. She also studies “the effects of differential bone distribution on reconstructions of human dietary patterns” (Price 1985:41). The Widow Harris site was occupied by a single family, who abandoned it around 1870. Price’s archaeological work was conducted 100 years later, in 1976-8 and 1981.

Detailed tables are provided regarding artifacts and faunal material. Squirrels are highlighted as a most commonly eaten small mammal, and pigs as the most common large mammal; overviews of processing these animals are provided as well (Price 1985). Price discusses cultural impacts and previous related work, but is cautious with her findings due to sample biases. She concludes that, especially in the case of multiple privies, “it is unwise to assume that the remains from a single locus accurately reflect human preparation,

consumption, and disposal behavior from the site as a whole” (Price 1985:55). The reader is left suspecting that she would approve of the way in which Peres (2008) conducted her study, using multiple loci to answer a research question.

Farmstead Archaeology

Farmstead archaeology is treated as a separate entity here, as it relates more specifically and directly to this thesis. The literature defines terms such as “rural archaeology” (Adams 1990), “landscape archaeology” (Adams 1990), and “modernization theory” (Cabak et al. 1999). It discusses farmstead archaeology as a taken-for-granted part of this country’s past (Groover 2008), and uses case studies to illustrate class, status, ethnicity, and race (Stine 1990); how rural people utilized material culture and physical space to present their identity to others (Ford 2008); and how household succession can bring about change on the rural landscape (Groover 2004).

A brief discussion of rural archaeology is provided by Adams (1990). His article begins with a discussion of the terms “rural archaeology” and “landscape archaeology.” The former is described as “the study of sites which can only occur within a rural context—exploitative and extractive sites like those associated with farming, timbering, and mining” (Adams 1990:92). The latter term requires a little more unpacking. It is also sometimes referred to as “settlement archaeology” or “landscape history.” Adams says that the latter of these two alternate terms is better, and asserts that, “archaeologists would have a better understanding of rural sites by focusing on landscape *history*” (Adams 1990:92) because the discipline’s history of studying urban sites and monuments has put the assumption of ‘buildings only’ into our heads.

Adams (1990), too, provides guidelines and tips for treating historic farmsteads with the attention they deserve. In the case of farms, the author says that the landscape history “would detail the history of its land acquisition and usage” (Adams 1990:93). Specific characteristics studied to answer these questions include boundary maintenance, farm layout, and farmhouses. Adams provides clear examples and discussions of each of these characteristics, concluding with a how-to of landscape history. Rural sites, especially agricultural ones, require landscape history as part of the archaeological project. “The historical archaeology of a farmstead site must place that site,” Adams writes, “within the context of the farm as a whole, not just the house and yard” (Adams 1990:101).

When it comes to farming in the United States, Groover (2008:1) points out that “this seemingly simple practice was a major transition in human development, and it continues to have a profound influence on the world we inhabit today.” His text uses historical archaeology to study a way of life that is not as prevalent in the United States as it used to be—the family farm. His first chapter provides a brief world history of farming as well as a history of farming in America. Next, the author places American farmsteads in archaeological and cultural contexts. He outlines the next chapters of the book and concludes by stating that, “the challenge for historical archaeologists is to systematically define the range of material characteristics and conditions that rural families experienced in America during the historic past” (Groover 2008:10).

The next chapter of Groover’s text provides a discussion of the relatively short history of farmstead archaeology (beginning in the 1960s). This section mentions cultural resource management, frequency of farmstead studies by geographic region, and common themes in

farmstead archaeology. Groover points out that “although farmsteads represent one of the most prevalent type of sites in North America (Friedlander 1991), they have yet to foster a fully organized and conscious research effort” (Groover 2008:12). He then offers a research design for archaeology projects at farmstead sites that he believes can be easily adapted to any American farmstead. Key points of this research design include world systems theory, historic context, economic context, the three main intervals of time, landscape patterns, and architectural change. World systems theory claims that “commercial, profit-oriented economic activity is one of the strongest forces of development and change in the modern world” (Groover 2008:18), and examines how the production of agricultural goods and other commodities “has profoundly influenced the life experiences of households in different parts of the world” (Groover 2008:19). The three main intervals of time are partially inspired by the world systems theory, and presented by Fernand Braudel of the Annales School. Braudel’s intervals of time are short-scale (events that occurred quickly over a few years’ time), medium-scale (decades, or a few lifetimes), and large-scale (hundreds or thousands of years) (Groover 2008:20). The author ends the chapter with a discussion of site significance as it relates to farmsteads.

In supporting the points of his first chapters, Groover’s (2008) three later chapters provide case studies that illustrate the importance and value of farmstead archaeology in the United States. We cannot take archaeological farm sites for granted and assume there is nothing more to learn from them. Groover’s third chapter is a study of colonial farmsteads. These are farmsteads that were active from the late 1500s to the late 1700s, and “experienced the transition from a pre-modern preindustrial way of life to a modern, industrially based

society” (Groover 2008:31). The primary focus of artifact study lies in “domestic architecture, landscape design, domestic furnishings, dress, and foodways” (Groover 2008:32), as these were heavily influenced by popular consumer culture. The William Strickland Site provides an example of upward mobility on the agricultural ladder, Wolstenholme Towne and Kingsmill Plantation illustrate life for Chesapeake farmers, and Old Town Ste. Genevieve in Missouri provides an example of French farmsteads in Illinois Country. Throughout his studies of these sites, Groover especially focuses on domestic architecture, landscape design, and foodways.

The fourth chapter studies federal and antebellum farmsteads, which were primarily active during the early and middle 1800s. Settlers during this period “were often members of vernacular or folk-based ethnic cultures and relied upon preindustrial technology and household items” (Groover 2008:68). Even so, this era is marked by a stronger sense of consumerism and standardization. In farmstead sites from this era, we see more items, often of less value, thrown away. The Shaeffer Site illustrates a rural middle class farmstead in Pennsylvania through Groover’s interpretation of architecture and objects for food consumption. The section on the Gibbs Farmstead in Tennessee provides a very thorough discussion of household succession and how it impacts a landscape. Finally, a study of the Shepard farm in Michigan illustrates labor and kin relationships on a farmstead site.

Groover’s final main chapter covers postbellum farmsteads and twentieth-century farmsteads. For the purposes of this text, these periods are covered from the 1860s to the 1920s. Important concepts include infilling, farm consolidation, technology, and consumerism. Especially pertinent to the Keefe farmstead is the comment that “farmsteads

occupied during the late 1800s and into the twentieth century are also important archaeological resources because they represent the end of a substantial culture history sequence in American life” (Groover 2008:98). Groover examines the Porter Farm in New York, multiple farmsteads in the Savannah River Valley, and the Drake farmstead in Illinois through an economic lens. The last farmstead is of particular interest because it illustrates a woman’s ability to assert her independence during this time, and Groover again cautions historical archaeologists against assumptions. Chapter six is a short overview of the text.

Groover, along with Cabak and Inkrot, continues this sort of discussion by using modernization theory and rural modernization. Modernization theory uses a progression or timeline that illustrates transition from one type of society to a ‘modern’ one. Forming this more specifically into rural modernization, they discuss physical evidence for culture change on rural farmsteads. While studying farming in South Carolina, these authors use the lens of modernization theory to interpret the archaeological findings and discuss rural modernization in more recent farmstead sites. The area studied was part of a plot of land that the federal government purchased from citizens to create a nuclear research facility. While most archaeological analyses point to rural households purchasing large amounts of commercial products, this particular case provides different evidence that “illustrates the often uneven character of culture change and historical process” (Cabak et al. 1999:19). The site also provided the authors with an opportunity to study rural lifeways during a time in American history when modernization really changed the way we did and thought about agriculture.

The article begins with a review of farmsteads as the most common site type in rural, 20th-century settings. An overview of previous farmstead archaeology is also provided,

followed by a discussion of modernization theory. “A modernization framework,” the authors claim, “lends itself well to archaeology due to the theory’s material basis” (Cabak et al. 1999:23). Modernization is then discussed in terms of rural and domestic life, and what modernization may look like on a farmstead site (sheet midden, glass utility line insulators, automobile windshield and headlight glass, spark plugs, and ceramic electrical insulators and light bulb sockets). While the site used in this study did not provide much evidence from this list, it did contain other evidence for modernization (phonograph records, soda bottles, and glass canning jars).

As mentioned in the introduction, modernization does not look the same everywhere. The authors use their concluding thoughts to restate and illustrate this claim. Rural modernization took place over a couple generations, and Cabak et al. (1999) point out that “micro-level culture change, analogous to successive and continuous waves of artifact horizons, was perpetually occurring between the 18th and 20th centuries in the domain of consumer goods and household material culture” (1999:39).

In another case study, Stine (1990) examines two farmsteads in 20th-century North Carolina to facilitate a discussion of class, status, ethnicity, and race. She begins with a discussion of these factors, grounded in historical archaeology, as they relate to the ‘agricultural ladder.’ As Stine describes it, the agricultural ladder is a form of social stratification “based on criteria of farm occupation and relationship to credit” (Stine 1990:39). There are seven rungs on this ladder, beginning with ‘unpaid family laborer’ at the bottom, and ‘owner, part-owner no mortgage’ at the top. Ideally, this is the way farmers would improve their social status (Stine 1990:39). Next, Stine describes the two sites she is using.

The farmsteads belong to two lower middle class families, one black (Nichols), the other white (Stine). These families and their farmsteads “were more alike than different” (Stine 1990:44). The families were of a similar size and “were engaged in a reciprocal exchange of labor over the course of two generations” (Stine 1990:43). The houses were of a somewhat similar build, the crops of similar product, and “members of these families recall that both were poor enough to have barely noticed the effects of the Depression” (Stine 1990:44).

Stine’s interpretation of the numerous artifacts is detailed, and she compares the two sites clearly. “Although statistical tests indicate that no significant variation is present between the two assemblages,” she writes, “some variation does exist” (Stine 1990:48). This variation is likely caused by different topography and the effects of erosion. The author concludes that variability between farmsteads of the time was probably not strongly or at all related to skin color. She argues that it “was probably both region-specific and dependent upon the particular manifestation of the agricultural ladder” (Stine 1990:49), and a family could move around this ladder depending on the time of year or other factors beyond their control.

A third case study by Ford (2008) uses archaeological evidence from a farmstead in 19th-century New Hampshire to discuss how rural people used material culture and created spaces to present their identity to their friends and neighbors. The author describes the Pettengill site as a typical New England connected farmstead. An architecturally connected farmstead, as Ford (2008:60) describes, was created to maximize efficiency. As systematization increased in urban lifestyles, connected farmsteads created the opportunity for systematization on the rural landscape. All buildings in a connected farmstead were

connected and shared walls, much like a modern day strip mall. In New England winters, this was especially beneficial. Shared walls helped to reduce heating costs, and also protected farmers and their families from harsh winters. Ford argues that the site is significant because it contains “the remains of a farm family’s concerted effort through the control of space to influence how it was perceived” (Ford 2008:59). These findings, he says, can be applied to other sites, to compare and contrast how different farming families were (or were not) attempting to create a certain image or identity. One can see evidence of this in the Keefe farmstead. Structure 4, the closest to the house, is a bit of a mystery. Structure 3 was the house. Structure 2, the next closest building to the house, was the barn. This would keep perhaps the most valuable assets of the farmstead closer to you. In case of an emergency, the Keefes could make their way to the barn more quickly than another building. It is also more convenient for chores in the cold winter months. Whether Structure 1 was a granary or a chicken coop (Muñiz 2010:23), it makes sense for it to be the farthest from the house. A granary does not need to be tended to as frequently as the animals (or possibly equipment) in the barn. If the structure was a chicken coop, that leaves a nice buffer between the house and where the chickens may peck throughout the day, as well as make noise farther away from the house. Ford’s overview of connected farmsteads at this time and place is thorough. He then provides an overview of the family and the analysis of the cultural remains used in this study.

Next, we can view the farmstead and its function to control social space. Ford (2008:67) says that farm families did not take on the ‘work / home are separate’ mentality that other members of the middle class did in the 1800s, but rather found ways to streamline their work due to the close proximity of their work and their home life. However, the layout of a

connected farmstead creates a visual separation of work and home that other farmstead layouts do not. Spaces between kitchen and farm are separate, and therefore closed. Dooryards in connected farmsteads are protected from harsh weather, but also from “the judgmental eyes of passerby” (Ford 2008:69). The more rigid worldview of American citizens in the 19th century is very visible in connected farmsteads, even while they are still being structured (or perhaps *because* they are being structured) to streamline the work of the farmstead family. This creates the impression of a higher social class, though the author notes that, “it is impossible to know conclusively how they actually perceived themselves” (Ford 2008:73).

Finally, another case study from Groover (2004:25) was used to illuminate change on the farmstead. His article here argues, “that household succession is an important catalyst of landscape change at domestic sites.” By ‘household succession,’ Groover means that either “new occupants reside in a dwelling or junior members of an extant household assume authority” (Groover 2004:25). The author argues that household patterns are cyclical, as opposed to linear, and that these cycles produce “quantifiable and detectable correlates in the archaeological record” (Groover 2004:26). In turn, these cycles can influence the usage and discarding of ceramics, tableware, clothing, and faunal material (Groover 2004:26). Groover illustrates a three-phase family cycle model that stems from ideas developed by Jack Goody (1978). The ‘young phase’ is the beginning of the family, when a couple begins to have children. The ‘mature phase’ begins when the oldest children leave the home, and the ‘old phase’ begins when most or all of the children have left home and started their own households. “Archaeologically, the family cycle is an important systemic cultural-historical

process that serves as a perpetual engine or catalyst for day-to-day motion and movement within the household” (Groover 2004:26).

In his article, Groover relies on case studies to illustrate three types of landscape change in farmsteads or houselots. The first, Settlement Patterns, is illustrated by the Oaks Plantation and Bratton Plantation. The second, Houselot Change, is illustrated by the van Sweringen Site, the Gibbs Farmstead, and Bush Hill Plantation. Finally, the Oaks Plantation, the Gibbs Farmstead, and Bush Hill Plantation are used again to illustrate Dwelling Modifications. Following these examples, the author concludes that, “household succession appears to be an important source of landscape change. Consequently, this cultural-historical process is a potentially useful concept for interpreting the archaeology of domestic sites” (Groover 2004:41).

Minnesota Farmstead Archaeology

We can also learn more for this project from articles on farmstead archaeology in Minnesota specifically. One go-to source for this sort of information is the four-volume collection of the Historic Context Study of Minnesota Farms, 1820-1960 (Granger and Kelly 2005; Terrell 2006). These studies were compiled for the Minnesota Department of Transportation (MNDOT) as the primary reference for the different types of farmstead sites in the state of Minnesota. In the first volume (Granger and Kelly 2005), the authors first outline eight developmental periods of agriculture in the state, from Early Settlement (1820-1870) to World War II and the Postwar Period (1940-1960). Next, they illustrate various aspects of farm structures, focusing mostly on building and planning. The volume ends with descriptions of individual farm elements. These descriptions will continue into the next two

volumes, in alphabetical order. This volume begins with Acetylene or Carbide Gas Structures and ends with Corncribs.

The second volume (Granger and Kelly 2005) of MNDoT's context continues with the presentation of individual farm elements. It begins with Dairy Barns and ends with Shelterbelts. The third volume (Granger and Kelly 2005) of the MNDoT document begins by concluding the individual farm element descriptions, beginning with Silos and ending with Woodsheds. The document ends with appendices on evaluating sites in regards to their eligibility to be part of the National Register of Historic Places. The fourth and final volume of the Historic Context Study (Terrell 2006) begins with the 'why' of doing farmstead archaeology. Terrell's main points here are the immense presence of agriculture in the history of Minnesota, the very low amount of archaeological studies of farms in the state, and the overall significance of these sites in Minnesota as well as in the United States. The author then lays out her objectives and methods before presenting the literature review.

In the literature review, Terrell outlines previous and current works on farmstead archaeology. She cites the previous three volumes of this MNDoT context, as well as two other works, as the primary historic contexts provided for the state. Other literature reviewed included that associated with the National Register of Historic Places and the manual for archaeological projects provided by the State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO). The author provides some discussion of how other states around the nation deal with farmstead archaeology and reminds us that, "farms should be evaluated in their entirety" (Terrell 2006:18).

In the next two sections of the volume, Terrell provides her own Research Framework for the Historical Archaeology of Minnesota Farmsteads, followed by research plans specific to the eight periods of development outlined in the first volume of the MNDoT contexts. The last portion of the text focuses on the status of archaeological projects performed in the nine regions of Minnesota. My attention is drawn to Region 5, where Terrell lists 18 archaeological projects (1 of which is from Sherburne county).

Terrell provides questions for future research that the research presented in this thesis can help to answer. First, in regards to the agricultural period of Dairying and Diversification (1875-1900), she poses the following questions: (1) “How did the size, distribution, and nature of farm components change during this period?” (Terrell 2006:51). (2) “What evidence is there for designs influenced by local carpenters versus designs influenced by technical bulletins?” (Terrell 2006:51). (3) “What forms of technologies were introduced during this period?” (Terrell 2006:51). (4) “Were farms abandoned during this period rather than modified?” (Terrell 2006:51). (5) “How is this transition reflected in the material culture of individual farm families?” (Terrell 2006:51).

The dairy barn that was added to the Keefe farm at a later date can help to answer a couple of these questions, at least for the Keefe farmstead itself. The size of the farm increased, the physical distribution of the buildings remained similar (the dairy barn was added on the opposite side of the house, sort of completing a half-moon curve around the house), and the nature of the farm remained the same. The nature remaining the same, because adding the dairy barn does not change the farm’s label of Dairying and Diversification, but actually enhances it. The dairy barn can also be evidence used to answer

question four, showing that the Keefes did not abandon their farm, but instead modified it. In fact, the land was farmed by John Keefe's children up until the mid-1950's (Muñiz 2010:21).

Terrell also poses research questions that apply to the region, rather than just the time period. Region 5, where the Keefe farmstead falls, is characterized by sandy soil and level to rolling terrain, and was covered in hardwood forests before logging picked up (Terrell 2006:96). The author's suggested research areas are covered here in this thesis. The research areas she refers to are "immigrant farming that followed on the heels of the logging industry" (Terrell 2006:98), the "adaptation of farming to the unique environmental setting of portions" (Terrell 2006:98) of Region 5, and the development of farms that focused on dairying, canning vegetables, and other products. The Keefe family is exactly the kind of family farm that Terrell mentions in her first point—immigrating from Ireland to New York, then Ohio, and finally to Benton County, Minnesota. The Keefe farm has evidence of dairying and canning vegetables, and all of the historical archaeological evidence can contribute to our knowledge of how (and how quickly or successfully) the Keefe family adapted to farming in their new home.

Two additional case studies were used in regards to farmstead archaeology in Minnesota and how they could relate to this project. In her thesis, Marshall (2010) looks to answer the question, can "the ethnicity of the people who built a log building ... be ascertained through observing certain architectural characteristics?" (Marshall 2010:46). Her research focuses on Carver County, Minnesota. She takes Americanization—"the process an immigrant goes through in identifying as an American" (Marshall 2010:59)—into

consideration, and assumes that this process takes at least two generations of immigrants for the purposes of her thesis (Marshall 2010:59).

A few connections exist between Marshall's research and the research presented here in this thesis. First, the Keefe farmstead had at least three log buildings on it. This number represents the number of buildings still on the property when Muñiz and Mather first visited the site in 2006 (Muñiz 2010), and could be larger over the lifetime of the site. Next, Marshall's thesis also examines the material culture of immigrant families and how that may change (or not) over time, especially in regards to Americanization. She discusses common forms of construction, and concludes that "different ethnic groups are not using distinctive construction methods in Carver County" (Marshall 2010:62), which may be said for Benton County as well, since the construction of the Keefe buildings is common in relation to other buildings in the region.

Marshall's literature review (Marshall 2010:3-35) is organized by the main topic of each text she reviewed: Old World versus New World Architecture, Immigration and Americanization-Architecture, Immigration and Americanization-Theory, and Baseline Survey for Comparison of Carver County Log Buildings. She then lays out her methods in the third chapter; which include identifying the buildings, gaining permission to study them, creating her own documentation, using statistics to help show patterns (or lack thereof), and historical settlement mapping.

The next chapter of the thesis outlines the results of Marshall's methods. The ethnic group most largely represented in her sample was that of German immigrants. No strong patterns were observed through statistical analysis, and the archival results echoed this.

Marshall concludes that, “different ethnic groups are not using distinctive construction methods in Carver County” (Marshall 2010:62). Through this process, Marshall argues that buildings were built by the family as well as a team of helpers from the community—if different families are helping each other to build up their farms and homesteads, they are all probably learning from one another and producing similar buildings in a given geographic location.

The second case study by Linebaugh (2005) focuses on a temporary dwelling on a Minnesota farmstead. Temporary dwellings are common on these types of sites, including the Keefe site (21BN0028). Linebaugh provides a brief summary of the use of dugout structures and then notes, “the expedition to investigate the Christopherson/Goulson dugout (Minnesota Site 21SW17) grew out of the family’s interest in memorializing the site and teaching their history to the next generation” (Linebaugh 2005:63). This is not an uncommon sentiment in the United States. The author provides detailed discussions of Norwegian settlement in the Upper Midwest region, Swift County, the Christopherson/Goulson family, dugout structures in the region, and archaeology of other dugout sites before exploring this site in particular.

Linebaugh’s discussion of the project is also detailed with descriptions of methods, findings, interpretation, tables, and charts. While the artifact assemblage of the dugout was fairly small (216 artifacts), they covered “seven major functional categories: architectural, food preparation/consumption, activities-agricultural, clothing, faunal, floral, and unassigned materials” (Linebaugh 2005:81). After discussing these artifacts and his interpretation of them, he spends some time noting the permanent house that was built on the property later. In

the conclusion, the author summarizes findings but has a hard time speculating as to why the family would have lived in the dugout house for as long as they did.

The Irish Diaspora

As archaeology is a field rooted in anthropology, it is important to always have context. This project requires context and knowledge regarding the experiences of Irish immigrants in Ireland, on their way to America, and in America. The Keefes came from Ireland to New York, then Ohio, and then to Minnesota, in the 19th century. Texts regarding the Irish diaspora in and around this time and these places were studied to provide a broad understanding of what typical Irish immigrants would experience. A willingness to perform “lesser” jobs often created conflict between the Irish and other European Americans as well as African Americans, as seen in both Ignatiev (1995) and Brighton (2009).

Ignatiev (1995) has produced the most comprehensive and acclaimed study of the Irish diaspora in America. In his text, he provides the reader with a thorough history of the racial oppression of the Irish Catholics in America. He does so, as he points out in the conclusion, “without using the term ‘racism’” (Ignatiev 1995:205). In the introduction, Ignatiev asserts “that people are members of different races because they have been assigned to them” (Ignatiev 1995:1), a point that he proves by the end of the text. He uses examples in the form of historical events and documents to illustrate the Irish Catholics’ struggle in the United States that is not popularly known or acknowledged. Through their political actions, and with the help of some new immigrants coming to America later on, the Irish Catholics transition from ‘colored,’ with the same treatment as a freed slave, to being ‘white,’ “citizens of a democratic republic, with the right to elect and be elected, to be tried by a jury of their peers,

to live wherever they could afford, and to spend, without racially imposed restrictions, whatever money they managed to acquire” (Ignatiev 1995:3).

Chapter one sets the stage with Daniel O’Connell and the abolition movement. O’Connell was a strong political figure in Ireland who founded “the first mass political party in history” (Ignatiev 1995:8), served in parliament, held other prominent positions, and supported abolition so fiercely that he impacted opinions in America as well. Ignatiev provides perspective on slavery from both Ireland and America and illustrates how opinions on the issue could often be changed based on the social status of the individual (Ignatiev 1995:17, 20, 21, etc.). The reader sees political organizations rise and fall, and the chapter ends on this note: “instead of the Irish love of liberty warming America, the winds of republican slavery blew back to Ireland. The Irish had faded from Green to white, bleached by, as O’Connell put it, something in the ‘atmosphere’ of America” (Ignatiev 1995:38).

The second chapter takes us slightly further back in time to witness the condition of Catholics in Ireland and the early period of Irish Catholic immigration to the United States. The Penal Laws in Ireland are outlined, and we see more civic organizations founded by the Irish. Then we see the Irish Catholics immigrate to America and their reception to the nation. Ignatiev also illustrates prison life in America and continues with the politics of abolition and slavery. “In this chapter I have tried to suggest that, while the white skin made the Irish eligible for membership in the white race, it did not guarantee their admission: they had to *earn it*” (Ignatiev 1995:70).

In the third chapter, Ignatiev further illustrates the Irish in political organizations through the career of John Binns, an immigrant politician. This chapter shows how struggles

in other countries (Ireland, France, and England) shaped public opinion in the United States.

The issue of slavery is still tough for some Irish to grapple with. Many Irish were enslaved back in Ireland, but in America they wanted to give themselves an edge in the job market.

This chapter really illustrates the conflict between Irish Catholics and free or enslaved African-Americans (and therefore illustrates what a ruling people can accomplish when they have minorities fighting against each other instead of the ruling class).

Chapter four looks at more of the practical side of Irish slavery beliefs: the labor market. The Irish try to keep a competitive edge over African-Americans, and are still very good at organizing. The chapter examines their labor organizations and very rough beginnings of modern-day unions. The author says that these organized laborers, “showed they had learned well the lesson that they would make their way in the U.S. not as Irishmen but as whites” (Ignatiev 1995:140).

Chapter five is the climax of negative African-American / Irish Catholic relations. Riots are the order of the day, as “disorder on such a scale becomes order” (Ignatiev 1995:152). At this time, police and firefighters are all civic volunteers, so the public opinion really shows in the actions of these civic positions. The Irish Catholics jump at the opportunity to serve their new country and prove their ‘whiteness’ with the possibility of a Civil War.

The final chapter outlines “several origins and manifestations” (Ignatiev 1995:171) of the opposition to the Irish that are “ordinarily grouped under the heading of nativism” (Ignatiev 1995:171), which are snobbery, partisan, doctrinal, historical, economic, political,

and moral. The chapter provides an overview of the riots and ends with an overview of some Irish in political positions.

For the most part, Brighton (2009) takes over where Ignatiev (1995) leaves off. Brighton's text focuses on the Irish diaspora as it relates to archaeology. He begins the introduction with a discussion of the ambiguity of symbols, and the use of symbols to create meaning within a group. Brighton aims "to locate the material development of" (Brighton 2009:xvi) the identity that the Irish created through the use of signifiers that contested or disrupted the stereotype placed on them in America. To do this, the author uses archaeological evidence from four sites: one in New York, one in New Jersey, and two in Ballykilcline, Ireland.

The text begins with a lengthy discussion and explanation of the term 'diaspora,' which is informative if not repetitive. The discussion prevails throughout much of the text, with the end result being that, while it has been a contested term in the past, we should all just use it because it's a good word. The first chapter asserts that, "a formal historical archaeology of the Irish diaspora does not exist" (Brighton 2009:1). Brighton states that the point of his text is not to provide that formal historical archaeology, but merely to "illustrate by example sites in the northeastern United States that typify the established trends of archaeological theory and methods pertaining to nineteenth-century Irish immigrant and Irish American communities" (Brighton 2009:1). The author then provides a history of Irish archaeology (which is brief in itself, mainly starting in the late 1990s). Brighton argues that, "with the knowledge of the historical and material data from Ireland combined with a critical analysis and employment of diaspora theory" (Brighton 2009:6), we can gain a better understanding

“of collective experiences and the formation of the Irish American communities” (Brighton 2009:6).

In chapter two, Brighton provides further discussion of diaspora studies and discusses its use in interpreting the many identities of the Irish, specifically in relation to their experiences in America. He again lays out the two different types of diaspora, mobilized and proletarian, and describes the Irish minority as the latter. He discusses how these types of diaspora can have a great impact on how the emigrating people do in their new country, emphasizing that “the social glue binding the diasporic community together is a common historical experience constructed upon ethnic or national myths and ties to a geographic place” (Brighton 2009:19, citing Vertovec 1997:278-279). The diasporic community is constantly reevaluating what it means to be, in this case, Irish, and what it means to be American.

Chapter three offers discussion of the types of dispersal experienced by the Irish and how it relates to the Irish diaspora. In trying to define the Irish diaspora, “the problem rests in how Irish history is interpreted and presented” (Brighton 2009:33), which is a soft spot considering the recent political climate in Ireland. However, the author is able to separate the dispersal into three categories: Voluntary Emigration and the Mobilized Diaspora (1650-1820), Indentured Servitude and the Proletarian Diaspora (1650-1775), and Involuntary Emigration and the Proletarian Diaspora (1820-1900) (Brighton 2009:40-44). Since William and Jane were born between 1815 and 1820, and left New York in the 1850’s, we can conclude that they came over as part of the Involuntary Emigration and the Proletarian Diaspora.

The fourth chapter discusses the condition of the Irish in pre-famine rural Ireland.

Brighton uses very clear and concise evidence to illustrate the social positions of small farmers, cottiers, and members of the full-time laboring class. This evidence includes amount of land owned, income versus expenditures, housing quality and construction, and comparative studies of these categories over time. He concludes the chapter with an illustration of archaeological findings from the sites in Ballykilcline. The author focuses on refined earthenware and glass vessels, preparing for comparison to the sites in the United States.

These comparisons come at the end of chapter five. The earlier part of the chapter discusses the lot of the Irish in America. This includes ‘native’ feelings about the Irish Catholics as well as the political involvement of the Irish in their new country. Brighton also provides a discussion of Five Points, Manhattan, and the Dublin Section of Paterson, New Jersey, where his archaeological evidence is from. He then summarizes the refined earthenware and glass vessels from these sites and repeats the purpose of his study:

The overarching goal is to begin a dialogue moving from site-specific interpretations to a broader narrative shedding light on the important role of material culture reflecting the varied social relations of conflict and negotiation leading to the formation of Irish American identities. The social history of the sites chosen for this study and the material assemblage fit well into the broader history of the Irish diasporic experience. (Brighton 2009:111)

The final chapter contains the bulk of the comparison of the assemblages while also discussing industrialism, social stratification, capitalism, mass consumerism, value, agency, and symbolic meaning. Ceramic evidence indicates that “newly arrived Irish obtained familiar ceramics similar to those owned by their peers and indeed themselves in Ireland” (Brighton 2009:159), and also shows that “increase in vessel complexity...is directly related

to the overall length of residence” (Brighton 2009:159). While vessel complexity is something that can be shown over time, diet is as well.

Brighton concludes with a discussion of how the Irish had to come together as a group in America in order to overcome the racial stereotypes placed on them by ‘natives.’ They “created a single Irish identity through the careful use of symbols that served as badges of ethnicity” (Brighton 2009:145). If we can find similar evidence on the Keefe site (21BN0028), this evidence can strengthen Brighton’s argument and add to the overall knowledge of the archaeology of the Irish diaspora. If not, perhaps it can be concluded that the Keefes were the exception to Brighton’s rule.

Chapter III: Background

“The historical archaeology of a farmstead site must place that site within the context of the farm as a whole, not just the house and yard” (Adams 1990:101). In this chapter, more detailed background information is provided. We will begin with Minnesota farming as a whole, and narrow down to the more specific background of the Keefe farmstead site (21BN0028). Farming in Minnesota is discussed, followed by a historical and cultural background of Benton County. The treatment of Benton County includes agricultural information as well as cultural background with a treatment of the Irish diaspora. Next, the Keefe family history is provided, followed by the background of site 21BN0028.

Farming in Minnesota

During the Early Settlement Period (1820-1870), farms operated at the subsistence level, using small-scale diversified methods and commodities that would serve their families well. “Farm diversification was ... promoted by the agricultural press,” agricultural colleges, and other organizations (Granger and Kelly 2005, vol. 1:46). The typical acreage included in a homestead was 160 acres, and this land was worked with horse and oxen power. Dugouts, log houses, or sod houses were popular living choices, and land was also improved with fencing, granaries, poultry houses, and other barns (Granger and Kelly 2005, vol. 1). Adults typically worked in fields, while the children were responsible for feeding the animals. Typical products were corn, potatoes, rutabagas, wheat, poultry, hog, beef, and dairy. Diversified farming allowed families to customize their farm to their needs. Their decisions about crops, livestock, and tools all impacted what their farms produced, so families made choices to maximize output.

Benton County Farming

Through conversations with Mary Ostby, Executive Director of the Benton County Historical Society, Benton County farms were small family farms used for subsistence and for sharing with neighbors, family, and friends (Ostby 2017, personal communication). There were many sugar beets, bumper crops (a crop expected to yield a large amount of produce), and potato houses. Chickens were also an important asset on a farm, as they could be used for both eggs and meat. Families with cows only kept dairy cows over the winter, as keeping beef cattle over the winter would be much too difficult. Before winter set in, the families would get together to have a “booyah” party. Families would bring different kinds of meats, vegetables, and other produce, and cook them together in a large pot over an open fire. Stewing could go on for a couple days, leaving the families with a hearty meal and leftovers to take home (Ostby 2017, personal communication).

Ostby also shared that winter was the season of hunkering down – families made sure they had supplies on hand before the season began. Cold storage cellars helped preserve healthier foods, like potatoes, carrots, apples, and sauerkraut. Rhubarb, a Russian plant brought by Polish immigrants, was a favorite substitute for citrus fruit. It was easy to grow and use in pies, muffins, and bread. Whatever could be maintained over winter was, but most of the tasks were indoors, for example, women were spinning wool, men were conditioning leather and harnesses. The only time a family left home was for church, and then only if it was close to home. Human and animal schedules adjusted to the light schedule for the season. Musical talent was valued entertainment, and it was common to teach others how to play instruments and sing (Ostby 2017, personal communication).

Farmers in the area learned how to use the land's resources: wild blueberries, maple trees for syrup, etc. (Ostby 2017, personal communication). Since doctors weren't readily available, it was important for others to know what nature could provide. It was common for a local neighbor to raise bees so that they could supply honey, which was used as a sweetener and for medical purposes. Farmers traded, bartered, and shared with other community members. The hard work was done in the summer. Most machines were horse-powered (usually with two), and you were lucky if you had a wagon or a buggy. Circular pattern farms were useful for those with horses to turn around in (Ostby 2017, personal communication). The buildings of these farms were laid out in a circular pattern, with a drive around that mirrored the layout of the buildings.

Granger and Kelly (2005) have provided a very thorough study of Minnesota farmsteads. One million immigrants came to Minnesota between 1820 and 1975, many of them becoming farmers (Granger and Kelly 2005, vol. 1:25). While some immigrants spread out and assimilated quickly into American life, others formed "concentrations or enclaves that persisted for several generations" (Granger and Kelly 2005, vol. 1:25). Based on the 'melting pot' information provided by Edward F. Sowa, a local historian of Benton County, it would appear that the Keefe family was a part of the first kind of immigrant family.

The Keefes came to Minnesota at a period of time when the state was moving away from Wheat Monoculture (1860-1885) and towards Dairying and Diversification (1875-1900) as a broad scale agricultural strategy (Granger and Kelly 2005, vol. 1). The diversification here was often on a larger scale than previous diversification strategies, with farmers producing enough supplies to sell or trade. This thesis attempts to answer the question; was

the Keefe farmstead originally set up in the mid-1870s for Wheat Monoculture, or for Dairying and Diversification? While Wheat Monoculture was a cash crop (Granger and Kelly 2005, vol. 1:35), Dairying and Diversification served other purposes.

Immigrants would likely have reservations about moving from one country to another, and some concerns about moving to the area of Benton County would have included “fears that the soil wasn’t fertile, and prairie areas lacked timber for firewood, lumber, and shelter from the wind” (Granger and Kelly 2005, vol. 1:38). However, as Hiram Drache points out, “the railroads changed the picture by luring farmers to the prairies” (Granger and Kelly 2005, vol. 1:38; citing Drache). As railroads expanded, more laborers were needed.

Many Minnesota farmers were compelled to diversify from wheat to livestock and other resources to maintain profitability of their farm (Granger and Kelly 2005, vol. 1:45). Around 1870, populations started growing, land prices were increasing, and wheat yields were declining. This trend began in the southeastern counties of the state and worked its way north and west (Granger and Kelly 2005, vol. 1:33). Dairying was a very important part of diversification, but was a gradual improvement to a farm due to the large amount of capital investment it required. The amount of cattle present at the farmstead at the time that John Keefe’s will was probated is quite impressive in light of this fact. There were 20 cows, 14 yearlings, and 14 calves. On a standard Minnesota farm, dairy cows would have been taken care of by women, men, and older children almost equally (Granger and Kelly 2005, vol. 2:9).

The practice of diversification was also encouraged by wealthy men like James J. Hill, who “encouraged farmers to use dual-purpose beef/dairy cows,” (Granger and Kelly 2005, vol. 1:46) to maintain a selection of poultry, sheep, and hogs; and to grow multi-purpose

crops like potatoes and sugar beets. Mechanization also helped make diversification easier for farmers (Granger and Kelly 2005, vol.1:27).

Background of Benton County

Like the Keefe family, Gilmanton Township, the location of site 21BN0028, has roots in Ireland. According to the History of the Upper Mississippi Valley (Minnesota Historical Company 1881), John Donovan, an early settler of the town, was born in Tipperary County, Ireland, in 1820. He farmed there until 1852, then came to Colombia County, New York. In 1856 he married Bridget Doolan, and they had two sons. They spent some time in Illinois and came to Minnesota in May of 1857. They were in Sherburne County for seven years, and John brought his family to Gilmanton in 1865 after homesteading, and before Gilmanton was organized in 1866. The family's farm was noted as "one of the best improved farms in the town" (Minnesota Historical Company 1881:354). The family was respected, and produced the first Justice of the Peace, and a County Commissioner for Gilmanton.

Thomas Hennessey was another important Irish figure in Gilmanton (Minnesota Historical Company 1881). He was born in Kilkenney County in 1804, and farmed in Ireland until 1832. He came to Toronto and worked near Rochester, New York. He spent some time in Canada and Michigan, where he married Margaret Murray in 1836. The couple had children and moved between Illinois, Minnesota, and Wisconsin, eventually ending up in Gilmanton in 1872, when they purchased their family's farm (Minnesota Historical Company 1881).

The experiences of these families are similar to those of the Keefe family. The members of the family emigrated from Ireland to the eastern United States and Canada, and

made their way west. Eventually, these families landed in Benton County. When they arrived in the county, the families became active and contributing members of the community.

Agriculture in Benton County

Figure 1 illustrates the townships of Benton County. Gilmanton was organized in 1866. The 30,720 acres of Gilmanton Township had previously been a part of Watab Township. Soil on the east portion is described as a “rich, dark loam” (Minnesota Historical Company 1881:353), and soil to the west is described as “more sandy” (Minnesota Historical Company 1881:353). The soil for the Keefe site in particular is Mora loam (United States Department of Agriculture 2017). Within this area (Section 14, Township 37N, Range 29W), Mora loam is the second most common soil type, covering 29.7% of the area (467.1 acres). The only soil type more abundant than Mora loam in the area is Parent loam (30.2%, or 473.8 acres) (United States Department of Agriculture 2017).

The first school in Benton County was built in Section 18, and the first Catholic church was built in Section 33 in 1870 (though the first service had taken place a couple years earlier, in the home of a parishioner). A year later, C. C. Holmes built the saw mill in Section 26 on the Elk River. In 1880 the township had 461 citizens, and the Minnesota Historical Company text supplies the agricultural report from the same year:

Cultivated hay—112 tons

Wild hay—753 tons

Wheat—3,510 bushels

Oats—2,806 bushels

Corn—2,282 bushels

Potatoes–2,083 bushels

Barley–80 bushels

Buckwheat–27 bushels

Butter–9,300 pounds

Honey–680 pounds

Tobacco–266 pounds

Wool–248 pounds

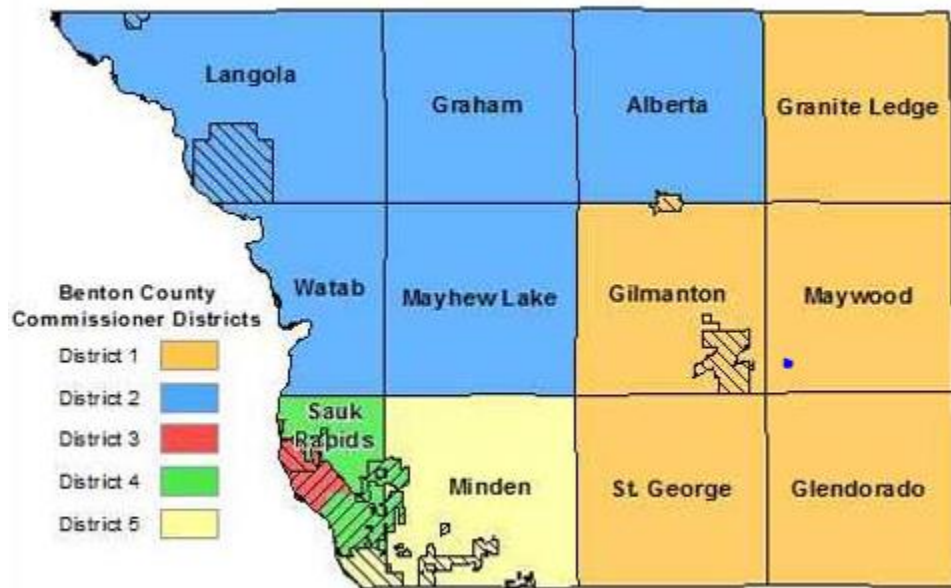


Figure 1. Map of Benton County (https://www.co.benton.mn.us/County_Board/District_Map.php)

Immigrant Background of Benton County

Edward F. Sowa (1914-2008), an amateur historian, provided much cultural information on Benton County during his lifetime (Sowa 2013). His research in Historical Events of Benton County, MN focuses on “the turn of the century around the year 1900” (Sowa 2000:10). After this time, he says (Sowa 2000:10), it would have been more difficult

to see the scope of different nationalities, since they began to be blended by marriages. As of 2000, the inhabitants of Benton County were mostly of European descent. Immigrants usually came in groups to make the journey easier financially and emotionally. While some knew about the area from friends or relatives who came over first, many got their information “only by the glorious advertisements...by big landowners and unscrupulous agents that promised them free ship passage to America including a plot of arable land for each married couple which they had ten years to pay back” (Sowa 2000:10-11). Often these agents profited greatly off of the immigrants, though it is unclear how exactly the Keefes afforded passage.

Sowa’s work includes detailed census information. The 1900 census lists 9,751 residents in Benton County (Sowa 2000). This grew from 418 in 1850, 627 in 1860, and 1,558 in 1870. Many residents in the 1900 census listed their origin as the United States, when they may have been born in another country, listing instead where they came from just before coming to Benton County. The highest percentage of Irish people in the county (25%) were living in Foley Village, also known as Gilmanton. Gilmanton had 172 citizens: 30% were from Germany, 25% were from Scotland-Ireland, 13% were from the United States, 11% from Russia/Poland/Germany, 10% from Canada/England, 7% from Sweden, 2% each from England and Bohemia, and less than half a percent each from Poland/Austria and Belgium (Sowa 2000).

For Sauk Rapids in particular, which is 15 miles south west of Foley, Irish citizens lived in the lower area of the town with English, French-Canadians, and Yankees (Sowa 2000). The mass production of automobiles post WWI and WWII would encourage and facilitate more intermingling between members of the town and county (Sowa 2000).

Automobiles allowed citizens of the region to travel farther distances in less time, encouraging more mingling than before. Employers would hire bilingual clerks if possible, as mother languages stayed in the family for at least two generations (Sowa 2000).

Overall, Benton County was mostly German (Sowa 2000). Using Sowa's data, Benton County was roughly 44% German and 8% Irish. It should be noted that, based on counties, some of his data separates Irish from Scottish, and in some counties the Irish and Scottish populations are recorded together. The same is true for the German and Polish population statistics.

Sowa (2008:18) notes that most immigrants to Benton County came from European countries "that were hardly ever at peace." Immigrants came seeking refuge from conflict over land and religious freedom. And of course, Irish immigrants came during or after the great famine of 1848 (also known as the Potato Famine). The popular estimate by historians is that Ireland lost 2-3 million people due to the Potato Famine, either through death or emigration (Nally 2008:714). While some historians question the specific numbers of deaths over emigration (Nusteling 2009), this population lost equates to 25% or higher.

American land was opened up for more immigrants to come and use. "Even they over there heard of the great opportunities in this great land of ours" (Sowa 2000:19). Idealistic phrases like these were likely used to attract new immigrants to work the land. In 1800, 320-acre tracks of land in the North West Territory were sold for \$2.00 per acre. Twenty years later, the 1820 Land Act was passed and 80-acre plots were sold for \$1.25 per acre. By 1841, "settlers who cultivated the land in the Public Domain were permitted to purchase as much as 160 acres when the district was opened for legal entry" through the Preemption Act (Sowa

2000:20). In 1862, Abraham Lincoln passed the Homestead Act, which offered land to anyone who would occupy and improve it. This is when most immigrants began coming to the United States (Sowa 2000).

The Irish Diaspora in Regards to Benton County

Noel Ignatiev (1995) and Stephen A. Brighton (2009) provide invaluable insight into the experience of Irish immigrants in the United States. Knowledge of Irish Catholic oppression in America is not as common knowledge as the oppression of other groups. As Ignatiev points out, when Irish immigrants first started coming to this country, they were categorized as ‘colored,’ and treated similarly to a freed slave. They were not enslaved people, but they were very much a lesser people, worth less than immigrants from other European countries (Ignatiev 1995).

This is ironic when taking into account the fact that many Irish people came to America to escape hard times in Ireland that included poor social treatment (Brighton 2009). In America, the Irish had to earn their whiteness (Ignatiev 1995). In the attempts to earn this status marker, Irish Americans faced conflict with other minorities, especially African Americans. Irish Americans took jobs that many other European Americans would not take; in general, they were hard workers that were not afraid of manual labor or lower-paying positions. This willingness to work would only give other European Americans another reason to look down on them, and give African Americans another reason to compete with them—over the job market for un-enslaved African Americans (Ignatiev 1995).

However, the Irish did eventually ‘earn’ their whiteness. They were able to assimilate into American society quite successfully. This is also probably why “a formal historical

archaeology of the Irish diaspora does not exist” (Brighton 2009:1)—it would now be commonly taken for granted as the ‘same’ as a historical archaeology of white Americans. This does Irish Americans, and the field of archaeology, a disservice. Irish American immigrants had to put their old conflicts with each other aside, come together, and get politically involved in the United States, and recreate their own identity (Brighton 2009). They had to decide as a group what it meant to be Irish, what it meant to be American, and how they could merge these two identities together. This must have been very difficult, considering the conflict that has existed within the nation of Ireland even up until current times. The Keefe family certainly faced these and other problems, problems that likely held weight as they navigated their new lifestyle and had to make choices that would affect their future in Benton County.

The Keefe Family

The following research on the Keefe family history was conducted at the Benton County Historical Society. Renee Kampa, the landowner at the time of the excavations, had also researched the family and provided copies of death certificates, obituaries, homestead papers, and other documents. Figure 2 illustrates the Keefe family tree.

William Keefe, Sr. (John Keefe’s father) was born in Ireland between 1815 and 1820. His future wife, Jane Dorsey, was born between 1819 and 1821, according to a census that reports her as being 40 in 1860. They eventually moved to New York, and the couple married around 1845. It is unclear whether they married in New York or in Ireland. John was the couple’s first son, and was born around 1848-9, presumably in New York. Sometime in the 1850s, William Sr. moved the family from New York to Vinton County, Ohio (Muñiz and

Mather 2009). Based on reported ages of John's younger brothers in various census documents, and the fact that they were born in Ohio, the Keefe family must have moved by 1853 at the latest. Jeremiah, the youngest son, was likely born between 1852 and 1854. This means that William, Jr., the middle brother, would have been born between 1848-9 and 1852-4. Figure 2 shows the Keefe family tree.

According to census documents, Jane was 40 in 1860. Her occupation was listed as 'housekeeper,' while William, Sr.'s was listed as 'gardener.' He was reported to be 39 at this time. The ages of John, William, Jr., and Jeremiah are listed as 11, 8, and 7, respectively (Muñiz and Mather 2009). Some of these facts conflict with the 1870 census. In this year, Jane (housekeeper) is reported to be 50, while William, Sr. (gardener) is reported to be 55. Jeremiah, John's youngest brother, was 17 and working for a railroad company. John is not listed at this residence in the 1870 census, but he would have been about 21 at this time. His obituary states (Muñiz 2010) that he worked for the railroad in his early years. William, Jr. is also not listed on the census at this residence. It is unclear whether he had moved away or if he was deceased.

In 1871, John Keefe married Johannah Reardon. Johannah was born in Ireland in 1852, and made her way to Iowa before marrying John. John was the first member of the family to come to Minnesota. On September 22, 1873, Keefe paid \$14.00 at the Land Office in St. Cloud to homestead the property. His application (#8019) places the 180-acre property in the SE ¼ of Section 14, Township 37 N (Gilmanton), Range 29 W. The witnesses to the application were both farmers in Gilmanton Township: Greg Lindley, who had known John for nine years, and Richard Mealey. The first house was already on the property when Keefe

applied for homestead. It is likely that he built the structure as a temporary home to get him, Johannah, and their new baby through the winter. While we do not know when Johannah first gave birth, we can assume that by September, she and John knew they were about to have a child. The couple would go on to have 11 children, though not all would live to adulthood.

In 1874, John and Johannah made many improvements to the property. They built their permanent house (measuring 16 x 20 feet), a stable (measuring 12 x 22 feet), a well, a granary, and a milk house; and fenced 55 acres. These improvements were valued at \$2,000. Over the course of their time in Benton County, John became the first school district clerk and was respected in the community. His daughter became a teacher.

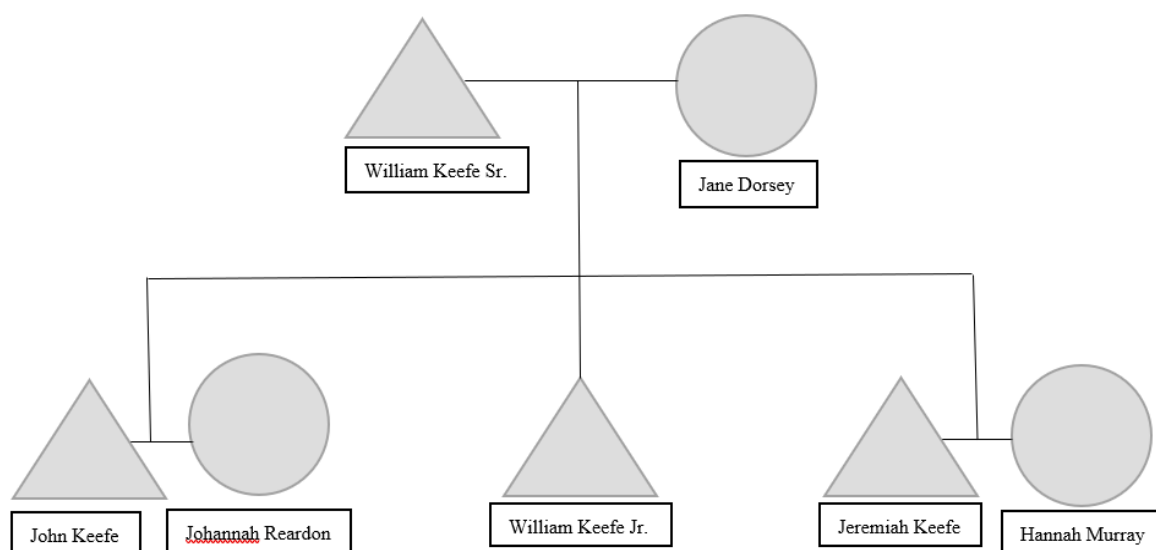


Figure 2. Keefe family tree.

By September 4th, 1879, John's parents have come to Benton County and have a homestead in Maywood Township. The 160-acre property was just one mile NE of John and Johannah. The next spring, on May 29th, John formally documented that he intended to make final proof to establish his claim on his homestead. On July 2nd, 1880, he filed the Final

Affadavit Required of Homestead Claims. By this time, John is 31 and has had five children with Johannah. The family is raising wheat, oats, corn, potatoes, and other similar crops. This looks like a diversified farm, producing goods to sell at market.

William Keefe died in 1884, and Jane Keefe died in 1895. By 1903, Jeremiah is listed as the owner of their household, and is married to Hannah Murray of Canada/Pennsylvania. Jeremiah died in 1915. His funeral was one of the largest in Benton County. He was a prominent and respected member of the community.

In 1926, John Keefe passed away. His will was probated at this time, the results being that the farm had 4 brood sows, 5 horses, 9 pigs, 14 calves, 14 yearlings, 20 cows, and 50 chickens. The estate was divided equally between his children; Jane, John, and Jeremiah, though their father left some stipulations in the will. Hannah Keefe died in 1942. The three siblings continued to farm the property until the mid-1950s.

Background of Site 21BN0028

On November 20th, 2006, Dr. Mark Muñiz and David Mather, SHPO National Register Archaeologist, conducted site survey archaeology at 21BN0028. Excavation was conducted during the field summers of 2007, 2008, and 2009 through St. Cloud State University (SCSU). The purpose of the work performed at the Keefe Farmstead was to:

“1) document original log buildings constructed during the final decade of the Pioneer Period in central Minnesota; 2) examine research methodologies for investigating historic farm sites; 3) recover artifacts dating to the late 19th and early 20th centuries; and 4) successfully conduct important outreach by teaching members of the public the values and conservation ethic of historic preservation, the importance of proper archaeological field methods, and the negative effects of looting.” (Muñiz 2010)

BN-GIL-003 was the Keefe Farmstead's first official number, being recorded as a Minnesota Historic Property in 1980. In 2006, the site was owned by Stump Road Acres, LLC., and these owners "decided to salvage three log buildings that dated to the original 1870s homestead by dismantling the architectural elements so they could eventually be used for a public exhibit at the Benton County Historical Society" (Muñiz 2010). These owners contacted the Natural Resources Conservation Service (NRCS) and the MN State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO), where David Mather was working as a National Register Archaeologist. Mather informed Mark Muñiz, Department of Sociology and Anthropology at SCSU, of the site in the fall of 2006. The site sparked interest in Dr. Muñiz, seeing it as an opportunity to "initiate a public archaeology project close to St. Cloud that could both serve as an important public outreach program and make a contribution to the historic farm archaeology of Minnesota" (Muñiz 2010).

The site was documented over one day in fall of 2006 by Muñiz and Mather, who took photographs and made maps. The maps illustrated "the locations of two standing log buildings (Buildings 2 and 3), one collapsed log building (Building 1), one partially standing wood frame building (Building 4), a small circular depression (Feature 1), and the foundations and associated debris of a nearby barn (Feature 2)" (Muñiz 2010). Photographs illustrate the architectural details of the structures (see Figures 13-24). These maps and photographs were produced at the same time the dismantling took place. The archaeologists noted that "the nearby barn (Feature 2) is believed to have been associated with the Keefe Farmstead and so was included in the site map, however, its location in a thick stand of trees precluded illustrative photos from being taken" (Muñiz 2010).

The first public outreach event took place quickly, in May of 2007. Muñiz and Mather partnered with the property owners and Patrick McLoughlin of the NRCS “to host a three-day test excavation at the site where members of the general public were invited to participate” (Muñiz 2010). This project was received well, and was repeated in 2008 and 2009 during Minnesota Archaeology Week.

The buildings on the site were measured (in feet and inches) and photographed by Muñiz and Mather. It is important to note that “none of the building measurements taken by Muñiz and Mather or the BCHS crew match up with the measurements given on the 1880 homesteading documents for the house or the ‘additional’ structure that John Keefe built on the site” (Muñiz 2010). The building methods of structures 1, 2, and 3 were consistent with the typical findings of farmstead buildings from the late 19th century, both in material and style.

Besides the buildings, two features were recorded in 2006. Feature 1 is a depression, located a few feet south of the barn, with a depth of 20-25 centimeters. It was shovel tested and determined to be natural, rather than cultural. Feature 2 is made up of several connected foundations, and was not test excavated (Muñiz 2010).

Over 100 volunteers and visitors (Figures 3, 4, 5, and 6) were at the site during the Minnesota Archaeology Week events of 2007 (31 participants), 2008 (no figures available for this year), and 2009 (59 volunteers, 20 visitors). Nine days of fieldwork were put in between these three events. According to the site report, “artifacts recovered during the field work were processed at the St. Cloud State University Archaeology Lab and turned over to the landowners, Stump Road Acres, LLC.” (Muñiz 2010). The university currently houses the

artifacts from these excavations. Original maps and photographs created at this time are available at the SCSU Archaeology Lab, with copies available at the MN Office of the State Archaeologist, the MN SHPO, and the Benton County Historical Society.



Figure 3. Volunteers during the 2007 field season.



Figure 4. Volunteers during the 2007 field season.



Figure 5. Volunteers during the 2009 field season.



Figure 6. Volunteers during the 2009 field season.

Eleven excavation units and 15 shovel tests were dug between 2007 and 2009. During excavation, arbitrary levels of 5-centimeter depth were used, and contents were screened through a ¼ inch dry mesh. A variety of materials from excavation were point plotted, including building materials (cobble, shingles, nails, bricks, etc.), faunal remains, and bits of ceramics. These objects were unable to sift through the ¼ inch screen and determined to be significant. General Level & Feature Level Excavation Forms provide Unit IDs, the unit's northing and easting, level information (general level vs. feature level, natural level vs. arbitrary level, depth of level, dates of start and completion), sediment color and texture, any horizontal or vertical changes, information on samples taken and how they were screened, list of photographs taken, a map of the unit, a summary of the general content, a brief description of the excavation (including mistakes and solutions), and the initials of those who worked on

the unit (excavators, recorders, and supervisors who checked the work). More formal site maps (Figures 7 and 8) were made using a Sokkia 630R total station.

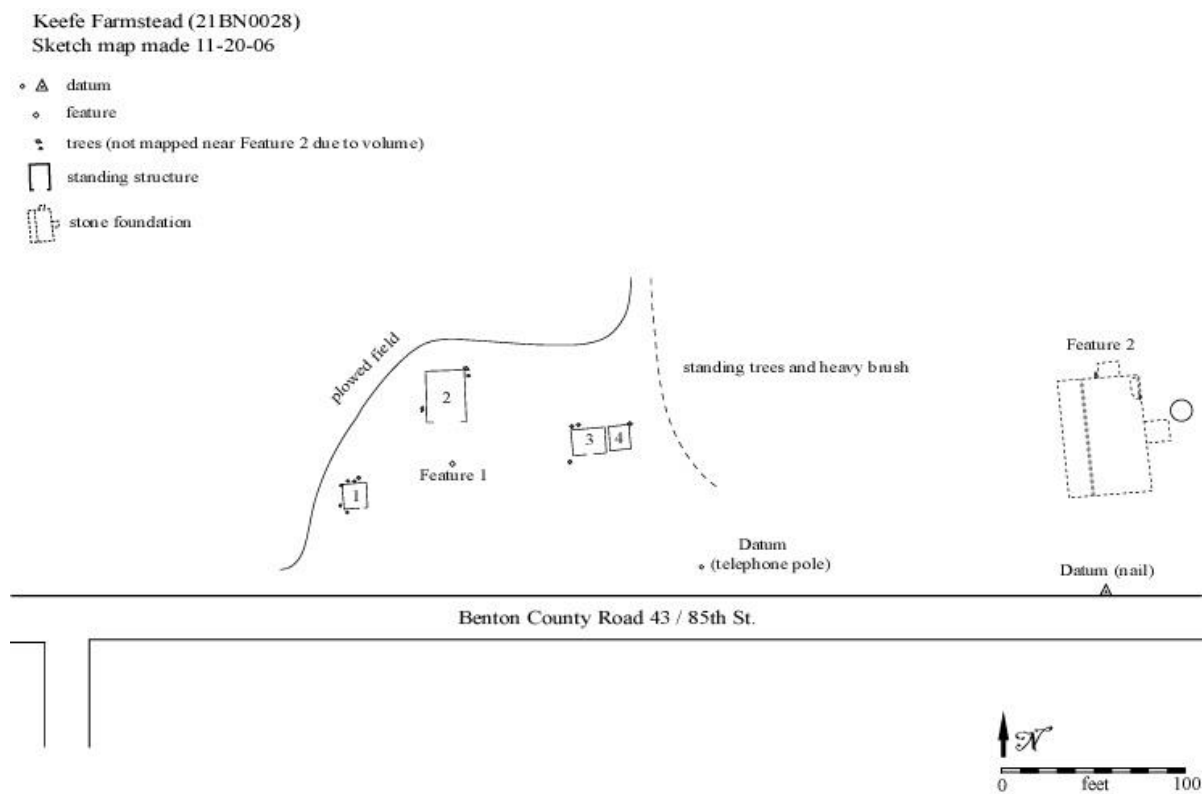


Figure 7. Map of site 21BN0028.

Keefe Farmstead (21BN0028)
Site Map (west half)

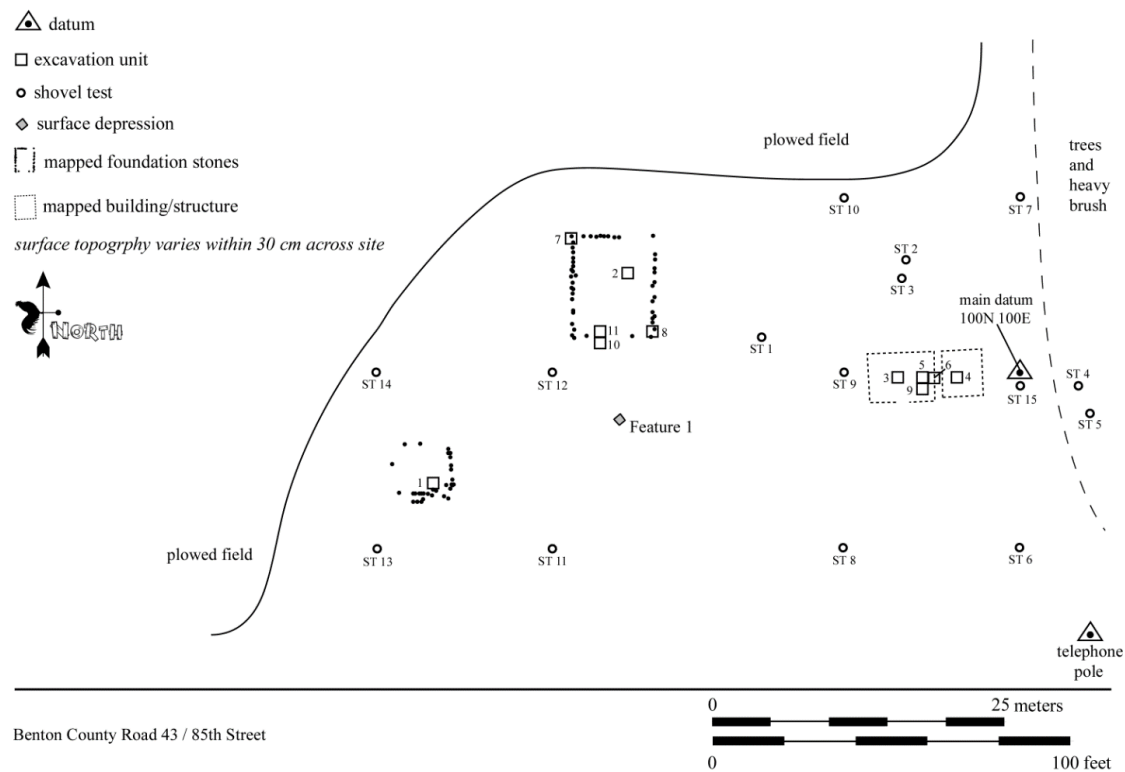


Figure 8. Map of the shovel tests and excavation units at site 21BN0028.

Chapter IV: Methods

This chapter presents the methods used to analyze different forms of evidence in relation to the project. These different lines of evidence are as follows: archival research, glass analysis, analysis of ceramic artifacts, metal and leather artifacts, and faunal remains found at 21BN0028. Regarding the last four categories, all artifacts and faunal remains were first separated by level. Initially, all findings from Level 1 or above (surface) were disregarded as a part of this project. For studying the historic farmstead that has seen plenty of traffic since John Keefe left it, the deposits in the more shallow levels were determined too recent to impact the research question. However, upon further reflection, relevant materials recovered from Level 1 or the surface were brought back into the research. After these criteria and others are considered, only about 9% of the total artifacts are studied. Broken down by the four categories, that comes to 5% of glass artifacts (16/299), 9% of ceramic artifacts (5/55), 4% of metal artifacts (18/464), 54% of leather artifacts (7/13), and 29% of faunal remains (49/170). This does not take into account other categories of material culture that were not considered, such as plastic, wood, brick, mortar, and rock.

Archival Research

As with any historical archaeology undertaking, archival research played a big part in this project. This project used historical documents as complimentary to the archaeological record produced by the Keefe farmstead site (21BN0028). To gain context of the region, documents at the county level were most helpful. Sowa (2000) provided the bulk of this information, as well as a personal interview with Mary Ostby (2017) and a publication by the Minnesota Historical Company publication from 1881. Other contextual information was

gleaned from aerial photographs, historic maps, Minnesota Farmstead Contexts (Granger and Kelly 2005; Terrell 2006), and other texts previously mentioned in the literature review.

Information on the history of the property was gleaned through historic documents like the Abstract of Title, Decree of Distribution, Homestead Application, Homestead Proof (initial and final), and the Final Affidavit. Newer documents also provided much information: the Minnesota Historic Properties Inventory Form, site forms, level excavation forms, artifact catalogs, point plot documents, photographs, maps, volunteer information, public announcements, and e-mail correspondence regarding the site.

Glass

Two hundred ninety-nine glass artifacts were recovered from the site between 2007 and 2009. Of these 299, 16 were found to be of particular interest, all being from containers. When analyzing glass artifacts, the first two distinctions made were colored glass versus clear glass and flat glass versus curved glass. The latter distinction assisted in eliminating a number of artifacts immediately, and the former is a distinction easily made that can often provide an indication as to a vessel's function or even date (Sutton and Arkush 2009:184-97).

The criteria for dismissing the remaining 283 glass artifacts were as follows: glass found on Level 1 or above (surface), painted glass, flat glass, and pieces of glass that were too small to be identifiable. As the research question focuses on the status of the farm roughly a century ago, artifacts on the upper levels are likely too modern to influence the results. Painted glass was considered too modern as well, as all identifiable pieces of painted glass from the site were easily recognizable as modern soda bottles. Flat glass would likely indicate windows, which would be more useful as data for a different kind of research

question or a larger project on the whole. Curved glass, on the other hand, usually indicates a vessel. Discerning what vessels on the farm held can tell us many things: what was produced on the farm, what was consumed on the farm, what was purchased instead of being made, and how an object may have been repurposed, among others.

Ceramics

To maintain consistency over all classes of artifacts, ceramic artifacts from Level 1 were determined too modern to directly relate to my research question. Many of these pieces were brightly colored pieces found among less-than-50-year-old soda bottles and plastic trash. Of the 55 total ceramic pieces found at the site, five were determined to be potentially useful in addressing the research question. When working with the 55 pieces, besides the depth of the artifact, the other feature used to analyze it was if the piece was patterned or plain. Besides one complete dish, all transfer printed pieces were of the same pattern. This would lead one to believe that the artifacts were from the same vessel, or at least the same set of vessels. The pattern was a very modern one, and the pieces were found at or near the surface of their units. Given the stratigraphic position of these pieces, these artifacts would not be relevant to the research question, as they would not have been used on the farmstead during the specified dates. The complete dish was at a deeper level and is analyzed in the next chapter. This dish is distinguished by a transfer printed maker's mark, and no pattern. In addition to this plain white dish, other white pieces at 21BN0028 located in deeper levels are analyzed as well.

Metal Remains

As with the other classes of artifacts, most metal pieces found in Level 1 or above were determined too modern to assist in answering the research question. However, seven from Level 1 or above were determined to be relevant to the research question. Eighteen of 464 metal artifacts were included in analysis. Modern metal (such as twist ties), spent brass pieces (both dated post-1950), and all nails were also excluded from analysis, as they would not provide much in way of achieving the goals of this thesis. The remaining 18 pieces were analyzed, 11 of them from Level 2 or deeper.

The metal assemblage is more varied than the leather one, and contains pieces from tack, small hardware, large hardware, yard tools, and domestic tools. Noting these differences is important, especially when considered with the context of where the artifacts were found. An insight into what kind of hardware or tools were used provides us with a better understanding of what needed to be done on the farm. It should be noted that a twelfth metal artifact is included in this thesis, but under a different category. A complete canning jar was found within the deeper levels of the Keefe site, including its metal lid. So as not to account for the same artifact twice, and because the function of the artifact applies more to the glass category of artifacts, it is used in that category.

Leather Remains

Of 13 leather artifacts found at 21BN0028, four fit the criteria for being deeper than Level 1, and are all from pieces of tack. Three pieces found on Level 1 or the surface were reevaluated for further information, totaling 7 leather strap fragments.

Faunal Remains

Over 170 faunal remains were catalogued between 2007 and 2009. Removing those faunal remains from the surface and Level 1, and known rodent remains, 45 remained.

Rodents are excluded because they would not be part of the farm intentionally, there are no records of keeping rodents on the farm in the Minnesota farming contexts. After review, four elements from Level 1 or the surface were added into analysis, totaling 49 elements.

Identification was assisted by Dr. Mark Muñiz, Ms. Amy Mann, animal husbandry/agricultural student Kristian Dahlgren (University of Minnesota), and by David Mather, SHPO National Register Archaeologist.

When identifying the remaining 49 elements, they were sorted into the following categories: egg shell, meat cut, small mammal, medium mammal, avian, cat, dog, pig, horse, cow, and white tailed deer. The importance in distinguishing the bones lies in learning what was produced and consumed on the farm. As Bowen (1975) shows, this knowledge can strengthen (or sometimes undermine) historical documents like probate inventories. Other researchers who illustrate the importance of using faunal evidence in concert with historical data are Peres (2008) and Price (1985). The former seeks “to better understand the role economic status played in the dietary reality of central Kentuckians” (Peres 2008:90), and concludes that foodways in the region have been idealized in the past. She uses the archaeological evidence to shed light on a taken-for-granted belief. Price, too, uses various sources including ethnographic ones in her study. Through her research, she determines that “it is unwise to assume that the remains from a single locus accurately reflect human preparation, consumption, and disposal behavior from the site as a whole” (Price 1985:55).

While this advice is better applied on a larger farm or plantation, it can still serve as a caution to other researchers.

Chapter V: Results

This chapter presents the results gleaned from analyzing all forms of evidence used. These different lines of evidence are as follows: archival research, architectural data, glass, ceramics, metal and leather, and faunal remains found at 21BN0028.

Archival Research

The research done by Sowa (2010) shows that Gilmanton (Foley Village) had the highest population of Irish and Scottish immigrants in 1900, at 25%. When looking at Benton County as a whole, Irish and Scottish immigrants only made up 8% of the population in 1900. It is very likely that the Keefe family either a) paved the way for friends and extended family to come join them in Minnesota later, or b) came to Minnesota along with other immigrants from their same location for other reasons.

The homestead proof provides us with insight into what was present at the farm in the beginning. The proof states that, within seven years, John and Johannah made these improvements to the property: a house, stable, granary, milk house, well, and the fencing around 55 acres. The only probate inventory we have of the farmstead is the one performed in 1926, after John Keefe's death. This record shows that the farm contained 4 brood sows, 5 horses, 9 pigs, 14 calves, 14 yearlings, 20 cows, and 50 chickens. These two documents, which bookend the time period of the farm for the purposes of this project, illustrate that the farm was set up, and continued as, a diversified farmstead.

Research of historic newspapers in the area depict a growing community based on agriculture (Sauk Centre Herald 1867, 1868; The St. Cloud Journal 1870, 1872).

Advertisements for services (lawyers, dentists, builders, watchmakers, gunsmiths, contractors,

etc.), products (sewing machines, clothing, oxen, farms, etc.), and other businesses (ice cream parlors, dry goods stores, etc.) are abundant. Jokes, poems, and stories often take up half of the front page, accompanied by the most desired ad spots. One piece, “Scenes on the Plains,” (Sauk Centre Herald 1867:2) reads like a traditional western novel, with adventure and peril. The newspapers also advertise nearby towns, like Alexandria (Sauk Centre Herald 1868:2), Brainerd (The St. Cloud Journal 1872:2) and Fergus Falls (The St. Cloud Journal 1872:3). One article titled “Ancient Ruins in the United States” shows a local interest in archaeology (Sauk Centre Herald 1867:2).

The prevalence of agriculture in Benton County is easily seen in these newspapers. One issue contained a separate section for Farm and Garden (Sauk Centre Herald 1867:4), which included the following articles: Swelled Legs in Horses, Farm Proverbs, Take Care of Your Tools, Don’t Neglect the Garden, and How to have Mealy Potatoes. Prevalent in most papers is a section for the weather as well as crops. Many items listed for sale are agricultural: horses, oxen, a livestock auction, tack, and even farms themselves.

The newspapers also include more one- or two-line news articles about who was reprimanded by a sheriff, where a new church or business is coming in, what’s going on with the railroad, and who is “abandoning his homestead entry” that the US Land Office posts a complaint about (The St. Cloud Journal 1870:4). In 1867, the Sauk Centre Herald reported that “foreign postal business of New York has more than doubled in the past five years” (Sauk Centre Herald 1867:2). More than one million letters were received and sent in New York during just the first three months of the year. This illustrates the encouragement of people from other countries to come to the United States. By this time, the Keefe family had moved

to Ohio, and John would marry Johannah within a few years. When they came to Benton County, it is likely they would be welcomed much more kindly than when they entered a metropolis like New York.

A historic plat map (Figure 9, source: Regents of the University of Minnesota 2017) from 1903 shows Gilmanton and Maywood townships of Benton County. Figure 10 illustrates where John and William Keefe owned land in Gilmanton Township. Of the three outlined plats, the middle one was William's. John owned the largest (just west of William) and another parcel just east of William. Jeremiah Keefe, John's brother, owned land in Maywood Township (see Figure 11), very near John and William.

An aerial photograph taken in 1938 (Figure 12, source: Regents of the University of Minnesota 2015) illustrates the Keefe farmstead site and the surrounding area. The Keefe farm, still being used, can be seen in the upper left (NW) corner of the image. Highway 25 is the road on the left side of the picture that runs north and south. Heading north, the second cross street in the image (County Road 43) leads to the Keefe site east of Hwy 25. The farmstead is one block east of this intersection. On the north side of Co Rd 43 is the main farm site. The south side of Co Rd 43 contains a house that was built at a later date. Currently, no buildings remain on either side of the road.

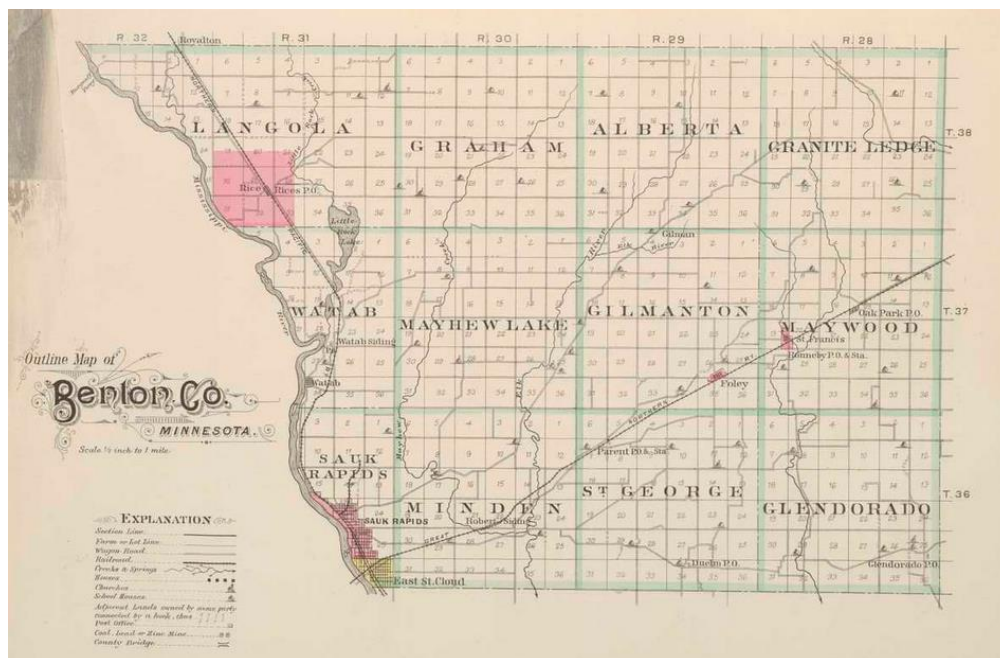


Figure 9. 1903 plat map of Benton County.

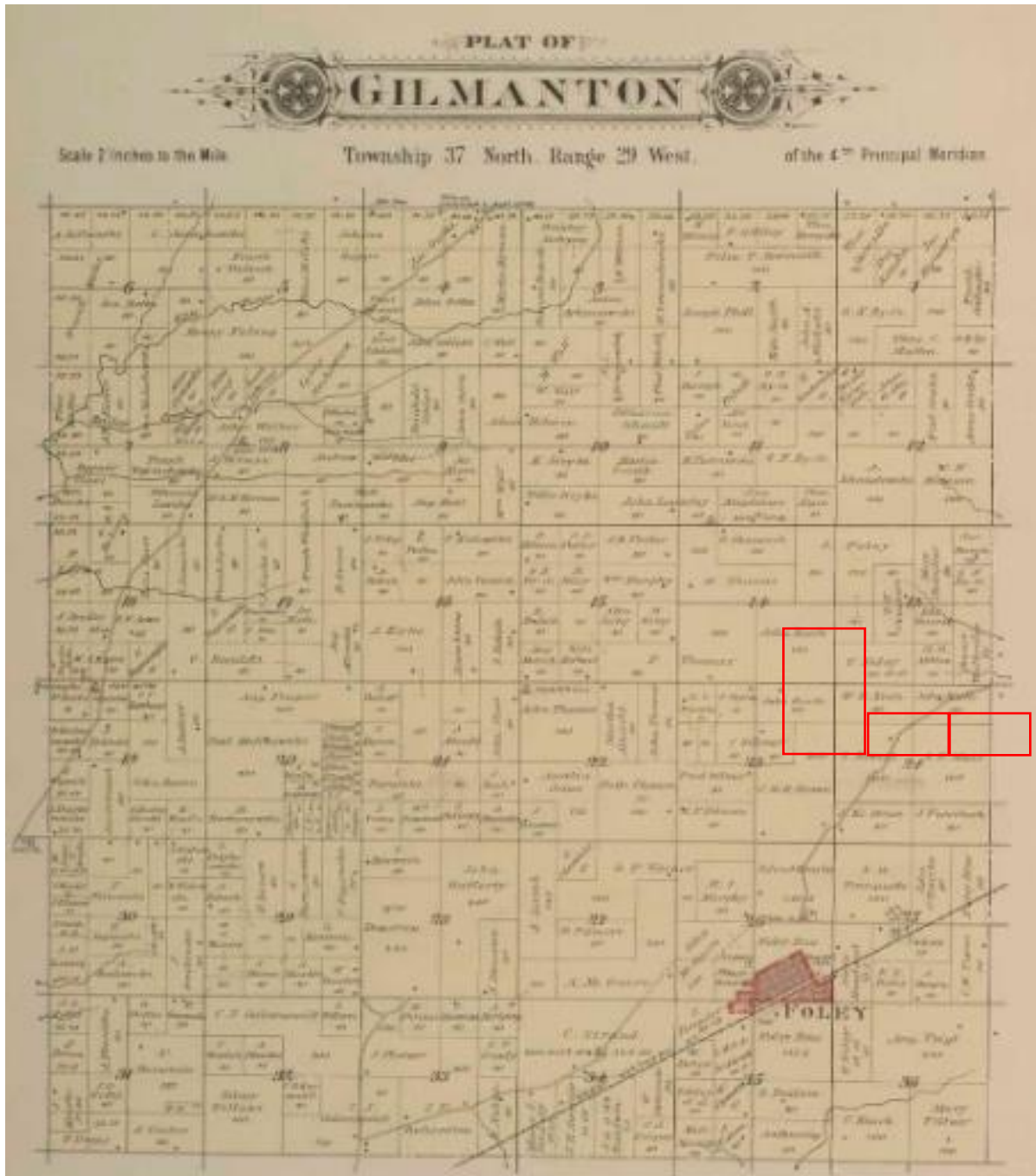


Figure 10. 1903 plat map of Gilmanton Township.



Figure 11. 1903 plat map of Maywood Township.



Figure 12. 1938 aerial photograph including the Keefe site.

While many farmers are cited on the various census reports for Benton County in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the census does not provide information on what resources were being produced. Through our conversations, Ostby never brought up Wheat Monoculture or any other single crop. The official website of Benton County also lacks any prominence of a single crop. It describes the county's agricultural history as relying "mainly on agriculture and dairy farming for many years" (Benton County 2017). Since we know from Granger and Kelly (2005) that dairying was paired with diversification for many years, we can infer that the Keefes were one of many diversified farms in Benton County. This makes sense, as the historic newspaper research paints the region as a new and growing

community – members of the community would want to do their best to establish their new home and make it thrive.

Architectural Data

Much research was done regarding the buildings on the site. The style of construction was common for buildings built by settlers in the area. When a family settled in the region, timber was readily available. Land also had to be cleared to build a house or outbuilding, so when the land was cleared, the lumber was created. Structure 1 (Figures 13 and 14) is formally recorded as the granary, but investigations in 2006 led some to believe it was actually a chicken coop (Muñiz 2010).



Figure 13. Structure 1 in 1980.



Figure 14. Structure 1 in 2006.

Structure 2 (Figures 15, 16, and 20) is formally identified as a horse barn, but investigations have questioned that as well, based on the 6' height of the ceiling. Such a short ceiling height provides "little headroom for tall animals such as horses and cows" (Muniz 2010:26), which were present on the site. The buildings on the property display chinking (Figure 17), a mixture of mud, clay, and mortar; as well as grasses, animal hair, and animal manure (Muniz 2010:45). This type of chinking helped the buildings remain in better condition than other materials would have, as they protect the wood from moisture better than modern-day chinking methods (Muniz 2010:45, citing Brinkman and Morgan). Structure 2 is also an excellent example of full- (Figure 18) and half dovetail (Figure 19) corner notches (Figure 20), which are common to the region and provide exceptionally strong construction.



Figure 15. Structure 2 in 1980.



Figure 16. Structure 2 in 2006.

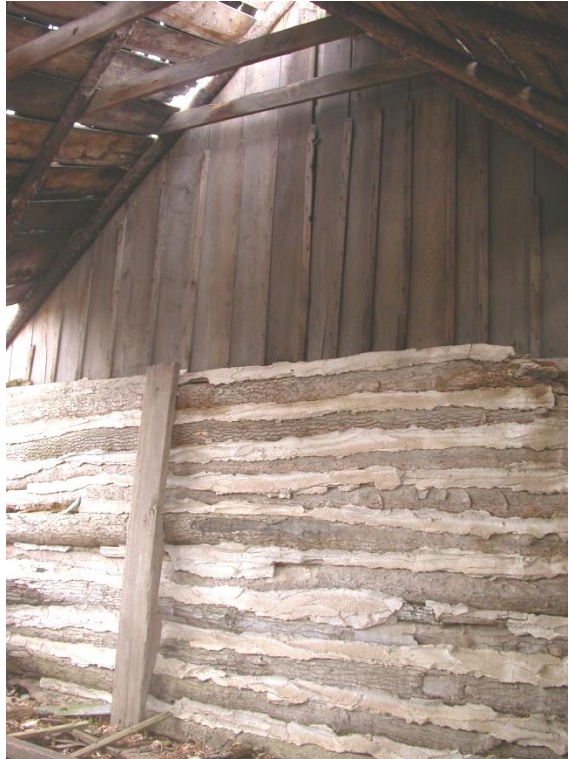


Figure 17. An example of chinking in Structure 3.

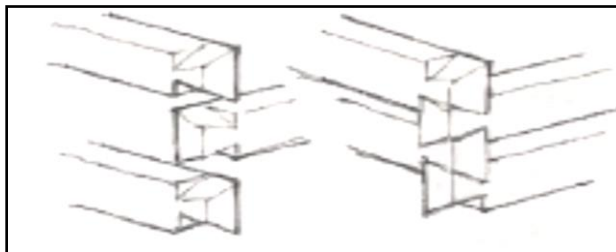


Figure 18. Full dovetail corner notching.

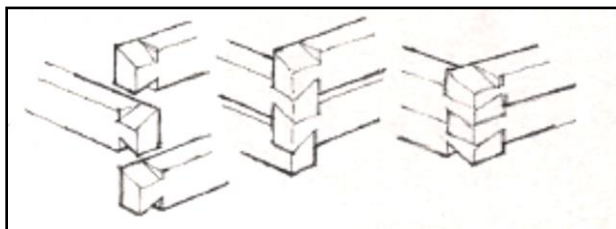


Figure 19. Half dovetail corner notching.

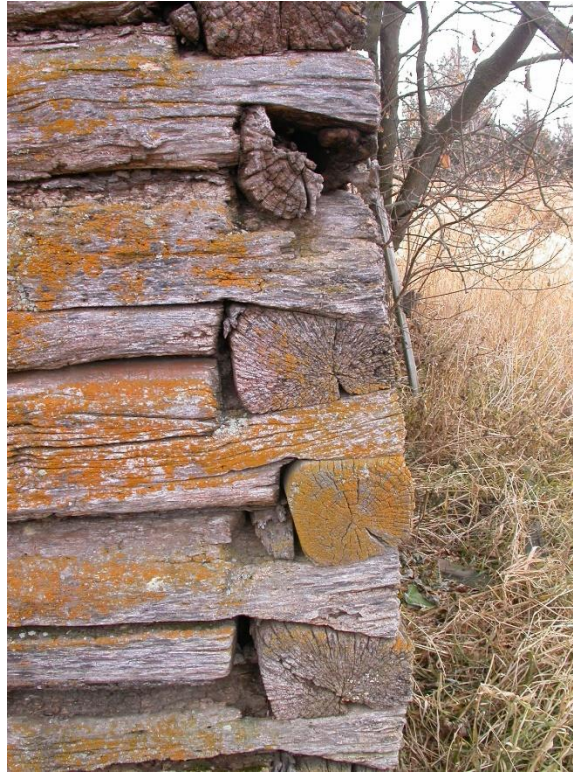


Figure 20. A mix of full- and half dovetail corner notches used in Structure 2.

Structure 3 (Figures 17 and 21-24), originally documented as a chicken coop or granary, was likely the original home on the property built in 1874. Muñiz explains:

“While the measured foundation was smaller than the size of the house originally reported in 1880, when the extra length provided by the gables and eaves are added in, the measurements match exactly and we are able to confidently identify Structure 3 as the Keefe’s 1874 home.”
(Muñiz 2010:35)

The house also uses half-dovetail joints, and the outer walls were covered with wooden shingles to protect the chinking from the elements (Figure 23). Additionally, this building had an intact wooden floor still present in 2006 (Figure 24). These more detailed measures to protect against weather serves as further evidence to strengthen the argument that Structure 3 is the Keefe’s 1874 house. Structure 3 also had a small hole cut into the west-end gable, which could be strong evidence that the structure once contained a stove.



Figure 21. Structure 3 in 1980.



Figure 22. Structure 3 in 2006.



Figure 23. Shingles on Structure 3 to protect chinking from the elements.



Figure 24. Intact wooden floor of Structure 3 in 2006.

Terrell (2006) provides four major layouts of Minnesota farmsteads. They are Bisected, Linear, Linear Square, and Hollow Square (also known as Courtyard) Plans. The Keefe farmstead is a variation of the Courtyard Plan. A Courtyard layout (Figure 25) is defined by the open space created between the buildings of the farmstead (Terrell 2006:B.19). The Keefe's house and outbuildings, along with the road, form a boundary around a center space, or courtyard. The variation here is that of the three-sided square, as described by Terrell (2006:B.19).

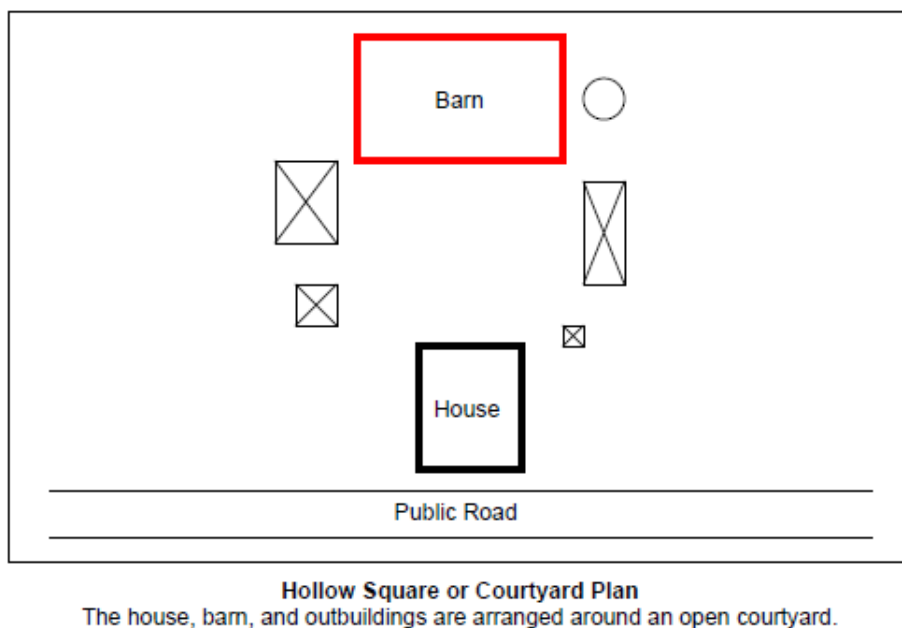


Figure 25. Example of Hollow Square or Courtyard farmstead layout (Terrell 2006:B.21).

When we examine this setup through the eyes of Ford (2008), the layout of the Keefe farmstead looks welcoming. When Ford discusses the different ways that people use physical space to present their identity to others, we can apply his research in New England to other farmsteads. The whole farmstead seems to present itself to those passing by, but at a polite distance. The barn, potentially the messiest building with the most valuable contents, is farthest from the road. The house is also a distance from the road, presumably for privacy or

comfortability. Besides Ford (2008), these characteristics can also provide insight into the issues of farm layout and boundary maintenance presented by Adams (1990).

Research into the life of the farm after John and Jane's children took over could lend itself to information regarding Groover's (2004) study. While the research question presented in this thesis primarily focuses on the early phase of the farmstead (when a couple starts a family), other research questions could provide further insight into the middle and late phases as described by Groover (2004:26). These kinds of questions also lend themselves to the topic of traditional, transitional, and modern farmsteads (Cabak et al. 1999). While the Keefe site is traditional in its layout, it contains archaeological evidence for modernization. Studies of the site after the children took over may show further evidence for modernization, as well as a more transitional or even modern farmstead.

Glass

The 16 pieces of glass for analysis were all curved glass pieces, denoting containers. Containers are particularly important to this project because they provide data related to what goods were used and/or produced on the farmstead. Of these 16 artifacts, 13 pieces are reasonably identifiable (see Table 1).

The first type of glass, brown beverage, consisted of one complete lip with a partial neck (FSN 98N91E-009) and a complete base with a partial body (FSN 99N91E-021). The latter piece has a "17" in the middle of the base, with four equidistant concentric circles around it. Farther out is a fifth circle, and the edge of the base is completed with half- moon shapes all around. Using the Society for Historical Archaeology's glass marking database

(Society for Historical Archaeology 2017), no clues were found regarding the maker of this bottle.

Table 1. Types of glass found.

Glass Type	Number
Brown beverage	2
Brown industrial	1
Brown medicinal	1
Clear beverage	2
Clear canning	6
Clear domestic	1
Clear unknown	3
TOTAL	16

The second type of glass, brown industrial, contains just one artifact (FSN 103N68E-012). With a diameter of 15.8 cm, the jug base (see Figure 26) is one of the largest glass artifacts from the site. On the bottom of what remains of the body, the letters “uraglas” are visible. The base also has markings: first, a braiding or chain detail around the outside; second, dots forming concentric circles all around the outer half of the base; next, in the upper center of these dots, a “7,” followed by an “O” with an “I” inside, and then another “7”; finally, underneath this marking, a number “4.” This marking denotes the maker Owens-Illinois, which was not in existence until 1929. However, the “O” with an “I” inside wasn’t used as the company’s logo until 1954 (Lockhart and Hoenig 2015:1-3). The “uraglas” marking also places the bottle out of the timeframe for this thesis. Duraglas was a process used by Owens-Illinois to increase durability and scratch resistance on their bottles, but did not begin until 1940. The process is used today, but is no longer noted on their bottles (Society for Historical Archaeology 2017). This piece was found in Level 2 of its unit, and the object’s age could indicate to us that many of the artifacts found in Level 2 are too recent

to be a part of the Keefe assemblage. However, we will also see artifacts from the Keefe period of occupation from Level 1. Therefore, it is perhaps more accurate to say that the Levels of the site have been somewhat disturbed over time.



Figure 26. FSN 103N68E-012. Found in Level 2 of Unit 8. Scale in centimeters.

The remaining brown glass artifact (FSN 99N92E-010) has no threads (Figure 27), but is a complete lip of a bottle with a partial neck. This appears to be part of a bottle that originally contained a chemical or medicinal liquid and was closed by use of a stopper.



Figure 27. FSN 99N92E-010. Scale in centimeters.

Two clear pieces of glass seem to be from a beverage bottle, possibly the same one. The larger piece (FSN 110.5N61E-022) is a bottle base with a “4” in the center and dots in concentric circles all around it. The smaller piece (FSN 111N61E-027) appears to be the heel of the same or a similar bottle, including the dots in concentric circles (Figure 28). The “4” likely represents the number of a mold, which is a method that many companies used to keep track of the quality of their bottles (Whitten 2017). Further than that, no more information was found regarding the dots or number “4,” but the size of the piece is consistent with beverage bottles.



Figure 28. FSNs 110.5N61E-022 and 111N61E-027. Scale in centimeters.

Clear canning jar fragments were the most abundant specimens among the 16 glass artifacts analyzed (38%). One piece (FSN 110.5N61E-030) seems almost too small to identify, but the size of the writing on the artifact makes it seem unlikely that it could be from anything other than a canning jar. A second piece (FSN 110.5N61E-016) is also very small, and only identifiable as a canning jar by the rim and small portion of the neck. The third piece (FSN 110.5N61E-047) is from a body and has the letters “ASO” on it in the same type of text that is used on Mason jars today. Another piece (FSN 110.5N61E-037) is a fragment of a rim from a canning jar (Figure 29).



Figure 29. FSN 110.5N61E-037. Scale in centimeters.

The remaining two pieces from this category were the largest. The first (FSN 110.5N61E-046) is a bag that contains a >50% fragment of the lip of a canning jar. Along with this fragment is another piece of glass and many fragments of metal. The number of metal fragments included in this FSN is likely to change with more handling, as the pieces are very delicate. The fragments are all from a canning jar lid.

The last artifact from this category (FSN 111N61E-035) is a complete canning jar. The base of this jar has distinctive marks: on top is an “H” with an “A” inside, “K 4463” in the center, and “3 – 7” at the bottom. There is a molding seam around the base of the jar, as well as two equidistant seams that run from the base to the top lip of the jar. The shoulder of this canning jar is more dramatic than that of a modern Kerr jar, but less dramatic than a

modern Ball (see Figure 30). Along with the jar is the sealing lid, made of curved opaque white milk glass lid liner, and the zinc continuous thread screw top lid.

The “H” with an “A” inside the bottom half is indicative of the Hazel-Atlas glass company. The company used this particular logo beginning in 1923, ending somewhere between 1971 and 1982. The “K” featured on the base of the jar likely means that the jar was produced in one of the two Kearns-Gorsuch plants that was obtained by the Hazel-Atlas glass company in the 1920s (Lockhart et al. 2016:83, 87).



Figure 30. FSN 111N61E-035. Found in Level 3 of Unit 7. Scale in centimeters.

Another complete vessel belongs in the category of clear domestic glass. An old Watkins bottle (FSN 111N61E-034) displays base and side seams similar to those of the canning jar. On one side of the body, the name “WATKINS” is clearly visible, printed from bottom to top, facing right (see Figure 31). The base of the bottle also has a mark: “CONTAINER MADE IN U.S.A.” The base of the container is flat on the outside, however another layer of glass inside the bottle makes the base form upwards, concaving into the interior of the bottle. There is not much reliable data regarding the bottles from this company, but the bottle likely contained liniment or possibly a flavor extract like vanilla (Fike 1987). Since the bottle was found in the barn, it is more likely that it held liniment rather than an ingredient for cooking or baking. The J.R. Watkins company was started in Minnesota in 1868 (J.R. Watkins 2017). Considering the embossing on the side, paired with the cork-style closure, it is likely that the bottle was produced between 1870 and 1920 (Whitten 2016).



Figure 31. FSN 111N61E-034. Found in Level 3 of Unit 7. Scale in centimeters.

The three remaining pieces of glass (FSN 110.5N61E-014, FSN 110.5N61E-049, and FSN 111N61E-017) are all curved, clear, and otherwise unidentifiable.

The presence of canning jars and factory-made products reflect the modernization discussed by Cabak et al. (1999). The study illustrates that “items produced by the nation’s expanding factories were available to rural communities by the 20th century” (35), and on the Keefe site we see both Watkins and Ball products. Additionally, canning jars act as a sign of

modernization, telling us “when farm families began to use more modern, long-term storage methods and containers” (35). While the Keefe’s farmstead layout is more in line with a traditional one (Cabak et al. 1999), the everyday artifacts present at the site definitively show signs of modernization.

Ceramics

Table 2. Ceramic types.

Ceramic Type	Number
Ironstone	3
White Ironstone	1
Other	1
TOTAL	5

Figure 34 shows the density of ceramic pieces found at the site. Five of these ceramic artifacts fit the criteria to be analyzed in regards to the research question (see Table 2). The first three are likely from the same piece. They are the same color of Ironstone ceramic and have the same glaze. Ironstone is a sturdy, thick, undecorated response to earlier forms of white ceramics (Sutton and Arkush 2009). It is one of the most common forms of ceramic materials found at North American sites from the mid to late 19th century. It is likely that the pieces from the Keefe site are some of the earlier forms of Ironstone, as the pieces post-1900 were made thinner and lighter, with a whiter paste (Sutton and Arkush 2009). All three pieces are six millimeters thick, and the rims present on two of the pieces both measure one centimeter in thickness. These artifacts (FSN 99N94E-006, FSN 99N94E-007, and FSN 99N94E-009 (Figure 32) are all from Building 3 (the house), Unit 4, Level 2.



Figure 32. FSNs 99N94E-006, 99N94E-007, and 99N94E-009. Scale in centimeters.

From the same building, in Unit 3, Level 2, FSN 99N89E-003 has a different surface compared to the other ceramic pieces. While still a glazed white piece, it is very clean, and has a more yellow appearance than the other four pieces studied here. Other pieces that resemble this artifact were found in bags containing a mix of wood chips, tiny pieces of broken glass, pieces of plastic, and other less reliable artifacts from surface cleanup and Level 1.

The complete piece from the ceramic collection is FSN 108.5N61E-118 (Figure 33), a White Ironstone dish with a clear lead glaze. White Ironstone, while produced thinner than earlier Ironstone pieces, typically has thicker vessel walls than earlier popular styles like Creamware and Pearlware. White Ironstone “dominated the middle class market in the United States from the 1850s to at least the 1890s” (Sutton and Arkush 2009:214).

The marking on the bottom reads “Royal Ironstone China” and “Johnson Bros England.” This marking places the dish somewhere between 1883 and 1913 (Birks 2005). The use of the Royal Arms logo was supposed to create a sense of prestige by remaining exclusive to certain brands, but less exclusive brands used the Royal Arms anyway to make them seem fancier. The fact that this piece was found in the barn indicates either a reuse of the dish, or that it was ordinary enough to be taken out to the barn for a meal. It is likely that the usage of the logo on this piece fits into the latter description, an ordinary enough dish to be taken out of the house. Based on the dating of the dish, the Keefes would not have brought it over from Ireland, but acquired it after they had settled in Minnesota.

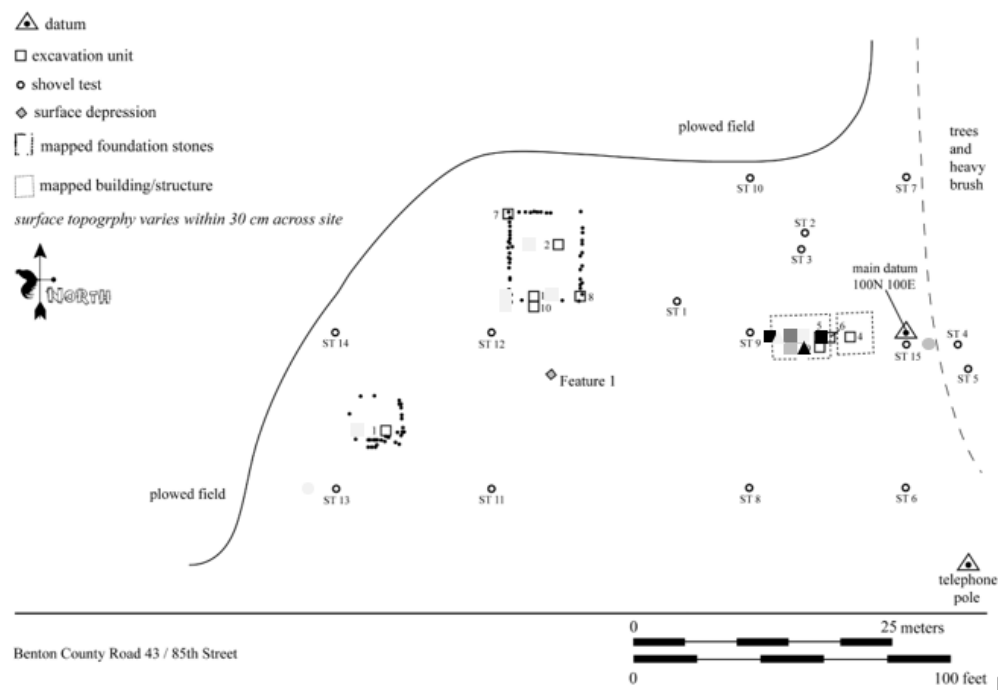


Figure 33. FSN 108.5N61E-118. Scale in centimeters.

The ceramic evidence points to the Keefe family being one of modest or average means. The dish, as well as the three Ironstone pieces, are from popular and readily-available ceramics. Based on Miller and Hurry's research, the farm would not fall under Miller and Hurry's label of 'economic isolation' (1983:80). If it did, using the ceramic decoration (or in this case, the lack of ceramic decoration) as an indicator of wealth or status may not provide as clear answers. As Miller and Hurry (1983:80) claim, "ceramics break down as status indicators under conditions of economic isolation." The fact that the Keefes obtained this dish is another indication that they were not living in economic isolation – they were participating in not just a local, but a global economy. The presence of this particular dish also corroborates Brighton's (2009) claim that "newly arrived Irish obtained familiar ceramics similar to those owned by their peers and indeed themselves in Ireland" (159).

Keefe Farmstead (21BN0028)

Site Map (west half)



Map showing density of ceramics at site

n = 54

1-3

4-6

7-9

10-12

Figure 34. Density of ceramic artifacts at 21BN0028.

Metal Remains

Table 3. Metal types.

Metal Type	Number
Tack	9
Small Hardware	5
Large Hardware	2
Yard Tool	1
Domestic	1
TOTAL	18

Table 3 illustrates the metal artifacts analyzed. Many of the metal artifacts are for horses: FSN 101N68E-015 is from a riding bit, and FSN 103N63.5E-109 is from a snaffle bit

(Figure 37). FSN 102N63.5E-007, FSN 102N63.5E-009, and FSN 103N68E-004 are all bar buckles that are just the right size for bridles and other tack. Two tines from a pitchfork (FSN 103N68E-020), a complete metal spoon (FSN 100N63.5E-121), brackets with bolts, coils, and braces were also found at the site. These brackets and bolts are likely all tack as well: a wagon rub plate (FSN 103N63.5E-005) was used “to prevent wear on the wood when the wheels were turned sharply and came into contact with the body or frame” (Herskovitz 1978:89-90). Halter strap bolts (Herskovitz 1978:84) look like modern-day bolts on one side (square head with threading) and nails on the other (round, circular head with a smooth body). Axle clip ties or felloe plates (Herskovitz 1978:90) were used to hold different portions of a wagon together.

Two of the largest artifacts were found on the surface in Structure 2 (the barn). The first (FSN110.1N63.35E) is a chain found in the NW corner. It has Tbars, links, and connecting rings, and was likely used to attach the Keefe’s horses to a wagon (Herskovitz 1978:88). There are three separate arms to this chain, whose lengths measure at 392 cm, 483 cm, and 723 cm. These three separate arms further suggest that the chain was used near the neck or breast area of the horse (Herskovitz 1978:88). Figure 36 illustrates the metal artifacts found at the site.

The second piece (FSN105.4N67.5E) found on the surface in the barn is a horseshoe sized for a draft horse (see Figure 35), further strengthening the evidence of work horses at the Keefe farm. Measuring 162 mm long, 175 mm wide, and 15.7 mm thick makes the object too large for a medium- or smaller-sized horse. The horseshoe also possesses a toe clip, which was used to “prevent split or cracked hooves” on an animal that has trouble with

clicking, also known as forging or overreaching (Herskovitz 1978:83). This was not uncommon for hooved animals.



Figure 35. FSN 105.4N67.5E. Scale in centimeters.

The complete metal spoon was found buried in the ground in the cornerstone of the barn. After attempts at documentary and oral research, I was unable to find specific occurrences of burying objects in the cornerstones of buildings to relate to this thesis.

Figure 36 illustrates the spread of metal artifacts around the site, showing artifacts found in all buildings. While Cabak et al. (1999) discuss evidence of modernization, they focus on the domestic spaces of the farm. All metal artifacts are related to the barn, but most can be compared to items found by Herskovitz (1978) at Fort Bowie. So, while glass artifacts show signs of modernization at the Keefe farm, the artifacts that match items from Fort Bowie are

just a few years older. This makes sense, given that hardware would likely only be replaced if it was broken, and not thought of as something that was regularly disposed of.

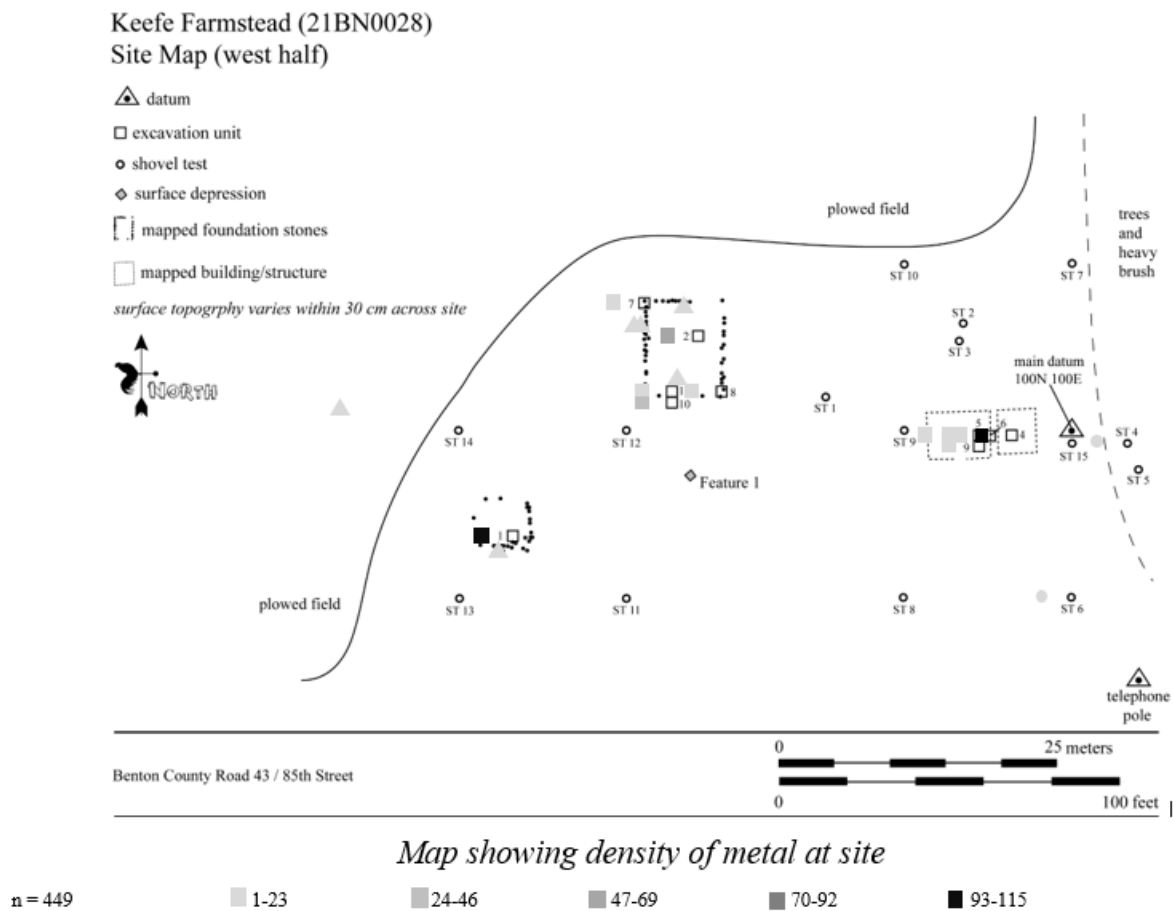


Figure 36. Density of metal artifacts at 21BN0028.



Figure 37. FSN 101N68E-015 (left) and FSN 100N63.5E-109 (right). Scale in centimeters.

Leather Remains

Table 4. Leather type.

Leather Type	Number
Tack	7
TOTAL	7

Table 4 illustrates the leather artifacts analyzed. All seven pieces of leather are from animal tack equipment, based on size and hole placement. They all come from Building 2, the barn, which strengthens the claim that they are from tack equipment, and are likely related to use for a horse (see Figure 39). Figure 38 illustrates the extreme density of leather found in the barn compared to the rest of the site.

When we examine the faunal remains, along with the probate inventory, we can see how perhaps the Keefe family expanded their farm as time went on. It may be possible to learn what animals were present at the farm well before John Keefe's death in 1926. The probated will from this year shows 4 brood sows, 5 horses, 9 pigs, 14 calves, 14 yearlings, 20 cows, and 50 chickens. Learning what animals the Keefes had in earlier years could show how they may have climbed the agricultural ladder (Stine 1990:39), and reflect their socioeconomic status. As Stine points out, "the archaeological implications of changing ladder position are important" (1990:40).

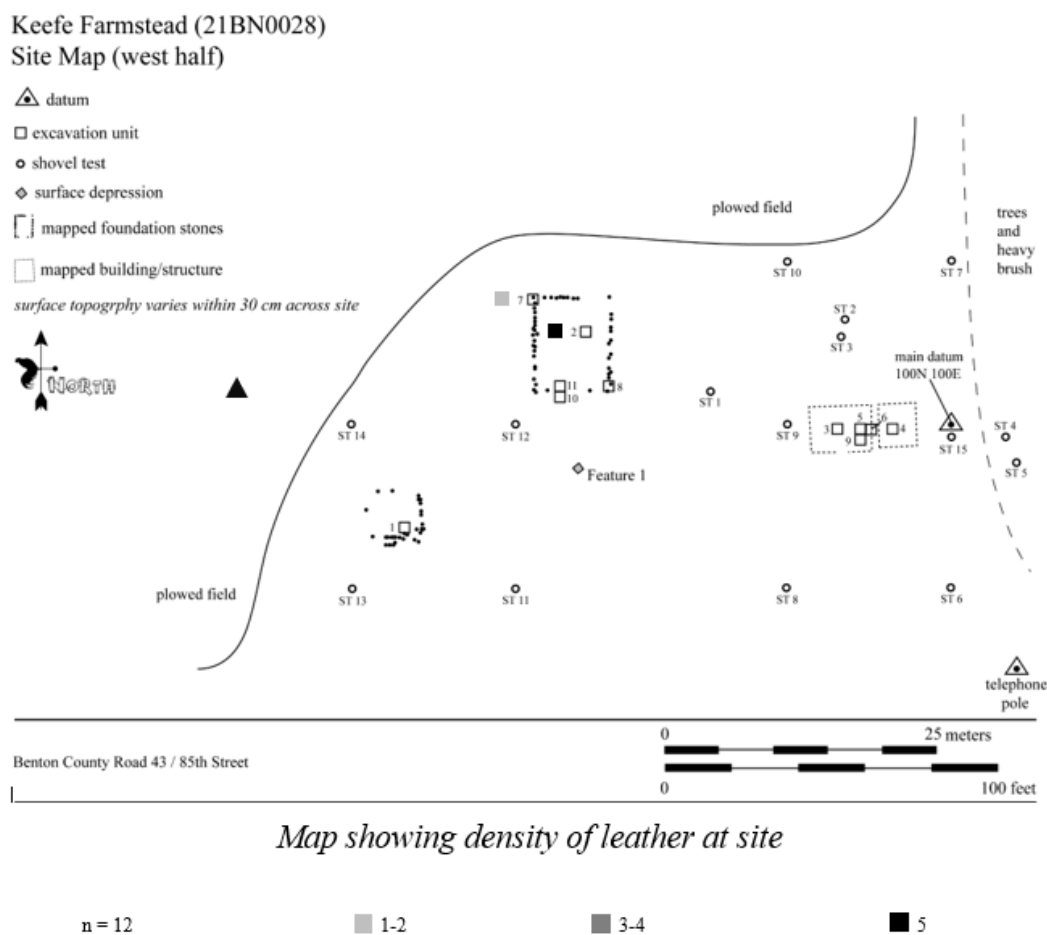


Figure 38. Density of leather artifacts at 21BN0028.



Figure 39. FSN 108N66E-007. Found in Level 3 of Unit 2. Scale in centimeters.

Faunal Remains

Of the 49 faunal pieces analyzed for this project, 34 were from Unit 7, the unit in the NW corner of the barn. These pieces include bits of egg shell and remains from dog, cat, pig, white tailed deer, and other animals. Tables 5 and 6 illustrate these findings. When compared to the probate inventory, we can conclude that the remains found here represent a mix of raised (livestock) and wild (white tailed deer) animals. The probate inventory shows that the Keefes had 4 brood sows and 9 pigs, so we know they raised them on their farm. While cat and dog elements could denote pets, they could just as easily be unrelated to the site. Similarly, the avian femur could be from a chicken or a wild bird that is unrelated to the site.

Separate from Unit 7, the horse and cow elements also corroborate the inventory (5 horses, 14 calves, 14 yearlings, 20 cows). A distal tibia of a horse (Figure 40) was found on the surface at the center inside entrance to the barn, and the left mandible of a cow (Figure 41) was found on the surface east of Unit 3, at the east half of the house. Bowen (1975) used probate inventories in her study of Mott Farm, and found the largest discrepancy between the inventory and the archaeological record as it pertained to sheep. Sheep were listed at 70% of the probate inventory, but their remains only 26% of the assemblage (Bowen 1975:18). Bowen concluded that the sheep were not being used for their meat, but primarily for their wool. At the Keefe site, pig remains are the animal on the probate inventory whose archaeological remains are also highest. Since it is the opposite of Bowen's sheep numbers, we can presume that the Keefe family was most likely raising pigs for their meat.

Table 5. Faunal elements.

Faunal Element	NISP
Pig - phalange	5
Pig - phalange fragment	3
Pig - calcaneum	2
Pig - metatarsal	2
Pig - calcaneus	1
Pig - carpal	1
Pig - immature pelvis	1
White tailed deer - unfused posterior centrum cap	4
White tailed deer - unfused distal femur articulation	2
White tailed deer - astragalus	1
White tailed deer - fibula	1
White tailed deer - phalange	1
White tailed deer - unfused calcaneum	1
White tailed deer - unfused femoral head	1
White tailed deer - unfused lumbar vertebra	1
White tailed deer - unfused proximal tibia articulation	1
Cow - left mandible	1
Horse - distal tibia	1
Large mammal - long bone fragment	1
Medium mammal - carpal	1
Medium mammal - claw	1
Canid - claw	1
Cat - astragalus	1
Small animal - caudal vertebra	1
Small animal - rib	2
Small mammal - femur	1
Small mammal - lumbar vertebra	2
Small mammal - lumbar vertebra fragment	1
Small mammal - thoracic vertebra	1
Avian - femur fragment	1
Meat cut	1
Egg shell	1
Unidentified	3
TOTAL	49

Table 6. Animal type.

Animal	MNI	NISP
Pig	1	15
White tailed deer	1	13
Cow	1	1
Horse	1	1
Canid	1	1
Cat	1	1
Avian	1	1
Small animal	1	3
Small mammal	1	5
Medium mammal	1	2
Large mammal	1	1
Egg shell	1	1
Meat cut	1	1
Unidentified	1	3
TOTALS	12	49

*Figure 40. Distal tibia of a horse. Scale in centimeters.*



Figure 41. Left mandible of a cow. Scale in centimeters.

Most remains were identifiable, showing a range of animals from pets to food. The single avian femur (FSN 102N-63.5E-004) compared to 15 pig bones (14 from feet) would indicate a much different animal percentage than does the will. Discrepancies like this are not uncommon, as illustrated by Bowen (1975). Traditionally, Irish often used pork as an inexpensive source of protein (Brighton 2009:131), and the evidence here would show that perhaps there is something special about pigs feet. However, Milne and Crabtree caution that “animal bones are, at best, an indirect reflection of past diet and subsistence patterns” (2001:32). The bones show evidence for the consumption of bone-in cuts of meat, but not boneless ones. In their study of three privies at Five Points in New York City (Milne and Crabtree 2001), they illustrate the heavy use of pork, an inexpensive meat, in working-class

households. It is likely that the Keefe family consumed other kinds of meat that we simply don't have the evidence for. The remains do, however, at least help to shed light on the "availability of certain foodstuffs" (Milne and Crabtree 2001:44) in the Keefe's region.

On the other hand, the density of pigs feet found at the Keefe farmstead could be evidence for a way that the family maintained their Irish identity in their new home. Following their research on a household of Chinese gardeners in Tucson, AZ, archaeologists Michael Diehl, Jennifer Waters, and Homer Thiel show that "foodways can constitute an important aspect of ethnic identity" (Orser 2004:86). "While individuals may always have a strong, personal identification with their ethnic group, they need not always communicate this attachment" (Orser 2004:80), and foodways is a more subtle way of holding on to one's identity in a new place. Preparing meals takes place in the home, away from the other members of a community, and is less subject to judgement than other tokens of ethnicity. Additionally, changing a diet can often be more disruptive to an individual than changing other aspects of their habits. "Because cultures tend to be conservative in their eating habits, food usage can help to preserve group identity" (Orser 2004:86).

Besides pig, there is a high number of deer remains present. Thirteen of the faunal elements found are from white tailed deer. At first glance, one might wonder if the Keefe family was supplementing their diet with deer, but upon further analysis it seems unlikely. Of the 13 elements, 10 are unfused, which means the animal was a juvenile when it died. The bones come from both the axial and the appendicular skeletons of a deer, and do not show cut marks or other signs of butchering. It is more likely that the animal passed away of natural causes, rather than being hunted to supplement a diet. The large mammal long bone fragment

is likely from a white tailed deer, and shows signs of carnivore gnawing, which would take place post-mortem.

Figure 42 illustrates the density of faunal remains found at the site. Using the faunal remains present, the MNI (minimum number of individuals) is one for each animal – cat, dog, pig (Figure 43), bird, and white tailed deer (Figure 44). This does not illustrate the state of the Keefe farm as fully as the probate inventory. However, even a small amount of faunal remains does corroborate much of the evidence given by the inventory. It is likely that the Keefe family used some of their livestock for their own diet, but also supplemented it with wild animals, like Peres (2008) found on similar sites in Kentucky. It is difficult to say much more in detail, especially when considering the advice of Price (1985:55).

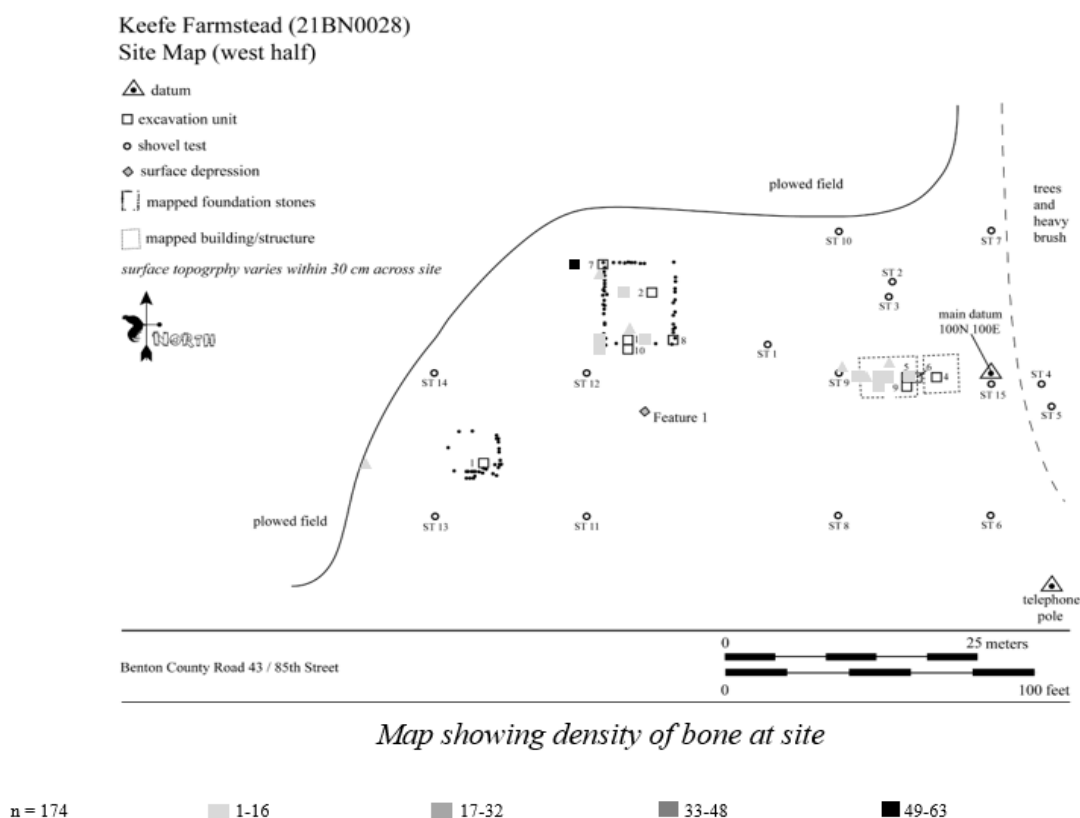




Figure 43. Pig phalanges, clockwise from top left: FSN 111N61E-003, FSN 111N61E-004, FSN 111N61E-010, FSN 111N61E-014, FSN 111N61E-026, FSN 111N61E-037, and FSN 111N61E-040. Scale in centimeters.



Figure 44. Deer elements, top to bottom, column 1: FSN 111N61E-114 and 111N61E-023; column 2: FSN 111N61E-018, FSN 111N61E-029, and FSN 111N61E-043; column 3: FSN 111N61E-114 and FSN 111N61E-002; column 4: FSN 111N61E-114 and FSN 111N61E-031. Scale in centimeters. FSN 111N61E-018 refits perfectly into FSN 111N61E-023.

Chapter VI: Conclusions

This final chapter presents the conclusions and interpretations of results. The purpose of this thesis was to determine if the Keefe farmstead was set up to be a farm of wheat monoculture, or a diversified farm. In order to answer this, documents, both historical and modern, needed to be studied to provide context and to confirm presence or absence of various characteristics. The archaeological evidence from all three field seasons needed to be sorted and analyzed consistently to provide fair results.

Much like Minnesota farmsteads, research of the Irish diaspora is underrepresented in archaeology. This thesis provides a deeper understanding of the Irish diaspora as it relates to the field of archaeology. While further research on Irish immigrants should be undertaken and encouraged, this work provides a jumping off point. Brighton's (2009) goal of developing site-specific interpretations into a broader explanation for formal archaeology of the Irish diaspora is crucial to a fuller understanding of the history of Minnesota. If we can continue to add more studies like this to the field, we can produce a formal historical archaeology of the Irish diaspora.

Further research into the lives of the Keefes before coming to Minnesota could help provide further insight into the struggle, civic involvement, and political activism of many Irish Catholic immigrants described by Ignatiev (1995). There may be more documentation regarding the pre-Minnesota Keefes that could illustrate Ignatiev's point that, "while the white skin made the Irish eligible for membership in the white race, it did not guarantee their admission: they had to earn it" (1995:70).

Paramount to a formal historical archaeology of the Irish diaspora is the study of material culture at Irish immigrant and Irish-American sites. The material culture from this site includes glass, ceramic, metal, and leather materials. Glass, metal, and leather pieces from the Keefe site reflect a typical Minnesota farm when compared to the research done by Granger and Kelly (2005) and Terrell (2006). Ceramic materials corroborate Brighton's claim that "newly arrived Irish obtained familiar ceramics similar to those owned by their peers and indeed themselves in Ireland" (2009:159). Based on the assemblage, it appears that by this time, the Keefe family had established some comfortability with the identity of being both Irish and American. Perhaps they had proven their whiteness (Brighton 2009, Ignatiev 1995).

There is one artifact from the Keefe site that demands further research. The spoon found buried in the ground cornerstone of the barn must be culturally significant. It is very unlikely that it got there by accident. As Brighton (2009) states, Irish immigrants created a single Irish identity through the careful use of symbols that served as badges of ethnicity" (2009:145). This spoon is surely one such signifier. Future research related to this site should attempt to answer the unanswered questions regarding this object and its placement. Answers to these questions could provide answers that complement Brighton's (2009) research regarding the way Irish immigrants created their identity through signifiers. In turn, this research can help provide a deeper understanding "of collective experiences and the formation of the Irish American communities" (Brighton 2009:6), and a more formal historical archaeology of the Irish diaspora.

Archival Conclusions

Based on the archival research, the Keefe farmstead was set up to be a diversified farm from the start. The evidence in the homestead papers shows that the family began planning and building as soon as they were able. The fencing and buildings constructed on the site – the house, a stable, a well, a granary, and a milk house – show that the John Keefe and his family raised crops as well as livestock. Anything produced at the farm could have been either for their immediate subsistence or market goods. The farmstead report written by Muñiz, based on his and Mather’s research, also points to the Keefe farmstead being a diversified farm.

This thesis has provided some of the information desired by the research questions presented by Granger and Kelly (2005) and Terrell (2006). It best addresses the research questions regarding land, farmers, and systems of farming. These questions are: “How did policies and programs that enabled Euro-Americans to establish farms in Minnesota shape the agricultural development of the land?” (Granger and Kelly 2005, vol. 3:301) “What are the demographic characteristics of Minnesota's farmers and how did these change through time?” (Granger and Kelly 2005, vol. 3:302) “In what ways did demographics influence the physical nature of farms?” (Granger and Kelly 2005, vol. 3:302) “What were the farming methods, land use patterns, kinds of crops and livestock, and types of structures associated with each major system of farming in Minnesota and how did they change through time?” (Granger and Kelly 2005, vol. 3:302) “If there was an initial homestead site replaced by later structures, when did this transition take place? How long was the initial homestead site occupied?

Combining documentary evidence with archaeological evidence, is there an explanation for what events triggered or facilitated this move?” (Terrell 2006:44)

Their research questions regarding farm characteristics, transportation, communication, technology, and political/economic events are less helped by this project, though Marshall’s (2010) work lends itself to the questions regarding characteristics of these farms presented by both Granger and Kelly (2005, vol. 3:302). Questions from Terrell (2006:44) that could be answered with further research at the Keefe site include: “As farms during this period were primarily subsistence-level, diversified farms situated on the frontier is there evidence for what degree farm families relied on natural food resources (wild game and fish) to augment their domesticated food sources? What evidence is there for food types, meat cuts, and access to imported food items?” “When did the farm begin to participate in a market economy? What archaeological evidence is there for this transition? Is there evidence for locally-made items and during which periods were they used?”

Archaeological Conclusions

Archaeological evidence also confirms that 21BN0028 was a diversified farm. Most artifacts and faunal remains studied were found in the barn. These remains corroborate much the probate inventory from 1926 due to the existence of pig, cow, and horse bones. The tack found in the barn illustrates that the Keefe family was using horse or oxen power to perform more heavy tasks, probably in relation to farming crops.

The faunal remains found on the Keefe site show further evidence for a diversified farm. The descriptions of Wheat Monoculture and Diversified farms provided by Granger and Kelly (2005) are another way to determine which type of agriculture the Keefes were

participating in. While wheat monoculture farms would show almost no evidence of fauna (the only animals mentioned here are horses or oxen for power), diversified farms show a range of animals. A diversified farm should have evidence for some (or all) of the following animals: cows (for both dairy and beef), hogs, sheep, poultry, and horses (which were preferred over oxen for power during this period) (Granger and Kelly 2005). The Keefe site shows a variety of these animals.

The Watkins liniment bottle shows that the Keefes were purchasing goods, and its location inside the barn shows that they were reusing containers when possible. Other glass artifacts, such as the complete Mason jar, illustrate that the family was producing their own food, or perhaps trading their goods with others in the region for homemade food. The ceramic plate found in the barn could also illustrate reuse as an animal food dish, or it could have been left there from a meal. The glass found at the site is a strong example of modernization on typical American farmsteads. Cabak et. al. (1999) list soda bottles and canning jars as evidence of modernization common in rural 20th century settings.

“Archaeologically, the family cycle is an important systemic cultural-historical process that serves as a perpetual engine or catalyst for day-to-day motion and movement within the household” (Groover 2004:26). It determines what the household will consume, what the household will discard of, and, therefore what artifacts will be found at a site. The artifacts found at the Keefe site do this for us here. We see the family taking part of a larger economy (the Watkins bottle, the Johnson Brothers England dish), producing and preserving their own food (canning jars), and expanding their family farm (pig, cow, and horse bones). The family cycle then repeats with the children of John and Jane Keefe.

Final Conclusions

The archival and archaeological research shows that the Keefe farmstead was set up to be a diversified farm. Through their farm, the Keefe family could produce meat, milk, crops, and byproducts of these items, for their own personal subsistence or to sell at market. Compared to other Minnesota farms from the late 19th century, the Keefe's farm is fairly typical.

The Keefe's struggles in regards to choosing Diversification over Wheat Monoculture would have been related to finances. Many aspects of a diversified farm required heavy capital, especially when it came to cattle and dairying equipment. Fortunately, diversified farms increased in size gradually over time. For the Keefe family, the advantages likely outweighed the disadvantages. First, they had each other. With siblings and parents close by, they would be able to strategize and take advantage of gaps they saw in the market. They could help each other with their endeavors. Secondly, diversifying the assets of their farm provided greater financial stability. Often times, meat and grain prices moved in opposite patterns (Granger and Kelly 2005, vol. 1:47). When one product was not bringing in its share of the income, the family could rely on another. Different crops and resources required more attention at different times of the year, so the Keefes could manage many different lines during the year. Byproducts of one resource could be used for another – for example, manure from cattle is a very strong fertilizer for crops (Granger and Kelly 2005, vol. 1:47). This period of agriculture was an exciting time in Minnesota – new technologies were being introduced, new agricultural organizations were being established, and the University of Minnesota was offering new classes on farming (Granger and Kelly 2005, vol. 1:45).

Directions for Future Research

While the elimination of artifacts found in Level 1 or closer to the surface made this project more manageable, it also became a weakness of the thesis. Some interesting finds that were found above Level 2 include a horseshoe large enough for a draft horse, a chain, a cow mandible, and a horse bone fragment. While the intention of eliminating stratigraphically newer artifacts was to eliminate anything too modern, many of these finds seem to be within the time period of this thesis. Adding some of the elements back in helped, but more attention should be paid in the future.

A project with more funding could also involve residue analysis on the Watkins bottle and on the complete canning jar. Knowing what was last stored in these vessels could really help provide deep insight into questions of producing and repurposing products on the farm. In keeping with the domestic items, the spoon found in the entrance to the barn is grounds for a cultural study. It would be interesting to see if the placement of the spoon has to do with a cultural tradition, as is likely.

Finally, why were no larger faunal remains found on the site? It is likely that the easier and earlier parts of processing took place in the barn, where a person could create more of a mess, and then processing of smaller items was brought into the house, where the animal could be placed on a counter or table, and things could be kept a bit cleaner. The faunal evidence would disagree with this instinct. Perhaps smaller animal remains were found more frequently because they were not cleared out of the way as thoroughly as larger parts of an animal. Further research can look into these questions as well.

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