

5

“With Manly Courage”

Reading the Construction of Gender in a
Nineteenth-Century Religious Community

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More than ten years ago Sherry Ortner and Harriet Whitehead argued persuasively in their introduction to *Sexual Meanings* that gender is a cultural construction and is inextricably intertwined with the formation of other aspects of subjectivity. In this way it is inseparable from status, age, ethnicity, race, and so forth. Because their position rejects biological determinism, Ortner and Whitehead (1981) assert that the analysis of gender must begin “by asking what male and female, sex and reproduction, *mean* in given social and cultural contexts. . . . Gender, sexuality, and reproduction are [to be] treated as *symbols*, invested with meaning by the society in question” (1).

But ten years also have seen some advances, and the concern of this paper is less with the static relationships among symbols or among social relationships than with the process by which gender is constructed and manipulated by social actors. As in other poststructuralist studies of social life (for example, Conkey 1982; Foucault 1979; Leone and Shackel 1987), the analysis of gender is not the discovery of a group identity or an artifact assemblage but rather is the discovery of the formation of that identity

and the process by which those artifacts are made meaningful. Conkey and Gero (1991) state the point this way:

As an issue of history gender is always “in production,” emergent in the process of human existence. Thus, epistemologically, gender is not a bounded and static phenomenon, “out there” to be “found” and circumscribed; it is not a “thing” or an “it”. . . . [G]ender . . . [is] a process that is constructed as a relationship or set of relationships, necessarily embedded within other cultural and historical social institutions and ideologies. (9)

The archaeological inquiry into this process of constructing gender is therefore a question of discerning both what sets of relationships are involved and how the material culture of the social group in question is implicated. In this case, the social group is a religious community of men in the second half of the nineteenth century; the relationships are those of the priests and lay brothers who professed to live according to vows of obedience, poverty, and celibacy; and the material culture is their common household assemblage and landscape. This chapter begins with a brief description of the site these men inhabited, presents a hypothesis of the construction of gender at this single-sex site, and examines the evidence in light of that hypothesis.

The Site

The site in question is the St. Mary’s site (18AP45) in the Historic District of Annapolis, Maryland (fig. 5.1). Excavated by Archaeology in Annapolis for the past five summers, the site is best known as the home of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, signer of the Declaration of Independence. Since 1852, however, the property has been owned by the Redemptorists,¹ a congregation of ordained priests and lay brothers. Today, the Redemptorists use the site for their ministry to a parochial school and a parish of almost ten thousand communicants, but during the second half of the nineteenth century (from 1853 to 1862 and 1867 to 1907) the principal use of the site was as a Novitiate, a school for educating and training candidates for ordination. The site was also used as a base from which the priests led missions in rural areas.

The site today encompasses approximately 9 acres, including St. Mary’s School buildings and facilities; a small convent used by the nuns who administer the school; the parish church; a large rectory where the priests’ offices, private quarters, and dining hall are located; the former Carroll House now undergoing an extensive restoration and used until 1962 as an

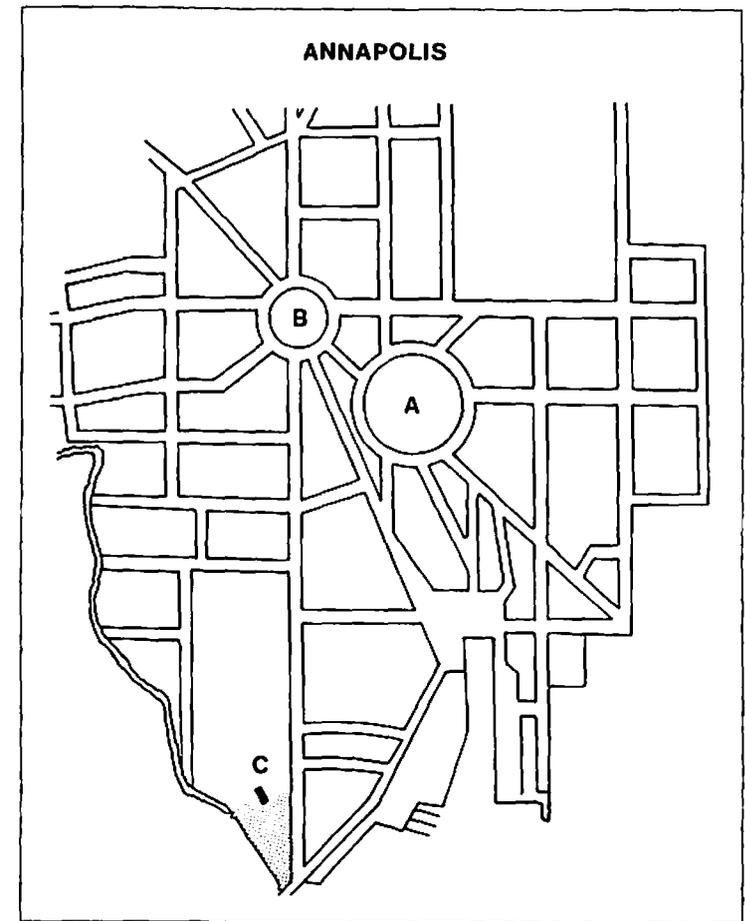


Figure 5.1. A plan view of contemporary Annapolis. The prominent focal points of the town plan, State Circle and Church Circle, are marked (A) and (B) respectively. The Redemptorist property (C), located on the point of land where Spa Creek joins the Chesapeake Bay, is shown with the original Carroll house and garden shaded.

extension of the rectory; and a nearly 2¼-acre garden containing the remains of Charles Carroll’s 1770s terraced landscape garden.

The St. Mary’s site offers an interesting challenge for the examination of the construction of gender. During the second half of the nineteenth century it housed an all-male closed community—closed in the physical sense of a cloister and in the ideological sense that it defined itself through a Rule

that prescribed daily conduct and dictated vows of obedience, poverty, celibacy, and perseverance.

The site is also rich in its archaeological and historical evidence. Because the transfer of property from the Carrolls to the Redemptorists dictated that the property always be used for the “purposes of religion,” the spectacular waterfront location has been spared the development fate of much of Annapolis’s Historic District. This remarkable archaeological preservation is complemented by equally remarkable archival material. Daily diary entries recorded in the congregation’s official chronicles offer details of the liturgical life of the community: the transfers, illnesses, and activities of the residents, as well as alterations to the physical plant through building projects, fires, and renovations. In addition, the site is documented by a host of other records: maps, correspondence, insurance records, and, most notably, a photographic archive beginning in 1864 (fig. 5.2).

In sum, the archaeological and historical evidence make St. Mary’s an intriguing test case of which to ask questions about the construction of gender in a single-sex site, and the ability or inability of archaeology to speak to the material correlates of gender.

Questions and Hypothesis

The most elemental question to be addressed is “What is the archaeology of gender in an all-male site?” However, even that question is complex. In one sense it asks, “Is a single-sex site necessarily a single-gender site?” I speak here not so much about the diversity of sexual behaviors possible among humans but about the associations of what it is to be male and female that are implicated in the creation and representation of self in any society. These associations may be ascribed to or resisted in varying degrees by any individual, but at their core is a cluster of values, connotations, and symbols made meaningful by the people who enact them as lived experience.

In another sense our basic question asks whether archaeology can distinguish gender differentiations from other cultural constructions. Here, too, the question is dependent on the premise that the production of gendered meanings and associations is part of the production of daily life and even to attempt to “separate” it from status, ethnicity, or age is to distort the conception of social life that fuels Conkey and Gero’s statement above. To say that status differences mask gender-associated meanings is therefore to miss the point—gender is as inseparable from status as it is from ethnicity. The question is less whether or not we can distinguish gender, but whether we can understand its relation to other ideologically charged

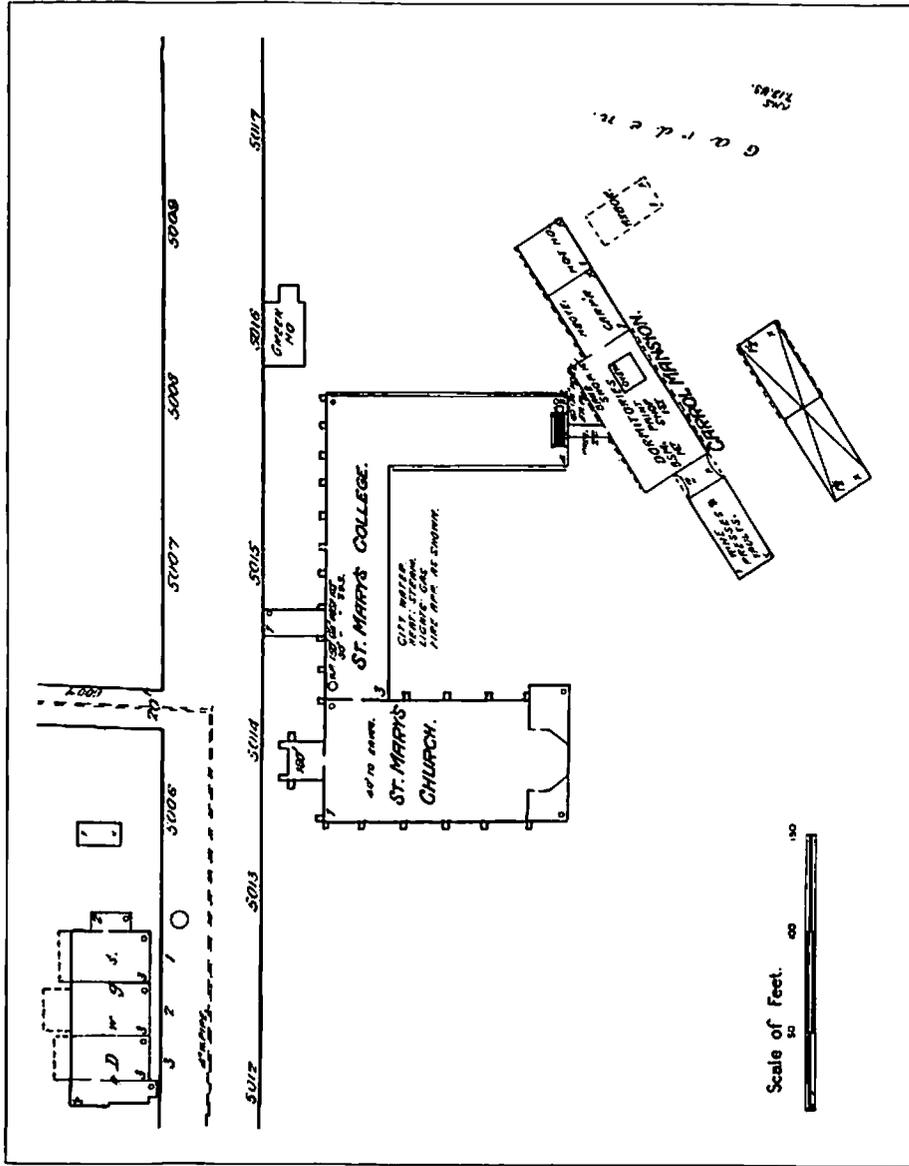


Figure 5.2. The Sanborn Fire Insurance Company’s first map of the Redemptorist property in 1885 shows the addition of the church and rectory, the proliferation of outbuildings, and the renovation of the Carroll mansion to include a large oven, carpenter’s shop, and hothouse (Library of Congress).

processes. In the case of the Redemptorists, the argument postulated here is that the lay brothers' association with female qualities was one means of maintaining their docile acceptance of menial tasks and their position on the lowest rung of the congregation's hierarchy.

In a third sense, the question provokes reflection on androcentric assumptions of male as normative. All too often we operate under the assumption that to find evidence of "gender roles" is to discover clues to the lives of women as they are differentiated from the lives of [hu]man beings, the latter of course unquestioningly associated with "maleness." But avoiding this bias in the study of past material remains is difficult unless one has access to corroborating sources, a problem fortunately easier for the St. Mary's site than for a prehistoric cave site. The prehistorian's dilemma of assuming universal gender roles is mitigated in this case by the wealth of literature on nineteenth-century United States gender relations. Instead of laying external standards of gender roles on the past, we can use that literature to discern contemporary categories and conceptions of gender ideals. While I acknowledge that these associations themselves are problematic and that what it means to be male or female is enacted uniquely by every individual, common stereotypes or ideologically charged ideals nevertheless remain. For late nineteenth-century America the period literature suggests several consistent themes of gender stereotypes. The construction of masculinity is only just beginning to be approached as a historical subject (as opposed to a contemporary social issue), and most recent work connects the nineteenth-century male identity to his place in a working world increasingly divorced from the domestic sphere.² Much more thoroughly studied have been the late nineteenth-century female stereotypes, which have been gathered variously under the titles "Cult of Domesticity" or "Cult of True Womanhood."

Using a survey of nineteenth-century American women's magazines, gift annuals, and religious literature, Barbara Welter argues that "the Cult of True Womanhood" identified the ideal woman by four cardinal virtues: piety, purity, submissiveness, and domesticity (the latter including nursing, housework, needlework, and gardening). It was by these attributes that "a woman judged herself and was judged by her husband, her neighbors and society" (Welter 1966, 152). While Welter's essay is somewhat dated, the categories are useful for understanding popular conceptions of gender ideals.

In a more recent study, Carroll Smith-Rosenberg notes the disparity between idealized feminine virtues and the roles most middle-class women played in the United States in the nineteenth century. She finds the dis-

junction to be a primary explanation for the prevalence of the "hysterical woman." Describing the "bourgeois ideal of proper womanhood," Smith-Rosenberg (1985) writes,

Painful discontinuities existed between that ideal and the real world in which the bourgeois matron lived. The tensions [existed] . . . between the two central roles . . . that of the True Woman and that of the Ideal Mother. . . . The True Woman was emotional, dependent, and gentle—a born follower. The Ideal Mother, then and now, was expected to be strong, self-reliant, protective, an efficient caretaker in relation to children and home. She was to manage the family's day-to-day finances, prepare foods, make clothes, compound drugs, [and] serve as family nurse. (198-99)

These characterizations paint a picture of the True Woman as submissive, pious, and pure, while also a competent manager of domestic duties. Keeping in mind these ideals of feminine qualities and deportment, let me turn now to the specifics of the Redemptorist case.

As noted earlier, the Redemptorist ideology was codified by their Rules and Constitutions, the backbone of which was a set of vows: obedience, poverty, celibacy, and perseverance. But these ideals were fraught with tensions and contradictions. I propose that one of the ways those contradictions were mediated was through the differentiation of gender within the single-sex community. Specifically, despite an ideology which dictated equality, the social relations of hierarchy were reproduced in daily life, in part through the attribution of feminine qualities and roles to the most marginalized and least powerful members of the community, the lay brothers. I will first present the documentary evidence to support this hypothesis and then discuss some material manifestations of this construction of gender.

Historical Evidence

The Redemptorist vows, as presented in the Rule, dictated a life of profound equality:

The members of the Congregation are bound by this vow [of poverty] to lead a perfectly common life, and to be uniform in all things. . . . As poor men they shall be content with frugal fare, without any respect of persons, no matter what may be the difference in their offices and claims. (*Constitutions* 1939, 26)

Moreover, there should never be any contention as to precedence amongst the Subjects, for everyone's ambition should be to take the lowest place. (32)

Yet this egalitarian ideal was quickly translated into the hierarchy that defined daily life within the community. Within each house, the rector or

superior was the ultimate authority, assisted by the minister. The ordained fathers stood next in precedence, ranked in seniority by date of their professions (257). The students preparing for ordination (novitiate or chorists) ranked next, followed lastly by the lay brothers whose vocation was "that they may aid . . . [the community] by service and bodily labours, they should most of all show themselves constant and careful in discharging the various domestic employments, always mindful that they have come to serve" (393). The commentary to the Rule elaborates on this seeming contradiction: "The Rule says, indeed, that all should be uniform in everything, but this should be understood of each in his own rank, that is, of the Fathers amongst themselves, and of the Brothers amongst themselves, but not of uniformity between the Fathers and the Brothers, because of the difference of state and duties" (394).

I propose that one of the ways this difference of "state and duties" was reinforced and naturalized was by the association of the lay brothers with roles and attributes that were by contemporary standards stereotypically feminine. In short, the "true" lay brother was a perfect example of piety, purity, submissiveness, and domesticity.

Like the other members of the community, the brother's ultimate goal was piety: to "earnestly strive to imitate the virtues and example of Jesus Christ our Redeemer" (21). Unlike the priests' primarily cerebral and spiritual instruction, the brothers' training was to unite a spiritual life with one of labor and service. The brothers were presented with the biblical models of Martha and Mary; "they should unite the repose of Mary, that is, the spiritual life, with the labours of Martha" (393). For example, the cook should "be a great lover of prayer and of union with God, and learn from the temporal fire to meditate on the eternal fire. Good cooks find time, even in the kitchen itself, to attend to God and to themselves" (409). Of the porter who received visitors, the rules dictate, "When he opens the door, he should beg of God to open the gate of Paradise to him; as he shuts it, that He may be pleased to close the gates of hell for him" (421).

Also like the other members of the community, the lay brothers were commanded to preserve their chastity above all else. For the "love of holy purity" the Redemptorists were instructed never to gaze upon a woman's face, touch the body of another person, or invite women to visit their country houses (168-69). Those teaching the Children's Catechism were told, "They shall never caress boys, for any motive how good, nor shall they take them to their rooms to instruct them, or to hear their confessions" (169). Within their own house, the priests and brothers were to guard their virtue

strictly: "In undressing and in dressing they should be very cautious with themselves. At home, two shall never sleep in one bed. . . . During sleep they should always be covered, wearing drawers and shirt, and in the most modest posture. Similarly, whether in or out of their rooms, they should always wear the habit and cincture" (170).

The isolation of the Redemptorists and the impact of a celibate lifestyle on the construction of gender within the congregation are difficult to assess, but they must be noted nonetheless. The Redemptorists' vow of celibacy required them to abstain from all sexual activity, but the degree to which it repressed an individual's sexuality and the ways in which individuals responded to this denial must have varied greatly. More interesting than such speculation on sexuality, which is beyond the scope of this essay, is the implication of the vow of celibacy for construction of gender within the Congregation. Contact with women was extremely limited, although at least one of the priests carried on a lively correspondence with his sister. Furthermore, women were not only inaccessible but in the Redemptorist Rule and Chronicles were often presented as foreign, mysterious, and potentially dangerous. The training of the novitiate, therefore, occurred in a relatively cloistered setting where the denial of sexuality was accompanied by a more subtle denial of women as social beings as well.

In addition to the vow of celibacy, all members of the community were to be submissive and unquestioningly subject to the authority of the Redemptorist hierarchy. As the Rule chided, "The words 'I will' and 'I will not' have always been a crime in our Congregation, and he, who is not so disposed, can never live contentedly in our Institute" (185). The lay brothers, as the lowest-ranking members, were particularly admonished to "make it a special object of their care to show to all the chorists, and even more to those who are invested with the dignity of the priesthood, the honour, reverence, and service that they owe them" (394).

The final attribute of feminine virtue in nineteenth-century America, domesticity, covered a constellation of associations: the comforts a woman provided through cooking, nursing, sewing, cleaning, and other "wifely arts." This role of domestic manager and caregiver epitomizes the lay brothers' chief functions within the community. Their specific duties were the "infirmarian" or nurse, who "should regard the sick as the apple of his eye, and become all things to all, that he may console all, and see all consoled, tranquil, and cheerful in Jesus Christ" (403); the porter, who "should have much at heart modesty, kindness, and courteousness, and his behaviour to everyone should be such as will be commended by all, and give them

good example" (421); the refectarian, whose "chief quality should be zeal for cleanliness and neatness" (409); and the cook, tailor, sacristan, caller, and Brother Procurator.

In each role, the lay brothers were called upon to manage the domestic functioning of the community life and to do so with the virtues associated with the "True Woman" of the day. Unlike the priests who were trained to

"go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel" (Mark 16:15), the lay brothers' world was to be the community. The Rule dictated, "Loving solitude and recollection, they shall not go out of the House without necessity, nor without the Superior's leave. They shall avoid all familiarity with outsiders, and all curiosity about worldly affairs. . . they may on no account read the newspapers, unless perhaps, on Sunday, one that does not deal with politics, and even this with the Superior's leave." (*Constitutions* 1939, 396)

The brothers' role was to serve the community, and their training was in a deportment naturally suited to the task.

One might argue that the entire community was marginalized socially in that it consciously dedicated itself to a religious vocation, removed itself from participation in sexual acts and inferences, and submitted to a rigid hierarchy of authority. But the degree to which members of the community were marginalized from the cultural associations of gender was not uniform. The Novitiate was a training ground for adolescents and young men. Its charge was instructing these novices to be obedient, chaste, and pious priests, equipped with the strength, knowledge, and discipline to be evangelical laborers to the world—in short, they were to be men without sexuality. One of the Redemptorist fathers, Henry Borgmann (1904), reflected on this process: "Many of the young men, nay, boys of 16 to 18, had left homes which every comfort rendered sweet . . . to consecrate themselves heart and soul to their Divine Master. . . With manly courage they embraced the austerities of the religious life, remembering that, only by suffering and self-denial could they become true disciples" (24–25). The lay brothers, on the other hand, were to be trained as obedient, chaste, and pious domestic servants. They were to remain within the house and serve the community, not venture forth to spread the spiritual message of the missionaries.³

Archaeological Evidence

I turn lastly to the question of the material correlates of this process of gender construction within the Redemptorist community. Excavations over the past five summers have produced a rich assemblage of artifacts associated

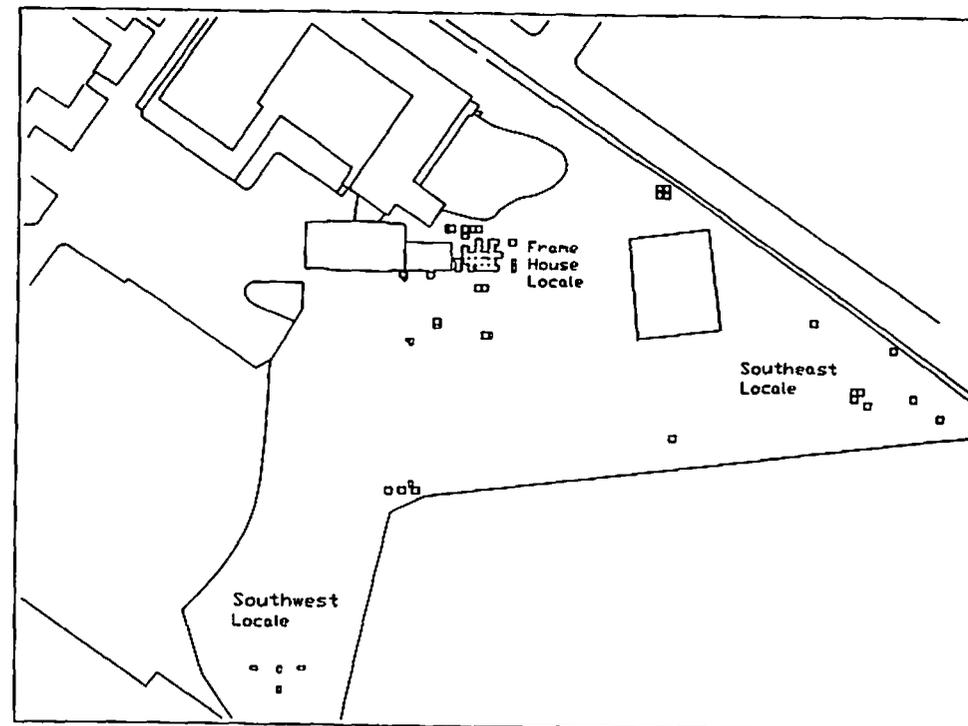


Figure 5.3. Autocad map of the St. Mary's site showing the location of units excavated during the 1987–1990 seasons by Archaeology in Annapolis.

with the Redemptorist occupation of the site (fig. 5.3). The contexts for the artifacts include massive fill deposits dating to the mid-twentieth century, created by leveling a vineyard to become an athletic field in 1946 and by moving graves from a mortuary chapel in 1948 to build a cemetery on the terraces of the Carrolls' former garden. Archaeology also recovered sealed contexts such as filled cisterns and the debris of a demolished greenhouse. The artifacts themselves may be characterized as those expected from any nineteenth-century institutional site: thousands of whiteware and ironstone sherds, hundreds of bottles found in the Redemptorist wine cellar, and the myriad of flowerpot fragments from one of three greenhouses once standing on the site. There were also numerous artifacts associated with the site's religious identity: a crucifix, religious medals, holy water bowls, a chalice and paten, and fragments of the Redemptorists' coarse woolen habits.

The cataloguing and analysis of these artifacts is completed,⁴ but their

interpretation for gender associations is problematical, at least for the Redemptorists' nineteenth-century occupation. As noted earlier, the Redemptorist Rule explicitly prescribes, "The members of the Congregation are . . . to lead a perfectly common life, and to be uniform in all things. . . . As poor men they shall be content with frugal fare, without any respect of persons, no matter what may be the difference in their offices and claims" (*Constitutions* 1939, 26).

The Rule goes on to describe in exquisite detail which objects, such as scissors, thread, knives, needles, brushes, ink, and snuff, were to be kept in a common place for the use of anyone, and which objects were permitted in the rooms of individuals. Clothes were held in common as were all tablewares, bedding, furniture, and tools. Residents had to ask permission to use anything, including drinking water, and could not give or receive gifts. In short, bound by the vow of poverty, the Redemptorists were not permitted to own individual property of any kind. Although the dormitory rooms are still standing in the Carroll House, their contents have been emptied for years. Had such evidence been available for study it might have been possible to test the adherence to the Rule's dictum: "The rooms shall be small: their furniture, similarly shall be poor, but the same in all—namely, a small table with a drawer without a lock; three chairs; four paper pictures [to be black and white religious subjects only], a Crucifix of simple wood; two or three spiritual books" (26).

It might also have been possible to determine the spatial arrangement of the novitiates', lay brothers', and priests' sleeping quarters.

Instead, this antimaterialist ideology of poverty foils our most critical tool of analysis—the ability to associate archaeological context with the social context that produced it. Only in the historical record do we find evidence of status marked through material culture; in the debris of the greenhouse we excavated a collar button used to secure clerical collars. The Rule notes that fathers may wear white linen collars over their habits while brothers may not, but from the artifact alone, there is no way of discerning whether the collar button was worn by an obedient priest or a renegade lay brother. In another example, the Rule dictates that the priests wear birettas and the brothers only skull caps, but the distinction born out in photographs (fig. 5.4) is invisible in the excavated communal deposits. Because we have no way to connect a deposit with a lay brother, similar tests of the proposed gender division hypothesis, such as the distribution of artifacts associated with domestic duties, are not possible.

While artifacts from communal contexts such as the cistern make conclusions about differentiation within the Congregation difficult, some pos-



Figure 5.4. Photo of the Redemptorist community, 1928–29. The three men without birettas or linen collars, on either end of the second row from the top, are lay brothers (St. Mary's Parish Archives).

sibilities remain for testing the material correlates of the lay brother versus priest gender oppositions that might confirm the association of lay brothers with domestic duties or indicate their interaction with the outside world. If the lay brothers were relegated to domestic tasks and permitted little access to the outside world, then one would expect that domestic tasks were relatively self-sufficient and did not require extensive contact with secular Annapolis. In at least one artifact class, faunal remains, this trend appears verified. Analysis by Mark Warner (n.d.) reveals that faunal remains from the nineteenth-century deposits show minimal processing, while the analysis of a deposit of 597 cow bones buried by the 1911 greenhouse demolition revealed cut marks indicative of professional butchering. As such food preparation was the lay brothers' task, the shift from processing their own meat to later participation in Annapolis' market economy highlights the insular, domestic sphere of the brothers' daily regime in the

nineteenth century. In addition, ongoing analysis of the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century assemblage may reveal change through time in the relative cost and variety of artifacts, indicating a loosening of the strict adherence to the vow of poverty.

I turn, also, to another class of material culture: the landscape. Here too, the association of the physical—the organization of space—with the social—the people who used and inhabited that space—is made from evidence in the documentary sources. Maps compiled from archaeological, documentary, and photographic evidence indicate the extent to which the Redemptorists transformed the landscape. They turned what Carroll had groomed as an idyllic, open, terraced hillside into a crowded, productive farmyard. The lay brothers spent much of their day in this farmyard with its barns, grape arbors, greenhouses, and gardens. The material correlates of this labor—the white-washed brick walls, the thousands of flowerpot sherds, the remains of shell paths—are all evidence of the domestic and menial labor of the lay brothers. Furthermore, the duties were not only menial but often dangerous and sometimes “disagreeable.” The Chronicles describe the brothers’ frequent injuries during routine chores (falling from arbors, stepping on nails, and so forth) and their assignment to some less-than-pleasant tasks. One entry records, “At 2 PM the Solemn translation of our dead from under the Sacristy to new vault. There were 24 in all. They were placed in six boxes. . . . Bro. Leopold had a very hard and most disagreeable task to perform” (Redemptorist Chronicles n.d., 2 Nov. 1885 entry).

In contrast to the brothers’ relative freedom of movement, the novices and priests were strictly controlled in their activities within and outside of the house. The novice’s days were highly regimented, and it was listed as a “GRIEVOUS FAULT. . . . To go out into the garden, the kitchen, the Refectory, or the balcony, without the Superior’s leave” (*Constitutions* 1939, 181). This differential access to activity areas may be interpreted as increased autonomy for the lay brothers, but it also reinforced their domesticity and servile role in the community. While the novices were being schooled in theological subjects or led through spiritual exercises designed to prepare them for their missions to the outside world, the brothers were being trained in the “religious labors” of gardening, nursing, cooking, cleaning, and mending, with the ideological mantle of being obedient, submissive, loyal, and loving caregivers.

The community was founded on the egalitarian notion that “there should never be any contention as to precedence amongst the Subjects, for every-

one’s ambition should be to take the lowest place” (32). Yet that same community succeeded in creating a highly stratified and harmonious social structure by training young men to be priests of “manly courage” or brothers “mindful that they have come to serve.” One of the ways the potential inequity of duties apportioned to these young men was muted was that they were given to those with the disposition and “calling” for their vocations.

In her essay on female hysteria in the nineteenth century, Smith-Rosenberg (1985) writes that for women there was only “one prescribed social role, one that demanded continual self-abnegation and a desire to please others. . . . all required of women an altruistic denial of their own ambition and a displacement of their wishes and abilities onto the men in their lives” (213). I argue here that the same subservience of the lay brothers was achieved, in part, through a construction of gender in which these servants of the Congregation were instructed not only in their appropriate duties but were trained to be docile, pious, pure, and domestic—thus subjects ideally and naturally suited to the tasks.

This chapter contributes two points to the evolving discourse on the archaeology of gender. The first is that by playing hypotheses from documentary sources (such as the evidence for the “Cult of Domesticity”) against the artifacts of a particular group or individual, the material correlates of gender distinctions may be tested. The challenge at the St. Mary’s site, as at many others, is that the artifacts, which were communally owned and recovered from communal deposits, are difficult to connect to a single group or individual within the Congregation. The second implication of this study is that the differentiation of gender roles within a single-sex site is possible. Men’s Studies are being taken up as a serious counterpart to Women’s Studies, and work on the construction of masculinity is just coming into print. If the archaeology of gender is not to lag behind the history of gender, archaeologists must be aware that the duality of gender oppositions works both ways: that just as female is marked in reaction to male, so too male is formed in opposition to female. If we are on the right track of a “feminist archaeology,” the trail of a “masculinist archaeology” cannot be far off. And perhaps in the inspection of what we hold to be the opposition of “female” and “male” we may begin to see dynamics and subtle nuances that suggest that the oppositions are not so different after all.

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Notes

1. Though commonly called "The Redemptorists," their full title is the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer (Congregatio Sanctissimi Redemptoris or C.Ss.R.).
2. Histories of sexuality have been part of the diversification of historical topics to include a variety of "private sphere" issues, and Michel Foucault's *The History of Sexuality* (1978) has been highly influential in this burgeoning literature. Often these histories fail, however, to place sexual behavior within a broader question of gender (e.g., Freedman 1982). E. Anthony Rotundo's *American Manhood* (1993) is one of the first historical surveys of the construction of masculinity in America. He argues a shift from the colonial man whose identity was derived from his position as head of household and active community participant to the nineteenth-century male worker's identity associated with competition and achievement in an expanding bureaucracy. Other treatments of the topic, such as Horlick (1975) and Ryan (1981), also have given primacy to men's changing social and economic situations but have been less critical of the effect of these material conditions on the ideological production of what it is to be male.
3. Unfortunately, no information is available on the demographics of the Redemptorist community. Anecdotally, the lay brothers seem to have been less well educated (some probably even mentally disadvantaged), and they were likely drawn from a lower economic and social class. But the difference of class origins among the Redemptorists only strengthens the marginalization of the lay brothers, and engendering them with female attributes is only one element in their subjugation within the Redemptorist hierarchy.

4. The artifact analysis was completed by Archaeology in Annapolis at labs at the University of Maryland at College Park and at the Historic Annapolis Foundation. A site report by the author for the 1987-1990 seasons is in progress.

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6

The Identification of Gender at Northern Military Sites of the Late Eighteenth Century

David R. Starbuck

Historical records indicate that American and British armies of the late eighteenth century in North America were accompanied by sizeable numbers of dependents—wives, camp followers, and children. Thus, it is not surprising that one of the most frequently asked questions by students and visitors to eighteenth-century military sites is “How can you tell whether any women or children were here? Which artifacts did *they* leave behind?” Regrettably, there is no ready answer, because the number of artifacts positively used by women is quite small, and only brief, anecdotal references to women and children appear in military journals and orderly books. Nevertheless, wives and various categories of “camp followers” accompanied British and American forces on most campaigns, and they were indispensable for such camp chores as nursing and laundering. While historical sources differ somewhat as to exact figures, we know that many more of these women traveled with the British army than with American militia or Continental forces (Blumenthal 1952, 60) (fig. 6.1).

The low visibility of women within what were predominantly male

*THOSE
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