

Section J: Results

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J.1: Introduction

The results of the excavation and post-excavation stages of the Alderley Sandhills Project are detailed in the previous chapters. The success of this project can be measured in how comprehensively these results answered the research questions and addressed the project objectives.

J.2: Research Questions

The following research objectives were submitted in October 2003 as part of the post-excavation Assessment Report and Updated Project Design. They were approved by English Heritage in late January 2004, and comprised the framework for post-excavation analysis undertaken by ARCUS, University of Sheffield. Results of this analysis stage were completed in June 2004.

01: To advance knowledge on the archaeology of the recent industrial past.

To gain new understandings of the domestic side of industrialisation, three central research questions were examined through material analysis.

- What types of consumer goods increase in households over the industrial era?
- What is the nature of domestic labour required for home maintenance?
- Is there evidence of increasing use of the specialised artefacts, such as decorative items, tablewares, cutlery, or food storage items that have been associated with middle-class aspirations and 'respectability'?

An interdisciplinary range of materials were considered to identify archaeological features recorded during excavations. The following results were produced from post-excavation analysis of the Alderley Sandhills Project artefact collections.

Results from post-excavation analysis of both the Ceramic and Metal assemblages suggested the presence of two discrete occupation periods. However, these results differed in the specific periods present within the ASP Collection. Area B contained the greatest concentration of artefacts, specifically ceramics, dated from the late-18th through early 19th centuries, with the greatest overall chronological range and greatest range in vessel types represented. While ceramics from the later 19th through mid-20th centuries were represented across all four excavation areas, Area A contained the greatest and most representative concentration of them. In contrast, results of Metals analysis indicated a mid-19th century period for structural related artefacts, particularly within Area B – likely related to the major internal and external renovations documented in archival accounts (see Section C). Non-structural early-mid 20th century metals concentrated within Area A – mostly personal items, or objects related to food preparation and consumption. Results from analysis of the Glass assemblage, another chronologically-sensitive material for the Industrial Era, primarily suggested occupation from the 19th through mid-20th centuries. This result was not surprising, as the vast majority of the glass assemblage was recovered from Area A, and was therefore expected to mirror the ceramic and metals results for this excavation area. Results of artefact analysis from Areas C and D suggested a chronological correlation with the later 19th through mid-20th century occupation

represented most clearly in Area A. This evidence thus suggested that the materials deposited within Area D, in particular, related to household activities within Area A.

Unfortunately, the absence of deposits dating to the mid-19th century obscured any results that might have archaeologically represented the growth of Victorian consumption patterns. Given the detailed tenancy records for this period at the Hagg Cottages (see Section C), the absence of mid-19th century material deposits most likely reflected local garbage collection and disposal activities, rather than a lack of site occupation. Future excavations within the study area would likely recover middens for the mid-19th century, as both soil erosion in adjacent fields and anomalies in geophysical survey results suggested the presence of additional depositional features. For the terms of the Alderley Sandhills Project, comparative analysis of temporal change was limited to results from the ceramic collection, with Area B representing lifeways during the earlier occupation period at the Hagg Cottages. Results from other assemblages were used to characterise the nature of consumer life during the pre- and inter-war periods of the 20th century.

The greatest increase in consumer goods appeared in the recovered ceramic assemblage. New commodities within this material category predominantly consisted of domestic ceramics – the ever increasing quantities of English factory produced earthenwares, stonewares, and porcelains that characterise archaeological sites after 1750. While the greatest concentration of such domestic tablewares and storage containers were recovered from the later deposits of Area A, early examples of global consumer culture were found in the late 18th century Creamwares and Pearlwares recovered from Area B trenches. Evidence of increasing incorporation of consumer goods was also found in the structural ceramics (floor tiles, glazed fireplace tiles, chimney pots) recovered and recorded in Areas A, B, and D. Since cost-effective distribution of mass-produced architectural ceramics required rail transportation, the addition of these ceramics to the Hagg Cottages represented a Victorian Era expression of consumption.

The expanding scale of British distribution networks can be seen in the presence of slate roof tiles in all four excavation areas, sourced during post-excavation analysis to northern Wales. Archival accounts (see Section C) document the use of Kerridge stone, a locally available building material, during replacement of the roof of the southern cottage (Area B) in 1839, and 20th century photographs demonstrate a similar use of sandstone roof tiles in the Area A 'Stanley Cottage' during the 1930s (see Figure E.3). The Welsh slate roof tiles in Areas A and B were therefore interpreted as a roofing material used for the house extensions added to each cottage during the mid- to late- 19th century. These artefacts thus provide evidence of an increasing scale of distribution networks for commodities over the Industrial Era.

By the early decades of the 20th century, consumer goods routinely purchased, used and discarded by residents predominantly consisted of pre-prepared foods (marmalade, Shippam's fish paste, Fletchers Sauce, Masons OK Sauce, Horlick's, Bovril), and commercial preparations for personal hygiene (stomach medicines, perfumes, toothpastes, ointments, etc.). Interestingly, such consumer goods were differentially concentrated in Area A deposits, possibly suggesting differences in foodways and hygiene practices between the two households. Conversely, the relative absence of commercial containers from Area B could also related to clearance activities after structural demolition in the early 1950s (see Section E.3.2).

Rather than exclusively representing household maintenance activities, the intermixing of residential and work-related activity areas best characterized life at the Hagg Cottages. This fluidity was best represented in the structural features associated with the four households. Within Area B, the complex sequencing and sheer quantity of architectural features to the southern exterior of the southern cottage was interpreted as a reflection of the on-going construction, modification, and reuse of space around the residence, as inhabitants undertook a diverse array of income-producing activities over the lifespan of the cottage (see Section E.3.2). In other words, the archaeological sequence of trenches B/3, B/4 and B/5 was particularly complicated because it represented a concretion of various workspaces that evolved in response to changes in the local economy. As the need for sheltering animals, storing coal, fixing machinery, or producing food changed over the two hundred years of site occupation, so the architecture was organically modified, adapted, and rebuilt to create domestic workplaces.

This fluid boundary between domestic and work related places also embraced women's income-generating activities. During a site tour, Mrs. Edna Younger identified a pavement of sandstone flags to the immediate north-east of the Area B cottage foundations (context [2005]) as her mother's outdoor workspace. To supplement the Barrow household income during the early 1930s, her mother had taken in laundry from the elite 'villas' of Alderley Edge. Mrs. Younger remembered her mother using the paved kitchen courtyard area for her washtub and mangle. Evidence for similar 'domestic industries' may have been represented in the Ceramic assemblage. The Area D assemblage was characterised by a greater than normal number of storage and kitchen wares, notably stoneware jam jars, pudding bowls and similar vessels. A jelly mould was also recovered. Since the Area D feature was associated with dumping activities by residents of the Hagg Cottages, this high concentration of storage and kitchen wares may have indicated production of foodstuffs (breads, jams, jarred fruits and vegetables) for commercial sale. In a recent study of an early 20th century coal mining settlement in Colorado, USA, a similar high concentration of storage and kitchen vessels was interpreted as evidence of a women's household economy (Wood 2002). The large quantities of foods were prepared and preserved for feeding rent-paying boarders, or for exchange with neighbours in an underground system of local support. During ASP oral history interviews, participants frequently told of the fruit preserves and "hooch" (fruit wine) prepared by the Ellam sisters, residents of the western side of the southern cottage. Thus, pattern of informal domestic industry probably operated at the Hagg Cottages, knitting together domestic and work-related areas throughout the site.

Evidence from the Glass, Ceramic and Metal assemblages suggested a general interest in the "etiquette and equipage" (Paynter 2001: 138) of comfortable domestic life. From the late 18th century, site occupants acquired fashionable tablewares from the potteries of the English Midlands, discarding these off-white transfer-printed Cream and Pearlwares in favour of Whitewares as fashions changed over the 19th century. Display items were recovered in remarkably high concentration at the ASP site, with fragments of a Wedgwood Jasperware lidded bowl, highly decorative jugs, and a number of 19th century polychrome ceramic figurines recovered from Area A trenches (see Section F). While oral history linked these objects to the Victorian parlor of Mrs. Lena Perrin, resident of the northern side of the eastern 'Stanley' type cottage of Area A, decorative items were also recovered from Area B deposits. Within trench B/4, fragments of two royal commemorative ceramic vessels were recovered, suggesting an expression of monarchist sentiments by the 20th century residents of the southern

cottage. Glass assemblages from both Areas similarly contained decorative items, including a cut glass decanter, various pressed glass vessels, colourful vases, and fragments of a mirrored display case in the demolition deposits (context [1004]) of Area A. Bone-handled cutlery graced the tables of both households, and residents ornamented their personal appearance with decorative pocket-books, silver-handled umbrellas, and carved walking-sticks.

But were these items outward expressions of residents' aspirations towards 'gentility' or 'respectability?' A number of post-excavation specialists noted that excavated household items suggested that by the 20th century, residents primarily had access to commodities on the lower end of the economic spectrum. Area A in particular, representing Mrs. Perrin's household, contained a number of examples of decorative ceramics and glass that could be interpreted as the reflection of an unsophisticated aesthetic or taste. However, the presence of mid-19th century heirlooms (the cut-glass decanter and ceramic figurines) and holiday souvenirs (such as the Blackpool plate) would suggest an alternative, rather than aspirational, aesthetic for these working-class residents. Perhaps the household ornaments owned and displayed by Hagg Cottage residents conveyed ephemeral values of family history, nostalgia, memory and social 'belonging' within the local community. Interpreting their specialised artefacts as failed expressions of some universal and middle-class ideal form of 'gentility' would thus appear a simplistic, if not biased, conclusion.

02: To identify and locate intact subsurface archaeological features related to the Sandhills cottages.

Area A was the most archaeologically intact region of the site. Excavation revealed extensive preservation of the original structural layout, including interior and exterior walls, and flooring of various fabrics. The layout conformed with the regionally characteristic "Stanley type" cottage, a standard two-storey Georgian-style domestic structure erected by Lord Stanley, the paternalistic landlord, for his estate workers during the mid-18th century. This cottage corresponded with other common examples of rural housing during the 18th and 19th centuries (see Figure E.6). Standing examples of this structural layout were observed locally during the course of the 2003 field season. Original structural features also included a cellar, two kitchens, a mid-19th century lean-to extension to the south, and a fireplace in the southern interior front room. Additionally, interior decorative elements were recovered in all excavated rooms. Most significantly, Area A contained remnants of three possible different types of floorcoverings used to line the original 18th century sandstone flagged floors (see Section H). Consisting of linoleum, congoleum, and floorcloth, these artefacts represent an internationally unique collection of archaeologically preserved samples. With a date range spanning 1860 – 1935, these floorcoverings represent significant changes in both interior decorative technologies, and concepts of health, comfort and sanitation within British domestic settlements. The second type of decorative element recovered from Area A included coloured limewash paint on wall interiors, with dark blue, light blue, and green samples recovered and retained as part of the ASP Collection.

Trenches in Area B revealed a complex series of building and modification events over the lifecycle of the southern cottage. Structural remains consisted of the heavily recycled remains of the southern cottage, including the original 17th century front and rear external walls. The architectural layout of this structure conformed with

documented examples of the “baffle entrance” cottage, a dominant rural housing form dominant throughout England from the early 17th through mid-18th centuries (see Figure E.12). A rear brick structure was recovered and interpreted as a possible 17th century entrance porch, later recycled as an rear utility room. Foundations of the 19th century kitchen and boiler room extensions were recorded on the eastern side of the main structure. External structures primarily consisted of sandstone paving and earthen path features on the northern exterior, and outbuildings, work areas, and various brick and sandstone paving features to the southern rear of the structure. In addition to the privy feature located on Ordnance Survey maps and discussed in oral history, a second possible privy feature was identified to the immediate south-east of the main structure. During excavations, this potential feature was identified by the distinctly square pattern of brick in-fill inside the route of the pathway on the south-eastern exterior of the cottage. At first assessment, the brick patterning appeared to consist of the lining and capping of a privy structure. However, excavation of the structure unfortunately refuted this interpretation. While a visually distinct cut and fill sequence was obviously present, the remarkable absence of organic deposits and cultural materials within the fill suggested the feature was a component of larger landscape modifications, rather than a discrete privy or rubbish dump. Following post-excavation analysis, the pattern of brick in-fill paving that originally suggested the presence of the feature was reinterpreted as the arbitrary recycling of building materials during the laying of the southern exterior pathway.

Area C consisted of a one-metre test pit located to the north-west of the Hagg Cottages. No structural remains were recovered during excavation of this trench. The stratigraphic profile of this trench suggested a large-scale deposition of soils, possibly related to mining activity within the immediate area.

Located on National Trust property to the north of the Hagg Cottages, Area D consisted of a two metre square test pit. Excavation revealed a dump of artefactual materials located within in a shallow depression of less than 50cm. No distinct cut was visible within the stratigraphic profile, although the northern half of the trench experienced vandalism during the excavation season that partially obscured the trench wall within Units 1 and 2 (see Figure E.30).

03: To determine the nature and age of deposits recovered from the Area D test trench.

Large amounts of glass, ceramic and leather were recovered that chronologically related to the 1870-1945 phase of the site narrative. In particular, post-excavation analysis of the ceramic assemblage suggested a correlation between Area D and Area A. Similarly, post-excavation of the metal and glass assemblages indicated a similar late 19th to mid-20th century date range for the Area D deposits. Thus, analysis results on the Area D assemblages suggested deposition during the final period of site occupation, and a particularly strong association with deposits recovered from Area A.

04: To determine the nature and age of deposits recovered from the Area C test trench.

Results of stratigraphic and artefactual analysis suggest that the clay layers in this trench related to a combination of mining activity and general domestic use-related

debris. Date ranges provided by the ceramic analysis indicated that deposits most likely related to the 1828 – 1872 phase of site occupation. The large amount of silt deposited as topsoil over this excavation area was probably due to subsequent erosion down the natural slope of the research area.

05: To determine the nature of the large depositional feature to the southeast exterior of the Area B structure.

Archaeological and environmental evidence suggested that this feature consisted of a series of a cut and fill episodes related to the landscaping of this area. Ceramic and glass artefacts were recovered in too small a quantity to suggest that dumping activities had created this feature. Additionally, analysis of the environmental samples suggested the dominant presence of generic waste and disturbed-ground plant species, rather than the organic deposits that would be typically associated with a 19th century privy feature. The feature was therefore reinterpreted as related to erosion and landscaping activities. Thus, the square in-fill of brick represented an arbitrary placement of recycled building materials during construction of an exterior pathway, rather than the lining and capping of a privy feature. This pathway had been located atop a series of cut and fill contexts, created during original construction of the Area B cottage to help channel waste water down the natural topographic slope of the landscape.

06: To characterise the nature, distribution, deposition, and demolition of structures, artefacts and ecofacts from the Sandhills cottages.

Within Area A, excavation revealed a significant transition from local to national sources of building materials. While local building materials, primarily sandstone and handmade bricks, were exclusively used in the construction of the 18th century “Stanley” type cottage, the 19th century lean-to extension on the southern side of the cottage was floored in ceramic “quarry tiles.” Mass-produced from the mid-19th century in the English Midlands region, these architectural ceramics required rail transport for bulk distribution. The slate roof tiles associated with this structure were similarly of regional, rather than local manufacture, and also suggested the presence of rail transportation. As the village of Alderley Edge was established to service the rail link to central Manchester in the late 1840s, the southern lean-to extension in Area A appeared to be a 19th century addition to the original structure. Results from analysis of the metal, glass, coin, environmental and ceramic assemblages recovered from Area A suggested a primary deposition period spanning from the late-19th through mid-20th centuries. As this timeline corresponds with oral history accounts for the structures, results suggest that the artefactual assemblages could be related to the Barber and Perrin households.

Evidence from analysis of the ceramic and building materials assemblages concluded that construction and initial occupation of the Area B cottage could be dated to the late 18th century. However, the architectural layout of this structure corresponded with the “baffle entrance” design typical during the 17th century. Further, results from analysis of the clay pipe assemblage (see Section F) identified one clay pipe bowl from context [2024], a construction trench associated with the southern brick entrance porch extension, with an assigned date range of 1650 – 1670. Because of time constraints, the exteriors of the Area B cottage were not excavated down to sterile deposits. Thus,

the 17th century dates suggested by results of architectural and clay pipe analysis are likely to be further supported by future excavation of the exterior regions to the front and rear of the Area B cottage.

Archaeological results suggest a number of modifications of the structures over the course of their use-life. In Area B, the first major structural modification occurred during the 1747 – 1808 phase (see Section E), when the orientation of the cottage was reversed and the 17th century brick entrance structure was transformed into a rear utility lean-to structure. The reorientation of the Area B structure may have related to the construction of the Area A “Stanley cottage” in 1747, and consequent rerouting of Hagg Lane to provide a more direct access link between the two structures.

By 1808, archival evidence indicates that both cottages were subdivided to provide separate accommodation for a total of four households. Evidence of this modification event was recovered Area A, where the pattern of interior walls, access routes, and duplication of kitchens suggested a multiple-occupancy structure. The heavy recycling of building materials from Area B obscured interpretation of interior spaces within the southern cottage. However, external features – walls, paving, and outbuildings – suggested the use of immediate exterior workspaces by two separate households. For example, the extensive brick paving in Unit 3 of Area B appeared to demarcate an exterior space associated with the western household of the subdivided cottage, as the location of the brick utility lean-to (former entrance porch) blocked access from the paved exterior of Unit 3 to the paved paths of Unit 4.

Historical evidence has indicated that the front wall and roof of the Area B cottage was reconstructed in 1828. Structural evidence suggested that the Kitchen extension was added to the eastern wall after this date, as the second course of bricks added to this wall may have served to reinforce the new roof. As noted before, a lean-to extension was added to the south of the Area A “Stanley” cottage; the decorative quarry tile flooring of this feature suggested a similar mid-19th century period for this modification. Both cottage extensions were completed by 1872, as the Ordnance Survey map for Alderley Edge documented their presence at the site.

Excavations in Area B revealed the presence of an additional small room attached to the south of the Kitchen extension. As this extra extension did not appear on the 1872 Ordnance Survey map (see Figure E.2), it probably dated to the final occupation period of the site. When asked about the function of this room, former resident Mrs. Edna Younger remembered it as a “boiler room,” containing a large copper boiler that was used for cleaning, laundry and cooking activities.

Located at the base of Alderley Edge, the site experienced a number of local environmental problems related to erosion and groundwater. Further, according to maps provided by the Derbyshire Caving Club, at least one mine shaft ran directly under the Hagg cottages, and may have contributed to problems with destabilization and ground subsidence. Oral history collected from Mr. Roy Barber and Mrs. Molly Pitcher indicated a general problem with destabilization of the Area A cottage foundations. Both former occupants recalled their internal floors sloping noticeably to the south-east, towards the region where the subsurface mine shaft was at its shallowest depth. The superimposed layers of floorcoverings may have related to efforts to combat rising damp and accelerated wearing in addition to reflecting the rapid changes in domestic decorative fashions from the late Victorian Era through the end of World War II.

Both cottages demonstrated evidence of structural modifications undertaken to mitigate these environmental challenges. Family photographs belonging to Mrs. Pitcher demonstrated terracing to the rear of the Area A “Stanley” cottage, with a series of stone walls acting as revetments against slope erosion on the eastern rear of the structure. Due to time constraints, Units 2 and 4 of Area A which overlay the cottage rear were not fully excavated. Thus, archaeological evidence of this extensive exterior landscaping was not recovered. However, the accumulation of up to 35cm of topsoil (contexts [1001] and [1002]) over the final demolition layer (context [1004]) suggested that extensive land erosion was continuing to shape the local topography. Further, excavations in Unit 3 demonstrated structural subsidence had begun to destabilize the southern mid-19th century kitchen extension. The brick foundations had begun to bulge southwards in the direction of the subsurface mine shaft. Additionally, a portion of the mid-19th century quarry tiles had been removed from the flooring of this extension, and replaced by cement. This early 20th century modification represented an attempt to combat the continual problem of structural subsidence.

Excavations within Area B revealed that the area to the rear of the cottage had been subjected to a series of cut and fill episodes related to groundwater and erosion management. Topographic survey of the study area (see Figure D.2) demonstrated that a natural depression ran along the earthen field boundary to the south of the Area B cottage. As this depression ran downhill, it would have channelled groundwater from all higher areas to the east. Construction of a square brick entrance porch on the southern wall of the 17th century cottage appears to have been accompanied by an amount of terracing and fill activities, as recorded in Units 4 and 5 of Area B. These structural modifications would have helped mitigate against flooding of the porch addition. Reorientation of the Area B cottage after 1747 might have also been undertaken as an environmental modification, as the main entrance appeared to have been resituated to topographically higher ground on the northern side of the structure. Subsequent additions to the rear exterior region included superpositioned in-fill and paving events, possibly undertaken to raise the occupation level in relation to the brick extension – by then used as a utility room and coal store. Thus, structural modifications to the rear exterior of the Area B cottage suggested periodic attempts to combat the gradual and constant downhill erosion of soil from surrounding fields.

Archival and oral history sources indicated that the site was demolished during the 1950s. Post-excavation analysis of the recovered assemblages supported this demolition date. Results from the ceramic assemblage suggested two principal occupation periods: from the late 18th through early 19th century, and from the later 19th through the first half of the 20th century. The absence of ceramic materials dating to the mid-19th century was more likely to represent changes in the nature and location of depositional activities, rather than the absence of site occupation, as census and rental records demonstrate the Hagg Cottages were continuously occupied through the 19th century. Results from analysis of the metal assemblage dated the majority of structural materials to the mid 19th century, and the non-structural personal and household artefacts to the 20th century. The glass assemblage also predominantly contained vessels dated to the late 19th through 20th century. The convergence of these data sets would therefore suggest a concentration of occupation from approximately 1880 through 1940, with a general decrease in site use through the war years, and final abandonment by the 1950s.

Stratigraphic evidence indicated that different demolition strategies were undertaken on the two cottages. Following demolition, the Area B cottage been heavily recycled for building materials. Thus, structural remains within this trench were patchy, and typically represented the rejected debris abandoned after recycling activities.

In stark contrast, trench profiles in Area A, particularly those on the rear exterior of the structure in Unit 2, suggested that the eastern “Stanley” cottage had undergone two separate demolition events. While the lower layer of structural debris (contexts [1013] and [1036]) contained a higher concentration of slate and sandstone roofing tiles, the upper layer (context [1004]) primarily consisted of brick and sandstone rubble frequently interspersed with household related artefacts. This pattern suggested that the cottage roof had been removed in advance of the final demolition of the structural walls. The vast quantity of building materials present within the Area A trench indicated that the region had undergone less comprehensive recycling activities than in Area B.

07: To investigate the relationship between ethnographic and archaeological sources of evidence on the recent past.

A series of ethnographic recordings and oral history interviews were undertaken during the 2003 field season. On a particularistic level, the recorded memories helped identify how specific objects and features were once produced, distributed and consumed, and discarded within the recent past of the Hagg Cottages. The tremendous value of such a “living” record of an archaeological site should obviously not be underestimated. During the 2003 field season, oral history collected from previous residents helped determine the location of excavation trenches, establish working interpretations of site stratigraphy and architectural features, and identify likely date ranges for recovered artefacts.

However, as demonstrated in Section H of this report, the collected oral histories provided an even more profound form of knowledge about the study site. Memories of the former occupants helped explain relationships between the recovered artefacts and their broader social, economic and political contexts, thereby moving the study from descriptive into more analytic and interpretive realms. Post-excavation consideration of these video and audio recordings indicated patterns of correlation and divergence between the ethnographic and archaeological sources of data. By encouraging former residents to tell their stories, this project collected a wide range of alternative (and sometimes conflicting) recollections on past objects, spaces and technologies, and interpretations of their current socio-political relevance. As scholars have noted, oral history is not “the past,” but rather what the present remembers about the past (Grele 1985; Purser 1992). Because many different histories were recorded, this project embraced the inevitable disagreements, ambiguities, and discontinuities as much as the conformities and data validations that emerged over the course of fieldwork.

Dissonance sometimes resulted from the shifting nature of memory itself. During her numerous site visits, Mrs. Edna Younger would interpret the visible architectural remains of her childhood home as it slowly emerged within Area B trenches. Her explanations of the specific site features often changed between visits, particularly as features pre-dating her occupation became revealed in lower layers. Certain features provided anchor points for her recollections, helping her drape or “overlay” memories of her home over the brick and sandstone foundations revealed within the trenches. The relatively poor preservation of architectural features from Area B led to ambiguous

interpretations, and changes in her memories of both the scale and layout of the cottage, and function of specific activity areas. Unsurprisingly, details of material fabric or spatial location tended to be remembered with greater certainty if related to a childhood experience – such as watching her mother use the laundry mangle on the sandstone flagged yard adjacent to the kitchen door. Conversely, such details underwent greater disagreement when the architectural feature did not serve to anchor her memory of place. For example, Mrs. Younger sited the front door of the cottage in various locations along the northern wall foundation. Further into interviews, she mentioned that as a child she had only ever used the kitchen entrance to the house; her interpretation of its location varied little between site visits.

In contrast, Area A had experienced greater archaeological preservation, and excavations revealed more fully intact architectural features. Oral Histories provided by the two former residents, Mr. Roy Barber and Mrs. Molly Pitcher, tended to conform between their site visits, perhaps reflected the greater range of anchor points for draping their memories of place. What dissonance existed tended to reflect differences in social identity between the two participants. For example, during early stages of the project, both were asked about the existence of a basement or cellar feature. While Mrs. Pitcher did not believe the house contained such a feature, Mr. Barber was certain of its existence. Excavations subsequently revealed a cellar (see Figure E.5). During their collective interview and site tour of 10 September 2004, the siblings teased each other about these discrepant memories. They decided that differences in age and gender had led to their alternative histories – while Mr. Barber as young boy had been warned away from the cellar with tales of rats, his younger sister had never been told of its existence. Material culture provided a third alternative perspective on the same structural feature. Although both oral histories suggested the cellar was not in active use during their inter-war occupation period, glass artefacts (including a beer bottle) recovered from context [1013], a damp soil that filled the lower levels of the feature, were dated to a similar 20th century period.

The types of stories collected as oral history also differed. While some participants told 'set-piece' stories that could be repeated with few variations for interviewers, journalists and audiences, others approached the interviews as more of an extemporaneous "chat," and offered more conversational types of oral history. In certain cases, such a conversational approach generated stories that participants subsequently requested be removed from the public record. By undertaking interviews in the form of a structured "chat," the oral history interviews may have sometimes blurred the delicate boundary between "private" stories told in that specific context, and "public" stories intended for the public research record. While the privacy requests of oral history participants were always respected, such re-introduced "silences" in some cases created an artificial dissonance between the oral history and material evidence -- particularly when the censored story had originally validated or explained archaeological patterns in the use and discard of recovered artefacts.

Ultimately, ethnographic, oral history, and archaeological sources of data must be approached as different sources of data. Points of harmony and dissonance among these data sets are both worthy of further interrogation, as the (non)correlation of these sources can reveal new – and sometimes hidden – aspects of daily life within the Hagg Cottages.

08: To examine the relationship between field recovery rates and the coarse-sieving of 100% of stratified soil contexts.

During the course of the 2003 field season, 100% of stratified deposits were subjected to coarse-sieving. As discussed in Section E of this report, both 4mm and 2mm mesh sieves were utilized to undertake a combination of wet and dry sieving of the removed soil matrix. By using such a fine-scaled and systematic recovery method, this project helped reduce instances of recovery bias which inevitably result from weather conditions and inexperienced field participants. As a result, the project experienced a dramatically high rate of recovery for small finds. The bulk of cultural material recovered from the sieves was non-diagnostic and highly fragmentary, and only subjected to preliminary stages of post-excavation analysis before discard. Nonetheless, the recovery and basic analysis of these “lot finds” helped ensure a systematic calculation of weights and relative concentrations for artefact classes (such as ceramic, glass, and metal types) within the ASP Collection, and ultimately helped characterize the various periods of occupation, demolition, and abandonment of the Hagg Cottages. By sieving all stratified contexts, the relative weights of these artefact types could be determined with a higher degree of certainty. Subtle patterns in the relative concentration of building materials or household related objects helped support the final construction of the site narrative during post-excavation stages of the project.

In addition, some of the small finds recovered through coarse-sieving included artefacts that held interpretive and/or scientific value in themselves. As a number of the original research objectives related to changes in class identity and everyday lifeways over the Industrial Period, the recovery of small finds related to domestic activities was essential to the project. Artefacts recovered in high concentration within the sieves included objects related to child-rearing (ceramic, glass and plastic toys, slate pencils); home industry (nails, copper-alloy thimbles, copper-alloy pins, plastic, bone and glass buttons, fruit seeds); health and hygiene (bone and plastic comb tines, plastic toothbrush bristles, metal razor fragments, ceramic toothpaste jar fragments, glass medicine bottle fragments, etc.); and personal appearance (decorative glass beads, costume jewellery, plastic collar inserts, plastic cuff-links, plastic, bone and glass buttons, etc.). In addition, systematic and comprehensive coarse-sieving increased recovery rates for ecofacts that helped support post-excavation analysis of environmental change within this industrial landscape, such as small animal bones, shells, and plant seeds.

09: To characterize the local nature of domestic life and consumer behaviours over the Industrial Era.

Post-excavation analysis of the Bone and Environmental assemblages did not reveal conclusive evidence on transformations of foodways over the Industrial Era. This outcome may have been due to a combination of rubbish dispersal activities – with undiscovered trash pits or garden compost used to dispose of food waste away from the cottages themselves -- and poor preservation of bone ecofacts within the study area, as seasonal rain patterns and frequent animal disturbances impacted organic deposits. Located within a rural setting and adjacent to a forested National Trust preserve, the site also experienced rapid and comprehensive colonisation by wild species, which appeared to have obscured evidence of pre-abandonment period plant species.

Nonetheless, some interpretations could be suggested from results of specialist analysis. Of the 241 bone ecofacts recovered from the study area, approximately 62% was recovered from within Area A, the vast majority of which (95 specimen) represented intrusive rabbits. The remaining Bone assemblage, primarily collected from Areas A and B, was dominated by cow and sheep, with no identifiable fragments of pig. These bone ecofacts suggested that joints of meat were commonly consumed, particularly within Area A. Some evidence existed for a change in butchering practices over time, with earlier deposits in Area B containing fragments of bone with chopping marks, possibly related to the 17th century occupation period, in contrast with the late 19th through mid-20th century deposits of Area A which contained a greater number of examples of sawn bone.

The vast majority of plant species represented at the Hagg Cottages consisted of wild seed flora. Post-excavation analysis indicated that few potential food species had been recovered through Environmental Sampling. Species most frequently present included *Sambucus nigra* (elder) *Rubus idaeus* (raspberry), and *Rubus caesius* (dewberry). A high presence of *Urtica* genus was also indicated, representing the stinging nettles that provided an unpleasant ground cover during excavations. As competitive species, these dominant plants were interpreted as an encroachment of wild vegetation following abandonment of the Hagg Cottages site. No evidence of cultivated fruits and vegetables was recovered, nor were ornamental plants suggested by results of environmental analysis. This lack of correlation between archaeobotanical results and existing oral history and photographic accounts of household gardens, decorative flower beds, and kitchen industries would suggest that the previous domesticated species were outcompeted by encroaching wild species following abandonment of the site during the 1950s.

Non-organic assemblages within the ASP Collection demonstrate a general participation in wider consumer society. Ceramics appear as the first mass-produced commodities, with examples of late 18th century vessels recovered from early levels of the Area B structure. Thus, from the early years of the Industrial Era, residents of the Hagg Cottages maintained access to the factory-produced ceramics of the English Midlands. Changes in the nature and frequency of such commercial market access are difficult to determine because of the relative lack of mid-19th century deposits in excavated areas. However, evidence from the demolition layers of the 'Stanley Cottage' of Area A demonstrates a continued pattern of national market access, with inhabitants collecting, discarding, and inheriting factory-produced ceramics through the immediate post-war years. Pre-prepared foods and luxury items, in contrast, continued to be distributed regionally, with Manchester (Boddington's) and Stockport (Groves & Whitnall's) particularly heavily represented in the embossed internal screw plastic closures.

Intra-site comparative analysis might suggest a difference in access to commodified goods between the two excavated households. Post-excavation analysis of the Glass and Ceramic assemblages demonstrated a more frequent purchase of cosmetics and pre-prepared foodstuffs within the eastern 'Stanley' Cottage, as far more sauce bottles, beer bottles, marmalades, preserved fish and meats (such as Shippam's), and cooking extracts (including Yeast-Mite, Horlick's and Bovril) were recovered from the Area A trenches (see Figure F.87). In other words, these results could be interpreted as demonstrating a lower frequency of mass-produced household commodities in the 20th century Barrow household of the Area B than in the Perrin/Barber household of Area A. The Barber household in particular were big

table sauce consumers, with a number of local and regional brands represented within the Glass assemblage from the Area A cottage.

However, perhaps these archaeological results might suggest a different type of social link to the local consumer economy. Oral history provided by former residents indicated significant differences in the household economies during the inter-war period. According to oral history accounts given by Mr. Roy Barber and Mrs. Molly Pitcher, their father, Mr. George Barber, head of household for the Area A 'Stanley' type cottage during the 1920s and 30s, worked as a chemist shop assistant in the village of Alderley Edge. Within the contemporary Barrow household of the Area B cottage, Mrs. Edna Younger recalled her father, Mr. Frederick Barrow, primarily employed as a local carpenter, and her mother, Mrs. Delphine Barrow (a member of the local Massey family clan), taking in laundry from local elite households to supplement their family income. Perhaps the different archaeological results could be related to type of access to the pre-War market economy of Alderley Edge? In other words, perhaps the relative presence of commodified goods within the Barber household was a result of Mr. George Barber's High Street employment in Alderley Edge. And perhaps the decreased presence of consumer goods within the Barrow household of Area B reflected a greater reliance on non-market forms of local exchange, as residents drew upon barter networks for home-prepared foods and fresh produce – neither of which would produce as blatant an archaeological signature as the embossed glasswares and ceramics recovered from Area A.

These differences might also be represented in recreational activities undertaken by members of the two households. While the Glass assemblage of Area A contained a significant quantity of beer bottles, dark-green olive glass wine bottles appeared in greater concentration within the Area B trenches. These results might suggest a difference in consumption of alcoholic beverages. However, given that wine was an exotic and relatively expensive luxury item in Britain before the 1970s, the high frequency of wine bottles within the Area B cottages may suggest that the Barrow household enjoyed a local exchange system with their neighbours. Oral history interviews described the "Miss Ellams" as a pair of unmarried sisters who occupied the western half of the Area B cottage. According to these former residents' memories, the "Miss Ellams" were known for their fruit preserves, and "hooch" (fruit wine), brewed in their kitchen lean-to "for medicinal purposes, of course." Since wine bottles, with their removable cork closures, may have been differentially used for distributing these home-made products, the higher concentration of wine bottles recovered from the Area B trenches might demonstrate a greater appreciation of the Ellams' home brews, or (more significantly) a greater degree of integration with the local neighbourly exchange network, than was experienced at the Perrin/Barber household in Area A. Ultimately, the differential presence of commodified Glass and Ceramic goods between the Area A & B households, while possibly related to post-depositional removal and recycling activities, might also represent different adaptations to the burgeoning market economy of late Industrial Era Britain.

Sensitive issues of health, hygiene and sanitation were interpreted from the recovered ASP assemblages. Area A revealed a particularly high count and frequency of medicinal containers, particularly stomach remedies. These artefacts were possibly related to Mr. Barber's employment as Chemists' assistant, although they would also suggest a chronic digestive ailment was suffered by some inhabitant of the Barber/Perrin households of Area A. Another special find from Area A that might have related to Mr. Barber's employment was a crucible-shaped vessel

recovered from context [1023] (see Figure F.49). Possibly used for the preparation of chemicals or medicines, it may have indicated the fluid boundary between Mr. Barber's work and domestic life during the Inter-War years.

Another remarkable example of the increasingly specialist attention to health and hygiene issues over the early 20th century included the recovery of a glass baby feeder bottle from the Area D trash dump. A clear double-ended, banana-shaped baby feeding bottle (Figure F.89), embossed "The Hygienic Feeder," this artefact suggested a growing material specialisation in domestic sciences over the early 20th century. Evidence of increased attention to personal hygiene was also apparent in the number of artefacts related to bodily cleansing practices – particularly the plastic and bone toothbrushes discovered in both excavation areas, and the two metal safety razors recovered from Area A. Issues of personal adornment and hygiene intersected in the cosmetic containers recovered in relative concentration from the Area A cottage. These include ribbed perfume bottles, white cream jars, and two facet-cut stopper tops from slightly more expensive scent bottles. The date of these, as well as their distribution, would suggest that they belonged to Mrs Perrin, resident of the 'Stanley' cottage – as suggested during interviews by all Oral History participants. Finally, concepts of household sanitation were probably represented by the ferrous rat trap recovered from interior demolition deposits of Area A (see Appendix F.4). A purchased (versus hand-made) trap dated to circa 1900, this artefact demonstrated increasing commercial attention such everyday practices as vermin control.

In summary, the significant story of the Hagg Cottages is one of transformation in economic status over the course of the Industrial Era. The brick entrance structure added to the south side of the earlier Hagg Cottage (Area B) suggests some degree of affluence was enjoyed by the original late 17th century rural tenants. Ceramic evidence demonstrates a continuity of this socio-economic status through the early 19th century, with fashionable tablewares and decorative items purchased from the nearby potteries of Staffordshire. With the mid-19th century expansion of rail networks and industrial mining at Alderley Edge, the cottages become sub-divided and rented to a succession of working tenants. By the late 19th through mid-20th century, as we enter the oral history period of the Hagg Cottages, the impression gathered from the bulk of excavated assemblages is one of decreased material prosperity. This important transformation of socio-economic status may be linked to wider dynamics of de-industrialisation. With the closure of the lead and copper mines at Alderley Edge in 1881, tenants of the Hagg Cottages change from specialised non-local industrial workers (carpenters, stonemasons, miners) to members of local family clans (such as The Barbers and The Masseys) who join the service economy to sustain their residency in the post-industrial landscape. By the early decades of the 20th century, the rural working-class inhabitants of the Hagg Cottages earn their livelihoods through shop work, domestic service, and local barter. While ensuring the health and happiness of their families, these occupants maintain and furnish their households with materials from the lower end of the international market.