

**Phase I and II Archaeological Testing at the Talbot County Women's Club  
18 Talbot Lane, Easton, Maryland  
18TA439  
2013**

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The University of Maryland at College Park

## **Abstract**

The University of Maryland, College Park, Archaeology in Annapolis Project, conducted Phase I and II archaeological excavations of the Talbot County Women's Club (TCWC) in Easton, Maryland, from July 8<sup>th</sup> through July 26<sup>th</sup>, 2013. This site is located at 18 Talbot Lane. The Women's Club granted permission for this excavation as a part of The Hill Community Project to document and publicize the history of the Easton neighborhood known as The Hill and of the community of free African Americans that coalesced around this neighborhood in the nineteenth century. Following on the heels of the 2012 successful public excavation of the Home of the Family of the Buffalo Soldier (HFBS), this second public excavation within The Hill Community Project sought more information on early members of the free black community and on the material conditions of tenants living on The Hill in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries. It also continued archaeologists' efforts at the HFBS to test the capability of archaeological sites of bringing together people of different backgrounds to forge a more open, civil discourse about the past. To these ends, archaeologists conducted a shovel test pit (STP) survey of yard spaces at the Women's Club and opened seven test units to further investigate activity areas and construction phases, while maintaining a public dig site.

While the HFBS excavation focused on African-American landowners from 1879 to 2002, the Women's Club excavation focuses on the non-landowners who lived here from the late eighteenth to early twentieth centuries in order to highlight the diversity of experiences among neighborhood residents through the years. These residents included enslaved and free African Americans in the nineteenth century and tenants of unknown ethnic background in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Today, upwards of two thirds of the residents of The Hill rent their homes. The high rate of tenancy has been identified as a major contributor toward the gentrification processes that currently threaten the integrity of the African American community by pushing black families from dilapidating homes and demolishing historic community and racial landmarks in attempts to remove blight from the neighborhood. Excavations at the Women's Club therefore sought more information on the material conditions of tenancy and the ways in which community can exist even without home-ownership. The most promising archaeological materials for addressing these questions at the Women's Club are a nineteenth-century kitchen used by both enslaved and free cooks and a sheet midden created by the several families renting the property from 1891-1946.



## Acknowledgements

This excavation is an outgrowth of community efforts to highlight and preserve their history and historic places and it is Archaeology in Annapolis' privilege to be able to do research on The Hill in aid of these efforts. It is unusual in archaeology that a local community initiates a research project and sets the direction of inquiry but it is something that we hope happens more often and our first responsibility in excavating on The Hill is to the residents and community members who live, work, and worship here, and to whom the history we write about really belongs. We continue to work on The Hill at the invitation and at the pleasure of the residents and the African-American community in particular and we hope that the contents of this research report respect the trust that the community has put in us to help illuminate their rich heritage.

For the excavation described in this report, special thanks must go to the Talbot County Women's Club, which graciously hosted our excavation in the summer of 2013. The Women's Club members have been active stewards of the history of their property for many decades and their actions have preserved much of the archaeological integrity of the site that made it possible to analyze the material remains in detail. They also preserve and keep up the main house, the earliest part of which dates to the eighteenth century. It was in large part the age and intactness of the site that attracted us to it as a place to do research on African Americans and tenants. In 1998, Club member Arianna Porter-King researched at length and wrote a pamphlet on the property history that has been instrumental to us in interpreting archaeological finds within a historical context. Porter-King's pamphlet provides the basis for much of the property history in chapter 3 of this report. Current members of the Women's Club also showed us images from a local newspaper that helped us to learn more about the changes to the site in the twentieth century. This *Star Democrat* article illustrated the extensive efforts to which the Club went to restore and renovate the main house and enabled us to date the large feature in Unit 5. Most of all, the Women's Club has been patient with us as we worked to put their yard back in order after our excavations and as this report took far longer to write than we had anticipated. I hope it is worth the wait.

Our first invitation to work on The Hill came from Historic Easton, Inc., which initiated, and remains one of several partners in, The Hill community Project. Conversations with then-President Carlene Phoenix and Treasurer Priscilla Morris helped to select the Women's Club as the second site for archaeological excavation in the neighborhood. Historic Easton provided major funding for this excavation from donor support and we have worked jointly to secure grants to support ongoing efforts to share the findings of this research with the public. Our other partners on this project have been equally supportive of our work at the Women's Club and across The Hill, just as we hope our work has been supportive of theirs. Professor Dale Green of Morgan State University has led regular tours of the neighborhood's historic sites for the past few years and during the excavation at the Women's Club, his tours brought a large number of visitors to the site to enhance the public component of our research and education efforts. Although most of the property history was drawn from Arianna Porter-King's work, land records researcher Cynthia Schmidt provided clarification and new information on the James Price household. Nancy Robbins provided housing to co-site director Tracy Jenkins. The Talbot County Office of Tourism gave us access to bathrooms and directed visitors to the site. Many thanks to Tim Poly for use of his photographs. So many people are involved in researching and preserving the cultural heritage of The Hill that it is impossible to thank them all. The excavation at the Women's Club was part of a much larger project and this report aims to move

research forward as well as making the finding so far available to all the scholars and community members who are interested in learning more about the neighborhood's history.

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## **Organization of This Report**

This report contains the results of the Phase I and II Archaeological Investigation of the Talbot County Women's Club. It is divided into the following sections:

Chapter 1 of this report is an introduction to the archaeology conducted at the Women's Club. Included within this chapter is a brief contextualization of the project, including dates of fieldwork, laboratory processing and analyses, as well as the identification of key project staff. Also included within this chapter is a detail of the project's location and physiological description; as well as the organizational layout of this report.

Chapter 2 of this report details the project's research design and methods. Included within this chapter are key research questions that guided fieldwork and laboratory analysis. In addition this chapter details methods employed during fieldwork, laboratory processing, and artifact analyses.

Chapter 3 of this report details the cultural significance and connections of the Women's Club and the property history, with a focus on contextualizing the site within the history of the neighborhood now known as The Hill and the African-American community centered on and around this neighborhood. This chapter treats the significance of the site, and of the excavations there.

Chapter 4 of this report details previous research conducted at the Women's Club and its surrounding environs. These include two previous excavations near the Women's Club. This chapter also describes the significant architectural resources at the site.

Chapter 5 of this report details the archaeology conducted at the HFBS and the interpretations of these results. This chapter is organized into two sections. The first of these describes the units excavated, the data recovered, and the extent of archaeological resources at this site. This section includes statistical summaries of artifacts found at different locations on-site. The second section uses the chronology of site strata to tell the archaeological story of the Women's Club property as it is currently understood.

Chapter 6 of this report details management recommendations concerning the future of the site and the future of archaeology on The Hill.

### **Appendixes:**

- A Shovel Test Pit and Unit Summaries
- B Sample shovel test pit, level, and feature forms used during field and laboratory analysis.
- C Complete artifact Catalogue for the Talbot County Women's Club.
- D Qualifications of the investigators involved in this excavation and analysis.
- E The text of four interpretive signs hung at the site.
- F A representative sample of press reports on this excavation.

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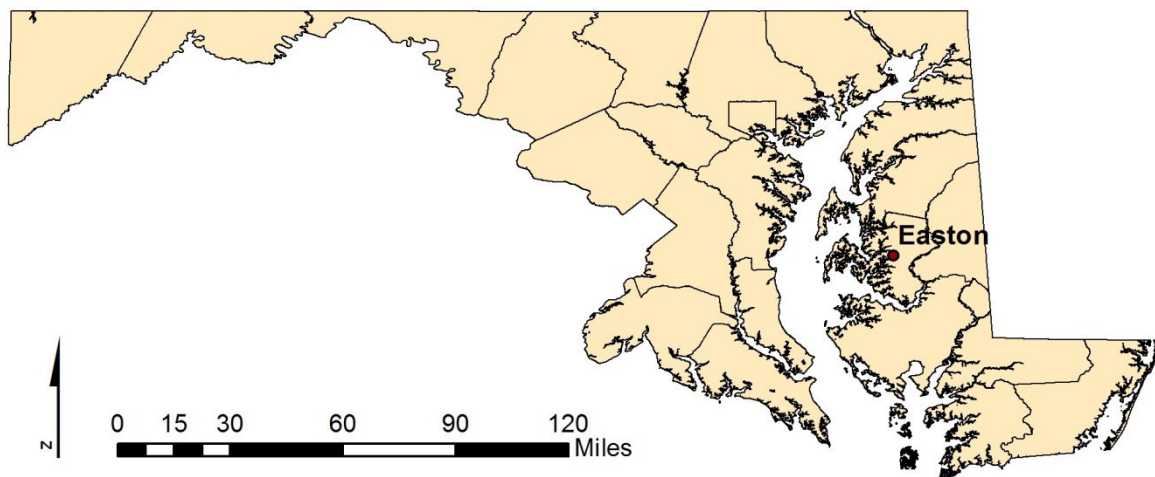
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## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Staff of Archaeology in Annapolis conducted Phase I and II archaeological investigations of the Talbot County Women's Club in order to get a broader look at life in an Easton, Maryland, neighborhood known as The Hill. The Hill has been the geographic focus of a large African American community since the late eighteenth century and the investigations at the HFBS are part of a larger project to document and publicize this community's heritage. The first excavations on The Hill, at the Home of the Family of the Buffalo Soldier in 2012, indicated remarkable preservation of archaeological materials in the area and gave some insight into the lives of African-American landowners from the 1880s onward. However, documentary records indicated a complex co-habitation of the neighborhood by both African and European Americans from at least the turn of the nineteenth century. The excavations at the Women's Club, located at 18 Talbot Lane, grant a wider view of both black and white, tenant, slave, employee, and landowner. The built environment, including a Federal period double house, also promised a material record stretching back beyond that of the HFBS to include the early growth of both the town of Easton and the African-American community centered around The Hill. Archaeological assemblages at the site delivered on this promise.

Archaeological excavations took place between July 8, 2013 and July 26, 2013. This report contains the results of the fieldwork that was completed during these dates, and the laboratory work that continued through January 2015.

Field and laboratory work was carried out by staff from the Department of Anthropology, University of Maryland, College Park, Archaeology in Annapolis Project. Dr. Mark P. Leone is the Director and the Principal Investigator of this project. Stefan Woehlke and Tracy Jenkins directed field excavation and Kate Deeley directed laboratory investigation both in the field and in the laboratory at College Park.

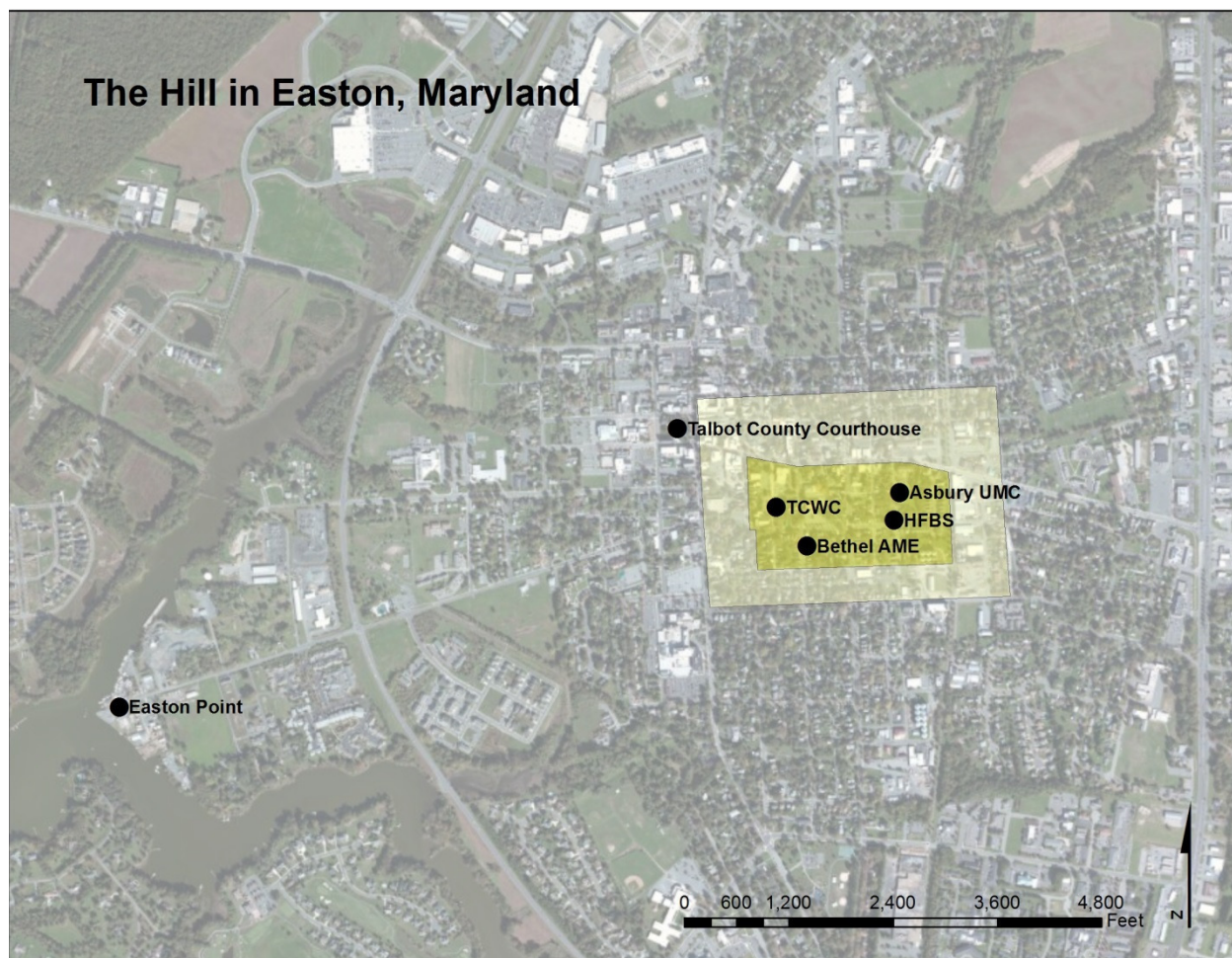


Location of site within Maryland

Archaeological laboratory processing of the materials from the Women's Club was conducted at the Archaeology in Annapolis laboratory at the University of Maryland, College

Park, and overseen by Kate Deeley. During the fall 2013 and spring 2014 semesters, volunteer students aided in laboratory work supervised by Archaeology in Annapolis staff.

This investigation forms part of a larger project researching and documenting the historical heritage of the neighborhood in Easton, Maryland, known as The Hill. Ongoing since 2009, The Hill Community Project is a collaboration between Historic Easton, Inc., Morgan State University, the University of Maryland, and other local individuals and institutions. It combines historic preservation, documentary and architectural history, historical archaeology, oral history, genealogy, and other avenues of inquiry to increase and promote knowledge of The Hill's historic heritage, with a focus on the community of free African Americans who have lived in Talbot County, centered around The Hill, since the late eighteenth century. The project orients research to serve the interests of community revitalization in ways that support the integrity of the social, cultural, architectural, and archaeological fabric of this community. Much of this work involves a combination of research and public engagement to enlarge the content, voice, and audience of historic memory, working toward fuller and more inclusive narratives of local history on The Hill and in Easton. Much has been written on the lives of Frederick Douglass and Harriet Tubman, who both lived and worked nearby in Talbot and Dorchester

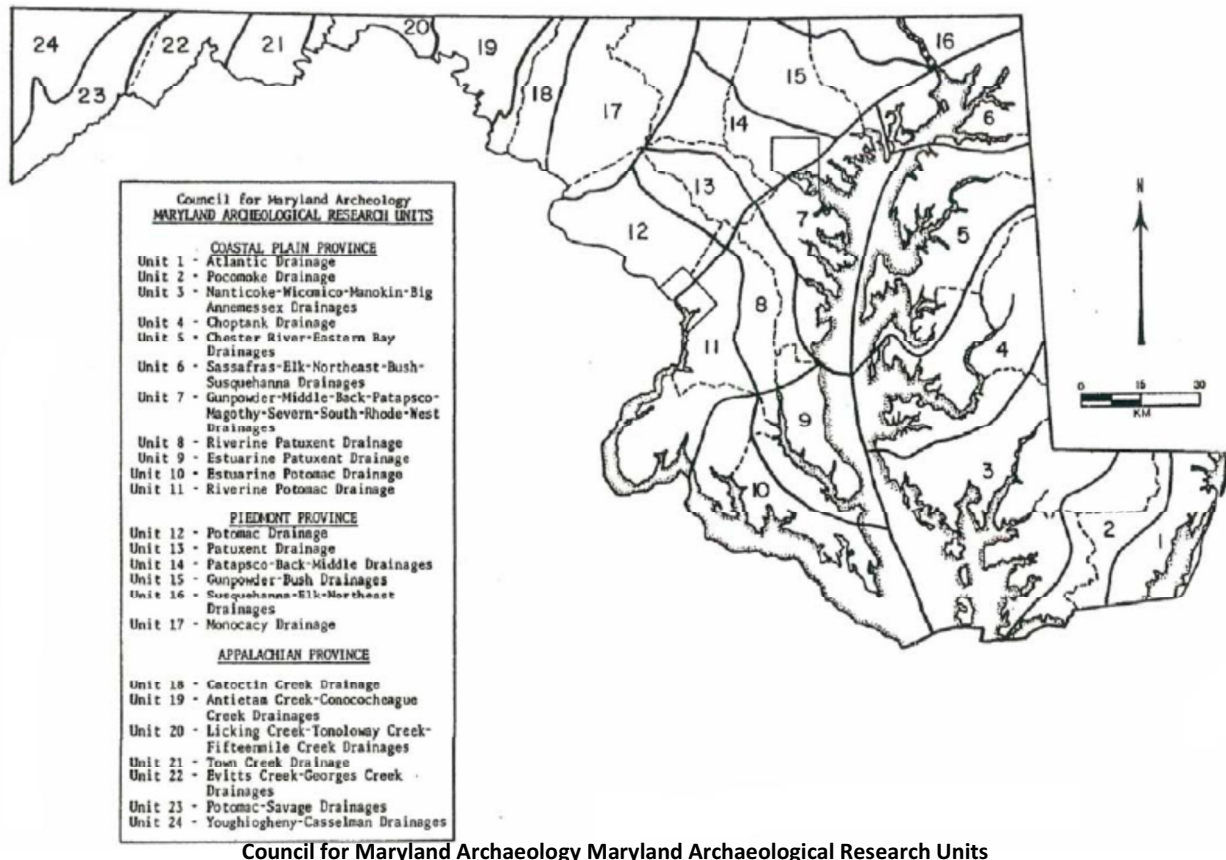


The Easton neighborhood known as The Hill, showing the location of the TCWC and other sites mentioned in this report. The darker polygon represents the core of The Hill, though the boundaries have remained somewhat fluid through time and social circumstances.

Counties. However, both scholars and members of the general public know considerably less about the lives of other free African Americans during the time of slavery whose community, centered on The Hill, contributed to the character of social and cultural life in Easton and in Talbot County and very likely influenced the life experiences and development of the better-known Douglass and Tubman. The black community on The Hill is representative of the many throughout Maryland and the United States before Emancipation but The Hill is one of the few that survives into the present, with more disappearing as the years wind on. Exploring the history of this free African-American community and the neighborhood that became its geographic anchor offer important opportunities to better understand what makes and maintains a community so that The Hill and other communities like it can be revitalized in the twenty-first century.

While other avenues of inquiry can identify persons, institutions, and events in the history of The Hill, archaeological research further characterizes the lives of individuals and families that appear in documentary and oral record. Especially where documentary evidence is concerned, information on African Americans and tenants, and their lives, can prove elusive. At the Women's Club, archaeology offers insights into the daily lives of residents from the late eighteenth century into the twenty-first. It is in the more mundane everyday practices that community is created between people and the material record of these everyday practices provides data not present in historical records. The interpretation of a sampling of archaeological remains at this site thus forms a piece of the larger story of the growth and development of The Hill for over two hundred years.

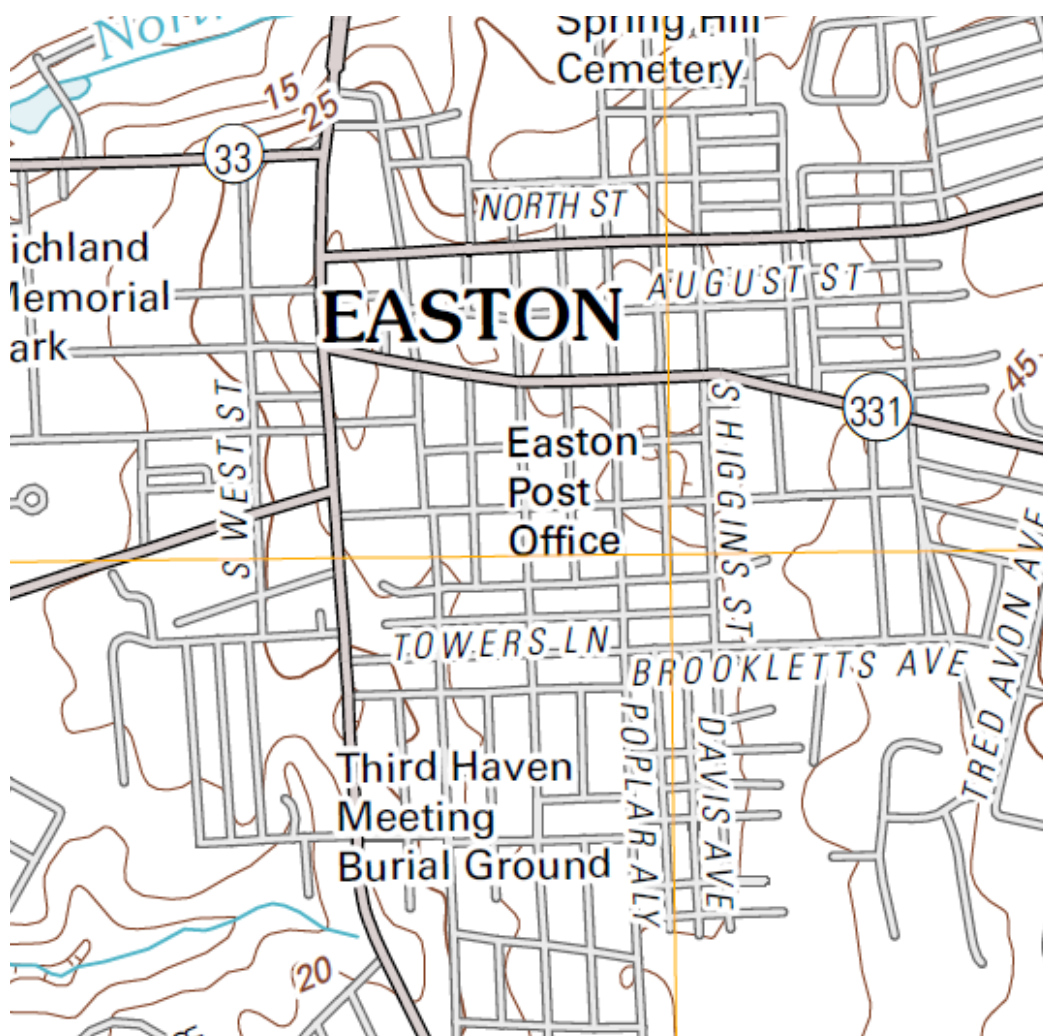
### *Physiography and Topography*





The Chesapeake Bay watershed is the largest estuary system in the United States (Maryland Department of Natural Resources 2007). The Bay lies on the coastal plains of the Atlantic Ocean and was formed by the ancestral Susquehanna River, which was drowned by sea level rises over several millennia. Fifty major tributaries contribute to the Bay. Ninety percent of the freshwater in the system comes from tributaries to the north and west of the Bay. The other 10 percent of the fresh water comes from tributaries on the Eastern Shore like the Tred Avon River. Nearly an equal part of saltwater enters the Bay from the Atlantic Ocean, therefore all the waterways of the Chesapeake Bay are comprised of a combination of fresh, salt, and brackish water (Chesapeake Bay Foundation 2007).

The town of Easton, Maryland lies in the Atlantic Coastal Plain Province within the Tred Avon River watershed. The Council for Maryland Archaeology refers to this area as Maryland Archaeological Research Unit 4—Choptank Drainage (Figure 1). The Choptank River drainage system lies to the east of the Chesapeake Bay, on the northwestern part of the Delmarva Peninsula, known as Maryland's Eastern Shore (Netstate.com 2001). The peninsula is 115 miles in length, north to south, encompassing the whole state of Delaware and portions of Virginia and Maryland. Its maximum width in Virginia is only about 14.5 miles, while in the Maryland-Delaware portion it is, at maximum, 45 miles wide (Rountree and Davidson 1997:3).



Detail of USGS Easton 7.5' Quadrangle

Easton, Maryland (38°46'18"N, 76°4'14"W) (Figure 2) is centrally located in Talbot County, Maryland, and serves as the county seat. The courthouse and the area to the immediate east of it, which has served as the center of town since the eighteenth century, stands near the corner of Washington and Dover Streets. The Hill, though more fluidly defined by social than by cartographic boundaries, lies roughly between Goldsborough St., Brookletts Ave., Washington St., and Kemp Ln., with a core in the area between Dover St., Brookletts Ave., Harrison St., and the former Maryland and Delaware railroad line. The neighborhood's name derives from its slight elevation above the lands to the east, south, and west, but particularly from the west, where Port St. comes up from Easton Port through an area known as The Bottom. At 30-35 feet above sea level, The Hill stands slightly above surrounding areas. The neighborhood slopes up toward the north and toward Aurora St., but the rise is barely noticeable within The Hill.

The Talbot County Women's Club, at 18 Talbot Lane, sits at the western edge of The Hill, closer to the center of town and to early development in the Federal period. It is four blocks from the courthouse and fronts on Talbot Lane, facing west toward the center of town. The house on the lot is oriented with the town grid close to true north. The lot was originally much larger and stretched up to South Lane and back to Hanson Street, from the intersection of which one can see both Asbury United Methodist Church and Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church, institutions that have anchored the African American community in The Hill since at least the 1810s.

### *Soils*

The substrata soils in the Chesapeake region are formed from unconsolidated sedimentary deposits of sand, silt, clay, and gravels, which overlie crystalline bedrock. Although the topographic relief in the area is not diverse, the sediment deposits vary greatly in depth, texture and degree of permeability (Brush 1986: 7). Much of the soil on the Eastern Shore is not naturally fertile; however, the loamy soils that are available in some places are the best soil in Maryland for cultivation and farming (Rountree and Davidson 1997:8-9). The majority of soils in Easton are silty, with higher, yellowish, clay content below approximately one-and-a-half feet in undisturbed soils.

### *Vegetation and Fauna*

Between 25,000 BC and 15,000 BC the forests of the Chesapeake region included spruce, pine, varieties of fir, and birch trees. By 10,000 BC the forests became a mixture of hardwood and pinewood, having become dominated by oak and hickory, representing a more varied and exploitable environment for human groups (Haynes 2002:43). Deer, rabbit, fox, wild turkey, and other animal species were likely once common, as they still are elsewhere in the Chesapeake region (Shelford 1963), but became less so as Easton developed from the late eighteenth century.

Current vegetation and fauna within the project area are indicative of modern urban settings, and typical throughout the town of Easton. Between paved streets and sidewalks are small plots of mostly grass and some shade trees. Fauna include varieties of domesticated cats and dogs, mice, rats, and the Eastern grey squirrel, as well as varieties of songbirds and waterfowl. Aquatic species found in the Tred Avon River and the Chesapeake Bay near the study area include soft shell clams and oysters, blue crabs, white and yellow perch, striped bass

(also known as 'rockfish'), herring, shad, alewife, American and hickory shad, and short nose and Atlantic sturgeon. During the warmer months, numerous marine species, including bluefish, weakfish, croaker, menhaden, flounder, and spot also live in waters near Easton. Many of these species are fished.

### *Climate*

Talbot County presently has a temperate mid-continental climate. This type of climate is marked by well-defined seasons. The average temperature range in July is between 66.3 and 87.5 degrees Fahrenheit. The average temperature range in January is between 26.9 and 44.0 degrees Fahrenheit. These averages are slightly higher than the statewide average temperature: Easton's July average is 76.9 degrees Fahrenheit as compared to a statewide average of 75.02 degrees, and the January average in Easton is 35.45 degrees Fahrenheit, compared to a statewide average of 32.55 degrees (National Climatic Data Center 2007). There is an average of 190 frost-free days a year (Rountree and Davidson 1997:3) Rainfall, as recorded in Easton, MD, is moderate; an average of 44 inches per year since 1971; and snowfall accumulates on average of 12 inches per year, recorded since 1947 (Southeast Regional Climate Center 2007).

## CHAPTER 2: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

As a part of the larger Hill Project, Archaeology in Annapolis staff developed a research strategy for the Talbot County Women's Club site in consultation with Historic Easton, Inc. and Professor Dale Green of Morgan State University in order to orient research to the interests and needs of community members and residents. The Hill Community Project aims to use research to facilitate and enhance community revitalization efforts on The Hill. Archaeological excavation offers an opportunity for community members to learn more about their past and publicization of findings helps to promote and maintain interest in preserving African American heritage on The Hill among other residents of Easton who can become allies of the African-American community.

1. Is The Hill one of the oldest free African-American neighborhoods in the United States?
2. When was the lot first occupied?
3. When was the lot occupied by African Americans?

The possibility that The Hill is home to the oldest free African American neighborhood in the United States has attracted a good deal of interest from both the descendant and local communities, as well as members of the general public (Polk 2012a; Polk 2012b). For the general public, this potential holds intrigue. But for community members, it holds a source of pride. Though community members have come and gone, many families who today have ties to The Hill bear the same names as free African Americans listed in the 1790 US census district that includes this neighborhood. Even if the community is not *the* oldest, a title currently held by Tremé in New Orleans (Logsdon and Elie 2008), its age and social and cultural integrity through the years stand as a testament to the efforts of black and white community members across the generations and years. Pride and interest (which can lead to investment of many sorts) are significant goals for this project, centered as it is on community revitalization efforts. Thus, a wide sampling of contexts from across the HFBS aimed to ascertain the earliest occupation of this site and the earliest black occupation. Pursuing these questions for this particular property helps to address, in part, the larger question of community origins.

4. What was the relationship between the Federal-period African-American residents of the site and James Price, the white landowner?
5. What was life like for tenants on The Hill, particularly those who were African American, through time?

Renting living space is a common practice on The Hill, today as in the past. In recent years, rates of rentership that exceed 60 and sometimes 80% among the neighborhood's resident population have likely contributed to the deterioration of the built landscape and the perception of The Hill as blighted and in need of redevelopment (Morris, Personal Interview 2012). Thus, relationships between landlords and tenants and the conditions of renters are tied to the forces that threaten the current and future integrity of The Hill Community's social and physical landscape. Historical archaeology can inform plans for community revitalization that works *for* tenants and other Hill residents by illuminating the social impacts of tenancy, the changing relations between landlords and tenants, and the contributions of tenants to social and community life on The Hill.



By 1790, already more than one thirteenth of the Talbot County population were free African Americans (United States Census Bureau N.d. [1790]), but very few of them owned the land on which they lived (see, for example, Talbot County Commissioners of the Tax 1812). Most, therefore, rented space. Typical of these manumitted men and women were three free African Americans living here with James Price in 1800 (Genweb 2005 [1800]). We can assume with relative safety that, though listed as members of his household, they were not his blood relatives. What contributions did these tenants make to the birth and early growth of the African-American community that became centered on The Hill? One may also compare their experiences with those of later tenants at the site.

6. How can archaeology on The Hill engage and benefit the local and descendant communities?

The Hill project aims to conduct research that is relevant and interesting for the local and descendant communities (The Hill Community Project 2013). This means working with community members to select sites, research questions, and to interpret findings in ways that engage Hill residents and others involved in the community. At all stages of excavation, we seek to promote conversations among members of various publics about the past and its meaning for the community in the present. As such, the excavation and interpretation of archaeological remains at this site incorporates a degree of public input, often in the form of comments and questions from site visitors. At the Women's Club, many of these were neighborhood residents, though many were also visitors.

## **Methodology**

### **Site Selection**

Because of the hypothesis that The Hill is the oldest continually-occupied African-American neighborhood still in existence anywhere in the United States, Archaeology in Annapolis staff chose to excavate at the Women's Club in order to learn more about the very earliest black residents of The Hill. Deed and census records indicate that in 1800, the household of James Price, who acquired the property in 1795, included three free African Americans. Though Price may have also owned additional properties elsewhere, the eighteenth-century house on this location and a second 1803 brick house, both of which survive to the present, indicated that the Price household lived here at what eventually became the Women's Club property. Nothing more is known historically about these three free persons of color, so archaeology provided the best means of further research.

### **Field Excavation**

Field excavations at the HFBS followed the Maryland Historical Trust's *Standards and Guidelines for Archaeological Excavations in Maryland* (Shaffer and Cole 1994), and also followed standardized excavation methodology developed over the last three decades by Archaeology in Annapolis, which has been implemented in a number of recent excavations in the City of Annapolis and in Talbot County—although applied here with some adjustments.

During Phase I testing, researchers excavated 13 shovel test pits (STPs) at intervals of 20 feet in both side yards and the back yard of the Women's Club property except where plant growth or utility lines prevented excavation. Following this testing, archaeologists excavated six five-foot-by-five-foot and one 2.5-foot-square test units in areas of interest in all three yards. Both STPs and units were tied to the house and the town grid and were placed by measuring with tapes from a corner of the Women's Club building. Excavators recorded horizontal positions for all points and, because the ground is very flat onsite, measured elevations from ground level.

All excavations were completed by hand, using appropriate hand tools, and mostly with trowel and shovel. Excavation ceased either at sterile soil or due to time constraints. In unit three, dense root growth prohibited excavation after a certain depth and excavators opened one quarter of the unit only at lower strata. Excavators removed each context in natural levels. Within thicker strata, particularly those composed of long-term natural accumulation, excavators excavated in arbitrary sub-levels of two tenths of a foot. Elevations for the top and bottom of each level were measured from unit-specific datums and therefore represent the depth below the unit-local ground surface; however, the property is very flat, so depths are comparable between units. The depths for each stratum in the unit summary section are the center points of each stratum.

Each STP, test unit, and feature received a unique number designation, each STP level received a unique number designation, and each unit or feature level received a unique letter designation. Feature levels have both a feature number and a unit stratum letter, so that features are included in the total count of stratigraphic levels in a unit. Excavators recorded detailed field notes for each STP and test unit. These notes included descriptions of soil layers, features and artifacts encountered in addition to standardized forms for levels and features. On forms, excavators recorded soil color, texture, and inclusions, along with depths, stratigraphic relationships, artifacts recovered, and interpretations. Excavators drew top view plans for the top of each level and profile views for each sidewall, and took digital photographs of the bottom of each level and for each profile. Plans and profiles use the engineer's scale (tenths of a foot). All cultural artifacts were collected by STP or by unit stratum, and all excavated soils were dry-screened through 1/4" mesh wire.

### **Curation and Laboratory Analysis**

All archaeological materials recovered in the course of testing were transported to the Archaeology in Annapolis lab, located in the Department of Anthropology, University of Maryland, College Park. Artifacts recovered from archaeological excavations were washed, identified and inventoried, and processed according to the standards and guidelines established for the state of Maryland (Seifert 1999). Ceramics, glass, bone, plastics and other durable, stable artifacts were washed in water and allowed to dry on drying racks. Metals and other more fragile artifacts were dry brushed. Once cleaned, all artifacts were sorted by material type and placed in re-sealable archival quality plastic bags. Each bag was labeled with provenience information and bag number. Provenience information included site name, unit number, and level or feature number, date excavated, and initials of excavators.

All artifacts were cataloged according to a modified version of the Archaeology in Annapolis catalog system (see Appendix C for catalog codes and sample catalog sheet). Artifact identifications were based on material, function, form, and date. Brick, concrete, mortar, oyster shell and coal slag were counted, weighed and discarded according to the standards defined for the state of Maryland (Shafer and Cole 1994, Seifert 1999). For some contexts, samples of bricks, right side complete oyster shells, and mortar were retained. All artifact coding sheets were then entered into a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet (see Appendix D for database). The catalogue follows established Archaeology in Annapolis format, with some modification to add additional detail to data entries.

Identifications and interpretations of each context were initially made in the field but further developed in the lab. Any contexts that did not have interpretations were given them, based on field notes and photographs. Estimated dates for each context are based on a combination of the *terminus post quem* (TPQ) of the context, the context type, the assemblage, and its stratigraphic relation to other contexts. The TPQ was established using all datable artifacts in each context, but particularly ceramics, nails, and plastics. In some cases, a single artifact appears that has a date much later than the rest of the artifacts in the context and drastically affects the TPQ. These outliers may have been introduced due to excavation error or bioturbation. They were not removed, so the *terminus post quem* is not directly representative of the date of the context. Dates are also respective of the type of context. Fill events may be of a later date than their contents when they involve secondary and tertiary as well as primary deposition. In addition, some levels were created gradually over a period of many years as trash was deposited in the yard and topsoil grew; these contexts were sometimes dated not by the latest artifacts in them but by the preponderance of the dates of their assemblages. To sort out these complexities, the dates of each level within a unit were compared when grouping contexts into periods of occupation. For the resulting phasing of the site's archaeology, see chapter five of this report. These periods are not meant to be sharply divided, since occupation of the site has been fairly continuous over the past 200 and more years. It was possible to link periods in artifact phasing to changes in property ownership and these analyses are incorporated into the "Archaeological Chronology" section of chapter five. Both the TPQs and the site phasing are estimates of the dates of contexts. These dates are neither absolute, nor exclusive of alternative dates using other methods such as those utilizing historical documentation or mean ceramic date, or including additional dates for artifacts that could not here be dated.

Chapter five of this report contains an analysis of artifact distributions using the results of the shovel test pit survey. Based on the number of artifacts in each of our excavated STPs, we estimate the areas where there were concentrations of various types of artifacts. Because our excavations only sampled the yard, rather than excavating the whole of it, we used a computer algorithm to estimate how many artifacts of each type we would have recovered in the spaces where we did not dig, if we had dug them. This analysis was performed using ESRI's ArcGIS® ArcMap™ version 10.2. While in the field, we used measuring tapes to construct a map of the site and the locations of each of our STPs and units. This hand-drawn site map was fitted to actual global coordinates by georectifying it to an NAD 1983 CORS96 UTM Zone 18N map projection. We then used the digitized field map to create a points shapefile marking the locations of shovel test pits and unit corners. Polygon shapefiles of the main house and property boundaries were also created using georectified scans of Sanborn fire insurance maps, aerial

imagery, and field measurements. To analyze artifact distributions, the points for STPs were joined with tabular data extracted from the artifact catalogue for the site. Artifact concentrations were interpolated using ArcMap's Kriging tool in the Spatial Analyst toolbox. The program was set to run an ordinary krig using a spherical semivariogram model with a cell output size of .349012400000356 and with a variable search radius. This process was repeated on various artifact types. The result was a map that showed how many nails, brick fragments, pottery sherds, etc. were estimated to be in each part of the yard. The first section of chapter 5 interprets the meaning of these concentrations.

Because artifacts from the site may be involved in further study in the near future, the collection is currently being housed by the Archaeology in Annapolis Project at the Department of Anthropology, University of Maryland, College Park. The Talbot County Women's Club is the current owner of all archaeological materials recovered at the site. The University of Maryland, College Park will cooperate with the Women's Club to determine the final disposition of the collection following the completion of the project.

### **Public Archaeology**

Because of its origins and focus as a community project, the excavation sought to engage members of various publics in several ways. Primarily, the site was open to the general public daily from 10am-3pm during the workweek, the time when Archaeology in Annapolis staff and students were conducting archaeological fieldwork. Visitors walked freely about the site and were able to observe all parts of excavation and to handle artifacts under the supervision of Archaeology in Annapolis staff, who answered questions. Visitors included neighborhood residents, Easton residents, and those who had traveled from further away. Members of the Women's Club came regularly and shared information about the site's history and historical photographs. Several representatives from the press also visited the site. Their stories are reproduced in Appendix E.

Archaeology in Annapolis staff gave many informal, walk-on site tours during the course of the excavation. During and since the excavation, Professor Dale Green of Morgan State University has also included the Women's Club on his recurring tours of The Hill's historic sites, which took place weekly during the summer and monthly during the rest of the year.

During the excavation at the Women's Club, Kate Deeley erected and oversaw a field laboratory to the right of the house at 18 Talbot Lane. This laboratory followed the same methodology described above for the laboratory in College Park, though field lab activities included only washing, sorting, and re-bagging. She processed artifacts from Wye House Plantation, another Archaeology in Annapolis excavation, with the help of students. Visitors were invited to view and handle artifacts and to ask questions about the research process. In front of the field lab, AiA staff wrote and posted four interpretive signs that provided overviews of The Hill, its history, and efforts to remember it; the goals of archaeology on the site; the historical significance of the Women's Club property; and the research process and sponsors. For the text of these signs, see Appendix D.

On Sunday, July 21, 2013, archaeologists hosted a special half-day open house aimed at attracting visitors who were not able to come during the regular work week hours, especially African Americans. Other colleagues in the project personally visited both Asbury United Methodist and Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Churches, The Hill's two historic black congregations, to issue invitations and lead groups to the site after worship. These visitors were joined by many others.

## **CHAPTER 3: CULTURAL CONTEXT AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND**

### **Project Background**

As a portion of The Hill Community Project, this excavation involved the use of research to promote community development and preservation. The Hill is a multiracial neighborhood in Easton, Maryland that has been the focal point of a free African American community that dates to at least 1790, when already more than 400 free African Americans lived in the census district that includes The Hill (Priscilla Morris 2012, elec. comm.). In the nineteenth century, this community became centered on The Hill. Yet this historic neighborhood faces conditions of blight due to its neglect by the town of Easton in historic preservation and other public community development projects. The Hill received no mention in the 1980 nominations of Easton's historic district to the National Register of Historic Places (Maryland Historic Trust N.d.), so although it is protected within that historic district, its inclusion is not secure. The mainstream historical narratives about Easton and Talbot County history have ignored the lives of free blacks, including those who lived on The Hill, until very recently and continue to unsatisfactorily include local free black histories (Jenkins 2013). This has also been true of the Eastern Shore at large (Dorsey 2011:x-xii). The Project works to correct this imbalance in historical narratives and to use heritage as a platform for community development. Historical narratives and historic sites make up this platform, built by scholars and community members, which advances a future for The Hill that is aware of and builds on its past to provide an alternative to models of development that ignore the needs of residents and community members. Research into the past provides the table around which community members and others can gather to address the community's present needs.

### **Historical Background**

What became the Talbot County Women's Club property was surveyed by Henry Needles in 1791 when establishing the grid for the blossoming Town of Easton, Maryland. Following the Revolutionary War, the possibility of moving a general court for the whole Eastern Shore to Easton led to a rush of speculation and investment (Tilghman 1915:230-3). Easton expanded from a small number of taverns serving a part-time courthouse into a fully-fledged town during the late eighteenth century. To facilitate this expansion, town leaders commissioned Jeremiah Banning to plat the town in 1786 and Henry Needles to survey it in 1791 (Morris 2008:14). Deeds from the 1790s for what became the Women's Club property indicate that this portion of the town was part of a tract formerly known as Long Acre (*Land Records of Talbot County, Maryland* Book 26:445). Banning and Needles divided the block bounded by South Lane, South Street, Talbot Lane, and Hanson Street into three lots, numbers 27, 28, and 29. Lots were sold at auction (*Land Records of Talbot County, Maryland* Book 25:175).

During the first few years of the town's growth, land speculation rippled across Easton. Most residences and businesses clustered along Washington and Dover Streets, while other lots further away from the centers of commerce and government were left relatively undeveloped (Cynthia Schmidt 2013, personal interview). Like this latter group, the block on which the Women's Club now stands, bounded by South Lane, Talbot Lane, South Street, and Hanson Street, was divided and subdivided and changed hands many times in the 1780s and '90s until James Price, the Talbot County Register of Wills and a "gentleman," purchased the northern half

of the block in 1795. His holdings here included lot 27 and the northern half of lot 28 (*Land Records of Talbot County, Maryland 1795* Book 26:425, 444). At some time in the last decade of the eighteenth century, either Price or his predecessors built a frame house here.

The Price household was multiracial. The year before he moved to the site, James Price became the guardian of the orphaned two-year-old daughter of Jeremiah Garland. So when he moved to what is now the Talbot County Women's Club, his household included Garland, her nurse "negro Grace," and Grace's daughter Dye. The three continued to live with him until August 1796, when Price sent Garland to board with a Mrs. Cockayne.<sup>1</sup> At this point Grace and Dye also left the Price household. In 1800, the second US federal census lists James Price, between the ages of 26 and 45, as living with three free people (US Census Bureau 1800:521), among whom may have been one free African American. One or two of these three were Price's white apprentices (Schmidt 2014, elec. comm.). By 1810, James Price had gotten married and the household had grown to a total of six white people, six free persons besides the Price family, and nine slaves (US Census Bureau 1810:328). It is likely that this larger number of free persons includes free African Americans but whether this is the case cannot be determined at present. Between 1800 and 1810, Price had a large brick house built adjacent to the frame house and probably moved into the new building (Porter-King 1998:2), leaving the latter to the free people living with him. By the 1820 census, his household no longer included free African Americans (US Census Bureau 1820:342). Thus, roughly twenty years beginning just before the turn of the nineteenth century comprises a period in which a few free blacks lived in close proximity to James Price and his white family. No more is known about these free African Americans or their relationship with Price from the historical record, but they probably rented space here and may have worked for Price.

James Price died in the 1860s and left the property to his brother Joseph's children. They seem to have had no use for it, for they sold it in 1868 to Mordecai and Deborah Dawson, a white family with four children (Porter-King 1998:2). They lived here in 1870 with a black servant, Scipio Thomas and a black cook, Harriet Anderson, as well as Anderson's husband John (US Census Bureau 1870:51). By 1880, a black waitress named Jane had replaced Scipio Thomas (US Census Bureau 1880:58). The Dawsons joined the frame and brick houses of the Price period by having doors cut between them (Porter-King 1998:2), perhaps to facilitate the work of their servants. They also made an addition to the back of the brick house that appears in the first (1891) Sanborn Insurance Map to depict the property.

In 1891, the Dawsons sold the property to William T. Wright, who rented it out. He separated the frame and brick houses again, renting them individually (Porter-King 1998:2). During Wright's ownership, an additional house was constructed to the north of Price's double house (Sanborn-Perris 1891; 1896), presumably to enhance the renting income of the property.

The 1940s ended the property's primary use as a residence. When Wright died, he left it to his daughter, who sold it to Anna Brinkloe, president of the Talbot County Women's Club in 1946. By this point, the yard contained an old stable and a shed, but much of the backyard had become a dumping ground for bottles and the grounds were overgrown. Soon after the Women's Club acquired the property, vandals broke into the cellar and dug up the floor looking for rumored buried treasure. The Women's Club embarked on an extensive restoration and renovation of the property. They re-laid the brick floor in the cellar, removed the Victorian front porch and used the wood to re-floor the room above the kitchen, filled in the alley between the

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<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Cockayne is probably Mary Cockayne, Price's neighbor, and not James Cockayne's wife on Hanson St. (Schmidt 2015, elec. comm.).

two Price-era houses and re-connected them, and replanted the gardens (Porter-King 1998:3-4). Although the club kept the nineteenth- and twentieth-century additions on the back of the house, they tore down all outbuildings and restored the front façade to a moderately Federal appearance (*Star-Democrat* 1958:Ed.8). This program of historic preservation formed a component of other work going on throughout Easton in the mid-twentieth century, led in part by architect Henry Chandlee Forman. Characteristic of preservation of this period, the Women's Club placed emphasis on the earliest and most elite architecture of the site, the Price double house, meaning that later landscape features and work buildings and spaces were sacrificed to achieve a colonial revival aesthetic. Though probably without malicious intent, these efforts wiped tenants and African Americans from the existing built landscape. Much of their world survives only below ground.



Clip from an article about the restoration (*Star-Democrat* 1958:Ed8) that members of the Women's Club shared with us

At some point in the past, the property lines have shifted. The Talbot County Women's Club now owns only a small portion of what James Price bought in 1795 and some small section of the lot to the south that Price did not own in his time. It is unclear at present when the portions of the property were segmented, but there are now four houses on what Price had originally owned, each held separately.

## Cultural Significance

The Women's Club site bears strong connections with the experiences of tenants and servants in houses and on land that they did not own in Easton, Maryland in three centuries. Their contributions and their experiences significantly shaped Easton society and life at this site



was in many ways characteristic of experiences elsewhere in town. The activities of the African Americans living with James Price, free during the time when plantation slavery surrounded them, most certainly impacted the birth and early development of the local social network of free African Americans that our project has come to know as The Hill Community. It was during their time here that the African Methodist Episcopal Conference in Baltimore sent Reverend Shadrack Bassett to preach to free African Americans in Easton, at the intersection of South Lane and Hanson Street, which Price's property adjoined, in 1818 (Wayman 1881:1; Dale Green 2012, personal interview). This meeting and sermon formally organized the Bethel Church in Easton, which still serves as a core institution in the African American community 196 years later this year.

The story of the Women's Club property is also one of the erasure of landless tenants and servants from historical memory, and of how this project works to change that. Historic preservation at the Women's Club in the twentieth century marked the domination of elite historical narratives and created a white space through selective preservation of certain material narratives over others. These material narratives are embedded and conveyed through material culture, most visibly in architecture. But this report documents the use of archaeology to emphasize additional material narratives, of those who did not own the land. Many on The Hill today find themselves in the same situation.

## CHAPTER 4: PREVIOUS ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS AND SIGNIFICANT ARCHITECTURAL STRUCTURES

### Previous research

In (1998), Adrianna Porter-King, a member of the Talbot County Women's Club, researched the property history and produced a pamphlet about the history of the property and its owners from James Price to the Women's Club. Mrs. Black, the club's current director, provided copies of this pamphlet to us. Porter-King's work is based mostly on newspaper articles from the *Star-Democrat* and focuses on property ownership and structural changes to the property's architecture. It also contains a brief history of the Women's Club and of women's clubs in America.

No archaeological research had been performed at the Talbot county Women's Club property prior to this investigation. The first excavation on The Hill may have occurred in recent years across Talbot Lane from the Women's Club, in the backyard of the Bartlett Pear Inn, formerly the Hambleton residence. The Town of Easton, Department of Public Works, conducted this excavation in the course of utility work and uncovered the former icehouse for the Hambleton residence. No archaeological report exists for this work, which was not performed with archaeology in mind.

Archaeology in Annapolis conducted the first archaeological research on The Hill at the Home of the Family of the Buffalo Soldier, four blocks east of the Women's Club, in 2012. Located more within the core of The Hill neighborhood, the HFBS was built by African-

American Civil War veteran John Green and his wife and got its name from later residents who were kin to Sergeant William Gardner, who served in the US Army in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Excavations here recovered some items possibly associated with Gardner and demonstrated that site's archaeological integrity, greatly adding to efforts by African-American and historically-minded residents to preserve the structure and its story. The 2012 field excavation also demonstrated the power



Billy O'Donnell's painting of the HFBS excavation during the Plein Air art festival, 2012 (courtesy of Billy O'Donnell)

of public archaeology to bring together people of diverse backgrounds to share in learning about and preserving the heritage of The Hill Community. This work laid the foundation for the 2013 excavation at the Women's Club by demonstrating the potential of public archaeology on The Hill. For more on this research, see Jenkins and Skolnik (2013).

The Talbot County Women's Club property may have been the site of previous research in historical architecture, but no analyses have yet been found. Henry Chandlee Forman

conducted extensive documentation of historic architecture on Maryland's Eastern Shore in the mid twentieth century, including in Easton. Some mention of his work in the town appears in *Early buildings and Historic Artifacts in Tidewater Maryland* (Forman 1989). His rendering of "The Old Court House Square, Easton, Maryland: A Tentative Reconstruction Based on the Available Evidence" appears inside the cover of *Tidewater Maryland Architecture and Gardens* (Forman 1956). However, no account of any buildings on The Hill appears in either volume. His rendering of the courthouse square in Easton appears to have influenced reconstruction and restoration efforts in the downtown part of Easton, which today features many of the colonial revival shop-fronts he drew.

When they purchased the property in 1946, the Women's Club embarked on a project to restore the double house to its Price-period appearance, at least on the front facing the street. Members of the club today still feel a duty to preserve this historic structure for future generations and have expressed this sentiment to us during our archaeological fieldwork. Forman appears to have been actively researching historic properties in the region at the time of this restoration, but it is unknown whether he engaged directly with the Women's Club's efforts in any way.



Henry Chandlee Forman's rendering of the Federal Period appearance of the courthouse square (Forman 1956)

### Significant structures

The only significant structure still standing at the Talbot County Women's Club property is the main house, which was built in several phases from the 1790s to 1919. The first part of the house was constructed in the 1790s. It is a frame structure on a brick foundation with a brick chimney at the southern end and a cellar. In 1803, James Price had a brick house built immediately next to the frame house, though not adjoining it. This also has a cellar, with a large kitchen fireplace in it. Together, these structures, which have since been joined, make up what I refer to as the double house, following Porter-King (1998:2). By 1891, when the first Sanborn Fire Insurance map depicts the property, an additional room connecting the two parts of the double house had been constructed, as well as a third wing extending off this room to the east. Between 1891 and 1919, the house reached roughly its current floor plan with a final additional addition.

The current yard and garden areas on the property date to the twentieth century. Whatever formal garden(s) may have existed previously are gone, as are work areas and outbuildings. They have been replaced by the Women's Club with a grassy lawn and some bushes around the edge, which is framed to the east and southeast in English ivy that proved

impenetrable to excavation. There is one large tree in along the current east fence line that likely dates to the early- or mid-nineteenth century.



**Price double house on left with nineteenth-century additions slightly visible to the rear**





## **CHAPTER 5: ARCHAEOLOGY AND INTERPRETATIONS**

Even at this preliminary stage of archaeological research at the Talbot County Women's Club, a good deal can be said of the archaeological record here and what it can tell us about the lives of African Americans and tenants on the site. Archaeologists think largely in terms of space and time. Though of course the two cannot be separated from one another, this chapter is divided into two sections focusing on each, respectively. The first section describes some of the archaeological resources that this excavation documented and where these resources are located. Although not every deposit is described in detail, I focus on those that pertain directly to the experiences of African Americans and tenants. This section may be useful in making decisions about future research and how to avoid disturbing particularly sensitive resources during future construction and gardening. The second section tells the archaeological story of the property's history, with a particular focus on African Americans and tenants. It is the sum of what we know at this point about these people's lives.

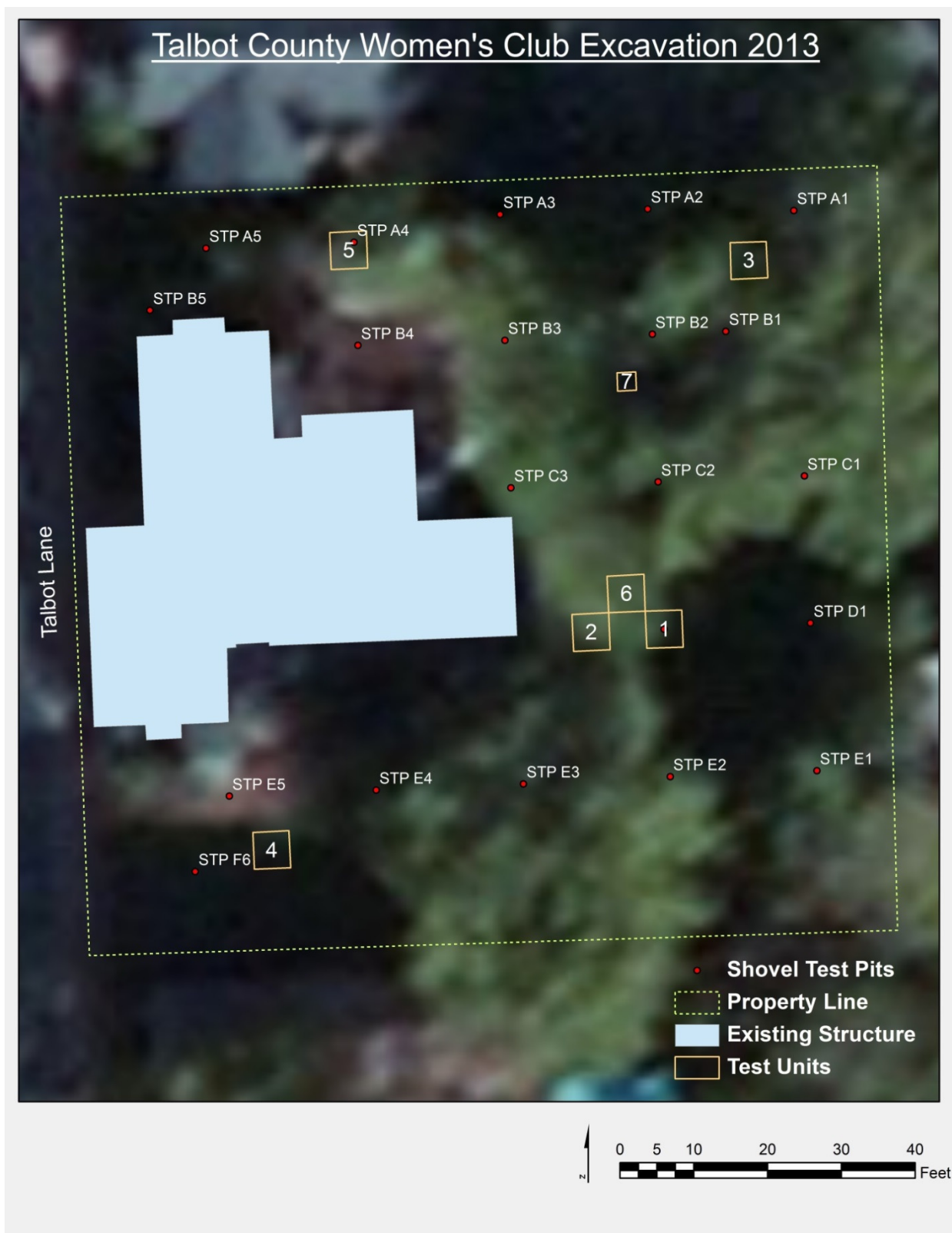
### **Location and Description of Archaeological Resources**

The archaeological resources at this site are extensive and well-preserved, making the Talbot County Women's Club property a rich site for research. All parts of the yard space around the current house bear archaeological materials that are intact. Not one shovel test pit, nor one test unit, was sterile of artifacts. In this urban lot, it would appear that inhabitation was very intense. In the rear and both side yards, cultural deposits appear at the ground level and there are often artifacts of both recent and not-so-recent date in the sod. Cultural deposits range in maximum depth from about one and a half feet to about three feet. Discounting the tree removal in Unit 4, cultural deposits lie from ground surface down an average of 1.89 feet. The identity and contents of those cultural deposits, as indicated by the STP and unit excavation results, demonstrate that the immediate landscape of the yard has been substantially altered at various times by the presence and use of buildings and by other activities that give a window into the lives of residents of differing backgrounds over the course of the site's inhabitation.

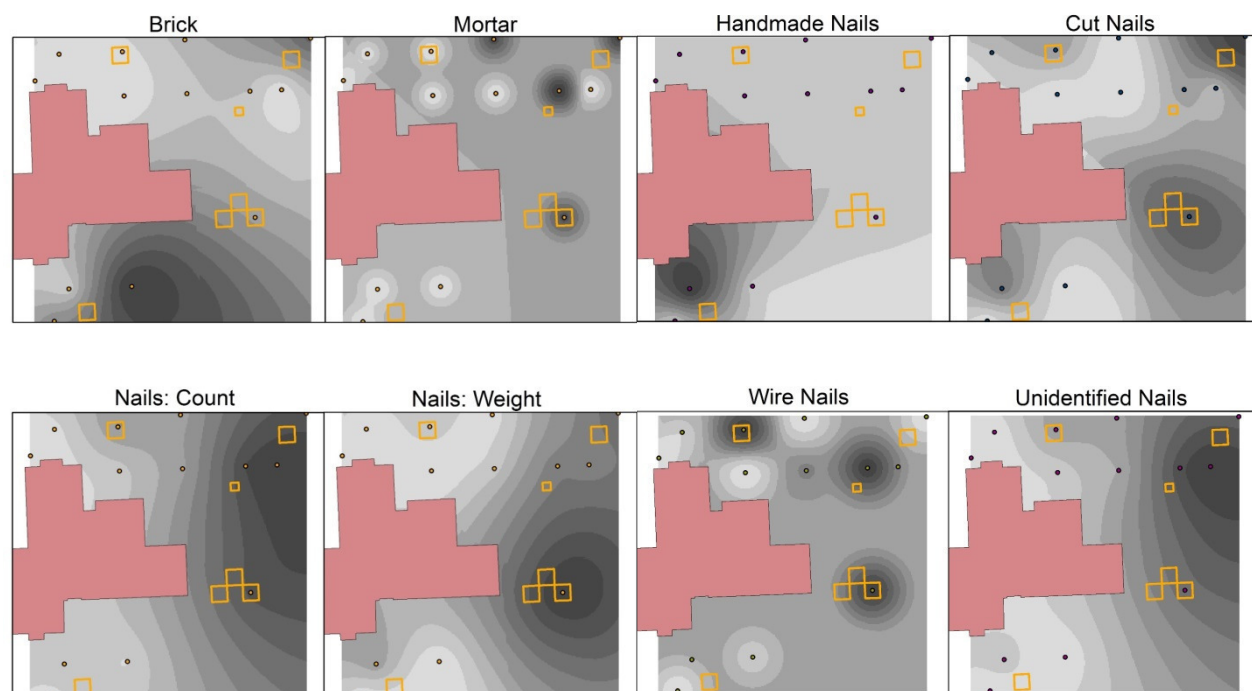
Because of our interest in learning more about the African American and working-class occupants of the site, much of the archaeological investigation of the Talbot County Women's club focused on locating and identifying domestic and work spaces associated with these occupants. We chose not to excavate immediately adjacent to the main house, which for much of its lifetime was the residence primarily of wealthy white people. We hoped that in the yard behind the property we might find evidence of worker housing and other spaces. Unfortunately, we did not locate any dwellings, neither quarters for enslaved individuals, nor for tenants. These may have been located further to the east of the current property boundaries. What we did find were two buildings and a range of outdoor work and play areas. The first of these buildings was a kitchen in use throughout most of the nineteenth century where at least one African American cook, Harriet Anderson, worked. The function of the second remains inconclusive. Very little of either building has been excavated, as this initial foray into the archaeology of the Women's Club site focused on a strategy of identifying as many different features as possible to gain a sense of the possibilities for future research.

The first step in identifying buildings in the archaeological record is a shovel test pit survey. Although it is rare that a hole only a foot in diameter will come down on a foundation or a posthole and none of our STPs here did so, testing on a grid enabled us to get a sense of the









Distributions of several artifact types, using counts from the shovel test pit survey

distributions of several artifact classes across the site. Identifying concentrations of certain artifacts is key to locating likely buildings. To do so, I plotted the STP locations in ArcGIS and linked these coordinates with the numbers of brick, mortar, and nail fragments found in each pit. Interpolating how many of each of these probably lie between the pits that we dug gives an estimate for where on the property there are concentrations of these architectural materials and, therefore, likely building sites. Comparing the density maps for different artifact types and comparing these results with those of the test unit excavations and historical records helped to identify the two buildings that we have located in this excavation.

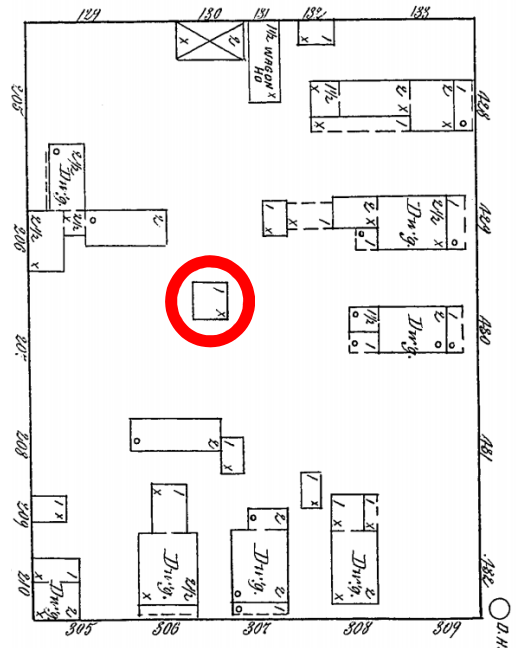
Not every concentration of architectural material was associated with a building. For example, shovel test pit results showed a concentration of brick south of the main house but unit 5 indicated that these brick fragments were fill deposited after a tree was removed in the 1940s by the Women's Club. However, the other clusters of architectural artifacts were more productive in locating buildings. The second concentration of brick matched up with concentrations of mortar in the northeast corner of the lot, indicating a probable building there. It is curious that there is a concentration of mortar directly east of the house but not a concentration of brick. Perhaps there was a structure here with only a masonry chimney and the bricks were removed for use elsewhere before the building fell down. This could have left the mortar at this location even though the bricks are gone. In this location east of the house there was also a concentration of nails, at least when measured in weight. When measured in number of fragments, the distribution of nails is more spread out to the north across the east-northeastern edge of the property. This indicates a difference in concentrations of large, relatively complete nails east of the house—probably a building that was taken down—versus a concentration of smaller nail fragments spread out as part of a sheet midden across most of the northern half of

the backyard. Together, these clusters of bricks, mortar, and nails indicate the presence of two buildings. A closer look at each gives clues to when and how they were used.

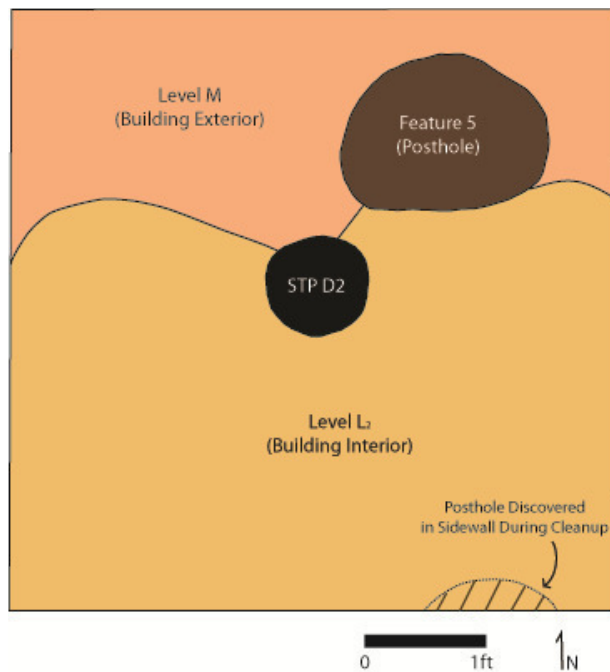
### *Building 1: Kitchen*

So far, we know the most about the building east of the main house. Here, we happened to place Unit 1 directly on a corner of the building, following the discovery of nail stock in STP D2. In the three-unit block we opened in this area, we found only one other piece of nail stock and some slag—evidence of blacksmithing but not the forge we had hoped for. What we found instead was a kitchen and the yard around it. This kitchen turned out to be our most solid link to free African Americans employed and living on the property, specifically the family of Harriet Anderson, who cooked for the Dawsons after the Civil War.

In addition to concentrations of mortar and nails here that appeared in the STP survey, Unit 1, which was placed atop STP D2, came down on a posthole (Feature 5) and a second was discovered in the sidewall as we concluded the excavation. Both postholes cut through eighteenth-century levels, indicating very early nineteenth-century construction for the building. This is supported by concentrations of cut nails at this location. Post-in-ground construction is in keeping with the low concentration of brick here and was common for outbuildings during the Federal period. The posts are on-grid with the house, suggesting that this building was part of the formal landscape of the site during the Price years. Although we did not uncover the full dimensions of the building, the two postholes are four feet apart, indicating that



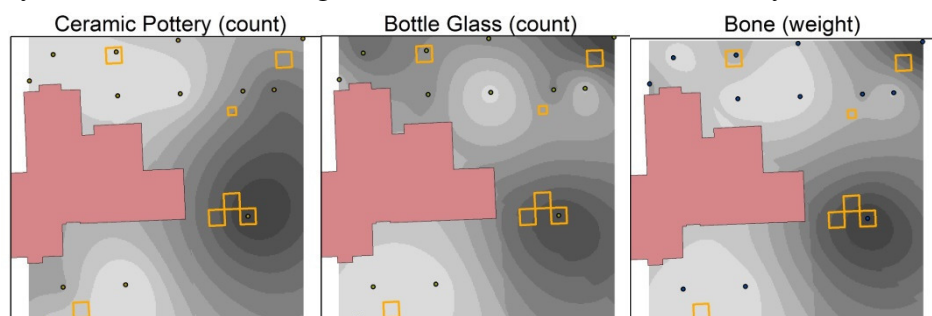
Detail of 1891 Sanborn fire insurance map, with the kitchen circled



Plan view of Unit 1, top of Level L<sub>1</sub>

the north-south axis of the building was of a length some multiple of four. Outbuildings with walls of eight, twelve, and sixteen feet were common. The posthole in Feature 5 appears to be the northeast corner of the building because the line between levels J and L and K and M, which the posthole cuts, may mark the interior and exterior of the building, respectively. Higher strata show that the building was demolished around the end of the nineteenth century, since the sheet midden extends across Unit 1. Indeed, there is a small building in this location that appears on the first Sanborn fire insurance map of the property in 1891 but that is gone by Sanborn's 1901 map. This building was therefore a small post-in-ground frame building, possibly with a

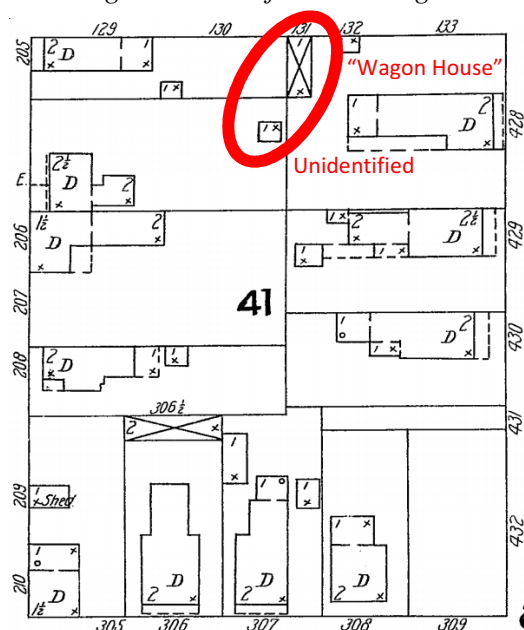
brick chimney, that was in use throughout most of the nineteenth century.



Distributions of foodways-related artifact types, using counts from the shovel test pit survey

Although we had hoped it might be a forge, this building is clearly lacking in the metalworking debris requisite to identify it as such. While in the field, we had thought it might be a chicken coop. The soil of Unit 1 Level J was a grayish color consistent with chicken manure and Unit 2 uncovered an oyster shell deposit (Level N) that could have been used as feed to give chickens more calcium in their diets. However, further consideration of the materials from STPs and from Units 1, 2, and 6 indicate that this building was almost definitely a kitchen. The STP results indicate the strongest concentrations of ceramics, bottle glass, and bone in and around STP D2, and abundant faunal remains were recovered from Units 1, 2, and 6, much of it butchered. Although some of these foodways-related artifacts may be associated with the midden, much of it came from levels beneath the midden, either inside or in the yard outside the kitchen. It was in this kitchen that Harriet Anderson worked in the 1870s and '80s, and before her there were probably other African American cooks who also used this building. After all, James Price owned several slaves in the Antebellum period. This kitchen and the yard around it are therefore perhaps the best places on this property to study the labor and lives of enslaved and free African Americans.

### *Building 2: unidentified building*



Detail of 1901 Sanborn fire insurance map, with possible buildings circled

In addition to the kitchen, excavation identified a building in the northeast corner of the lot. STP A1 appears to have snagged a corner of the building, which is marked by concentrations of brick, mortar, and, somewhat less so, of nails. No evidence of the building appeared in Unit 3, which is part of what suggests that it is in fact a building. Were it just a scattering of artifacts on the ground, there would be less of a strong divergence between the dense concentration of artifacts in STP A1 and the low artifact density in Unit 3. Only cut nails appeared in STP A1 in high numbers, suggesting a nineteenth-century construction date.

There are two candidates for this building's identity from the historical records. The first is a large wagon shed that appears in the first Sanborn map of 1891. The second is a small building that appears first on the 1901 Sanborn map. Given the lack of accuracy

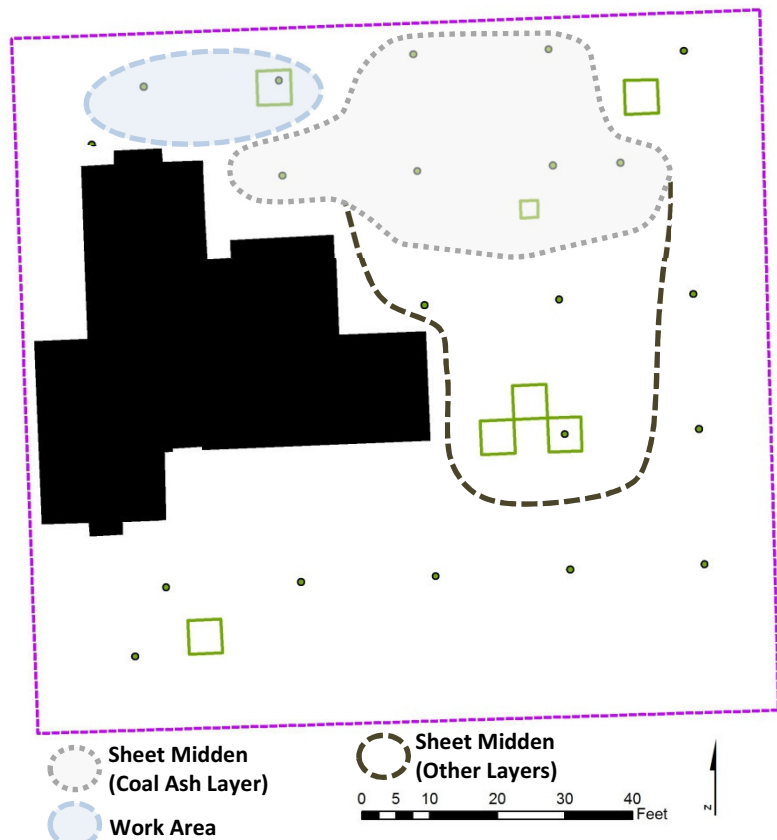
in building locations on these maps, the archaeological materials could point to either. The abundance of nineteenth-century nails is not much of a factor in deciding between the two, since a small building built at the turn of the twentieth century could easily have been made using older nails that were on hand rather than the newer wire nails. Since no evidence of the building appeared in Unit 3, most of it lies on the adjoining properties. This suggests the wagon shed as the most likely candidate, but further excavation on the properties to the north and northeast of the Women's Club would be productive in determining this more concretely. STP A1 turned up no horse- or wagon-related artifacts.

### *The James Price double house*

It is worth mentioning as well that the only concentration of handmade, wrought nails from STP results is located adjacent to the earliest part of the main house. Archaeology sometimes contradicts architectural and documentary dates for buildings, but in this case results of excavation confirm that this frame house was built in the eighteenth century.

### *Sheet midden*

The largest and one of the most significant yard features on the site to understanding the experiences of tenants is a sheet midden that encompasses most of the backyard. This layer of household refuse was deposited between the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by residents who rented the property from William Wright. Theirs seems to have been the most materially intensive occupation of the yard, and the artifacts in this midden constitute the debris of household activities of several families. This midden was first identified during the STP survey as a thin band of coal ash that appeared in STPs A3, B1, B2, and B3, and later also in Unit 7 Level E. This band of coal ash, with fragments of coal and clinker mixed in, is therefore most concentrated in an area that takes up about a quarter of the current property, northeast of center. There was a lighter concentration of coal ash in Unit 1 Level D, and the postmold that this level caps, Unit 1 Level E, is filled almost solely with coal ash, coal, and clinker. In addition, several contemporaneous strata adjacent to this band of coal ash, either above it or beside it, displayed spikes in the number of artifacts, especially coal but also all other artifact classes. Where these levels were composed of a single soil type, and not fill, they are



Map of the site showing the extent of the sheet midden and work area

also part of the sheet midden. These appear in Unit 2 (Levels D and F), Unit 6 (Levels D<sub>1</sub>, D<sub>2</sub>, and E), and Unit 7 (Level D). The sheet midden therefore stretches out across most of the backyard. The midden includes not only coal, which was burned for heat and cooking, but also an array of artifacts from organic food remains to bottles and ceramics and also combs, toothbrushes, marbles, and buttons. This feature may form the bulk of the archaeological record of tenants' lives here in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, though these residents also created other deposits.

#### *Work area*

Among these other deposits was an early-to-mid twentieth-century workspace in the north side yard. Here, in Unit 5, Level C, artifacts we recovered included a wrench, a horseshoe, screws and nails, a large bolt, and a pair of scissors. These tools could have been used during the renovation and restoration during the early Women's Club ownership, but the tools seem more closely related to machinery repair. It would appear that this part of the yard was used by one or more of Wright's tenants as a work space. Though some work-related artifacts occurred at various spots across the site, here is the greatest concentration of them. Whatever larger artifacts—machinery parts, a bench or shed—might have also been a part of the repairman's work have been swept away during renovation, but some of the tools remain beneath the current garden beds.

#### *Yard scatter from several periods*

In addition to these specific buildings and features, there is yard scatter across the entire site from all periods of occupation, from the late eighteenth century strata just above and transitioning into subsoil to the plastic embedded in the topsoil and grass roots of the last thirty years. On an urban site, this is unsurprising. What is intriguing is that the eighteenth- and very early nineteenth-century levels, which appear to be well-preserved, bear a substantial amount of coal. This is a bit early for large-scale coal burning for household heating, and therefore suggests blacksmithing activity. However, we did not locate a forge on the portion of the lot that we tested. It probably lies to the east, further away from James Price's house where the noise, smell, and smoke would bother his family less. This puts it under or adjacent to the three houses that stand along Hanson Street at the back of Price's original lot.

One particularly interesting stratum of yard scatter appeared in Unit 2, Level D. Located on the edge of the sheet midden, this level included several toys, from the ever-ubiquitous marbles to the tires and ladder of a fire truck to a gun. It is possible that these toys were simply tossed out onto the sheet midden. After all, the truck is incomplete and broken. However, because all these toys were closely spaced together in this location, on the edge of the midden rather than in its center, it is likely that the early twentieth-century tenants of the site carved out a play area for their child/children between the house and the midden. This might be located in the spot where the toys were found or slightly to the west, closer to the house. This area could yield a good deal of information on raising working-class children in the early twentieth century.

#### *Fill events*

There are many fill layers in various places across the site. Some of the more important ones include those in Units 1, 2, and 6 that contain bones and slag. This is the deposited debris of kitchen and industrial activities on the site that were performed by members of the working

class, quite likely African Americans and/or tenants. These strata date from the nineteenth century and bear the artifacts associated with enslaved and free labor.

## **Archaeological Chronology of the Site**

### *Colonial period*

During the seventeenth and eighteenth century, the area in which the site is located was part of a plantation called Long Acre. During this period, tobacco was the principle crop produced on plantations in the region for export to Britain and bound for European markets. European and African inhabitation of Maryland's Eastern Shore became more intense over this period and these colonists displaced many but not all of the Native Americans living here. This excavation identified no strata on the Talbot County Women's Club site that definitively date to the Colonial Period, though some of the contexts that have been attributed to the Federal Period may actually belong to the Colonial. As a part of a plantation, we might have expected to see a level of plow zone arranging from a foot to a foot and a half thick where the passing of the plow had churned up subsoil and topsoil, leaving plow scars in the subsoil where the plow had occasionally dug in deeper than usual. However, there was no evidence of this. The absence of a plow zone may indicate that this portion of Long Acre was not actively farmed, but was instead part of a woodlot. No evidence from previous Native American occupation was found either, although excavation stopped at the top of subsoil that might contain a record of those inhabitations prior to Contact. This lack of evidence suggests that James Price's household from 1795 was the first to actively occupy the site.

*The Early Price-Household Occupation (ca. 1795-1815)*

When James Price and his household arrived in 1795, they were the first to intensively occupy this site. The earliest archaeological contexts identified in this excavation date to the late eighteenth and very early nineteenth centuries and rest immediately above subsoil, the natural soil from before human activity. The period during which James Price owned the property stretched for the majority of his lifetime, from 1795 to 1869. In order to look at the Price household's changing use of the land over this period, the archaeological remains are broken into three phases according to the dates of the contexts. These phases roughly follow major historical periods and the first period of occupation by the Prices and their household, including enslaved and free African Americans, corresponds approximately with the Federal Period in American history.

James Price bought the northern half of the block in September 1795 (*Talbot County Land Records* 26:425, 444) and soon after moved his household into residence there. This period marked a major construction phase on the property, and architectural materials comprise 24% of the assemblage from the Federal Period by number, or 17% by weight. This is relatively high in comparison to other periods, especially the period immediately following, in which architectural materials make up only 1% of artifact counts and 2% of weights. In contrast, the artifacts associated with daily living on the site make up a low percentage of the assemblage from this period. Ceramics account for only 9% of counts and 1% of weights, while glassware sherds account for only 3% of counts and less than 1% of weights. Faunal remains, which include the bones and shells left over after meals, appear in fair abundance during this period but almost all of this comes from a single oyster shell deposit. Discounting this pile of shells, the low percentages of artifacts related to foodways corresponds to a small household that was just establishing itself. Over time, the household grew in size as Price children were born and as James Price acquired several enslaved African Americans. As such, in later periods, foodways artifacts grew to become a more dominant proportion of total artifacts. In this early period, however, the archaeological record testifies to substantial construction efforts that were needed to turn a vacant plot of land into a home. James Price had the frame house built around 1795 and the larger, adjacent brick house built in 1803. Together, these are called the "double house" and form the core of what is today a single main house on the property. Both the frame and masonry structures were probably built by contracting with local laborers since he did not yet own any slaves. Around the end of the Federal Period, workers also erected a kitchen (building 1) behind the double house that was identified archaeologically and that by 1810, when Price appears in the census as a slaveholder, was probably the domain of an enslaved black cook.

Part of the footprint of this building was located in Unit 1, where we documented two postholes and a line in the soil between the interior and exterior of the building. One posthole, Feature 5, was excavated, while the second was only discovered in the sidewall at the close of excavation. Running across the posthole of feature 5 was a line marking the boundary between levels L<sub>1</sub> and L<sub>2</sub> and Level M. Although the line is not straight and curves slightly off-grid with the postholes, it appears to be the northern edge of the kitchen. The soil differences between Level L<sub>1</sub> and Level M are faint and consist mostly of a red flecking in Level L<sub>1</sub> that continues in Level L<sub>2</sub>. Apart from this flecking, all three levels look almost identical to subsoil. It is therefore likely that these levels are yard scatter from shortly before the kitchen was erected, and that the differences in soil are the results of leeching from above, where the boundary between Levels J and K is more discrete. Levels L<sub>1</sub>, L<sub>2</sub>, and M all contained creamware but no later



ceramics, dating these levels to the eighteenth century. The posthole in the sidewall cuts through these eighteenth-century levels, and also into subsoil beneath L<sub>2</sub>, and is capped by Level J, which dates to the early Antebellum Period. This suggests that the posthole was dug during the Federal Period, possibly towards its end. The posthole in Feature 5 cuts through nineteenth-century levels, and would appear to be much later, but there were two postmolds in this feature, Levels E and I, suggesting that the post was replaced at some point in the building's life and that the fill of the posthole in Feature 5 is not indicative of the construction date of the building. Together, this evidence supports a late Federal Period construction of the kitchen. The kitchen was therefore built around the same time that Price acquired slaves, which indicates that one of these was probably a cook. It is also possible that these enslaved African Americans built the kitchen itself.

It is conceivable that much of the work of cooking for the household was performed not only in the kitchen, but also in the yard around it. A few feet to the west of building 1, in Unit 2, the topmost level—and the most recent one from this period, with a TPQ of 1805—was a deposit of oyster shells (Level N). This was a sizeable pile of shells, accounting by weight for 64.9% of the assemblage from this period. This large deposit seems unrelated to diet, given the low presence of ceramics, glass, and bone across the site at the time. Because of its late date in the period and because it rests atop two other layers of fill (Levels O and P) before the transition to subsoil (Levels Q and R), the shell deposit here may have been used to level the grade in preparation for the kitchen construction. This may have been necessary after a large hole was dug in the area to extract clay for making bricks during the construction of the brick house in 1803.

There is not much to suggest how the Price household used this part of the yard in the late eighteenth century, before the kitchen was constructed. In Unit 2, underneath these three layers of fill and set into subsoil is a small posthole of unknown purpose (Level S). Across most of the site, the very early Price years seem to have had a rather light and uncomplicated impact on the archaeological record. In Unit 3 (Level I), Unit 5 (Levels H, I, and J), and Unit 7 (Levels J and K), the only levels dating to the Federal Period are yard scatter right above subsoil. This yard scatter reveals no specific clues to the various activities that must have occurred here, including the work of enslaved African Americans, the leisure time of both the Price family and the slaves, and the early years of Price's children. It is also likely that his ward and her caretaker, a free black woman named Grace, spent time in the yard. However, of the artifacts scattered around it during this period, nothing links specifically to any of these individuals.

Besides the house and kitchen construction, the largest archaeological event from this period that we recorded was the planting of a tree to the south of the frame house. Unit 4 contained several levels of fill (Levels M, O, P, and Q), as well as a possible planting feature (Level N) dating to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The hole being filled in at this time is large enough to suggest that a previous tree was removed and that this tree, which was later removed in the twentieth century, was a replacement. Alternatively, the hole may have been a clay borrow pit from the making of bricks onsite for the frame house foundation. The fill contains handmade brick, creamware, and pearlware, suggesting that the tree was planted in the very late eighteenth or very early nineteenth century, after the frame house was erected on its brick foundation. Being south of the frame house, it would have kept the structure in shade and therefore cooler during the summer.

The Price household thus spent much of this early period settling into the site. They built two homes and a kitchen and planned well enough to take advantage of natural air conditioning



as best they could. Undoubtedly, much of the manual labor that wrought all these changes in the landscape came from free and enslaved African Americans, who lived and worked in the area in great numbers. However, it is impossible to say this with certainty without the written contracts James Price procured or some other similar textual source.

### Artifact Highlights: Nail Stock

While the Prices and their household were settling in, someone appears to have been doing some blacksmithing on the site. However, the evidence for this so far is a bit circumstantial, leaving it an open question as to whether this occurred on the property and who was doing it. During excavation, we recovered pieces of nail stock, the raw iron bars from which smiths forged nails prior to the Industrial Revolution. This came from STP D2, in the area where the kitchen was located and where later a lot of fill was laid down. In addition, fill layers in Unit 6 (particularly Level G) contained a large amount of slag. This context dates to the next period of the Price occupation, suggesting that the contents of the fill could have come from the Federal Period. Lastly, during excavation we observed coal in many of the yard scatter levels that date to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Coal was in use only in metalworking operations until the Industrial Revolution took hold and introduced it into widespread use later in the nineteenth century for household heating. Therefore, it is unusual to see coal in such early levels. However, many of these were apparently very small pieces because their presence was not recorded in significant quantities in artifact counts or weights for this period. Only 10 fragments weighing 65.3g were recovered through 1/4" mesh screen, sampling pieces that were larger than a U.S. quarter. Like the slag in later fill events, the pieces of coal that were observed in these Federal Period levels appear to be scattered across the yard from some nearby activity. We did not locate a forge within the limits of the Talbot County Women's Club property, though it is entirely possible and perhaps even likely that a forge was in use further back on Price's lot, away from his house and along Hanson Street. We will have to test those adjoining properties to be certain. If blacksmithing was occurring during this period on James Price's lot, it is certain that he was not doing it. He was a member of the gentry. Perhaps his slaves engaged in some small-scale production, but it seems more likely that he rented out the space to neighboring craftsmen. A number of free African Americans lived in this part of Easton at the time (Cynthia Schmidt 2014, elec. comm.) and any of them could have been trained in blacksmithing while enslaved on a plantation or could have learned the craft to support himself or herself while free.



Nail stock and slag from Unit 6 Level G

<b>Levels and Features Dating to the Federal-Period Price-Household Occupation of 18 Talbot Lane (ca. 1795-1815)</b>					
<b>Unit Number</b>	<b>Level/ Feature</b>	<b>Interpretation</b>	<b>TPQ</b>	<b>Artifacts</b>	<b>Depth</b>
1	L <sub>1</sub>	Kitchen interior	1762	Coal, handmade brick, oyster shell, a nail, beef rib fragments, creamware, window glass, and an eye for a hook-and-eye clothing fastener. Level L <sub>1</sub> is cut in the southern sidewall by a posthole	1.06
1	L <sub>2</sub>	Kitchen interior	No Datable Artifacts	Oyster shell, handmade brick, lime-based mortar, wine bottle glass, imported eighteenth-century tobacco pipe, creamware, and pork ribs	1.26
1	M	Kitchen exterior	1762	Handmade brick, oyster shell, a nail, a cow or pig tooth, coarse earthenware, and creamware	1.09
2	N	Oyster shell deposit	1805	Oyster shell, limestone, handmade brick, handmade nails, stoneware, creamware, pearlware, and bird bone	1.38
2	O	Fill	1720	Oyster shell, handmade brick, slag, German stoneware, and mammal bone including some partially burned fragments and some fragments of joints	1.42
2	P	Fill	1820	Oyster shell, limestone matching that in Level N, gneiss, handmade brick, cut nails, German stoneware matching that in Level O, creamware, pearlware, sherds from a coarse earthenware milk pan, a glass bottle stopper, and mammal bone	1.38
2	Q	Transitional subsoil	1805	Oyster shell, brick, lime-based mortar, nails, bottle glass, creamware, coarse earthenware, and mammal rib bone fragments	1.57
2	R	Transitional subsoil	1840	Handmade brick, lime-based mortar, oyster shell, coal, nails, creamware, white salt glazed stoneware, and mammal bone	1.69
2	S (F9)	Posthole	No Datable Artifacts	None	2.08
3	I	Occupation/ transitional subsoil	1820	Oyster shell, slag, a nail, a sherd of burned ceramic, and a creamware sherd	1.68
4	M	Fill	1775	Handmade brick, oyster shell, mammal bone, cut nails, a fragment of slate possibly part of a writing tablet, devitrified dark	1.31

				green wine bottle glass and non-devitrified clear bottle glass, creamware, and pearlware	
4	N (F8)	Planting feature	1899	Handmade brick, coal, lime-based mortar, a cut nail, transfer-printed pearlware, and transfer-printed whiteware	1.50
4	O	Fill	1805	Handmade brick, mortar, cut nails, an iron fork, mammal bone, devitrified dark green wine bottle glass, lead-glazed coarse earthenware, creamware, pearlware, canary ware, and widow glass	1.38
4	P	Fill	1795	Handmade brick, oyster shell, mammal bone, table glass, and creamware	2.00
4	Q	Lens of fill	1805	Oyster shell, clinker, devitrified dark green wine bottle glass, a wire nail, mammal bone, lead-glazed coarse earthenware, and pearlware	2.15
4	S	Transitional subsoil	No Datable Artifacts	Handmade brick	2.25
5	H	Transitional subsoil	1820	Handmade brick and shell-edged and engine-turned pearlware	1.15
5	I	Transitional subsoil	No Datable Artifacts	Handmade brick	1.33
5	J	Transitional subsoil	No Datable Artifacts	A nail and fragments of handmade brick and coal	1.52
6	J	Occupation/transitional subsoil	1790	Oyster shell, handmade brick, lime-based mortar, one nail, one glass fragment, a sherd from a coarse earthenware bowl, creamware, and mammal joint bone	1.60
7	J	Yard scatter	1762	Coal, a burned feather edged creamware plate rim sherd, and a medicine bottle rim	1.33
7	K	Transitional subsoil	No Datable Artifacts	Imported tobacco pipe	1.65

Artifacts from the Federal-Period Price-Household Occupation (ca. 1795-1815)				
Item	Count	Percent	Weight	Percent
Coarse Earthenware	8	0.8	79.7	0.2
Ironstone/White Granite	3	0.3	2.0	0.0

Stoneware	9	0.9	45.1	0.1
Porcelain	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Whiteware	5	0.5	4.1	0.0
Pearlware	16	1.6	13.6	0.0
Creamware	30	3.0	59.2	0.1
Yellowware	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Refined Earthenware (unidentified)	10	1.0	8.5	0.0
Other Ware Types	4	0.4	170.7	0.3
<b>Total Ceramics</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>8.5</b>	<b>382.9</b>	<b>0.7</b>
Table Glass	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Bottle Glass	14	1.4	105.8	0.2
Lighting Glass	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Window Glass/ Flatglass	10	1.0	9.3	0.0
Other Glass	6	0.6	7.7	0.0
<b>Total Glass</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>3.0</b>	<b>122.8</b>	<b>0.2</b>
Handmade Wrought Nails	1	0.1	8.1	0.0
Cut Nails	9	0.9	94.5	0.2
Wire Nails	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Unidentified Nails	24	2.4	143.6	0.3
Brick	189	18.9	8460.5	16.2
Mortar	14	1.4	321.6	0.6
Plaster	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Asbestos	1	0.1	2.9	0.0
Other Architectural Materials	3	0.3	6.1	0.0
<b>Total Architectural Materials</b>	<b>241</b>	<b>24.1</b>	<b>9037.3</b>	<b>17.3</b>
Iron	10	1.0	100.0	0.2
Copper Alloy	1	0.1	0.2	0.0
Other Metals	1	0.1	8.7	0.0
<b>Total Metals</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>1.2</b>	<b>108.9</b>	<b>0.2</b>
Faunal Bone	64	6.4	144.4	0.3
Shell (Oyster)	507	50.8	36408.1	69.7
Other Organic Material	43	4.3	5886.7	11.3

<b>Total Organic Materials</b>	<b>614</b>	<b>61.5</b>	<b>42439.0</b>	<b>81.3</b>
Buttons and Fasteners	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Toys	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Marbles	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Coins	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Tobacco Pipes	2	0.2	2.6	0.0
Other Small Finds	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
<b>Total Personal Items</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>0.2</b>	<b>2.6</b>	<b>0.0</b>
Coal	10	1.0	65.3	0.1
Clinker	2	0.2	19.0	0.0
Slag	2	0.2	47.0	0.1
<b>Total Coal/Clinker/Slag</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>1.4</b>	<b>131.3</b>	<b>0.3</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>998</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>52225.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

*The Middle Price-Household Period (ca. 1815-1840)*

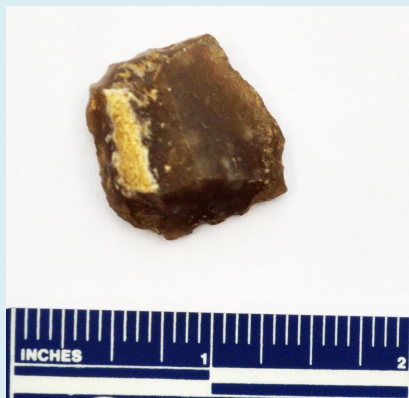
Once the Price household had established itself, its members set about the daily affairs of living for the next few decades. Architectural materials from this period drop to 1% of artifact counts and 2% of artifact weights out of the assemblage from the early Antebellum Period. Ceramics rise to become 42% of artifact counts and 11% of weights. Animal bone also increases, as does the oyster shell that was related to meals. Curiously, there was no real increase in the percentage of the assemblage made up by glass to match that in ceramics and organic food remains. As the Price household's archaeological presence became more focused in domestic trash, the household also shifted toward a simpler social structure in which the labor of enslaved African Americans supported a comfortable lifestyle of the Price family. Additional free people no longer appeared in the censuses. So too did any previous blacksmithing activity disappear, for no trace of it was found except in fill layers depositing material discarded in years prior. What labor free people previously provided was taken on by the Price's increased number of enslaved African Americans.

Among the enslaved laborers whose work kept up the Price family's social standing was at least one cook. During this period, a layer of soil and debris built up inside (Unit 1 Level J) and outside (Unit 1 Level K) around the kitchen that contained animal bones, pottery and glassware sherds, and other artifacts. The debris inside the kitchen covered over the posthole that appeared in the Unit 1 sidewall and probably also the posthole in Feature 5, though that has since been re-dug and the post replaced. Among the ceramic vessels that the cook used, coarse earthenware bowls and jars made up a large proportion, as did the older, less stylish creamware and pearlware vessels made in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. But the kitchen was no stranger to porcelain or the newer whitewares. Characteristic of its function, neither the interior nor the exterior of the kitchen bear any table glass from this period. Instead, the glass shards from Units 1, 2, and 6 included mostly bottle and window glass. For the enslaved cook(s) who labored away in and around the kitchen, this was a place of work. The few personal items appeared in early Antebellum levels from Unit 1 (Levels J and K), Unit 2 (Levels I, J, K, L, and M), and 6 (Levels F, G, H, and I) include only a handful of buttons and two fragments of tobacco pipe.

During this period, the waste from the kitchen was deposited along with soil and other debris from elsewhere into the borrow pit nearby, which was still in need of filling. These fill events (Unit 2 Levels I, J, L, and M; Unit 6 Levels F, G, and H) make up most of the archaeological contexts from the middle Price period. Somewhere in the midst of in-fill someone saw fit to plant some small plant (Unit 2 Level K), but this cannot have lasted too long before more fill was laid on top of it. Out in the middle of the yard, more artifacts were scattered by everyday activities (Unit 3, Level H; Unit 7 Level I). Apart from the kitchen, no intense activity appears to have occurred in the Price backyard that left a recognizable archaeological presence. Unit 5 bore no levels dating to this period, and the traces of whatever may have transpired under the tree in Unit 4 were obliterated by twentieth-century disturbance when the tree was removed.

## Artifact Highlights: Gun Flint

Amid all the fill during this period trying to level the ground where the borrow pit had been dug, we recovered a small gun flint from Unit 2, Level I. It probably belonged to a rifle or fowling piece, since it is too small to be effective on a musket. Enslaved members of the Price household may have used this gun to help procure food for the cook, either to prepare for the Prices or for the enslaved men and women's own consumption. It is, of course, also possible that James Price or one of his family members took part in hunting for sport, which was a common practice among gentry of the period.



Levels and Features Dating to the Early-Antebellum-Period Price-Household Occupation of 18 Talbot Lane (ca. 1815-1840)					
Unit Number	Level/Feature	Interpretation	TPQ	Artifacts	Depth
1	J	Kitchen interior	1820	Coal, mortar, slag, handmade brick, oyster shell, cut nails, iron strap, joint and long bones, wine and other bottle glass, creamware, pearlware, whiteware and stone	1.03
1	K	Kitchen exterior	1790	Oyster shell, handmade brick, cut nails, stone, buttons, flint, coarse earthenware, creamware, porcelain, and rib and other bone fragments	1.06
2	I	Fill	1820	Oyster shell, clinker, brick, cut nails, a gun flint, black-glazed coarse earthenware matching that in Level H, creamware, pearlware, transfer-printed and flow	.81

				blue whiteware, bottle glass, and mammal bone	
2	J	Fill	1820	Oyster shell, handmade brick, cut nails, window glass, the base of a burned redware vessel, black-glazed coarse earthenware matching sherds in Levels H and I, creamware, pearlware, whiteware with red transfer print, annular cabled pearlware, a bone tool handle, large and small mammal bone fragments, and drinking glass fragments	.85
2	K (F7)	Planting feature	1820	Oyster shell, mortar, nails, three links of a brass chain, window and bottle glass, black-glazed coarse earthenware, stoneware, creamware, pearlware, whiteware, annular cabled pearlware, annular creamware, porcelain, and mammal and bird bone	1.12
2	L	Fill (gravel concentration)	1899 <sup>2</sup>	Handmade and machine-made brick, clinker, oyster shell, nails, drinking glass, burned earthenware, black-glazed coarse earthenware matching sherds in Level K, lime-based plaster, creamware, pearlware including at least two green feather-edged plates and cup and mug handles, a copper disc with three nail holes in it, and mammal bone including a pig mandible	.95
2	M	Fill	1840	Oyster shell, handmade brick, cut nails, clear and dark green bottle glass, burned stoneware, lead-glazed coarse earthenware,	1.24

<sup>2</sup> The TPQ would be 1840 except for one piece of modern mortar that honestly looks like it could be a rock. I didn't re-catalogue it just yet, but I could if it makes sense to.



				creamware, pearlware—much of it from a green shell-edged plate—porcelain, and mammal bone including ribs and a cow horn	
3	H	Occupation	1820	Oyster shell, coal, clinker, mortar, handmade brick, nails, creamware, handpainted pearlware, devitrified wine bottle glass, and devitrified window glass	1.44
6	F	Fill	1840	Oyster shell, handmade brick, lime-based mortar, slag, clinker, cut nails, dark green and clear bottle glass, a whetstone, milk pan and garden pot sherds, creamware, mocha motif creamware, green feather-edged plate and other pearlware sherds, sherds of a porcelain bowl, of redware, and of stoneware, two brass buttons, and mammal rib and long and other bone	1.09
6	G	Fill (brick rubble)	1775	Slag and handmade brick, mortar, coal, oyster shell, one nail, lead-glazed coarse earthenware, pearlware, porcelain, leg and other mammal bone, and a fragment of a writing slate	1.13
6	H	Fill (brick rubble)	No Datable Artifacts	Oyster shell, mortar, brick, clinker, and mammal bone	1.33
6	I	Occupation/ transitional subsoil	1840	Handmade brick, lime-based mortar, slag, oyster shell, nails, wire bottle glass, coarse earthenware bowl sherds, creamware, a pewter button, mammal leg and rib bone, and imported tobacco pipe bowl and stem fragments	1.40

7	I	Yard scatter	1840	Coal, oyster shell, handmade brick, cut nails, wine and other bottle, window, and wine glass, a sherd of terra cotta pot rim, a coarse earthenware handle, porcelain, creamware, pearlware, whiteware, and machine-sawed mammal bone	1.22
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<b>Artifacts from the Early Antebellum-Period Price-Household Occupation (ca. 1815-1840)</b>				
<b>Item</b>	<b>Count</b>	<b>Percent</b>	<b>Weight</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Coarse Earthenware	105	6.0	675.9	4.7
Ironstone/White Granite	16	0.9	37.9	0.3
Stoneware	6	0.3	115.5	0.8
Porcelain	41	2.3	56.8	0.4
Whiteware	67	3.8	77.2	0.5
Pearlware	226	12.9	271.8	1.9
Creamware	235	13.4	227.9	1.6
Yellowware	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Refined Earthenware (unidentified)	11	0.6	27.9	0.2
Other Ware Types	38	2.2	126.5	0.9
<b>Total Ceramics</b>	<b>745</b>	<b>42.4</b>	<b>1617.4</b>	<b>11.1</b>
Table Glass	1	0.1	18.7	0.1
Bottle Glass	38	2.2	177.2	1.2
Lighting Glass	11	0.6	4.1	0.0
Window Glass/ Flatglass	25	1.4	14.4	0.1
Other Glass	12	0.7	7.6	0.1
<b>Total Glass</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>5.0</b>	<b>222.0</b>	<b>1.5</b>
Handmade Wrought Nails	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Cut Nails	19	1.1	157.4	1.1
Wire Nails	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Unidentified Nails	90	5.1	482.0	3.3

Brick	452	25.7	14712.1	101.2
Mortar	13	0.7	100.5	0.7
Plaster	3	0.2	6.8	0.0
Asbestos	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other Architectural Materials	3	0.2	211.5	1.5
<b>Total Architectural Materials</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>1.1</b>	<b>318.8</b>	<b>2.2</b>
Iron	25	1.4	280.7	1.9
Copper Alloy	3	0.2	13.0	0.1
Other Metals	2	0.1	203.7	1.4
<b>Total Metals</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>1.7</b>	<b>497.4</b>	<b>3.4</b>
Faunal Bone	394	22.4	958.6	6.6
Shell (Oyster)	237	13.5	4744.8	32.6
Other Organic Material	5	0.3	27.8	0.2
<b>Total Organic Materials</b>	<b>636</b>	<b>36.2</b>	<b>5731.2</b>	<b>39.4</b>
Buttons and Fasteners	5	0.3	6.3	0.0
Toys	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Marbles	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Coins	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Tobacco Pipes	2	0.1	1.4	0.0
Other Small Finds	2	0.1	11.6	0.1
<b>Total Personal Items</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>0.5</b>	<b>19.3</b>	<b>0.1</b>
Coal	19	1.1	223.9	1.5
Clinker	31	1.8	498.7	3.4
Slag	181	10.3	5404.1	37.2
<b>Total Coal/Clinker/Slag</b>	<b>231</b>	<b>13.1</b>	<b>6126.7</b>	<b>42.2</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>1757</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>14532.8</b>	<b>100.0</b>

*The Late Price-Household Occupation (ca. 1840-1869)*

During the middle of the nineteenth century, toward the end of the Price family tenure on the property, the household continued its daily activities with some alterations. Bottle glass rose to 5.9% of artifact counts and 4.2% of weights, and glasswares would continue to make up approximately the same percentages through later periods until the present. This period saw a decrease in faunal materials as percentages of the assemblage, perhaps due to an aging household with fewer members, though confirming this will rely on census records. During this period, with the gathering speed of the Industrial Revolution, coal and clinker came to occupy a higher percentage of the assemblage. Coal makes up 10% of artifacts counts and 14% of weights, while clinker accounts for 4% of counts and 5% of weights. The Prices probably purchased a coal-burning stove to heat their home, as did many other Americans at this time as coal became readily available for that purpose. The high percentages that architectural materials, especially cut nails and brick, make out of the assemblage indicate construction activity on the site during this period, though the distributions of these materials are even enough in space and in stratigraphy to defy the identification of a specific building site or sites. Excavation in Unit 1 does, however, suggest repair work on the kitchen.

As the kitchen reached several decades in age, its post-in-ground architecture came to the end of its life span. Sometimes buildings are at this point dismantled but in this case the kitchen was repaired and continued to service the cook and the Price household. Sometime in the middle of the nineteenth century, after coal had come into use, the post at the northeast corner of the kitchen was removed and coal ash and clinker fell into its place, secured in Feature 5 as Unit 1 Level I. A new post was put in its place and the hold filled in with dirt and debris from the kitchen yard. As a result, the contents of Unit 1 Level F, the posthole that was excavated in three sections, bear the signature of the middle of the nineteenth century: coal, clinker, and ironstone pottery, among other artifacts. It appears that at this point a raised wooden floor was also added to the kitchen. Previously, the dirt floor had been a work space into which bones, glass shards, and ceramic sherds were pressed to form identifiable archaeological levels. But we documented no strata from the latter half of the nineteenth century other than fill pushed under the building. There is therefore a gap in occupation surface between use of the early Antebellum dirt floor and the laying down of the sheet midden in the last decade of the nineteenth and into the twentieth centuries. A wooden floor helped the cook to maintain a clean environment for food preparation. To the west, the entrance to the kitchen may also have been upgraded. Unit 2, Level H included a concentration of gravel that may be the remnants of a path leading from the main house to the kitchen. Elsewhere in the yard, the space remained open and various artifacts were scattered by its use (Unit 3 Level G; Unit 5 Levels G<sub>1</sub> and G<sub>2</sub>; Unit 7 Levels G and H).

Levels and Features Dating to the Mid 19 <sup>th</sup> -Century Price-Household Occupation of 18 Talbot Lane (ca. 1840-1869)					
Unit Number	Level/ Feature	Interpretation	TPQ	Artifacts	Depth
1	F <sub>1</sub> (F5)	Posthole	1830	Brick, slag, oyster shell, cut nails, bottle and window glass, drinking glass, coarse earthenware, creamware, pearlware, transfer-printed whiteware, and yellow ware	.71
1	F <sub>2</sub> (F5)	Posthole	1840	Handmade brick, a large piece of slag, mold-blown empontiled wine or brandy bottle, creamware, pearlware, whiteware, ironstone, coarse earthenware, window glass, and cut nails	.96
1	F <sub>3</sub> (F5)	Posthole	1820	Slag, nails, a clay marble, wine bottle glass, coarse earthenware, creamware, a tobacco pipe bowl fragment, pearlware, whiteware, and a small amount of ironstone	1.18
1	I (F5)	Postmold	No Datable Artifacts	Clinker	1.17
2	H	Remnants of a path?	1830	Oyster shell, black-glazed coarse earthenware, machine-made brick, bottle glass, creamware, pearlware, yellowware, and mamal bone	.70
3	G	Occupation	1885	Handmade brick, mortar, cut nails, a ceramic marble, bottle and window glass, and coarse earthenware, creamware, and shell edged pearlware sherds	1.30
5	G <sub>1</sub>	Occupation	1840	Pearlware, creamware, ironstone, possible canning jar shards, window glass, and sherds of transfer-printed whiteware	.70

5	G <sub>2</sub>	Occupation	1846	Whiteware, pearlware, creamware—some of it transfer-printed—a small quantity of ironstone, cut nails, and window glass	.90
7	F	Occupation/yard scatter	1840	Coal, clinker, handmade brick, cut nails, ironstone, and butchered mammal bone	.70
7	G	Yard scatter	1840	Coal, clinker, oyster shell, handmade brick, cut and wire nails, wine and medicine bottle and window glass, creamware, coarse earthenware, ironstone, one glass button, and mammal and bird bone	.82
7	H	Yard scatter	1907	Coal, clinker, oyster shell, handmade brick, cut nails, a medicine bottle base marked "WT&Co," amber and other bottle glass, window glass, creamware, whiteware, ironstone, and butchered mammal bone, a wire nail, a brass pin with rhinestones set in it, and a celluloid comb	1.00

<b>Artifacts from the Mid Nineteenth-Century Price-Household Occupation (ca. 1840-1869)</b>				
<b>Item</b>	<b>Count</b>	<b>Percent</b>	<b>Weight</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Coarse Earthenware	20	2.5	58.0	1.4
Ironstone/White Granite	35	4.5	64.8	1.6
Stoneware	8	1.0	91.6	2.2
Porcelain	3	0.4	1.9	0.0
Whiteware	56	7.1	50.0	1.2
Pearlware	27	3.4	24.4	0.6
Creamware	44	5.6	59.9	1.5
Yellowware	3	0.4	15.9	0.4
Refined Earthenware	4	0.5	2.6	0.1

(unidentified)				
Other Ware Types	2	0.3	5.4	0.1
<b>Total Ceramics</b>	<b>202</b>	<b>25.7</b>	<b>374.5</b>	<b>9.1</b>
Table Glass	4	0.5	5.1	0.1
Bottle Glass	46	5.9	173.2	4.2
Lighting Glass	3	0.4	0.6	0.0
Window Glass/ Flatglass	93	11.8	54.1	1.3
Other Glass	19	2.4	13.9	0.3
<b>Total Glass</b>	<b>165</b>	<b>21.0</b>	<b>246.9</b>	<b>6.0</b>
Handmade Wrought Nails	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Cut Nails	36	4.6	209.9	5.1
Wire Nails	2	0.3	8.4	0.2
Unidentified Nails	105	13.4	496.6	12.1
Brick	55	7.0	994.1	24.2
Mortar	2	0.3	11.3	0.3
Plaster	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Asbestos	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other Architectural Materials	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
<b>Total Architectural Materials</b>	<b>200</b>	<b>25.4</b>	<b>1720.3</b>	<b>41.9</b>
Iron	4	0.5	7.9	0.2
Copper Alloy	2	0.3	1.8	0.0
Other Metals	8	1.0	20.4	0.5
<b>Total Metals</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>1.8</b>	<b>30.1</b>	<b>0.7</b>
Faunal Bone	60	7.6	71.9	1.7
Shell (Oyster)	19	2.4	133.6	3.3
Other Organic Material	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
<b>Total Organic Materials</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>10.1</b>	<b>205.5</b>	<b>5.0</b>
Buttons and Fasteners	2	0.3	1.2	0.0
Toys	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Marbles	2	0.3	8.7	0.2
Coins	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Tobacco Pipes	0	0.0	0.0	0.0



Other Small Finds	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
<b>Total Personal Items</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>0.5</b>	<b>9.9</b>	<b>0.2</b>
Coal	82	10.4	580.1	14.1
Clinker	29	3.7	218.8	5.3
Slag	9	1.1	721.0	17.5
<b>Total Coal/Clinker/Slag</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>15.3</b>	<b>1519.9</b>	<b>37.0</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>786</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>4110.2</b>	<b>100.0</b>

*The Dawson Household Occupation (ca. 1869-1891)*

When James Price died, his family sold the property to Mordecai and Deborah Dawson. The Dawsons moved in and occupied the property for the next 32 years, during which time they continued to leave an archaeological signature much like that of the Price years: one of genteel white family whose lifestyle was facilitated by African-American labor, this time free. Compared to the other periods of occupation at this site, ceramics, glass, and architectural materials make up a medium percentage of the assemblage from these years. Likewise, the faunal material makes up a medium 25% of artifact counts and 27% of weights. With architectural materials making up 20.9% of artifact counts and 34.2% of weights, there appears to have been some construction during this time, and either during the late Price years or while the Dawsons owned the property the main house was extended toward the east with an addition reaching almost to the kitchen. This addition appears on the first Sanborn fire insurance map of the property in 1891, the year the Dawsons sold the property. The addition still stands and is timber frame on a brick foundation. This is consistent with the large number of nails from the Dawson period, which account for 14.6% of artifact counts, and the amount of brick, which by weight makes up 19.7% of the assemblage. However, the Dawsons mostly produced domestic waste from daily living. They continued the household consumption of coal, which with clinker makes up 9% of artifact counts and 13% of weights. They also continued to use the kitchen, where their live-in cook Harriet Anderson prepared meals for the household.

Anderson would have arrived at the property to find a relatively decent space in which to practice the trade by which she supported her family, along with help from her laborer husband. The kitchen had just been repaired by the Prices and sported a brand new wood floor. The Dawsons and Anderson were able to keep the yard around the kitchen reasonably clean by pushing debris under the building. This was recorded as Unit 1 Level H. Again contributing to the interpretation that a wood floor was added, the layer is too densely artifact-rich to be a useable work surface and it respects no division between the interior and the exterior of the building. Usually, this would indicate that the building had been demolished and this layer of fill was laid over it. However, we know from the levels above H and from the Sanborn fire insurance maps that the building did not come down until around 1900. Therefore the fill that makes up Level H must have been pushed under the raised wooden floor that was added late in the Price tenure.

However, this did not entirely dispose of the artifacts scattered in the yard around the kitchen. 379 artifacts were recovered in Unit 6 Level E, the yard surface to the north of the kitchen during this period. Among these artifacts, ceramics, glass, and faunal material were rich, suggesting that in the three decades that Anderson served here as cook for the Dawsons, the household kept her quite busy. The material record of her work lies richly here in the yard around the kitchen, and much of the fill under her feet as she worked was probably also the material record of her cooking, although among the fill of Unit 1 Level H were also fine pieces like an opaline glass pitcher that were probably kept and used in the main house by the Dawsons and not in the kitchen by Anderson.

Other contexts from this period are less specifically identifiable. In Unit 3, two levels of yard scatter (Levels F<sub>1</sub> and F<sub>2</sub>), were recorded. In Unit 5, two levels of fill were laid (Levels E and F). These levels contain artifacts from the household's daily affairs, from pots for flowers to pottery for eating and from architectural materials to canning jar fragments.

## Artifact Highlights: 1794 U.S. Penny

Archaeologists usually use coins mostly for dating purposes. Especially in the modern era, they bear stamps of the year in which they were produced and motifs that can be readily identified to help determine terminus post quem in the absence of more closely datable artifacts. However, the penny we recovered from the fill under the kitchen, Unit 1 Level H, showed us a different side of coins. Unlike most pennies and nickels, dimes and quarters, which are lost or otherwise taken out of circulation within a few decades, the coin deposited in the late nineteenth century bears the stamp of 1794 and one of the first images ever pressed onto a U.S. penny, that of Lady Liberty holding a cap on a pole.



The image on the coin is a slightly revised version of the first U.S. penny, minted the year before, which had met with concern over Liberty's wilder hair and the use of a chain with thirteen links on the reverse, which a Philadelphia journalist proclaimed to be "a bad omen for Liberty." Both the 1793 and 1794 versions are modeled on the medal that American diplomat Benjamin Franklin and French artist Augustin Dupré created in 1782 to celebrate American independence (Fischer 2005:137-9).

The iconography of Liberty with the cap and pole originated in Ancient Rome, where "slaves were released from bondage by a ritual in which a *praetor* touched them with his wand and gave them a stocking cap as a token of their liberty" (Fischer 2005:41). This history and symbolism were familiar to Early Modern Europeans and Americans in an age in which leaders read widely from classical texts. The imagery was reinvigorated by German archaeologist Johann Joachim Winckelmann's recovery in 1766 of a bas-relief of a Roman goddess of liberty during excavations in Rome. Throughout Britain and British colonies in the Americas, cartoons, sketches, and other images of the goddess *libertas*, later known simply as Lady Liberty, holding a long wand with a stocking cap on the end of it, became widespread in the eighteenth century (Fischer 2005:41).

The image on the coin symbolizes the struggles and inconsistencies within the Revolutionary era in which it emerged and, subsequently, highlights the nature of American freedom and equality as works in progress. The patriots of the American Revolution claimed in the Declaration of Independence that all men were created equal and that liberty was an inalienable right. In New York City in 1766, the Sons of Neptune

adopted the liberty pole with the cap on top as an icon of the rights to autonomy in a pluralistic society (Fischer 2005:37-43). And yet, the Roman tradition they cited was one in which "liberty implied inequality." Most people in Ancient Rome were born into some form of bondage and attained various liberties and degrees of liberty according to their rank in society. And moreover, liberty in the Roman sense was a manmade creation, bestowed upon one person by another and identified with the artifacts of the cap and wand (Fischer 2005:6-7). Within the discourse of the American Revolution and the republicanism of the early years of the United States, there was therefore a disconnect between visions of liberty as natural or divine rights and as social constructions that could be given or taken away. This inconsistency ran parallel to the holding of slaves by many of the Founding Fathers. The finely tuned subtleties of the interplay between freedom and liberty, equality and hierarchy continue to structure much public discourse, debate, and policy in the United States in terms of class, racial, and other social relations. The 1794 penny symbolizes these inconsistencies and the dynamism they have produced in American life.

The penny was recovered from fill underneath the kitchen floor where Harriet Anderson labored to prepare meals for the Dawson household, which included her own family as well. She may have laid down the fill herself and the coin could have been lost at this time, or at some previous date. Much of the material in the fill level came from the middle of the nineteenth century, so the coin could have belonged either to Anderson or to one of the Price's slaves. Pennies being worth a good deal more in the nineteenth century than they are today, this coin was probably dropped accidentally. But whether it belonged to Anderson or to one of the Price slaves, it remained in human hands for between four and nine decades—well after many of the other coins minted in 1794 had fallen from circulation. Why it lasted so long is unclear.

Certainly, the penny possessed economic value. But the African Americans on this site may have been keenly aware also of its symbolic import. What, specifically, they thought of it one can only speculate. Unlike the image's designer, the Price slaves and Harriet Anderson are unlikely to have read any of the classics, and certainly unlikely to have been well versed in Roman history. Yet, they probably knew enough about the Roman use of caps and wands in granting freedom to slaves for this coin to mean something different, and more significant to them than it would to a free, white person at the time. Perhaps one of the Price slaves identified in this coin the promise of freedom. We do not yet know whether Anderson was ever enslaved, but perhaps it meant the same thing to her. Or perhaps yet still she saw in its iconography the imperfections and inconsistencies of freedom in a Postemancipation America still, like Ancient Rome, rigidly hierarchical and in which white Southerners wasted little time in rolling back African-American liberties and installing the legal and social institutions of Jim Crow. Perhaps whoever dropped the coin was conscious of its symbolism and perhaps unconscious of it. But at least for the archaeologist, lady liberty with her pole and cap help to illuminate the ongoing struggles for freedom in Easton and in America in the nineteenth century and throughout our history.

### Artifact Highlights: Canning Jar Fragments

During this period, fragments of glass canning jars begin to appear in small but noticeable quantities. They appear particularly in Unit 5, Levels E and F. Although never making up more than a fraction of a percent of the total assemblage, canning jars significantly altered the way that cooks like Harriet Anderson were able to perform their duties in large households such as that of the Dawsons.

The first commercial production of food in metal cans began in 1837 and in 1858, Mason invented the screw-top glass canning jar (Miller et al. 2000:8, 14). Canned food enabled cooks to work outside of what was available during a season and to introduce more variety into the diets they prepared in the winter months. Prior to food canning, they were restricted by what was fresh and what would keep well in a root cellar, or an icehouse if they worked for a particularly wealthy family. The introduction of the canning jar by Mason enabled cooks to can food in their own kitchens, exerting a greater degree of control over the ingredients at their disposal. However, canning is an intensive process that takes time away from the constant preparation of meals that Harriet Anderson would have had to do. Canning requires not only preparing food but also keeping a hot water bath running until all the jars have been successfully sealed. This occupies the stove and makes preparing anything else difficult for the duration of a canning session. Still, the ability to control the ingredients and the seasonal availability of dishes meant that Anderson was able to offer the Dawsons a greater diversity of foods. Surely, this helped her to maintain her position in the household through the years.

Levels and Features Dating to the Late-Nineteenth-Century Dawson-Household Occupation of 18 Talbot Lane (ca. 1869-1891)					
Unit Number	Level/ Feature	Interpretation	TPQ	Artifacts	Depth
1	H	Fill	1868	Coal, oyster shell, mortar, slag, clinker, cut nails, wine bottle, other bottle, and window glass, drinking glass, most of an opaline glass pitcher, handmade brick, part of a celluloid comb, a 1794 penny, a straight pin and tobacco pipe stem, stoneware, milk pan sherds, creamware, pearlware, whiteware, some ironstone, porcelain, butchered long bone, and rib and joint bone fragments	.71

3	F <sub>1</sub>	Occupation	1885	Coal, handmade brick, stoneware, cut nails, ironstone, creamware, lead-glazed coarse earthenware, and bottle and window glass	1.08
3	F <sub>2</sub>	Occupation	1885	Coal, cut nails, one wire nail, an iron button, bottle and window glass, a graphite pencil fragment, stoneware, terra cotta flower pot, ironstone, and pearlware sherds	1.19
5	E	Fill	1820	One nail, one sherd of ironstone, and fragments of a canning jar	.43
5	F	Fill	1840	Canning jar fragments, ironstone, pearlware, some creamware, handmade brick, cut nails, coal, and a fragment of an early wine bottle	.53
6	E	Natural accumulation/ occupation	1885	Oyster shell, coal, clinker, handmade brick, cut nails, wine bottle and table glass, creamware, pearlware, yellowware, transfer-printed whiteware, ironstone, terra cotta pipe stem, a straight pin, a glass button, mammal limb, rib, and jaw bones, and bird bone	.81

<b>Artifacts from the Late Nineteenth-Century Dawson-Household Occupation (ca. 1869-1891)</b>				
<b>Item</b>	<b>Count</b>	<b>Percent</b>	<b>Weight</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Coarse Earthenware	40	3.0	217.5	3.1
Ironstone/White Granite	43	3.3	134.9	1.9
Stoneware	2	0.2	97.6	1.4
Porcelain	18	1.4	60.8	0.9
Whiteware	79	6.0	99.3	1.4
Pearlware	90	6.8	75.2	1.1
Creamware	52	3.9	37.6	0.5

Yellowware	9	0.7	23.1	0.3
Refined Earthenware (unidentified)	3	0.2	4.2	0.1
Other Ware Types	7	0.5	17.9	0.3
<b>Total Ceramics</b>	<b>343</b>	<b>25.9</b>	<b>768.1</b>	<b>11.0</b>
Table Glass	36	2.7	533.4	7.6
Bottle Glass	95	7.2	254.3	3.6
Lighting Glass	8	0.6	4.5	0.1
Window Glass/ Flatglass	71	5.4	50.2	0.7
Other Glass	7	0.5	14.1	0.2
<b>Total Glass</b>	<b>217</b>	<b>16.4</b>	<b>856.5</b>	<b>12.2</b>
Handmade Wrought Nails	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Cut Nails	58	4.4	310.7	4.4
Wire Nails	3	0.2	7.6	0.1
Unidentified Nails	132	10.0	570.3	8.1
Brick	69	5.2	1383.0	19.7
Mortar	10	0.8	117.9	1.7
Plaster	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Asbestos	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other Architectural Materials	4	0.3	9.9	0.1
<b>Total Architectural Materials</b>	<b>276</b>	<b>20.9</b>	<b>2399.4</b>	<b>34.2</b>
Iron	20	1.5	85.1	1.2
Copper Alloy	2	0.2	13.9	0.2
Other Metals	15	1.1	33.2	0.5
<b>Total Metals</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>2.8</b>	<b>132.2</b>	<b>1.9</b>
Faunal Bone	205	15.5	367.1	5.2
Shell (Oyster)	119	9.0	1496.6	21.4
Other Organic Material	3	0.2	17.7	0.3
<b>Total Organic Materials</b>	<b>327</b>	<b>24.7</b>	<b>1881.4</b>	<b>26.9</b>
Buttons and Fasteners	2	0.2	0.5	0.0
Toys	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Marbles	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Coins	0	0.0	0.0	0.0



Tobacco Pipes	2	0.2	4.2	0.1
Other Small Finds	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
<b>Total Personal Items</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>0.3</b>	<b>4.7</b>	<b>0.1</b>
Coal	88	6.7	760.2	10.8
Clinker	20	1.5	138.7	2.0
Slag	7	0.5	63.7	0.9
<b>Total Coal/Clinker/Slag</b>	<b>115</b>	<b>8.7</b>	<b>962.6</b>	<b>13.7</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>1322</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>7007.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

*The Wright Tenant Occupation (ca. 1891-1946)*

The period during which William Wright owned and rented the property to tenants is the real gem of this archaeological site for a project interested in learning about the lives of African Americans and tenants on The Hill. As deeply connected as the Price-Dawson kitchen is to the labor of enslaved and free African-American cooks, on a site where so many of the archaeological contexts are yard scatter and fill, much of the earlier materials cannot be linked specifically to the enslaved or working-class members of complex households. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when tenants alone occupied the site, the possibilities for analysis are much greater. This phase of occupation also created the greatest number of archaeological strata and added the largest number of artifacts by far to the assemblage. This is only logical, since the period is almost as long as the combined Price tenure and Wright also rented to not one but several families.

As Wright shifted the landscape of the property from single-family occupancy to maximizing the rents he could get by letting out different parts of the lot to different families, buildings like the Price/Dawson kitchen became irrelevant. Architectural materials account for fully 32.7% of artifact counts and 53.3% of artifact weights from this period and many of these artifacts are concentrated in Units 1, 2, and 6, which had 575, 881, and 744 architectural artifacts, respectively. The kitchen destruction thus featured prominently in the statistical record of archaeological events in this period. The post in Feature 5, which had already been replaced once, was removed for good in the twentieth century and the hole filled with refuse from the accumulating sheet midden that filled the backyard. Besides being less useful to an owner intent on subdividing even the main house room by room to rent to tenants, the kitchen had once again run up against the limited lifespan of a post-in-ground building. Moreover, as the twentieth century progressed, detached kitchens became a thing of the past all across the South.

In order to further expand his ability to collect rents, Wright built a new house on the corner of Talbot Lane and South Lane by 1896, when it first appears on the Sanborn maps. This gave him more floor space to rent and maximized the productivity of the property. We did not excavate around this house, but its construction was apiece with landscape changes that shifted the nature of the property toward tenancy. Wright also enlarged the main house with its final addition between 1896, when it does not appear on the Sanborn map, and 1901, when it does. Unit 2, Level G contains fill from this construction episode. The addition must have encountered or even caused drainage problems, for a drainage pipe was installed, its ditch recorded in our excavations as Unit 5, Level D. The ditch was dug sometime early in the twentieth century. Its fill contains a mixture of eighteenth-, nineteenth-, and twentieth-century artifacts, from creamware to wire nails. After the kitchen destruction and house and addition constructions, however, the property was relatively free of abrupt alterations to the built environment for many years. As anyone who has rented property knows, there is little incentive by either the landlord or the tenant to build much of anything. Instead, the buildings were allowed to decay around the tenants to the point where the Women's Club felt obliged to embark on drastic renovations at the conclusion of this period.

Most of the contexts from this period reflect the materially rich lives of several families able to acquire new products with the new age of consumerism that the late nineteenth century ushered in. Mail order catalogues and department stores, chain shops and national brands made goods available at astonishing levels even to those who could not afford to own their homes. Over a 55-year period, Wright's tenants participated actively in American consumer society.

Yet, they had to throw out much of what they bought as it broke. The debris of their lives, from consumer goods to the coal with which they heated their homes and from ceramics to glasswares to food scraps, make up a large assemblage perhaps overshadowed by the architectural debitage if one were to look only at the percentages that ceramics, glass, faunal materials, personal items, and coal and clinker make up of the total assemblage from the period. However, coal and clinker do make a low spike in percentage of the assemblage (23% by number, 27.2% by weight), as the number of families and the number of hearths multiplied on the property. Much of the refuse of daily life for these several families was tossed out into the backyard, where it formed a large and thick sheet midden (Unit 1 Levels C<sub>1</sub>, C<sub>2</sub>, and D; Unit 2 Levels C, D, and F; Unit 6 Levels D<sub>1</sub> and D<sub>2</sub>; Unit 7 Levels C, D, and E). Some of the artifacts in this sheet midden grant insight into the struggles of these tenants to control their lives and their identities.

### Artifact Highlights: Chichester's English Pennyroyal Pills

One of the most curious and complex artifacts from this excavation came from Unit 1, Level C<sub>2</sub> in the shape of a torn piece of celluloid. It was the cover of a booklet on women's health sold with a package of Chichester's English Pennyroyal Pills and matches one from 1903 (MUVS 2015). Another similar, but slightly different booklet was made in 1901 or 1902 (McKune 2015). Though the pages of our example are missing, the matching booklet contains etiquette tips, calendars for 1902-1905, and wax paper for storing stamps. The story of this booklet and the pills with which it was sold, which were presumably consumed by one of the tenants here in 1903, interweaves the histories of gender, class, race, women's health, contraception, abortion and debates



An intact booklet cover from the collection of the Museum of Contraception and Abortion (2015) identical to ours

about it, the commercialization of medicine, the rise of advertising, and the beginning of federal drug regulation. This story is too big to fully discuss here, but even a preliminary investigation of the historical context in which this booklet and the pills that accompanied it appeared and were consumed helps to point the way to a deeper understanding of life for tenants at this site in the early twentieth century.

Chichester's was only one of many brands of abortifacient pills that appeared for sale in Europe and the United States by the 1840s (Riddle 1997:232). Although unobtrusively advertised as "Female Pills," "Female Monthly Pills," "French Lunar Pills," or "Renovating Pills" (Riddle 1997:235), the public understood well that these products were meant to induce menstruation, maintaining a regular cycle and causing the body to expel any fetus that might be gestating. Riddle conceives of such marketing terminology as cleverly covert and thinly disguised attempts to get around social taboos on abortion, but it is also possible that there was even in the nineteenth century no clear division between health and reproduction. One such brand of pills was advertised to "'females laboring under weakness, debility, fluoral bas, often so destructive and undermining to health'" (Riddle 1997:235) and so the language of control over reproduction and control over one's health were entwined in the discourses surrounding abortifacients. The advertisement's focus on health is also quite accurate, since the same products that induced abortions also solved uncontroversial non-pregnancy-related health issues like amenorrhea (Riddle 1997:237). Thus, in medical practice and in both medical and popular discourse, it was impossible to separate reproduction from health. From the 1840s to the 1870s and on up, such pills became increasingly popular and increasingly commercialized. Although re-conceptualized through the Industrial Revolution, the use of abortifacients built on centuries of folk knowledge of the medicinal properties of various plants. As Riddle writes, "women who did not know which plants to gather knew which products to buy" (1997:234). They chose from a wide variety of over-the-counter and prescription products with varying ingredients.

Like many other similar products, Chichester's main active ingredient was pennyroyal, an herb used as an abortifacient since ancient times in Greece, where Hippocrates listed it as a method of birth control and where it was well-enough known to appear without introduction in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* (Riddle 1997:47). These were dangerous ingredients, and cases abound where pills taken to induce abortions caused illness and even death when women took too much of them. Pennyroyal in particular must be taken in precise amounts or it becomes toxic to the liver (Riddle 1997:47). In 1897, a 23-year-old British woman died of congestion of the stomach, intestine, and brain eight days after consuming a tablespoon of pennyroyal to "bring on menstruation" and in August 1912, a 16-year-old girl died at the Maryland General Hospital in Baltimore four days after swallowing 36 pennyroyal pills "of a well-known brand" in order to "seek relief" from a 2-month-long pregnancy (Macht 1913:105-6). Other active herbal ingredients in similar pills included ergot, cotton root, aloe, black hellebore, savin, tansy, and rue. These plants, often reduced to their essential oils for consumption have similar properties either as toxins or as irritants (Riddle 1997:237).

With a great many similar products on the market to treat menstrual problems and to induce abortions, companies like Chichester's turned to advertising during an era that also saw the birth of the Sears and Roebuck catalogue, further elaboration of store-front

window displays that originated in the eighteenth century, and the creation of shopping as an experience like none other (Cook et al. 1996:54). Chichester's English Pennyroyal Pills, later renamed Diamond Brand, were sold in what W.A. Puckner and L.E. Warren described in 1911 as "a small tin box, 'elegantly and artistically decorated in red, black, and gold'" (Puckner and Warren 1911:1591). Examples of these attractive pill boxes may still be found for sale by antique collectors online. Puckner and Warren's package also came with a booklet, which they quote, explaining reasoning behind the recent change in name from Chichester's Pennyroyal to Chichester's Diamond Brand Pills as an effort to fight competition:

"Our Remedy was formerly called 'Chichester's English Pennyroyal Pills,' but on account of unscrupulous imitations offered under the name of 'pennyroyal' our remedy will hereafter be known only as 'Chichester's Diamond Brand Pills.'

"Treatment may be begun at any time, although in some instances the pills are more effective if taken about the regular time for the menstrual flow. As a rule, however, it is found that more satisfactory results are secured by beginning treatment at once and continuing it until the pills give relief."

Puckner and Warren also noted that "Only one small page each is devoted to 'Amenorrhea,' 'Dysmenorrhea,' and 'Directions,' the remainder is taken up with testimonials, cautions to 'Take no other,' 'Refuse all others,' 'Beware of imitations,' etc." (Puckner and Warren 1911:1591). It would seem that Chichester's was overwhelmingly concerned with outcompeting its commercial rivals. Even the directions on how to achieve the best results from the pills may be seen in part as an effort to ensure consumer satisfaction and guarantee future repeat customers.

The celluloid booklet whose cover we recovered in Unit 1, Level C<sub>2</sub>, was a part of these same advertising efforts. Made only a few years before Puckner and Warren's package and before the name switch, the rear page of our booklet also bears the warnings against knockoffs, proclaiming that here is "THE ORIGINAL" "THE ONLY GENUINE" "THE BEST." And it prints a picture of the pill box so that consumers will recognize it when they are shopping. The contents of the booklet, titled "'Chic' Helps and Hints," included materials unrelated to the usage of pills but instead relating to the consumption of femininity. The respectable woman of the turn of the twentieth century was expected to be able to manage a household, and so this booklet included calendars to keep track of schedules and wax paper to hold stamps and facilitate literacy and letter-writing. The front cover bears the image of a well-to-do white woman with unblemished skin, her hair done up without a strand amiss, and her face adorned with makeup. Here, Chichester's would have it, was the pinnacle of femininity. By following the "helps and hints" and by consuming the pills—to maintain menstrual health or even to avoid unwanted pregnancies—a woman could achieve this ideal, even if she herself were poorer, lacked the time to devote to her appearance, or were non-white. Women who bought and took these pills consumed this particular brand of femininity and Chichester's used the appeal of this constructed gender ideal to help sell its pills. And because the company had to

constantly battle competitors in an ever-shifting marketplace, its packaging continuously changed. This is how we could so precisely date the booklet we recovered. The one produced in 1903 is slightly different from the one made the year before, and different still further from the packaging Puckner and Warren encountered in 1911. Our example is closest to that in 1903. And so the world of advertising becomes not only an interpretive tool but a dating tool for the archaeologist.

But the world of advertising had limits. In 1906, the US Food and Drug Administration was formed to regulate the economy for consumables in the United States. As an over-the-counter medical product, Chichester's English Pennyroyal Pills fell under its mandate. In fact, Puckner and Warren suggest that this, not competition, is the true reason behind the change that took the word "pennyroyal" out of the product's name, for they charge the company with false advertising. Upon examining the chemical makeup of a package of pills they purchased on the open market, Puckner and Warren found no presence of pennyroyal or any other abortifacients, including black hellebore, tansy, savin, and ergot. Even the claim that the pills were sugar-coated "is scarcely warranted by the facts." They therefore suggest that "the change of name from 'Chichester's English Pennyroyal Pills' to one in which the word '*Pennyroyal*' does not occur is significant...Under the Food and Drug Act it would be illegal to sell as 'Pennyroyal Pills,' pills that did not contain that constituent." As such, their editor concluded that "the use of this nostrum is pernicious and in the interest of public health and public morals its sale, and the sale of similar nostrums, should be prohibited" (Puckner and Warren 1911:1591-2).

It may appear odd that contributors to, and the editor of, the *Journal of the American Medical Society* would comment on the propriety and legality of false advertising. It is not an entirely medical issue. Yet, it was common since the nineteenth century for medical experts to decry the sale and consumption of abortifacients on the grounds that they did not work. What is perhaps more intriguing is that while doctors labeled abortifacient pills as nostrums, they themselves prescribed the same recipes for menstrual issues unrelated to birth control (Riddle 1997:237). What emerges from the pages of the AMA and other medical publications is a fight between medical practitioners and drug companies for authority and influence over American women, their health, and their bodies. Yet, despite abundant claims of the ineffectiveness of over-the-counter abortifacients, modern research shows that pennyroyal, the ingredient in question in the Chichester's case, actually does work. The plant's oils contain pulegone, which is fatal to fetal tissue (Riddle 1997:47, 124). Puckner and Warren's AMA editor readily conceded that "white it is true that many of these nostrums are merely fraudulent, rather than dangerous, yet not a few contain potent and—for the purpose for which sold [abortion]—villainous drugs" (1911:1592). And so when the arguments against effectiveness fell short of stopping efforts by their patients to achieve abortions, medical experts turned to bourgeois morality.

Although pills such as Chichester's English Pennyroyals could be taken to address uncontroversial, widely-recognized gynecological problems, every brand received harsh condemnation on moral grounds that focused on the products' abortifacient properties. The makers of A.M. Mauriceau's Portuguese Female Pills felt obliged in their 1847 book *The Married Woman's Private Medical Companion* to defend against accusations that "if



woman had certain knowledge on how to prevent pregnancy, their sexual morals would be destroyed" by pointing out "the social benefits of limiting family size" (Riddle 1997:232-3). Recall that Puckner and Warren's editor called effective abortifacients "villainous" (1911:1592)! There has therefore been a strong opposition to contraception and abortion in the United States since at least the nineteenth century on the grounds that women freed of the risk of pregnancy will engage in licentious behavior well outside of Victorian moral standards. As shown above, this view was often espoused by doctors. It was also the view of many legislators, who passed aggressive anti-abortion laws in every state in the 1850s (Riddle 1997:244). Benevolent societies like the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice, whose leader Anthony Comstock lobbied successfully for the 1873 Comstock Act that outlawed pornography and abortifacients from being carried through the U.S. mail, led this crusade against sexual impropriety (Riddle 1997:245-6). And so the fight between the producers and consumers of such pills and those who opposed them took on the semblance of a class and gender conflict. It pitted male legislators against female consumers and both male and female producers like Ann Lohman, arrested in 1878 under the Comstock Act (Riddle 1997:246). It pitted the educated against the "ignorant women" who believed the false advertisements (Riddle 1997:242). And it opposed the formalized, male-dominated institutions of medicine against the midwives who often supplied the pills as part of their trade (Riddle 1997:246). In a Jim Crow era where the legislators and doctors were overwhelmingly white, but where people of color could certainly be midwives and consumers, the controversy also took on racial tones. The woman who bought and consumed Chichester's English Pennyroyal Pills therefore stood as a threat to the idealized (white) femininity of the bourgeoisie.

And yet, Chichester's packaging and advertisement does not stand merely in opposition to this ideal. It engages with it. The woman depicted on the front cover of the little celluloid booklet found at the Women's Club site appears the very image of bourgeoisie femininity. She is white, elegant, clean. And so in terms of imagery and medical practice, those who produced, sold, and took the pills both challenged and consumed an ideal tinged with class, gender, and racial significance. They did so in a complex way that acknowledged certain conceptions of class, gender, and race, but also worked to construct tangential and alternative ideals. Moreover, women who used abortifacients came from all backgrounds. Although the moral rhetoric would make it seem that mostly indigent women used these pills, in mid-nineteenth-century New York not a few wealthy women were among the patrons of Madame Restell (Ann Lohman)'s famous abortion clinic (Riddle 1997:246). Puckner and Warren note that in 1911, Chichester's retailed for \$2 a box, or 10¢ a pill (1911:1591). Adjusting for inflation, this amounts to around \$2.40 per pill in today's money (Bureau of Labor Statistics).<sup>1</sup> The price seems meager, but pills were sold by the box, which would today have cost almost \$50. They were therefore not inexpensive. Puckner and Warren comment that "the profits in retailing at \$10 per hundred ought to be satisfying even to the most avaricious" (1911:1591). Prices such as these may have restricted the availability of Chichester's English Pennyroyal Pills and similar products to working-class women, but at least some, including one tenant at the Women's Club site in the early twentieth century, saw them as necessary.



We cannot say for sure how she would have viewed her purchase and the pills she took. Were they a pathway to control over her reproductive system? A means of making the best of opportunities by limiting family size or the timing of children's births? Were contraception and abortion necessary evils? A way of achieving some semblance of bourgeois ideal femininity? What did they mean in terms of her relationships with other members of her family? At this point we have more questions than answers. Perhaps finding out more about the family structure of the tenants who rented space on this property in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries will shed light on some of our unanswered inquiries. The presence of a toy gun and pieces of a toy fire truck in nearby and slightly more recent levels suggest that one of the families of renters here did have a child, a young boy who was enculturated into prevailing notions of masculinity in the decades that followed the appearance and discard of Chichester's English Pennyroyal Pills sometime around 1903. The specific meanings of these artifacts for residents here surely had much to do with their personal lives. But they also provide a window into the local construction of all of the broader discourses surrounding reproduction, sexuality, gender, class, and race in early twentieth-century America.

Other levels created during the time when tenants occupied the site include three fill events in Unit 3 (Levels C, D, and E) and a level of yard scatter above the sheet midden in Unit 6 (Level C). After the drainage pipe was installed under where we located Unit 5, the tenants used that northern side yard between the two houses as a work space. Artifacts from Unit 5, Level C included several tools, such as a wrench, a pair of scissors, a bolt, and a horseshoe. Given the presence of a wrench and bolt, it seems possible that one of the tenants was engaged here in repairing engines. There is not enough material to support any full-time employment in mechanics in the side yard, but this tenant may have done some small jobs or worked on his or her own car or lawnmower engine to save some money.

<b>Levels and Features Dating to the Wright Tenant Occupation of 18 Talbot Lane (ca. 1891-1946)</b>					
<b>Unit Number</b>	<b>Level/ Feature</b>	<b>Interpretation</b>	<b>TPQ</b>	<b>Artifacts</b>	<b>Depth</b>
1	C <sub>1</sub>	Occupation/sheet midden	1935	Coal, clinker, oyster shell, brick, mortar, cut and wire nails, glass from five or more bottles, lighting glass, window glass, bottle caps, a clothespin spring, screws, a tire valve, glass marbles, stoneware, coarse earthenware, porcelain figurine fragments, creamware, pearlware, whiteware,	.04

				ironstone, and some mammal bones	
1	C <sub>2</sub>	Occupation/sheet midden	1935	Coal, clinker, brick, mortar, cut and wire nails, screws, a staple, a wing nut, an iron valve handle, mason jar, bottle, and window glass, glass marbles, iron and glass buttons, buckles, bottle caps, a music box or book key, creamware, pearlware, whiteware, ironstone, coarse earthenware, mammal bone—much of it butchered—and the celluloid cover to a booklet for Chichester's English Pennyroyal Pills	.23
1	D	Sheet midden	1907	Coal, clinker, handmade and machine-made brick, mortar, oyster shell, cut and wire nails, a screw, mold-blown wine bottle glass, drinking glass, case bottle glass marked "LOWELL MASS," other bottle glass, table glass, a buckle, a suspender clip, a fragment of a writing slate, a fragment of a celluloid comb, white clay and porcelain tobacco pipe fragments, American stoneware, creamware, pearlware, whiteware, ironstone, porcelain, blue-glazed whiteware matching some from Level C <sub>2</sub> , and much butchered mammal bone	.35

1	E (F5)	Postmold	No Datable Artifacts	Coal, clinker, oyster shell, slag, bottle glass, and iron hardware	.74
2	C	Natural accumulation/sheet midden	1900	Brick, modern mortar, coal, clinker, asbestos tile, the lid to a can, iron wire, a washer, screws, cut and wire nails, canning jar and green bottle glass, window glass, a glass bead and glass button, two bottle caps, a buckle, and mammal bone and teeth fragments	.30
2	D	Occupation/sheet midden	1907	Handmade brick, mortar, coal, clinker, slag, oyster shell, cut and wire nails, a hinge, a key, an iron button, a nut, a figurine, early plastic, machine-made soda bottle glass, clear and blue and amber bottle glass, a glass insulator for an electrical system, ironstone, transfer-printed whiteware of several colors, some creamware and coarse earthenware, and mammal bone, glass marbles, the ladder and a wheel from a toy fire truck, and a toy iron gun	.38
2	E	Lens of fill from nearby pipe trench excavation	1885	Clinker, coal, slag, handmade brick, cut nails, clear bottle glass, a clay marble, window glass, blue bottle glass, creamware, pearlware, ironstone, whiteware, bullet casings, and mammal bone, some of it butchered	.49

2	F	Occupation/sheet midden	1935	Coal, clinker, handmade and machine-made brick, modern mortar, slag, oyster shell, cut and wire nails, window glass, blue and clear bottle glass similar to that in Level D, burned glass, stoneware, coarse earthenware, yellowware, pearlware, transfer-printed whiteware of several colors, annular whiteware, a glass marble and glass button, a buckle, a penny whose date was obscured by corrosion, a key guide, a brass, chrome-plated, wall-mounted bottle opener, and mammal and bird bone	.59
2	G	Fill (brick concentration)	1885	Handmade brick, slag, mortar, oyster shell, cut nails, window glass, creamware, whiteware, one sherd of ironstone, one of coarse earthenware, and mammal bone	.64
3	C	Fill	1917	A nail polish bottle, an electrical plug, wire nails, and coal	.23
3	D	Fill	1885	Wire nails and lead-glazed coarse earthenware	.45
3	E	Fill	1885	Cut nails, stoneware, oyster shell, window and bottle glass, and brick	.86
5	C	Occupation	1935	Cut nails, some screws, whiteware and porcelain plate sherds, window and bottle glass, a wrench, scissors, a bolt, horseshoe, and plastic	.20

5	D	Drainage pipe trench	1885	Handmade brick fragments, cut and wire nails, bottle and window glass, creamware, pearlware, ironstone, yellow ware, and porcelain	.38
6	C	Natural accumulation/ occupation	1935	Oyster shell, coal, clinker, handmade and machine-made brick, mortar, wire and cut nails, asbestos tile, liquor, wine, and medicine bottle and window glass, storage jar fragments, creamware, pearlware, whiteware, ironstone, coarse earthenware, pipe stems, iron hardware, glass and ceramic marbles, bullet casings, glass and celluloid buttons, a toy truck tire fragment, and a twist tie	.30
6	D <sub>1</sub>	Natural accumulation/ occupation	1907	Oyster shell, handmade brick, lime-based and modern mortar, coal, clinker, cut and wire nails, medicine bottle and other bottle and window glass, lighting glass, an s-shaped pothook, staples and bolts and other iron hardware, bullet and shotgun shell casings, brass wire, a pencil top, fragments of a celluloid comb and a bone toothbrush, buttons, marbles, creamware, pearlware, whiteware, yellowware, ironstone, porcelain, and mammal long and rib bone fragments, many of them butchered	.53

6	D <sub>2</sub>	Natural accumulation/ occupation	1907	Oyster shell, coal, slag, handmade and machine-made brick, modern mortar, cut and wire nails, wine and medicine bottle and window glass, table and drinking glass, creamware, pearlware, yellowware, porcelain, ironstone, redware, Rockingham ware, American stoneware, a bone toothbrush fragment, bone handle, a drawer pull, a knife handle fragment, and mammal leg joint and bird long bone fragments	.69
7	C	Sheet midden	1840	Coal, clinker, cut and wire nails, storage jar, window, and table glass, terra cotta and creamware and ironstone sherds, and a brass button	.35
7	D	Sheet midden	1765	Coal, clinker, cut and wire nails, machine-made brick, an iron strap fragment, medicine and other bottle glass, window glass, a glass bead, and creamware	.46
7	E	Sheet midden (coal ash)	1885	Oyster shell, handmade brick, cut and wire nails, ironstone, and butchered mammal and bird long bone	.64

<b>Artifacts from the Wright Tenant Occupation (ca. 1891-1946)</b>				
<b>Item</b>	<b>Count</b>	<b>Percent</b>	<b>Weight</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Coarse Earthenware	62	0.7	287.3	0.5
Ironstone/White Granite	170	2.0	553.5	1.0
Stoneware	25	0.3	198.3	0.4

Porcelain	122	1.5	160.1	0.3
Whiteware	358	4.3	354.4	0.6
Pearlware	164	2.0	210.6	0.4
Creamware	85	1.0	61.5	0.1
Yellowware	32	0.4	108.2	0.2
Refined Earthenware (unidentified)	10	0.1	7.3	0.0
Other Ware Types	34	0.4	93.1	0.2
<b>Total Ceramics</b>	<b>1062</b>	<b>12.6</b>	<b>2034.5</b>	<b>3.6</b>
Table Glass	17	0.2	59.2	0.1
Bottle Glass	668	7.9	1308.4	2.3
Lighting Glass	32	0.4	9.4	0.0
Window Glass/ Flatglass	388	4.6	262.8	0.5
Other Glass	245	2.9	608.6	1.1
<b>Total Glass</b>	<b>1350</b>	<b>16.1</b>	<b>2248.9</b>	<b>4.0</b>
Handmade Wrought Nails	1	0.0	19.4	0.0
Cut Nails	390	4.6	1633.5	2.9
Wire Nails	638	7.6	1872.6	3.3
Unidentified Nails	650	7.7	1574.1	2.8
Brick	769	9.1	21853.0	39.0
Mortar	255	3.0	2798.4	5.0
Plaster	1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Asbestos	27	0.3	48.2	0.1
Other Architectural Materials	18	0.2	58.1	0.1
<b>Total Architectural Materials</b>	<b>2749</b>	<b>32.7</b>	<b>29857.8</b>	<b>53.3</b>
Iron	211	2.5	1737.9	3.1
Copper Alloy	14	0.2	64.4	0.1
Other Metals	101	1.2	387.3	0.7
<b>Total Metals</b>	<b>326</b>	<b>3.9</b>	<b>2189.6</b>	<b>3.9</b>
Faunal Bone	494	5.9	807.5	1.4
Shell (Oyster)	168	2.0	2097.5	3.7
Other Organic Material	6	0.1	3.8	0.0
<b>Total Organic Materials</b>	<b>668</b>	<b>7.9</b>	<b>2908.3</b>	<b>5.2</b>

Buttons and Fasteners	26	0.3	31.8	0.1
Toys	8	0.1	114.4	0.2
Marbles	35	0.4	175.3	0.3
Coins	10	0.1	3.0	0.0
Tobacco Pipes	13	0.2	22.0	0.0
Other Small Finds	14	0.2	69.3	0.1
<b>Total Personal Items</b>	<b>106</b>	<b>1.3</b>	<b>415.8</b>	<b>0.7</b>
Coal	1680	20.0	14105.8	25.2
Clinker	255	3.0	1103.4	2.0
Slag	181	2.2	1082.9	1.9
<b>Total Coal/Clinker/Slag</b>	<b>2116</b>	<b>25.2</b>	<b>16293.2</b>	<b>29.1</b>
<b>Total Synthetics/Modern Materials</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>0.4</b>	<b>28.4</b>	<b>0.1</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>8412</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>55997.5</b>	<b>100.0</b>



*Late Talbot County Women's Club Occupation (ca. 1946-2013)*

The Talbot County Women's Club is the current owner of the property and acquired the main house and the yards around it in 1946. This marked the end of the major domestic use of the property, although the Women's Club currently rents out a back apartment in the Dawson addition. After 50 years of renting, the property and the house were in poor shape. TCWC historian Arianna Porter-King reports that the grounds were overgrown and a dumping ground. She is probably describing the sheet midden. The club embarked on a dramatic renovation and restoration of the house. They dismantled the front porch and rebuilt much of the interior. Their efforts were so extensive that architectural materials make up an extremely high 32.6% of counted artifacts and 58.9% of artifact weights in this period. Although not a large percentage of the assemblage, there are more handmade (21) and cut (29) nails than one might expect for the twentieth century. This is because the renovation entailed dismantling much of the existing building.

In addition to the work on the main house, the Women's Club renovated the back and side yards of the property. Dissatisfied with the overgrown bottle dump that had accumulated during the renting years, the club removed much of the large materials in the sheet midden, of which rather few large items survived to be documented during excavation. What had been a trash deposit gave way to a grassy lawn as topsoil and sod cover were encouraged over top of what was left of the sheet midden. The top two levels in every unit were this sod and topsoil except for Units 1 and 2, where sod and topsoil were lumped together into level A and where Levels B were fill deposited by the Women's Club during the renovation in preparation for the laying of sod. Except for a high number of architectural artifacts, most of the artifacts come from the previous occupation that were incorporated into the topsoil and sod that grew over what the tenants left behind. This situation accounts for much of the makeup of the assemblage from this period. Compared with the previous, domestic occupations, this period's assemblage was somewhat light on faunal material, which accounted for only 8% of artifact counts and 12.4% of weights, although ceramics, and glass continued to compose roughly the same proportions as before. There was a decrease in the presence of coal and clinker. Surprisingly, the quantities of domestic refuse are much higher than one might expect for a non-intensely occupied site with modern trash removal service. Faunal material actually increased as a percentage of the assemblage over the previous period. These percentages can be almost entirely attributed to the tenant-period levels on top of which the grass grew.

As part of the renovation in the 1940s, the Women's Club removed the tree that had been planted south of the frame house during the early Price years. The tree appears in a before-picture from a local newspaper article about the restoration, but is gone in an after-picture (*Star-Democrat* 1958:Ed8). Unit 4, Levels C, D, G, K<sub>1</sub>, K<sub>2</sub>, and L were fill from this tree removal. Levels E, F, H, I<sub>1</sub>, I<sub>2</sub>, and R were root holes associate with the tree. The fill of this twentieth-century tree hole includes a number of handmade bricks and household waste from the earlier tree removal and fill in the Federal Period, into the layers of which the twentieth-century tree removal dug. Whatever occupation levels might have accumulated around the tree were also disturbed and mixed into the fill. The twentieth-century levels of fill thus mix together eighteenth-, nineteenth-, and twentieth-century artifacts, including bricks from the building of the frame house's foundation and bricks from a twentieth-century patio around the tree that the Women's Club took down.

<b>Levels and Features Dating to Talbot County Women's Club Occupation of 18 Talbot Lane (ca. 1946-2013)</b>					
<b>Unit Number</b>	<b>Level/ Feature</b>	<b>Interpretation</b>	<b>TPQ</b>	<b>Artifacts</b>	<b>Depth</b>
1	A	Sod and topsoil	No Datable Artifacts	None	-.08
1	B	Topsoil/fill	1907	Coal, brick, cut and wire nails, glazed handmade brick, auto glass and a tire fragment, creamware, pearlware, and coarse earthenware	-.02
2	A	Sod and topsoil	1907	Coal, mortar, handmade brick, a nail, asbestos tiles, clear bottle glass, a painted chip of wood, ironstone, creamware, and mammal bone	.25
2	B	Lens of fill	1965	Mortar, brick, coal, wire nails, asbestos tile, plastic bag fragments, plastic insulation for a wire, burned glass, clear bottle glass, painted bottle or table glass, pearlware, and butchered and broken mammal bone fragments	.25
3	A	Sod	1973	Plastic and glass	.00
3	B	Topsoil	1965	Plastic, coal, wire nails, and a fragment of a plastic bag	.06
4	A	Sod	1907	A plastic-coated wire fragment, wood fragments, and a 1982 US penny	.00
4	B	Topsoil/Occupation	1965	A pull tab, a bike tire valve, glass marbles, a pocket knife, fragments of toy truck wheels, canning jar fragments, and a few pearlware and lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds	.49

4	C	Lens of fill	1885	Ironstone, window and bottle glass, two cut nails, coal, and brick	.39
4	D	Fill	1938	Cut nails, one large handmade nail, wine glass fragments and a base, a screw, fragments from 2-3 table glass vessels, clay and glass marbles, a button, creamware, pearlware, annular whiteware, ironstone, canary ware, coarse earthenware with paint or glue fragments on it, coal, brick, mortar, and oyster shell	.59
4	E	Root hole	No Datable Artifacts	Window glass	.54
4	F	Root hole	No Datable Artifacts	None	.59
4	G	Fill	1907	Cut nails, fragments of 3-4 table glass vessels matching those in Level D, fragments of a handmade glass bottle, buttons, a porcelain doll's arm, coarse earthenware with paint or glue on it matching that in Level D, creamware, pearlware, annular whiteware, and ironstone	.59
4	H (F3)	Root hole	1885	A wire nail	.71
4	I <sub>1</sub> (F3)	Root hole	No Datable Artifacts	Handmade brick and nail fragments	.74
4	I <sub>2</sub> (F3)	Root hole	No Datable Artifacts	None	1.10

4	J (F3)	Root hole	1805	Oyster shell, handmade brick, a wrought nail, and a fragment of a bluish bottle glass base	.70
4	R (F3)	Root hole	No Datable Artifacts	None	1.25
4	K <sub>1</sub>	Fill	1935	Cut nails, one large handmade nail matching that from level D, handmade brick, mortar, coal, oyster shell, a bottle opener, iron and plastic buttons, fragments of one or more table glass vessels matching some of those from Levels D and G, an iron buckle, and sherds of lead-glazed coarse earthenware, creamware, pearlware, black transfer-printed whiteware, annular whiteware, and canary ware	.67
4	K <sub>2</sub>	Fill	1820	Handmade brick, coal, clinker, oyster shell, mammal bone, cut nails, fragments of one or more table glass vessels, window glass, buttons, creamware, pearlware, lead-glazed coarse earthenware, and black transfer-printed whiteware	.85
5	A	Sod	1973	Fragments of several different plastic items, a bike inner tube cap, a clay marble, insulation, grout, and nail fragments	.00
5	B	Topsoil	1907	Fragments of plastic, a paper wrapper to a Snickers bar, and a metal bottle cap	.10

6	A	Sod	No datable Artifacts	None	.07
6	B	Topsoil	1907	Coal, oyster shell, handmade and machine- made brick, mortar, asbestos tile, wire and cut nails, a stainless steel screw, green and amber bottle glass, table glass, window glass, plastic, creamware, pearlware, ironstone, coarse earthenware, and mammal bone	.18
7	A	Sod	1805	Coal and a cut nail fragment	-.02
7	B	Topsoil	1958	Clinker, oyster shell, wire nails, plastic, and mammal bone	.14

<b>Artifacts from the Talbot County Women's Club Occupation (ca. 1946-2013)</b>				
<b>Item</b>	<b>Count</b>	<b>Percent</b>	<b>Weight</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Coarse Earthenware	20	1.3	42.9	0.4
Ironstone/White Granite	20	1.3	51.0	0.5
Stoneware	2	0.1	22.2	0.2
Porcelain	12	0.8	23.2	0.2
Whiteware	37	2.4	34.0	0.4
Pearlware	41	2.6	38.5	0.4
Creamware	40	2.6	39.3	0.4
Yellowware	1	0.1	0.0	0.0
Refined Earthenware (unidentified)	1	0.1	7.3	0.1
Other Ware Types	6	0.4	32.5	0.3
<b>Total Ceramics</b>	<b>180</b>	<b>11.6</b>	<b>290.6</b>	<b>3.0</b>
Table Glass	4	0.3	40.9	0.4
Bottle Glass	147	9.5	334.3	3.5
Lighting Glass	6	0.4	1.2	0.0

Window Glass/ Flatglass	61	3.9	43.4	0.5
Other Glass	99	6.4	132.7	1.4
<b>Total Glass</b>	<b>317</b>	<b>20.4</b>	<b>553.4</b>	<b>5.8</b>
Handmade Wrought Nails	21	1.4	150.0	1.6
Cut Nails	29	1.9	211.6	2.2
Wire Nails	36	2.3	100.9	1.1
Unidentified Nails	116	7.5	328.1	3.4
Brick	180	11.6	4166.5	43.6
Mortar	64	4.1	551.2	5.8
Plaster	6	0.4	5.1	0.1
Asbestos	41	2.6	101.3	1.1
Other Architectural Materials	13	0.8	20.8	0.2
<b>Total Architectural Materials</b>	<b>506</b>	<b>32.6</b>	<b>5635.0</b>	<b>58.9</b>
Iron	20	1.3	79.4	0.8
Copper Alloy	2	0.1	2.4	0.0
Other Metals	37	2.4	134.4	1.4
<b>Total Metals</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>3.8</b>	<b>216.2</b>	<b>2.3</b>
Faunal Bone	30	1.9	38.0	0.4
Shell (Oyster)	98	6.3	1150.5	12.0
Other Organic Material	5	0.3	1.6	0.0
<b>Total Organic Materials</b>	<b>133</b>	<b>8.6</b>	<b>1190.2</b>	<b>12.4</b>
Buttons and Fasteners	9	0.6	22.2	0.2
Toys	3	0.2	6.5	0.1
Marbles	15	1.0	67.5	0.7
Coins	1	0.1	2.1	0.0
Tobacco Pipes	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other Small Finds	3	0.2	19.4	0.2
<b>Total Personal Items</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>2.0</b>	<b>118.1</b>	<b>1.2</b>
Coal	213	13.7	1447.4	15.1
Clinker	12	0.8	62.0	0.6
Slag	1	0.1	16.0	0.2
<b>Total Coal/Clinker/Slag</b>	<b>226</b>	<b>14.6</b>	<b>1525.5</b>	<b>16.0</b>

<b>Total Synthetics/Modern Materials</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>6.4</b>	<b>35.2</b>	<b>0.4</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>1551</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>9564.2</b>	<b>100.0</b>





## CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

During the past 220 years, the property we have studied here was owned by three different families and then by the Talbot County Women's Club. Each owner reconfigured the built environment to suit their needs and the archaeological record reflects many of these transformations. The Prices established an elite lifestyle that existed through, and was made possible by, the labor of enslaved African Americans, including a cook. This tradition was emulated by the Dawsons, and after the Civil War their free African American cook, Harriet Anderson, moved into the kitchen the Prices' cook had established and took on the same role. The Prices and Dawsons maintained a division, however permeable, between their private living quarters and the work buildings and spaces in the backyard, where the kitchen was located. When the property passed to William Wright, this division vanished as several families crowded into the main house and a new one Wright had built to the north. The backyard became alike a place for work and play and trash disposal. One can well imagine the psychological and health effects of overcrowding that prompted concerns over family size and how to raise children well in a rented environment. By the time the Women's Club took control of the property in 1946, years of landowner neglect and tenant crowding had made the yards so cluttered and the house in such bad repair that the Club had to spend a great deal of effort to fix the house and replant the lawn and garden before it would serve the needs of the club. Yet, beneath the sod the Women's Club well preserved the story of the previous occupants.

The preoccupation of this excavation and this report has been with artifacts and features associated with free African Americans and with tenants, who may sometimes have been the same people. Identifying African Americans in the site's archaeology has proven difficult but not impossible. During the first century of inhabitation, both property owners and others lived on the site at the same time and contributed to the same landscape and its archaeological traces. This is the case for the Prices and James Price's apprentices, hirelings, and enslaved individuals, and it is also the case for the Dawsons and Harriet Anderson's family and other servants. Much of the yard scatter during these periods is therefore the product of many hands and tying specific archaeological remains to specific people is difficult. Unlike on many plantations from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, one cannot assume black labor as the means of constructing any buildings, though it is a distinct possibility. However, other artifacts and features can be more positively identified with black residents, enslaved and free.

The most significant piece of archaeology during the Price and Dawson occupations that can be firmly tied to African Americans is the kitchen. James Price almost certainly held an enslaved cook at this site from at least 1820, if not earlier. At this date, the census shows that the household included only the Prices and their slaves, so one of the enslaved individuals must have served as cook in the kitchen that dates to that time. When the Dawsons moved in after Emancipation, they brought Harriet Anderson to fill that role and prepare meals for them as well as for her family and other servants. The excavations that we conducted here revealed the northeast corner of the kitchen and portions of the yard around it to the north and west. From these layers, we recovered a great deal of animal remains, as well as the broken sherds of pottery and glasswares that inevitably result from work in a busy kitchen that was in service for a century. Further excavation of the kitchen and of the yard around it, where much food preparation probably also went on, will reveal much about a common occupation for both enslaved and free African Americans in Easton in the nineteenth century and provides an opportunity to compare the experiences of the Prices' enslaved cooks with Harriet Anderson's.

How did Emancipation affect the work of the black cook serving a white family? We have not yet had an opportunity to study in depth the food waste in these layers, but identifying the diet through analysis of the faunal remains is one way to address this question and the changing work experiences of different members of the African-American community on The Hill. In addition, comparing the dietary patterns at this site over time with those on outlying plantations in Talbot County could help to illuminate the role of foodways in the process of urbanization in Easton. Lastly, an intrasite comparison between the diets of the white families with black slaves/servants and the diets of the later tenants would help to highlight the material and ecological dimensions of social hierarchy. These further studies are all possible without the excavation of additional materials.

This excavation was also principally concerned with the lives of tenants. Often, not much is known about how they lived their daily lives at home because, like many African Americans, they do not make it into historical records in a big way. Initially, we had hoped that the early Price years might give some insight into the lives of African-American tenants, but new information from historical sources indicated that in fact the likelihood of free black tenants living on the property at the time was slim. However, the Wright period of ownership has proved to be a treasure trove of information on tenancy from an archaeological point of view. Chief among the features related to tenants for learning about daily life is the sheet midden deposited from the late nineteenth through the early twentieth centuries across most of the backyard. Here the several families that rented from Wright deposited their kitchen and other refuse and children played, while nearby between Wright's two tenant houses one tenant worked on repairing machinery. We have only sampled this midden and more information about the lives of these tenants remains in just a few layers below the surface of the backyard. Already, however, there is much material from six decades of tenant occupation. Identifying more in the historical records about the tenants and who they were would go a long way towards being able to more rigorously interpret the archaeological remains of their lives.

Although the kitchen and the midden are the most significant finds from this excavation for interpreting the lives of African Americans and tenants, we uncovered hints of other features and artifacts that also relate to our main research questions about both of these groups. During the Federal Period, it appears that the Prices may have allowed some blacksmithing activity on the back portion of the lot. Though we were unable to locate a forge on the portion of the property that we excavated, such a forge may have existed and is likely to have been used by African-American blacksmiths. Land records indicate that many of Price's neighbors in these early years were free African Americans (Cynthia Schmidt 2014, personal comm.).

Blacksmithing activity in the back portion of Price's property may be related to the first sermon in Easton by a minister from the African Methodist Episcopal Church in 1818. The AME Church has used blacksmith iconography in memories of its denominational history and perhaps the location for the sermon in Easton was chosen in part because of the nearby forge (Jenkins 2014). However, the relationship between the forge and the sermon is still not well understood. Excavations to the east of the Women's Club property could confirm the presence of a forge there and help to further illuminate not only the relationships between the Prices and their neighbors, but also the history and development of African Methodism and free black community in Easton.

Other work areas associated with African Americans include the possible wagon shed in the northeast corner of the site, most of which lies on an adjacent lot but was once part of the property. This was probably where black servant Scipio Thomas cared for the Dawsons' horses.

It may also have been in place and in use by an enslaved manservant during the Price years. In later years, tenants also engaged in various work activities on the property, including in the yard north of the main house. Of these activities, and in truth of those around the kitchen and midden as well, we have so far discovered only a glimpse in the brief excavation described in this report. Many of the details of these fragments of African American and tenant life at the Women's Club site could be further illuminated by more excavation, especially at the kitchen and the adjacent property to the east. The former would yield a more comprehensive look at the activities of black cooks like Harriet Anderson, while the latter might locate the forge that produced the coal, clinker, and slag that appears in so many late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century contexts here. Excavation in the yard to the north would also grant data about the tenant family that were that house's first inhabitants in the early twentieth century. Thus, further excavation both on the Women's Club property and adjacent to it would be fruitful. Excavation at these locations is recommended when time, labor, and funding allows.

The excavations determined that the archaeological record at the Talbot County Women's Club is intact and bears significant information on the lives tenants in Easton in the late eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries. Although there are several properties in the town that could shed light on tenant-landlord relationships across this time span, the Women's Club site's clear association with enslaved and free African-American cooks and later with tenants, and its demonstrated high level of archaeological integrity make it of particular importance to local, state, and national narratives of struggles for freedom and equality across both racial and class lines. Both the Women's Club and The Hill are therefore eligible for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places under criterion D. Because of the integrity and uniqueness of the archaeological record at the Talbot County Women's Club, we recommend that the site be protected for further archaeological research. Additional testing here and in the adjacent lots that make up the northern half of the town block, which were once part of James Price's property, may provide additional information on the lives of tenants in three centuries, and on their relationships with landlords. This is important to the story of The Hill.

The excavation detailed in this report is a preliminary step with many promising lines for future research into social relations on The Hill over the past two hundred years. The assemblage from this site can be further analyzed to provide more depth of interpretations, especially in terms of the ways food can reflect and constitute social relations. However, the overwhelming concern of The Hill Community Project, the search for information on community formation processes, directs that the primary attention of archaeologists should turn to other sites. We have learned a great deal about life at the Talbot County Women's Club property over the years, but this site alone cannot tell us the whole story of community life and development on The Hill. To fully understand what role the people who lived here played in Easton's social life, we will have to excavate elsewhere to develop a greater archaeological and historical context for the material record at this site. We may then return to gain new insights into the assemblage and what it can tell us about the past.



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