

ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation: BROUGHT UP CAREFULLY: THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF WOMEN, RACE RELATIONS, DOMESTICITY, AND MODERNIZATION IN ANNAPOLIS, MARYLAND, 1865-1930

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This dissertation explores the ways in which gender identity played an important role in shaping social and economic systems in post-Civil War Annapolis, Maryland. Focusing on the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, this study examines the definition, negotiation, and contestation of normative ideas about gender and acceptable social relationships during this time period of numerous social, political, and economic changes. Emergent gender ideologies were closely connected to citywide and national priorities, and normalized identity configurations were used to determine who would be considered eligible for civil rights and the protections of citizenship, and to individualize inequalities.

Utilizing historical and archaeological evidence from two streets in the historic district of Annapolis, this dissertation focuses on the ways in which negotiations of gender norms can be seen through archaeologically recovered material culture - namely historic features, ceramics, glass, and fauna. This dissertation argues that the "public" project of governance in Annapolis was accomplished partially through negotiations about "domestic" spaces and responsibilities, which are closely tied to gender and race.

During the post-Civil War period, developing gender norms - including ideas about what made a man worthy of citizenship or a woman worthy of protection - played an important part in reformulated expressions of white supremacy, initiatives to modernize cities, and the organization of domestic spaces and priorities. A variety of tactics were used to negotiate gendered identities in Annapolis, and variations in the ways that gender ideologies were expressed reflect active mediations of dominant ideologies.

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RELATIONS, DOMESTICITY, AND MODERNIZATION IN ANNAPOLIS,
MARYLAND, 1865-1930

by

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Chapter 1 : Introduction

The end of the American Civil War in 1865 necessitated a reconfiguration of the nation's social, economic, and political structures (Blight 2001, Dailey et al. 2000, Englehardt 2011, Foner 1998, Lears 2009, Richardson 2001). Gender and sexuality played an often unacknowledged role in the racialization processes of the American capitalist system and the construction of modern cities in the post-Civil War period (Camp 2011b: 14-15). Gender normalization, identification, and differentiation affected the emerging post-Civil War social and economic systems, which reshaped American cities, domestic spaces, and diets. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, normative social configurations and gendered attributes were being defined, negotiated, contested, and re-defined on a regular basis (Dye 1991). The impact of changing ideologies about womanhood and domesticity had repercussions beyond individual families or households, and emergent gender ideologies were closely connected to larger debates and public priorities. Through normalization, some behaviors were marked as safe and acceptable, while others were considered to be threatening or unnatural. These differences were then used to determine who would be considered eligible for civil rights and the protections of citizenship (Shah 2001).

This dissertation project presents a historical and archaeological study of gender normalization, and changing ideas about the proper behaviors of women, in Annapolis, Maryland, focusing on the years between the Civil War and the Great Depression. Negotiations of normative behaviors are reflected in everyday practices, which can be seen archaeologically through material culture. Several overarching research questions guide this study. How did gender identities and differentiation affect the new social and

economic systems that emerged in Annapolis and other American cities following the Civil War? How were ideas about domesticity used to delimit acceptable and unacceptable behaviors in public as well as private spaces? How was the “public” project of governance accomplished partially through negotiations about “domestic” spaces and responsibilities? Archaeological materials came from excavation units placed along the public-owned streetscapes and in backyard spaces along two streets in the historic district of the city. The archaeological materials were interpreted in conjunction with archival and documentary sources. These sources provide insight into the ways that normative ideas about domestic etiquettes and management, public health behaviors, and appropriate use of urban space were negotiated by residents of a diverse area of the city, illuminating larger processes of engagement with these discourses in the City as a whole.

For Annapolis, Maryland, like other American cities, the end of the Civil War brought about demographic and governmental changes. At the time of the 1850 census, the city had a total population of 3,011 people, and the population more than doubled over the next thirty years (Leone 2005:21, Papenfuse 1975). This growth can be attributed to multiple catalysts. Following the Civil War, there was an increased demand for service workers and laborers in the City. This demand was due to the return of the Naval Academy from Rhode Island to Annapolis, an increase in construction in the City, and the growth of water-oriented industries (Ives 1979). Concurrent with population growth during the late nineteenth century, a system of patronage within the City government was being replaced with more impersonal regulatory and administrative structures (Palus 2009).

As a slave-holding state, which fought on the side of the Union, Maryland was in a unique position at the end of the Civil War. Although Annapolis had a substantial free African American population before Emancipation (Leone 2005), Maryland's social, legal and economic structures had to be adapted to the abolition of slavery following the Civil War. This necessitated new strategies of racialization, to replace the old system (Lears 2009) which was outlawed after the adoption of what are often called the Reconstruction Amendments to the U.S. Constitution: the Thirteenth Amendment, the Fourteenth Amendment, and the Fifteenth Amendment. These amendments outlawed slavery, instituted a broad definition of citizenship that extended citizenship to black Americans, and prohibited governments from denying a citizen the right to vote based on "race, color, or previous condition of servitude," respectively. The new constitutional amendments extending the rights of citizenship to African Americans were a "striking departure in American Law" and faced opposition (Foner 1998: 107).

Gender roles were reconfigured by the war and, following the war, gender continued to play a role in racialization. The Civil War destabilized gender roles, as women had to head households during and after the war, and began to take larger public roles (Whites 2005: 5-7). In the wake of postbellum constitutional and social changes, new barriers to civil rights for African Americans were increasingly constructed based on the idea that their behaviors were non-normative or unworthy of citizenship. After the War, "whites were unwilling to expand their prewar definitions of 'manhood' and 'womanhood' to include formerly enslaved persons – gender and sexual roles were rewrought and white supremacists intended to reassert their dominance by playing on

antebellum themes – the ‘Sambo’ incompetence of the black male and the moral bankruptcy of black women” (Clinton 1992: 310).

African Americans actively worked to create a counter-narrative to the tropes of black men as idle and criminal and black female unworthiness for protection, as “ideas about African American criminality and social pathology were amplified in the aftermath of the Civil War” and “white southern elites looked for ways to resuscitate the prewar conventions of slavery” (Crooms-Robinson 2012: 562). The narrative countering the assault on African American worthiness for citizenship included diverse strains such as W.E.B. DuBois’ (2008[1903]) focus on developing the talented tenth, which emphasized the role of higher education in developing the leadership capacity of the most able African Americans, activist and African American women’s club movement leader Mary Church Terrell’s focus on virtuous and proper black women, and Marcus Garvey’s assertion that African Americans would only improve their condition under the protection of a nation founded by African Americans in West Africa (Crooms-Robinson 2012: 562).

The 1870s through the 1930s was a time of great economic transformation and growth in the United States. The industrial economy emerging after the War necessitated that people be placed into increasingly rigid social categories, and there was a much anxiety in the public discourse about mixing, blending, and passing (Englehardt 2011, Lears 2009). The end of legal enslavement brought increased concerns about miscegenation and fear from white leaders about African American rights of citizenship and property, and social and political systems responded accordingly in the post-Civil War era. As populations expanded in urban areas, including Annapolis, during the late nineteenth century, administrators were also concerned with modernizing and policing

urban space and urban residents, transforming the appearances of cities and attempting to better regulate the behaviors of urban populations and make them more governable (Abrahams 2009). These concerns can be seen in Annapolis city codes, which increasingly regulated behaviors in public space, as well as behaviors related to public health and sanitation, as the nineteenth century progressed (Annapolis City Counselor 1897, McCullough 1869, McWilliams 1935, Riley 1908). This regulation of behaviors and spaces did not just occur at the level of state or local legal administration, it was also enacted through other discourse about domesticity that connected collective social well-being to individual genteel behaviors. Discourse about domesticity, enacted through material practices that can be seen archaeologically, codified norms and created narrow ideas surrounding acceptable domestic, social, and sexual arrangements (Shah 2001).

Scholars often relegate studies of gender to the household or the single home lot, but gender differentiation had much larger impacts on the appearance of our cities, and ways of life, than is usually acknowledged. Racial segregation, suburbanization, demands for public utilities, and progressive reforms all had gendered aspects, as did changing spatial layouts of homes, home furnishings and diets, which were all carefully laid out in prescriptive literature and, later, studied by domestic scientists. The reason that we do not always acknowledge the role of gender is because these configurations are so naturalized today (Schenone 2003). We don't often stop to think about what was at stake during the post-Civil War time period, when gender ideologies and definitions about what was gender normative and what was deviant were being reconfigured (Englehardt 2011, Faust 1996, McCurry 2010, McPherson 2003, Silber 2008, Whites 1995). However, this dissertation asks what else was being said when someone installed indoor plumbing in his

or her home, carefully selected a set of plain ironstone dishes, opened a bottle containing a pre-packaged national brand good, or decided to avoid certain “unsafe” streets or neighborhoods while walking?

For decades, historians have looked at the ways in which racial strategies were reconfigured in the South and the North after the collapse of the Confederacy (Blight 2001, Dailey et al. 2000, Foner 1988, 1988, Richardson 2001, Woodward, C. 1971[1951]). This has included important work in historical archaeology surrounding how, throughout the nineteenth century, racialization has been involved in social class differentiation, and on how the segmentation of socially-constructed “races” naturalizes the lower status of working-class people (Camp 2011b: 14-5). Historians have examined how gender concepts and constructions had a profound influence on the beliefs underlying the Confederacy and the American South, and the ways in which white southerners reconfigured these beliefs during and after the demise of the Confederacy (Faust 1996, McCurry 2010, McPherson 2003, Silber 2008, Whites 1995). Social historians and anthropologists have also discussed how the mid-nineteenth century through early-twentieth century was a particularly dynamic era socially, economically and politically, as industrial capitalism restructured gender, race, and class relations (i.e. Brodtkin-Sacks 1989, Coontz 1988, Margolis 1984). However, the role that gender and sexuality have played in the racialization processes of the capitalist system and the construction of modern cities after the Civil War has largely been ignored in historical archaeology. This dissertation argues that gender roles and evolving ideologies of gender were important in the changes that took place after the Civil War, and are visible through

the archaeological record in architecture, features related to public utilities, ceramics, glass, and faunal materials.

Research on domesticity in historical archaeology has generally focused on how material culture expressed dominant Victorian middle-class gender ideologies in the nineteenth century (Wood 2004), known by scholars as the Cult of Domesticity, or alternately as the Cult of True Womanhood, which divided the world into “separate spheres,” the feminine domestic sphere and the masculine public sphere (Poovey 1988, Smith-Rosenberg 1985, Welter 1966). Studies have also focused on how households used material culture to create a genteel lifestyle, engaging with etiquette rules and a worldview that defined proper behaviors, ascribed moral connotations to them, and focused on the role of environment in the formation of character (Wall 1994, Fitts 1999, Praetzellis and Praetzellis 2001). These interpretations generally contrast what is “domestic” with what is “public.” However, when what is “domestic” is also contrasted with what is “foreign,” domesticity can be expanded to include normative ideas about public health and sanitary behaviors. Domesticity can then be used as a frame of analysis to examine how otherness, particularly based on gender and racialization, is demarcated. Domesticity in this sense focuses on the process of domestication, instead of domesticity as a static condition (Kaplan 1998).

The social processes through which certain ideas and behaviors come to be seen as “natural” or “normal” are called normalization. These normalized ideas and behaviors become the taken-for-granted of everyday life (Foucault 1979, Butler 1999). Foucault theorized normalization as involving the construction of an idealized norm, and then the subsequent measurement of individuals against that norm. Individuals are rewarded for

conforming to normative behavior or are punished for deviating from it. Differences from norms are therefore marked as deviant, unsanitary, or disruptive, while normative behaviors or formations, like whiteness, are rendered invisible. Foucault (1979: 184) saw normalization as a function of power, making it possible to “render the differences useful by fitting them one to another.”

Naming, classifying, and categorizing are constitutive parts of normalization, and are also ways of making spaces and people legible and governable (Abrahams 2009). Normalization plays an important part in identity construction, helping to delimit the constitutive categories that social groupings like gender are based on (Butler 1999). During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries normative and non-normative gender behaviors and social configurations were constantly being defined, negotiated, contested, and re-defined (Englehardt 2011). The development of ideas about what was natural or unnatural, safe or unsafe, were an important part of the systems of social differentiation that supported capitalist inequalities. The normative is mutually constituted by what is considered to be deviant or implausible. Through normalization, certain behaviors were marked as safe and acceptable, while others were seen as threatening or unnatural. These differences were then used to individualize inequalities, determine who was eligible for the rights and protection of the state and who was able to participate in the public sphere (O’Connor 2001, Shah 2001). Repetitive, structured, everyday behaviors, which reflect negotiations of gender norms, result in the production of the major categories of material culture that archaeologists study (Perry and Potter 2006: 116). Studying normalization, as a lens to understand the creation of difference in

Annapolis, is used to move away from static interpretations of identity in the archaeological record.

Between the Civil War and the Great Depression, the nation was struggling with post-War reconciliation between the North and the South, increasing urbanization and expanding urban populations, the effects of increasing industrialization and mass production, economic panics and depressions, increasing foreign immigration, and the beginning of American imperialism (Lears 2009). Influenced by these concerns, categorizations of identity became even more important to social interactions. The impetus to create social boundaries was also aided by the emergence or professionalization of disciplines that aimed to scientifically study social life and social problems – including anthropology, sociology, public health, psychology, sexology, and domestic science – as well as social reform movements and the extension of governmental regulation (Hall 2006: 105). These historical currents, many of which are usually conceived of as occurring in the public sphere, had a profound effect on how domesticity was defined and who was included in its premises.

The study of normalization and the construction of gendered identities in Annapolis is significant for its contributions to understandings of Annapolis' specific historical trajectory. Past scholarship about Annapolis in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries has not explicitly foregrounded gender as an important factor in the construction of difference along with race and social class. There are also parallels between the way that this process played itself out in Annapolis, and the ways in which other urban and southern locations were negotiating similar social changes and anxieties that accompanied Reconstruction and the subsequent Progressive Era.

Gender negotiations and formations from this time period, and reactions to them, have had lasting effects. Efficiency and Americanization, cornerstones of domestic science, were tied to national projects of modernization and nation-building (Schenone 2003, Shapiro 2009). The American diet of processed foods and white bread was developed and perfected during this time period through new technologies, domestic science and home economics (Englehardt 2011, Shapiro 2009, Strasser 1982). Ideas that women should stay home and should be primary caretakers of their children, that women could be paid less because they did not have to support families on their own, and that single parents or women who worked would be inadequate parents also all found articulation during this time period (Kessler-Harris 1991), and they are conversations that continue today. If the formation and effects of gender ideologies remain unexamined, then there is little possibility of addressing gender inequalities and naturalized gender stereotypes in the future.

Normative Domesticity, Gender, and Race

During its first year of publication, in 1884, the *Evening Capital*, a daily Annapolis newspaper, ran a front-page story that played itself out over a two-week period. This story, detailing the marriage of a white woman and an African American man, illegal in Maryland at the time, provides a sensationalized local example of the ways in which gender norms, and ideas about what constituted legitimate social interactions, were policed in Annapolis during the late nineteenth century.

Coverage of the story, which was described in the first headline as “The Anne Arundel Scandal” began during the newspaper’s second month of publication, on July 24, 1884. The article described the marriage between Miss Helen Owens, a white resident of

Anne Arundel County, and “Jesse Plater, a colored farm hand.” The two had eloped to Washington, DC, to avoid Maryland’s anti-miscegenation laws. After a short description of the wedding, detailing its location and officiant, the article spent two paragraphs explaining the lengths that others had gone to in order to dissuade the two from marrying. The *Evening Capital* (1884a) describes the couple’s reaction to the efforts of the African American minister who performed the wedding, and the African American woman whose house the ceremony took place in, to get Miss Owens and Mr. Plater to abandon the idea of marriage to each other:

Miss Owens, however, was bent on it. ‘I want to marry him,’ said she in reply to the colored woman’s representation that she would soon repent of her marriage. ‘They say you are insane,’ said the colored woman. ‘I am not insane,’ replied Miss Owens. ‘There has been no insanity in my family and they cannot show that there has been.’

On remonstrating with Plater on the foolishness of marrying outside of his race, he answered: ‘she wants me to marry her, and I am going to do it.’

The article further described the distress of Miss Owens’ “highly connected” family and friends at the news of the marriage, and the efforts of her brother-in-law to prevent its consummation. The brother-in-law failed in his efforts because he failed to get a warrant for Mr. Plater’s arrest and a requisition from the Governor for Mr. Plater’s return to Maryland before pursuing the couple (Evening Capital 1884a).

Public charges of bigamy must have been leveled against Mr. Plater. Five days after the initial story ran, a follow-up piece appeared in the *Evening Capital*, which detailed the groom’s assertion that his first wife had died and that he had not been married at the time of his marriage to Miss Owens (*Evening Capital* 1884b). A week after the article about the failure to call the marriage into question based on charges of bigamy, another article appeared in which the couple asserted their happiness. In the article, Plater

described Washington, DC as the “‘city of refuge’ for his race” and Owens asserted her happiness and disclosed their plans to set up housekeeping once she received an inheritance from her mother’s estate (*Evening Capital* 1884e).

The rest of the article described where the couple were living in DC, Plater’s current employment and future employment plans, and speculated about whether they would ever visit Anne Arundel County again. To address this last question, the *Capital* wrote, “Jesse had better steer clear of these parts if he don’t want to come into contact with Judge Lynch and Limber Hemp.” In addition to expressing this threat on Mr. Plater’s life, the article also reported on the fear of the African American homeowner and carriage driver who assisted the couple in their elopement that they would be prosecuted for their role in the event. The driver who took them to the station, for example, was described as coming forward as soon as he heard the account of the events, asserting that he thought that Miss Owens was also African American because she had a veil on over her face (*Evening Capital* 1884e).

This account illustrates some of the anxieties and norms surrounding racialized gender ideologies in late nineteenth century Anne Arundel County and Annapolis. It engages the important social issues of miscegenation, lynching black men who are perceived as socially dangerous to protect white womanhood and white supremacy, and the idea that Plater is unable to achieve the manly ideal of supporting his family properly. One article implies that Owens’ economic contribution was needed for the couple to set up their own household despite the fact that Plater was working (*Evening Capital* 1884e). Miss Owens is violating the norms of ideal womanhood by disobeying her family’s wishes and marrying a man who cannot provide the required amount of income to fully

support their family. The author may have particularly wanted to cast doubt on Plater's ability to support his wife, and therefore his character generally, because Plater was violating established racial boundaries.

The *Evening Capital* presented a sensationalized account of this event, intended to provide feed public interest in the story and provide an object lesson for anyone thinking of transgressing racial boundaries. Nonetheless, the description of one instance of how issues of proper male and female behaviors and interactions intersected with ideas about race in Anne Arundel County begs the question of how social boundaries and interactions were also policed in the city in more mundane ways, through everyday engagements with material practices and discourse about domesticity, modernization, and public health. How were these anti-miscegenation laws part of a suite of strategies - including rules and regulations about public space, city ordinances, prescriptive literature, and reform movements - that constructed ideas about the proper behaviors of women and normative feminine practices and attempted to control what could be considered acceptable and plausible behaviors and social relationships (after Shah 2001)? How did these strategies naturalize social boundaries based on identity to the point that mid-twentieth century white residents were able to say that "Annapolis has always had desegregation and nothing was ever thought about it" because there were always "several families of colored people on every street in town," and were therefore able to ignore the real effects of systematic racism in the City (White and White 1957: 68 as cited in Mullins 1999a: 68)?

Four core concepts inform this project –normalization, identity, urban administration, and material practices. These core concepts, which will be explored in

Chapter Two, are interrelated ideas that help to expose the political negotiations around the following research questions: How did gender differentiation affect the new social and economic systems that emerged in Annapolis and other American cities following the Civil War? How were ideas about domesticity used to delimit acceptable and unacceptable behaviors in public as well as private spaces? How did a heterogeneous population become a legible, administrable, unified urban unit? How was this “public” project of governance accomplished through negotiations about “domestic” spaces and responsibilities? How were these negotiations shaped by discourses and practices of social identification and differentiation, particularly surrounding gender, race, and labor? And finally, what is the correspondence between administrative objectives (what is constructed, legible, or “known”), and everyday lived experiences?

The Study of Normalization and Domesticity through Historical Archaeology

Archaeological studies of domesticity have tended to take the form of gender-based research, examining the ways that material culture was used in the expression of middle-class gender ideologies in the nineteenth century, particularly the Cult of Domesticity, which divided the world between the feminine domestic sphere, and the masculine public sphere (Wood 004). Wall (1994, 1999), for example, focused on the ways in which nineteenth century, white, middle-class women in New York City were active participants in shaping their domestic environments, and in enforcing the separation between public and private spheres. Generally studies of domesticity have looked at the ways in which households were creating a genteel lifestyle, through engagement with normative genteel values, behaviors, and material goods (Fitts 1999, Praetzellis and Praetzellis 2001). Gentility is associated with values including piety,

purity, domesticity in women, and rectitude, thrift, sobriety, and hard work in men (Welter 1966). Ideas about gentility also linked nineteenth century master narratives about social progress to personal morality, and focused on the role of the environment in the formation of character (Praetzellis and Praetzellis 2001).

Pioneering studies about nineteenth-century womanhood and domesticity (Wall 1994, Fitts 1999) focused on how middle-class households were using material culture, particularly the material culture associated with dining practices, to create a genteel lifestyle. Wall (1999) looked at table and tea ceramics, as well as table glass, to explore the ways in which middle-class women in Greenwich Village in New York City were engaging with prescriptive literature and how, at certain meals women were acting in the role of either moral guardian of the family or arbiter of the family's gentility. Fitts (1999) also looked at table ceramics, pointing to the prevalence of white tablewares in middle-class households in Brooklyn, and correlating this prevalence with the color white's association with purity and virtue.

An unintended result of these studies of domesticity has been a focus on middle-class Victorian womanhood, and its associated prescriptive literatures, behaviors, and material cultures, as a "yardstick by which all forms of domesticity are measured" (Wood 2004: 213). Many subsequent studies have interpreted uses of material culture that do not conform to middle-class patterns as resistance to middle-class hegemony, or uses of material culture that are consistent with middle-class patterns as aspiration to middle-class status (Wood 2004). Increasingly, however, scholars are recognizing that assimilation and resistance are not directly mirrored in the material record, and that material distinctions can be signaling accommodations in much more complex ways

(Lucas and Shackel 1994, Greenwood and Slawson 2008). Exemplary studies in urban contexts have examined the ways in which vectors of social difference like race (Mullins 1999a, 1999b) and class (Brighton 2001, Karskens 2003) facilitated the formation of different expressions of domesticity that served specific needs.

Mullins (1999a, 1999b) discussed how middle-class African American residents of the Maynard-Burgess house in Annapolis were consuming national brand products to circumvent the racism of local markets. He argued that analysis of the forms of ceramics that residents of the site were utilizing suggests that they engaged in genteel dining practices although they did not have matching sets of ceramics, as the prescriptive literature demanded. Paul Gilroy (2010), a scholar of black diasporic culture who was not speaking directly about archaeological studies, also discussed the entanglement between consumption, racialization, and civil and political rights. Gilroy (2010: 11-12) looked at mid-twentieth century consumer culture and the ways that “political outlooks were reshaped by patterns of interaction in which racialized subjects discovered themselves and their agency through their social life as consumers rather than as citizens.” He argues that African Americans strove for civil rights and human recognition through consumption. According to Gilroy, this tactic has implications about demands on public and private resources, which have not been sufficiently addressed by historians.

This project on Fleet and Cornhill Streets expands on Mullins’ work (1999a) and more recent work in history and historical archaeology (Barnes 2011, Brandon 2004, Camp 2011a, Cohen 2003, Praetzellis and Praetzellis 2001), looking at the relationship between gendered consumption, racialization, and civil rights. This connects to gender normativity, because women were considered to be the family’s primary consumers in

the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as production in the home decreased (Mullins 2011: 87, Shapiro 2009, Strasser 1982). Strategies of domestic consumption were also influenced by social class identities and labor positions, because gender and race both shape labor experiences and organization (Silliman 2006: 152). Social relationships of class are expressed as much in household activities, and the values that are attached to them, as they are in the workplace, and class is inexorably connected to gender, race, and ethnicity (Wood 2002, Wurst 2006: 198, Kruczek-Aaron 2002, Spencer-Wood 1999). To a large degree, gender and race have determined who can work, what types of jobs are available to a person, and when he or she can work (Camp 2011b: 15). Class-based identities and labor positions also shaped the material priorities and tactics that can be seen archaeologically.

Notions of domesticity in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, which will be further discussed in the second chapter, connected the collective social well-being to individual daily practices and, when applied as a set of normative ideals “tended to curb social variety into a narrow expectation of domestic, social, and sexual arrangements that were acceptable, plausible, recognizable, and knowable.” (Shah 2001: 15). This study ties the etiquettes, behaviors, and material culture of domesticity that might otherwise be relegated to the realm of “household” activities, to larger debates about the legibility and governability of bodies and spaces that are tied to urban sanitation, public health and modernization. This expands the range of material culture that can be seen to contribute to the negotiation of domesticity, and places the literature of urban health and sanitation reform in a new perspective. Previously, studies of domesticity in historical archaeology have only minimally engaged with discussions of public health, for example

to discuss epidemics as one of the reasons that may have influenced middle-class residents to move away from the city center to healthier, higher, more well-drained suburbs (Wall 1994).

Even when the idea of universal separation between female domestic and male public spaces is questioned (Voss 2006, Rotman 2006), the binary opposition between what is considered to be domestic and what is considered to be public often remains unexamined. During the early twentieth century, important negotiations were taking place around domestic spaces, and confining ideas about domesticity to the elaboration of the domestic sphere ignores the ways in which the progressive reform movements themselves made connections between the world of the household and the larger society's political and economic institutions (Dye 1991). The emerging field of domestic science, for example, made domesticity an objective body of knowledge that could be actively pursued through scientific housekeeping and cookery, and which had links to the prescriptively "male" worlds of research, technology, business, and higher education (Shapiro 2009: 44-5). It was also during the mid- to late-nineteenth century that foreign immigration to the United States reached its peak, and the United States was taking its first steps towards imperial expansion following the Spanish-American War in 1898 (Lears 2009: 276-279). Therefore, we should recognize that during this time, what was domestic also came to be seen in opposition to what was foreign or other, and not just what was public (Kaplan 1998). Taking this view acknowledges the specific historical currents occurring in the post-Civil War United States, and opens up new understandings of domesticity's role in demarcating otherness and difference.

In the discipline of historical archaeology, studies of public health and public sanitation behaviors are usually treated separately from discussions of domesticity. These studies focus overwhelmingly on privy use and abandonment, and how changes in privy location or privy construction type reflect changing ideas about public health and sanitation (Fisher et al. 2007, Geismar 1993, Stottman 2000, Warner and Genheimer 2008). The existing literature usually focuses on the ways in which privies may embody ideas about public health, cleanliness, privacy, and beauty (Wheeler 2000), and on adoption or non-adoption of new sanitary conventions by different households, based on class or other social differences (Crane 2000). When the tightening of legal restrictions in mid- to late-nineteenth century cities are mentioned, they are generally used to inform site formation contexts of privies (Geismar 1993). The ways in which prescriptions related to gender identity, class and race influenced the rhetoric of sanitary reformers and the role that this discourse played in mapping ideas about bodies and spaces in urban landscapes are left unexamined or for future research projects (Crane 2000). Palus (2005, 2009, 2011) has argued that most studies of public sanitation do not critically examine the sanitation reform movement itself, and his work in Annapolis, which looks at the ways in which improved and expanded sanitation infrastructure contributed to the expansion of governmental authority, is an important departure that informs this dissertation project.

Archaeology on Fleet and Cornhill Streets

During the spring of 2008, Archaeology in Annapolis, a long-term archaeological research project that explores the history of Annapolis, began work on Fleet and Cornhill Streets in the historic district of the city. Archaeology in Annapolis was contracted by the

City of Annapolis Department of Public Works to conduct excavations on these streets in anticipation of the undergrounding of overhead utility lines, as well as the maintenance of already underground utilities. Fleet and Cornhill Streets are located between the City Dock and State Circle, and the area has been used for commercial and residential purposes since before the existing streets were laid out in the 1770s. Under contract with the City, test units were excavated under the public sidewalks along Fleet (18AP111) and Cornhill Streets (18AP112), as well as in the Market Space (18AP109) of Annapolis, at the base of Fleet and Cornhill Streets¹. These excavations were also part of the City-wide celebrations marking the 300th anniversary the Royal Charter of the City of Annapolis, and the excavations were open to the public.

During the following three summer field schools, between 2008 and 2010, additional test units were excavated in private backyard spaces at 40 Fleet Street (18AP110), 30 Cornhill Street (18AP114), and 41 Cornhill Street (18AP115) (Figure 1.1). Data from these excavations forms the core of this dissertation analysis, although comparative data is drawn from previous archaeological investigations of nearby sites, including sites on Fleet and Cornhill Streets, the public streetscape of State Circle, and other sites excavated by Archaeology in Annapolis. The work was also informed by

¹ Archaeological site numbers in Maryland are issued by the Maryland Historical Trust. Each site number consists of three parts. The first is a numerical designation, which represents the state in which the archaeological site is located. Maryland was the eighteenth state alphabetically when the system was first implemented, therefore site numbers in Maryland begin with an 18. The second part of the site number is a two-letter code, which represents the city or county in which the archaeological site is located. In this case, the sites are all located in Annapolis, which is represented by AP. The third part of the site number designates the order in which the site was recorded by the state historic preservation officer. For example, the Market Space (18AP109) was the 109th site recorded in Annapolis (Shaffer and Cole 1994: 39).

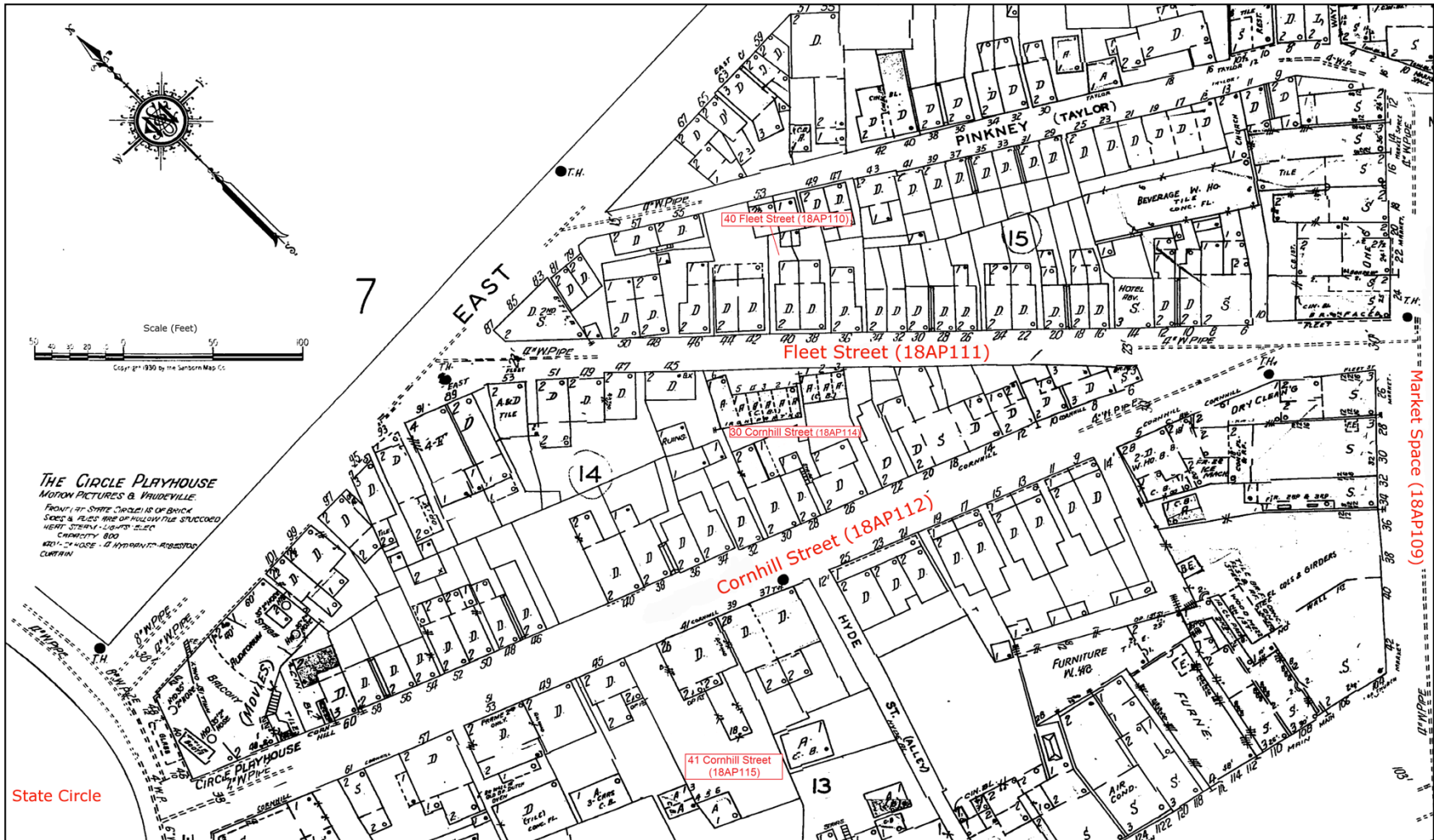


Figure 1.1. The archaeological sites excavated by Archaeology in Annapolis on Fleet and Cornhill Streets during 2008, 2009, and 2010. Shown on a detail from the 1930-1959 Sanborn Fire Insurance Company maps of Annapolis.

archaeological studies of other urban contexts (i.e. Brighton 2001, Cotter et al. 1993, Mayne and Murray 2001, Wall 1994, 2001, Yamin 2008).

To address the research questions about gender normalization and identity formation, and the ways in which physical and cultural landscapes on Fleet and Cornhill Streets changed through time, a range of archaeological and documentary sources were utilized. Archaeological analysis will concentrate on historic features, including foundations from no longer standing outbuildings, late nineteenth and early twentieth century utility pipes, street modernization, a well, a cistern, and a privy. Analysis of these features will contribute information about the use of space, the development and modernization of the streetscape and utilities, and how residents managed concerns related to public health and public sanitation. Interpretations of ceramic, glass, and faunal artifacts have been previously used by historical archaeologists to talk about topics related to domesticity, public health, and sanitation, and will also be an important part of this archaeological analysis. As certain food sources or behaviors were marked as unsanitary or immoral in the dominant discourse, engagement with these shifts and differential application of prescriptive demands may be visible archaeologically, as has been demonstrated with topics like temperance (Reckner and Brighton 1999).

To provide additional context for the archaeological materials, this project also draws on extensive archival research about Annapolis, including maps, historic photographs, city codes, census data, historic newspapers, and architectural surveys and property assessments. These sources are used to relate the on-the-ground practices visible through the archaeology, to the directives and concerns of City administrators, civic and

reform organizations, and record keepers. Historic maps show the ways in which the city was laid out and planned, as well as the features that were important to the mapmakers. Several collections of historic photographs from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries of Annapolis are housed at the Maryland State Archives. These include photographs of buildings and scenes in Annapolis, and some focus specifically on houses, people, and activities on Fleet and Cornhill Streets. General historical studies of the time period of interest, between 1865 and 1930, as well as studies of other cities, were also consulted to provide a broader national context for the city of Annapolis. A discussion of the methods for collecting these sources, and theoretical approaches to interpreting them, is contained in the second and fourth chapters of this dissertation.

Structure of the Dissertation

Subsequent chapters of this dissertation present a historical and archaeological study of the expression, negotiation, and contestation of the gender roles of women, and their interactions with racialization, in Annapolis, Maryland. Particular focus is placed on negotiations surrounding domesticity, modernization, public health, and sanitary behaviors. Chapter Two sets out the theoretical framework that structures this dissertation project. Four interrelated concepts that were involved in the negotiation of domestic ideologies in late-Victorian and Progressive Era Annapolis will be explored in depth; normalization, identity, urban administration, and material practices. In the second half of the chapter, historical conceptions about gender and domesticity will be discussed, and grounded in a discussion of the specific late-Victorian and Progressive Era history of Annapolis. The shift from the dominant Victorian gender ideology, called the Cult of Domesticity, toward turn-of-the-century gender ideals like those proposed by the

domestic science movement will be highlighted. It is important to understand the dominant ideologies about womanhood and manhood during the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries before looking at the ways they were negotiated on Fleet and Cornhill Streets.

Chapter Three of this dissertation will set the Annapolis scene, discussing the historical and archaeological context of the Fleet and Cornhill Archaeology project. The Fleet and Cornhill Archaeological project owes intellectual, theoretical, and methodological debts to previous archaeological work in Annapolis, specifically the work conducted over the past thirty years by the Archaeology in Annapolis project. A background history of the project area in which the archaeological investigations took place will be discussed and related to the larger history of increasing segregation in Annapolis. During this time period, the city was reconfiguring legal structures and behavioral codes to accommodate the emancipation of Maryland's enslaved population and manage a generally expanded population. In the final part of the chapter, the ways in which ideas about gender and domesticity were used to construct social and spatial boundaries in the City will be explored through a discussion of the use of racial synecdoche and the threat of lynching in Annapolis' daily newspaper, the *Evening Capital*. Racial synecdoche (Rael 2002: 179) is when the misdeeds of a few individuals were highlighted, and were said to represent the moral character of an entire race of people.

Chapter Four provides more in-depth information about the archaeological project on Fleet and Cornhill Streets, outlining site selection, site histories, public aspects of the project, and field, laboratory, and research methodology. The methods employed in this

project are shaped by the standards and precedents set forth by the State of Maryland, the City of Annapolis (as sponsors of the original portion of the project which examined historical changes to the streetscape), the Archaeology in Annapolis project, and best practices in the field of historical archaeology generally. Understanding the context of the project itself and how the data were collected builds the foundation for Chapters Five, Six, and Seven, which interpret the data.

Chapter Five explores the ways in which Annapolis tried to remake itself into a progressive city, and throw off its image as “a finished city” which had been passed over by industrialization in favor of Baltimore during the last decades of the nineteenth century (*Evening Capital* 1896, McCann 1888). The appearance of homelots and use of yard space was closely tied to nineteenth century gender ideologies, in that a woman was judged on the appearance of her home and yard and would be judged to be less moral if her home, yard, and garden were neglected (Green 1983: 59, Yentsch 1991, Rotman 2005). During the postbellum period of population growth and increased housing density in the older parts of the city, as well as the development of new areas outside of the city center, Annapolis city government began to take increasing interest in modernizing the streetscape and making improvements to the City’s public utility infrastructure. However, social differentiation affected the pace and nature of this development, leaving some citizens outside of the purview of this development while, at the same time, making them increasingly susceptible to monitoring from the city and its evolving administrative structures, particularly the city’s Health Officer. Mayors of the City and popular discourse tied street and sanitary structure improvements to the health and safety of City residents, blaming residents for so-called substandard sanitary conditions (Annapolis

Mayor 1885-1914). Archaeological and historical evidence shows how differential development within the city, influenced by the city administrators' strategies of governance, affected the residents of Fleet and Cornhill Streets. It also demonstrates the ways in which residents in this area used different tactics to respond to city directives according to their own interests and priorities (after de Certeau 1984).

In Chapter Six, archaeologically recovered ceramics will be used to discuss ceramic consumption on Fleet and Cornhill Streets, and engagement with prescriptive literature and domestic etiquettes related to how a home should be set up and how a table should be set. Ceramics are the objects related to home decoration that are the most visible in the archaeological record. Through examination of the ceramic consumption on Fleet and Cornhill Streets, the transition from the Victorian ideals of the Cult of Domesticity to early twentieth century progressive notions of scientific household management will be explored, specifically through an examination of how different racial and labor positions affected the choice and acquisition of ceramics and other household furnishings. For African American residents who worked as domestic servants, the ways in which ceramic consumption and household management in the Progressive Era's time period of increasing governmental and academic inspection of domestic spaces, might be related to what Darlene Clark Hine (1994: 37) calls the "culture of dissemblance" among southern black women in explored. Through the "culture of dissemblance" the behaviors and attitudes of black women created the appearance of openness but shielded the truths of their inner lives (Hine 1994: 37).

Chapter Seven utilizes bottle glass, evidence of canned goods, and faunal remains to talk about the restriction of home production and reliance on market-based

consumption of food products among residents of Annapolis, and how this affected domesticity and gender roles in the city. By the mid- to late-nineteenth century, raising and slaughtering animals within the city limits was beginning to be restricted (McCullough 1869), and in-fill construction limited the amount of lot space that could be used for home vegetable growing. Foodways during this time period were closely tied to ideas about domesticity and public health. During the Progressive Era especially, canned and bottled foods and industrial and standardized products became associated with new sanitary ideals and modernization (Shapiro 2009). Glass analysis will also be used to discuss Prohibition in Annapolis, and how Prohibition can be seen as related to domestic science's concerns with control of what went into the body. This was also part of the Progressive Era's focus of extending domestic concerns into the public arena.

The conclusion to this dissertation will synthesize these different aspects of material practice and offer further interpretation of the ways in which discourse and material practices participated in the formation and negotiation of normative ideals about domesticity, and the broader implications of these findings for anthropological studies of gender normalization. Through examination of normative gender constructions, to borrow the words of queer archaeologist Jimmy Strassburg (2000: 24), this dissertation aims to “make strange and multidimensional what is normally considered known, familiar, and commonplace, what is assumed to be the order of things, the natural way, the normal, and the healthy.”

Chapter 2 : Theoretical Framework

This chapter sets out the theoretical framework that structures this dissertation project, and draws in a general sense from post-structural, critical and post-Marxist, and feminist and queer theory in archaeology. In the first half of this chapter, four core themes involved in the negotiation of gender ideologies in late-Victorian and Progressive Era Annapolis will be discussed: normalization, identity, urban administration, and material practices. These four interrelated concepts explore the effects of changing definitions of proper feminine and manly behaviors in the post-Civil War period and the negotiation of domestic ideologies. They are theoretical entrée points to examine how gender identities and gender differentiation affected the new social and economic systems that emerged in postbellum Annapolis, to highlight how ideas about domesticity were used to delimit acceptable and unacceptable behaviors, and to explore how the “public” project of governance was accomplished partially through negotiations about “domestic” spaces and responsibilities. The core themes also touch on a major problem surrounding the production of gendered and racialized difference after the Civil War, in that the production of difference was taking place at the same time that there was a need to incorporate people under common local, state, and national governance. In the second half of this chapter, historical conceptions about gender, domesticity and manliness are discussed, and grounded in the specific late-Victorian and Progressive Era history of Annapolis. Before looking at the ways in which they were negotiated on the ground, it is important to understand the dominant ideologat thees about womanhood and manhood

that informed life during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and how they changed throughout this time period.

Core Theoretical Concepts

Four core concepts guide the archaeological study of the articulations and permutations of gender ideologies and gendered identities on Fleet and Cornhill Streets. These overlapping concepts form the foundation of this study. First, theories about normalization elucidate the social processes through which certain behaviors come to be seen as natural, while others are considered deviant or unnatural. Second, theories pertaining to the archaeological study of identity focus on the creation of difference, and how the contextual and shifting boundaries surrounding specific identities can be studied archaeologically. Third, theories of urban administration help to highlight the tensions between the desires of city administrators to police the boundaries of identity, while still creating a unified structure of governance, and allow for the study of both the directives of city administrators as well as the on-the-ground practices of residents. Finally, theories about material practices are vital, because archaeology treats the material remains of human behavior as the basis for the interpretation of cultural identities.

This approach is influenced by post-structural approaches to material culture in that it does not take meaning as an inherent, essential quality of things, and sees meaning as being produced in relations between things (Olsen 2006: 85, 98). As Olsen wrote (2006: 87), post-structural approaches to material culture “emphasize how things mean,” focusing on the thoughts that things stimulate, and emphasizing how meaning is produced by people when they use things in different contexts, rather than viewing people as passively transmitting and recovering fixed meanings (Olsen 2006: 90-1).

However, because post-structural approaches are rooted in semiotics, they have been critiqued for prioritizing language as the site of meaning-making, thereby ignoring the roles of bodily practice and practical knowledge in social production and meaning making (Stahl 2010: 159). Being too preoccupied with meaning-making also obscures the fact that people engage in the world through practical social action, and that meaning can vary across social parameters like gender, race, and social class, and across time and space (Stahl 2010: 159). This dissertation utilizes post-Marxist theories of space articulated by Lefebvre, as well as the work on bodily practice and the production of difference articulated by Michel Foucault and Judith Butler to address these weaknesses. Overall, the theoretical framework of this dissertation explores the institutional forces that structured identity categories during this important period of transition, as well as the daily practices, accommodations, and acts of resistance of the social actors who engaged with them.

Normalization

Normalization describes the social processes through which certain ideas or behaviors come to be seen as “natural” or “normal.” In *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault (1979) discusses the process of normalization, which, along with surveillance, is an instrument of power. Normalization “imposes homogeneity, but individualizes by making it possible to measure gaps, to determine levels, to fix specialties, and to render the differences useful by fitting them one to another (Foucault 1979: 184).” In *The History of Sexuality*, Foucault (1978) also shows how deployments of power are directly connected to bodies, and how the body is targeted and “produced” by the cultural significations that surround it. Foucault informs analyses of difference that can be mapped onto the body,

through gendered or racialized difference. Foucault's writings about normalization and discipline are also relevant to archaeological inquiry because the disciplines of normalization and surveillance have material correlates, in that architectural forms and archaeological artifacts are utilized in normalized and deviant behaviors, and can permit certain interactions and behaviors while restricting others. For example, archaeologists look at the development of dining rituals, important to the normalized gender roles of women during the nineteenth century, through the ceramic artifacts that were involved in these rituals.

The amount of surveillance directed toward an individual or social group, and the constraints social actors feel in defining and representing themselves, varies according to gender and racial categorization (Morgan and Rushton 2005). Representations about people and spaces do not transparently or truly reflect reality, and instead help to constitute reality (Taylor 1997). Gender, race, and class impact how bodies participate, and the bodies involved in any process of knowledge transmission are produced and interpreted through taxonomic disciplinary, and mnemonic systems (Taylor 2003). In her discussions about gender performativity, Butler examines the ways in which normative constructions of gender and sexuality determine what qualifies as being part of the realm of possibilities for human identifications, behaviors, and relationships, and how normative ideas about gender "work to delimit the very field of description that we have for the 'human' and the 'livable'" (Butler 1999: xxii).

The relationship between normative or normalized practices, and queer or deviant practices, is usually characterized by pairs of binary, asymmetrically related ideas. These include order/disorder, center/periphery, purity/danger, health/disease, and neighbor/alien

(Strassburg 2000: 25-6). Strassburg (2000: 26) argues that the bias in favor of the normative in these pairs is usually so great that it almost obliterates the queer, similar to Butler's argument that the normative delimits the possibilities that are seen as viable and legible. In addition to being conceived of as operating through dualities such as those described above, the relationship between the normative and the queer can also be characterized as less clear-cut, and the normative can be related to familiarity and sameness, while deviant or queer formulations can be related to unfamiliarity and otherness. Normative formations are seen as necessary, correct, and the opposite of queer formations, which are non-sanctioned, devalued, and marginalized (Strassburg 2000: 26). These issues of sameness and otherness, or identification and differentiation, will be further discussed in the next section about the ways in which social theorists study identity.

During the time period that this study focuses on - the middle of the nineteenth through the early twentieth centuries - there was a proliferation of new scientific knowledge and quasi-scientific movements. The rise of social scientific disciplines in particular meant that individuals, social groups, and entire populations came under new scrutiny. This was part of a desire to create accurate and in-depth descriptions of different social groups and people and, importantly for urban administration, prescribe the ways in which they might function better (Hall 2006: 105). In this way, late Victorian and Progressive Era social scientists, and the administrators and prescriptive writers whom they influenced, were concerned with the legibility of different populations, that is "the management of appearances and their interpretation" (Abrahams 2009). Disciplines including anthropology, psychology, sociology and analytical history provided

perspectives on, and implicit judgments about social subsets of the population including women, non-whites, the working classes and impoverished, religious minorities, and criminals. Social scientific study focused on tracking down the causes and qualities of deviance, and examined and valued different populations against an idealized normative construction of white, middle-class Christian men (Hall 2006: 105). Also, relationships, behaviors, and uses of space that were defined as illegal or immoral, inversely sharpened the construction of gender and social norms (Shah 2001).

An important caveat to normalization, is that hegemonies and normative formations are not monocultures, and are instead “elastic alliances, involving dispersed and contradictory strategies for self- maintenance and reproduction (Berlant and Warner 1998: 553).” This is a point that has been articulated through the work of scholars utilizing feminist and queer theory. Queer theory has been used to question the ways in which social categorizations work, as well as “what enactments they are performing and what relations they are creating” (Sedgwick 2008:27 as cited in Geller 2009:508). These disperse, and sometimes contradictory, strategies and enactments related to the construction and negotiation of social norms, can be interpreted through archaeological and archival data. Through the prescriptive literature, newspaper accounts, and other historical sources, we can see what behaviors were normalized, and what behaviors were considered deviant. Comparing prescriptions with material remains found at the archaeological sites, as well as historical photographs, illuminates engagement with these norms. It also shows that the on-the-ground negotiations of ideologies are much more complex than binary characterizations might suggest.

Identity

Identities operate as “social facts” (Durkheim 1982) in the world, and are normalized and naturalized. However, showing and accepting that identities are culturally constructed and exposing the fallacy of identities as biologically determined categories, does not mean that historical archaeologists can or should ignore the impact that identifications have had on people in the past and present (Orser 2007, Voss 2008). Identifications become embedded in the structures, histories, and daily practices of social collectivities, and therefore have objective effects on the lives of people. When we de-essentialize aspects of identity that are often experienced as fixed or stable, we expose the historical contingency of identity, and the negotiations and daily practices that construct and reproduce social identities (Lucas 2006: 181, 185 as cited in Voss 2008:15).

Identities distinguish individuals and social collectives in their relationships with other individuals and social collectives. Identity relates to normalization because identity is based on relationships of difference, where a group defines an “us” in opposition to a “them who are not us”, or defines who does not belong to their group based on a set of characteristics that they perceive themselves as sharing (Jenkins 1996: 4, Meskell 2002: 280). Looking at identity in this way, instead of as a set of stable categories (gender, race, ethnicity, social class, age, etc.), emphasizes plurality, and the idea that the boundaries around any given identity category are contextual and shifting (Voss 2008:12)

Archaeologists were initially concerned with how to assign artifacts to specific gender, racial, or ethnic groups, utilizing static ideas about identity and gendered and ethnic markers to sort people and the artifacts associated with them at sites into groups that made comparative analysis easier (Orser 2007, Voss 2008: 12). However, identities

in the past were not discrete, static and bounded, and were constantly being negotiated. More recently, archaeologists have turned their attention toward understanding the role of material culture and everyday routines as tools that people use to construct and transform their identities (Voss 2008: 12). A core assumption of studies that approach identity through material culture, including archaeological studies, is that the material things that we purchase, interact with, and surround ourselves with - in addition to what we think and say - help to define who we are as people. These material things are also assumed to assist in the performance of social identities (Woodward 2007: 133).

Barbara Voss (2008:12), has stated that if archaeologists want to contribute better understandings of the macro-historical phenomena that shape people's lives, "we must discover ways to talk about social identities that embrace change as well as stability, permeability as well as boundedness, fluidity as well as fixity, and social agency as well as social structure." Voss' approach to identity, utilized in her study of ethnogenesis at El Presidio de San Francisco, builds on Foucault's work that historicizes identity and theorists whose work is usually characterized as post-structural and post-Marxist, including Butler (1993, 1999), as well as Bourdieu (1977, 1990), de Certeau (1984) and Giddens (1984). Voss draws on their theories of social iteration, which examine the ways that identities are produced through the interplay between structure and agency (Voss 2008: 16).

This project uses an approach influenced by Foucault and Butler, to foreground the systemic nature of structures of social differentiation. Consideration of social structures calls attention to the "structural conditions shaping the forms that agency might take in any given moment and context" (Mullins 2008:155). This involves examining the

definition and contestations of identities, behaviors, and spaces, and interrogating how social space and landscapes could be imbued with gendered and racial boundaries (Shah 2001; Perry and Joyce 2001). The study of identity needs to be undertaken at multiple scales and through multiple sources, because identity is both personal and collective at the same time, and is generated through both external constraints and internal experiences (Voss 2008: 13-4).

Bourdieu's ideas about *habitus* have been used by many historical archaeologists in their research about identity and daily practice (Orser 2007: 58). Bourdieu is frequently used by archaeologists because he focuses on the ways in which unconscious structuring frameworks affect human action, allowing archaeologists to utilize the material culture recovered archaeologically to conceptualize normalized uses of material culture (Wilkie 2000: 13). However, in Bourdieu's work, which focuses on daily practice, social actors are theorized as being largely unconscious of the relationship between their actions and the larger structuring frameworks of the habitus (Bourdieu 1999: 53).

Butler's theories of gender performance have been used less frequently in archaeology, most commonly in prehistoric archaeology (Perry and Joyce 2001, Voss 2008). Butler (1999) highlights the ways in which public acts of movement, dress, labor, production, interaction with objects, and manipulations of space are all involved in gender performance, which she calls gender performativity. Gender performances are also tied to racial, ethnic, class-based, age-based, and other social constructions. These performance aspects of Butler's work remind archaeologists that artifacts should not come to be interpreted as evidence of "natural bases for social categories" (Perry and Joyce 2001: 64). Gender performativity, as theorized by Butler (1993, 1999), focuses on

the everyday, unconscious uses of material culture in identity formation discussed by Bourdieu, as well as the active, expressive, intentional ways that actors use material culture in gendered performance (Voss 2008: 20). Bourdieu (1977, 1990) also focuses primarily on ethnicity and class, whereas Butler (1993, 1999) foregrounds the categories of sex, gender, and sexuality.

Based on the critiques of habitus, and despite the fact that Bourdieu has been used much more frequently in historical archaeology, this dissertation utilizes Butler to approach gender normalization. This is done to foreground gender and how it intersects with race and labor in the analysis, and to explore unconscious as well as intentional use of material culture. The embodiment of gender, as theorized by Butler in *Bodies that Matter*, involves repetitive practice and its supporting social and cultural logic (Perry and Potter 2006: 119). As Perry and Potter (2006: 116) wrote, Butler's work is relevant to archaeological inquiry because the regulated, reiterative practices that are involved in gender performativity "result in the production of major classes of material culture – such as architecture, ceramics, worked stone, and agricultural products" which are studied through archaeological research. The construction, negotiation, and performance of mens' and womens' social roles affect the use and distribution of material culture at archaeological sites (Perry and Potter 2006: 116).

This dissertation approaches identity primarily through gender, although gender is inextricably entwined with race and social class or labor. While race and gender should not be seen as simple analogies to one another, racialization, like gendering, consists of assigning individuals to essentialist groups based on physical appearance or readily identifiable physical characteristics. These groups will often be perceived as biological

inferior or socially unequal (Miles 1989:75 as cited in Orser 2007: 9). Although almost all archaeology of racialization initially studied African American life, racialization happened to many different groups, including immigrant groups like the Irish and Chinese in the 19th century, because it involves a conception of “whiteness” against which others are judged and the boundaries around “whiteness” have shifted through time (Brighton 2009, Orser 2007). Labor is also “a social as much as economic practice” (Silliman 2004: 11), and labor experiences, themselves influenced by gender and race (Camp 2011b), also influenced identifications and utilization of material culture. Therefore it is important to keep in mind the ways that labor was structured, and how workers negotiated labor situations, when interpreting material culture in archaeological studies (Silliman 2006, Wurst 2006, Wurst and McGuire 1999). Identifying involves positioning a person in affinity with other people, and establishing a relationship of similarity between one person and another (Voss 2008:14).

Identifications can be based on ideas of shared genealogy, heritage, citizenship, or other ideas of sameness and difference. Specific identifications call attention to similarities in appearance or practice around a single vector of identity, and through this process, can erase the perceptions of other kinds of variability. Part of studying past identities as multiply constructed and always under negotiation is realizing that the categories and taxonomic distinctions that we see as salient and familiar today may not have existed in the past as discrete categories or may not have been defined in the same ways (Stockett and Geller 2006). Ideas about gender, race, ethnicity, social class, age, and sexuality have changed through time, and the material culture used to express these identities has also changed (Voss 2006). For example, Jo Paoletti’s (2012) study of

children's clothing traced the ways in which childhood was transformed between the 1890s and World War II from a gender free zone characterized by universal white gowns, to a place of emerging gender signifiers, where colors, motifs, and decorative details were "sorted into 'his' and 'hers' categories" (Paoletti 2012). She illustrated how, over the course of decades, amusement over not being able to determine the gender of babies gave way to an attitude that boys should never be mistaken for girls and vice versa. Certain colors, lace, ruffles, flowers, gathers, and kittens were slowly eliminated from prescribed designs for boy's clothing, and parents began to express a newfound anxiety over others not being able to determine the gender of their children (Paoletti 2012).

Normative identities establish what identifications will be considered to be "real" and intelligible, and also establish the fields of legitimate expression (Butler 1999). Gender norms include ideal gender dimorphism and rules about proper and improper expressions of masculinity and femininity, and are often underwritten by racial ideas and taboos about miscegenation (Butler 1999). Identities become "fixed" through social, governmental, and institutional practices. The material things involved in these practices also make gender seem "real" and give gender identifications material consequences (Sorenson 2000: 82). People who cross boundaries are subject to harassment, violence, and other deployments of power that attempt to stabilize hierarchies of social difference and the boundaries between groups (Voss 2008: 16). This genealogical view of identity construction exposes the ways in which identity categories are the effects of institutions, practices, and discourses, and are not "natural" or "authentic" truths, or the only available possibilities (Butler 1999).

Urban Administration

The work of Lefebvre (1991) informs the discussion of the history of urban administration in Annapolis contained in this dissertation, and the relationship between the spatial and social structures of urban life. Lefebvre (1991: 38-41) argued that there are three overlapping dimensions that have to be simultaneously considered when analyzing space. First, the physical and material dimensions of space, or perceived space, which allow for production and reproduction (Lefebvre 1991: 38-41). These physical dimensions are explored through the archaeological evidence, particularly landscape features, as well as through historic photographs and architectural evidence. Calling attention to the materiality of Annapolis itself expresses a critique of urban studies expressed by Roland Fletcher (2010: 461) that “materials are treated as an epiphenomenon of what people say about it and what they claim to do with it – as if words are more ‘real’ than the actual material.”

The second dimension of space, or conceived space, looks at the ideas which decision makers try to inscribe onto space (Lefebvre 1991: 38-41). The key decision makers considered here are Annapolis lawmakers, health officers, prescriptive writers, and other social institutions. Evidence of their activities comes from the historical records of these actors including legal codes, Annapolis corporation proceedings, Mayor’s reports, and prescriptive books and articles. City codes enacted and enforced in Annapolis provide information about the planning and regulation of city spaces. Qualitative urban studies have often failed to take into account legal mechanisms of urban life which, although they do not always affect people directly, shape “the spaces within which human interaction takes place” (Valverde 2009: 165). City codes regulated

the removal of waste, privy cleaning, instituted Health Officer inspections, regulated certain types of domestic economies including the keeping and slaughter of domestic animals within city limits, elaborated on the distinctions between public and private property and behaviors on public streets, and provided incentives, sometimes half of the resulting fines, to people who turned in others who were violating certain ordinances (McCullough 1869). Having certain behaviors marked as immoral or unsanitary would have affected the consequences for the visibility of these behaviors. For example, beginning in the nineteenth century, the city codes began to restrict where animals could be kept within the city and, in the case of cows, what times of the year they could be slaughtered for health and sanitation reasons. This would have increased the dependence of Annapolitans on market sources of meat, and this shift is examined in conjunction with the faunal materials in Chapter Seven.

The third dimension of space, or social space, relates to the ways in which users of space appropriate and change them, focusing on interactions between people and the built environment, highlighting the way that people actively produce spaces and, through everyday actions, invest them with meaning and significance (Lefebvre 1991: 38-41). To address the third dimension of space, archaeological material and historical documents including census records and photographs will be utilized. Looking at conceived space through the writings of city officials and prescriptive writers illustrates the ways in which cultural ideas could become embedded in material things including landscape features, household furnishings, and sanitary infrastructure. Certain ceramic patterns, household configurations, or indoor privies do not have inherent moral qualities, but advice manuals and city administrators tried to shape the cultural significance and characteristics of these

items (Leavitt 2002: 5). Therefore, the writing of domestic advisors, and city officials and administrators, shows cultural ideals and the ways in which some people wished society could be, and not necessarily the cultural realities of residents (Leavitt 2002: 5). It is only through the examination of the third dimension of space, its lived experience, that we catch a glimpse of the ways that people used material items in their daily lives, engaging or not engaging with the ideas and directives of dominant ideologies.

Michel de Certeau wrote about the strategies and tactics that are used to delineate boundaries, fix identities, and structure daily practices and meanings in social space. De Certeau (1984: xix) defined “strategies” as being tools with spatial and institutional locations, available to those of “will and power.” He said that strategies assume “a place that can be circumscribed as *proper (propre)* and thus serve as the basis for generating relations with an exterior distinct from it (competitors, adversaries, “clienteles,” “targets,” or “objects” of research)” (de Certeau 1984: xix, italics in the original). Conversely, “tactics” belong to the other, and are part of making-do (de Certeau 1984: xix). Tactics are “the innumerable practices through which users reappropriate space organized by techniques of sociocultural reproduction” (de Certeau 1984: xiv). De Certeau (1984) theorizes that tactics can elude the discipline of planners and administrators, tracing out the effects of walking in, naming, narrating, and remembering the city.

The use of Lefebvre, who was drawing on post-Marxist thought and was interrogating the meaning of modernity (Upton 2002: 208), highlights the antagonisms between the administration of space and the lived experiences of space. Lefebvre’s framework highlights the ways that power is operationalized, in this case through the construction of norms and designations of deviation from those norms, as well as the

ways in which the planned existence of spaces may be counter to the experiences of people who live in those spaces. As Lefebvre (1991: 286) wrote, “space is permeated with social relations; it is not only supported by social relations but is also producing and produced by social relations,” highlighting the idea that “the production of space is essential to the workings of the political economy” (Hayden 1995: 19). These aspects of space also highlight the constructed nature of space and cultural landscapes, as places that are intertwined with social order and transformation, as well as peoples’ lives, daily activities, and identities (Brandon 2004: 208). Studying the different aspects that contribute to the construction of space illuminates the ways in which bodies and spaces, and ideas about bodies and spaces, were constructed and negotiated in nineteenth and twentieth century Annapolis. In each chapter, the ways in which the conceived space, or the ideas that lawmakers and tastemakers tried to legislate or inscribe onto space, contrasts with the perceived space and social space, which will be explored through the study of the landscape features and archaeological artifacts recovered from the sites, will be highlighted.

Material Practices

Archaeology treats the material remains of human behavior as its basis for the representation of cultural identities. Material things are used by people to shape how they see themselves, others, and the larger social order. Social authorities have also used materiality to foster their own ideas about social order and identity (Mullins 2011: 13). The performance and negotiation of dominant ideals of proper behaviors of women during the transition between the Victorian cult of domesticity and later Progressive Era ideas about gender have clear material correlates, in domestic furnishings and dining

practices, as well as in negotiations of modern ideas about modernization and public health, which can be explored through public utilities and artifacts related to health and sanitary behaviors. By the middle of the nineteenth century, many of these archaeological artifacts that will be discussed, including ceramics, glass, and even available cuts of meat, were mass-produced. In the context of mass production, the same objects could be consumed by many different people, but the strategies that underlie the consumption of the same object type could be very different (Mullins 1999a, 1999b, Warner 1998b). The ways in which the same material practice is interpreted by other people, the audience, also varies based on the social context of the interactions (Williams 2008). Therefore, it is important to look at the associations and use context of artifacts, to determine how people in Annapolis were utilizing similar mass-produced objects to express and negotiate very different identities.

One example of a mass produced artifact that may have had different meanings in different contexts is provided by the Frozen Charlotte doll recovered in a privy fill at the 40 Fleet Street site. Frozen Charlotte dolls are small porcelain bisque dolls with non-movable limbs, mass produced during the Victorian era (Figure 2.1). The name “Frozen Charlotte” comes from a folk ballad, a cautionary tale about a beautiful young girl who froze to death on her way to a party because she refused to cover herself with a blanket on the carriage ride (Markel 2000: 12). The privy in which the doll was found was constructed in the 1880s, when housing pressure caused the subdivision of many downtown Annapolis lots, and the construction of attached row houses. The privy appears to have been cleaned during its time of use, in accordance with the city code, and was filled when the house got indoor plumbing. Frozen Charlotte dolls were popular

during the late nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries and this one was probably discarded in the privy in the late 1920s or early 1930s, although it may have been used before this time.



Figure 2.1. A Frozen Charlotte doll recovered from the privy fill, Feature 14, at 40 Fleet Street.

True to their Victorian roots, Frozen Charlotte dolls were meant to teach a moral lesson about the dangers of pride and the values of modesty. This particular Frozen Charlotte doll is probably associated with the working-class African American family that rented the 40 Fleet Street house in the early twentieth century. A young girl was listed as living in the household of her grandmother at this site during the 1920 census (United States Bureau of the Census 1920). The grandmother worked as a domestic servant, and oral history evidence from Annapolis suggests that older African American women who worked as domestic servants sometimes had younger daughters or granddaughters help them with their daily tasks (Warren 1990: 30). Children reportedly liked Frozen Charlotte dolls because clothes could be constructed for them from scraps of

leftover fabric (Feister 2009: 110) The small, portable, bisque doll would have been a portable diversion for the girl to carry with her, and therefore may have had meanings and use contexts that extended beyond the intended moral lessons about modesty encoded in dominant Victorian ideologies.

Focusing on the “processes of everyday life”, which have material correlates that can be approached through archaeological evidence, is used to move away from approaches to material culture in historical archaeology that are based solely on consumer choice (Wurst and McGuire 1999: 192). In looking at how social membership is defined through engagement with certain types of material culture, this dissertation examines the ways in which residents may have made claims to identities through consumption. However, while this interpretation will focus primarily on consumption tactics, symbolic choice is not equivalent with autonomous choice, and consumer choices are embedded in larger social processes, opportunities, and constraints. Social structures and identifications can make some choices possible, while restricting others (Wurst and McGuire 1999: 193). As Miranda Joseph (2002:34) has written we should recognize “consumption, not merely as *consumerism*, but rather as a site of performative production, that is, as a highly constrained site of collective as well as individual subject constitution.”

Through material culture analysis, it is possible to interrogate the activities through which gender identities are produced, and defended or challenged, in context (Perry and Potter 2006: 119). Formulations of racial and class-based difference are underpinned by gendered and sexual substructures, which promote or restrict particular interactions, relationships, and outcomes (Voss 2008). This project utilizes extensive

archival sources; including maps, historic photographs, city codes, census data, historic newspapers, and architectural surveys. These sources are used to relate the on-the-ground practices visible through the archaeology, to directives from and concerns of City administrators, civic and reform organizations, and record keepers.

Performance studies scholar Diana Taylor is useful for archaeologists because her work helps us to understand the different formation processes - and survival in the archaeological and historical record - of archival materials and the embodied practices that they represent. Taylor (2003: 19) discusses the interplay between the archive of supposedly enduring materials that relate to the past, and the repertoire of embodied practices, knowledge, and memory. The archive consists of archaeological remains, as well as the documents, maps, texts, letters, bones, photographs, videos, recordings, and all other items that are supposedly resistant to change, although the value and meaning of the archive, and how items are interpreted and embodied, change over time (Taylor 2003: 19). In contrast to the archive, the repertoire “enacts embodied memory” and consists of acts of performance, gestures, orality, movement, dance (Taylor 2003: 20). Taylor (2003: 22) discusses the ways in which the embodied performances of the repertoire are often seen as ephemeral, but contribute to the daily maintenance of social order. The social action of the repertoire can leave traces in the material records of the archive, whether it is through the material culture produced through repetitive social action, or the transcript of an oral history interview. Silences and disjunctures between different sources in the archive are one of the strengths of interdisciplinary research, and highlight policies and practices that may be points of contention or sources of anxiety (Loren 2010: 6), which are particularly salient in the Victorian and Progressive Era context, when identities were

being reconfigured in the wake of the Civil War and the modernization of American cities.

The maps, photographs, and census data of the archive are viewed as “labors of representation”, a concept that Voss (2007) used to question the ways in which archaeologists treat the archival representations they utilize as facts. Cultural representations legitimate particular views, are produced within specific political contexts, reflect the aesthetic choices and conventions of those who produced them, and require work to produce (Voss 2007). More detailed and better enumerated census data and the proliferation of photography in the late nineteenth century, were part and parcel of the new forms of record-keeping that were being employed to understand expanding populations (Tagg 1993), and which were aimed at making urban populations more legible and governable. Hales (2005) argues that historic photographs are often viewed as capturing documentary truth, a view that ignores the ways in which photographs reflected prevalent social attitudes and photographers controlled the images that they made. Census statistics, which became more detailed as the nineteenth century progressed, were also constructed from particular viewpoints of society but created “official” accounts of the population that had an influence on public life and public services (Nobles 2000). When contemplating emancipation, early and mid-nineteenth century politicians then used census data to make arguments for the unsuitability of black Americans for full citizenship (Nobles 2000). Therefore, although they are often treated as facts, these sources cannot be taken at face value, and should be viewed as cultural representations could be used to make populations legible and understandable and inform policy decisions.

Prescriptive literature related to domestic topics gained popularity throughout the nineteenth century. In the form of cookbooks, advice manuals, and women's magazines, prescriptive literature shaped gender norms and, while women did not follow their advice uniformly and sources can contradict each other, this literature offers insights into the issues and controversies surrounding turn of the century domestic life. To prescriptive writers, the domestic encompassed a wide range of topics, including housekeeping tasks, the physical structure of the home, family and social relationships, child-rearing, civic involvement, food preparation and preference, health, personal well-being and appearance, schools and neighborhoods, and purchasing habits (Walker 2000: vii).

White prescriptive literature and African American prescriptive literature had different audiences and goals during this time period, which influence the ways in which they can be interpreted. White prescriptive literature in the nineteenth century assumed an audience of middle-class, white women, and was written to help these women to navigate the connections between their homes and the larger world, advise them on best practices for home furnishings and household maintenance, and aid them in negotiating their ever-increasing consumer choices (Leavitt 2002: 5-6). Prescriptive literature written by and targeting African Americans emerged during the same time period that black men were being disfranchised, racial segregation was becoming entrenched, and African American citizenship was increasingly being called into question. This was during the same time, the late nineteenth century, when African Americans were becoming increasingly literate (Mitchell 2004: 109). Black prescriptive literature focused on building race character by politicizing domestic activity and conveying a sense of responsibility onto individuals for proper behavior in interracial interactions. Therefore, as Giddings (1984: 99) explained,

“much of what has been interpreted as mere imitation of white values among middle-class black women was a race conscious mission.” Conduct manuals aimed at African American readers “linked character to collective salvation,” and Mitchell (2004: 109) writes that “the genre enabled authors to articulate concepts that their race shared a destiny, that individuals could impact collective welfare by their purposefulness – or carelessness.”

The next section discusses dominant gender ideologies, which were negotiated through material culture in Annapolis during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The Victorian Cult of Domesticity and later Progressive Era domestic science movement were widespread ideologies. However, they certainly were not the only gender ideologies in operation during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and they were not universally or uniformly followed. Nonetheless, they influenced the meanings attached to the material culture of homes and cities, and constituted powerful mainstream norms against which people were judged. Everyday engagements with these ideologies can be interpreted through the material culture recovered in archaeological investigations.

Domesticity, Womanhood, and Manhood around the turn of the Century

Engendered individuals and groups are social agents, however, their actions are influenced by self-identity as well as socially constructed identities (Sorenson 2000: 8). Conceptions about womanhood and manhood around the turn of the twentieth century were closely related to ideas of modernity and domesticity. Conceptions of proper male and female behaviors and practices were also tied to notions of race and class (Bederman 1995: 7). Dominant ideologies of gender influenced the ways in which identities were

performed, transformed, articulated, and reinforced through the things and locales which are studied archaeologically (Sorenson 2000).

The construction of gender, whether female or male, is a continual, dynamic, historical and ideological process. The processes of gender work through complex political and social means, including institutions, ideologies, and daily practices (Bederman 1995: 7). With the positioning of an individual as a “man” or a “woman” come other social expectations and meanings, and individuals have no choice but to act upon these meanings; accepting, rejecting, adopting, or adapting them. Studying these negotiations in context can help reveal the ways in which conceptions of womanhood or manhood “develop, change, are combined, amended, contested, and gain the status of ‘truth’ (Bederman 1995: 7).” Archaeologies that focus on the connections between consumption and identity also have the potential to interrogate historical ideas like domesticity, and the division between the private and public spheres, which are seen as increasingly complex and problematic by scholars in historical archaeology and other disciplines (Mullins 2011: 149).

Normalized gendered identities and anatomies are linked to particular arrangements of authority and power (Bederman 1995: 7). Lears 2009: 93-5) argues that the rising significance of fixed gender and racial identities was part of an attempt to seek a more solid foundation in a world that seemed much more uncertain following the Civil War, a time of increased mass-production and industrialization, increasing economic insecurity caused by the panics and depressions in the 1870s through the 1890s, and anxieties about an increasingly urbanizing and populous nation. With increasing urbanization throughout the nineteenth century, identity categories also arguably became

more important, as people more frequently came into contact with people who they had no direct knowledge about (Rael 2002).

One of the most widely studied gender ideologies, the Cult of Domesticity, was the prevailing ideological force for many families, particularly white middle-class families, during the nineteenth century (Rotman 2009: 19). The Cult of Domesticity created and mandated separate spheres of activity; a public arena of men, and a private domestic home life of women. Central to this process in the nineteenth century was the separation of the private home from the commercial workplace and commercial life, the end of integrated household economies, and the creation of a consumer economy aimed at the middle class (Kraditor 1968: 10, Poovey 1988, Rotman 2009: 19, Smith-Rosenberg 1985, Wall 1994: 19). The separation of the spheres “broadened the distinctions between men’s and women’s occupations,” and “provoked new thinking about the significance and permanence of their respective spheres” (Kraditor 1968: 19). Separation between the public and the private, the importance of order and hierarchy in domestic life, and the protective role of the household were stressed in the Cult of Domesticity (Rotman 2009: 19). During this time period, spaces were reorganized, and areas of homes and yards were redesigned to make them more isolated, private, and feminized, although the experiences of domesticity were often more fluid than this ideology of rigid separation between the public and private would suggest (Yentsch 1991: 196, Wurst 2003: 227 as cited in Rotman 2009: 19). Within the domestic sphere, among the home and family, the symbolic power of women was enhanced, although in political and economic arenas the power of women declined (Rotman 2009: 19, Smith-Rosenberg 1985, Wall 1994).

The Cult of Domesticity celebrated qualities in women that included piety, purity, submissiveness, and domesticity (Welter 1966: 152). Piety or religion was seen as the source of women's strength, and women were warned not to let literary and intellectual pursuits distance them from God and religion (Welter 1966: 152, 154). Purity was also essential to the idea of womanhood according to the Cult of Domesticity; women were urged to maintain their virtue, and the absence of purity in a woman was seen as unnatural (Welter 1966: 154-5). Women were thought to be without passion, men were urged to control their sexual appetites, and having fewer children was seen as a symbol of status and a demonstration of the prized Victorian value of self-control (Matthews 1989: 28, Rotman 2009: 24). During the nineteenth century, social changes, including changes in dress and the introduction of bloomers for women, were framed as attacks on women's virtue (Welter 1966: 157). Submission and obedience were seen as a particularly feminine virtue, because men were framed in religious and social discourse as the protectors, primary decision makers, and actors for the family (Welter 1966: 159).

In 1845, Catharine Beecher, an influential prescriptive writer, published her *Treatise on Domestic Economy*, laying out the obligations of the Cult of Domesticity. Beecher (1845) wrote:

In order that each individual may pursue and sustain the highest degree of happiness within his reach...it is needful that certain relations be sustained. There must be the magistrate and the subject, one of whom is superior and the other inferior. There must be the relations of husband and wife, parent and child, teacher and pupil, employer and employed, each involving the relative duties of subordination.

A women's proper place was conceived of as being in the home, where she created a refuge for her husband and children so that they would not feel the pull to spend time

elsewhere, and where she was responsible for the feminine activities of domesticity, including cooking, sewing, nursing the family, and creating a tranquil home environment (Smith-Rosenberg 1985, Welter 1966). Exaltation of motherhood was a prominent part of the Cult of Domesticity, and the mother was seen as the guardian of cultural, religious, and moral values within Victorian society (Howe 1976: 529).

The Cult of Domesticity segregated male and female responsibilities, assigning to men the responsibility of supporting their families and to women the care of the home, education and mothering of children, and service in the community (Rotman 2009: 20). Widespread acceptance of these ideas that gender separation was necessary was the belief that there was a biological basis for this separation (Rotman 2009: 20), similar to the scientific racism that sought to fix biological-based identities and legitimized racial hierarchies during the same time period. However, in contrast to scientific racism, domestic ideologies glorified the potential of women, their moral qualities, their role in the instruction of children, and their role in creating a household that would serve as a refuge from the public, outside world (Rotman 2009: 20). Hazel Carby (1987: 23) points to two important cultural effects of the Cult of Domesticity. First, this ideology was dominant, and “the most subscribed to convention governing female behavior.” Second, the Cult of Domesticity was “clearly recognizable as a dominant image describing the parameters within which women were measured and declared to be, or not to be women.”

The Cult of Domesticity had important implications for idealized body types, and encompassed shared social understandings that internal qualities of character were reflected in external physical appearance. The delicate female constitution idealized by the Cult of Domesticity was not suited to heavy labor, and “a delicate constitution was an

indicator of class, as well as racial position; a woman as an ornament was a social sign of achieved wealth, while physical strength was necessary for the survival of women in the cotton fields, in the factories, or on the frontier” (Carby 1987: 26). Veblen (1967[1899]) writing at the close of the nineteenth century, further discussed the ways in which nineteenth century dress for the leisure class, particularly for women, was designed to communicate to observers that the wearer was not engaged in productive labor. Instead, women’s constrictive dress was an expression of her role as a consumer who, through her dress and actions, would bring honor to her household and, therefore, to its male head of household (Veblen 1967 [1899]).

After the Civil War, Victorian conceptions of separate spheres, womanhood and manhood were being challenged and reconstructed as part of the formulation of new social codes related to gender, race, and class following the physical and psychological destruction of the war, although some of these changes had roots in the time periods before or during the war (Brandon 2004: 199). In the South, families and households went from being subject to “outright white patriarchal dominance to a more subtle subordination of women and minorities within the modern paternal state” (Brandon 2004: 199). Post-war urbanization and industrialization were also seen as threats to the existing gender and racial hierarchies, “potentially empowering women to be like men, blacks to be like whites, and reducing white men to being like blacks and women in the process” (Whites 2005: 7). New legal doctrines began to view women, black men, and children, as individuals for the first time, and placed the responsibility for determining justice on their behalf on the state, and not solely on the male head of household, although “rational” law was still racist and sexist (Brandon 2004: 199). During the Progressive Era, which began

around the turn of the twentieth century, the problem of social control became an explicit focus and there were struggles over who would define the family, its constituent parts, and the relationships between different family members, and between the domestic sphere, the family, the economy, and other social institutions (Boris 1991). Redefining the relationship between the home and the larger community, and the private sphere and the public sphere was central to the transition to the Progressive Era (Dye 1991: 4).

During the late nineteenth century, women began to enter into the arenas of politics and social reform, using their domestic experience to justify their entry into the public sphere. Women reformers argued that in modern society the home and the community were bound together, and that concerns that had once been defined as the private responsibilities of individual housewives and mothers were actually public, because factors determining the well-being of households and the safety of children seemed to be increasingly outside of the control of individual women (Dye 1991: 3). Beginning in the early nineteenth century, with the development of textile mills, most of the manufacturing and production work once done with the household gradually moved outside it, and after the Civil War women were able to buy many of the products that they had once made in the home, including cloth, butter, milk, meat, flour, soap, and other household necessities (Shapiro 2009: 13).

Women's work began to focus less on production, and primarily on day-to-day maintenance, which was considered to some to be less relevant to the developing industrial economy and tangibly unproductive (Shapiro 2009: 19). However, at the same time, women were becoming the family's primary consumers of material culture, and primary directors of family adherence to domestic ideologies (Mullins 2011: 146-7).

Increasingly consumption-oriented households are reflected archaeologically through the disappearance of outbuildings and tools related to home production, and faunal assemblages that reflect whole animals being raised and butchered at sites. We can also see increases in mass-produced food and beverage products in the glass assemblages and the presence of only certain parts of animals in the faunal remains, indicating that meats were being purchased in portions from butchers.

In response to production increasingly moving outside of the home, during the last decades of the nineteenth century, women started a major domestic reform movement. This movement was most widely known as “domestic science” (later popularly known as “home economics”), and began after the traditional methods of housekeeping began to look haphazard to women living in a rapidly industrializing world that placed priority on principles like modernization. The goal of the movement was to make the home a more businesslike place run by scientific principles (Shapiro 2009: 4-5). Through domestic science, “a generation of women debated gender roles in the modern kitchen” (Englehardt 2011: 54). Domestic scientists produced prescriptive literature, cookbooks, and household manuals, many arguing that the professionalization of home kitchens could cure pressing social problems (Englehardt 2001, 2011: 54). Domestic science was related to the general American embrace of efficiency at the end of the nineteenth century. When applied to industry, in the form of Taylorism, striving for efficiency consisted of breaking each manufacturing task down to its component parts, and then assigning these smaller parts, instead of the larger tasks, to individual workers (Ehrenreich and English 2005: 178).

A recurring theme for advocates of domestic science was the idea that woman's sphere was slowly slipping away from her, because men were appropriating women's work and moving it to the industrial world. Therefore, domestic science sought to appropriate ideals that were prized in the masculine industrial world and bring them into the domestic sphere, at the same time that domestic scientists were increasingly contributing their voices to public discourses related to domestic as well as public spaces (Shapiro 2009). Domestic science was scientific management for the home. The movement was aimed at modernizing the American home, raising the homemaker to a position of power and dignity. Through domestic science, women were supposed to gain access to the modern world, science, technology, and rationality, bringing "the sentimental, ignorant ways of mother's kitchens into the scientific age" (Shapiro 2009: 9). Women were called to seize control of their surroundings in their own homes and neighborhoods, and by the early twentieth century domesticity had expanded into an objective body of scientific knowledge, which was rational, objective, and methodical, and had to be actively pursued (Shapiro 2009: 35).

In an article entitled "Domestic Science: And How to Study it at Home," Ellen H. Swallow Richards (1897), an instructor of sanitary chemistry at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), laid out the problem for her readers. Richards had been the first woman admitted to MIT, became its first female instructor, and was a leader of the domestic science movement (Hunt 1918, Wessell 2007). Richards wrote that "woman was originally the inventor, the manufacturer, the provider," but that women had "allowed one office after another gradually to slip from her hand, until she retains, with a loose grasp, only the so-called housekeeping," which was itself threatened by the "great

increase of hotel and apartment life” (Richards 1897). Richards (1897) further states that because women had “thus given up one by one the occupations which required knowledge of materials and processes, and skill in using them to best advantage, she rightly feels that what is left is mere deadening drudgery.” To address this situation, Richards argues that women were responsible to study things related to the household, and assert their claims to knowledge about them. Towards this aim, she suggests books that can “help the housewife to regain control of her kingdom” (Richards 1897).

The leaders of the domestic science movement modeled their activism on the other social reform movements of the period, echoing the sentiments of women like the founder of the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union, Frances Willard, who in 1888 said that the mission of ideal women “is to make the whole world homelike” (Shapiro 2009: 37-8, 43, Willard and Gordon 1905: 78). As popular food writer Laura Schenone (2003: 242) wrote, the role of domestic science, and the ensuing field of home economics, in American history has been “so large and diffuse, so omnipresent and influential, that historians have often entirely overlooked it.” As a movement, domestic science created new roles for women, created a new and distinct American diet, and placed a focus on public health, hygiene, and food standards. Women began to argue that an interest in municipal politics was compelled by their domestic duties (Dye 1991: 3).

Reformers asserted that agitating for sewers and street cleaning to modernize neighborhoods was not very different from making sure the floor of one’s own kitchen was clean (Shapiro 2009: 43). The New York Ladies’ Health Protective Association, in its first report, declared that it was “eminently proper” for women to be concerned “in the care and destination of garbage, the cleanliness of the streets, the proper killing and

handling of meats, the hygienic and sanitary condition of public schools, the suppression of stable nuisances, the abolishing of the vile practice of expectorating in public conveyances...” and other political matters (as cited in Dye 1991: 3). Ironically, one result of the reformers’ campaign to bring domestic ideals into the political arena was to give the government a foot in the door of the home; making the home more vulnerable to the interventions of legal authority as “self-control yielded to social control, personal responsibility to public responsibility” (Lears 2009: 198).

For example, after the nation-wide Depression of 1893, charitable organizations tried to distinguish between the worthy and the unworthy poor by going into the households of the poor, searching for evidence that they were to blame for their own predicament, in the form of idleness, intemperance, or lasciviousness (Lears 2009: 173). Although it started as a movement to empower women and gain a foothold in science, domestic science should also be recognized as a project in Americanization, which sought to eliminate ethnic foodways and train people in the “proper” way to run a household. Useful information came packaged within a whole ideology about “right living,” which meant living like the American middle class aspired to live: prizing privacy, thrift and orderliness. “Right living” featured a life centered around the nuclear family, living in a house ordered by industrial principles, which was clearly separated from productive labor – particularly without boarders or backyard chickens (Schenone 2003: 190, 243).

Many historical archaeologists who have studied gender, despite recent notable exceptions (Williams 2008, Voss 2006) have focused exclusively on women, leaving the construction of manly or masculine ideals unexamined and the experiences of men as

naturalized. However, the late nineteenth century was also a time during which ideals about manhood were being negotiated (Lears 2009: 100). Although historians usually use the terms “manly” and “masculine” interchangeably, the words had very different connotations throughout the nineteenth century. Victorians called admirable men “manly” and used “masculine” to describe any characteristics, good or bad, that all men had. However, after 1890 the words “masculine” and “masculinity” began to be used much more frequently (Bederman 1995: 18).

The central ideals of nineteenth century manhood were taking responsibility for one’s family and community, playing a public role, and enacting citizenship (Lears 2009: 101). The requirements of active male “productivity” and dependent female “domesticity” could not always be met by low-paid, non-white and immigrant families. Therefore, as Rothenberg (2007: 36) explained, “these supposed white virtues became a bludgeon with which to defend white privilege and to deny it to not-quite whites and non-whites, helping to construct a new working-class hierarchy – reserving managerial and skilled jobs for ‘productive’ native Whites.” Around the turn of the 20th century, as white middle-class men actively worked to reinforce patriarchy, their race became a factor that was crucial to their gender (Bederman 1995: 5). Race, which like gender is linked to bodies, identities, and power, became a crucial factor in white middle-class manhood, and these new conceptions of manhood are tied to the erosion of African American political and civil rights (Bederman 1995: 20).

The purported deviance of African Americans from the norms of femininity and manhood – including female wage earners, underemployed men, and crowded living conditions which resulted from housing restrictions - were used to legitimize exclusion

from political participation and social protection (Bederman 1995: 20, Lears 2009: 101). Amy Kaplan (1998) emphasizes the impact of gender ideologies that are tied to racial constructions when she points to the fact that women and men appear to inhabit a divided social terrain when we engage with the idea of separate spheres, and contrast the domestic sphere with the political realm. However, when we oppose what is domestic to what is alien or other, white women and men become allies in a national project (Kaplan 1998).

In the early nineteenth century, leading up to the Civil War, an increasing number of men had begun to earn comfortable livings, and the middle class had begun to distinguish itself from other people by stressing gentility and respectability, part of this being the celebration of women as pious, natural guardians of domesticity (Bederman 1995: 11). Nineteenth century norms of manliness stressed that the primary source of men's strength and authority was in the control of masculine passions through strength of character and powerful will. It was seen as the responsibility of the male head of household to "protect and direct those weaker" than himself: his wife, children, and employees (Bederman 1995: 12). Men who were able-bodied were expected to be providers for their families, and economic failure, as well as the inability to make enough money to support a non-working wife, was widely associated with moral failure in mid- to late-nineteenth century conceptions of manhood (Lears 2009: 72).

By 1890, however, white, middle class men were actively re-defining their ideals of manliness. Class issues underlay many of these changes, as middle-class men moved to defend themselves from challenges to their power and authority (Bederman 1995: 11). By the 1890s, changes to the national economy had made the ideologies of middle-class

manhood less reachable for many members of the middle class, as the proportion of self-employed men began to decline. The recurring depressions illustrated that even self-denying, successful men might unexpectedly lose everything. As the dream of entrepreneurship stopped being plausible for many middle class men, they started to look to consumer culture and leisure, instead of work, to find and define their identities (Bederman 1995: 12-3). During the nineteenth century, working-class men had embraced a more rough code of manhood, formulated to resist the ideals of the middle class, which were rooted in respectability and morality. Working-class men celebrated institutions like saloons, boxing venues, music halls and values like physical prowess and sexuality. By the 1880s, as they embraced leisure and consumer culture to formulate their identity, many middle-class men began to find working-class ideals of manliness attractive. This was around the same time that “masculinity” began being used to describe admirable manhood (Bederman 1995: 17).

Through the early twentieth century, public opinion strongly supported the idea that women belonged at home with their families, and questions of manhood entered into decisions about wages. Employers publicly expressed the belief that women did not require equal incomes to men, because for men wages were supposed to encompass family support, whereas, since only single women should be working, they only required sufficient wages to support a single person and could rely on families to support them (Kessler-Harris 1991: 94). The 1890 federal census recorded that only 4.6 percent of married women participated in the national workforce, while 40.5 percent of single women were employed outside of the home (Goldin 1986: 560). The same census recorded that 2.5 percent of married white women worked outside of the home, 3.0

percent of married foreign-born women worked outside of the home, and 22.5 percent of married non-white women worked outside of the home. Nearly 41 percent of single white women, 70.8 percent of single foreign-born women, and 59.5 percent of single non-white women worked outside of the home (Goldin 1986: 560).

These national patterns held true for the project area in Annapolis as well. Census data from Fleet and Cornhill streets show that most of the white women in the project area did not work after they were married, but a large proportion of black women in the area were employed as domestic help in private homes or as laundresses working from their own homes after marriage. White men were employed primarily in construction, water-based, or commercial industries while African American men were employed predominantly in jobs related to the service or water-based industries, or as laborers, janitors, or in other low-level positions at the US Naval Academy and other private employers (United States Bureau of the Census 1880, 1900, 1910, 1920, 1930).

The high proportion of working African American women in the project area also follows the national trends between 1880 and 1920, as black female wage-earning populations rose steadily throughout the United States. African American studies scholar Sharon Harley (1991: 43-4) writes that the large representation of the black female population performing paid labor shows the importance of women's work to the economic survival of black families in the United States, although husbands and fathers were still usually considered the primary breadwinners. Conceptions of domesticity, womanhood, and manliness were highly racialized, and black prescriptive writers and reformers urged their audiences to challenge the logic of racial segregation through public performances of respectability (Mitchell 2004: 124). They rejected the idea that

the actions of black individuals who engaged in so-called deviant behavior could be used to construct ideas about the character of all African Americans, challenged alleged gender role inversion within the black community by addressing the attacks that had been made against the character and virtue of black women, and stressed that black men must act as the heads of black families (Mitchell 2004: 124). Angela Davis (1981) wrote that as a result of African American women more frequently having to negotiate the role of working mother, black feminism has, from its inception, been more attuned to issues of working mothers than white feminism has. Within feminist and women's suffrage movements during the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, African American women were often marginalized or pushed to the periphery (Davis 1981).

In making employment decisions, black families faced pressure from black and white critics, who pointed to working wives as a symbol of the inability of black men to properly support their families, lack of family stability, and lack of racial progress (Harley 1991). It was further argued that working women of all races did not adhere to the ideals of the Cult of Domesticity, and therefore did not deserve the patriarchal protections that came with womanhood. However, due to the precarious financial condition of many black households, and the structural racism that kept black men working for low wages or seasonally unemployed, the call for black wives and mothers to remain home was often an unrealistic expectation. Many married as well as unmarried African American women joined the workforce (Harley 1991: 45).

As consumer culture in the United States began to intensify after the Civil War, for groups like the black middle class, "attempts to equate participation in the capitalist economy with social equality went hand in hand with the attempt to define oneself

through that consumption (Brandon 2004: 205).” The prescriptive literature of domesticity had deep connections to ideas about home environments and what types of material culture households should be consuming, which makes them available for study through archaeological remains. As the Victorian Era gave way to the Progressive, notions that the physical, cultural, and moral climate of a place had an influence on the trajectory of a person’s life were influential (Mitchell 2004: 148, 153-4).

African American activists, like white domestic activists, argued that larger homes could facilitate a necessary amount of privacy, that houses and neighborhoods should be orderly and clean, and that boarders living in the home could be a potentially polluting influence (Mitchell 2004: 148, 153-4). Crowded conditions and their effect on social life were of particular concern to social scientists, like W.E.B. DuBois, and activists who visited urban neighborhoods and urged their reform (see DuBois 1967[1899]). African American political leaders including early black feminist leader Maria Stewart, abolitionist and women’s rights activist Sojourner Truth, and social reformer, orator, and writer Frederick Douglass expressed the importance of motherhood and the domestic sphere for African American families (Wilkie 2003). Charlotte Hawkins Brown (1940), an influential early twentieth century educator and founder of a North Carolina boarding school for African Americans, focused on teaching “social graces,” which she distinguished from “a cheap attitude of servility,” as “doing the courteous thing and making a pleasing appearance.” She laid down her prescriptions towards this end in the 1941 book, *The Correct Thing to Do, to Say, to Wear* (Brown 1941). For African American writers and activists, the good of the race depended on motherhood and the domestic sphere being done correctly.

Setting the Scene

The theoretical framework presented here draws on theories associated with the construction and negotiation of dominant ideologies of womanhood and manhood and social normalization to highlight the mechanisms through which gender shaped social, political, and economics systems in post-Civil War Annapolis, Maryland. The dominant ideologies of womanhood and manhood in the late Victorian and Progressive Eras were not unchanging, and there were different permutations of, and challenges to, these ideologies. The ways in which these ideologies were engaged on Fleet and Cornhill Streets will be explored in subsequent chapters of this dissertation. The theoretical framework and archaeological data are the basis on which this study of gender normalization, and its relationship to racialization and other aspects of identity, is built. This is accomplished through the use of multiple sources, engagement with dominant ideologies and structural constraints as well as on-the-ground negotiations, and by foregrounding the fluid nature of identity construction. The next chapter looks at the post-Civil War history of Annapolis, the development of the Fleet and Cornhill neighborhood, and the history of increasing segregation in the city. After the Civil War, racial boundaries were being reconfigured, and evolving ideologies about proper male and female behavior played an important part in delimiting racial boundaries.

Chapter 3 : Historical and Archaeological Context

In 1894, a reporter from *Harper's Bazaar*, a national women's fashion magazine, described the intersection between Fleet and Cornhill Streets. The author, Margaret Briscoe wrote:

“On the point of one of these “flat-iron corners” crouches a low one-and-a-half story house, its back patched against the side of a three-floor building. Thus the door of the little excrescence opens directly on the “flat-iron's” point. Over the door is a shed, and over the shed again one small window gaping down the united streets towards the market.

Plenty of passing traffic there is on the narrow pavements. Women and children, with market baskets on their arms, wander up and down. Here comes an old negro walking erectly with a long flat basket poised on his head. As he passes by the board fencings the honeysuckles and green vines that have climbed up from the inside gardens nod over to greet his load of green pease, parsley, red radishes, strawberries and white stalks of asparagus.

Close behind this old marketer walks a smaller edition of the same color on his way home from school.

With books under his arm?

Oh no! After the manner of his kind, the child of Gibeon bears them poised on his wooley little head.

As the “flat-iron corner” surely deserves a clearer picture than words can give, out then with the camera.

The pickaninnies gather from every door; staring, shouting, and waving to and fro like life in a drop of water.

Will they have their pictures taken?

Then they must line up against the wall on the opposite street. The “flat-iron corner” is thus free, and the next picture waits posed and ready.

There they are – full-blooded negro and mulatto – the door-step population of the city” (Briscoe 1894: 272).

Archaeology in Annapolis began work on the Fleet and Cornhill Archaeology

Project to learn more than what surviving accounts like the one in *Harper's Bazaar* could

provide about the historical development of, and communities on, Fleet and Cornhill Streets. This chapter discusses the historical and archaeological contexts of the Fleet and Cornhill Archaeology project. The work on Fleet and Cornhill Streets is part of a larger project of archaeological inquiry, Archaeology in Annapolis, which has been exploring the history of Annapolis through archaeological means over the past thirty years. The prior work completed by Archaeology in Annapolis provides an important database of comparative materials as well as ideas to build on.

The late-Victorian and Progressive Era background history of the city of Annapolis is followed by a history of the project area, to connect the history of the project area within the larger history of increasing segregation in Annapolis. During this time period the city was reconfiguring legal structures and behavioral codes to accommodate the emancipation of Maryland's enslaved population and to manage a generally expanded population (Annapolis City Counselor 1897, McCullough 1869, McWilliams 1935, Poe 1888, Riley 1908). In the final part of this chapter, the ways in which ideas about gender and domesticity were used to construct social and spatial boundaries in the City through the use of formal legal structures, racial synecdoche, and the threat of lynching, will be discussed. These methods were used to question the adherence of African American residents to ideals of womanhood and manhood, justify segregation, and question the civil rights of African Americans. This chapter highlights the ways in which the regulation and negotiation of social interactions occurred through discourse about domesticity, which connected the behavior or individual residents to the social well-being of the city as a whole, as well as legal means.

Fleet and Cornhill Archaeology Project

Archaeology in Annapolis was commissioned by the City of Annapolis, under the leadership of then Mayor Ellen Moyer, to excavate in the middle of the City's historic district on Fleet and Cornhill Streets and in the Market Space, in preparation for planned renovations to the public utility infrastructure of the city (Leone et al. 2012: 148). During the spring and summer of 2008, ten excavation units were placed under the sidewalks in the project area. Four units were dug on Fleet Street (18AP111), five units were dug on Cornhill Street (18AP112), and one test unit was placed under the sidewalk near the junction with Fleet Street in the Market Space (18AP109). Between the summers of 2008 and 2010, three additional backyard sites, 40 Fleet Street (18AP110), 30 Cornhill Street (18AP114) and 41 Cornhill Street (18AP115) hosted archaeological excavations, and one additional backyard site, 12 Fleet Street, was tested (Figure 3.1). Data from these excavations, which has also been collected and analyzed in technical archaeological reports, forms the core of this dissertation, although comparative data sets are drawn from previous investigations of nearby sites, which were also excavated by Archaeology in Annapolis. The specific methods used to choose and excavate these sites will be further discussed in Chapter Four.

The properties on Fleet and Cornhill Streets were originally part of a larger tract of land, located to the south of the Maryland State House and bounded by State Circle, Main Street, Francis Street, and East Street which was surveyed and set aside in 1696 for the colonial Governor of Maryland, Francis Nicholson (Miller and Ridout 1998: 179). In 1718, a case was brought to the courts contesting ownership over the majority of Nicholson's Lot where the archaeological investigations took place. Two wealthy

landowners in Annapolis, Thomas Bordley and Thomas Larken, claimed ownership of the property. Their ownership was challenged by the Proprietor, and the case dragged on for approximately fifty years (Bond 1933: xxvi).



Figure 3.1. Map showing the approximate locations of the sites tested by the Fleet and Cornhill Archaeology Project during 2008, 2009, and 2010. Yellow pins represent the backyard sites (Courtesy of Google Maps).

Annapolis replaced St. Mary's City in 1694 as the center of the colonial government in Maryland, and was a commercial and agricultural hub of early Maryland and an entry port for enslaved Africans, and indentured and convict labor, into Maryland (McWilliams 2011: 40-1). In 1771, Charles Wallace, a local merchant who was responsible for the construction of the still-existing third State House of Maryland, bought Nicholson's Lot from the Bordley family, and began to subdivide it for more extensive commercial and residential development in the early 1770s (McWilliams and

Papenfuse 1969). Fleet and Cornhill Streets were among the older streets in Annapolis, although it was thought that houses were not built along these streets until after Wallace's subdivision in the late eighteenth century. However, archaeological investigations during this project showed that an earlier iteration of Fleet Street probably dated to at least the late seventeenth century (Leone et al. 2008).

Charles Wallace laid out Fleet and Cornhill Streets, which were named after affluent London mercantile districts, and subdivided the land into twenty-four lots that fronted these two streets (Miller and Ridout 1998: 180). Land records from the late 18th century show that there were substantive home construction, lot improvements, and land division along the recently created Fleet and Cornhill Streets (Federal Direct Tax 1798). Within two years of purchasing the property, Wallace had leased out all of his lots and, by the 1780s, almost all of the lots had been built upon by their leasees (Miller and Ridout 1998: 180). Most of these properties were used for mixed commercial and residential purposes. For example, 41 Cornhill Street was a tavern and inn, and 30 Cornhill Street contained the workshop of a carriage maker. The larger lots also had outbuildings, and on the 1798 Direct Tax, the owner of 41 Cornhill Street, Beriah Maybury, was listed as owning "one frame dwelling house 18 by 16 two story frame kitchen 16 by 12 on Corn Hill Street" and his son-in-law John Onion was listed as owning "one brick dwelling house 36 by 26 two Story Frame Shed 24 by 16 Two Story Brick Granary 14 by 10 Single Story One Frame out House 12 by 12 Frame Smoke House 8 by 8 Frame Stable 32 by 10 all out of repair on Corn Hill Street" (Federal Direct Tax 1798).

Charles Wallace's death in 1812 brought the original phase of development on Fleet and Cornhill Streets to an end. Until the third quarter of the nineteenth century, the architecture on the streets was composed exclusively of its original eighteenth century buildings and lot configurations (Miller and Ridout 1998: 180). The period of time from the end of the Civil War until 1930 was a time of population growth and urbanization in Annapolis. During the second half of the nineteenth century, the return of the Naval Academy to Annapolis following its relocation to Rhode Island during the Civil War, and its reconstruction and redesign, as well as the increase in construction and the growth of maritime industries, contributed to this increased population growth (Ives 1979, Matthews 1998).

On Fleet and Cornhill Streets, speculative development in the third quarter of the nineteenth century broke down the original 1770 lot configurations (Miller and Ridout 1998). Most of the original lots were purchased by merchants who subdivided them into smaller parcels with narrow street frontages, on which row houses were built. Cornhill Street retains many of its 18th century buildings, although most have architectural modifications, and infill housing has been built. Most of the earlier buildings on Fleet Street were demolished when the extant houses, built specifically for working-class renters, were constructed (Miller and Ridout 1998). Encouraged by the growing population of the City, the new houses were primarily cheaply constructed, two-bay, two-pile, modest-sized, frame houses, with party walls and limited architectural details (Miller and Ridout 1998).

Archaeology in Annapolis

Archaeology in Annapolis, which the Fleet and Cornhill Archaeology is part of, is a long-term research project in historical archaeology. The project, run by Mark Leone, was founded in 1981 through a collaboration among the University of Maryland, College Park, the Historic Annapolis Foundation, and the City of Annapolis (Leone 2005). Most of the published archaeological research about Annapolis, particularly the research published beyond the format of technical site reports, has been produced by researchers working with the Archaeology in Annapolis project. Annapolis is a heritage tourism destination today due to several aspects of its history. Initially life in the city of Annapolis centered around the tobacco economy of the Chesapeake, and Annapolis played an important role in the American Revolution, serving between 1783 and 1784 as the capital of the newly formed United States. All four of Maryland's signers of the Declaration of Independence had residences in the city. Today, Annapolis is a small city of approximately 35,000 people and is well known for its maritime and heritage tourism industries (Leone 2005). Annapolis has been home to the United States Naval Academy since 1845, and is the capital of the State of Maryland. The city never experienced large-scale industrialization in the nineteenth century, and the heritage tourism industry today is built around the preservation of impressive eighteenth century and vernacular nineteenth and twentieth century buildings that sit within an intact seventeenth century city plan (Leone 2005).

Early work conducted by Archaeology in Annapolis focused on Annapolis' role as a small and powerful capital, which manufactured and utilized power apparatuses as part of the landscape (Leone 2005). The goal of this work, which focused on the William

Paca Garden (Leone 1984) and the Baroque plan of the city (Leone et al. 1998, Leone and Hurry 1998), was to use critical theory as it was articulated by Althusser (1971), to see how planning was used as social control and how it made people feel like they were a homogenous group of citizens despite the existence of economic and social inequalities. Shackel (1993), Leone (1999), and Little (1988) also expanded these theoretical frameworks beyond the landscape level. Looking at the development of the culture of capitalism, they correlated changes in ceramics and other types of material culture in eighteenth and nineteenth century Annapolis with the teaching of etiquettes, time disciplines, and other rules of the capitalist economy.

This work, and much of the work that came after it by Archaeology in Annapolis, focuses on discipline and the idea that capitalism requires a concept of the individual and for workers to behave in an orderly and predictable manner that is ideally self-controlled, in order to be successful (Matthews 2002a: xiii). Workers did not rebel against increasing inequality and exploitation because they saw themselves as individuals in control of their social positions, who believed that their own welfare was not reliant on that of others (Leone 2005: 25). Leone, Shackel, and Little showed that town plans, scientific and musical instruments, individual place settings, and artifacts related to personal hygiene such as individual toothbrushes were “individualizing” artifacts which, beginning in the early eighteenth century, were used to downplay increasing social differences and inequalities by masking them in individual similarity. As part of a project of critical archaeology, and its goal of challenging the world that was created by capitalism, Archaeology in Annapolis also became an experiment in public archaeology in the 1980s. The public program, spearheaded by Parker Potter (1994), used museums, newspapers,

local television, and community contact with the goal of making archaeological knowledge more accessible, working to challenge and historicize ideas like the individual by revealing their historical development and, through this work, form a basis for challenging inequalities in the present. Public archaeology is still a core value of the Archaeology in Annapolis program, and the ways that it was utilized in this project is further discussed in Chapter Four.

Since the 1990s, much of the work of Archaeology in Annapolis has focused on understanding the nineteenth and twentieth century history of the city (Jopling 2008, Larsen 2004, Matthews 2002a, Mullins 1999a, 1999b, Palus 2009, Warner 1998a, 1998b). Through this scholarship, the history of enslaved and free African American life, and the lives of the city's non-elite 19th and 20th century residents, have become a more publicly understood part of the City's official histories. Jopling (2008) conducted extensive oral history interviews with African American residents in Annapolis, which helped to contextualize archaeological excavations. Mullins (1999a, 1999b) looked at the intersections between racial discourse, labor structure, and class in the material consumption of African Americans at the Maynard-Burgess House. He argued that African Americans developed specific consumption patterns, like the consumption of national brand productions with standardized weight and quality, to subvert racist practices (Mullins 1999a, 1999b). Warner (1998a, 1998b) also discussed the class differences within the African American community, comparing the assemblage from the middle-class Maynard-Burgess house with other working-class African American households in the city and utilized faunal remains to compare foodways between Annapolis sites and other Chesapeake sites (Shackel et al. 1998 and Leone 2005 present

good overviews of the diversity of projects that Archaeology in Annapolis was conducting during the 1990s).

Matthews (2002a) and Matthews and Palus (2007) have drawn attention to the ways in which the City of Annapolis' current appearance, and the construction and reconstruction of landscapes in Annapolis, is tied to the nineteenth and twentieth century commodification of the city's history. Palus (2009) also looked at how the extension of sanitary infrastructure into the Eastport section of the city contributed to its annexation in 1951, arguing that Eastport residents had been effectively governed by Annapolis before annexation because of their connections to Annapolis utilities.

These studies focusing on nineteenth and twentieth century life in the city are important contributions to the understanding of a city which has had a general historical focus on the time surrounding its charter in 1708, and its "golden age" at the end of the eighteenth century (Potter 1994). The number of published studies that examine the post-Civil War history of the City outside of archaeology is small, and usually focuses on the expansion of the Naval Academy or the development of historic preservation in the City (with the exception of McWilliams 2011). This points to the need to continue to address nineteenth and twentieth century contexts, and to make those interpretations relevant and accessible to residents of the City as well as scholars in other disciplines. Although the time periods of focus have spanned from the eighteenth century through the twentieth century, residents have included famous Annapolitans as well as middle- and working-class black and white residents, and areas of the city have changed through time, the Archaeology in Annapolis project seeks to gain greater understandings of the development of the city as a whole, interpreting its history across space and through time

(Matthews 2002b: 24). The work presented here owes a great debt to the project as a whole, which has made the history of Annapolis known in much greater detail.

The application of critical perspectives to historical archaeology is one of the enduring legacies of Archaeology in Annapolis (Leone 1984, Leone et al. 1987, Palus et al. 2006, Shackel 1993). Critical perspectives have been used to examine political-economic, ideological and social histories through archaeological materials – highlighting the persistent interdependence between capitalist political-economic relations, ideological systems, material culture, and landscapes (Sayers 2003). Critical approaches focus on the nuanced actions of ideology in the past and in the present, viewing the construction of the past as a location of contemporary ideological negotiation (Palus et al. 2006). This study is indebted to critical approaches, in that major focus is placed on the construction and negotiation of gender ideologies, and how they functioned to normalize specific bodies, behaviors, and spatial configurations through domestic, public health and public sanitation directives and dialogues.

This dissertation departs from earlier work in Annapolis because it focuses the construction of gender in nineteenth and twentieth century contexts. While other researchers in Archaeology in Annapolis have looked at racialization and class formation in Annapolis, they have not explicitly asked what role gender normalization and the construction and negotiation of gendered identities played in this process. Feminist perspectives were utilized by Archaeology in Annapolis researchers Barbara Little (1994, 2007) and Anne Yentsch (1994) to study Annapolis during the 1990s. Focusing their work on well documented historical women in eighteenth and early-nineteenth century Annapolis, Anne Catherine Green and the Calvert family, respectively, Little and

Yentsch brought more nuanced understandings of gender to early Annapolis contexts. Utilizing probate inventories, Little (1994, 2007), compared the probate inventories of Jonas Green and his wife, Anne Catherine Green, residents of the Jonas Green House site, and found that while the items described in each of the inventories were largely the same, the placement and organization of the items within the house and the shop were very different. Little showed that, while Jonas Green separated the items necessary for his work activities from his household and confined them to his print shop in a way that conformed to the separation of commercial (masculine) spaces and residential (feminine) spaces, Anne Catherine, who took over his printing business after his death, did not entirely separate her domestic and craft labor (Little 2007: 100). This work reflects the primary goals of archaeologies of gender in the 1980s and 1990s, which sought to make gender a valid category of investigation in archaeology, outline a feminist methodology that could be applied to different contexts, identify and interpret gender in the past, and deconstruct androcentric bias (Gero and Conkey 1991, Stockett and Geller 2006:9)

Since Little and Yentsch completed their work in Annapolis, third wave feminist thought has influenced the ways in which gender is studied in archaeology. Third wave feminist theory considers gender as one component of identity construction, instead of as a static identity in and of itself, and considers gender alongside other facts including age, race, ethnicity, class, and sexual preference. In this view, “women” is not seen as a homogenous category, and variability and difference are foregrounded (Stockett and Geller 2006: 11). Over the past decade, archaeologies that study gender have also started to incorporate contributions from queer theory (Stockett and Geller 2006: 16) and black feminist (Franklin 2001) thought, looking at the multiplicity of gender expression and its

interactions with racialization, which have not been foregrounded in the study of nineteenth and twentieth century gender in Annapolis.

Black feminist theory in archaeology, which Battle-Baptiste (2011:69) describes as a method, has encouraged scholars to look at the body of literature that black activists and feminists have produced when making archaeological interpretations and is utilized in this dissertation. Black feminist archaeology “centers the intersectionality of race, gender and class,” while also considering “the direct connection of the past with contemporary issues of racism and sexism that allow researchers to see how the past influences and shapes contemporary society and perhaps forces us all to be more sensitive to the larger implications of our research” (Battle-Baptiste 2011: 69-70, Franklin 2001). This project is also influenced by the work of scholars like Hong (2006: xxiv), who argues that the political and economic processes that affect the production and experience of places are multiply constituted by race and gender, and that racialized and gendered difference is “intrinsic to capital’s reproduction, but is also erased and disavowed.” Accordingly, the focus on gender normalization draws attention to how difference is produced in a world of culturally, socially, and economically interdependent places (Gupta and Ferguson 1992).

Speculative Development, Jim Crow, and the Reconfiguration of White Supremacy in Annapolis

Living in a border state during the Civil War, Marylanders were divided in their sentiments and support during the war, although the state officially sided with the Union cause. However, as a slaveholding state, Maryland had a population of newly emancipated black residents after the Civil War, joining the sizable free African American population in the state, especially in the City of Annapolis. Before the war, free

African Americans represented approximately one-quarter of the city's population (Leone 2005). The antebellum Maryland Legislature, composed primarily of slave owners, was particularly concerned with the growth of the free black population, which they saw as a threat to the social order. Their policy was to try to restrict the number of free African Americans entering Maryland, and reduce the existing number of free African Americans (Brown 1994: 12). Therefore, in the wake of the Civil War, white supremacy had to be reconfigured from a system of racial slavery into a system where hierarchy was justified by deviance of other groups from white middle-class norms, supported by new legal structures like Jim Crow legislation.

Annapolis, like other urban areas in the north and south, attracted newly free men and women, who felt that they might have more opportunity in the city than in the country. These new residents further increased the city's population, which was rapidly increasing due to the return of the Naval Academy from Rhode Island, where it was located during the Civil War, to Annapolis, and by the availability of jobs in the city's maritime and construction industries (Ives 1979). By the advent of the Progressive Era, usually defined as beginning during the 1890s and extending through World War I, Americans struggled to come to terms with rapid urban growth and the rise of corporations. This era was a time of social criticism, popular protest, political restructuring, and the beginning of more stringent economic regulation and social welfare legislation (Dye 1991: 1). Between 1860 and 1870, the population in Annapolis increased by almost thirty percent. A large amount of this growth, forty-three percent, was attributable to the increase in the city's black population. By 1870, white residents accounted for sixty-six percent of the city's population, and black residents accounted for

thirty-two percent of the total population of 5,744 residents (McWilliams 2011: 200). Between 1870 and 1880, the City's population grew by an additional fifteen percent (McWilliams 2011: 212).

Although Maryland did not ratify the Fifteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution, the amendment, which secured the right of the country's African American men to vote, was adopted in 1870. Supported by newly registered black voters, candidates of the Republican party won the congressional elections in November of 1870 by a small majority (McWilliams 2011: 201). In Annapolis' municipal election during April of 1871, the Republicans also won all positions, except for those of one City Counselor and one Alderman. During the next municipal election, which took place in 1873, local Republican leaders recognized that black voters had been integral to their victory two years before, and added an African American, William H. Butler, to their slate of city candidates (McWilliams 2011: 201). Butler was a major landowner in the city, and owned fourteen thousand dollars' worth of real property in 1870, including rental properties for working-class Annapolitans on Pinkney Street, which were excavated during the summer of 2011 by the Archaeology in Annapolis project (McWilliams 2011: 201, Deeley 2012).

Republicans lost control over the Annapolis city government in 1875, a loss that the *Maryland Republican* attributed to dissatisfaction with Republican rule (McWilliams 2011: 203). Fighting broke out during the election, when Republicans in the third ward of the city cast their ballots for Democratic candidates. Annapolis historian Jane McWilliams (2011: 203) wrote of the incident that it "seems to have been more along party lines than racial ones" because both black and white Annapolitans were injured

during the fighting. However, one thing is clear from the coverage of the incident in the *New York Times*; African American residents were blamed for starting the fight and were held responsible for the incident. The *New York Times* (1875) reported that respectable and influential Annapolitans had confirmed to them that “the negroes were the aggressors,” that the white man who had started the shooting had first been “knocked down by a colored man,” and “the disturbance was finally quelled by the whites of both parties, interfering, to cause a cessation after the negroes had retired.”

By the middle of the 1870s, the national project of Reconstruction had stalled, and in 1877 it formally ended. The Compromise of 1877 ended Reconstruction and decided the presidential election of 1876. Although Samuel J. Tilden, the Democratic candidate, had defeated the Republican contender, Rutherford B. Hayes, in the popular vote, the vote counts were heavily disputed in several southern states. In the end, Rutherford B. Hayes was awarded the Presidency, and the one lasting provision of the Compromise of 1877 was the withdrawal of federal troops and the end of a sustained federal attempt to protect the rights of black citizens in the south (Lears 2009: 22-4). The restoration of white supremacy was gradually implemented throughout the 1880s and 1890s, through initiatives including black disfranchisement and racial segregation (Lears 2009: 24). Although the political framework for white supremacy was laid by the Compromise of 1877, it would be twenty years before its full effects were felt, what historian Jackson Lears (2009: 24) called a “remarriage between the white South and the white North.”

In 1908, as the City celebrated the two hundred year anniversary of its charter, local Jim Crow legislation, and therefore *de jure* segregation, officially came to Annapolis (McWilliams 2011: 247). However, during the last decades of the nineteenth

century, *de facto* residential segregation had been increasing in the city and in the project area. Census data between the years of 1880 and 1900 indicates that most of the residents of Fleet and Cornhill Streets were born in Maryland, and that Cornhill Street was occupied predominantly by white residents, while Fleet Street had a slightly higher percentage of African American residents. During this time period, the percentage of African American households on Fleet Street increased, while the percentage of African American households on Cornhill Street decreased (Table 2.1 and Table 2.2) (United States Bureau of the Census 1880, 1900, 1910, 1920, 1930). During the beginning of the 20th century, almost all of the non-African American households on Fleet Street were occupied by Russian Jewish families.

Table 3.1. Racial identifications of Fleet Street residents as recorded in the federal census data, 1880-1930.

Fleet Street	African-American		White		Russian-Jewish		Total
	Male (%)	Female (%)	Male (%)	Female (%)	Male (%)	Female (%)	
1880	38 (30.2%)	40 (31.7%)	21 (16.7%)	27 (21.4%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	126
1900	68 (38.6%)	84 (47.7%)	11 (6.3%)	13 (7.4%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	176
1910	48 (41.0%)	43 (36.8%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	14 (12.0%)	12 (10.3%)	117
1920	45 (43.7%)	47 (45.6%)	2 (1.9%)	2 (1.9%)	3 (2.9%)	4 (3.9%)	103
1930	41 (36.6%)	58 (51.8%)	2 (1.8%)	2 (1.8%)	2 (1.8%)	7 (6.3%)	112

Source: United States Bureau of the Census 1880, 1900, 1910, 1920, 1930. Manuscript census records are not available for 1890 in Annapolis. The African American statistics includes individuals enumerated as both mulatto and black, and Russian-Jewish residents include first generation immigrants and their U.S. born children.

Table 3.2. Racial identifications of Cornhill Street residents as recorded in the federal census data, 1880-1930.

Cornhill Street	African-American		White		Russian-Jewish		Total
	Male (%)	Female (%)	Male (%)	Female (%)	Male (%)	Female (%)	
1880	12 (9.3%)	14 (10.9%)	48 (37.2%)	55 (42.6%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	129
1900	12 (6.0%)	13 (6.5%)	98 (49.0%)	77 (38.5%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	200
1910	5 (2.9%)	6 (3.6%)	83 (49.1%)	75 (44.4%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	169
1920	8 (5.4%)	6 (4.1%)	61(41.5%)	61 (41.5%)	4 (2.7%)	7 (4.8%)	147
1930	29 (15.9%)	26 (14.3%)	62 (34.1%)	54 (29.7%)	7 (3.8%)	4 (2.2%)	182

Source: United States Bureau of the Census 1880, 1900, 1910, 1920, 1930. Manuscript census records are not available for 1890 in Annapolis. The African American statistics include individuals enumerated as both mulatto and black, and Russian-Jewish residents include first generation immigrants and their U.S. born children.

Racialization and racial segregation are reflected in both the African American and Jewish occupation of Fleet Street because, at the time, Jewish residents also faced restrictions and were not allowed to buy homes in certain neighborhoods of the City (Jopling 1998). Although there were some black-owned businesses in the city in the early twentieth century, the African American community also relied on white, mainly Jewish-owned, businesses. There was a rapport between the Jewish and African American communities because both experienced discrimination. In many cases Jewish merchants and landlords lived in black residential clusters, above the stores they operated (Brown 1994: 49).

While the largest number of African American households in Annapolis was concentrated in the Clay and West Street areas of the city, the area around Fleet and Cornhill Streets also provided housing options for African American Annapolitans.

Around the turn of the twentieth century, Fleet Street became “one of the city’s most entrenched black communities” (Miller and Ridout 1998:181). In the cluster of African American households around Fleet, East, and Pinkney Streets, over 39% of the households had female heads of household, headed by women who were widowed or who were enumerated as married but were living separate from their spouses (Ives 1979). Following the turn of the twentieth century, there was also a marked increase in the number of first and second-generation European immigrants from Germany, Ireland, England, and Portugal, as well as Russian Jewish immigrants, enumerated in the census data for Cornhill Street (United States Bureau of the Census 1880-1930, Leone et al. 2008: 31). While Cornhill Street maintained a predominance of white residents through 1930, between 1920 and 1930, the percentage of African American residents increased. In 1880, there were almost equal numbers of white and black residents in Anne Arundel County, with 14,649 white residents and 13,877 black residents. By 1900, there were 24,234 white residents of Anne Arundel County and 15,367 black residents. Within those twenty years, the proportion of white to black residents in the county had shifted dramatically, and this shift has been attributed to foreign immigration into the county (Jackson 1936-7: 104-5).

The 1896 Supreme Court case *Plessy v. Ferguson* established the “separate but equal” doctrine and ruled the segregation of African Americans was not a violation of civil rights. Following this Supreme Court decision, many southern states, like Maryland, which had practiced *de facto* racial segregation started to enact segregation laws (Brown 1994: 29). Maryland passed a transportation segregation law in 1904 (Brown 1994: 29), and Maryland’s Jim Crow laws were upheld in a 1905 Court of Appeals case in which an

African American teacher had been fined five dollars for refusing to vacate a car on the Baltimore-Washington-Philadelphia Railroad that had been set aside for white passengers (Jackson 1936-7: 105). A law requiring separate cars for colored passengers in Anne Arundel County on the interurban trains and trolleys running through Annapolis, the first local Jim Crow legislation, was passed by the Maryland legislature in April of 1908. Additional laws segregated places of entertainment, restaurants and dining establishments, drinking fountains, and rest rooms (McWilliams 2011: 249). Segregation in Annapolis was not as visible to outsiders as it was in some other American cities, because there was not a single section of the city where African American residents were forced to live (Brown 1994: 19), and there were clusters of African American residents throughout the city (Ives 1979).

Although black households continued to be located throughout the city, separation by race into clusters increased throughout the city, as it had on Fleet and Cornhill Streets, as time went by (Brown 1994). In an oral history interview from the early 1990s, a white man who lived at the very bottom of Fleet Street described an incident from his childhood, which reinforces the idea that although black and white residents were living close to one another, there were definite social boundaries and conflicts between residents. The man describes how one day a black woman who lived further up Fleet Street collapsed, and his mother had her picked up and brought into their house. He relates that later in the afternoon when he was outside again playing he heard “some of the black ladies” talking about what had happened and saying that “it was like nothing they’d ever seen before, that a white woman had picked up a black woman – up off the street – and put her in her own bed!” According to the man being interviewed, it was a

“scene of wonder” to them that something like that would happen, even though the two women lived down a short street from each other (Warren 1990: 76). This illustrates how socially constructed boundaries separated black and white women, although they could live in close proximity to one another, for example on Fleet and Cornhill Streets, which branch off of one another.

When describing segregation generally, the same interviewee said,

“Black people then understood what the rules of the game were, as did the white families. There was this kind of acknowledgement that existed. And because everyone had been ‘brought up carefully,’ as the song says in *South Pacific*, they knew what was expected of them. I knew the buses were segregated and the theatres were segregated.” (Warren 1990: 156)

Although housing was not legally segregated, residents accused real estate agents in the early twentieth century of preventing black buyers from purchasing homes that were not already inhabited by black residents (McWilliams 2011: 249). Another long-time resident related that there was a “nice association” between black and white residents because “they kept to themselves and whites kept to themselves” (Cullimore 1990). When asked about the situation for black residents, one woman first described how she worried that “blood was going to start flowing in the streets” because of “segregation, and because we had black streets, and because they couldn’t go in the same places we went in” (Fisher 1989). She then talked specifically about the lack of respect accorded to adult African American residents during the early twentieth century, detailing how when two African American women were addressing each other they would respectfully call each other Mrs. and use the other woman’s surname, but that the white kid next door could address these adult women by their first names. She added, “that’s painful when you are an adult – Boy, hi boy – you know” (Fisher 1989).

In addition to the first local Jim Crow laws, the first decade of the twentieth century was a period of intense party politics in Maryland. Maryland's Democratic Party began to see codified repression of African American voting as a way to regain their political power and combat Republican influence through the state (McWilliams 2011: 247). The successful 1903 platform of the Maryland Democratic party stated their belief that the "political destinies of Maryland should be shaped and controlled by the white people of the state (Everstine 1984: 546 as cited in McWilliams 2011: 247)." In this way, they were denying the rights of citizenship of African American men, and therefore also their manhood. Working toward the goal of black disfranchisement, the Maryland Democratic Party attempted, and failed, three times between 1890 and 1912 to take away the voting rights of African American men. Their failure to disfranchise African Americans, which contrasts with African American experiences in other Southern states, has been attributed to the success of Maryland's two party system and the Republican party's fight for political survival during these attempts, and not to a sense of racial justice in the state (Calcott 1969).

In March of 1908, Anne Arundel County Delegate A. Theodore Brady introduced a bill in the Maryland House of Delegates to change the voting qualifications in the City of Annapolis' charter. The bill passed unanimously in the House of Delegates, and was also approved by the State Senate. On April 8, 1908, the bill was signed into law by Maryland Governor Austin Crothers (McWilliams 2011: 249). The bill restricted the right to vote in municipal elections to males twenty-one years old and over, who had lived in the city for at least one year and also met at least one of the following requirements; 1) owned over \$500 worth of assessed property in the City, 2) were naturalized citizens or

the sons of naturalized citizens, and 3) were entitled to vote in Maryland or any other state before January 1, 1868 or were the lawful descendants of men who were entitled to vote on that date. Due to the fact that before 1868 suffrage was only extended to white males, this bill disfranchised black residents without real or personal property that was valued at over \$500 (McWilliams 2011: 249). This meant that fewer than one hundred of the eight hundred black men who had previously been qualified to vote could now vote in municipal elections. A similar amendment was introduced, but defeated, at the state level in 1909 (McWilliams 2011: 249).

Ten groups of speculative houses were built along Fleet and Cornhill Streets between 1858 and 1881 (Miller and Ridout 1998: 181). Contrasting two sets of row houses built under the ownership of the same family helps illuminate the differences in antebellum and postbellum housing development on these two adjacent streets, and possibly the changing character of the neighborhood (Figure 2.3). Jeremiah Hughes, a prominent Annapolitan and the owner of the *Maryland Republican*, a weekly Whig-oriented newspaper in Annapolis, built one set of row houses for rental purposes on Cornhill Street in the 1820s and, under his family's ownership, another set of row houses was built for rental purposes on Fleet Street in the 1870s. The houses at 54, 56, 58 and 60 Cornhill Street were constructed by Hughes in 1821, on an unimproved lot. The surviving houses at 54, 56, and 58 Cornhill are two-and-a-half story, brick, Federal-style townhouses. In 1822, 60 Cornhill was sold separately, but the other three houses were continuously owned by the same individual, being used as rental properties for working-class whites until 1949 (MIHP AA-454 n.d.).



Figure 3.2. 56 Cornhill Street (left) and 28 Fleet Street (right), are attached row houses built in 1820s and the 1870s, respectively, when the properties were owned by the Hughes Family (Photos courtesy of Archaeology in Annapolis)

Hughes purchased property on Fleet Street in 1819, and after Hughes' death his family retained ownership of the property through the construction, around 1878, of 26, 28, and 30 Fleet Street. When Hughes purchased the property, there was an existing house on the lot, which was demolished. 26, 28, and 30 Fleet are two-story, frame houses with very little exterior fenestration. Also intended to be used as rental properties, these houses were occupied by working-class African Americans (MIHP AA-1273 n.d.). The obvious differences in quality of construction may reflect both the antebellum versus postbellum development of the neighborhood, as modest, inexpensive housing was increasingly being built in the city to house its working classes (MIHP AA-1273 n.d.) as well as racialization of potential tenants on Fleet Street as it was becoming a recognized area of African American residency during the last decades of the nineteenth century.

Building and owning rental property appears to be one way that white women may have participated in the speculative development around the turn of the twentieth century, although the property may also have been purchased and developed by male relatives in their names. In 1843, Maryland had passed a married women's property act, which protected the rights of women to own property. However, this is usually characterized as a conservative effort to safeguard family property rather than an attempt to expand women's rights because, while it ensured that attempts to collect debts from a husband could not touch his wife's property and a woman could refuse to sell her property, a woman could not manage or sell properties without her husband's consent (Speth 1982).

In 1879, Mary Moss, the wife of George Washington Moss, who operated a merchandise market and ship chandlery in the Market Space, purchased 45 Fleet Street and rented it out for income. A few years later, in 1899, she purchased an undeveloped plot of land further down Fleet Street and between 1902 and 1903 constructed houses at 16, 18, and 20 Fleet Street, which were also leased out to working-class African Americans for rental income. In 1875, Mary A. Marshall purchased the land at 42 and 44 Fleet Street. Under her ownership, the existing buildings on the site were demolished and, by 1876, the extant buildings had been built, in the predominant two-story, two-bay style. Marshall's husband, a builder in Annapolis, was probably responsible for the actual construction, which generated rental income from working-class African Americans (MIHP AA-1280 n.d.).

Homeownership was important to Annapolis women's public citizenship rights, which may be a reason that these properties were purchased by women, or in women's

names. Despite the fact that women were not allowed to vote in national elections until the Nineteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution was ratified in 1920, female property owners of all racial categorizations in Annapolis had been voting in city bond elections since 1900 (McWilliams 2011: 260). Therefore, even if their ownership of the property was in name only, Annapolis women, like women in other states affected by married women's property acts, may have experienced political and psychic effects not anticipated by the conservative drafters of this type of legislation.

At the beginning of the late nineteenth century phase of speculative development on Fleet Street, the properties were all white-owned but occupied predominantly by African American renters. During the same time period, many of the homes on Cornhill Street, including those at 30 and 41 Cornhill Street, were owner occupied by white families. Beginning in 1872, however, with the purchase of 51 Fleet Street by Henry Clay, an African American man, there was a gradual shift toward ownership by African American men and women on Fleet Street (Miller and Ridout 1998: 182). Another early example of African American ownership on Fleet Street is found at 48 and 50 Fleet Street, which were constructed between 1897 and 1903 after an earlier nineteenth century building was demolished. These homes were owned and occupied by African Americans from their time of construction. The individual owners of 48 and 50 Fleet Street, Susan Wright and Anthony Wilson, respectively, built the only pair of non-matching attached row houses on Fleet Street. Wright had rented an earlier building on the property during the 1880s, prior to purchasing the land (MIHP AA-1283 n.d.).

It was a slow progression but, by the 1920s, some of the African American residents of Fleet Street were able to purchase the houses they had been living in (Miller

and Ridout 1998: 182). Nation-wide in 1900, less than a quarter of the black population of the United States owned their homes, a statistic that had not changed much by 1930 (Mitchell 2004: 150). By 1930 in Annapolis, 22 percent (n = 186) of African Americans' homes in Annapolis, and 44 percent (n = 1,214) of African Americans' homes in Anne Arundel County were owed by their occupants, with or without a mortgage. In Maryland in the early twentieth century, homeownership was less common for African Americans living in large cities than it was for rural and small-town African Americans (Palus 2011: 237-8). Home ownership was an important ideal in African American communities, and was linked to African American advancement by African American reformers during the time period. Home ownership provided protection against the threat of eviction, and the opportunity to make one's own decisions about home improvements, in short it was "security and could determine comfort as well as health" (Mitchell 2004: 150).

The beginning of Jim Crow legislation and attempts to disfranchise African American voters solidified some of the new forms of white supremacy that had emerged in the wake of the Civil War. By the turn of the twentieth century, segregation was firmly entrenched in the project area. The households on Fleet and Cornhill Streets represent small cultural landscapes, where we can analyze on the ground expressions of social relations (Brandon and Barile 2004). Brandon and Barile (2004: 8) have written that household activities sometimes "serve to 'produce' material things...but they do these things in a way that both reifies and transforms social structure – along with such things as gender constructions and power relations – which, on a grander scale, are shared with the larger community." However, before we can examine the ways in which the project of normalization played out on the ground in this one part of Annapolis, it is important to

understand how anxieties about black and white residents interacting and forming relationships with each other, particularly across gender, were publicly played out in the Annapolis press during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Policing the Boundaries

Norms about domesticity, proper behavior, and gender were important mechanisms enforcing racial separation in post-Emancipation Annapolis. Part of this was accomplished through the use of what historian Patrick Rael (2002: 179) calls “racial synecdoche.” In the context of the antebellum North, Rael (2002: 179-181) looked at how the mechanism of “racial synecdoche” was used to deny the respectability, worthiness for freedom, and citizenship of female and male African Americans. Rael argues that as the nineteenth century progressed, it became more infeasible to personally know all of the people that were being encountered in the course of a day, so surrogate means of identification based on ethnic, racial, and national stereotypes became more important (Rael 2002: 180-1). In the antebellum period, and continuing throughout the nineteenth century, black leaders advocated a politics of respectability to confront racial synecdoche, in the hope that they could combat racism and argue for citizenship rights through a visible, genteel black population. Racial synecdoche, a “reference to the figure of speech in which a part is said to represent the whole,” involved highlighting the misdeeds of the few, which were said to represent the entire race’s moral character (Rael 2002: 179). The project of racial synecdoche was often accomplished through newspapers and other public media sources. In this section, the role of racial synecdoche in the construction of black male criminality and lynching, a very public arena where these anxieties were played out are explored. The tropes of black male criminality, the threat of black

manhood to white womanhood, and the deviance of black women from proper, genteel behaviors, are all expressed in this discourse, and were public expressions that were used to support segregation, racialization, and inequalities that we can see on-the-ground through the historical and archaeological records.

Prior to the beginning of publication of the *Evening Capital* in May of 1884, previous Annapolis newspapers had always been printed weekly, or semi-weekly during the legislative session. The *Evening Capital* was therefore the first newspaper to bring local news and advertising to local readers six days per week. With a daily paper, Annapolitans had new opportunities to weigh in on local issues and controversies, and more closely follow the details of City politics and society (McWilliams 2011: 213). As an important source for local news about Annapolis society, events, and criminal incidents, the *Evening Capital* became an important outlet for the teaching of object lessons about proper and improper behavior for Annapolitans, using racial synecdoche to support the separation of black and white residents.

With growing populations at the end of the nineteenth century, the city depended on its police force to keep order, especially at night when workmen were attracted to “drinking saloons and other disreputable places” that were considered to have the potential to contribute to disorder (Martin 1881 as cited in McWilliams 2011: 238). The justice system in Maryland was openly sympathetic to racist violence, and African Americans had reason to be wary because the justice system was publicly supported by the local press (Mullins 1999a: 68). During the “election riot” that had occurred during the election of 1875, the white assailant who murdered an African American in front of a crowd of witnesses was not convicted because all of the of witnesses were African

Americans, and the jury therefore considered the testimony to be "too contradictory a nature" to put the responsibility for the crime on one person (as cited in Mullins 1999a: 68). Arrests for more mundane crimes like drunk and disorderly conduct and smaller infractions were frequent, as detailed by *Capital*, and African Americans who were accused of crimes were identified by their race in the articles. The racism of the police and legal system "was amplified by a variety of whites who aggressively attempted to police public space (Mullins 1999a: 70)." The press contributed to this policing.

Historian Jackson Lears (2009: 93) describes lynching as "only the most brutal and sensational example of a concerted white effort to reassert absolute dominance by drawing the sharpest possible boundaries between the races." The increasing significance of race and racial categorization during the end of the nineteenth century reflected the uncertainties of the time period, and "modern racism provided...[a] solidity to personal identity, in a secularizing market society where most form of identity were malleable and up for sale" (Lears 2009: 93). While lynching did not occur continually, or even perennially, in Annapolis, it was a powerful tool which was used publicly to enforce normative relationships. By the 1880s, justification for the violent reassertion of sometimes precarious existing power relations through lynching and other forms of racial terrorism in the south was based on chivalric posturing and the protection of white womanhood (Bederman 1995). Lynching was, therefore, "a violent reaffirmation of white community, a ritual that served to exorcise sexual anxieties and overcome class conflict" (Lears 2009: 105). Nation-wide, interracial rape and lynching were linked in the popular imagination, and in the south, white men invoked the protection of white womanhood to

justify the lynching of black men, who were never given a trial and may or may not have committed a crime (Lears 2009: 106).

Annapolis followed these nation-wide trends. In 1884, George Briscoe, was lynched in Anne Arundel County and his story was followed closely by the *Evening Capital* and other local news sources. Briscoe had been accused of “petty robberies,” and was not accused of rape or violence against women. However, newspaper accounts depicted him as a threat to white women saying that his crimes “grew so frequent that ladies were afraid to remain in their homes after nightfall without the men of their families staying home” (*Evening Capital* 1884c), and that he “persisted in making his presence a terror to the female inhabitants of the neighborhood” (*Evening Capital* 1884d). Although Briscoe never directly assaulted any women in the neighborhood, it was reported that women in the neighborhood were terrified and that a woman of the neighborhood whose house was broken into was so frightened that she became ill (*Evening Capital* 1884d, *Baltimore Sun* 1884). Briscoe was in the course of being transported to Annapolis from another part of the county when he was lynched.

In 1898, Wright Smith was lynched in Annapolis after being accused of attacking two white women in their home, near Jones Station in Anne Arundel County. It was determined that the lynch mob had consisted of about 40 men, but none of them were held responsible for the events. The Baltimore and Annapolis newspapers stated their belief that the lynchers had come from the neighborhood of Jones Station where the women who were attacked lived, because “as neighbors these men felt a deep interest in the case, having families that they are often obliged to leave at home without male protection” (*Baltimore Sun* 1898). In a later article in the *Baltimore Weekly Sun*, a further

reason that Wright Smith may have been seen as a threat was revealed. The article described him as “a South Baltimore politician” on whose behalf efforts would have been made to have him released on bail before the trial (*Baltimore Weekly Sun* 1898).

Following the lynching of Smith, black Alderman W. H. Bates introduced a resolution to condemn the lynching, saying that the city was disgraced because the mob had taken the law into its own hands. Only two members of the City Council voted for the resolution, and the resolution was rejected (*Annapolis Advertiser* 1898b).

Lynching was publicly defended in the *Annapolis Advertiser* because the justice system in Anne Arundel County was often delayed and “the story of the crime must be told by the unfortunate woman in open court” (*Annapolis Advertiser* 1898a). In 1906, Henry Davis, nee Chambers, was arrested for assaulting a woman in her home in Annapolis and was lynched by a mob that attacked the Annapolis jail. Maryland’s governor said that he was determined to bring those involved in the lynching to justice, but again the conclusion was drawn that although the crime had occurred in Annapolis, “comparatively few of the residents of the section had anything to do with the affair” and “a large number of those present during the affair were young men, probably students of St. John’s college or candidates for the Naval Academy” (*Evening Capital* 1906c). Later the involvement of participants from St. John’s was questioned, and although the mob met at St. John’s, authorities came to the conclusion that St. John’s students were more observers than participants, and the perpetrators were never pursued further or prosecuted (*Evening Capital* 1906d).

Following the lynching of Davis, one of the most prominent doctors in Annapolis, Dr. Claude, wrote in the *Evening Capital* that “he preferred the law to take its course, but

the unsavory reputation of Davis, who had on one other occasion escaped the gallows for a similar crime, and the fact that he was more animal than man, made it probably better for the community” for him to have been quickly lynched (*Evening Capital* 1906a). The *Baltimore Sun* reported the reactions of Annapolis’ black community to the event. The reporter described that African American men “were so badly scared from what they had witnessed – for the jail is in a section which is thickly populated by the colored race that they dared not trust their tongues to comment” (*Baltimore Sun* 1906). However, one black woman was reported as speaking out to the crowd that had gathered at Brickyard Hill, the site of the lynching. She was reported to have “announced that a white woman was no better than a colored woman,” speaking out about the fact that black women were not offered the same protection from rape. However, soon after the woman made these comments, a young white man in the crowd “resented the language used by the colored woman, which was made up mostly of profane remarks and the negress beat a hasty retreat” (*Baltimore Sun* 1906).

The *New York Sun* criticized the lynching of Henry Davis, and the State of Maryland for not being able to protect its private institutions, condemning officials for allowing Davis to be dragged by a mob “through the streets of the quarter inhabited by his race as an object lesson to the population there” (*Evening Capital* 1906e). Postcards with photos of Davis’ body, showing him lying on the ground after he had been lynched and riddled with bullets were sold as “souvenirs” of the incident, no doubt in an effort to extend this object lesson beyond those who were direct witnesses of the event (*Evening Capital* 1906b). By the turn of the twentieth century, African American activists were speaking out in the national media against the popular mythologies surrounding lynching. Mary

Church Terrell (1904: 854), a leader of the African American women's club movement, wrote in 1904 that "it is a great mistake to suppose that rape is the real cause of lynching in the South. Beginning with the Ku Klux Klan, the negro has been constantly subjected to some form of organized violence ever since he became free. It is easy to prove that rape is simply the pretext and not the cause of lynching." Lynching was just one mechanism that supported separation between black and white residents. Supported by arguments that black men needed to be kept away from white women and families, lynching was an instrument to control black manhood and political rights, and support inequality and separation between black and white residents.

Challenging Divisions

Anti-lynching campaigns, including the one led by Ida B. Wells, began to challenge the practice of lynching, beginning in the 1890s. Wells published the pamphlet *Southern Horrors*, in which she questioned the construction of black men as rapists through carefully documented arguments. In her work, Wells, familiar with then-current gender norms and the connections between gender and race, flipped the ways in which lynching scenarios were usually portrayed. Wells refuted the idea that black men lacked the ideals of manliness, and instead said that they were manliness personified, and that black men were innocent victims of white women who seduced them into having consensual relationships and then were able to accuse the men of rape. She further went on to condemn white men in lynch mobs for perpetrating their own rapes against black women, and stated that anti-miscegenation laws only served to prevent legitimate interracial relationships, leaving white men free to exploit black women (Bederman 1995: 57-8).

In their work interpreting the Jonas Green House site in Annapolis, where the *Maryland Gazette* was published in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Barbara Little (1988, 1992) and Mark Leone (2005) analyzed the role of common newspaper readership and the formation of public opinion. Drawing on Benedict Anderson (1991:62-3), Leone (2005: 114) argued that around the American Revolution people who did not know each other came to believe that they agreed with each other because they read the same widely circulated materials. Little (1992:88) noted that widely distributed news sources could also reinforce vernacular languages and even spread or plant stereotypes. The standardization of newspaper layouts, and the reduction of the public role of the printers as the authors of newspaper materials, helped to convince readers that they shared the news and that they were linked to many others by reading it (Leone 2005: 142). Although it was circulated over a century after the *Maryland Gazette*, the *Evening Capital* would have likewise shaped the opinions that Annapolitans who read it held. In the *Evening Capital*, the authorship of locally focused, front-page articles, were not acknowledged, although the editor's name was placed in the top corner of the paper. This format, which did not attribute local news reportage to a particular Annapolitan, would have had the same effect as the authorless pages of the *Maryland Gazette*, facilitating "the illusion that the reader could see him or herself in and on its pages and never worry about why [the printers] were saying and selecting what they were printing" (Leone 2005: 112).

The fact that the *Evening Capital* was making editorial choices about which stories they reported did not go completely unnoticed. On several occasions the *Baltimore Afro-American* called attention to the fact that Annapolis daily newspapers

were not reporting crimes that were perpetrated by white men against African American women. Under the headline “Was Not Mentioned in the Daily Papers: An Alleged Attempt Assault by White Brute Upon a Respectable Colored Woman,” the *Afro-American* (1909) reported an attack that had not been written about in the white-owned daily newspapers. The attack was on a female, African American employee of the Carvel Hall hotel, located in the present-day historic district of Annapolis. The young woman was attacked while she was at work, managed to make her escape from her assailant, and was able to attract the attention of the head waiter at the hotel. After the attacker tried to flee to Baltimore, the head waiter followed him, apprehended him, and brought him back to Annapolis (*Afro-American* 1909). In 1919, the *Afro-American* also reported about the arrest of a white man in Annapolis for the rape of a thirteen year old African American girl. The newspaper reported that, after being charged, the man had been released on a \$5,000 bond, and that the case had “not gotten into the white dailies at all,” because “they would not print it” (*Afro-American* 1919).

Although African American writers and media sources, including Ida B. Wells and the *Baltimore Afro-American*, tried to refute the use of racial synecdoche to enforce racial separation and questioned the protection of white womanhood but not African American womanhood, segregation was firmly entrenched in Annapolis life by the early twentieth century. Davis was the last man lynched in the City of Annapolis in 1906, at the same time that Jim Crow legislation was increasingly being implemented in southern states. By the end of World War I, the Ku Klux Klan was also at the height of its activities in Annapolis and other cities (Mullins 1999a). By this time, lynching was increasingly replaced with de jure segregation as a way to enforce separation between

black and white residents. The reconfiguration and enforcement of gender norms and stereotypes following the Civil War were closely tied to race and the reinforcement of racial separation. The next chapters will set out the archaeological methods used to explore negotiations of proper ideas about womanhood and manhood through material culture excavated in Annapolis, before the on-the-ground expressions of these negotiations are discussed in the remainder of the dissertation.

Chapter 4 : Methods

Gender ideologies have corresponding material conditions and consequences that make real differences in people's lives (Wylie 2006: 171), and this dissertation explores the materialities of gender in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Annapolis in the following chapters. However, before delving into interpretations of the data, it is important to discuss the practice of archaeology in this project, and how the data that will be utilized to discuss the on-the-ground negotiations of identity in Annapolis during this time period was collected and analyzed.

Initially a cultural resource management (CRM) project, two major initiatives in the City of Annapolis shaped the archaeological fieldwork that began on Fleet and Cornhill Streets in 2008: first, the celebration of the 300th anniversary of Annapolis' Royal Charter, granted by Queen Anne of Great Britain in 1708, and second, the long-term project in Annapolis to underground the public utility infrastructure in the historic district of the City (Leone et al. 2012). This chapter will discuss the ways in which the sites on Fleet and Cornhill Streets were chosen, the public archaeology program that accompanied the initial excavations, the site histories of the backyard sites excavated between 2008 and 2010, and the field and lab methods used to recover and analyze the archaeological materials. The methods used in the Fleet and Cornhill Archaeology Project have been influenced by standards set by the State of Maryland and standard practices in the field of historical archaeology, as well a commitment to anthropological archaeology influenced by feminist and critical theory in its praxis.

Why Archaeology on Fleet and Cornhill Streets?

In 2008, Annapolis marked the 300th anniversary of the City's Royal Charter. Under the leadership of then Mayor Ellen Moyer, the city planned a year-long celebration of the tercentenary, including many community organizations, scholars, and members of the general public in a series of events collectively called Annapolis Alive!, aimed at "Celebrating Three Amazing Centuries" (Annapolis Alive 2008). The Archaeology in Annapolis program, at the invitation of the mayor, her committees, and city administrators, participated in this celebration through two initiatives. The first initiative was a series of exhibits developed to display and interpret the materials excavated from throughout the City over the history of the archaeological project. The exhibits, entitled *Seeking Liberty: Annapolis, an Imagined Community*, aimed "to show the past, its immediacy, and its connection to today" (Leone et al. 2012: 148). The core exhibit displaying the archaeological materials recovered by Archaeology in Annapolis was housed in the Banneker Douglass Museum, which is the state of Maryland's official repository of African American material culture. Smaller exhibit cases and panels were also displayed in buildings where Archaeology in Annapolis had conducted excavations in the past.

The second initiative was a public excavation project in the historic district on Fleet and Cornhill Streets. Mayor Moyer has been a supporter of Archaeology in Annapolis since its earliest years, and she understood that archaeology could be used as a significant part of the city's anniversary celebration, inspired by the 400th anniversary celebrations of the first English colony in Virginia at Jamestown which took place in 2007 (Leone et al. 2012: 148-9). The exhibits and excavation were meant to demonstrate

the importance of the City's archaeological record, and the insights that have been gained about the City's past through archaeology. The goal was to show archaeology that was "useful, direct, and inclusive of the city's many populations, most obviously its long-subordinated African American neighborhoods" (Leone et al. 2012: 149). The publicly open excavations were planned in order to make a full-scale archaeological project accessible to residents and tourists of the historic district and display the immediacy of the largely intact and close to the surface archaeological materials that are under streets, sidewalks, and backyards of Annapolis (Leone et al. 2012: 149).

The excavations on Fleet and Cornhill Streets were also part of a long-term, large-scale public works project in Annapolis, the movement to underground the above-ground utilities on Annapolis streets in the historic district. The City's Department of Public Works contracted with Archaeology in Annapolis to conduct excavations in order to access the integrity of the archaeological resources under Fleet and Cornhill Streets, in anticipation of the undergrounding of above-ground utilities and replacement of the already undergrounded city-owned utilities on those streets. The first attempt to clear what Michael Dower of the English Civic Trust called the city's "wirescape" was undertaken during the early 1960s (Matthews and Palus 2007: 243). Undergrounding the public utilities was proposed as a way to (re)create and re-work the historic landscape, in line with other efforts in the second half of the twentieth century to initiate historic preservation in the Annapolis and place its surviving historical buildings in the appropriate context and attract tourists. The campaign to underground public utilities in the 1960s petered out, but was renewed in the early 1970s, as part of the preparation for the nation-wide bicentennial celebration. Initiatives to underground utilities were related

to proposals calling for the renovation of street surfaces using more historically appropriate paving materials (Matthews and Palus 2007: 243).

During the 1970s, the Maryland state legislature became involved in the initiatives to move all public utilities underground. In 1974, they drafted a law which enabled some municipalities to require the undergrounding of all new utilities (Matthews and Palus 2007: 243-4). However, it was not until the mid-1980s that the project to underground existing publicly owned utilities in Annapolis received funding through the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development's (HUD) community block development program, which was matched by the State of Maryland (City of Annapolis 1987 as cited in Matthews and Palus 2007: 245). The projected total cost of undergrounding the utilities was estimated in 1983 to be \$24 million for the placement of the utilities themselves, plus an additional \$2.8 million to resurface streets and sidewalks with concrete and asphalt, or \$19 million to resurface streets and sidewalks in brick (Smith 1983 as cited in Matthews and Palus 2007: 246). The undergrounding work began in 1990 (Matthews and Palus 2007: 246) and parts of the historic district have had their utilities replaced and undergrounded to date.

Fleet and Cornhill Streets were assigned a relatively low priority when undergrounding first started moving forward in the 1980s and 1990s, and as a result have a very different current appearance than nearby areas, including Main Street and State Circle, which benefited from the selective improvement of the historic district. Fleet and Cornhill Streets were targeted for undergrounding in 2008 partially due to concerns that emergency vehicles would not be able to navigate the narrow streets and their low utility wires. The City's original plan for what they called the Fleet and Cornhill Streets

Reconstruction Project was to closely follow the archaeological excavations with the undergrounding of the utilities and resurfacing of the streets and sidewalks. However, the project has been put on hold, which the city explains is due to “evaluating alternative design approaches that will be less invasive and more cost effective” (City of Annapolis n.d.). The global financial crisis and economic recession, which began in 2007, has had a large impact on the city’s finances and budget priorities. It is unclear at this point when the undergrounding will be completed.

As part of the CRM project, archaeologists consulted with the Department of Public Works staff, Annapolis Historic Preservation Commission staff, Maryland Historical Trust staff, local scholars, and residents in order to formulate the research objectives for the project. All of the city-owned rights-of-ways along these streets were included in the area of potential effect for the undergrounding project, which afforded the Archaeology in Annapolis project an opportunity to research the long-term historical changes to the public spaces in one neighborhood of the historical core of the city (Leone et al. 2008: 7). From the beginning, it was assumed that the streets had undergone substantive urban development throughout their history, as previous excavations throughout the historic district had shown. As a CRM venture, a fundamental question guiding the project was centered around determining the integrity of the archaeological sites. This included learning to what extent the sites had already been disturbed through processes like grading or excavation, finding the limits of site boundaries, and accessing the eligibility of the sites for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places (Leone et al. 2008).

During the summer of 2008, the research questions and scope of the Fleet and Cornhill Archaeology Project were expanded. With permission from private homeowners and the City's Historic Preservation Commission, Archaeology in Annapolis' summer archaeological field school, run and funded through the University of Maryland, College Park, conducted additional excavations under the sidewalks on Cornhill Street and in the backyard of 40 Fleet Street. Additional backyard sites were excavated by field school students, under close supervision by Archaeology in Annapolis' staff of professional archaeologists, during the summers of 2009 and 2010. Backyards on Fleet and Cornhill Street range in size from approximately twenty-five square feet or less, to the size of the original lots created when Charles Wallace subdivided the streets in the 1770s. Backyard sites were chosen based on the occupation history of the sites, whether the yards were large enough to host archaeological investigations, and on the willingness of residents of Fleet and Cornhill Streets to host archaeological investigations. Many of the residents who agreed to participate in the project first learned about the project and shared stories about their properties with the archaeologists when the excavations were open to the public while work on the streetscape units was taking place. The community engagement efforts that were undertaken during the project were therefore very important to the expansion of the project, which relied on the cooperation and goodwill of residents on these streets.

A significant feature of the excavations conducted by Archaeology in Annapolis has been public interpretation and community involvement (Leone 2005). The basic features of the public interpretation program employed during the Fleet and Cornhill Street excavations were developed by Mark Leone and Parker Potter in the 1980s (Potter

1994), and are rooted in an effort to apply critical theory to archaeological work in Annapolis, and to apply archaeology to contemporary life. The goal of the public program of Archaeology in Annapolis from its inception, as it was shaped through the work of Parker Potter, was to bring reflexivity into the process of interpretation, because the projection of the present onto the past is unavoidable. It brought attention to the idea that archaeologists have to be conscious of the ways in which their interpretations can be used, and should teach visitors that archaeology is an interpretive process and not one where historical facts just come out of the ground (Leone et al. 1987, Potter 1991, Potter 1994). The public program was also built on the idea that archaeology could be an intervention in the present (Tilley 1989), historicizing contemporary life and forming a basis for questioning the *status quo* (Leone et al. 1987).

During the 1990s, Archaeology in Annapolis made some adjustments to its approaches to working with the public, beginning to construct a more collaborative process with local and descendant communities. In its early years, the public interpretation component of Archaeology in Annapolis had ensured a substantial measure of popular and official support. However, popularity was not translating into changed consciousness, one of the explicit goals of a critical archaeology (Leone 2005: 262). Recognizing that it can be difficult for people to make connections between the material culture of earlier time periods and their own, project archaeologists realized that by reaching out to specific local communities, a more effective bridge between past and present could be created (Leone 2005). As a result of these insights, Archaeology in Annapolis began to construct working dialogues with African American communities in the city of Annapolis, because official histories of Annapolis often left out African

American experiences. Through collaborations with the Banneker Douglass Museum, several projects were developed at sites that related to African American history, and Hannah Jopling (2008) conducted an oral history project that recorded African American residents' accounts of early twentieth century life in the city (see Leone 2005: 188-190 for a description of this transition).

While these projects required the archaeologists to give up some of their professional authority, productive working relationships were formed, and archaeologists made a long-term commitment to consult with the African American community before excavation and listen to questions that could potentially be answered through the archaeology or oral history (Leone et al. 1995: 263). Through these efforts, and exhibits that displayed the archaeological interpretation of African American sites, the City's African American past became a better-recognized part of the City's official histories. Working with people who were interested in using historical information to institute change helped the program to find important allies for its goal of denaturalizing public presentations of history and adding new historical perspectives (Leone 2005). This work has been an important predecessor of the work on Fleet and Cornhill Street.

One of the key contributions of critical archaeology, as it has been utilized in Annapolis and other places, has been to introduce archaeology into the public arena in new ways, and to consider a responsibility to public audiences as a constituency for archaeological studies. Public archaeology is probably the goal of critical archaeology that is most widely accepted by archaeologists (Palus et al. 2006: 92). Many residents would come back day after day to the sites on Fleet and Cornhill Streets, to see how interpretations were developing and to offer their own interpretations of features and

artifacts. Several of the homeowners on Fleet and Cornhill Streets had done in-depth research about their own properties, including a lot history report of Cornhill Street compiled by Dr. Richard W. Smith, as well as personal stories of their experiences in the neighborhood and their contacts with the former residents who they had purchased their properties from or who have stopped by through the years.

During the two months that excavations took place along the public streetscape, approximately 3,300 people visited the archaeological sites and stopped to talk to archaeologists. Interpretive signs were also left out during non-working hours (Leone et al. 2008). Unfortunately, excavations were not open to the public during the field school excavations in the backyards on Fleet and Cornhill Streets. The yards were too small to make the excavations open to the public. However, requests for tours were accommodated, and interested local heritage workers and members of the Historic Preservation Commission were invited to the sites.

In addition to the in-person contact with local residents and tourists on a day-to-day basis during the excavations, project leaders Mark Leone, Matthew Palus and Matthew Cochran, also made public presentations to residents of Fleet and Cornhill Streets at a Department of Public Works sponsored public information meeting at the Annapolis City Council Chambers, a presentation to local historians of the Annapolis History Consortium, and a public presentation for the AC300 celebration, the festivities surrounding the 300th anniversary of the city charter. In October of 2008, a public presentation about the work was made at the Historic Annapolis foundation and, at the conclusion of the fieldwork in the backyard spaces, Annapolis' Chief of Historic Preservation invited Archaeology in Annapolis to present at the March 2012 Maryland

Day celebrations in the Annapolis City Council Chambers. During the Maryland Day presentation, interested residents of Cornhill Street invited archaeologists to do additional work on two properties there during the summer of 2012. One of the residents had been particularly interested in the Maryland Day presentation because, when she decided to move to Cornhill Street, now a quaint street in the historic district, her parents' neighbor had warned her against the choice. The neighbor, a gentleman in his nineties, had told her, "You need to be careful; that's a bad part of town."

Project staff also used the University of Maryland's media specialists to disseminate information about the project to local newspapers, which resulted in articles about the project in the Annapolis newspaper, the *Evening Capital*, as well as the *Baltimore Sun*, the *Easton Star-Democrat*, the *Washington Post*, and the *New York Times*. Radio interviews were also given on NPR and WNAV. The focus of these pieces was on the archaeological discoveries and how they were made. The pieces that were written during the time that fieldwork was taking place attracted additional visitors to the sites. Working and consulting with the local community has been one way that the Archaeology in Annapolis project has attempted to add to existing histories of the City. Archaeology has an interesting dual nature, in that the interpretations it produces can be used in very different ways, either to incorporate and perpetuate racist, sexist and nationalist agendas or to counter popular mythologies and support critical reexamination of these agendas (Little 2007: 15). When the discipline of historical archaeology began in the 1930s, its major goal was to assist in the creation and support of a national mythology (Orser 2001). However, more recently, archaeologists have aimed to provide different perspectives on the past, adding new narratives to the histories of seemingly well-known

places like Annapolis. This is concurrent with the goals of feminist anthropology generally, which Alison Wylie (2006: 168) describes as being rooted “in an activist commitment to document – to bear witness – to understand, and ultimately to change sex and gender inequalities that have real political and material implications for lives and bodies, personal and social/cultural identities, public institutions, and forms of intimacy.”

Fieldwork Methodology

The archaeological research design for the streetscape and backyard excavations was shaped by archival research. During the initial portion of the Fleet and Cornhill Archaeology project, which focused on the streetscape, test units were placed under the sidewalks. The largest excavation, at the base of Fleet and Cornhill Streets in the Market Space, measured 5 feet by 6 feet, and the smallest test unit, on Fleet Street, measured 3 feet by 4.5 feet. The test units were placed underneath the sidewalks, most abutting the curbstones, at locations in accordance with the Department of Public Works’ revised Scope of Work, which was received on December 20, 2007. The dig locations were determined by Orlando Ridout V, the Chief of the Office of Research, Survey, and Registration at the Maryland Historical Trust.

Most of the test units abutted the curbstones so that archaeologists could see the sequence of widening or narrowing of the street passages. No excavations were conducted in the streets themselves. The streets were too narrow for traffic to go around the archaeological perimeter, and previous archaeological excavations in Annapolis had shown that the processes of paving and repaving, as well as the laying and repair of utility lines, left very few archaeological deposits stratigraphically intact underneath the actual street bed. Test units were placed in reference to extant archaeological features,

and were placed so that they would not adversely affect access to local businesses and access by homeowners to their properties. The areas where test units were placed were also chosen based on the occupation history of the houses that they were in front of, and based on indications of features from historical records and maps, as well as a walkover survey of the site.

Before backyard excavations were conducted, Archaeology in Annapolis sought, and received, the permission of the private homeowners of the sites and approval from the Annapolis Historic Preservation Commission. Material culture recovered from household sites reflects the actions of multiple individuals and ongoing collective compromises and negotiations (Wilkie 2000: 14-5). Attention to spatial organization is methodologically important to the archaeological studies of households, because artifacts from the same strata correspond to the same time period, and give information about the synchronic and diachronic use of the sites through (Beaudry 1999, Groover 2001, Rotman 2005, Wilkie 2003). The sites on Fleet and Cornhill Street all contain the houses where the nineteenth and twentieth century occupants lived, although some have undergone subsequent additions and all have been renovated. Therefore, it was not a goal of the excavations to discover where architectural features of the main houses were located. Instead, excavations focused on looking at the changing use of yard spaces through time, and on locating historic period features at the sites. During Phase I investigations of the sites, historical maps of the area, particularly Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, were used to locate possible outbuildings and look for clues as to how the yard spaces had been organized in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Field excavations were carried out following the guidelines set out by the Archaeology Office of the Maryland Historical Trust (MHT) in *Standards and Guidelines for Archaeological Excavations in Maryland* (Shaffer and Cole 1994). At all sites sheet middens, fill episodes, and features were identified and sampled. Although sheet refuse, yard deposits, and plow zones are sometimes avoided by archaeologists because they are difficult to interpret, they reflect the use of outdoor space in back lots (Beaudry 1999), and sealed features only contain a portion of the material goods discarded at a site (Wheeler 1995:9). While levels that are sheet middens can reflect secondary discard behaviors and are usually not as bounded in time and space as pit or shaft features are, they are still reflective of daily trash disposal practices (Versaggi 2000) and are utilized in this analysis.

Contextual research, particularly census data, was used to link Fleet and Cornhill residents to specific sites. Prior to the 1880s, census data for the area in which Fleet and Cornhill Streets are located was not enumerated by street, so it is difficult to determine who was living in houses and on properties that were not owner occupied. Beginning in 1880, however, the census records were enumerated by street and house number and, as part of new national impulses to quantify and categorize populations, contained important information regarding factors like the occupation and immigration data for the occupants (United States Bureau of the Census 1880). To determine the correct house numbers for each property during this time period, when the streets were renumbered at least once, Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps from throughout the period were used.

Streetscape Units: Market Space (18AP109), Fleet Street (18AP111), and Cornhill Street (18AP112)

One test unit was placed under the sidewalk in the Market Space, near the base of Fleet and Cornhill Streets. The test unit measured 5 feet by 6 feet, and was located to the east of the entrance to 26 Market Space. Four test units were placed under the sidewalks of Fleet Street. Three units were placed on the north side of the street. One 3 foot by 5 foot unit was located to the east of the entrance to the building at 14 Fleet Street, between the modern utility lines servicing that residence. 14 Fleet Street was associated with Dr. Dennis Claude, a physician and Annapolis mayor in the nineteenth century, and an earlier house on the property was rented to working-class African Americans. The extant building, used as a rooming house called the Ideal Hotel, which catered to an African American clientele, was built on the site in the 1920s (MIHP n.d.). When a log or corduroy road feature dating to at least the early eighteenth century was discovered in the unit in front of 14 Fleet Street, an additional 4 foot by 4.5 foot unit was placed to the east of the entrance to the building at 18 Fleet Street to look for the continuation of the road.

At the top of Fleet Street, on the same side of the street, a 3.6 foot by 5 foot test unit was placed near the backyard entrance associated with the buildings at 79 and 81 East Street. This unit was intended to look at the changes that had occurred on the upper portion of Fleet Street, before it intersects with East Street. On the south side of Fleet Street, a 4.5 foot by 3 foot test unit was placed to the west of the entrance to the building at 45 Fleet Street. 45 Fleet Street, also called the Holland-Hohne House was thought to have been built after 1770 because it was aligned with Fleet Street, although there were unsubstantiated reports that credited the construction of the house to the 18th century. Excavations on the other side of Fleet Street, which discovered the corduroy road and its

continuation behind 79 to 81 East Street, showed that there was an earlier version of Fleet Street in place before the 1770 subdivision (Leone et al. 2008). Characteristic of the neighborhood, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the house had been occupied by working-class African American and white residents until it was condemned in the 1960s and then renovated (MIHP n.d.). All test units on Fleet Street were aligned with the curbstones.

Five test units were excavated under the sidewalks on Cornhill Street. Three of these were excavated by Archaeology in Annapolis project staff under contract with the City, and two were excavated by 2008 summer field school students under close supervision of project archaeologists. Four test units were placed on the north side of Cornhill Street. One test unit measured 5 feet by 4 feet and was located east of the entrance to the building at 10 Cornhill Street. 10 and 12 Cornhill Street are associated with John Chalmers, a silversmith and engraver, in the late eighteenth century. During the mid-19th century, the property was purchased by a local grocer, and then was leased to white residents in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (MIHP n.d.). In front of 30 Cornhill Street, one of the backyard sites, a 3 foot by five foot test unit was placed to the west of the entrance to the building.

Another 3 foot by 5 foot unit was placed to the east of the entrance of the building at 40 Cornhill Street. When a late eighteenth century public well, visible in late nineteenth century photographs as a pump at the sidewalk level, was discovered in this test unit, the unit was expanded and enlarged through another test unit. 40 Cornhill Street was occupied in the second half of the nineteenth century by the white Pindell family, who operated a boarding house (MIHP n.d.). In 1900, against the trends of the street, the

property was sold to William Contee, an African American sailor in the Navy, who lived there until 1943. On the south side of the street, a 4.3 foot by 5 foot test unit was placed to the east of the entrance of 41 Cornhill Street, also one of the backyard sites in this project. All excavations under the sidewalks on Cornhill Street abutted the curbstones.

12 Fleet Street (Preliminary Testing)

One five foot square test unit was placed in the backyard of 12 Fleet Street. The backyard of 12 Fleet Street was extremely small, only allowing for the placement of one test unit. 12 Fleet Street had once been part of the same parcel of land as 6-8 and 10 Fleet Street during the original Wallace subdivision, and had historical uses as a residential site for white and black residents, as well as a boarding and livery stable (MIHP n.d.). The test unit was only excavated to a depth of 0.4 feet below the current patio grade, and had to be stopped when the excavation hit a concrete patio surface extending through the entire unit. The decision not to break through the concrete cap and to stop excavation was based on the knowledge of a historic stream running under present-day Pinkney Street, as well as the water mitigation problems encountered during the excavations on the sidewalk spaces in front of 14 Fleet Street and 18 Fleet Street. The fear was that once the concrete cap was broken, the water table would become a problem and the unit might be difficult to backfill, possibly resulting in a sink hole in the center of the backyard that project archaeologists were not prepared to remedy. Although Mrs. Ann Dax, the current owner, was responsible for the extant patio surface, she did not know that the concrete cap existed before the excavations (Ann Dax, personal communication).

40 Fleet Street (18AP110)

Two 5 foot square test units were excavated in the back yard of 40 Fleet Street. One test unit was located in the southwest corner of the backyard, closer to the house.

This unit was intended to provide information about the use of the yard space through time and contained numerous yard surface levels. The other unit was in the far northeast corner of the backyard. Sanborn Fire Insurance maps showed that there used to be a structure in the northeast corner of the yard space. It was suspected that the structure may have been a privy, because it was located as far away from the house as possible in the small yard space, and accounts indicated that Fleet Street did not get indoor plumbing until at least the late 1920s (Winters 2008). There was also significant sinking to the brick patio surface in that corner of the yard, indicating the possible existence of a pit feature which had been filled but had subsequently settled. A privy, Feature 14, was uncovered in this unit during excavations.

The property that today contains both 38 and 40 Fleet Street, which Charles Wallace designated as lot 4, was leased for a period of ninety-nine years to William Hewitt in 1771, and the lease was sold to Elizabeth Foulk after Hewitt's death in 1779. Foulk purchased the property after the death of Charles Wallace in 1812, and later transferred interest to her daughters. The property stayed in the hands of the same family, and they rented out the property throughout their ownership. In 1885, the lot was purchased by the Workingmen's Building and Loan Association (Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties (MIHP AA-1279 n.d.)). At some point after 1878, the house that had been purchased by Elizabeth Foulk was demolished, and, according to Sanborn Maps, there were no buildings on the site in 1885 (Figure 4.1).

The Workingmen's Building and Loan Association constructed 38 and 40 Fleet Street after 1885 as rental properties for working-class families, and retained ownership of them until 1920, when they were purchased by Virginia Owens. Owens defaulted on

the mortgage, and the property was purchased by Jacob Blum and Louis Kotzin in 1922, although Kotzin defaulted on the mortgage four years later giving Blum full ownership (MIHP AA-1279 n.d.). Blum was part of the Russian Jewish immigrant community that developed on Fleet and Cornhill Streets between 1910 and 1930, and he, both independently and with Kotzin, purchased several properties on Fleet Street during this time period (MIHP n.d.). Blum was a grocer and his own store and residence was located at 6-8 Fleet Street, but he also owned 14, 16-20, 22 and 38-40 Fleet Street (MIHP AA-1279 n.d.:4). Annapolis' black community relied on businesses, like Blum's, operated by Jewish owners, who often lived in black residential clusters above their stores (Brown 1994: 49). Blum's store would have been an important resource for the residents of Fleet and Cornhill Street. His family retained ownership of the property at 40 Fleet Street into the 1950s.

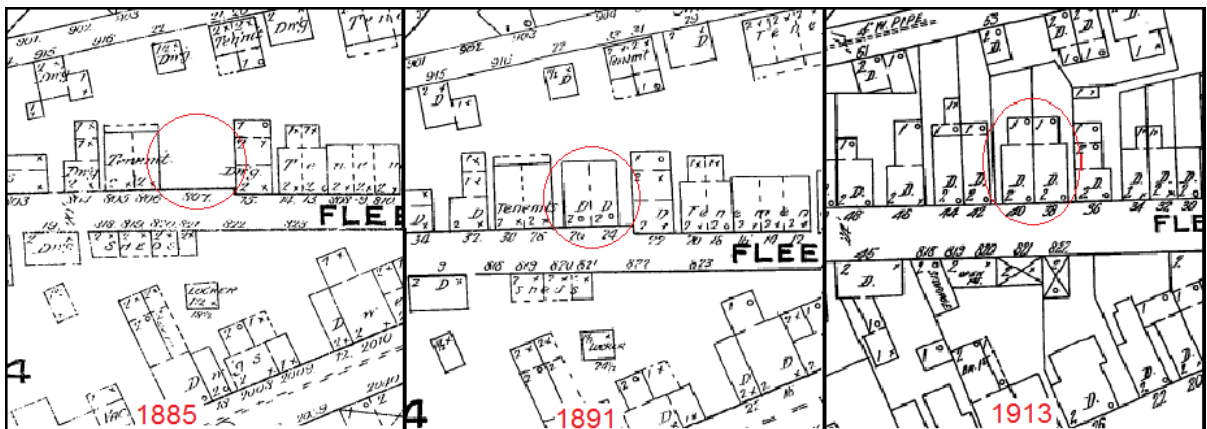


Figure 4.1. Details from the Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps in 1885, 1891, and 1913 show the development of the 40 Fleet Street lot (circled) through time.

The extant structure at 40 Fleet Street, rented by extended working-class African American families, is characteristic of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century trend towards speculative housing in the project area. In 1900, the occupants of the newly

constructed buildings owned by the Workingmen's Building and Loan Association were working-class African American families. At 40 Fleet, two heads of the household, Milton McCulley, a hand carrier, and Albert Johnson, a waiter, are listed in the census, although the relationship between the two families is unclear, and Albert Johnson may have been related to Milton McCulley. The attached house at 38 Fleet Street was occupied by Samuel Diggs, a laborer, his wife Catherine, and two of their children (United States Bureau of the Census 1880).

By 1910, the house at 40 Fleet was occupied by George Price, his wife Sarah Price, and their two children, Ambrose and Catherine (United States Bureau of the Census 1910). George Price died between 1910 and 1920, and in subsequent census years, Sarah Price is listed as the head of the household and, at various times, her children or grandchildren are listed as living with her. It is probable that the boundaries between the households of Sarah Price and her children were fluid in a way that is not fully captured by the census data. This fluidity is hinted at by the fact that her six year old granddaughter, Mildred Price, was enumerated in the household of Sarah Price, as well as in the household of her father, Ambrose Price, at 144 South Street, in the 1920 census (United States Bureau of the Census 1920). This fluidity may reflect family relationships that aided both Sarah Price and her daughter-in-law, and allowed them to complete their work. Price's daughter-in-law worked as a laundress at home, and had two younger children in addition to Mildred. Mildred staying with her grandmother may have provided her with childcare support necessary to complete her washing. Sarah Price may also have needed her granddaughter to help her with tasks around her own house and at her job as an aging domestic worker in a private home (Warren 1990:30). The 1924

Annapolis City Directory lists Ambrose Price as the head of the household for both 40 Fleet Street and 144 South Street, although this could also reflect a predisposition in the recorders of the manuscript census data to look for male heads of household (Annapolis City Directory 1924).

At 38 Fleet Street, the Diggs family continued to occupy the property through 1920. The reliability of the manuscript census data is called into question when looking at the records related to the Diggs occupation of 38 Fleet. This may be due to inconsistencies in what residents reported to census takers, or census takers who were trying to get their jobs done as quickly as possible, and who have been shown to have given particularly unreliable information about working-class, urban neighborhoods. Samuel Diggs is listed as 50 years old in 1900, 68 years old in 1910, and to be of unknown age in 1920. Samuel and Catherine Diggs, as well as several other African American residents of Fleet and Cornhill Streets before and after the turn of the 20th century have unknown birth dates in some of the census records, which may indicate that they were enslaved when they were born.

By 1930, the extended family of Joseph and Bettie Harris had moved in to the house at 38 Fleet Street. Living with them were their son, his mother, a sister, and two nieces. Joseph Harris worked as a chauffeur for the dairy, and the sister, Louise Pinkney, worked as a servant in a private family (United States Bureau of the Census 1930).

30 Cornhill Street

Two test units were placed in the backyard of 30 Cornhill Street. The units were placed to avoid the electrical and water hook ups for a fountain that sits in the middle of the patio, to allow access to the back entrance to the house, and to avoid overlap with the location of previous archaeological testing. Dr. James G. Gibb, then the Annapolis

Historic Preservation Commission's consulting archaeologist, had conducted preliminary archaeological testing in 2001 to determine what impact planting, paving, and porch and stair construction would have on the archaeological resources at the site. From Gibb's work, project archaeologists knew that the archaeological deposits at 30 Cornhill Street were largely intact, although since 2001, they sat under a new brick patio and substantial crushed blue rock level, used to raise the grade and even out the backyard surface (Gibb 2001).

One five foot square test unit was placed in the middle of the yard space, and was located to the north of the back wall of the building which had formerly been 28 Cornhill Street, but is now connected to 30 Cornhill Street. This unit contained a parged cistern, Feature 38, which was probably constructed in the early nineteenth century. A second 4 foot by 5 foot test unit was placed approximately one foot to the north of the back wall of the kitchen addition of 30 Cornhill Street. The unit was placed to gain additional information about the use of the yard space at 30 Cornhill Street, and learn about any earlier outbuildings which may have been at the site.

After Wallace's subdivision of Fleet and Cornhill Streets, the property corresponding to present day 30 Cornhill Street, Wallace's lot number 11, was leased in the 1770s by John Unsworth. At some point between 1771 and 1795, the lease was passed to Samuel Hutton (Smith 1995). In 1795, Hutton mortgaged the property, paid off the mortgage by 1803, and his family continued to live there through 1851. Samuel Hutton was active as a carriage-maker, turner, and blacksmith between 1783 and 1810 at his shop on Cornhill Street, and then the business appears to have been taken over by his son Jonathan Hutton. During the 1820s, although the Hutton family continued to live on

the property, they lost ownership and the title was not returned to them until 1841 (MIHP AA-443 n.d.). By 1824, Jonathan Hutton had moved his carriage-making shop from Cornhill Street to West Street in Annapolis, “above the Farmers’ bank” (*Maryland Gazette* 1824).

In the 1820 census, Jonathan Hutton is listed as heading a “family” of twelve people, although other heads of household could be included in the count based on the way that the census data were collected at that time. The count of five free white males may also include Hutton’s apprentices, or any other carriage-makers or tradesmen that he may have employed, because the domestic spaces of his household were not separated from his carriage-making shop. Also enumerated in the census are three female slaves and one free African American man.

For the second half of the nineteenth century, beginning in 1851, 30 Cornhill Street and all of lot 11 were owned and occupied by the family of John Brady, a baker, and his wife Sarah. The 1860 and 1870 censuses give information about the household of John Brady, who was widowed before 1880, when his son John W. Brady was enumerated as the head of the household. According to the 1880 census, John W. Brady was also a baker and lived in the house with his wife, their ten children, and several other relatives (MIHP AA-443 n.d., United States Bureau of the Census 1880). Near the end of the nineteenth century, the attached frame structure of 28 Cornhill Street, which had previously been a shed roof attachment to 30 Cornhill Street, was converted to a separate home (MIHP AA-1308 n.d.) (Figure 4.2).

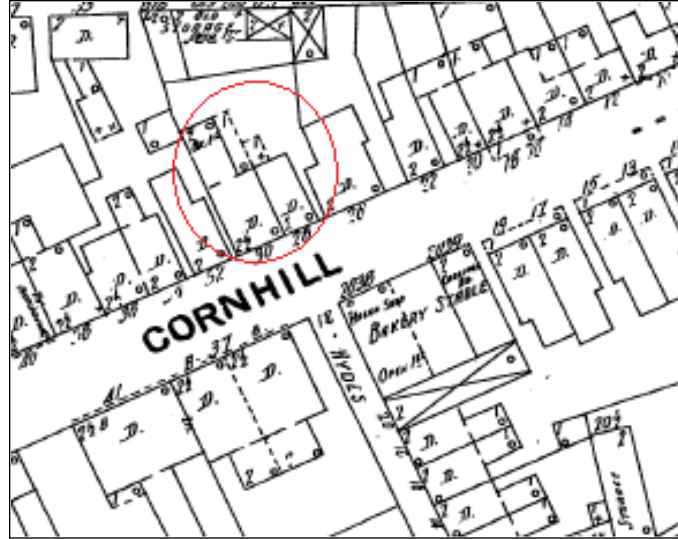


Figure 4.2. Detail from the 1908 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map showing the attached dwellings of 28 and 30 Cornhill.

John W. Brady died in 1893, and the 1900 census shows that his widow Anna was living in the house, although she defaulted on the mortgage shortly thereafter (MIHP AA-443 n.d.). By 1900, the attached house of 28 Cornhill Street – enumerated as house 26 ½ in the census data – was occupied by a working-class African American family. Harriet Gross, a widowed laundress of unknown age, is listed as the head of the household, which also included her widowed daughter, Janetta Toodles, who also worked as a laundress. Toodles' children and an aunt of unknown age are also listed as part of the household (United States Bureau of the Census 1900).

Shortly after the turn of the 20th century, the title was transferred to Elizabeth Randall, who, following the trend on Cornhill Street, leased the property to white working-class families and boarders. In 1910, 30 Cornhill Street was occupied by Louis and Susie Tanis, their daughter, and two boarders who were originally from Indiana. Louis Tanis is listed as a carpenter, and his daughter and the two boarders are listed as

clerks. At the time, 28 Cornhill Street was occupied by the family of Hamilton and Mary Crandall. Hamilton Crandall is listed as a bartender in a saloon (United States Bureau of the Census 1910). In the 1920 and 1930 census, the households at 30 and 28 Cornhill Street were occupied by white families, and employment of the occupants included paperhanger, engineer for the US Naval Academy, carpenter, maid, printer, dressmaker, and watchman. The wives of the heads of household for 30 Cornhill Street in 1920 and 1930, Cecelia Stone and Victoria Basil respectively, were both the daughters of German immigrants, although they were both born in Maryland themselves (United States Bureau of the Census 1920, 1930).

In March of 1919, Daniel Randall, who was listed in the *Evening Capital* articles as the owner of 30 Cornhill, and was married to Elizabeth Randall, brought suit against the owner of 32 Cornhill Street for \$1,000 in damages. Randall alleged that a chimney collapse at 30 Cornhill, also “known as the old Brady property,” was caused by “water from the cellar running into the Randall property and undermining the chimney base” (*Evening Capital* 1919a). The Randalls lost their suit, and the *Evening Capital* remembered the collapse as causing “much excitement among the family occupying the house, the fireplace caving in and the stove in the room dropping into the cellar beneath, a fire being narrowly averted” (*Evening Capital* 1919a).

In 1924, the property was sold to Max Snyder, a Russian immigrant shoe salesman who defaulted on the mortgage in 1936, causing the property to be transferred to the Farmers National Bank. During the Coates’ family ownership of the property from 1942 until 1977, 28 and 30 Cornhill were altered to become a single house (MIHP AA-443 n.d.).

41 Cornhill Street

Six test units were placed in the backyard space of 41 Cornhill Street. These units were placed to avoid the existing garages and driveway on the property, and to avoid damaging the small boxwoods that partition the formal backyard garden occupying the majority of the backyard into four garden beds. Two five foot square test units were placed around the entrance to the brick kitchen ell, built in some iteration as early as 1830, but reconstructed in 1878 to appear to be one long wing of the house (MIHP AA-447 n.d.). These units were placed to gain more information about yard use and refuse practices in this space and, if possible, to learn the location of earlier outbuildings. The 1798 Direct Tax listed the owner at that time, Beriah Maybury as having “one frame dwelling house 18 by 16 two story frame kitchen 16 by 12 on Corn Hill Street” and his son-in-law John Onion as owning “one brick dwelling house 36 by 26 Two Story Frame Shed 24 by 16 Two Story Brick Granary 14 by 10 Single Story One Frame out House 12 by 12 Frame Smoke House 8 by 8 Frame Stable 32 by 10 all out of repair on Corn Hill Street” (Federal Direct Tax 1798).

Later Sanborn Fire insurance maps also showed outbuildings located to the southeast of the rear wall of the kitchen ell, between the house and the formal garden, where another test unit was placed. Three test units were placed in the garden beds. One unit was placed in the northwest quadrant of the garden, near but not over the place where the current residents had discovered a void in the soil which, upon a closer look, was a brick lined feature that had not been sufficiently filled. The goal was to learn more about the use of this part of the yard, adjacent to this feature, which may have been a well or privy shaft. Two additional units were placed in the southeast quadrant of the formal

garden. The area had been covered with additional garages at the beginning of the 20th century, before the formal garden was constructed around mid-century, and project archaeologists wanted to learn more about the use of this space before the garages were built. We avoided placing excavations in the northeast and southwest quadrants of the garden because they were in use at the time of excavation.

Charles Wallace leased lot 22, the site of 41 Cornhill Street, to Captain Beriah Maybury in 1771, and Maybury immediately began construction of the large, two-story, five-bay brick building that still stands there today. During April of 1773, an advertisement in the *Maryland Gazette* said that Maybury was taking in lodgers by the day or the year at his establishment called the King's Arms Tavern (Miller and Ridout 1998:183). The lease was transferred to Maybury's son-in law, John B. Onion in 1790 and by 1792, the name had been changed to the "Inn at the Sign of the Golden Scales." It operated as a tavern until Maybury's death in 1799 (Miller and Ridout 1998: 183). The 1798 Direct Tax lists Beriah Maybury and his son-in-law John Onion as owning several dwellings and outbuildings on Cornhill Street (Federal Direct Tax 1798). In the 1800 census, John B. Onion was listed as the head of family for a household for 17 people, including nine enslaved individuals.

After Maybury's death in 1799, the property was conveyed numerous times until 1830. During the mid- to late- nineteenth century, the windows were elongated and a brick ell was added to the back of the building, where the kitchen of the house is today (Miller and Ridout 1998: 183). In 1830 and 1840, census shows that the house was owner occupied by George Brewer, his family, and his slaves. In 1850, Brewer, who was a clerk and frequently signed off on official notices in the *Maryland Gazette*, headed a household

of eight individuals, including one African American female who was twenty years old named Francis Darlty. This is the first census year in which enslaved African Americans are not listed as living on the property (United States Bureau of the Census 1830, 1840, 1850).

In 1854, Brewer conveyed the property to John Wesley White. White, a merchant, lived on the property with his family at the time of the 1860 and 1870 censuses, and his son Francis was the head of household at the time of the 1880 census. John W. White was a dry goods merchant, and his sons worked as clerks for him. In the 1880 census, Francis White is also listed as a merchant. The White family retained ownership until the late nineteenth century (MIHP AA-447 n.d.). Both George Brewer and John Wesley White were distant relatives of Beriah Maybury (MIHP AA-447 n.d.).

At the time of the 1900 census, 41 Cornhill Street was owner occupied by George Jewell, his wife Jane, her children from a previous marriage, and another girl who was adopted by the Jewells. George Jewell and his stepson, William Thomas Cadell, both worked as brickmasons. The family was still living in the house at the time of the 1910 census, although grandchildren and a nephew had also joined the household (United States Bureau of the Census 1900, 1910). In 1904, the property was sold in a public sale to Herman Ellinghausen, a German immigrant liquor merchant, for \$3,000. Two years earlier, the Jewells had mortgaged the house, with Ellinghausen being a party to the mortgage, and the sale was the result of a default on this mortgage. Census data show that the Jewell family was still living in the house during his ownership, and in 1908 the property was transferred for a sum of ten dollars from Ellinghausen and his wife to Jane Jewell (MIHP n.d.). Jane Jewell was the titleholder on the property between 1908 and

1915, although her husband George, the titleholder when the family first started living in the house, was still alive when the transfer was made. It is unclear why the property was reacquired in Jane Jewell's name, although being a property owner would have allowed her to vote in the city's bond elections.

Jane Jewell illustrates the trend towards increasing residential segregation on Fleet and Cornhill Streets. During the time of the 1880 census, Jane Cadell is listed as a laundress and as living with her waterman husband Thomas Cadell and son [William] Thomas Cadell on Fleet Street (United States Bureau of the Census 1880). When she was widowed and remarried, she, her new husband, George Jewell, and her son lived on Cornhill Street. George Jewell and Thomas Cadell were frequently hired by the City of Annapolis to work on its modernization projects around the turn of the twentieth century, including work on street improvements and "laying sewer" (Brown 1890, 1891, 1892, 1893; Thomas 1894, 1895, 1896, 1897; Green 1898; Steele 1899; Seidewitz 1901; Douw 1906). Thomas Cadell's first wife died, and he lived at 41 Cornhill Street with his mother and step-father and children in 1910 (United States Bureau of the Census 1910). That year, he placed a classified advertisement in the *Baltimore Sun*, looking for a "settled White Woman, as HOUSEKEEPER AND TO HELP CARE FOR ONE CHILD" (*Baltimore Sun* 1910). By 1920, Cadell had remarried and moved to nearby Charles Street (United States Bureau of the Census 1920). The Sanborn Maps show a few outbuildings during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and, by 1921, there were auto garages built along the back wall of the property (Figure 4.3).

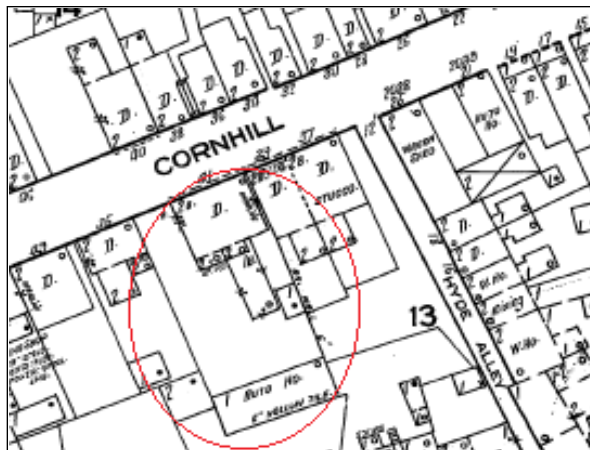


Figure 4.3. Detail from the 1921 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map showing 41 Cornhill Street. Auto garages were mapped along the back edge of the property.

By 1920, the house was owner occupied by Easter Scala, who along with his brother Frank, ran a grocery store. The household was composed of Easter and Frank's sisters and niece in 1920 and 1930. The Scala brothers and sisters had been born in Maryland to Italian immigrant parents (United States Bureau of the Census 1920, 1930). While the property was conveyed to different owners a total of eight times between the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century, the property transfers in 1890, 1904, 1908, and 1915 appear to be connected to the Jewell/Cadell family, and the transfers in 1918, 1933, 1941 and 1959 involve the Scala family. In 1959, the Scala family sold the property (MIHP n.d.).

Lab Methodology

Following the conclusion of the fieldwork, all archaeological materials recovered during the excavations were transported to the Archaeology in Annapolis lab, located in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Maryland, College Park. The artifacts were then washed, identified and inventoried, and processed for curation

according to the standards and guidelines established for the state of Maryland (Seifert 1999). Ceramics, glass, bone, plastics, and other stable and durable artifacts were washed in water and allowed to dry on drying racks. Metals and other more fragile artifacts were dry brushed to clean them. Once the artifacts were cleaned and drying was complete, the artifacts were sorted by material type, and placed in re-sealable archival-quality plastic bags. Provenience information and bag numbers, assigned and recorded during the excavations, were used to label each bag of artifacts. Provenience information includes the site number, unit number, and level or feature number.

All artifacts were catalogued using the Archaeology in Annapolis catalog system, to ensure that the resulting data would be easily comparable to data from other sites excavated by the project. Identifications of artifacts were based on type, material, function and date. Brick, concrete, oyster shell, coal, and slag, were counted, weighed, and discarded in the field, according to the guidelines developed by the state of Maryland (Shaffer and Cole 1994, Seifert 1999). During the 2009 and 2010 field seasons, oyster shells were systematically sampled, to facilitate a more extensive faunal analysis. A sample of ten oyster shells from each level or feature where oyster shells were present were kept and curated, while the rest were counted, weighed, and discarded. All artifact information was entered into a Microsoft Excel database.

Descriptive statistical data about artifact types were derived from this database. Ceramics were used for dating purposes and for basic spatial and relational analysis of deposits. In addition to ceramics, container glass and other diagnostic modern materials (galvanized nails, arc lamp carbons, Styrofoam and other synthetic materials, plastics,

etc.) were also used to date deposits, particularly deposits dating from the late nineteenth and twentieth century contexts.

Collections from this project are currently being housed by the Archaeology in Annapolis project in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Maryland, College Park. The City of Annapolis is the current owner of all archaeological materials recovered from the streetscape excavations on Fleet and Cornhill Streets and in front of 26 Market Space at the base of these streets. Per their agreement with the Archaeology in Annapolis project, the private homeowners are the owners of the archaeological materials recovered from the backyard excavations on Fleet and Cornhill Streets. The University of Maryland, College Park, will cooperate with the City of Annapolis and the private homeowners to determine the final disposition of the artifact collection following the completion of the project, and the dissertation and research projects that are associated with it.

Secondary Analyses

Additional laboratory analyses were conducted on the ceramic, glass, and faunal assemblages from the backyard sites. These analyses were not attempted for the excavations under the public sidewalks, because the deposits in the public right of way generally contained much more fragmentary remains and lower amounts of these artifact types. Additionally, the deposits from the street would have been much more difficult to isolate, characterize, analyze, and relate to residents of Fleet and Cornhill Streets because of their aggregate formation processes

Ceramic Minimum Vessel Counts (MVC)

Beyond providing dates for strata and features, analysis of historic ceramics can provide archaeologists with insights into a wide range of topics including changing dining practices, group and individual identity, trade, and technological change and industrialization (Barker and Majewski 2006: 205). Minimum vessel calculations can particularly contribute to the interpretation of social behaviors including purchasing patterns and use of ceramic vessels, site chronology, and other depositional and post-depositional processes (Voss and Allen 2010: 1). Minimum vessel counts (MVC), also called minimum number of vessel (MNV) counts, were conducted on the ceramic assemblages from 40 Fleet Street, 30 Cornhill Street, and 41 Cornhill Streets, in order to present an interpretation of ceramic consumption and use at these sites. The results of these interpretations are discussed in Chapter Six.

Minimum vessel counts are used in the analysis and classification of ceramics because talking about the number of vessels and their forms can be more meaningful than talking about ceramic sherd counts. As archaeologist Barbara Voss reminds us, “People don’t use sherds, they use vessels” (quoted in Voss and Allen 2010: 1). Depending on breakage, a single vessel can be incorporated into the archaeological record as a single piece or in a hundred or more sherds. To conduct a minimum vessel count, ceramic sherds are sorted by ware type and decoration within a given spatial context, whether it is by layer, feature, or the entire site. In this case, MVCs were conducted for the sites in their entirety, although the limitations of this approach will be further discussed in Chapter Six. When possible, sherds were used to reconstruct vessels, although full

reconstruction was not necessary to get an idea of the choices in ceramic types and forms that people were making at a given site.

Minimum vessel counts are a conservative estimate of the number of ceramic vessels in a given assemblage or context and, as such, they will not exactly correlate to ceramic analyses based on sherd count percentages or weight and provide different information than these other measures. The greatest utility of MVCs in archaeological analysis is related to the researcher's ability to compare the numbers and percentages of different ware types, decorative types, or functional categories within a site, or for comparison with other sites. There are three possibilities for each sherd that is examined during an MVC; it can be grouped with other sherds that might represent the same vessel (have the same ware type and decorative type and do not replicate the exact same part of the vessel), it can be assigned its own vessel number if it has unique attributes, or it can have attributes which would allow it to be assigned to more than one vessel grouping, in which case that sherd would be designated as unmatched and unmended and would be excluded from the MVC calculations. Therefore, only a fraction of sherds in any ware category will be assigned to a vessel grouping (Voss and Allen 2010: 1). Sherds were grouped together if there was any possibility that they could be from the same vessel, even if there were slight variations if intravessel variation could account for the differences. In these analyses, unless a body sherd was undeniably unique, unique rim sherds were used to determine the minimum number of vessels at each site.

Ceramics, like many other mass-produced Victorian commodities, became increasingly available throughout the nineteenth century, and there was expanded production and advertising. These factors contributed to modest stable prices (Mullins

1999a: 147). In the context of mass production of consumer goods, it is important to recognize that the same objects may have different meanings for different groups or individuals operating in different contexts (Warner 1998b: 206). The interpretation of the minimum vessel counts presented in this analysis is based on the idea that people's ceramic choices are rooted in their cultural identities. Because ceramics were modestly priced and mass-produced by the time period of interest for this study, I argue that ceramic consumption is not a simple reflection of socio-economic status or solely based on emulation, and that people will not always buy the best ceramics that they can afford. Ceramic consumption may be based on engagement or non-engagement with specific ideologies, and people may be choosing to invest in other things. Charts containing the results of the ceramic Minimum Vessel Count analyses can be found in Appendix A.

The ceramics from 41 Cornhill Street are excluded from the ceramics analysis in Chapter Six. A large variety of ceramic ware and decoration types were recovered in the stratigraphic levels and features that corresponded to late nineteenth and early twentieth century time periods at 41 Cornhill Street. However, the amount of information that these assemblages can tell us about the residents of 41 Cornhill Street in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries versus earlier time periods is severely limited. Excavations of the backyard space at 41 Cornhill Street revealed evidence of several phases of outbuildings that have been removed, including twentieth century garages, and late-eighteenth and nineteenth century brick and frame outbuildings. There were also posthole features that probably represent earlier divisions of the yard space. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, in particular, many modifications were made to the yard space, and some portions of the backyard were filled and leveled. Many of the

ceramic remains recovered in levels and features related to these modifications of the yard space and the placement of utility lines probably do not reflect the everyday ceramics of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century residents of the site. Many of the ware types were manufactured in much earlier time periods, and more likely reflect sherds that were redeposited from earlier stratigraphic contexts, although they could also possibly reflect curated older ceramics.

The ceramics deposited in late nineteenth and early twentieth century contexts at 41 Cornhill Street represented a large manufacturing time range (Hume 1969), and included porcelain, ironstone, pearlware, creamware and whiteware, as well as, prehistoric cord-marked pottery, tin-glazed earthenware, refined redware, and white salt-glazed stoneware in the barley pattern. Because of secondary deposition into levels and features dating to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, this ceramic assemblage probably better reflects all of the ceramics used at the site through its period of occupation, rather than the tablewares utilized by the site's residents around the turn of the twentieth century. The charts reflecting the diversity of ceramics in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century contexts at 41 Cornhill Street are shown in Appendix A, which also contains the ceramic MVC databases for each of the sites.

Glass Minimum Vessel Count

A glass minimum vessel count was conducted on the Feature 14 privy fill from 40 Fleet Street. Glass analyses can provide information about site chronology, foodways, health care, and engagement with prohibition, through the study of diverse categories of glass vessels including drinking glasses, serving vessels, bottles and jars, medicinal and personal care containers, and alcohol containers. Domestic science and temperance were

both highly gendered movements, which sought to change what was considered acceptable to put into the body, as well as where foods could and should be acquired. The glass shards from the rest of the site and from 30 and 41 Cornhill Street were too fragmentary to conduct a glass minimum vessel count on them. The primary depositional context of the 40 Fleet Street privy ensured that glass artifacts were much more complete; whole vessels were present and reconstruction was possible in many cases. While this precluded the possibility of comparing the privy assemblage to the sites on Cornhill Street, the data from the glass MVC are still comparable to other sites from this time period in Annapolis and other cities where analyses have been done. The glass MVC from the privy helps to fill in further information about the consumption patterns of the early twentieth century occupants of the site.

The glass minimum vessel analysis of this context provided additional information about how the early twentieth century residents of 40 Fleet Street were setting their table, and where they were acquiring food and beverages. This information helped provide a more complete picture of the foodways of the site's residents, which will be discussed further in Chapter Seven. Similar to a ceramic minimum vessel count, during a glass minimum vessel count, all of the shards of glass from a given cultural context are sorted, and attempts are made to mend vessels. Glass minimum vessel counts are conservative estimates of the number of glass vessels in a given context. Having complete or, more complete, vessels provides additional information about the quantity and form of given glass types at the site. A chart containing the results of the glass Minimum Vessel Count analysis from the 40 Fleet Street privy can be found in Appendix B.

Faunal Analysis

Undergraduate students in the Archaeology in Annapolis Laboratory worked under the direction of graduate student Amanda Tang to conduct faunal analyses of the 40 Fleet Street, 30 Cornhill Street, and 41 Cornhill Street faunal assemblages. In these analyses, animal remains were used to discuss food procurement and use on Fleet and Cornhill Streets. Ashley Dickerson conducted a Number of Individual Specimen (NISP) count on the faunal materials from 30 Cornhill Street during the summer of 2009 (Tang and Knauf 2010). Justin Uehlein conducted NISP counts on the faunal materials from 40 Fleet Street and the 2009 assemblage from 41 Cornhill Street (Uehlein 2012). Both students worked under the supervision of Amanda Tang, who also completed the NISP count for the 40 Fleet Street privy context and assisted the author in conducting a NISP count on the 2010 materials from 41 Cornhill Street during the winter of 2013. A more in-depth analysis of certain factors, including more information about element types and butchery, was included for some of the contexts.

NISP counts are used to count the total number of bones from a site or context, and count each bone or fragment as one unit. NISP is one of the ways in which zooarchaeologists estimate the number of individual animals represented in a given archaeological context. NISP counts can be slightly misleading, as they are not conservative estimates like ceramic and glass MVCs are. NISP counts run the risk of overestimating the number of individuals at a site, especially when there are high levels of fragmentation and preservation is good (Uehlein 2012). It is therefore necessary to understand that each specimen does not correlate to a whole animal, or even a whole element of that animal (Uehlein 2012). If a bone is incorporated into the archaeological

record in several fragments, the same bone can be counted multiple times when NISP counts are used. Conversely, poor preservation of faunal materials at archaeological sites can result in underestimates of the total number of individuals at a site.

When meat is obtained from a butcher, the amount of bones from a portion of meat can vary depending on the cut. For example, a T-bone steak would give a NISP count of 1, while a portion of ribs could have a NISP count of 6 or 12. Therefore, identification of element provides a helpful secondary step to give an idea of what portions of the animals are being represented in the assemblage, although a minimum number of individuals (MNI) count was not undertaken for this analysis. MNIs are conservative estimates, similar to the minimum vessel counts in ceramics, which give the minimum number of animals that could be represented in a single assemblage. MNIs have their own problems, including that the MNI count would be the same for a portion of meat as it would be for the whole animal, although the amount of meat consumed, and patterns of consumption, would be drastically different. This is particularly problematic in contexts such as Annapolis in the early twentieth century, which relied heavily on butchers for certain types of animals, because they could not be kept within the city limits due to restrictions in the city code.

One goal of the faunal analysis for Fleet and Cornhill Streets was to look at changing sources of food through time. The samples from the Fleet and Cornhill sites were relatively small, but were compared to other collections from Annapolis sites during the same time period, to suggest general trends of food consumption. Another goal of the faunal analysis was to see if we could trace engagement or non-engagement with changing ideas about food and foodways, and increasing separation between Annapolis

households and the sources of their food, during the late Victorian and Progressive Era time periods.

The late Victorian and Progressive Eras brought new concepts of sanitation, and correspondingly food, to the American public. The ideals of modernity, part of the domestic science movement, promoted the transformation of food through technology, seeking to produce food that was more uniform, sterile, and predictable (Shapiro 2009). Although a small assemblage, the faunal remains from Fleet and Cornhill Streets can speak to how foodways were tied to ideas of domesticity and public health in Annapolis. Along with evidence from the ceramic and glass analyses and other lines of archaeological and historical evidence, the goal is to examine changing concepts of the proper way to feed a family, to trace the increased separation of people from animals and livestock, and also the general nineteenth century transition from food-producing households to ones based on the market consumption of food products. The results of this work will be further discussed in Chapter Seven, and complete charts of the NISP counts are located in Appendix C.

Historical and Archival Research

Historical and archival research utilized both primary and secondary sources. The *Evening Capital*, Annapolis' daily newspaper, was reviewed on microfilm at the Hornbake Library's Maryland Room at the University of Maryland. Analysis of the *Evening Capital* focused on front page, local news. The archives of the *Washington Post*, *Baltimore Sun*, and *Baltimore Afro-American* are all digitized through the ProQuest Historical Newspapers database, available through the University of Maryland library. These newspapers from nearby cities were searched for news about Annapolis events,

Fleet and Cornhill residents, and other keywords related to this research project. Images of the original manuscript federal census data from Annapolis were accessed through the Ancestry.com database.

The Maryland State Archives, in Annapolis, houses many of the primary sources of historical data used in this analysis. These include records of the Annapolis Corporation Proceedings, historical photographs, and oral history tapes from the Annapolis, I Remember Collection. Files at the Maryland State Archives also contain secondary research files and articles, compiled and written by historians and journalists, which focus on historical aspects of Annapolis life. The Maryland State Archives also provides online resources, where they collect documents related to specific historical events, including lynching in Maryland, which proved helpful to this project.

The University of Maryland's Hornbake Library houses historical information related to Annapolis, which proved important to this dissertation. The Maryland Room at the library has Mayor's Reports from Annapolis in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It also has several compilations of the *Charter and City Code of Annapolis*, published in different years and reflecting changes to the city code. Additional compilations of the city code were also accessed at the State of Maryland Law Library in Annapolis. The Maryland Room at Hornbake Library contains many secondary sources about the time period of interest in Annapolis, written by historians and other Annapolitans (Brown 1994, Doyel 2006, Jackson 1936-7). Another important secondary source about the historical context of Annapolis was the work of Jane McWilliams (2012), which compiles a wealth of archival data from Annapolis records and provides an in-depth history of the city.

Prescriptive literature was also engaged through both primary and secondary sources. The McKeldin Library at the University of Maryland has a History of Women Collection on microform. The collection includes over 12,000 volumes of printed books, some by late nineteenth and early twentieth century prescriptive writers. Prescriptive sources from periodicals were searched through the ProQuest American Periodicals Database, which spans the time period between 1740 and 1940, and allows for review and keyword searches of popular periodicals targeting women, including the *Ladies' Home Journal* and *Harper's Bazaar*, as well as general titles, including *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly*. Prescriptive literature was also engaged through secondary sources, compiled by other researches focusing specifically on prescriptive literature and domestic edicts during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (i.e. Ehrenreich and English 2005, Leavitt 2002, Mitchell 2004, Shapiro 2009, Strasser 1982).

Standards and precedents established by the State of Maryland, the City of Annapolis, the Archaeology in Annapolis Project, and best practices in the field of historical archaeology informed the methodological approaches utilized in this study. Recognition of how the data were collected, and the context of the project is important to understanding the opportunities, as well as the limitations, of the data collected. The next chapter will discuss modernization in the city and the ways in which segregation affected differential access to city services. The normalization of domestic relationships and spaces were an important factor that shaped the ways in which modernization of the city and access to city services were negotiated on the ground.

Chapter 5 : From “Finished City” to Progressive City: Modernization, Infrastructure, and Public Health Management

In March of 1888, an article in *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly*, a monthly magazine, called Annapolis “a finished city”. Walter Edgar McCann, who authored the article, stated that the city was “now termed by its inhabitants ‘The Finished City’” and that while the city had “an interesting, and, indeed, eventful past,” it had “no future” (McCann 1888: 295). McCann describes Annapolis as a quiet town, without much crime or vice, and one that at the end of the nineteenth century paled in comparison to its promise and prospects around the time of the American Revolution, when Annapolis briefly served as the capital for the newly formed United States of America (McCann 1888: 294-302).

In his article, McCann also discussed the deeply entrenched social divisions in the post-Reconstruction city. He describes people living in the Finished City as having “a great deal of family pride” and further states that “the lines of social distinction are clearly drawn,” and that “there are few places where the leveling effect of the Civil War has been less felt” (McCann 1888: 297). McCann (1888: 298) further describes the “not uninteresting feature of the Annapolis population,” its African American population. He disparages African American work effort, although he says that the “drowsy” pace in the city and the lack of hurry makes it well suited to “the negro temperament,” painting a picture of African American men in ragged clothing who sit around the wharf listlessly, and the involvement of black fisherman, hucksters, and vendors in the market (McCann 1888: 298).

This chapter explores the ways in which Annapolis tried to remake itself into a progressive city and shed its image as “a finished city” in the last decades of the nineteenth century. Different sources highlight the ways in which the physical landscape of the project area was shaped through the interactions between city administrators’ conceptions about how spaces within the city should be used, and what constituted appropriate behaviors within them, and the ways in which residents appropriated, changed, and invested spaces in the project area with new meanings through their everyday activities. During the postbellum period of population growth and increased housing density in the older parts of the city, as well as the development of new areas outside of the city center, Annapolis city government began to take increasing interest in modernizing the streetscape and making improvements to the City’s public utility infrastructure. However, social differentiation affected the pace and nature of this development, leaving some residents outside of the purview of development. At the same time, residents were also becoming increasingly susceptible to monitoring from the city and its evolving administrative structures, and to being marked as acting in a way that deviated from the City’s domestic sanitary norms, particularly by the city’s Health Officer.

Mayors of the City and popular discourse tied clean streets and sanitary structure improvements to the health and safety of City residents, blaming residents for so-called substandard sanitary conditions and lack of participation in modernization (for example, Douw 1906; Seidewitz 1901; Strange 1911). Rotman (2005: 4) points out that during the nineteenth century, “residential homelots became physical manifestations” of the ideals of the Cult of Domesticity and later reform movements and were also “the arenas in

which gender realities were negotiated.” Archaeological and historical evidence shows how differential development within the city, influenced by the city administrators’ strategies of governance, affected the residents of Fleet and Cornhill Streets. The end of the chapter will also show the ways in which residents in this area used different tactics to respond to city domestic directives according to their own interests and priorities (after de Certeau 1984).

Constructing a Progressive City

As discussed in Chapter Three, between 1850 and 1880, the population of the City of Annapolis more than doubled (Leone 2005, Papenfuse 1975, United States Bureau of the Census 1850, 1860, 1870, 1880). There were also double-digit increases in population in 1890 and 1900 (McWilliams 2011: 238). When the soldiers left the city after the Civil War, the city retained a more densely populated urban center, due to the new wartime buildings that had been constructed to house officers and other military and civilian personnel (McWilliams 2011: 195).

The late nineteenth and early twentieth century construction boom in the City was fueled by federal, state, and private funding. More than twenty-five major public buildings were constructed on the Annapolis peninsula between 1899 and 1909 (McWilliams 2011: 236), and late 19th century speculative housing development and the drive for street modernization in the rapidly expanding city ensured that there were ample employment opportunities in the construction trades. By 1880, construction and related building trades including painting, plumbing, and cabinetmaking, had become the third largest employment sector in the city, following the seafood industry and the military (McWilliams 2011: 212).

As Chapter Three discussed, by the end of the nineteenth century, racial segregation was well-established in Annapolis, and by the early twentieth century, Jim Crow laws were taking effect. Increasing segregation and the rising importance of racial identity reflected the broader impulse in the second half of the nineteenth century to “impose an apparently rational grid on the archaic varieties of nature” and seek solid foundations in a world that seemed increasingly uncertain (Lears 2009: 97). While not speaking specifically of the situation in Annapolis, the experience of visibility of outsiders in a racialized landscape has been discussed in literature by bell hooks (1992) who described how it felt to be a child, black, and female, walking out of her segregated neighborhood and through a white neighborhood to her grandmother’s house. hooks (1992: 175) described her passage “through terrifying whiteness” and how even when she was not directly confronted by “white faces on the porches staring us down with hate,” even the empty porches “seemed to say danger, you do not belong here, you are not safe.” The urge for order and hierarchy in social relations in the post-Civil War era, which manifested in the articulation of racial hierarchies and triumph of white supremacy in the American south, also had a corresponding search for spatial and economic order and efficiency in the push for the modernization of urban landscapes.

The second half of the nineteenth century and the first third of the twentieth century was also the period during which there was a movement to create more “modern” cities in Britain and North America. The period of modernization in American cities brought the planning, construction, and use of new types of spaces within cities, including the construction of new streets and public spaces, and new ways of modernizing and re-creating existing streets and spaces. At the same time, new ways of

representing life in modernizing cities was being created by planners, social scientists, commentators, cartographers, reformers and novelists and artists (Dennis 2008: 1). The movement towards the creation of modern cities brought new ways of making sense of the changing world, and these new ways of conceptualizing and operating space were the products of cultural, political, social, and economic processes (Dennis 2008: 1). In Annapolis, the modernization process took place in the post-Civil War era, as the City began to take an active role in the construction and maintenance of new public buildings and public utilities, the reconstruction of the streetscape, and the regulation of urban spaces in new ways to reflect modern ideals in public and domestic places.

From its early development as a City until the Civil War, Annapolis had maintained large lot sizes, and in the area between the Maryland State House and the City Dock, the center of the City's maritime industries, many of these lots were used for mixed commercial and residential purposes. The original Charles Wallace subdivision of Fleet and Cornhill Streets in the 1770s, created twenty-nine lots on the two streets (Miller and Ridout 1998: 180). The speculative development in the third quarter of the nineteenth century broke down this lot configuration, when merchants purchased the original Wallace lots and re-subdivided them into smaller lots (Miller and Ridout 1998: 181). Cornhill Street retained many of its earlier eighteenth and nineteenth century buildings while on Fleet Street earlier buildings were often demolished when the extant houses were built. However, on Cornhill Street infill housing was built between the original buildings as larger lots, and in one case a larger house, were subdivided to accommodate more dense development. One example of this can be seen in 30 Cornhill Street, one of

the original 1770s buildings on Cornhill Street: it had a shed attachment which was expanded into the attached row house of 28 Cornhill Street by 1900 (MIHP n.d.)

The more intensive postbellum occupation of the City is also evident in the greatly increased archaeological visibility of later time periods, in terms of the number of artifacts and archaeological features dating to the time period during and after the second phase of development on Fleet and Cornhill Streets. As the next section details, the City's efforts to modernize the public streetscape and thereby protect the health of the city, is also visible archaeologically, reflecting differential access to public services and differential vulnerability to public scrutiny.

A Modern Streetscape

Beginning in 1819, the Annapolis city government gradually assumed greater responsibility for providing the growing city with adequate infrastructure. The city began to develop a program of street maintenance where crews kept the street beds in repair, cleaned them as required, and leveled or filled in as necessary to maintain an even unpaved road surface (Russo 1991: 66-67). For the next sixty years, the city focused primarily and almost exclusively on grading, curbing, and guttering the streets. It was common practice to raise the grade in order to level the surface of the roads and to improve water drainage from the streets (Annapolis Corporation Proceedings 1819-1915). The streets were not paved, and the burden was on residents to request changes and improvements from the city (Russo 1991: 69). By 1870, however, the municipal government began to take responsibility for paving the city's streets, raising the money to make these improvements through tax revenues and bonds, although maintaining the sidewalks remained the responsibility of individual property owners (Russo 1991: 75).

From the 1870s through the first decade of the twentieth century, yearly reports by the Mayor of Annapolis show that the City was spending a significant portion of its disbursements each year on street cleaning, on re-curb-ing, resurfacing, and re-grading public streets, and on placing sewer lines (Brown 1890, 1891, 1892, 1893; Claude 1885, 1887, 1888, 1889; Douw 1906, 1907; DuBois 1903; Green 1898; Jones 1905, 1922; Phipps 1936; Seidewitz 1900, 1901; Smith 1924, 1925; Steele 1899; Strange 1910, 1911, 1912, 1914; Thomas 1894, 1895, 1896, 1897). These city improvements were expensive, and the City of Annapolis went into debt to pay for them, a decision which was not popular among all Annapolitans. In 1870, the City owed just under \$20,000 on loans from Farmers Bank and on privately held bonds. Legislation authorized the City Council to issue additional bonds to pay its debts in 1878 and 1894, and additional bonds were also issued in 1900, 1906, and 1908 (McWilliams 2011: 241). However, the improvements that resulted from this borrowing benefited some areas of the city, and the residents who lived there, to a much greater degree than other residents, who were less able to place demands on the city's resources.

Through archaeological and archival sources, we can begin to see a discrepancy in the ways in which the segregated spaces of Fleet and Cornhill Streets were developed throughout the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, which in turn affected their residents' access to public services. Annapolis Corporation Proceedings records show that only portions of Fleet Street were being renovated at one time while, in other sections of the city that included adjacent Cornhill Street and the Market Space, the streetscapes were being renovated all at one time.

At the time of the subdivision of the streets in the 1770s, Charles Wallace, as the owner of these private streets, was responsible for Fleet and Cornhill Streets and their condition. Once the entirety of Cornhill Street had been developed, the residents of the street petitioned to have it designated as a public space and street. The Annapolis Corporation Proceedings record that on January 10, 1820, the corporation received a “Petition from citizens of Cornhill St that it may be made a public street” (Annapolis Corporation Proceedings 1819-1821). The residents of the street may have taken this step in order to make a claim on the City’s improvement resources because by August of the same year, four hundred dollars were “appropriated for grading and paving water courses from Cornhill and from Prince George Street through the Market space, and thence to the dock” and the Corporation “resolved that the commissioners be authorized to finish paving and kerbing Cornhill Street” (Annapolis Corporation Proceedings 1819-1821). While a record showing the date that Fleet Street became a public street has not been located, in December of 1829 the commissioners passed a “by-law providing for grading, paving & kerbing Fleet St.,” so Fleet Street was presumably also considered a public street by this time (Annapolis Corporation Proceedings 1826-1831).

Archaeological evidence from six test units placed under the sidewalks of Cornhill Street abutting the curbstones showed that the original slate curbstones on Cornhill Street were all placed at the same time, and had not been moved since the time that they were placed. The slate curbstones had an associated builder’s trench, where the space between the street and the sidewalk was excavated in order to place the curbstones. The builder’s trench had a *terminus post quem* (TPQ) date of 1820, based on the presence of whiteware, a refined earthenware manufactured after 1820 (Hume 1969), in the

backfill of the trench. The TPQ provides the earliest date after which a feature or level might have occurred, and is based on the earliest date of manufacture of the most recently manufactured object that can be securely dated within an archaeological deposit.

Therefore, the archaeological evidence supports the fact that the slate curbstones which still line the street were placed on Cornhill Street after 1820. However, two test units showed later replacement or repair of the curbstones. In front of 10 Cornhill Street, the slate curbstone had been replaced in the middle of the twentieth century with a granite curbstone, and the builder's trench for this replacement was filled with modern concrete, and the test unit in front of 40 Cornhill Street also showed some repair work (Leone et al. 2008).

Archaeological evidence indicates that Cornhill Street was curbed and graded all at one time. Since the original curbstones were placed after the 1820s, the street does not appear to have undergone any major changes to its grade or width. This was evidenced in the builder's trenches because, with the exception of the two places where repair work was done, there was only one builder's trench for the original curbstones in the units placed adjacent to the curbstones on Cornhill Street. The builder's trenches were consistent in terms of appearance and the dates of their contents in test units at various points along the length of the street, which indicates that the curbstones have probably not been reset or moved. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Cornhill Street did undergo some improvements and changes. For example, in 1897, Cornhill Street received approval to have the existing cobblestone street surface removed and replaced (Annapolis Corporation Proceedings 1819-1915).

Fleet Street, on the other hand, presents a somewhat different narrative of development, through a much more piecemeal process to raise the grade over time. On Fleet Street, it was evident in the four test units that the original curbstones were reset because two separate builder's trenches for the curbstones were excavated. The earlier builder's trench had a *TPQ* date of 1820, also based on the presence of whiteware, but the Annapolis Corporation Proceedings indicate that it was probably placed at least ten years later, after 1829. The second builder's trench indicates that the curbstones were reset, and based on the public records this appears to have occurred in 1915 when there is a record of the road surfaces on both Fleet and Cornhill Street being repaved and the curbstones on Fleet Street being reset. Artifacts were consistent with the interpretation that the curbstones were reset in the early twentieth century. When the curbstones were reset, they were moved in towards the center of the street, possibly in an attempt to straighten it. McCann's (1888) article about "the finished city" specifically mentioned the crooked state of the streets at the end of the 19th century, and the City may have been attempting to correct this by resetting the curbstones on streets that were crooked, to make them better conform to the ideals of a modern, progressive city.

Cornhill Street appears to have been laid in later than Fleet Street and with more consideration for how the design and grade of the street fit into the design of the City, from the time of its first public improvements in 1820. Fleet Street, which archaeological evidence dates in some form to at least 1720, shows many more changes to the grade of the sidewalks and street, as well as changes to the width of the street. Units on Cornhill Street revealed fewer stratigraphic levels than those on Fleet Street, which appears to have been filled and built up in smaller episodes throughout its existence. During the late

nineteenth and early twentieth century, after segregation had increased on these streets, records indicate that Fleet Street was being developed in a more piecemeal fashion than Cornhill Street, with smaller sections of the street, instead of the entire street, being repaired and improved when repairs were made. In 1901, a request was made to have the curbs reset and the gutter replaced, but only on “one side, on the upper end of Fleet Street.” City records indicate that Fleet Street was repaved in 1901, before both streets were repaved, and the Fleet Street curbstones were reset again in 1915 (Annapolis Corporation Proceedings 1878-1915). The archaeological record at the top of Fleet Street also indicates that the sidewalks and curbstones were raised.

In nearby places like Cornhill Street and the Market Space, funding for the improvement and modernization of entire streets was being acquired at one time, while on Fleet Street funding was only being given to improve portions of the street, the grade was continually being raised, and improvements were generally happening later. This piecemeal approach was possibly due to structural racism directed toward the Fleet Street’s predominantly African American residents, particularly as segregation intensified on these streets around the turn of the twentieth century. Claiming access to public resources may have been difficult for African American residents because of limits to their citizenship rights, exemplified by the continual challenges to their voting rights discussed in Chapter Three. On Fleet Street this would have also been impacted by the high rate of female heads of household in the area, calculated in 1870 as 39% of the 39 households considered to form the “East Street cluster” of African American homes, which included Fleet Street, and parts of adjacent East Street and Pinkney Street (Ives 1979: 137). Headed by females who were renters, these households would have had no

say at all in city elections and therefore even less ability to influence the direction of the city's progressive agenda.

In 1897, the city proposed a \$30,000 bond issue, which was defeated by voters. The *Evening Capital* (1879) attributed the defeat to a low voter turnout and a negative stance on the issue from "the colored vote." In 1906, a \$25,000 bond bill that was designated to fund street improvements, mainly in residential areas, received voter approval. In this case, the *Evening Capital* (1906f) likewise reported that "there can be no question that most of the vote against the ordinance was from the colored population" and that, although African American community leaders favored the bill, many African Americans voted against it because they believed it would raise rents (McWilliams 2011: 241). It is also possible that, in addition to the threat of increased rents as a result of improvements, African American voters were also responding to the fact, suggested through archaeological evidence, that they would not be the beneficiaries of increased city borrowing although they were often blamed for living in unsanitary or substandard conditions.

Improve Infrastructure to Improve Public Health

Beginning in the decades preceding the turn of the twentieth century and continuing throughout the first decades of the new century, there was a great deal of modernization in the city, which can be seen with the incorporation of gas and electricity, and indoor plumbing. Gas lamp technology made its appearance in 1869, electricity was incorporated in 1888, and the sewer system throughout most of the city was completed by 1901 (Annapolis Corporation Proceedings 1819-1914, Seidewitz 1901). In August of 1888, the Annapolis Electric Light Company was awarded a two-year contract to provide

electric lighting for the streets, the City Council Chamber, the Assembly Rooms, the fire department and the market. In the infancy of electric street lighting and unsure which system of lighting would prevail, the Council decided to have forty arc lights and forty-six incandescent street lights installed (McWilliams 2011: 220). Carbon arc lights utilized carbon rods, which have been found archaeologically at sites on Fleet and Cornhill Streets. In May of 1889 the electrical company installed its poles, wiring and lamps, and electric lights came on in Annapolis on July 1, 1889. Although many Annapolis residences still used gas lights well into the twentieth century, residents on streets with arc lamps reported that the lights were so bright that they could read or sew by the light coming through their front room windows at night (McWilliams 2011: 220).

During the spring of 1884, heavy rains made water from forty city hydrants, which many city residents relied on for their drinking water, unpotable. Public and private wells had been contaminated by cesspools and inadequate sewers, and it was still prohibitively expensive for many Annapolitans to have city water piped into their houses (McWilliams 2011: 213). Before municipal water systems, wells were particularly essential in the daily routines of women. Many time consuming tasks that were the responsibilities of women in the dominant gender ideologies required water, including preparing meals, washing dishes, preparing baths for children, and laundering clothes (Rotman 2009: 84). Without indoor plumbing, residents, usually women, had to haul all of the clean and dirty water to and from the house. All of the water used in these tasks that were usually assigned to women had to be brought into the house from nearby wells, pumps or hydrants, and then had to be dumped outside of the house (Strasser 1982: 86).

Changes in the location of a water source would have changed the daily routines of those responsible for cooking, cleaning, and washing duties, and may have caused tension within households. Water had to be transported from its source, used, and then removed from the site as waste. Hautniemi and Rotman (2003), for example, have discussed how there may have been struggles between men and women over changes in the location of, or access to, a well or other water source. The change in location of water necessary for their daily tasks would have been particularly salient for women that worked doing laundry from home, but did not have a private sources of water.

The abandonment of public wells because of contamination is reflected in the abandonment and filling of a public well, found in a unit under the sidewalks to the east of the entrance to the home at 40 Cornhill Street (Figure 5.1). The walls of the well cut underneath the curbstones, so we know that it predates their placement after 1820. Because it began its development in the 1770s, Cornhill Street would not have needed a public well prior to that time. Increasing development around the turn of the nineteenth century would have required an increasing number of public wells to provide water to city residents. The well was most likely constructed between the time of the Wallace subdivision and initial development of the streets in 1770, and around 1820, when Cornhill Street was graded and the curbstones were laid in. The first major alteration to the well in front of 40 Cornhill Street was a superstructure that was added to it at some point during the mid to late 19th century. It is most likely that this structure served as a support for a pump box for the well. The fill at the top of the well contained only one diagnostic artifact, a Snider's Chili Sauce bottle. Based on the type of bottle and label style, the fill was assigned a TPQ date of 1904 (Leone et al. 2008).

The contamination of private water supplies due to increased population density may also be reflected in a cistern in the backyard of 30 Cornhill Street. Cisterns generally date to the first half of the nineteenth century and were designed to catch and filter water (Cuddy 2008: 105). It is apparent from the cistern feature that the residents of 30 Cornhill Street maintained a private source of water, despite the public well that was a few houses down the street in front of 40 Cornhill Street. As Cuddy (2008: 105-6) explains, cisterns generally “reflect a time between the influx of diseases such as yellow fever,” when the purity of older wells and water sources was called into question, “and the implementation of municipal water supplies.” Nineteenth century cisterns of this type, with cement or mortar parged walls built directly on the subsoil, have also been excavated in Washington, DC (Abell and Glumac 1997:38) and in Alexandria, Virginia (*Metro Herald* 2006). Beginning in 1851, 30 Cornhill Street was owned and occupied by the family of John Brady, a baker. It is unclear where the bakery where Brady, or his son John W. Brady, worked as bakers was located. However, if the bake shop was located on or near the home at 30 Cornhill Street, an independent and reliable source of water would have been very important. For establishments involved in food production, like bakeries, fresh water would have been vital as an ingredient, as fuel for steam engines, and to clean equipment (Cuddy 2008: 105-6).



Figure 5.1. Abandoned and filled public well in a test unit under the sidewalk to the east of the entrance to 40 Cornhill Street.

By 1887, the City had also responded to the problems of contaminated public and private water supplies by digging a new artesian well at the city dock, a short walk from the properties on Cornhill Street (McWilliams 2011: 213). The fill of the cistern appears to date to the late- 19th century, and it may have been filled after the city's residents began to turn to new water supplies, possibly after the new well was dug at the city dock and when the adjacent house at 28 Cornhill was expanded as a separate rental property in the late nineteenth century. The parged cistern structure was constructed when cement was applied directly against the excavated clay subsoil, and does not have a brick exterior structure. The cement appears to be a sand-lime cement, which was used as a waterproofing compound throughout the nineteenth century (Abell and Glumac 1997: 37). There was a mortared brick wall for filtration in the center of the cistern, and the cistern had at least two chambers. The cistern also appears to have been covered by an iron cap, which may also have had a pump structure but, when exposed, was very rusted and fragmentary (Figure 5.2).



Figure 5.2. Parged cistern in the backyard of 30 Cornhill Street. The cistern was filled around the time that the attached structure at 28 Cornhill Street was expanded into a separate rental property.

At 9 Cornhill Street, a possible concrete catchment basin was also uncovered during backyard excavations during the summer of 2012. Although only a small portion of the feature was uncovered in the test unit, it was very similar to a water catchment feature excavated at 110 Chesapeake Avenue (18AP100) in Eastport (Figure 5.3). The Eastport water catchment was fed by a pipe that was believed to run to the catchment from the cellar of the house. Water catchments are used for collecting or draining water, and they would have been particularly important in parts of the project area close to the City Dock, where there were no sewers until after the first few decades of the 20th century and the ground water level is high (Matthew Palus, Personal Communication).



Figure 5.3. Catchment features from 9 Cornhill Street (photo courtesy of Archaeology in Annapolis, left) and 110 Chesapeake Avenue (photo courtesy of Matthew Palus, right).

With continued complaints about the public water system and outbreaks of typhoid from public wells, the City of Annapolis mandated that all households be connected to the water supply provided by the Annapolis Water Company before January 1, 1905 (McWilliams 2011: 220). If landlords of rental housing did not want to connect each individual house to the City's water supply, during a time when many attached tenement houses were part of larger parcels of land owned by single landowners, they could choose to install a water source at a central point within one hundred feet of each dwelling in a tenement block and give tenants a can to carry water back to their houses (McWilliams 2011: 220).

In their annual reports about the financial state of the city, mandated by the city code, the Mayors of Annapolis during the last decades of the nineteenth century and first decades of the twentieth century took great pride in envisioning and building a modern, clean, healthy, progressive city. In the 1890s, while depression gripped the nation, Annapolis' mayor, John Thomas, touted the city's slow but sure progress despite economic depression elsewhere and the fact that "public improvement of our city has

progressed” (Thomas 1897). As part of this vision of a modern city, Annapolis mayors repeatedly made a connection between clean, improved streets and healthy citizens. For example, in 1907, Mayor John Douw suggested that several streets should be paved with macadam “the better to protect the general health of the city” (Douw 1907), and in 1911, Mayor James F. Strange wrote that he attributed “our healthy condition to our sanitary streets and good sewer conditions” (Strange 1911).

The 1869 compilation of the then-in-force by-laws and ordinances of the City of Annapolis, like the postbellum public general laws, was primarily concerned with laying out the administrative procedures for the City and regulating the use of public spaces and defining unsanitary or disruptive behaviors in those areas. The ordinances on public streets prevented obstructions to the public streets, mandated upkeep and sweeping, and mandated that owners of properties fronting the streets remove nuisances, maintain the curbstones, and have pavements laid (McCullough 1869). By the time that the 1908 compilation of the Annapolis city code was published, there were strict penalties for causing damage to public works, public and private property, and lamp and electric lighting posts. There were forty-one ordinances in the city code regulating the streets, as well as fourteen other ordinances related to “Profane Swearing and Disorderly Conduct” in public spaces specifically (Riley 1908). These laws prevented the “throwing of stones or other missiles, the playing of ball, bandy, marbles or pitching quoites or pennies in any of the streets, lanes, alleys, or public squares of the city of Annapolis or in any of the vacant lots;” “the use of violent, threatening, indecent, indecorous or profane language or the commission of any violent or indecent act” on public thoroughfares of the city; firing off guns, firecrackers or fireworks in the city; congregating on corners of streets and

avenues “or at the entrance or on the steps, cellar doors, porches, or porticoes of any public or private building or office;” whistling or making rude remarks “to the annoyance of any person walking within the corporate limits of the city;” and “obstructing the passage along any of the said streets” (Riley 1908).

In the 1869 compilation of the city code, Article XIII, entitled Health of the City, set up the position and duties of the Health Officer who was “to make a circuit of observation once in every week, to every part of the city, and its precincts, which, from its location, or other collateral circumstances, may be deemed to be the cause of disease” (McCullough 1869). The Health Officer, if he saw anything that endangered the public health or created a nuisance, could cause any existing ordinance to be enforced. Many of the offences listed in the Health of the City article have to do with proper disposal of rubbish, dirt, offal, and other refuse. The code also provided that any privies must be periodically cleaned and their contents properly disposed of (McCullough 1869). No criteria are given for which “other collateral circumstances” might cause an area to receive increased scrutiny from the city, although unequal access to public utilities probably caused some areas of the city to have more nuisances; for example improperly cared for privies, than other areas.

In a 1938 Annapolis Housing Survey, Annapolis residences were evaluated in terms of their access to utilities and slum-like conditions. In the survey, conducted by the Annapolis Housing Authority as part of its slum clearance program, the total population of Annapolis was listed as 2,703 families. Of these, 1042 families were listed in the survey as living in substandard housing, lacking at least one of the following things: a bathroom, hot water, running water, a heat source in addition to the stove, and interior

flush toilets. In the survey, 812 of Annapolis' 913 African American families were recorded as living in substandard housing, along with 13 of its 15 Filipino or Chinese families, and 217 of its 1,759 white families (Brown 1994: 23-4).

In a *Baltimore Sun* article following the announcement of the survey results, author Roxana White describes “the slums of Maryland’s capital.” She describes the substandard housing as “flimsy structures [which] huddle against each other to house the large Negro group which forms 36.4 percent of the population.” She repeatedly associates substandard living conditions with African American residents of Annapolis, and instead of attributing the inequality in the city to a racialized housing and labor system, pointedly critiques the behaviors of African American residents and implies that their behaviors are responsible for their poverty. She states that “the Negro family usually buys coal by the bagful at a time, paying almost three times as much as the man who buys it by the ton,” and that in “practically every” substandard house with electricity “a radio blares forth swing music to help the inhabitants forget they have no indoor plumbing” (White 1938). White (1938) also claims that “many a slum householder drives a more or less luxurious car when his house lacks the barest necessities.” She is attempting to point the finger at irresponsible consumption as being responsible for African American poverty in the City, not recognizing that wage disparities may not have allowed African American families to put out large sums of money at one time for their coal, or that there is a disincentive for renters to make improvements that they cannot take with them to their properties. As discussed in the previous section, structural racism may also have affected access to public improvements, and therefore, by the 1930s, unsanitary conditions came to be

associated with specific residents of the city, particularly working-class African American residents.

In many cases, half of the fines for those violating the city code were paid to the person reporting or witnessing the crime and half to the city government (Annapolis City Counselor 1897, McCullough 1869, McWilliams 1935, Riley 1908). This gave Annapolitans an incentive to report nuisances or possible violations of sanitary standards. None of the regulations in the city code explicitly mention racial, gender, or sexual identity, and are instead all about the regulation of spaces and behaviors. They were focused on making spaces, and behaviors in these spaces, normative, under the guise of public safety, health, and sanitation. Additionally, many of the characteristics that they referred to in a gender neutral way in the city code, using descriptive terms like “violent, threatening, indecent, indecorous or profane” (Riley 1908: 175) and “vagrant, loose, drunken or disorderly” (Riley 1908: 176) had gendered implications and were tied to gendered moral codes. For example, the term “loose” was usually associated with female prostitution, and saloon culture and its drunken behaviors were often associated in the dominant ideology with working-class masculinity. One Annapolis resident reported that she was not permitted to go to the dock “after dark, or anywhere near dark, actually, because there were so many saloons over there” (Dowsett 1990). She describes some of the saloons being black and some being white, and recounts that “there were a lot of drunks” and “a lot of men [who] used to go over” (Dowsett 1990) with whom her family wished her to avoid contact.

When Health Officer’s reports are included with the Mayor’s annual reports on the state of the city, we see evidence of Annapolitans monitoring the health behaviors and

sanitary practices of their neighbors. In the 1903-1904 report, the City Health Officer, Dr. William S. Welch stated that “frequent reports were made to the Health Officer of nuisances existing in different sections of the City, which, with the prompt cooperation of the City Commissioner, have been abated, and the present sanitary condition of Annapolis is excellent” (Jones 1905). The next section discusses how individual households in the project area may have negotiated these ordinances and modernization of utilities in the City generally.

Negotiating Domestic Modernization: Case Studies from Cornhill and Fleet Streets

Archaeological features excavated at the sites on Cornhill and Fleet Streets reveal that different tactics were being used by residents of these streets to engage with the city’s modernizing impulse during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These tactics were probably influenced by multiple variables including access to city services (which was itself influenced by race in a segregated landscape), homeownership, vulnerability to official scrutiny, labor position, and other factors.

41 Cornhill Street

The archaeological deposits show that around the turn of the twentieth century the residents, probably the Jewell and Cadell family, chose to construct a private plumbing system connecting their house through a system of terra cotta pipes to a dry well or privy that was no longer in use in the yard space. A terra cotta sewage pipe, heading away from the house into the back yard and its builder’s trench provide evidence that despite the fact that Cornhill Street was not one of the earliest streets in Annapolis to have public sewers built along it, the residents of 41 Cornhill Street took care of this service privately, running sewage pipes from their house into their backyard.

The residents of 41 Cornhill Street, probably the family of George Jewell, did not wait for the City of Annapolis to provide sewer services to them. As a brickmason, Jewell would have had connections within the Annapolis building industry, and he would have been invested in the progressive vision of the city. Mayor's Reports from the time period frequently list Jewell and his stepson Cadell as being paid to complete street and building improvement work for the city (Brown 1890, 1891, 1892, 1893; Thomas 1894, 1895, 1986, 1897; Green 1898; Steele 1899; Seidewitz 1901; Douw 1906). Evidence that some of their masonry activities were taking place at the property at 41 Cornhill Street were found in the form of worked stone building materials, excavated from units near the rear of the property (Figure 5.4).

Palus (2011:242) has studied connection rates to public sewer systems in Eastport, which was incorporated into the City of Annapolis in 1951, and has argued that homeownership was an important factor for connection to sewer lines within the white community in Annapolis. As owners, the Jewell and Cadell family may have hoped to improve their property values, or be early adopters of the sanitary vision of the city leaders. Likely because there were no public sewer lines along Cornhill Street at the time, the residents chose to run a terra cotta sewage pipe from their home to a brick lined feature, probably a dry well or a privy, which was no longer in use. The brick lined feature, which was not excavated during this project but the top of which was visible in one of the front beds of the formal back yard garden, was in line with the portion of the sewer pipe that was uncovered in an archaeological test unit. It is also possible that this investment in sanitary infrastructure on their property including improvements in the house, along with the general depression in the 1890s, contributed to the financial

problems that caused them to mortgage the property in 1902 and then default on that mortgage in 1904, although they continued to live at the property and eventually regained ownership.



Figure 5.4. Building materials from the Jewell/Cadell occupation period of 41 Cornhill Street reflect their engagement with the building industries in Annapolis.

This type of sewer project is not unprecedented in the historical records of Annapolis. In 1914, a Dr. Ridout received an estimate for the cost of sewerage for his house. Charles Franklin, who was writing the estimate, gave Dr. Ridout three options for sewerage for his house; running the pipes from his home to a well in his yard, or running the pipes to one of two different open water outlets (Franklin 1914). The estimate for running the sewer line to the well was substantially lower than the other two options because the length of pipe that had to be run, and therefore the amount of ground that had to be excavated so that it could be laid, were much shorter. In the accompanying note, Mr. Franklin assures Dr. Ridout that he considers “sewerage into well, provided it is cleaned out, perfectly safe” (Franklin 1914).

40 Fleet Street

At 40 Fleet Street, the archaeological record reveals the ways in which the lot was reconfigured when the attached row houses of 40 and 38 Fleet were built, specifically for rental purposes, in the 1880s. At the time that the extant house was built, a barrel privy, and associated brick walkway, were constructed to service the occupants of 40 Fleet Street and possibly 38 Fleet Street as well (Figure 5.5). An interview with a resident of Fleet Street, detailed in the *Annapolis Capital* in 2008, indicates that the first houses on Fleet Street to get indoor plumbing did not do so until the late 1920s at the earliest (Winters 2008), which is consistent with the destruction date for the privy based on the glass deposit that was part of its fill. The construction of the privy was dated to the time period of the construction of the house based on a piece of an embossed glass bottle found under the associated brick walkway, which was manufactured by the Woodbury Glass Company of Woodbury, New Jersey, in operation between 1882 and 1896, giving the level below the brick walkway a TPQ date of 1882 (Toulouse 1971: 539).



Figure 5.5. Feature 14, a barrel privy at 40 Fleet Street. The privy and its fill, are visible in the top right corner of the test unit, and Feature 16, the associated brick walkway or patio surface leading up to the privy, is at the bottom of the test unit (Photo by John Blair).

Although there were some seeds at the bottom of the privy fill, the privy did not contain a visible quantity of human waste, which suggests that it was probably cleaned out before it was filled. After the mid- to late-nineteenth century, the cleaning of privies became standard, and privies were disinfected, deodorized and occasionally cleaned (Geismar 1993: 68). The city code in Annapolis mandated regular cleaning of privies since at least the 1860s, and the cleaning of the privy at 40 Fleet Street is substantiated by the appearance of lime in the lower levels of the privy deposit. After it was cleaned, the privy was subsequently filled with refuse including coal ash, ceramics, glass vessels, building debris, and other household remains. The majority of the artifacts found in the privy were recovered from its bottom levels. In addition to the interview with the former Fleet Street resident, a fill date for the privy in the 1920s at the earliest is consistent with the TPQ date, based on the presence of a Helwig & Leitch jar in the privy fill. The Helwig & Leitch company, based in Baltimore, MD, made relishes, spices, vinegar, sugar, and salt, and the bottle recovered from the privy was manufactured by the Carr-Lowrey Glass Company in Baltimore between 1920 and 1963 (Toulouse 1971: 134-5).

The archaeological evidence shows that the residents of 40 Fleet Street, the Price family, were using an outdoor privy until at least the late 1920s. While Fleet and Cornhill Streets were not among the first streets in the city to have public sewers built along them, other factors in addition to lack of early access may have also influenced their decision to remain disconnected from city utilities. First, they were renters, albeit long-term renters, and may therefore have been disinclined to make significant improvements to the property, although the archaeological evidence indicates that the privy was being regularly cleaned to prevent it from becoming a nuisance. Once the majority of the City

had sewer lines in 1900, the ordinance charging people to tap into public sewers was repealed (Seidewitz 1901), though building indoor bathrooms and connecting them to the public sewers still required a significant monetary investment. After the death of her husband, Sarah Price, who had previously done laundry work at home, began to work as a domestic servant in a private home. This demonstrates that she had to adjust to a new financial situation after the death of her husband and likely did not have a lot of extra money to make improvements.

Another possible reason for this disconnection is suggested by Palus' (2009, 2011) work in the Eastport section of Annapolis. Palus has looked at services like sanitary sewers and clean water as extensions of the instrumentation of government, arguing that people were more intensively governed as an outcome of public works projects like extension of electrical, water, and sewage systems (Palus 2009, 2011: 229). Pointing out that despite the efforts of lawmakers and reformers, some residences in Annapolis remained disconnected from municipal water and sanitary sewers into the mid-twentieth century, Palus (2011: 243) suggests that privies may have been curated by African American families, as a tactic to delay engagement with the extension of governance in Annapolis through public utilities. This was supported by the fact that rates of connection were the same for African American residents who owned or had mortgaged their homes, and African American residents who were renting their homes (Palus 2011: 242). Beginning in 1872, with the purchase of 51 Fleet Street by Henry Clay, African American residents of Fleet Street began to purchase their homes, beginning a gradual shift toward African American ownership on the street. It was a slow

progression, but by the 1920s, some of the residents of Fleet Street were able to purchase the houses they had been living in (Miller and Ridout 1998: 182).

However, disconnection from public utilities as a way to avoid government interference may have been a somewhat risky tactic in a city where nuisances were reported by other residents, and ideas about public health were tied to incorporation in city street and utility improvement schemes. During the early twentieth century, tuberculosis became a problem in many parts of the United States and, in the segregated South, it was blamed on and associated with African American communities. Annapolis was no exception. In 1905, the City Health Officer, Dr. Louis B. Henkel, Jr., wrote in his report to the Mayor that the fact that Annapolis had the highest death rate from tuberculosis in 1904, when compared with tuberculosis deaths in the principal cities in Maryland, could be attributed “to the large colored population [of Annapolis], since 75 per cent of the deaths from tuberculosis in the last five months have been from the colored population” (Jones 1905). Henkel, who was at the end of his tenure as Health Officer, further stated that when he took over as Health Officer “the sanitary condition of the City was very poor, as was proven by a thorough inspection of every house and yard in the city,” an inspection during which over five hundred nuisances “were abated” through the efforts of the City Commissioner and police force (Jones 1905). By that time, connections to the city’s water supply were also compulsory (Jones 1905).

Black domestic servants and washerwomen became particularly blamed for spreading tuberculosis to white communities because of their “frequent trips across the color line in their daily work” (Hunter 1997:196). The *Evening Capital* wrote that “Colored people with TB spread disease” and pointed out that “White housekeepers”

were dependent on the help of African American domestic workers but were not inquiring into the sanitary behaviors and home lives of their domestic help (as cited in Jopling 2008). Black women were vilified more than black men because they were more frequently employed in white households and because of stereotypes about black women as promiscuous and carrying disease (Hunter 1997: 197). Therefore, for women like Sarah Price, who depended on connections with the white community for their livelihoods, visibly enacting sanitary and genteel behaviors may have been important to earning and keeping jobs. Maintaining a visible outdoor privy, even one that was well-maintained, may have been a risk, although normative ideas about domesticity and public health could be engaged through other tactics and material culture.

Fleet and Cornhill Streets show the disconnect between the visions of Annapolis' city leaders and planners and the ways in which these visions were being carried out unevenly on the ground. Neither Cornhill Street nor Fleet Street were the first locations in the city to receive improvements to the streetscape or public sewer lines. However, Cornhill Street, occupied predominantly by white residents around the turn of the twentieth century, appears to have received funding to have improvements made to the entire street at one time, while on Fleet Street, occupied predominantly by African American residents, funding was granted for improvements to only parts of the street at a single time and the grade was gradually built up (Annapolis Corporation Proceedings 1819-1915). Newspaper accounts of the time also report the unwillingness of African American residents of the city, who may have feared higher rents and appear to have not been benefitting as much from the city's improvement plans, to support the extension of

city borrowing for what were deemed by mayors of the city to be necessary improvements (McWilliams 2011: 241).

Residents on the two streets also negotiated these disparities differently in their homes and yards. At 41 Cornhill Street we see that the residents, probably the Jewell family, were not waiting for city services, or if sewer lines had been extended to Cornhill Street at the time that they privately sewered their house, were unwilling to pay the city for connection to its services. In taking care of sewerage with the least expensive option, they gave the outward appearance of following city health prescriptions and engaging the city's services. However, in reality, their sewage waste was ending up in the same place as it would have if they were still using a privy: their backyard. Connections between Jewell and others within the Annapolis building industry, the ideology of modernization, and the Jewell family's homeownership may all have spurred their decision to privately sewer their home.

At nearby 40 Fleet Street, the racialized housing market may have contributed to exclusion of African American areas from sanitary improvements. Although black households continued to exist throughout the city, during the early twentieth century, separation by race had increased, as was discussed in Chapter Three. Some African Americans accused local real estate agents of playing an important part in increasing segregation by seeming "to practice a system of preventing 'coloreds' from buying properties not already inhabited by 'coloreds'" (Brown 1994: 91) The Annapolis Housing Survey, released in 1938, shows that areas where African Americans lived in the city had experienced disinvestment in terms of sanitary infrastructure in the early twentieth century, as over 86 percent of the City's African American population was designated as

living in “substandard housing,” compared to a little over 12 percent of the City’s white population (Brown 1994). Fleet Street was not an area targeted for mandatory improvements based on the housing survey, although properties that were located in alleys and rented by African Americans in the nearby Hell Point section of the city, by the waterfront, were. In 1939, as a result of the housing survey, Jacob Blum was ordered to repair nine of his rental houses located on Block Street (Jopling 2008: 346). Blum was also the owner of 40 Fleet Street and other properties on Fleet Street at the time.

The residents of Fleet Street, like other African American residents of the City, may have been against bills to acquire money for improvements that could drive up taxes and rents (McWilliams 2011). Fleet Street was occupied almost exclusively by renters, although slow inroads to African American homeownership on the street were made in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (MIHP n.d.). The residents of 40 Fleet Street may have chosen to remain disconnected from public sewers in a tactic to disengage them from the city governance, or they may have remained disconnected because landlords refused to make improvements to properties which renters were unable or unwilling to make themselves, and the city was not effectively enforcing mandatory connection ordinances. As will be discussed in the next chapters, the Price family, and other residents in similar social situations in Annapolis were also choosing to engage ideas related to domesticity, sanitation, and public health through other means and material culture related to etiquette, personal appearance, scientific cooking, and temperance.

Increased population, new construction, and improved infrastructure and commercial opportunities had largely removed the “finished city” stigma by the first

decade of the twentieth century (McWilliams 2011: 245), and the city began to capitalize on the earlier maligned passing over of Annapolis for industrial purposes through historic preservation as the twentieth century progressed (Matthews 2002a). However, the differentiation of citizens based on gender, race, and labor was an important factor in determining who gained access to services and how they participated or chose not to participate in the modernization of the city. The next chapter will explore how these ideals of modernization and sanitary practices also involved changing ideas about home furnishing around the turn of the century, through an analysis of ceramic consumption at the sites on Fleet and Cornhill Streets.

Chapter 6 : Table Equipments: Ceramic Consumption on Fleet and Cornhill Streets

“So much has been written on household and domestic affairs that it may seem to many a worn-out topic, about which nothing more of interest or importance can be written. But ‘the household’ as we interpret it, is an inexhaustible theme” – Mrs. Henry Ward (Eunice) Beecher, All Around the House (1881)

“So much of the health and comfort of the family depends on the kitchen, that the most careful thought must be given to its furnishing” – Maria Parloa, Home Economics (1910: 46)

The organization and workings of the household were an important focus of writings on domesticity throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Prescriptive literature was a means through which household behaviors took on added meanings. Plausible and implausible arrangements of furniture and dishes helped to shape what was considered plausible and implausible in the domestic arena generally. At the same time that modernization was a focus in Annapolis and other cities, the home also became a focus for scientific management and intervention. Home furnishings like ceramics, curtains, or bathroom fixtures do not have inherent moral or character-related qualities, but come to have cultural significance through social processes, interactions, and the codification of normative ideas about them (Leavitt 2002: 5). Interactions with home furnishings were an important aspect of gender performativity during the late Victorian and Progressive Era time periods. Ceramic vessels, which will be studied in depth in this chapter, were involved in many actions associated with the domestic sphere and role of women, including food preparation and storage and dining rituals.

As the Victorian Era gave way to the Progressive, and new “scientific” household management became popular, new ideas about domesticity, sanitation, and public health

were normalized through everyday material culture and behaviors. From the middle of the nineteenth century through the beginning of the twentieth century, there was an extension of scientific, and quasi-scientific, approaches and knowledge into new topical areas. This began to place individuals and social collectivities under new types of scrutiny, and many social scientists in particular began to prescribe ways in which domestic spaces might function better. They had an influence on administrators and prescriptive writers, who in turn spread ideas of the proper ways that spaces and bodies should be managed to more general audiences (Hall 2006: 105). Certain populations, generally racialized and/or poor, received particular scrutiny from academics and reformers and were marked as unruly and problematic, although prescriptive writers primarily focused their attention on shaping the tastes of the middle classes. As discussed in the previous chapters, administrators focused on tracking down and controlling deviance from normative practices, transforming spaces and behaviors to conform to new ideals of modernity. This chapter will pick up on the idea that behaviors, relationships, and uses of space that are defined as immoral or illegal sharpen the construction of gender and social norms (Shah 2001) by focusing on home furnishing on Fleet and Cornhill Streets.

In this chapter, archaeologically recovered ceramics will be used to explore engagement with prescriptive literature and domestic etiquettes related to how a home should be set up and how a table should be set. In thinking about normalization of specific behaviors, it is important to remember that the prescribed role of housewife and household manager was rooted in the white middle-class and its social conditions, although the roles of housewife and mother were often viewed as the universal roles of

womanhood. The roles of housewife and mother were considered to be the natural vocation of women, and it was considered unnatural if women deviated from these roles. Therefore, domesticity should be seen as a relation of power, where non-conformity was measured against accepted norms, and the household should be viewed as a site where power was practiced (Rotman 2009: 25, Wood 2004: 213).

Domestic advice in the form of newspaper and magazine articles and full-length books became increasingly available from the middle of the nineteenth century on, and it was written to help “middle-class women navigate the confusing consumer world and make sense of their belongings” (Leavitt 2002: 6). However, a lot of domestic advice was never followed and is more reflective of cultural ideals as opposed to cultural realities (Leavitt 2002: 5). In other words, domestic advice columns and manuals do not provide evidence about actual home decoration, but rather provide information about the ways in which women understood the relationship between what was in their homes and the larger world. Domestic advice created a common vocabulary for women to speak about home and moral improvement (Leavitt 2002: 39). It also provides a window into the ways women believed that they could reform society by first reforming their homes (Leavitt 2002: 5). Prescriptive literature for and by black Americans in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, for example, politicized domestic activities and prized ordered domestic spaces, during a time when black men were being disfranchised, and racial segregation was becoming increasingly entrenched (Mitchell 2004: 109). While their advice was directed primarily toward middle-class women, many domestic advisors were aware of significant social inequalities and were also involved in social reform

movements, although their ideas of proper domesticity tended to “be reserved for their own kind” (Leavitt 2002: 20).

Ceramics are arguably the objects related to home decoration, and therefore home management, that are most visible in the archaeological record. Through examination of the ceramic consumption of different households on Fleet and Cornhill Streets, the transition from the Victorian ideals of the “cult of domesticity” to progressive notions of scientific household management will be explored, specifically through an examination of how different racial and labor positions affected the choice and acquisition of ceramics. During the middle of the nineteenth century, the ideal Victorian, middle-class, American home was crowded with newly available curtains, rugs, wallpapers, and kitchen items. By the early twentieth century, however, home economists were extolling the virtues of a more simplified décor and of healthy and sanitary surfaces, while condemning Victorian decorations and bric-a-brac for harboring dirt and dust (Leavitt 2002).

Different residents on Fleet and Cornhill Streets engaged these new norms of scientific household management in their ceramics choices, a strategy that was connected to the canon of domestic science and changing gender roles as the twentieth century began. These changes are examined through changes in ceramic decoration and a decrease in redwares and stonewares from the kitchens of Fleet and Cornhill Streets. For African American women on Fleet Street and other nearby streets, many who worked as washerwomen at home or as domestic servants, this chapter also explores the ways in which ceramic consumption engaged with specific modern domestic ideals, which may

have been advantageous to them in obtaining employment and avoiding the scrutiny of city officials.

Subtle differences in the consumption of ceramics, which may reflect differences in identity, can be difficult to discern during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, when items like ceramics were increasingly mass-manufactured and factory-produced. Even so, although different people might buy and use the same items, and wage labor and cash economies increasingly replaced other forms of labor and exchange, material culture remained an important medium through which social relationships were codified and reproduced. Ceramics were particularly important during this time period for the codification and reproduction of different notions about gender, because they were important in home-based social rituals including meals and teas (Rotman 2009: 60-1). Ceramics are utilized in homes for food preparation, food service, and dining. Different households utilize ceramics according to their priorities and opportunities, which were shaped by their social relationships and identities.

Although the priorities of and prescriptions for middle-class white women were most written about at the time, it is important to look beyond the “yardstick” of middle-class white women’s ideas of gender (Wood 2004), and interrogate the ways in which gender roles and expressions are relational. Gender roles and relations are created in the nexus of relationships within families, within households, and between households (Rotman 2009: 61), and are inextricably tied up with other facets of identity including race, ethnicity, social class, age, and sexuality. The households on Fleet and Cornhill Street offer glimpses of different negotiations of gender norms related to domesticity.

Ceramics Analyses

Ceramics analyses were conducted on the archaeological assemblages from 40 Fleet Street, 30 Cornhill Street, and 41 Cornhill Street. For each assemblage the number of ceramic sherds of each ware type was determined, and minimum vessel counts were completed. The minimum number of vessels for each assemblage was determined by grouping ceramic sherds according to ware type, decorative type, and function (Hume 1969, Majewski and O'Brien 1987). Individual sherds of a distinctive ware type or with a distinctive decorative motif were counted as a unique vessel, even when reconstruction was impossible and the function of the vessel could not be determined. Accordingly, unique vessels could be represented by single sherds during these analyses. These analyses included ceramic sherds recovered from sheet middens in the yards, as well as discrete features. Ceramics recovered from sheet middens in the yard space may reflect either primary or secondary deposition, which limits some of the information that can be interpreted about dining rituals from these contexts. Ceramics from the discrete features, including the privy at 40 Fleet Street and the cistern at 30 Cornhill Street, allowed for more complete vessel reconstruction. After the MVC was completed, the ceramics from the Fleet and Cornhill sites were compared with the ceramics from other late nineteenth and early twentieth century sites excavated by Archaeology in Annapolis, to form a more complete picture of how the residents of Fleet and Cornhill Streets, and other sites in Annapolis, were negotiating domestic norms related to food preparation, service, and dining.

The assignment of tableware and teaware vessels into decorative categories followed Wall (1994: 139-40), who assigned vessels to one of four decorative types: 1)

minimally decorated all-white vessels, which may or may not have molded rims, 2) Shell-edged vessels, usually with molded green or blue rims, 3) Chinese landscapes, including the popular Willow pattern, and 4) Neoclassical and romantic floral motifs. In addition to Wall's categories, a decorative category for vessels decorated in annular or mocha patterns was also added in this analysis (Hume 1969: 131). Although Wall developed these decorative categories to describe late eighteenth and earlier nineteenth century ceramics, the basic categories covered the range of decorative types found at the sites on Fleet and Cornhill, with an added "Other" category for vessel decorations that did not fall into any of the other categories.

Vessel functions for tablewares and teawares were similarly broadly defined. Following Wall (1994) functional determination of vessels included tablewares (dinnerwares including plates, soup bowls, and serving vessels), teawares (including tea bowls, tea cups, and saucers) and other (vessels that could not be included in the other functional categories). Vessels that had preparation (milk pans, bowls, baking dishes, etc.) or storage (crocks, jars, canisters, etc.) purposes were placed in a broadly defined "utilitarian" category, although some vessel forms including large bowls may have, and probably did, serve multiple purposes - for example food preparation in the kitchen and service on the table.

This chapter utilizes a modification of the framework for ceramics analysis developed by Rotman (2009), based on previous work by Yentsch (1991) and Wall (1994). This framework focuses on the relationship between ceramic decorative motifs and gender ideologies, and the changing role of coarse earthenwares and other utilitarian ceramics. South's (2002[1977]) mean ceramic date formula was not used to date the

archaeological assemblages in this study. The mean ceramic date is calculated by multiplying the median date of each ceramic type by the number of artifacts of that ceramic type, adding all of those numbers together for a given context, and then dividing by the total number of artifacts in the assemblage (South 2002[1977]). In general, mean ceramic date calculations do not work well for late nineteenth and early twentieth century sites, because assemblages from this time period contain a majority of ceramics that could have been manufactured anytime from the early part of the nineteenth century through the present, for example whitewares or stonewares (Majewski and O'Brien 1987: 170-1). During the last four decades of the nineteenth century, there is also more difficulty dating assemblages based on ware type and pattern, due to the similarity of ceramic styles throughout the period (Williamson 2006: 331).

Miller CC Index Values were also not calculated for these assemblages (Miller 1980, 2000). Miller's system ranks ceramics based on the relationship between cost and decoration, working from price-fixing agreements and potters price lists during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but the last year for which he established an index was 1880 (Miller 2000). Miller argued that the cost of the domestic ceramic vessels at a site reflect the socioeconomic status of the households which they are associated with (Miller 1980). Miller's indices were not used because during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the time period of focus for this study, the relationship between cost and decoration was much weaker than it was in earlier time periods (Majewski and O'Brien 1987: 133). Miller's work also does not take into account the other aspects of identity, in addition to socioeconomic status, which may have influenced purchasing or consumption choices. This is especially relevant for late nineteenth and early twentieth

century contexts, when ceramics became less expensive in general. For example, Mullins (1999a) argued that the middle-class residents of the Maynard-Burgess house in Annapolis engaged in very different ceramic consumption strategies from their white middle-class counterparts during the same time period. The residents of the Maynard-Burgess house were acquiring the range of ceramic forms necessary for genteel Victorian dining practices, but were not investing in full matched sets of ceramics. The next section of this chapter will discuss the methods utilized in the analysis of the Fleet and Cornhill ceramics and how they relate to changing gender ideologies of the late Victorian and Progressive Eras. Then the individual sites on Fleet and Cornhill Street will be discussed in terms of how they relate to the prescriptions and historical context of the time.

Ceramic Decoration

The decorations that adorned ceramic tea and tablewares during the late Victorian and Progressive Eras were highly symbolic, and changes in style can help shed light on changing gender roles and relationships. Diana Wall (1994, 1999), working on data from archaeological sites in New York City, looked at changes in decorative motifs during the Victorian Period, arguing that changes in styles of tableware corresponded to changes in the meanings of the meals in which the ceramics were utilized. Wall (1994, 1999) also focused on the role that women played as active participants in shaping the separation of the spheres in Victorian America. While Wall's analyses did not extend past the 1860s, Rotman (2009: 140), interpreting archaeological sites in Deerfield, Massachusetts, hypothesized that decorations on ceramic vessels in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries would parallel the increasingly elaborate ornamentation seen in other categories of material culture, particularly grave markers and architectural styles. To

further support her argument for increasingly elaborate tablewares, Rotman cited the 1897 Sears catalog, where all but one of the twelve sets of tablewares illustrated had some sort of floral decoration, although the wells of some sets were undecorated (Rotman 2009: 140). Floral and naturalistic motifs were being used by women in their home furnishings by the middle of the nineteenth century in an effort to create a home environment that was like a sanctuary from the masculine public sphere; a place where women could instill Christian values in their children and provide a place of refuge for their world weary husbands (Rotman 2009:23, Fitts 1999: 47-9, Wall 1994).

According to the Victorian model, and Rotman's (2009: 145) extension of Wall's analysis, we would expect that ceramic deposits dating to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that followed the prevailing norms would include matched sets of Chinese landscapes and floral-decorated teawares, and that the tablewares and teawares would be gaudy in their ornamentation. However, the prescriptive literature of domestic science, and its focus on sanitary and modern aesthetics may also have affected the ceramic consumption of late nineteenth and early twentieth century women. Around the turn of the twentieth century, domestic advisors began to shift their emphasis in home furnishing towards ideas about health and sanitation, encouraging women to get rid of unnecessary ornaments and textiles in their homes (Leavitt 2002). There was also a shift at this time from prescribed items and practices being associated with Christian doctrine and morality, to being justified in the name of science (Shapiro 2009).

The amount of advice literature intensified from the mid- to late- nineteenth century on, as advisors and reformers began to educate women about how they could make their homes safer and cleaner (Leavitt 2002: 41). As factories began to produce

more and more of the goods that had previously been manufactured by women inside of the home during the nineteenth century – including cloth, butter, meat, and milk – women were increasingly becoming consumers of goods instead of producers (Shapiro 2009: 13). More and more, the daily domestic tasks performed by women were strictly maintenance activities and not productive in the sense of manufacturing tangible goods. Many women began to feel that men were appropriating women’s work and moving it outside of the home. Domestic science, which adhered to the principles of modernity, was advocated by prescriptive writers as a way for women to take control of the home and their role as homemakers.

Leaders of the domestic science movement envisioned every home as a laboratory where women were in control of the experiments (Shapiro 2009: 37-8). During the early twentieth century, advisors also began to link disease to the nineteenth century Victorian home, creating a connection between good health and modern, sanitary, scientific practices (Leavitt 2002). Through domestic science, domesticity was expanded into an objective body of knowledge. This approach was called “scientific” to emphasize that it was rational, objective, and methodical – “traits that gave the term a definite air of maleness” (Shapiro 2009: 35). By invoking the language of science, women were trying to cast off the idea that household work was haphazard, and lay claim to scientific rationality, which had previously only been associated with activities outside of the home. In this way, they sought to make domestic work an ordered and organized enterprise of the capitalist world (Leavitt 2002: 71).

Domestic advice helped women to navigate the innumerable household choices that mass-production and national capitalism made available in the marketplace (Leavitt

2002). As Berlant (1997: 17) wrote, “identity is marketed in national capitalism as property. It is something you can purchase, or purchase a relation to. Or it is something you already own that you can express.” Domestic advisors advanced the belief that claims to responsible citizenship were made by women through their consumption choices related to their bodies, their food, and the objects in their homes. Once it spread to the South around the turn of the twentieth century, the philosophy of domestic science was embraced by many newly-established African American colleges (Witt 1999). Witt (1999: 56) writes that African American women, who were “systematically coerced into domestic service,” were sympathetic to domestic science and its “modernist religion of science and technology,” because it was aimed at elevating the status of household labor.

In the 1890s, periodicals like the *Ladies' Home Journal* began to emphasize a set of attributes that historian Frances Cogan (1989) calls Real Womanhood, moving away from the ideology of the Cult of Domesticity. The Cult of Domesticity's ideals of piety, purity, submissiveness, and an exclusively domestic emphasis were replaced by Real Womanhood's focus on intelligence, self-sufficiency, economic self-reliance, and careful marriage choice. In the Real Womanhood ethos, it was the responsibility of each woman to make the most of herself intellectually, physically, financially, and emotionally (Damon-Moore 1994: 38-9). The *Ladies' Home Journal* was started in 1883, and its target audience consisted of white lower-middle class and middle-class women from all over the country, who were seen as the fastest growing segment of consumers with access to expendable income (Damon-Moore 1994: 38). The *Ladies Home Journal* and other periodicals were important sources of prescriptive advice during the popularization of the domestic science movement.

Maria Parloa was a teacher at the Boston Cooking School. Parloa's advice reached audiences far beyond Boston during the 1890s and early twentieth century through her household advice manuals and contributions to newspapers and popular periodicals including *Good Housekeeping* and *Ladies Home Journal* (Shapiro 2009). Articles by Maria Parloa focused on how housewives could bring rational thinking and practical solutions to the kitchen. This included instruction in cooking and canning, advice about how to organize and furnish kitchens and workspaces, and education about the use of new labor saving devices for the home. In her regular column in *Ladies Home Journal*, entitled "Everything About the House," Parloa instructed housekeepers about household furnishing and management (Parloa 1891). In November of 1891, Parloa focused on "Choosing a Dinner and Tea-set" and recommended dishes with soft tints because "people soon get weary of seeing pronounced colors or patterns." She also discussed the relative merits of English china decorated in blue, American china with colored decorations and plain white French china, the French wares being the most expensive option (Parloa 1891).

In line with the focus on a housekeeper economically making the most of her options, Parloa poses several questions that a housekeeper should ask herself before purchasing dishes. These questions revolved around how much the housekeeper was willing to pay, whether the china under consideration was in a lasting style, whether the dishes would be durable, and whether broken pieces could be replaced. In the end, Parloa concluded that the plain "French china is the most satisfactory, unless there is to be rather rough handling" and that "odd cups and saucers are quite proper and give variety and brightness to the table" (Parloa 1891). By 1905, however, Parloa was more focused on

economic decision-making when she wrote in the *Ladies Home Journal* about “the proper furnishing of this laboratory,” the kitchen. Instead of advocating \$35 sets of French china, as she had done in 1891, Parloa showed housekeepers how to furnish their entire kitchen for a total cost of just \$28. For plates, she recommended the purchase of twelve stone china plates (Parloa 1905). Stone china was modeled after more expensive, imported French designs. By the first decades of the twentieth century, stone china, a form of ironstone, was sometimes called “Paris white” or “Parisian granite” (Wetherbee 1985: 15), and one Ohio manufacturer was called the French China Company (Kovel and Kovel 1986):22.

Ironstone is a general ware category that archaeologists use to refer to semivitreous improved earthenwares. American produced ironstones often called “white granite”, to distinguish them from ironstones of British manufacture, but here the term ironstone will be used to denote the general category. Wetherbee (1985: 15) lists sixty-one names that were used by different pottery companies to mark ironstone dishes. Names that manufacturers used to describe ironstones included “white granite,” “ironstone china,” “semi-porcelain,” “pearl china,” “feldspar opaque china,” “stone china,” “granite ware,” and “imperial ironstone” (Gates and Ormerod 1982: 8, Cameron 1986: 170). Archaeologists sometimes also call undecorated whiteware by the generic term of “ironstone,” but ceramic sherds and vessels that are considered to be ironstone usually have a harder and denser paste than whiteware (Rotman 2009: 211). For this analysis, classification of a sherd or vessel as ironstone was primarily determined by the hardness and porosity of the ceramic paste.

Collard (1967: 125-30) defined two distinct phases in the history of ironstone in Canada, based on her study of nineteenth century pottery and porcelain in that country; the first developed by British manufacturers as a competitive response to Chinese and Japanese porcelains, and the second type developed around the middle of the nineteenth century as a competitive response to hard paste porcelains from France (Majewski and O'Brien 1987:120). Majewski and O'Brien (1987: 123-4) noted that between 1870 and 1880 there was a shift from heavier, plain and molded semi-vitreous wares and ironstones towards more lightweight, molded semi-vitreous and vitreous white bodied ceramics that often had more delicate floral or abstract motifs. These ceramics became the ceramics of choice for American households well into the twentieth century, although heavier ironstones remained on the market (Majewski and O'Brien 1987: 124). American production of ironstone beginning in the 1870s, and heavier ironstones remained particularly popular in hotel and restaurant service, but were also found in home use (Lofstrom et al. 1982:8, Majewski and O'Brien 1987, Rotman 2009: 212).

Alice Bartram (1894), writing for the *Ladies' Home Journal* in 1894, like Parloa, recommended minimal designs to her readers. Bartram wrote that "in spite of the allurements of harlequin sets in bright coloring, there is nothing more satisfactory than gold and white china in Copeland, Wedgwood, or Minturn [Minton]" and that if "you aspire to pink luncheons or green dinners you will have a harmonious background to work with." Single colored lunches or dinners, and a fondness for whitening the food and controlling its appearance were part of domestic science's focus on every aspect of food and dining with the exception of taste (Shapiro 2009: 88). Home cooks were instructed to contain and control their food and, in turn, to tame and control animalistic food cravings

and desires (Shapiro 2009: 6). Many domestic advisors therefore advocated simpler designs that would not compete with the food on the plate, with one advisor writing in *Harper's Bazaar* that “the best cooked dinner loses half of its charm to the palate as well as to the sight when it is not attractively served” (Cutler 1908). Women were advised to keep in mind the quality of the china, combined with simplicity in decoration, when choosing their dishware. In addition to minimally-decorated imported English china in the style of Copeland, Spode, Colburn, Minton or Dalton, and French china modeled after Limoges and Haviland for dinner dishes, domestic advisors also advocated “blue Canton” plates and Asian motifs for the family dinner table or lunch table (Cutler 1908, French 1900).

During the early twentieth century, collecting older china also became fashionable, partly as a reaction against increasing industrialization. Older styles were revered for their quality and workmanship, harkening back to a time before large-scale factories when china “was an expensive item of house furnishing owing to the care that was taken in every step of its manufacture” (Bowie 1926). This sentiment resonated with other movements around the turn of the twentieth century, including the Arts and Crafts movement, which began to question mass manufacture. In addition to wealthy women purchasing whole sets of china that their grandmothers might have had, women with more moderate budgets were also advised to use older, colorful, family pieces of china to decorate their tables. One advisor wrote that “it is not necessary to get whole sets, or even expensive sets,” and that if a housekeeper could only afford plain French china or stone ware, “the table need not, therefore, be ugly or unattractive” (*Lewiston Evening Journal* 1877). She further advised that table linens, centerpieces, or older family pieces of

colorful china could be used to add touches of color to tables that were set with plain white dishes (*Lewiston Evening Journal* 1877). In this way, pieces of older china found their way onto American dining tables for consumers operating at very different price points.

Around the turn of the twentieth century, we might expect to see increasingly elaborate ceramics (Rotman 2009). However, when domestic science became popular in the prescriptive literature and in American life, many advisors began to recommend simpler patterns that would complement, and not distract, from food. For each site on Fleet and Cornhill Streets, the ceramic decoration choices were examined for engagement with changing gender ideologies during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Food Preparation, Distribution, and Consumption

In order to understand the relationship between gender and ceramic vessel form, color, and place of use, Yentsch (1991) analyzed the distribution of different types of ceramic vessels over space and time. Using data from seventeenth and eighteenth century contexts, Yentsch looked at which ceramic vessels would have been necessary to complete specific tasks, and then linked those tasks to the spaces in homes where they would have taken place. Yentsch (1991) was analyzing increasing spatial separation in the home between areas of food preparation and dining in the post-medieval world, when food preparation and dining were increasingly gendered. Yentsch classified ceramics according to their place in the food cycle (food processing, preparation, storage, service, etc.), creating a database that focused on changes in functional categories over time. She also recorded whether the vessels were earth-toned or white-toned (Yentsch 1991).

Yentsch (1991: 214-5) came to the conclusion that white-toned vessels were increasingly used in activities related to food distribution and consumption over time. Earth-toned vessels were increasingly relegated to less prestigious tasks like food preparation. This was occurring at the same time that there was increased specialization of ceramics, involving an increasing variety of ceramic forms (i.e. specialized plates for specific foods, meal types, and dining activities), as well as general increases in the overall number of ceramic vessels present in American homes. Yentsch further concluded that there was an increased spatial differentiation in the use of white- versus earth-toned vessels in the household. While “white-toned vessels were symbols associated with social display” and with spaces of the home associated with public entertaining and culture, earth-toned vessels were confined to more private household spaces that were dominated by women and were spatially set at a distance from parts of the home that visitors might view (Yentsch 1991: 225).

Miller (2000) has written about the significant drop in the price of English ceramics between 1809 and 1848. By the late nineteenth century, English producers were facing increasing competition in American marketplaces from domestic pottery manufacturers, the largest producers being located in East Liverpool, Ohio (Gates and Ormerod 1982 as cited in Rotman 2009: 136), although several pottery manufacturers were also located in nearby Baltimore, Maryland. Increased consumption of American manufactured ceramics after the 1870s was visible on Fleet and Cornhill Streets. Ceramics recovered from 41 Cornhill included a white granite example, marked as a “semi-porcelain,” which was produced by the Wellsville China company, established in Wellsville, Ohio in 1897 (Barber 1971: 41, Lehner 1988: 510). White granite plates in the

40 Fleet Street assemblage included at least two plates produced and marked by Baltimore, Maryland manufacturers, the Edwin Bennett Company, which used the specific mark on “semiporcelains” between 1897 and at least 1904 (Kovel and Kovel 1986: 109), and the Maryland Pottery company, which was established in 1879 (Barber 1971: 44). By the late nineteenth century, mass production had also made white toned vessels increasingly the norm on American dining tables, and improvements in infrastructure had made refined earthenwares available to virtually everyone (Purser 1999, Rotman 2009).

With the advent of the mass production of white-toned tea and tablewares in the nineteenth century, many historical archaeologists assume that the color-coding observed by Yentsch was so ubiquitous that it does not need to be examined for sites in the nineteenth century or beyond (Rotman 2009: 126). For late nineteenth and early twentieth century sites, it is expected that this color-coding would be well entrenched in the ceramic assemblages at sites, and that vessels for food service and consumption would be refined earthenwares, such as whiteware and ironstone, while vessels for food preparation and storage would primarily be redwares, stonewares, and yellowwares. It would have taken considerable effort to go outside of these codified norms and purchase or acquire anything besides the mass-produced ceramic dishes that were available at reasonable prices during this time period (Rotman 2009). However, it is worth looking at the proportion of earth-toned versus white-toned ceramics at the sites to get an idea of the ways in which the transition from the Victorian to the Progressive Era, and the advent of scientific household management and domestic science, may have affected their use.

Redwares are coarse earthenwares that were often locally produced. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries potters offered many items that were unavailable or were more costly when made in other materials, everything from tableware and storage vessels to dairying vessels and cooking and baking equipment for the kitchen (Ketchum 1991a: 15). Stonewares also provided additional options for storage vessels, bottles, table and cooking vessels, and other household and dairying vessels (Ketchum 1991b). However, as new products in other materials became increasingly available, the use of heavier and more fragile redwares and stonewares was phased out for certain tasks. One example is the decline in redware or stoneware preserve jars, which occurred after the introduction of glass mason jars, which were cheaper, lighter-weight, and - most important to home economists - more sanitary (Ketchum 1991a: 15). As home production decreased, many products that had formerly been produced or stored in the home in coarse earthenware and stoneware vessels, came into the home in bottles, jars, and cans. However, some earth-toned vessels, including Yellowwares, which were primarily used for food preparation in the form of bowls, baking dishes, and casseroles, as well as cups and pitchers, persisted well into the twentieth century. For each site on Fleet and Cornhill Streets, the use of coarse earthenwares, and how they might reflect changing gender roles and relations, were examined.

Fleet Street

At the 40 Fleet Street site, ceramics recovered from the yard levels associated with the earliest occupation of the extant house on the site included pieces of a redware jug and bowl, as well as other utilitarian coarse earthenwares. Residents also discarded plates with decorative motifs including green shell edged, hand painted and transfer-

printed floral and Asian designs, and annular bands. During this time period, teaware made up only a small portion of the assemblage, but included a Rebekah at the Well teapot. The level in which the teapot was found corresponded to the earliest occupation of the site by African American renters in the late 1880s. A similar teapot was also recovered at the Maynard-Burgess House site in Annapolis, occupied by middle-class African Americans. In the case of the Maynard-Burgess house, the Rebekah teapot was recovered in an assemblage with a TPQ date of 1889 (Mullins 1999a: 148, 152; Warner 1998b: 193).

The Rebekah at the Well design is based on the story in the Bible's Old Testament in which the aged Abraham is looking for a wife for his son Isaac. Abraham sent his servant to his homeland to find a suitable wife, and the servant recognizes the woman whom God has chosen, Rebekah, because she offered to carry water from the well until all of his camels were satisfied. Rebekah's story resonated with the Cult of Domesticity, because it portrayed the ideals of obedience and service to others, which was integral to the formulation of tea service, womanhood, and the home during Victorian times (Claney 2004: 80). In 1851, Edwin Bennett of Baltimore, Maryland began producing Rockingham Ware teapots illustrating this story, and many other domestic potteries copied the design. The Rockingham Rebekah teapots had a utilitarian practicality about them because their dark brown glaze did not show tea stains, but the Rebekah story appears to have been a more influential selling point during the nineteenth century (Claney 2004: 81).

The Rebekah at the Well teapot became the best- and longest- selling Rockingham Ware pattern in history and was such a standard that it was advertised in

four sizes in the 1897 Sears catalog (Claney 2004: 81). As Claney (2004: 81-2) describes it,

“the women at home serving liquid refreshment to others could pour from a teapot bearing the image of Rebekah, who also served liquid refreshment and who, representing submissiveness to God’s will and the needs of man – and also purity, being chosen of God – was the example of the True Woman.”

In this way, the biblical story of Rebekah tapped into a dominant ideal of nineteenth century womanhood; a woman’s role in maintaining the home was equivalent to her role in maintaining the sacred aspects of the home and family life. The Victorian dominant ideology which held that home design and home furnishings contributed to the moral and religious well-being of the family was also a contributing factor to the popularity of the design (Claney 2004: 81-2). For example, the Rebekah image was generally placed against a paneled “gothic” background, also associated with women’s greater piety and morality (Spencer-Wood 1999, Claney 2004: 84).

As with the other stylistic motifs of ceramics that were discussed, Rebekah at the Well may have taken on new meanings around the turn of the twentieth century. The design continued to be a top seller into the early twentieth century. However, whether the messages were the same, and whether Rebekah was still seen as a symbol of the True Woman in the new century is questionable. Edwin Bennett’s grandson wrote in a letter to a family member that the pottery had begun to market the Rebekah teapots again after 1890 because the teapot had become an “antique.” Therefore, for some consumers the Rebekah teapot may have become a way of introducing a nostalgic touch into home décor (Claney 2004: 84). By the beginning of the twentieth century, the image of Rebekah may have lost its power as a symbol of ideal womanhood or may have changed social function. Claney (2004: 86) suggests that some consumers during the early twentieth

century may have been mediating the challenges to normative gender roles, like the women's suffrage movement and symbolically preserving old cultural values and reflecting positively or negatively upon them through the display or use of Rebekah at the Well teapots and pitchers.

The privy fill from feature 14 at 40 Fleet Street helps to give a snapshot of how the Price family may have dealt with domestic and public health concerns. The privy appears to have been filled when the house got indoor plumbing, which residents remember as happening in the late 1920s for the first houses on Fleet Street (Winters 2008). Contexts related to the Price family occupation period at the site contained at least eighteen whiteware and ironstone or white granite plates, none of which were from the same matched set. Many of the plates, particularly those from the privy deposit, are undecorated, although some have scalloped rims or molded rim details. These would have looked matching and uniform, although they came from different sources. The ceramics in the privy deposit were probably acquired in small quantities over a longer period of time. The predominance of undecorated wares mirrors the suggestion that consumers should purchase undecorated wares if sets of ceramics were financially out of reach, made in 1885 by etiquette writer Juliet Corson (Mullins 1999a: 152). Domestic advisors who wrote for budget conscious homemakers after domestic science became popular also advocated these ideas.

During the Victorian Era, in white prescriptive literature and white middle-class practice, white granite plates in gothic patterns became fashionable partly because they were symbolically associated with Christianity and a moral life (Wall 1994: 25-6). Reformers during the Victorian Era also associated white ceramics with moral purity, and

they argued that material culture embodied cultural values and that through intimate associations between people and objects, these values would become embedded in individuals (DeCunzo 1995: 50). Black prescriptive literature in the early twentieth century was similarly concerned with the effects of home environments and material culture, and particularly stressed that black men must head black families, addressed allegations regarding the virtue and character of black women, and urged people to challenge the logics of racial segregation through public performances of respectability (Mitchell 2004: 124, 139). Although heavy ironstone dishes had become unfashionable and associated with the lower classes and commercial uses by the late nineteenth century (Majewski and O'Brien 1987), white continued to be a color prized by home economists as being associated with sanitary and healthy environments. The kitchen itself became whiter by the turn of the twentieth century, and white was seen to announce a pure and germ-free environment (Shapiro 2009: 89). While the residents of 40 Fleet Street did not have the most fashionable ceramics, their plain white ironstone dishes, which were of uniform size, may have reflected engagement with the principles of domestic science and domestic economy.

We do not see a predominance of highly elaborated floral patterns in the Fleet Street assemblage, which is a departure from Victorian expectations (Table 6.2). This could be the result of engagement with the prescriptive writing of domestic advisors in the domestic science movement who advocated simple and durable plates for housekeepers with lower budgets. The occupants of 40 Fleet Street could also have had other special occasion sets that were not used as often and therefore did not have as high of a chance of being broken and incorporated into the archaeological record. Based on

Hannah Jopling’s oral history interviews (2008), Mullins (1999a: 152-3) concluded that African American families in Annapolis may have reserved matched or fancy sets of tableware for special occasions, while using mismatched vessels for daily use. It is possible that an imported British whiteware plate from the Price assemblage, produced between 1868 and 1883 and decorated with a transfer print depicting flowers and a fawn, or a plate and teacup with floral decal prints could represent more formal, decorated sets of dishes, although they form a much smaller proportion of the privy assemblage than the undecorated whiteware and ironstone plates.

Table 6.1. Earth-toned and white-toned ceramics, by function, from the time period of the Price occupation of 40 Fleet Street.

	Earth-toned vessels	White-toned vessels
<i>Food/Beverage processing, storage, preparation</i>		
<i>Food/Beverage Distribution</i>		
Jug	1	
Tureen		1
<i>Food/Beverage Consumption</i>		
Plate		19
Tea Cup		7
Mug		1
Deep Saucer		1
Totals	1	29

Table 6.2. Decorations on tea and tablewares from the time period of the Price occupation of 40 Fleet Street.

	Teawares	Tablewares	Other	Total
Minimally decorated	6	15		22
Shell edged		1		1
Chinese landscapes				0
Floral/neoclassical	2	3		5
Mocha/annular				0
Other/indeterminate	1			1
	9	19		29

Within the early twentieth century deposits from 40 Fleet Street, there is also a significantly higher percentage of tableware than teaware represented. Assemblages recovered from the excavations of working-class African American households in Gott's Court in Annapolis also had low percentages of teaware, while the assemblages from the Maynard-Burgess house, occupied by middle-class African Americans had a higher percentage of teaware (Warner 1998b: 196-198). Gott's Court was group of twenty-five frame houses, located on the interior of a block between North and Northwest Streets in Annapolis (Figure 6.1). The houses had white owners and were occupied by black renters throughout Gott's Court's existence as a residential area between 1907 and the 1950s (Aiello and Seidel 1995, Warner 1998b, Warner 1998a: 93). Warner (1998b) argued that differences in the proportions of tablewares and teawares when the assemblages from Gott's Court and the Maynard-Burgess house were compared reflected class variation within Annapolis' African American community. The only ceramic vessel that was not white-toned in the thirty-two vessels recovered from the privy was part of a grey stoneware vessel (Table 6.1). All of the other vessels were also related to food consumption. The lack of utilitarian ceramics made of coarse earthenware and stoneware may also reflect engagement with the norms of domestic science, and increased reliance on pre-packaged, bottled or canned products coming into the home, and replacing storage and preparation ceramics. During the early twentieth century, these products were recast by home economists as healthier than fresh or bulk food because of their standardized weights and guaranteed quality. (Fernandez-Armesto 2002, Shapiro 2009). Mullins



Figure 6.1. Map showing the locations of 40 Fleet Street and the other Annapolis sites discussed in the ceramics analysis (Courtesy of Archaeology in Annapolis).

(1999a) further argues that the qualities of guaranteed weight and quality also influenced their popularity among African American Annapolitans, to avert racist grocery practices (Mullins 1999a). The use of canned and bottled products at 40 Fleet Street, and in Annapolis generally, will be further discussed in Chapter Seven.

The predominance of undecorated whitewares and ironstones, and preference for tablewares over teawares, was also seen in the ceramic assemblages from 49 Pinkney Street, the house that backs up to 40 Fleet Street (Figure 6.2). Throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the property at 49 Pinkney Street was rented out to families of African American, Filipino, and European American descent. Many of these residents worked for the U.S. Naval Academy, with occupations including teachers, chemists, waiters, and laundresses. Other residents were employed as servants, washwomen, and laborers for the City. The ceramics deposited in the yard of 49 Pinkney Street during its period of working-class African American occupation were also mostly undecorated and similar looking whiteware and ironstone dishes (Deeley 2012).

Census data from what Ives (1979) called the East Street “cluster” of African American residents, which includes Fleet and Pinkney Streets, shows that a large proportion of black women in the area were employed as domestic help in private homes and as laundresses working from their own homes. African American men were employed predominantly in jobs related to the service or water-based industries in Annapolis, or as laborers, janitors, or other low-level positions at the US Naval Academy and other private employers. Black families faced pressure from black and white critics in making employment decisions. Critics pointed to working wives as symbol of a lack of family stability and race progress among black families (Harley 1991). However, the call

for black wives and mothers to remain home was often an unrealistic expectation; due to financial pressures faced by black families, many married as well as unmarried women joined the workforce (Harley 1991). Regardless of financial pressures, these critiques made the stakes high for working black women to demonstrate engagement with normative domestic ideals among their neighbors and for potential employers.



Figure 6.2. Ceramics from the 40 Fleet Street Privy (above, photo by the author) and stratigraphic levels from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century at the adjacent 49 Pinkney Street site (below, photo by Benjamin Skolnik).



As discussed in the previous chapter, during the early twentieth century, tuberculosis became a problem in many parts of the United States, and in the segregated

South, black domestic servants and washerwomen became identified with the disease because their daily work often caused them to cross the color line (Hunter 1997:196). Black women, who were more frequently employed in white households and were subjected to stereotypes of black women as being lustful, unwomanly, dirty, and primitive, were particularly vilified (Hunter 1997: 197, Townsend Gilkes 2001). For women who depended on connections with the white community for their livelihoods, visibly enacting sanitary and genteel behaviors may have been important to earning and keeping a job. It would have been important for a woman like Sarah Price to be an invisible and unthreatening part of her employer's household and not to be seen as visibly in violation of health and sanitation norms. Visibly enacting behaviors tied to the prescriptions of domestic science, although not purchasing their dishes in matched sets, may have been a strategy similar to that described by Lorde (1984: 114); the need "to be watchers, to become familiar with the language and manners of the oppressor, even sometimes adopting them for the illusion of protection."

The idea that the residents of 40 Fleet Street may have been engaging with progressive ideologies related to domestic science is suggested by the involvement of Catherine Price, Sarah Price's daughter, with the Women's Foreign Missionary Society. Society articles in the *Baltimore Afro-American* in 1927 and 1928 describe Ms. Price as hosting Sunday afternoon meetings for the group at her home, 40 Fleet Street (*Afro-American* 1928, Chew 1927). The Women's Foreign Missionary Society was an independent women's society within the Methodist Episcopal Church, focused on women missionizing women (Butler 1904, Seat 2008:52). As part of their women-focused orientation, the WFMS built domestic science into the curriculum at the schools for girls

that were part of their foreign missions. Hodge (1916:222) describes one such school. Through missions, the WFMS and other organizations were trying to bring Christianity and civilization to foreign people, and part of their project was demonstrating and teaching normative domesticity in the same ways that domestic advisors in the United States were trying to Americanize new immigrants by reforming their “backwards” domestic practices.

During the last decades of the twentieth century, stores began to provide consumers with a variety of “curios” for their homes, inspired by the increasing fascination with exotic and foreign cultures (Leavitt 2002: 161, Lears 2009). This fascination corresponded with the beginning of American imperialism and the expansion of American church mission activities. Historian Sarah Leavitt (2002: 161) writes that “many Americans considered these trinkets and decorations a safe way to bring foreign cultures inside their homes.” Through artifacts and curios they were domesticating what was foreign, appropriating and incorporating the work of “ancient cultures that prioritized simple design” into the modern, early twentieth century home (Leavitt 2002: 158). In prescriptive literature, Japanese design, as interpreted through the lens of American domestic advisors, was seen as a strong partner to Arts and Crafts ideals of simplicity, because it was known for its sense of balance and harmony (Leavitt 2002: 158). A Kutani Japanese porcelain vase was recovered from the privy deposit at 40 Fleet Street. The vase has an over glaze red and gold design of peonies and birds. While the maker’s mark is difficult to read and is missing some portions, it appears to be the mark of the Watano Company during the Meiji period, from 1868 through 1912 (Nilsson n.d., Roller, personal communication). The vase was a simple piece that could have been displayed in

the home to show engagement with the ideals of simplicity so prized by early twentieth century domestic advisors, who were waging war against excessive ornamentation.

Through the archaeological evidence, we can begin to get a picture of how the working African American women on Fleet Street set their tables and engaged some aspects of domestic science in terms of their choices of ceramics. Unfortunately, there are few public records that chronicle the public and private lives of the African American women in the project area. Darlene Clark Hine (1994) writes that southern black women developed a culture of dissemblance, which was influenced by black women's sexual vulnerability to rape and domestic violence. Hine (1994: 37) defines dissemblance as "the behaviors and attitudes of black women that created the appearance of openness and disclosure but actually shielded the truth of their inner lives and selves from their oppressors." She argued that racial animosity, class tensions, gender role differentiation, and regional economics influenced the development of this politics of silence among black women - a self-imposed invisibility - which gave black women the psychic space and resources "needed to hold their own in their often one-sided and mismatched struggle to resist oppression" (Hine 1994: 41). Black women therefore shielded their private definitions of themselves from public scrutiny "in the face of the pervasive stereotypes and negative estimations" about black lives and cultural expressions, skills which were perfected during work in domestic service (Hine 1994: 41-3). Black women only revealed to the public what they wanted to be seen. Black domestic workers, especially, knew a lot about white families from working within them, although white residents knew little about the real family and home lives of the African Americans who worked

for them (Coontz 1992: 236). However, oral histories reveal that white employers felt that they had made their domestic workers part of their families (Warren 1990).

When examining the accumulation of dishes at 40 Fleet Street and other African American sites and how they were acquired over time, it is important to understand how household structures and non-traditional economies may have influenced the accumulation tactics. Census data and other historical records can give us information about official employment and whether households were taking in boarders to supplement their incomes. However, census records only hint at, or entirely leave out, other labor and economic relationships; for example, acquiring dishes as part of payment for domestic services at a job in a private home or commercial environment.

In the 1920 census, Sarah Price's six-year old granddaughter, Mildred Price, was enumerated in Sarah Price's household at 40 Fleet Street, as well as in the household of Sarah Price's son, Ambrose Price, at 144 South Street. Ambrose's wife, Eliza, who worked as a laundress at home, also had a four year old and a two-year old daughter, in addition to six-year old Mildred. The 1924 Annapolis City Directory lists Ambrose Price as the head of household for both 40 Fleet Street and 144 South Street, although this may also reflect a predisposition in the recorders of the City Directory to look for male heads of household (Annapolis City Directory 1924). It is possible that Mildred Price may have been living with her grandmother, or at least may have been spending significant amounts of time at her house, in order to assist her mother in caring for three small children while also working from home.

After the death of her husband when she was in her late thirties or early forties, Sarah Price made a switch from work that had a little bit more autonomy and flexibility

(although laundry work was certainly an arduous task at the time) to working for a wage outside of her home (Hunter 1997). Mildred Price may also have been spending time with her grandmother in order to help Sarah with her work. An oral history account collected in 1990 may help shed light on this. One of Warren's interviewees stated:

In Annapolis, black domestics were like part of the family. As they aged, they would bring in a daughter or a granddaughter who would do the running around the house (Warren 1990: 30).

This account highlights the idea that younger children or grandchildren may have assisted their aging mothers or grandmothers who, due to financial pressures and, in Sarah's case, the death of a spouse, still had to participate in the wage labor system. The paternalistic attitude displayed towards African American domestics further highlights the ways in which African American domestics interacted with the families that they worked for. They were incorporated into the daily lives of the white families they served and publicly enacted sanitary ideals, but most likely kept their own thoughts and lives hidden securely away. Exchanges like these could also have influenced how the family acquired their ceramics through familial and community networks.

Cornhill Street

The ceramics analysis for Cornhill Street will concentrate on the late nineteenth century occupation of 30 Fleet Street by the Baker family. The strata and features that date to between 1850 and 1890 correspond to the time period during which the Brady family, who were bakers, lived on the property. The ceramics from this time period included the deposit from the cistern feature, which was filled around the time that the shed attachment to 30 Cornhill Street was expanded into a separate attached row house called 28 Cornhill Street. The ceramics assemblage from 30 Cornhill Street is small,

mainly coming from the fill of the cistern feature, Feature 38. However, despite the cistern being a sealed feature, the loosely packed loam that filled it did not contain a large quantity of ceramic artifacts.

Only a few plates were represented in the strata and features relating to the Brady occupation of the site, which probably do not represent the range of tableware being used to serve meals to a household that in 1880 had fifteen nuclear and extended family members living in it. The plates represented in the deposit include shell-edged, molded, and floral transfer print designs. The tablewares outnumbered teawares, as was the case of Fleet Street. The single teacup dating to this time period was a molded porcelain in a coral pattern and hand painted red. There was a single red floral transfer printed saucer, but since the sample size was so small it is impossible to draw definitive conclusions about teaware decorations or tea drinking at the site.

Table 6.3. Earth-toned and white-toned ceramics, by function, from the time period of the Brady occupation of 30 Cornhill Street.

	Earth-toned vessels	White-toned vessels
<i>Food/Beverage processing, storage, and preparation</i>		
Jar	1	
Bowl*	5	
<i>Food/Beverage Distribution</i>		
Pitcher		1
Bowl		2
Jug	3	
<i>Food/Beverage Consumption</i>		
Plate		4
Saucer**		1
Teacup		1
Total	9	9

* Large bowls may also have been used for food distribution.

**Saucer could also be distribution in Yentsch's (1991) model.

Table 6.4. Decorations on tea and tablewares from the time period of the Brady occupation of 30 Cornhill Street.

	Teawares	Tablewares	Other	Total
Minimally decorated		3	1	4
Shell edged		2		2
Chinese landscapes				0
Floral/neoclassical	2			2
Mocha/annular			2	2
Other/indeterminate	1	1		2
Total	3	6	3	12

None of the ceramic vessels from this time period match each other, except for two toy porcelain teacups, which were not included in this ceramics analysis. The small teacups have octagonally shaped rims and are decorated in a blue floral pattern. During the Victorian period, the table manners that a person displayed were considered to directly reflect his or her morality. Family meals were considered to be an important part of parenting and childhood training, thought of as “three opportunities a day for teaching ‘punctuality, order, neatness, temperance, self-denial, kindness, generosity, and hospitality’” (Matthew 1989:25 as cited in Rotman 2009, Fitts 1999). As part of the goal of teaching genteel dining behaviors to children, special tablewares as well as play tea sets were often given to children (Rotman 2009:22). As such, the tea set may have been a way that parents attempted to instill in their children ideals about proper table settings and normative dining behaviors during tea service, although the teacups were certainly not discarded as a set; they were recovered in two different areas of the yard.

Of the eighteen vessels from the Brady time period, forty-five percent of them are preparation and storage vessels, instead of consumption vessels. The high percentage of utilitarian vessels contrasts with the assemblage from a privy, Feature 12, at the middle-class white occupied 193 Main Street site (18AP44), which has a ceramics TPQ date of 1889 (Shackel 1986). At the Main Street site, there was a relative absence of ceramics

that could be used for food storage (Mullins 1988). Although this is a small sample size, this suggests that a significant amount of food preparation and storage may have been going on at the 30 Cornhill Street site during this time period. While we do not know the location of the bakeries in which John Brady or his son John W. Brady worked, some of their commercial activities may have taken place at the site. Although by this time most commercial activities were separated from residential spaces, the Brady family did have multiple ovens in their basement kitchen. In the late 1970s, the residents of 30 Cornhill Street made an attempt to open what they thought were sealed fireplaces, but quickly realized that there were not fireplace openings behind the mantles. In trying to figure out the original locations of the fireplaces, they removed all of the plaster in certain parts of the house. While removing the plaster in the basement, which prior to the late 1870s or early 1880s was the kitchen of the house, they discovered an arched cooking fireplace on one wall, and on an end wall they found an arched brick oven or fireplace, as well as an oven with a cast iron door (Figure 6.3)(Davisson and Davisson 1990). A kitchen-wing, part of a two-story brick, shed-roof addition, was built off of the back of the house between 1878 and 1885 (Wright 1977).

The strata dating to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were affected by mid- to late-twentieth century yard resurfacing attempts, so very few vessels were recovered from time periods after the Brady occupation of the site to compare to the Brady occupation. John W. Brady died in 1893, although his widow continued to live in the house for a short period of time. By this time, the attached row house, formerly called 28 Cornhill Street but now connected to 30 Cornhill Street, had been built.



Figure 6.3. Photo showing the end wall of the basement at 30 Cornhill Street with ovens, following the plaster removal during construction in 1978 (Photo courtesy of the Davisson family).

Ceramics Conclusions

Ceramic design motifs at the Fleet and Cornhill Sites did not reflect Victorian expectations of full, matched sets, and increased elaboration of designs to parallel other aspects of material culture in the late nineteenth century world. At 40 Fleet Street, the privy fill assemblage is dominated by undecorated or minimally decorated whiteware and ironstone dishes. The lack of elaborate Victorian style vessel decoration may be attributable to several factors. First, residents were not purchasing matched sets, and vessels with simpler or classic decorative motifs were viewed as being easier to mix and match, as well as replace on a piece by piece basis when broken, by domestic advisors. Second, residents may have been using ceramics that were given to them by employers or acquired through informal community networks of exchange instead of through commercial sources. Racism in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, in the form

of employment and housing discrimination, makes it especially imperative for us to look at how the African American community safeguarded its members against racism through the creation of an informal economy to provide necessary resources. The economic relationships that are only hinted at, or that we can look for the traces of archaeologically, include everything from informal economic relationships like reciprocal childcare, toting food and getting hand-me down items from a job, and helping other family members with their labors, to explicitly criminalized activities like bootlegging, prostitution, and running numbers games, a type of gambling.

Mark Warner (1998a) has discussed the ways in which informal exchange networks may have influenced food consumption in Annapolis, with certain food types, particularly chicken and fish, possibly being procured outside of market sources, a topic which will be engaged in the next chapter. Networking and food sharing were parts of many African American communities during this time period, utilizing collective unity to stretch resources (Williams-Forson 2006: 84-86). Annapolis oral histories discuss women running gambling operations, specifically numbers games, on Fleet Street in the early twentieth century (Euchare 1990 in Warren 1990). Numbers games, although they were illegal, were essentially economic in nature, and numbers was an important type of black business which would have involved community networks (White et al 2010: 23-4). These are just a few of the traces of the informal economy, which can be investigated through archaeological and historical sources. Economic exchanges like these could have influenced how families acquired their ceramics through familial and community networks.

Finally, the residents of 40 Fleet Street may have been engaging the new ideals of domestic science by moving away from having too many plates that were “overly decorated” and might present a messy appearance that would not reflect the sanitary ideals of domestic science and might compete with the food on the plate and cause indigestion for the diners. For black women who worked for white families, it may have been especially important to enact sanitary ideals through home furnishing, an act of dissemblance to keep surveillance of true inner lives at bay (after Hine 1994). This was especially important in an environment where African American women were not afforded the same societal protections as white women and were stereotyped as being lustful, primitive, domineering, dirty, unwomanly, and unable to change with the times (Townsend Gilkes 2001), while white residents simultaneously were being implored to inquire into the sanitary behaviors and home lives of their domestic help (Jopling 2008).

At Cornhill Street, the redware and stoneware in the assemblage from the mid- to late- nineteenth century may relate to the occupation of John Brady and his son, who were bakers. Around the turn of the twentieth century, as the field of domestic science began to tout the sanitary and uniform qualities of manufactured, industrially produced food products, American businesses also picked up on these changes. Food that had previously been purchased in bulk from local producers and stored in ceramic vessels in the home began to be canned and packaged by national manufacturers under brand names. Canned goods were also coming on the market in increasing variety (Leavitt 2002: 180-2), and if home preservation was taking place, it was being done in sanitary glass mason jars instead of earthenware or stoneware vessels. The declining numbers of coarse earthenware and stoneware storage vessels from 40 Fleet Street by the first half of

the twentieth century may be reflective of the growing influence that home economists and domestic scientists were having in American homes. As new products and techniques were developed at the end of the nineteenth century, canned and bottled goods became more common, and coarse earthenware and stoneware storage vessels were phased out as cheaper, lighter weight, and more sanitary materials became available (Ketchum 1991a: 15). The next chapter will explore more in-depth the changes in foodways and corresponding gender roles that came about with the “kitchen as laboratory” ethos of domestic science.

Chapter 7 : “Eating is More Than Animal Indulgence:” Foodways on Fleet and Cornhill Streets

“Now, what does all this interest in cookery mean?... We think that it means that many of our people have awakened to the fact that eating is something more than animal indulgence, and that cooking has a nobler purpose than the gratification of appetite and the sense of taste. Cooking has been defined as ‘the art of preparing food for the nourishment of the human body’.” – Mrs. David A. (Mary) Lincoln, addressing the World’s Congress of Women at the World’s Columbian Exposition in Chicago, 1893

The Civil War severely disrupted agriculture and industry, which are instrumental to food production and procurement. As a result, “what could be made at home, and what could be eaten out of fields that had been burned, what could and should be sold in fragmented markets with scarce currency, and who could be responsible despite new codes of gender, race, and class all needed renegotiation” (Englehardt 2011: 21). As the decades progressed, new foods and food practices became unacceptable, and new laws targeted adulterated foods, tightened the regulation of alcohol, and began to regulate the claims of other products like patent medicines (Englehardt 2011: 21, Ohmann 1996). These changes in food sources and meanings had effects on the ways in which women procured and prepared their foods, as well as changes to the repetitive, structured, everyday behaviors that women performed while marketing, cooking, and keeping house.

The World’s Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893 was one arena where the emerging discipline of domestic science spread its ideas to a wide audience of women. The World’s Columbian Exposition, which drew twenty-eight million visitors, was held to commemorate the 400th anniversary of Columbus’ voyage to America and to celebrate the progress of mankind (Bolotin and Laing 1992: vii, 1, 8). The “White City” at the fair held technological, artistic, and ethnographic exhibitions, as well as amusements, and had lasting impacts on American architecture and tastes (Bolotin and Laing 1992). Historian

Adele Wessell (2007: 116) writes that “what resonates throughout many commentaries on the [Chicago World’s] fair is their extraordinary optimism, bolstered by modernist assumptions and rationalities about the authority of science and technology, and a teleological and totalizing view of progress.” The Chicago World’s Fair became an important forum for the popularization of the application of principles of chemistry to cookery, and domestic science generally (Wessell 2007: 116). Ellen Swallow Richards, a leader of the domestic science movement, ran the Rumford Kitchen, which was located in the Liberal Arts Building and then the Anthropological Building at the fair. The Rumford Kitchen served food in portions with fixed amounts of nutrition and emphasized the quantities of food that were necessary for proper daily nutrition. The Board of Lady Managers of the Fair also had its own test kitchen located in the Women’s Building of the fair (Wessell 2007: 116).

In the quote from a speech at the fair that opened this chapter, Mrs. Lincoln was expressing some important ideas about food preparation that had emerged by the end of the nineteenth century, which were influenced by modernist ideals. During the Victorian Era, in much the same way that the domestic sphere was being separated from the public sphere, people, especially those in cities, were becoming increasingly separated from their food sources. There was also effort made to distance the family’s home meals from any taint of “animal indulgence” or animal like behaviors with food, eschewing strong tastes and prizing a bland diet (Schenone 2003, Shapiro 2009). These changes were embroiled in the changing normative gender ideologies of the late Victorian and Progressive periods.

This chapter utilizes faunal remains and bottle glass to talk about the restriction of home production and reliance on market-based consumption of food products among residents of Annapolis and how this affected, and was affected by, domesticity and gender roles in the city. By the mid- to late nineteenth century, raising and slaughtering of animals within the city was beginning to be restricted, and in-fill construction limited the amount of lot space that could be used for home vegetable growing (Annapolis City Counselor 1897, McCullough 1869, McWilliams 1935, Riley 1908, Matthews 2002a). This chapter examines foodways during the late Victorian and Progressive Eras in Annapolis. Foodways during this time period were closely tied to ideas about domesticity and public health, and the Progressive Era imbued industrial and standardized products, and canned and bottled foods, with new sanitary ideals. Processed foods, in neat and sterile packages, and increasing distances between producers and consumers of food, became common in the early twentieth century (Englehardt 2011). Glass analysis is also used to discuss prohibition in Annapolis and how prohibition can be seen as related to domestic science's concerns with control of what went into the body. Prohibition can also be seen as part of the Progressive Era's focus on the regulation of public and domestic spaces and the extension of domestic concerns into the public arena.

Elizabeth Englehardt (2011: 13) states that “when women taught other women and girls about daily food preparation, supply, and presentation of food for the family, they performed a political act.” She further stated that we have to stop viewing the procurement, preparation and service of food as natural and that when we do, “we can tease out the dynamics embedded in these lessons” (Englehardt 2011:13). As discussed in the previous chapters, domestic science had a huge effect on American life, but because

the influence is so large and diffuse, historians have often overlooked these effects (Schenone 2003).

This chapter focuses on the core of domestic science, cooking and food science. The domestic science movement started on a grassroots level with cooking clubs and schools around the country. Domestic science was used by women to step into the public sphere, which Victorian gender ideologies denied them access to, and domestic science opened up new careers for women, who organized themselves to improve public health and food safety standards and better their lives and the lives of others (Schenone 2003: 242). According to the best understandings of the day, women sought to make sure that food was safe and that families were receiving proper nutrition. However, domestic science has also shaped American food systems in ways that have increasingly been called into question; eliminating ethnic foodways, promoting convenience foods, and creating a distinct and intentionally bland American diet (Schenone 2003: 243).

Foodways are the behaviors and beliefs that surround food production, distribution, preparation, and consumption. Because of the association of women's gender roles with food, food focused studies can be a powerful method to explore gender and women's experiences (Counihan 2012: 100-1). Food distribution and consumption have historically been influenced by gender, as well as ethnicity, age, and class (Diner 2001: 4). Because of the close association between women and cooking in domestic contexts in nineteenth and early twentieth century America, changes in the food supply and food preparation tasks had a disproportionate effect on women. When new products showed up in the marketplace, it was often women who decided what products were seen as useful to the family and would be incorporated into the family's food culture (Diner

2001: 5). The analysis of foodways presented here focuses on the symbolic nature of food, and on the choices that people make about what they will eat, where they will get their food from, and how they will prepare it. Although food is necessary for survival, food has meanings to people that go far beyond subsistence, and food communicates social symbolism and cultural values (Douglas 1982).

Throughout the nineteenth century, changes in food production and distribution practices facilitated changes in the American diet. In the 1870s, refrigerated transport cars on railroads made the transportation of fruits and meat across the country both possible and profitable. By the early twentieth century, manufacturers began to take over some of the work of precooking preparation, and tasks such as butchering, cutting and pounding sugar, sifting impurities from flour, shelling nuts, drying herbs, grinding spices and roasting coffee were commonly performed before these products reached the home kitchen (Strasser 1982: 11, 17, 29). Food increasingly came to consumers in standardized cans and boxes, which were advertised and distributed to a national marketplace.

Although we don't often think about the process of how our food became industrialized, mass production and mass distribution transformed food from the product of home industry and barter into a commodity that was increasingly produced by large companies for profit (Strasser 1982: 29).

As in other areas, industrialization of food led to corruption, and impurities and adulteration of food, strikingly detailed in Upton Sinclair's (1906) *The Jungle* and the work of other investigative journalists. However, more industrialization was seen as the solution to these problems, and food science became obsessed with foods that were uniform, predictable, and safe, eschewing former priorities like pleasure, individuality

and cultural identity. Hygiene and purity became important selling points for national brands, and mechanization brought claims that food could be “untouched by the human hand” when it reached consumers (Fernandez-Armesto 2002: 216-7).

In domestic settings throughout the nineteenth century, good cooking required a lot of guesswork, even for experienced cooks. Coal or wood burning stoves could not be reliably adjusted, and home cooks gauged the temperature by holding their hands in the oven and counting until the heat was unbearable (Strasser 1982, Shapiro 2009: 80).

Before the standardization of staple foods, the quality of sugar, flour, butter and eggs could vary markedly from day to day or week to week. Also, while printed recipes were available, they often discussed main ingredients but not exactly how much should be added to a recipe (Shapiro 2009: 80). In the ideology of domestic science, handling food too much during cooking at home, as in the factories, was considered distasteful (Shapiro 2009:142). Home economists thought that food was powerful, and food’s ability to draw forth cravings and desires had to be managed. The culinary goals of domestic science were to contain and control food, removing taste and texture, decorate food, and package it. This could consist of breaking food down to its simplest components, or burying it in white sauce, or under whipped cream and candied flowers (Shapiro 2009: 6).

As contemporary food writer Laura Schenone (2004: 252) points out, with domestic science food was supposed to be “neat, clean, pretty to the eye – and above all not too spicy or offensive,” qualities that were also prized in women at the time. The highest compliment that a dish could receive was to be called dainty, an adjective that was associated with all that was modern and clean, in other words, the antithesis of disorganized rural housewives cooking heavy minced pies and up to their elbows in

dough” (Schenone 2003: 252). “Scientific” cooks were also set up in opposition to the stereotypes of black “mammy” cooks as the ideals of scientific cooking, which originated in New England, spread to the south by 1900 (Witt 1999: 56).

As with home decoration, scientific diets were thought to have moral as well as physical powers. Reformers and home economists began to scrutinize the food that was served in prisons, reformatories and workhouses, and believed that a proper diet would make the poor and working classes more civilized (Shapiro 2009: 124, 153). It was also widely believed that there was a significant connection between the urge for alcohol in working-men and the poor cooking skills of their wives, and that a well-run home could be a powerful guardian against civil unrest (Shapiro 2009: 130-1). In an article entitled “The Home and the Labor Problem,” Mrs. Helen Ekin Starrett (1895) wrote that “the home is the chief factor in the working-man’s life, and therefore one of the chief factors in the solution of the [labor] problem.” She further stated that a man with a well-run home “is not going to join in rash movements of any kind, or in any way jeopardize the possession of that home” (Starrett 1895). During the end of the nineteenth century, as the nation suffered wage cuts and economic panics which culminated in the panic of 1893, preventing civil unrest became a particular concern of public officials, home economists and other reformers (Shapiro 2009: 131). These changes in foodways in the late Victorian and Progressive periods in Annapolis will be discussed through an examination of faunal materials, and then through a discussion of glass artifacts, which related to consumption of pre-packaged foods and prohibition.

Separating the Animals from the Meat

In April of 2012, the Annapolis City Council passed legislation to allow residents of Annapolis to keep up to five egg-laying hens, but not roosters or boiler hens, in their yards. However, residents were required to register their chickens with the city, chicken coops had to meet a minimum setback requirement, and residents who wanted to raise chickens had to first receive consent from their neighbors (Sauers 2012). During the discourse surrounding this legislation, the Mayor and Aldermen of the City articulated long-standing arguments about whether domestic animals should be kept in urban residential spaces in the City. Throughout the previous two centuries, raising domestic livestock in the city had been increasingly restricted in the city code, and eventually banned. The 2012 legislation in Annapolis, and similar measures in other cities and towns, are reversals of this trend. Opponents of legislation allowing domestic livestock like chickens back into cities often articulate the same public health and sanitation concerns that caused the original ban of live domestic animals from city spaces.

Speaking about the recent legislation, Mayor Josh Cohen stated in a newspaper interview that while “some people fundamentally view chickens as a rural thing that has no place within the city limits,” he sees “hens as a way to be more connected to the food that we eat” because “eggs don’t just appear magically in the cartons in the grocery store refrigerator” (Sauers 2012). Alderman Shiela Findlayson opposed the measure. In the hearings, she expressed concerns that chickens would be a source of nuisance and environmental and health complaints, would violate homeowners association covenants, and could hurt property values. When interviewed in the same article as Mayor Cohen, Alderman Findlayson stated that she grew up in the Eastport section of Annapolis when

there were still chickens there in the 1950s and that “it wasn’t pretty then, and it’s not gonna be pretty now” (Sauers 2012). To respond to the skepticism of several of the City’s Aldermen, who were concerned about noises, possible diseases, pests, and other public health concerns, the Mayor brought in a state veterinarian to the City Council hearings to argue that chickens carried few diseases and were no noisier than house cats (Sauers 2012).

In the dominant Victorian gender ideology, the Cult of Domesticity created and mandated separate spheres of activity for men and women. Men were seen to provide over the public arena, while women presided over home life. As discussed in Chapter Two, a central component of the separation of the spheres was the separation of workplaces, commercial life, and productive activities from the private home. This resulted in a decrease in integrated household economies and the creation of a consumer economy aimed largely at the middle classes (Wall 1994, Rotman 2009). During this time period, wealthier people often moved away from urban industrial and commercial cores to areas designated solely for residential purposes, and areas of homes and yards were redesigned to make them more isolated and private. However, the experiences of domesticity were often more fluid than this ideology of rigid separation between the public and private would suggest (Yentsch 1991: 196, Wurst 2003 as cited in Rotman 2009: 19). In the dominant ideology, a woman was judged upon the appearance of her home and yard. It was thought that a family would be less successful and less moral if “the yard and garden were untended, the house unpainted, and the rooms neglected and unkempt,” than they would be if they had a more conscientiously maintained home (Green 1983: 59).

The separate spheres ideology also influenced what activities could be allowed in residential areas. The idea that animals could bring noise, disease, and other public health concerns to residential areas and should therefore be banned from them, gained ground throughout the nineteenth century. By the time that the 1869 compilation of the Annapolis city code was published, the free movement of animals throughout the city was being regulated. Article IX of the 1869 city code set out regulations for “Cows, sheep, goats, & c.” and made it unlawful for the owners of any cows, sheep, goats, and geese “to suffer them to go at large in the streets, lanes, alleys, or thoroughfares of this city,” even for cows “with a bell attached” (McCullough 1869). This law against roaming cattle was first enacted in 1861. Annapolis historian Jane McWilliams speculates that this law against roaming cattle may have been influenced by complaints from Annapolitans that they were running into roaming cows on unlighted streets at night. She quotes the householders on Doctor Street (which is now Franklin Street) describing in 1859 how travel along their street at night was dangerous because “there is always more or less cattle laying on the sidewalks of the street and there is a row of posts planted along the bank fence that we really cannot see” (AN MA 1858-1861 [MSA49-7] Folder 14, Folder 24 as cited in McWilliams 2011).

The article relating to the “Health of the City” in the 1869 city code compilation also contained provisions about when cattle could be slaughtered and when oysters could be shucked inside of the city limits. It was unlawful for people to slaughter beef cattle within the city limits between April 1 and November 1 each year, and it was also unlawful for people to open or shuck oysters within the city limits between May 20th and September 20th of each year. There were regulations by the 1860s on where shucked

oyster shells could be deposited in the city (McCullough 1869). This was a change for a city that had once used crushed oysters as pavement. According to the standalone article of the city code regulating “Oysters,” it was unlawful for people “to open or shuck oysters within the city limits, unless the shells thereof are removed to such place or places as shall be designated by the Mayor, on the same day that such oysters are opened or shucked,” and oyster houses had to follow sanitary regulations that were prescribed by the Mayor. Further, it was specifically prohibited for people to “throw or deposit oysters on any of the paved footways of the city” or for oyster shells to remain in any streets or other public thoroughfares or spaces for more than six hours (McCullough 1869).

The provisions restricting the time frame for slaughtering cattle and shucking oysters in the “Health of the City” section of the code and about where oyster shells could be deposited, remained a part of the city code through subsequent compilations. However, there are differences in where these prohibitions were placed within the city code (Annapolis City Counselor 1897, Riley 1908, McWilliams 1935). In later compilations of the city code where animals were kept and processed within the city was increasingly regulated. Increasing regulation of behaviors related to domestic animals was happening during the same time period during which the city was trying to modernize itself, shed its “finished city” reputation, and create a more sanitary environment, which was discussed in Chapter Five of this dissertation. By the end of the nineteenth century, hogs were banned from the city. The article relating to the “Health of the City” in the 1897 compilation of the city code stated that “it shall not be lawful for any resident of the said city, or for any other person or persons to keep any hog or pig within the corporate limits thereof” (Annapolis City Counselor 1897). This was a change

from earlier time periods, when many hogs were kept in the city. In a report made to the city in August of 1854, for example, it was noted that there were 53 hogs and 4 pigs in one part of the city, and some of the pig pens were noted as “offensive” alongside two open privies (McWilliams 2011). The section of the city code, related to “Cows, sheep, goats, & c.” remained virtually unchanged at the end of the century, although the animals that were specifically mentioned in the legislation had been broadened to include any cow, ox, bull, sheep, goat, hog or goose (Annapolis City Counselor 1897).

Keeping animals in the City was increasingly framed as a threat to public health, which can be seen through the fact that animal regulations increasingly became incorporated into the portion of the city code that dealt with the “Health of the City,” instead of being stand-alone sections of the code. In the earlier codes, only cattle slaughter and oyster shucking were explicitly framed as threats to the public health in the code. This was probably due to the smell associated with these activities during the hot summer months. In May of 1900, citizens of Market Street complained to the Annapolis City Council that the rendering of beef and sheep tallow by a slaughterhouse, a very smelly activity in the nineteenth century, was a nuisance. The matter was then referred to the City’s health officer (*Baltimore Sun* 1900). Rendering tallow during the summer was soon made unlawful in the city code. By the 1930s, the city code sections dealing with animals had all been moved to the portion of the code that dealt with the “Health of the City.” This part of the code had 117 sections and was organized under numerous subheadings on topics including cattle and swine, sewers, water, cemeteries, the hospital, trash disposal, privies, toilets, waterclosets, and contagious disease (McWilliams 1935).

The “Health of the City” section of the 1935 compilation of the city code

contained the same provisions as earlier codes for animals, with the addition of sections regulating the rendering of beef and sheep tallow within the city limits, and a provision for the police to handle complaints about “any dog, bitch or other domestic animal, fowl or bird within the city.” The city code authorized the police to respond to complaints about animals which were “barking, biting, howling or in any other way or manner disturb the quiet,” stating that, if the complaints were founded, they could give notice to the owner that he or she would have to destroy or remove the offending animal (McWilliams 1935). Earlier compilations of the city code do not mention fowl specifically, which suggests that city officials were increasingly receiving complaints about disturbances from chickens and other domestic birds that were kept in the City’s yards. By the early twentieth century, the *Evening Capital* was also publishing discussions about the problem of chickens and chicken raising in the city (as cited in Warner 1998a: 124). This indicates that chickens were increasingly being seen as a loud nuisance by some people in the city, similar to the view espoused during the 2012 debates by Alderman Findlayson.

In addition to increasing concern about separating residential and commercial spaces and the public health implications of raising and slaughtering animals inside the city, the decrease of home raising of animals in the city can also be tied to other phenomena of nineteenth and early twentieth century life. These include increased housing density in the city, which resulted in smaller lot sizes, as well as decreasing home production and an increasing consumer orientation for many households. Fleet and Cornhill Streets, and other parts of the city, experienced a subdivision of larger lots and in-fill housing construction during the late nineteenth century (MIHP n.d.). This would

have provided less space for home gardens and the raising of chickens or other domestic fowl. However, even small backyards could have enough backyard space to grow some vegetables or keep a chicken or two in Annapolis, as was reported in interviews with residents (Jensen 1989, Jopling 2008). As the twentieth century progressed, consumers were also increasingly separated from the animal origins of their meat purchases. This is part of the reason that certain body parts, including heads, necks, and feet, are removed even from animals, like birds, that are often purchased whole. Removing these body parts, as well as selling meat in portions, is one way that consumers began to cognitively separate the meat that they eat from the animals that the meat comes from (Fiddes 1991: 95, Warner 19998a: 128).

Amanda Tang, Justin Uehlein, and Ashley Dickerson conducted basic analysis and Number of Identified Specimen (NISP) counts on the faunal assemblages from 40 Fleet Street, 41 Cornhill Street, and 30 Cornhill Street between 2009 and 2013 (Tang and Knauf 2010, Uehlein 2012). NISP counts record each (complete, partial, or fragmented) individual bone, tooth, shell, scale, or horn as a single unit (Klein and Cruz-Uribe 1984: 24-5, Peres 2010: 26). The distribution by portion was also calculated for the 40 Fleet Street and 30 Cornhill Street sites. Three of the test units from 41 Cornhill Street were analyzed in early 2013 by Amanda Tang and recorded by the author. In this analysis species identifications were recorded, but element identification was limited. Therefore, not enough information was collected during the NISP count of the 41 Cornhill assemblage to make a distribution by portion analysis possible. The NISP analysis was conducted to get an idea of what wild and domestic species were being utilized by residents of Fleet and Cornhill Streets, gauge reliance on market sources of meat, and

learn whether these patterns changed as ideas about food procurement changed in the late Victorian and Progressive periods. Results of the faunal analysis are shown in Appendix C.

As discussed in the methods chapter of this dissertation, all of the faunal remains were analyzed using standard zooarchaeological methods. All of the faunal remains were identified to their species, and if identification to a specific species was not possible, the most precise identification possible was recorded. When possible, the element, or part of the animal, was also identified. Bone identifications were made using a comparative collection owned by Amanda Tang and housed in the Archaeology in Annapolis lab at the University of Maryland, College Park. Textbooks were also used to assist in the identification process (Gilbert 1990, Gilbert et al. 1996, Hillson 1992, Lyman 1994).

The sites on Fleet and Cornhill Streets had low NISP counts when compared to other Annapolis sites. This could be because primary deposition places for faunal material were not on the current lots or were not discovered during excavations, or because the areas that were excavated were generally smaller than the areas excavated at the other sites that will be used for comparison. The faunal NISP count for the privy feature, Feature 14, at 40 Fleet Street was 287 individual specimens. The privy assemblage was the only context at 40 Fleet Street that was fully analyzed. The NISP for 41 Cornhill Street consists of 1977 individual specimens, and the NISP count at 30 Cornhill Street consists of 958 individual specimens. These NISP counts include oyster remains, so when oysters are removed from the counts, the numbers are lower. While a NISP count will be the primary source used for this write up, NISP counts can be misleading due to possibly high levels of fragmentation, and it is necessary to understand

that each specimen does not correlate to a whole animal, or even a whole element (Klein and Cruz-Uribe 1984: 24-5, Peres 2010: 26).

At 40 Fleet Street, remains from the privy feature, Feature 14, were analyzed. Of the non-oyster faunal remains in the privy deposit, 19 percent were pig (although up to 58 percent could be pig when unidentified medium mammals are taken into account), slightly over 6 percent were cow, slightly less than 6 percent were sheep or goat, 3 percent were deer, and 23 percent were bird bones, including chicken and goose bones. Human modification, in the form of butchery cut marks, was visible on many specimens, reflecting hand sawing, machine sawing, and knife cutting (Uehlein 2012). The identified butchery marks are predominantly saw marks, which point to initial butchery to create manageable portions. The assemblage lacks chop/hack marks, skinning, and scrape marks, which would indicate primary butchery of an animal and the need for extensive on-site secondary butchery (Tang and Knauf 2013). The skeletal element profile across taxa at the site shows that most of the bones being utilized at the site were from the torso, limbs, and pectoral/pelvic girdles of the animals (Tang and Knauf 2013).

A greater variety of skeletal elements from pigs are present in the privy deposit, including teeth. However, the *Sus scrofa* elements that fall outside of these common cuts comprise only a small percentage of the assemblage and are from juvenile pigs. It is less likely that the pig would have been raised at the site, instead of purchased whole from a market source, because raising pigs in the city had been prohibited in the city code since the end of the nineteenth century. The elements and species represented indicate a reliance on market sources of meat, although wild species are present. The element profile and type of modifications suggest that residents were procuring and cooking

meats that had already been divided into standardized portions, instead of slaughtering and breaking down whole animals at the sites (Tang and Knauf 2013). Although we might expect oyster remains to reduce in quantity over time, as laws about the disposal of oyster shells became stricter in the city code, they remain a consistent part of the privy deposit. It is possible that the residents of the site may have discarded oyster shells in the privy fill, a sealed deposit, that they would not otherwise have discarded in their back yard.

The faunal assemblage from 30 Cornhill Street shows some interesting shifts from the middle of the nineteenth century through the early twentieth century. During the earlier nineteenth century, the fauna at the site shows more larger wild animals, and smaller domesticated animals. The species recovered in contexts dating to between 1820 and 1850 included oyster, deer, sheep/goat, pig, and unidentified small, medium, and large mammals. By the time period between 1850 and 1880, deer had dropped to just 4 percent of the non-oyster assemblage, when during the previous time period it had comprised 16 percent of the non-oyster and clam assemblage. Oyster shells remained a consistent part of the assemblage between 1850 and 1880, comprising 32 percent of the total assemblage. Cow, absent in the earlier time period, made up 14 percent of the non-oyster assemblage between 1850 and 1880. Other mammalian species utilized between 1850 and 1880 consisted of sheep or goat (21 percent of the non-oyster assemblage), pig (11 percent of the non-oyster assemblage), and unidentified mammals. Analysis of the skeletal element distribution by portion shows a predominance of torso, limb, and girdle portions. This suggests, as with the 40 Fleet Street privy deposit, that residents were purchasing their meat in portions from market sources. The mid- to late- nineteenth

century is the only time period at the site that we see fowl, identified as waterfowl and turkey (Tang and Knauf 2010). It is possible that these fowl, present in this time period but not in the earlier or later time periods, may relate to John Brady, the occupant of 30 Fleet Street at that time. Brady was a baker, and there were significant ovens in the basement kitchen of the house at 30 Fleet Street. It is possible that, as a baker, he may also have roasted birds in his ovens, for his household or for sale to others.

By the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century, we see a further decrease in the consumption of wild animals at 30 Cornhill Street, and an increase in the consumption of domestic animals, probably obtained from market sources. The NISP count from this time period is small, because deposits from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century were affected by later yard resurfacing efforts. By the 1880s, the attached row house of 28 Cornhill Street, formerly just a one story shed addition to 30 Cornhill, had been built, and the cistern in the center of the yard space had been filled in. Mammals consumed during the turn of the twentieth century time period include cow, sheep or goat, pig, and unidentified mammals. There are no wild species represented in the faunal assemblage dating to between 1880 and 1930 except for oyster shells. Overall, at 30 Cornhill Street, the percentage of cow in the non-oyster assemblages increases over time. The amount of sheep consumed decreases, although it remains an important component of the faunal assemblage through time, while at the same time, pig and small mammals remain a consistent part of the non-oyster assemblages (Tang and Knauf 2010). The oyster remains at 30 Cornhill Street also peaked during the middle of the nineteenth century, possibly reflecting increased regulation of oyster remains in the City.

At 41 Cornhill Street, meat sources appear to have remained relatively consistent through time. Birds, sheep or goat, pork, and beef were present during each time period. The relative proportion of bird remains, when compared to all non-oyster and clam faunal remains, decreases slightly through time, and deer remains are only present in levels and features dating to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As with the ceramic remains, the levels and features that date to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries contain secondary deposits, particularly in features like utility trenches that cut into, and then refilled from, earlier stratigraphic levels. Because many of the specimens from the site during this time period came from yard scatter or sheet middens, there was significant fragmentation of the remains, which resulted in a number of specimens that could not be identified to specific species, although they were identifiably mammalian. These factors limit the amount that can be said about the faunal remains from 41 Cornhill Street. When oyster counts from trench features that were dug into earlier stratigraphic levels with heavy oyster concentrations are removed from the counts, we do see the same decrease in oyster remains in the later time periods as we saw at 30 Cornhill Street. However, the same problems with secondary deposition that were discussed in the turn of the twentieth century deposits at 41 Cornhill in the ceramics analysis apply to the faunal analysis.

The sites on Fleet and Cornhill Streets show that a variety of protein sources were being used at all of the sites, and there is no simple equation between protein sources and identity. The residents of Fleet Street appear to have eaten pig more than other meat sources. Warner (1998a) hypothesized that this was true generally for African Americans in Annapolis and the Chesapeake region, and the residents of Cornhill Street seem to

have consumed more mutton and beef, as Warner (1998a) hypothesized was true generally for white residents of Annapolis and the Chesapeake region. The variety of proteins is also similar to other Annapolis sites (see Appendix C). Residents of Fleet and Cornhill Streets appear to have had a diverse diet throughout the time period of study, between the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, including both wild sources and domestic sources. However, in terms of sources of protein, the impact of chickens may be especially overlooked, which will be discussed later in this section.

The faunal samples generally get smaller at the sites on Fleet and Cornhill Streets during later time periods, possibly because of increasing city regulations about the disposal of garbage and changing attitudes surrounding the discard of animal remains. Disposal of oyster shells was strictly regulated in the city code, which may explain the drop off in oyster shells at the sites on Cornhill Streets in later time periods. Also, by the early twentieth century, the city code contained the provision in the “Health of the City” section that “all rubbish, dirt, offal, and other refuse matters,” had to be “removed each and everyday day in the week (Sunday excepted)” from houses, yards, and cellars during May through October, and three days a week from November through April. These materials had to be “placed in metal cans or wooden boxes” and be put out on the curbs for collection (Riley 1908). The city code explicitly prohibited these materials being thrown out onto the streets, lanes, or alleys without being placed in proper containers (Riley 1908).

NISP counts from Fleet and Cornhill Streets were compared to data collected in Mark Warner’s (1998a) work from sites occupied by African American and white residents in Annapolis during approximately the same time period. These materials came

from the Courthouse Site (18AP63), Gott's Court (18AP52), the Maynard Burgess House (18AP64), and 193 Main Street (18AP44) (Figure 7.1). The Courthouse Site materials used for comparison to Fleet and Cornhill Streets are from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century occupation of the area by working-class African Americans, when it was known as Bellis Court (Goodwin 1993). The faunal materials from this time period consisted of a discrete assemblage from a wood-lined privy, as well as an assemblage of yard scatter from two parts of the neighborhood. The privy assemblage totaled only 355 bones, excluding wet screen samples. Although assemblages could not be associated with individual households, the materials provide a generalized sample of meat consumption in an African American neighborhood that is useful for comparison. (Warner 1998a: 162-5). Assemblages from Gott's Court form the second comparative collection. Gott's court was a series of twenty-five frame dwellings located, like Bellis Court, on the interior of a city block. The homes were constructed between 1906 and 1908 and were demolished in the 1950s. They were constructed by white owners and were occupied by working-class African American residents (Aiello and Siedel 1995). Again, these deposits could not be attributed to an individual household; however, the Phase II and Phase III excavations of the property did recover 750 faunal elements (Warner 1998a).

The third assemblage that was used for comparative purposes was the Maynard-Burgess site, the focus of Warner's (1998a) in-depth faunal analysis. Warner analyzed 10,349 bones from four main areas of the site, which spanned the time period between shortly after the construction of the house around 1858 until after 1905. The four areas of the site were a c. 1905 privy, a cellar that was filled after 1889, late nineteenth century yard scatter, and below the floorboards of a c. 1874 addition to the house. The Maynard-



Figure 7.1. Map showing locations of Fleet and Cornhill Streets, and comparative sites (Courtesy of Archaeology in Annapolis)

Burgess house was occupied by a single middle-class African American family throughout this time period (Mullins and Warner 1993). The fourth assemblage that was used for comparison to the sites on Fleet and Cornhill Streets is the assemblage from the Main Street Site, occupied by middle-class white residents from the early eighteenth century until 1929 (O'Reilly et al. 1994, Shackel 1986). The faunal assemblage that will be used for comparative purposes comes from a privy dating to the late nineteenth century, when the house was occupied by the family of a physician. This assemblage is also small, totaling 359 elements (Lev-Tov 1987, Warner 1998a).

Due to the fact that the assemblages discussed in the comparative analysis are also generally small, the amount of detailed comparisons that can be made between sites is limited (Warner 1998a). However, the goal of this section is not to complete a detailed analysis of the sites, but instead to allow for limited comparisons between them, to learn more information about foodways on Fleet and Cornhill Streets, and in Annapolis, than would be possible without them. The fact that these sites are all contemporaneous and located within close proximity to one another can provide some general information about food consumption in the city, although we will not be able to say exactly what was being prepared and eaten at each meal.

All of the Annapolis sites, including those on Fleet and Cornhill Streets, show a strong reliance on domestic mammals as the primary source of meat. At the sites analyzed by Warner (1998a) pork and beef were the primary meat sources, although small amounts of sheep or goat were present in the various assemblages. In contrast, the sites on Fleet and Cornhill Streets show much less utilization of cow as a meat source, and a heavier reliance on sheep or goat through time. In all of the comparative contexts,

including the Main Street site, pig is the species with the greatest number of specimens. In contrast to this, pig remains only a small part of the assemblages at the sites on Cornhill Street, never topping 10 percent of the non-oyster assemblages in any time period, and sheep and goat remains are more prevalent in the samples from Fleet and Cornhill Streets than they are in the comparative data.

At all of the comparative sites, avian remains formed a significant portion of the total faunal remains, comprising between 18 and 20 percent of the total faunal counts. Avian remains similarly comprise 23 percent of the non-oyster faunal assemblage from the 40 Fleet Street privy. In contrast, avian remains are less prevalent in the samples from Cornhill Street. The avian remains associated with the Fleet Street privy appear to have been purchased from market sources, and focused on wing and leg pieces. However, keeping chickens in domestic yard spaces as a source of fresh eggs would not necessarily be reflected in the faunal record of the sites. The beef, pork and sheep or goat consumed at the sites were also almost certainly acquired through commercial vendors. In the 1910 City Directory, six butchers are listed as occupying the City Market, situated at the base of Fleet and Cornhill Streets (Annapolis City Directory 1910). The 1924 City Directory listed fifty-two grocers, twelve meat sellers, and nine fish or oyster merchants in the City (Annapolis City Directory 1924). In a description of the Annapolis Public Market in 1900, described by Don Riley in the *Sunday Sun Magazine* in 1959, Mr. Riley described the meat stalls at the market. He remembered that the stalls were located next to one another and that “all of these men did their own slaughtering and butchering, and the competition among them kept prices down” (as cited in Doyel 2006). One Annapolis resident also recalled that chickens were available for purchase at the city dock. He

described how “the chickens would be in their crates, still alive,” and that the butchers “would slaughter them for you there at the curb” (Euchare 1990).

By the late nineteenth century, home raising of animals for food, except for fowl, was prohibited in the city code. It was also considered increasingly unsanitary to keep animals in domestic yard spaces. We can see consumption of portions of meat, instead of whole animals, reflected in the repetition of certain body parts and cuts. For example, at the Fleet Street site, in contexts related to the privy, the parts of birds that are consistently represented are wings. However, oral histories from the early twentieth century reveal that chickens and household gardens were still a common feature of the urban backyard spaces near the waterfront of Annapolis (Jensen 1989). The oral histories emphasize chickens as a consistent source of protein, although they particularly mention the consumption of chicken eggs, and not the chickens themselves. Chickens are omnivores, and do not require a specific diet, which keeps the costs of raising them low. Chickens will forage for their own food and will eat seeds, leaves, insects, grains, and small animals, including mice.

Chapter Six of this dissertation discussed the possible acquisition of ceramics at African American sites through informal community networks. Warner (1998a) suggests that these same networks were involved in raising or hunting food sources, or bartering and sharing food sources, by African American Annapolitans. City newspapers in Annapolis consistently carried stories and how-to articles related to backyard chickens, which gives readers the impression that backyard chickens were common (Warner 1998a). By the early twentieth century, however, Warner (1998a:123-5) noted that public sentiment appeared to be turning against backyard chickens, based on a series of letters to

the editor of the *Evening Capital* in 1910 about how chickens and chicken raising were a pervasive problem for the city. However, oral histories of Annapolis have consistently mentioned backyard chickens, in areas from Gott's Court, to Franklin Street, to the Hell Point area, which was near Fleet and Cornhill Streets and was largely demolished by the expansion of the Naval Academy in the 1940s (Jensen 1989, Jopling 2008).

Although absent at the sites on Fleet and Cornhill Streets, there was some osteological evidence for the home raising of poultry at the Maynard Burgess site, in the form of cranial elements and phalanges (Warner 1998a: 127-8). This suggests that the birds may have been raised and killed at the site, although they may also have been purchased live and killed at the site, or killed offsite and dressed at the site (Warner 1998a). As further evidence of barter economies and acquisition of food outside of commercial sources, Warner (1998a) discussed the significant amounts of fish recovered at the Maynard Burgess site. Although oral histories support the idea of fishing as an important supplementary source of meat for working-class families - acquired through commercial markets, street vendors, exchange, and fishing (Warner 1998a: 147) - very few fish remains were recovered from the sites at Fleet and Cornhill Streets. Water screening was not used at these sites, which may have inhibited the collection of fish remains.

All of the African American sites from Annapolis analyzed here show a preference for pork over beef, and Warner sites historical and ethnographic evidence to argue that African Americans were deliberately selecting pork over beef to assert their identities as African Americans (Warner 1998a: 254). Warner further argues that African American "preference for pork would have distinguished them from whites who switched

their preferences to beef during the later part of the nineteenth century” (Warner 1998a: 294). Warner (1998a) cites a federal survey, *Consumer Habits and Preference in the Purchase and Consumption of Meat* (Gardner and Adams 1926), in which African American respondents generally stated that they preferred pork over beef. However, Warner acknowledges that biases held by those conducting the survey may have potentially reified the stereotype that African Americans preferred pig to beef, and that African American survey participants may also have been influenced food stereotypes in their responses (Warner 1999a: 256). Psyche William-Forson’s (2006) work illustrates the ways in which reactions to racial stereotypes could affect the portrayals that African Americans created of their foodways. Williams-Forson documents the fact that everyday foods like fried chicken, hambones, and greens were rarely mentioned in the cookbooks produced by middle class black women in the early twentieth century. This was because African American women were shaping new public images of themselves and rejecting stereotypes focused around the sights, smells, and sounds around those everyday foods (Williams-Forson 2006). The faunal data from Fleet and Cornhill Streets show that simplistic models do not fit the data and that residents were drawing from a range of meat sources, acquired predominantly from market sources, especially as the twentieth century progressed.

Canned and Bottled is Better

During the nineteenth century, home preservation of food by methods other than drying, salting, or storage in root cellars was uncommon, despite “the nostalgic picture of mammoth gardens and gargantuan rows of home canned goods, formed after the turn of the century” (Strasser 1982: 22). However, salting, drying, and smoking all affected the

taste of food, and experiments to find better ways to preserve food and prevent its decomposition had been going on since the seventeenth century (Standage 2009: 159). During a competition to find a method for preserving food for the troops during the Napoleonic Wars, a Frenchman named Nicholas Appert, had invented hermetical sealing in 1809. Self-sealing jars for home use were sold in country stores by the middle of the nineteenth century; however, acid fruits and brined vegetables stored in them often spoiled because of poor seals, and vegetables and non-acid fruits could not be canned without pressure cookers, which were only available for household use after World War I (Strasser 1982: 22).

Home canning of fruits and vegetables in sealed mason jars did not take off in many places until after 1900. This occurred with the advent of machine-made sanitary glass canning jars (Strasser 1982: 22-3). The Mason jar revolutionized home food and vegetable preservation, because earlier methods had been much more complicated and less reliable (Smith 2007b: 93). The rise in home canning in the early twentieth century also occurred at the same time that sugar became less expensive, and preserving food for winter use became more economical for women (Ross 2007: 93). Modern home canning in mason jars really took off during World War I due to government campaigns to promote home canned goods, using slogans like “We Can Can Vegetables and the Kaiser Too” (Strasser 1982: 23).

Annapolis women’s clubs embraced canning during World War I, as part of the war effort. The *Evening Capital* stated that the Women’s Club of Anne Arundel County stood “for ideal womanhood in the things that make domestic life worthwhile” (*Evening Capital* 1919b). The Women’s Club ran a community kitchen, where they held

exhibitions and, presumably, demonstrations. During 1918, at the height of the war, the Women's Club held an exhibition of canned goods, "open to all women of the city and county, whether members of the club or not." Women were invited to enter the canned goods that they had put up in a contest, and women could either sell or just exhibit their canned goods at the event. Prizes were awarded for the best jar of fruit, the best jar of vegetables, and the greatest quantity produced. At the bottom of the announcement for the exhibition at the community kitchen, the note that "a similar exhibit will be held by the colored people on December 6, at the colored public school" was included (*Evening Capital* 1918a). The "Canning Exhibit for the Colored People of Anne Arundel County Only" was held at the Stanton School on December 14th of 1918 and included a demonstration by the Home Emergency Demonstrator of Anne Arundel County, as well as prizes for home canned goods (*Evening Capital* 1918b). Home demonstrators were an important element of the domestic science movement. The women of Maryland and the United States embraced home canning during World War I, but also had to deal with wartime shortages in sugar (*Evening Capital* 1918c, 1918d).

Commercially canned food was originally seen as an emergency food, not for home use. In the beginning, commercially canned food was used almost exclusively in military campaigns, expeditions, and ocean voyages. Canned foods were notably used by Union soldiers during the Civil War and during the California gold rush (Strasser 1982: 23). Throughout the nineteenth century, canning technology improved, the volume of canned food produced increased, and prices fell, making canned food more widely affordable. American production of canned food increased from five million cans per year in 1860 to thirty million cans per year in 1870 (Standage 2009: 162). Contamination

and adulteration were alarming problems from the canning industry's earliest days (Smith 2007a: 93). Improperly canned foods could lead to improper preservation and spoiled foods, and illnesses including botulism. These problems became more visible as the canning industry expanded, and led to attempts to pass pure food laws at the state and federal levels. Although these efforts began as early as the 1870s at the federal level, they were unsuccessful until June of 1906 when Congress passed the Pure Food and Drug Act (Smith 2007a: 93).

Cookbooks began to recommend can openers as necessary kitchen equipment by the 1880s, but canned food was still too expensive for most people to eat in large quantities until after the turn of the century (Strasser 1982: 23). However, as technology improved and prices fell, canned goods became more and more successful because consumers viewed their products as more sanitary and hygienic. Federal regulation increased confidence in canned and bottled foods, and consumers were encouraged to look for standardization in their foods. Advertising campaigns and displays of new canned products at world fairs and exhibitions attached the values of modernity, progress, and consumer desire to the increasingly available canned foods (Englehardt 2011: 95).

The ideals of domestic science were fully supported by mass-produced, canned and bottled food products. Canned and bottled products were prized for their uniformity, predictability, and sterility. According to advertisers and home economists, the consumer did not have to wonder whether one bottle or can would taste different from the next, or be of lesser quality. Processing gave foods "the sanitary gloss, the smooth, unvarying texture, the evenness of quality" through science and technology (Shapiro 2009: 191).

Domestic science thrived on the message that technology was transforming homes and food for the better.

By the 1910s, many domestic advisors shared the opinion that canned fruits and vegetables had improved in quality so much that, unless the homemaker had her own garden and orchard, they were preferable to fresh produce (Shapiro 2009: 191-2). American processed cheese was similarly touted as being preferable to farmhouse cheeses by one domestic advisor because “those who can remember the great diversity in taste, structure and composition which was so noticeable in the old farmhouse cheese can appreciate the greater uniformity in the factory product,” especially because processed cheese was “more economical of material, time, and labor” (Lincoln as cited in Shapiro 2009: 191). By the middle of the twentieth century, consumers often preferred canned foods to fresh foods, because they had become used to the taste and textures of commercially canned foods. (Bentley 1998: 131).

Many families, including those in rural areas, relied heavily on commercially canned food by the 1920s and, by the 1930s, cookbooks frequently listed canned goods as ingredients (Bentley 1998: 131). From the late nineteenth century onward, food that had previously been sold in bulk began to appear in packages, and an increasing variety of canned goods came onto the market (Shapiro 2009: 182). Canning became an integral part of Maryland’s economy. Nearby Baltimore, Maryland was a center of commercial canning by the turn of the twentieth century. Baltimore achieved commercial canning dominance by the 1870s. The state of Maryland contained twenty-five percent of the nation’s canneries, where food grown throughout the United States, seafood from the Atlantic coast, and international food products were processed (Englehardt 2011: 95).

National manufacturers, like those in Baltimore, began to replace local producers, and advertising was used to gain national recognition for new products, new brand names, and new packages (Shapiro 2009: 182).

As the twentieth century progressed, American food consumption shifted toward mass-produced and processed products under the powerful influence of domestic science educators and the emerging food industry (Shapiro 2009: 193, 195). Commercially canned products began to make more sense financially as well, and they became cheaper than fresh produce at the beginning of the twentieth century (Bentley 1998: 131). This resulted in the creation of a distinctive American diet - heavy in mass-produced, processed foods - which remained largely unquestioned until the late twentieth century. New kitchen technologies further served to separate women from raw foods and food production. One example of this was the chafing dish, which was embraced in the 1870s and was celebrated as “food preparation so tidy and refined that it could happen right at the dinner table” (Shapiro 2009: 97). A woman could prepare a meal without dirtying her hands, by pouring canned and bottled ingredients into her chafing dish. These technologies sought to make cooking a scientific enterprise, which in the ideology of domestic science was in no way connected to servant or drudge work (Shapiro 2009: 97).

Increasing reliance on packaged goods instead of fresh foods resulted in the increasing separation between the consumer and her food sources. A series of photographs of the same store in Annapolis between 1914 and 1928 also illustrate this shift (Figure 7.2). In a 1914 photograph, B.C. Britton’s butcher company at 77 West Street, looks like a much less sanitary place, according to the ideals of modernity and

domestic science, than it does 14 years later. In 1914, the store displays cuts of meat out on a table, with no glass separating it from customers. Whole animals hang behind the table. On the opposite wall the store offers bulk goods, as well as shelves full of canned products. By 1919, meats are displayed behind glass, identifiable whole animals are absent, and the quantity of pre-packaged products has increased. A scale has prominence of place in the photograph, and advertisements for national brands, including one encouraging customers to “Ask for Pillsbury’s Best Flour,” decorate the far wall of the store. In the final picture of the series, from 1928, the floors and fronts of the display are shining and the counter fronts have sanitary white inserts. The scuff marks that were visible on the floors and the counter fronts in 1919 are gone, and canned goods continue to be stacked to the ceiling. Through this series of photographs, the separation of consumers from the production of the foods that they are eating, and a shift towards standardized products, is notable.

A glass minimum vessel count was conducted on the glass assemblage from the privy fill, Feature 14, from the 40 Fleet Street site. Glass analyses were not conducted for 41 Cornhill Street or 30 Cornhill Street because there were not sufficient glass assemblages in any of the sealed deposits at those sites, and glass in the fill and sheet midden levels at the sites was too fragmented to make a glass minimum vessel analysis feasible. The methods utilized in the glass minimum vessel analysis were discussed in Chapter Four. In addition to the glass container vessels described here, a quantity of glass table vessels were also analyzed during the minimum vessels analysis of the Fleet Street privy, resulting in a minimum vessel number of fifty-six vessels for the privy.



Figure 7.2. A Sequence of Photographs showing B. C. Britton's Butcher Company on West Street in Annapolis in 1914, 1919, and 1928. (Collection of the Maryland State Archives).

The glass assemblage from 40 Fleet Street was compared to assemblages dating between the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries at Gott's Court, the Maynard Burgess House, and the Main Street site. The cellar feature, feature 71, at the Maynard Burgess House had a *TPQ* date of 1889 (Mullins 1999b). The Gott's Court assemblage dates to early in the twentieth century, but because the bottle assemblage comes from sheet deposits, the dating is not as specific as the dates from the assemblages that come from sealed deposits (Mullins 1999b). The privy deposit at the Main Street site dates to the late nineteenth through the early twentieth century (Warner 1998b), and the Fleet Street Privy deposit dates to around the late 1920s. Therefore the Fleet Street privy assemblage dates to a slightly later time period than the assemblages from the other sites. The results of the glass minimum vessel analysis from the Fleet Street site are recorded in Appendix B, and the comparative data for the four sites is illustrated in Table 7.1.

Bottles that contained alcohol were the largest category of container glass in the 40 Fleet Street privy assemblage, comprising 33% of the assemblage. The alcohol related vessels will be further discussed in the next section of this chapter, focusing on gender and prohibition. Food related containers were the second largest category of container glass in the Fleet Street privy, comprising 27% of the assemblage. These food-related vessels included bottles that may have been used for condiments or sauces, pickles or horseradish, baking soda or powder, and extracts for cooking.

It was possible to determine the origins and manufacture dates of nine of the container vessels in the Fleet Street privy, based on their embossing. No labels were preserved. Of the vessels with an identifiable place of manufacture, four of the nine were manufactured in Baltimore. These included an extract bottle, manufactured for

McCormick & Company, a national brand spice manufacturer. The privy also contained a food storage jar manufactured by the Carr-Lowrey glass company in Baltimore and embossed for use by Helwig & Leitch, a Baltimore company that sold a variety of food products ranging from condiments to vinegar (Toulouse 1971: 134-5). Another bottle from the privy with identifiable Baltimore origins was a liquor bottle embossed for E. Packham Jr. & Company.

Table 7.1. Glass Minimum Number of Vessel Counts for 40 Fleet Street and Comparative Annapolis Sites

	40 Fleet Street, Feature 14 Privy Fill	Gott's Court	Maynard Burgess, Feature 71 Cellar Fill	193 Main Street, Feature 12 Privy Fill
Bottle Type	Number (% of Total)	Number (% of Total)	Number (% of Total)	Number (% of Total)
Pharmaceutical	2 (6.67%)	16 (38.10%)	22 (27.85%)	17 (44.74%)
Liquor/Whiskey	10 (33.33%)	4 (9.52%)	18 (22.78%)	1 (2.63%)
Fresh	3 (10%)	7 (16.67%)	6 (7.59%)	0 (0.00%)
Beer	1 (3.33%)	2 (4.76%)	0 (0.00%)	3 (7.89%)
Food	8 (26.67%)	2 (4.76%)	15 (18.99%)	5 (13.16%)
Wine/Champagne	1 (3.33%)	7 (16.67%)	5 (6.33%)	0 (0.00%)
Unknown Alcohol	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	1 (2.63%)
Personal	1 (3.33%)	3 (7.14%)	0 (0.00%)	3 (7.89%)
Ink	1 (3.33%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	5 (13.16%)
Milk	0 (0.00%)	1 (2.38%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)
Preserving Jars	2 (6.67%)	0 (0.00%)	2 (2.53%)	0 (0.00%)
Household	1 (3.33%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)
Unknown Form	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	11 (13.92%)	0 (0.00%)
Total MVC	30 (99.99%)	42 (100.00%)	79 (99.99%)	38 (99.99%)

Comparative Data taken from Mark Warner 1998b ("The Best There Is of Us": Ceramics and Status in African American Annapolis).

Of the 30 glass container vessels recovered from the Fleet Street privy, only two were embossed by local Annapolis manufacturers. These bottles were both mineral water

bottles. This follows the pattern of other African American sites in Annapolis, which show a pattern of avoidance of Annapolis pharmacists and bottlers. The assemblage from Gott's Court included only one Annapolis pharmacist or bottler (Mullins 1999b). Out of the one hundred and twenty two vessels recovered from the Bellis Court site, only four included Annapolis embossments (Mullins 1999a: 175). Two of the bottles with Annapolis embossments recovered from the Bellis Court site were mineral water bottles embossed by the same company, the Coolahan company, that the two mineral water bottles in the Fleet Street privy were from. This may indicate that African American consumers in Annapolis were more willing to purchase from the Coolahan company than other Annapolis manufacturers, or may be a reflection of a greater willingness to purchase fresh products, like soda and mineral waters, from Annapolis bottlers.

Paul Mullins (1999a, 1999b) has written convincingly about how African Americans in Annapolis developed a body of consumer tactics to subvert the racism of the marketplace. Mullins has argued that archaeological materials indicate that African Americans focused on the consumption of national brands during the late-19th century, primarily utilizing bottle evidence from the cellar feature at the Maynard Burgess House. The cellar contained 79 glass bottles, and every one of the 26 embossed bottles in the cellar depot were from nationally advertised brands (Mullins 1999b: 4-5, Mullins and Warner 1993: 103-105). Mullins (1999b) argued that archaeological evidence showed consistent national brand consumption by homeowners at the Maynard Burgess site, as well as Gott's Court and Bellis Court. This suggested to Mullins that this preference for national brand consumption was not class-related, because the middle-class homeowners

at Maynard Burgess exhibited similar consumption patterns to the working-class renters who occupied the two alley communities.

Mullins (1999b) concluded that “brand consumption was a tactic which circumvented local marketers’ racism and reflected African American aspiration to the consumer privileges trumpeted in brand advertising.” The earlier deposition dates of the deposits at Maynard Burgess and Gott’s court suggest that this was taking place at a time when national brands were still significantly more expensive than goods sold in bulk (Mullins 1999b). Paul Edwards (1969[1932]: 168 as cited in Mullins 1999b) published a study of African American consumption in the urban south in 1932. In the study he concluded that the vast majority of African American consumers preferred brand name goods, and that working in white households, as the residents of 40 Fleet Street did, resulted in the accumulation of “a wealth of knowledge regarding brands, and qualities, and varieties” of national brand products (Edwards 1969[1932]:168 as cited in Mullins 1999b). This pattern of African American consumption of national brands is certainly consistent with the assemblage from the privy at 40 Fleet Street.

Mullins argued that local retailers, who bottled their own products or sold dry goods in bulk, could adulterate their products when selling to African American consumers. In contrast, national brand products offered the same quality and quantity in every container, and were sealed before they got to local markets (Mullins 1999b). As further evidence of a preference for national brand products at the Maynard Burgess House, Mullins (1999b) offered the presence of almost 800 corroded metal fragments, which could be conclusively identified as cans. Although metal preservation in the privy was poor, the Fleet Street privy contained fragments of corroded metal that may be

related to canned goods. Although the fragments were poorly preserved, some were shaped in a way that suggests that they may have once been part of cans.

Mullins (1999b), drawing on Cheek and Friedlander (1990: 53-4), also noted a lack of preserving vessels like mason jars at sites occupied by African Americans in Annapolis and Washington, DC. The Maynard- Burgess cellar deposit contained only two glass preserving jars, out of seventy-one bottles, or just 3% of the assemblage. The Fleet Street site privy also contained at least two glass preserving jars, although with the smaller sample size, these comprised about 7% of the assemblage. The later date of the Fleet Street assemblage, and the push for increased home canning among black and white residents of Annapolis during World War I may have affected the slightly higher percentage of glass preserving jars at the Fleet Street site.

As the late Victorian period gave way to the Progressive period, the residents of Fleet Street may have also been investing in the promises made to consumers by national brand products and invoking the protections of modernity and sanitary practices. Although early consumption of national brands was a specifically African American consumer tactic to subvert the racism in the marketplace, by the early twentieth century, canned goods were part of the recommendations made by home economists regarding proper cookery and guarding the health and nutrition of the home. Experience cooking with mass-produced, national brand foods may have also helped domestic servants to retain their employment in white homes, by demonstrating engagement with modern cookery. This could have been important in situations, like that discussed in the previous chapter, when black domestic servants and laundresses were blamed for bringing diseases and backward or unsanitary practices to white households.

Modern cookery may also, as Witt (1999:56) suggested, have been embraced by African American women because of its goal of elevating household labor, which was often the labor of African American women in the South. Also, in the context of racist stereotypes that attributed animal-like behaviors to African Americans, a demonstrated separation from both animals themselves and the animal-like cravings that the bland diet created by domestic science was supposed to counteract may have been strategically employed. Another arena where Progressive Era reformers tried to stamp out animal-like behaviors in foodways was through the temperance movement. The next section explores engagement with temperance in Annapolis, and how it is related to gender normalization.

Gender and Prohibition in Annapolis

Prohibition is considered the boldest attempt in US history to enact moral and social reform, although it ultimately failed (Lerner 2007: 1). The temperance movement, a highly gendered social campaign, gained purchase throughout the nineteenth century. Women in the nineteenth century had almost no legal or property rights. The storyline that motivated temperance movements was one of women whose husbands went to the saloon after work, drank away their wages, ravaged their health, and came home and abused their wives and children. Protection of women and children - morally, socially, and emotionally - was cited as a major impetus for the prohibition of alcohol (Okrent 2010). From the beginning, working through organizations like the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) and the Anti-Saloon League, women who had seen families ravaged by alcohol abuse were some of the strongest supporters of prohibition (Murphy 2002: 177).

Reformers espoused the notion that the elimination of saloons and the prohibition of alcohol could create safer cities and workplaces, healthier citizens, a more efficient society, and general moral uplift (Lerner 2007:2). Prohibition was the ultimate expression of the public role that women played through progressive reform movements, and the government had never attempted to regulate the private lives of adults to this degree before prohibition (Lerner 2007: 2). While some historians consider prohibition to be a challenge to the idea that women were the moral guardians of society expressed in dominant Victorian gender ideology (Lerner 2007: 4-5), prohibition can also be seen as an extension of new Progressive Era dominant gender ideologies, which sought to give women a public role in important social questions that affected the domestic sphere (Dye 1991). Beginning in the twentieth century, the temperance movement became a “dry crusade,” which pushed for prohibition and sought to end the liquor trade. This was in contrast to earlier temperance movements, which had emphasized moral persuasion and individual reform (Lerner 2007:7).

In 1919, women supported prohibition more than any other single issue, including women’s suffrage, and male public drinking culture was seen as a threat (Murdock 1998: 7). However, during this time period, both pro- and anti- prohibition forces, called dries and wets respectively, were debating how to define proper behaviors related to alcohol (Murdock 1998: 6), and this affected the normalization of gender. Most prohibition legislation allowed individuals to denounce the evils of saloon culture without changing their domestic drinking habits. For example, out of thirty-three dry states in 1920, only one third prohibited the delivery, receipt, or possession of alcohol for private use (Murdock 1998:5). The temperance debate was also a cultural conflict over the future of

the nation, how far moral reform movements could go, and the nature of American identity (Lerner 2007: 3). In addition to invoking the protection of women, dialogues surrounding the temperance movement were full of references to class conflict, nationalism, and racial and cultural friction; all hot button issues in American life during this time period (Reckner and Brighton 1999: 63).

A strong affinity for drinking was often explicitly linked with poverty and ignorance in temperance rhetoric, and the image of the working-class drinker was contrasted with the successful white, native-born, American, middle-class abstainer (Reckner and Brighton 1999: 68). Prohibition was embraced by Protestant moral reformers as a way to allay their fears of social disorder, which were racially inflected, and a way of keeping working-class people self-disciplined, sober, on time for work, and efficient (Lears 2009: 103). Poor and non-white women were also targeted by temperance campaigns because their public or social drinking was one way that they were seen to be deviating from dominant gender norms, although the imbibing of patent medicines or drinking in domestic social situations by white, middle-class women was largely ignored.

During the early twentieth century, the sale and consumption of alcoholic beverages was an entrenched part of life in Annapolis, although the nineteenth century temperance movement had attracted local advocates, especially among the Methodists and Baptists (McWilliams 2011: 253). In the general election in November of 1916, the state allowed a “local option“ vote on prohibition. During that election, Annapolis men voted 1,075 to 611 to keep the town wet, and prohibition lost in every ward. Annapolis women, not allowed to vote in 1916, staged marches on the day before the elections to support prohibition. The pro-dry white women marched through Annapolis, wearing

white clothing and caps and carrying banners (*Evening Capital* 1916 in McWilliams 2011: 253). As part of a separate event on the same day, African American women, children and Boy Scouts also staged a parade at which they “made a fine showing.” Once the parading concluded, participants from both parades gathered for a rally at the Asbury Methodist Church (McWilliams 2011: 253).

In December of 1917, the Eighteenth Amendment was sent to the states for ratification. Maryland’s general assembly ratified the Amendment and also considered a statewide bill that would have the same result. The statewide bill was voted down in March of 1918, but within a few hours of the vote, the Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels ordered saloons in Annapolis “closed for the duration of the war,” under “war-time regulations” (McWilliams 2011: 254). Therefore, prohibition came to Annapolis two years before the rest of the country. Despite earlier actions to limit drinking in the Navy, Naval Academy officials were as surprised as residents of the City at the new regulations, and the Superintendent of the Naval Academy denied having ever made any complaints (McWilliams 2011: 254).

The Secretary of the Navy’s decree covered all saloons, hotels, restaurants, and private clubs within a five-mile radius of the city. It further prohibited all liquor from coming into the city, even for household use. Local officials immediately began to bemoan the loss of \$10,000 annually in liquor licenses and worried that working men in the City would leave Annapolis and move to Baltimore (McWilliams 2011: 254). Annapolis went dry on Saturday, March 16, 1918. Although the Secretary of the Navy’s edict only lasted through the end of the war, the National Prohibition (Volstead) Act, went into effect on February 1, 1920 (McWilliams 2011: 255). Annapolitans remember

the period of prohibition as one where they only had to look out for federal agents and not state or local officials. One long-time resident remembered that Maryland's "Governor Richie was dead set against prohibition. He liked his drink" (Campbell 1990).

Even though it was relatively unpopular, prohibition remained the law of the land in Maryland until the Twenty-first Amendment, repealing the Volstead Act, was ratified. The Twenty-first Amendment came up for ratification in Maryland on September 12, 1933, and eighty-three percent of Annapolis voters voted for the Amendment (McWilliams 2011: 255). Nation-wide, many of the same women who had organized in support of prohibition around the turn of the century now organized around its repeal, because they argued that insufficient enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment had led to moral anarchy (Murphy 2002: 177). Prohibition had been specifically designed to control abuse by men, and public male drinking was closely tied with dominant formulations of working-class and, increasingly middle-class masculinity in the early twentieth century, as was discussed in Chapter Two of this dissertation (Murdock 1998: 4). Although women drank in social situations before prohibition, the saloon culture was decidedly male, and at most twenty percent of what was considered the alcoholic population was female (Murdock 1998: 4). However, prohibition changed gendered drinking cultures.

Several oral history interviewees have discussed some of the gendered factors that influenced the onset of prohibition and the regulation of drinking cultures. Born in 1910, one woman interviewed for the Annapolis I Remember project stated that when she was younger she was "not permitted to go over on the [City] Dock after dark, or anywhere near the dark actually, because there were so many saloons over there." She recalls that

there were black and white saloons along the docks, that “there were a lot of drunks,” and remembers that “a lot of men used to go over and get their bucket of beer and bring it home” (Dowsett 1990) Another female Annapolitan interviewed about prohibition said that “fights were what brought about Prohibition, fights in Hell Point and around the bars.” She further states that “the men would get paid in cash” on payday, and that after a night of drinking “they didn’t get home with the money, and there would be a family that didn’t have anything for that week (Snyder 1990, Warren 1990: 19).”

The restructuring of the illegal liquor trade transformed gendered drinking cultures, and provided new opportunities for women to enter into the liquor business, as well as join men in new speakeasies and nightclubs that catered specifically to both men and women (Murdock 1998, Murphy 2002: 177). A few of the oral history interviewees also hinted at these changes. One interviewee remembered that “in those days, we had speak-easys of sorts”, and discussed how bootlegging activities went hand in hand with pool rooms and craps rooms (Campbell 1990). Another interviewee who lived at one time on Fleet Street spoke about how his Godmother, who owned a bar with her sister at King George and Holland Street, was involved in numbers, prostitution, and gambling (Euchare 1990).

Analysis of the glass assemblages was also used to explore engagement with - and resistance to – temperance. A wide range of glass and ceramic vessels can be associated with alcohol consumption at an archaeological site, however the exact type of alcohol which a vessel originally contained can be difficult to determine (Reckner and Brighton 1999: 71). Vessels were also often reused, and could be refilled with alcohol, foodstuffs, or other household liquids like linseed oil and turpentine several times before discard

(Busch 1987: 70-1, Reckner and Brighton 1999: 71). Although they are often categorized as alcohol related materials in archaeological assemblages, glass stemware and decanters were also frequently used to serve fruit juices or drinking water in addition to alcoholic beverages and are not included in the counts of alcohol related glassware here (following Rorabaugh 1987:45 as cited in Reckner and Brighton 1999). The Fleet Street Privy contained one decanter, one tumbler, and many other glasses, but we cannot be sure which liquid refreshments, and whether they were alcoholic or non-alcoholic, would have been served in them. Following Reckner and Brighton (1999: 71), in order to minimize the ambiguities that could be caused by bottle reuse, only bottles which could be considered to have stored alcohol with some degree of certainty (beer bottles, wine and liquor bottles, glass flasks, etc.) were considered in the discussion of alcohol use at 40 Fleet Street and at the comparative sites.

Although prohibition contributed to the decline of the legal used-bottle business (Strasser 2000: 13), bottles were frequently reused during the prohibition period. One man from Annapolis shared with interviewers that when he was young, he would “go around the shore and back alleys and all” to pick up the bottles that “the drunks and whatever” had thrown away and sell them to the bootleggers (Campbell 1990). He remembers that when he brought the bottles to the bootleggers in his wagon they would tell him to “give 'em to the colored fellow and he'll wash 'em;” they would rinse out the bottle with BBs and water, and then after they had rinsed the bottles a few more times, “the next step would be put more whiskey in the bottles.” He further states that the bottles “looked pretty clean” after this washing process and that he “never heard of anybody dying of anything, you know” (Campbell 1990). Another interviewee stated that “being

in the hardware business, you naturally sold mason jars and jelly glasses for the domestic trade,” so it was “a normal transition to get into the bootleg bottle business.” He spoke about the ways that “everybody in the hardware business [in Annapolis] sort of got into the beer business” and that “everybody knew where everybody was selling booze” (Flood 1990). He said that it was no secret where to get alcohol, but that the hardware store people didn’t ask what the bottles were for so there was some deniability because the buyers could have just been making ketchup (Flood 1990).

Liquor or whiskey bottles made up the majority of the bottles recovered from each of the contexts analyzed (Table 7.1). It is important to note that the boundaries between pharmaceutical or medicinal products and liquor and whiskey were blurry during the Victorian Era (Warner 1998b: 195). Although they were marketed for their medicinal purposes, pharmaceuticals, bitters, and tonics generally had substantial alcohol contents. Pharmaceuticals generally contained an alcohol content between 17 and 47 percent, which Warner (1998b: 195) likens to contemporary whiskeys. At the Fleet Street site, 40 percent of the bottles contained some type of alcohol, at Gott’s Court 69 percent of bottles contained alcohol, at the Maynard Burgess House 58 percent of bottles contained alcohol, and at the Main Street Site 58 percent of bottles contained alcohol. Oral histories show that temperance and Prohibition never really took hold in Annapolis, and the bottle assemblages from Annapolis sites reflect this.

Mineral waters, considered here in the fresh beverage category, have a relationship to both alcohol consumption and health care. On the one hand, mineral waters may have been used to calm many of the physical complaints associated with overindulgence in alcohol. On the other hand, mineral waters may have served as a

“stimulating substitute” for alcoholic beverages (McKearin and Wilson 1978: 233-234, Armstrong and Armstrong 1991: 39-41, 89, 93 as cited in Reckner and Brighton 1999). African American residents of Annapolis may have been using mineral water for dominant curative purposes, or the use of mineral water at African American sites may also reflect the importance of water in African American medical care, generally (Mullins 1999a: 53). The two mineral bottles in the Fleet Street privy that could be identified by bottler were embossed “J.B. Coolahan, Annapolis, MD” and “M.B. Coolahan, Annapolis, MD,” respectively. An Annapolis brewery and bottlery was established by J.B. Coolahan in 1873 and continued operations there until at least 1910 (Mullins 1999a: 175). John B. and Michael B. Coolahan were brothers, who had immigrated to the United States from Ireland and lived in Anne Arundel County. Both were listed as bottlers of soft drinks in the 1910 census (United States Bureau of the Census 1910).

The mineral water bottles from the 40 Fleet Street privy were not deposited until at least the late 1920s. The deposition lag between the period of manufacture of these bottles and the time when they were deposited was also mirrored in the Maynard Burgess house cellar assemblage. Fresh beverages lose their carbonation and, therefore, are usually consumed quickly. The lag between manufacture and discard in the Fleet Street privy may suggest either manufacturer recycling of the bottle or household reuse (Mullins 1999a: 53). If household reuse was at play in the Fleet Street assemblage, then it is probable that only liquids could have been stored in these bottles because of the size of their openings. This suggests that household water use may be greater than is suggested by the number of fresh water bottles (Mullins 1999a: 53), although the bottles may have also been refilled with other household liquids.

Although the overall percentages of alcohol containing bottles are high across all of the sites including Fleet Street, there is a significant difference in the amount of pharmaceutical bottles recovered at the Fleet Street Site when it is compared to the other sites analyzed by Warner (1998b). At Fleet Street, pharmaceutical bottles made up only 7% of the assemblage, while at the other sites, pharmaceutical bottles were the single most prevalent bottle type. At the Gott's Court site, pharmaceutical bottles made up 38% of the assemblage, at the Maynard Burgess House, patent medicine bottles made up 28% of the assemblage, and at the Main Street site pharmaceutical bottles made up 45% of the assemblage. This dearth of pharmaceutical bottles at 40 Fleet Street, particularly patent medicine bottles, may relate to the early twentieth century pure food and drug reforms and increasing professionalization of the medical industry generally.

Ohmann (1996:93) argues that patent medicines fell out of favor in the early twentieth century "because they did not fit into the new domesticity that was emerging." Trying to eschew their image as unprincipled hucksters, Progressive Era advertisers and advertising outlets began to distance themselves from products that made claims of questionable validity that were not backed up by science. Magazines like the *Ladies' Home Journal* began to refuse to run advertising for patent medicines, which had previously formed a significant portion of their advertising (Ohmann 1996).

Throughout the 1890s, medical doctors began to push aside other medical practitioners and stigmatize home remedies, which included patent medicines, bitters, and tonics. They also began to vigorously assert their claims to a monopoly on health care. These changes were in keeping with turn of the twentieth century ideals of modernity, which increasingly assigned some family concerns, including health care, to experts

outside of the home. This occurred at the same time that corporate expertise was being brought into the home in other areas, such as food preparation and sanitation (Ohmann 1996: 93). During the early twentieth century, patent medicines increasingly cut back on advertising. Makers of other products, including Coca Cola, Welch's and Postum, also stopped mentioning the supposedly curative properties of their products, which they had previously stressed (Ohmann 1996: 93). The much lower percentage of patent medicine bottles in the Fleet Street privy, the latest sealed deposit that is being used for comparative purposes, could reflect an engagement with the modernization of health care practices during the early twentieth century, as the efficacy and purity of patent medicines was increasingly being called into question after the creation of the federal Food and Drug Administration.

The decreasing credibility and therefore prevalence of patent medicines does not, however, automatically equate to better access to professional health care. As Mullins (1999a: 54) stated, the "social and structural realities of the white medical system often placed professional medical care outside of the reach of African American Annapolitans, although the situation improved as the twentieth century progressed. Annapolis did not build its first mainstream hospital until 1902. While the hospital officially accepted African American patients, it had only twelve beds, and treated a total of just 158 patients in 1910 (United States Department of Commerce 1913: 291 cited in Mullins 1999a: 54). Many types of care, including maternity care until 1946, were denied to African Americans in Annapolis (Brown 1994: 44). As late as 1930, around the time that the Fleet Street privy was filled, there were only one hundred African American physicians in the whole state of Maryland (Mullins 1999a: 54).

A predominance of alcohol-related bottles was found in the glass assemblages from Fleet Street and Gott's Court, sites occupied by working-class African American sites, the Maynard Burgess House, occupied by a middle class African American family, and the Main Street Site, occupied by a middle class white family. Some of these bottles, the pharmaceuticals, were related to medicinal uses. At Gott's Court and the Maynard Burgess house, African American residents were negotiating a racist health care system, and the Main Street site was the residence of a white doctor and his family during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. However, by the time that the assemblage in the Fleet Street privy was deposited, patent medicines seem to have fallen out of favor, although African American residents still faced structural barriers in accessing health care.

The high percentage of bottles that contained alcohol at each site is also interesting in light of the rhetoric of Prohibition. The discourse surrounding prohibition claimed that there were far greater levels of intemperance in minority and poor populations; however, the glass analysis contradicts these stereotypes by showing relatively consistent levels of consumption of alcohol between the sites in Annapolis. Mark Warner (1998b) suggested these conclusions about Gott's Court, Maynard Burgess, and the Main Street Site, and the addition of the Fleet Street site affirms his conclusions. These results from Annapolis support Reckner and Brighton's (1999) conclusion that "archaeological perspectives on the temperance question support a critical approach to reformist literature and documentary sources." They specifically point to the fact that reformers tried to push total abstinence from alcohol on poor immigrants, and I would add African Americans, "while, within the middle class, moderate and even excessive

consumption was tolerated, provided genteel social conventions were observed” (Reckner and Brighton 1999).

Foodways in Annapolis

During the late Victorian and Progressive Era periods, changing gender ideologies affected how consumers in Annapolis and other cities were acquiring their food, as well as what things they were eating and drinking. Historical and archaeological evidence shows that during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, raising domestic animals was increasingly outlawed or discouraged within the city limits of Annapolis (Annapolis City Counselor 1897, McCullough 1869, McWilliams 1935, Riley 1908). By this time, smaller lot sizes and in-fill construction also limited the amount of lot space that could be used for domestic food production. Domestic spaces were increasingly seen in the dominant gender ideologies as places of refuge from commercial and productive activities, and domestic spaces and yards were being used less frequently for productive purposes (Green 1983, Yentsch 1991). Activities associated with the raising and processing of animals were also increasingly viewed as detrimental to home sanitation. Food production and primary processing activities were more frequently taking place outside of the home (Strasser 1982), and many products which had formerly come into Annapolis homes in bulk were now available in pre-packaged, mass-produced form on store shelves. The Progressive Era assigned modern and sanitary ideals to new standardized products, including canned and bottled goods, and engagement by women with “modern cookery” was thought to protect family health, prevent social unrest and alcoholism, and promote Americanization in poor and immigrant groups (Shapiro 2009).

New ideas about food promoted convenience foods, outwardly rejected alcohol consumption, and focused on women as the primary consumers of food products, instead of as producers of food products. Specific behaviors that were targeted included keeping animals in backyard spaces, specific foods that were associated with ethnic identities, and public drunkenness. White, middle-class home economists strove to create and refine a new American cuisine with its attendant foods and preparation styles. The behaviors that were normalized were strongly associated with white, middle-class women, and the new gender norms were closely tied to race and social class (Green 1983, Schenone 2003, Shapiro 2009, Strasser 1982)

Archaeological evidence from Fleet and Cornhill Streets shows that there was a heavy reliance on market procured meat sources in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and the increasing regulation of behaviors related to processing animals in the City can be seen in the decreasing amounts of oyster shells in the later time periods on Cornhill Street. Glass analysis shows that residents of Fleet Street were consumers of national brand food products. This may have been part of a consumption strategy, described by Paul Mullins (1999a), in which African American Annapolitans purchased standardized national brand products to avoid racist practices by local grocers. However, the Fleet Street assemblage comes from a later time period than the other Annapolis sites, when canned and bottled goods were much more accepted and encouraged in the dominant ideologies of gender and cookery. Engagement with the ideals of domestic science could also have been a strategic move to secure employment and protect women working as domestics and laundresses from accusations of old-fashioned or unsanitary behaviors. It could also have been a key way that African American domestic workers

resisted negative stereotypes of African American housework and concurred with domestic science's mission to elevate the status of household labor.

The glass evidence also shows that, despite the common rhetoric of temperance and prohibition, which targeted specific groups including African Americans, immigrants, and the poor, alcohol consumption was relatively consistent across Annapolis sites. However, the use of patent medicines was much lower at the Fleet Street site than at other Annapolis sites. This could reflect the movement against products like patent medicines, which made unsubstantiated health claims that were not backed up by science, and the professionalization of the medical establishment (Ohmann 1996). However, African American Annapolitans still faced a highly racialized healthcare system, in which they did not have easy access to doctors. The next chapter of this dissertation will offer some conclusions based on the work in the preceding chapters, looking at gender normalization during the late Victorian and Progressive Era and its lasting effects.

Chapter 8: Conclusions

The introduction related the story of Helen Owens and Jesse Plater, which unfolded in the pages of the *Evening Capital* during its first year of publication, in 1884. The published accounts about the marriage between Owens and Plater were sensationalized and targeted toward feeding public interest in the story. However, the story was also setting out an object lesson for Annapolis readers, delimiting the boundaries of acceptable behaviors for a white woman and an African American man and asserting the impossibility of the success of their marriage. Through the narrative about Owens and Plater the reader can trace stereotypes and norms surrounding gender and race in late nineteenth century Annapolis, particularly surrounding white womanhood coming into contact with African American masculinity, the latter being seen as threatening to the former in white Southern culture at the time.

The story of Owens and Plater gives a glimpse of the ways in which social boundaries and interactions were policed in the Annapolis area during the post-Civil War period. In the chapters that followed, this dissertation showed that the negotiations surrounding the creation, reinforcement, and (re)creation of gender norms were not only taking place in newspaper stories, national dialogues, and the writings of city administrators and mayors, but were also taking place in the city in much more mundane ways, through everyday material practices and discourses related to domesticity and public health. During the post-Civil War period, developing gender norms - including ideas about what made a man worthy of citizenship or a woman worthy of protection - played an important part in reformulated expressions of white supremacy, initiatives to

modernize cities, and the organization of domestic spaces and priorities. Everyday material practices, which reflect routines and daily actions, left traces on the landscape and material culture of Annapolis, which were explored archaeologically on Fleet and Cornhill Streets.

This study investigated the mechanisms of gender normalization – the changing definitions and negotiations of proper feminine and manly behaviors - and the ways that it reinforced post-Civil War racialization. Historical and archaeological evidence, including newspaper accounts, census data, oral histories, ceramics, faunal, and glass analysis were used to examine these negotiations. On the ground material practices are important sites where power is negotiated and contested, and where we can study the interactions between institutional and administrative disciplines and the social agency of groups and individuals. The material from Annapolis was also related to more macro-scale political, economic, and social events in Maryland and the United States. Following the wrenching upheaval of the Civil War there was a large and contradictory project underway in Annapolis and in the American nation as a whole. The system of racial differentiation and white supremacy, formulated under conditions of slavery, had to be (re)created and reinforced (Lears 2009). At the same time, however, all of the citizens of the United States, North and South, had to be reunited under a common governance structure. The Civil War also disrupted certain aspects of dominant gender norms of the time, and women began to take on new roles during the war and after (Clinton and Silber 1992, Faust 1996). Ideas about what made a man worthy of citizenship and a woman worthy of protection, played an important part in the racialization processes that were

adopted after the war, and late nineteenth century ideas about racial hierarchy and racial structures were underpinned by gendered and sexual substructures.

Residents of Annapolis negotiated gender ideologies through their use of space and objects (Rotman 2005:31). This concluding chapter will first revisit the research questions that guided the study, synthesizing the historical and archaeological analyses from the earlier chapters, and highlighting the material practices that were particularly salient in the development and consolidation of late Victorian and Progressive Era identifications formulated around ideas about gender and race. This dissertation argues that the “public” project of governance in the city of Annapolis was partially accomplished through negotiations about “domestic” spaces and responsibilities, which were closely tied to gender. Variations in the ways that gender ideologies were expressed materially and spatially do not simply represent aspiration to, or derivation from, white middle-class norms (Rotman 2005: 31). Instead, they reflect active mediations of dominant ideologies of gender and the creation of alternative forms of domesticity and alternative meanings of gender (Giddings 1984, Rotman 2005: 31).

Gender differentiation and ideas regarding acceptable and appropriate gendered behaviors and acceptable forms of domesticity affected the new social and economic systems that emerged in Annapolis in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Prescribed gender roles of the late Victorian and Progressive periods, which were based on white, middle-class ideals, were used to delimit acceptable and unacceptable behaviors in public as well as private spaces. A multiplicity of discursive and material practices was used to negotiate gendered identities in Annapolis. These negotiations were expressed in the modernization of the City, increased racial segregation, home

furnishings, and diets. Following the discussion of the preceding chapters, the conclusion will turn to a discussion of the broader implications of this study and the importance of studying changing definitions and negotiations of proper feminine and manly behaviors through anthropology.

Gender Normalization, Domesticity, and Modernization in Annapolis

The preceding chapters have laid out arguments about the ways in which gender differentiation affected the appearance of modern cities and social life and the ways in which anxieties about gender have affected the perceived, conceived, and social spaces (Lefebvre 1991) in Annapolis and other American cities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Ideologies supporting racial segregation, modernization of sanitary infrastructure, and progressive reforms had gendered aspects, although they were sometimes masked. Additionally, arenas that were explicitly conceived of as part of the private, domestic sphere were highly gendered, including the layouts of homes, home furnishings, and diets.

Gender Normalization and “Public” Spaces

Chapter Three discussed the ways in which anxieties about gender were used to reinforce racial segregation and Jim Crow legislation in Annapolis around the turn of the twentieth century. Norms about domesticity, proper behavior, and gender were important mechanisms enforcing racial separation in late nineteenth century Annapolis. Racial synecdoche (Rael 2002: 179) was used to deny the respectability and worthiness for freedom and citizenship of African Americans and was often accomplished through newspapers and other public media sources. Lynching and the construction of black male criminality, was a very public arena where anxieties about gender and race were played

out in Annapolis and other southern cities. Through the lynching reports in the *Evening Capital* (1884c, 1884d, 1906a, 1906b, 1906c, 1906d) and *Baltimore Sun* (1884, 1898, 1906), it is clear that black masculinity was constructed as threatening, particularly to white women, while black women were excluded from the protections afforded to their white counterparts. These ideas were used to justify the separation of black and white residents of the city. Although African American activists and media sources, including Ida B. Wells and the *Baltimore Afro-American* questioned the protection of white womanhood but not African American womanhood, attempted to elucidate the real reasons that African American men were being lynched, and tried to refute the use of racial synecdoche to enforce racial separation, segregation was firmly entrenched in Annapolis life by the early twentieth century. Through the manuscript census data, we can see increasing racial segregation in the city reflected in the changing demographics of Fleet and Cornhill Streets between 1880 and 1930.

Paula Giddings (1984: 85) wrote that “black women had to confront and redefine morality and access its relationship to the Cult of Domesticity and its ideas about “true womanhood” because “the prevailing views of the society had not only debased their image, but had also excluded them from the mainstream of the labor force and continued to make them vulnerable to sexual exploitation.” In the antebellum period, and continuing throughout the nineteenth century, black leaders advocated a politics of respectability to confront racial synecdoche, in the hope that they could combat racism and argue for African American citizenship rights through a visible, genteel black population. One of the primary goals of African American leaders was to defend the moral integrity of African American women (Giddings 1984: 85). However, a politics of respectability,

advocated to counter negative stereotypes, focused on reforming the behaviors of individuals while de-emphasizing racism, sexism, poverty, and other structural forms of oppression (Griffin 2001: 72). As Farah Jasmine Griffin (2001:73) explained, there were downsides to this strategy because a politics of respectability “fails to recognize the power of racism to enforce itself upon even the most respectable and well-behaved black people” and had the consequence of policing “the unconventional, the nonconformist and the poor.”

Chapter Five highlighted the roles of gender differentiation and racialization in the modernization of Annapolis. Mayors of the City and popular discourse tied clean streets and sanitary structure improvements to the health and safety of City residents, blaming residents for substandard sanitary conditions and lack of participation in modernization (for example, Douw 1906; Seidewitz 1901; Strange 1911). Clean neighborhoods and yards were explicitly tied to proper female gender roles in the ideology of the Cult of Domesticity and later Progressive Era modifications to it. Homelots were arenas where gender was negotiated, and homelots during the nineteenth century generally became separated from commercial purposes as areas of homes and yards were redesigned to make them more private (i.e. feminized) (Rotman 2009:19, Yentsch 1991:196). Progressive Era reformers also argued for a larger role for women in shaping the modernization of cities, including municipal services and sanitary infrastructure, because these issues had large effects on the daily lives of women (Dye 1991).

Yearly Mayor’s Reports from the 1880s through the first decades of the twentieth century show that the City was spending significant funds each year on street cleaning,

on re-curbings, resurfacing, and re-grading public streets, and on placing sewer lines (Brown 1890, 1891, 1892, 1893; Claude 1885, 1887, 1888, 1889; Douw 1906, 1907; DuBois 1903; Green 1898; Jones 1905, 1922; Phipps 1936; Seidewitz 1900, 1901; Smith 1924, 1925; Steele 1899; Strange 1910, 1911, 1912, 1914; Thomas 1894, 1895, 1896, 1897). Neither Cornhill Street nor Fleet Street were the first locations in the city to receive improvements to the streetscape or public sewer lines in the late nineteenth century. However, historical records and archaeological evidence indicate that Fleet Street was being developed in a more piecemeal fashion than Cornhill Street, with smaller sections of the street, instead of the entire street, being repaired and improved when repairs were made in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. At this time, Fleet Street was occupied predominantly by African American residents, while Cornhill Street was occupied predominantly by white residents. It appears that resources were not being allocated to improve all of Fleet Street at one time, in contrast to neighboring spaces like the Market Space and Cornhill Street (Annapolis Corporation Proceedings 1819-1915).

A 1938 Housing survey indicates that many African American residents of Annapolis did not have access to improved sanitary infrastructure by that time (Brown 1994). Many time-consuming tasks that were the responsibilities of women in the dominant gender ideologies required water, including preparing meals, washing dishes, preparing baths for children, and laundering clothes (Rotman 2009: 84). In the Cult of Domesticity and domestic science, women's responsibility for the appearance and cleanliness of domestic spaces also extended to yard spaces. The behaviors and attitudes of African American residents were blamed for causing problems in public health and

lack of sanitary infrastructure. By the early twentieth century there are strong associations in Mayor's reports and the public discourse between substandard living conditions, disease, and African American residents of Annapolis (Jones 1905, Jopling 2008, White 1938). The behaviors African American residents themselves were being blamed for these problems, and the role that inequality in the city, and its racialized housing and labor system, played in the living conditions of African American residents was obscured.

Archaeology shows us how the residents of Fleet and Cornhill Streets managed mandates about modernization and sanitary infrastructure improvements on the ground. At 41 Cornhill Street we see that the residents, probably the Jewell family, who were involved in the City's building industries privately sewered their house, running sewer pipes to a dry well or privy in their backyard. This gave the outward appearance of following city health prescriptions and engaging the city's services although their sewage waste was ending up in the same place as it would have if they were still using a privy - their backyard. The decision to privately sewer their home may have been based on their homeowner status, connections between the residents of 41 Cornhill and other people within the Annapolis building industry, and engagement with modernization.

At nearby 40 Fleet Street the racialized housing market may have contributed to exclusion of African American areas from sanitary improvements. The archaeological evidence shows that the residents of 40 Fleet Street, the Price family, were using an outdoor privy through the 1920s. Houses on Fleet Street did not begin to have indoor plumbing until at least the late 1920s (Winters 2008). The Price family may have remained disconnected from public sewers because they were renters, and may therefore

have been disinclined to make significant improvements to the property. Palus (2011: 243) also suggests that privies may have been curated by African American families in Annapolis, as a tactic to delay engagement with the extension of governance in Annapolis through public utilities. (Palus 2011: 242). However, disconnection from public utilities as a way to avoid government interference may have been a somewhat risky tactic in a city where nuisances were reported by other residents, and ideas about public health were tied to incorporation in city improvement schemes. During the early twentieth century, tuberculosis became a problem in many parts of the United States and, in the segregated South, and in Annapolis specifically the disease was blamed on and associated with African American communities (Hunter 1997:196, Jopling 2008). Black women were vilified more than black men because they were more frequently employed in white households and because of stereotypes about black women as promiscuous, uncleanly and carrying disease (Hunter 1997: 197). For African American women, like many of the women on Fleet Street, who depended on connections with the white community for their livelihoods as domestic servants, visibly enacting sanitary and genteel behaviors may have been important to earning and keeping jobs. Maintaining a visible outdoor privy, even one that was well-maintained, may have been a risk, although normative ideas about domesticity and public health could be engaged through other tactics and material culture.

The Scientific in the Domestic: Transitioning from Late Victorian to Progressive Domesticity

Chapters Six and Seven explored the effects of changing gender norms on home furnishings and diets. Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries prescriptive literature codified new meanings for domestic behaviors (Leavitt 2002). Plausible and

implausible arrangements of furniture and dishes helped to shape what was considered plausible and implausible in the domestic arena generally. In the same ways that public behaviors were being controlled and managed through scientific analysis and modernization, the home also became a focus for scientific management and intervention. Home furnishings including ceramics, curtains, and bathroom fixtures did not have inherent moral qualities but gained cultural significance through the codification of normative ideas about them and through their use in social processes and interactions (Leavitt 2002: 5). As the Victorian Era gave way to the Progressive Era, new “scientific” household management became an influential domestic ideology (Shapiro 2009).

In Chapter Six, archaeologically recovered ceramics were used to study engagement with prescriptive literature and domestic etiquettes surrounding how a home should be set up and how a table should be set. During the nineteenth century, production activities that formerly took place in the home were increasingly moved outside of the home, and the focus on consumption in prescriptive literature increased (Ehrenrich and English 2005, Leavitt 2002). Domestic advice created a common vocabulary for women to speak about home and moral improvement (Leavitt 2002: 39). Through archaeological materials, actual, on the ground, engagement with these ideologies can be interpreted. In the material record from Fleet and Cornhill Streets, the transition from the Victorian ideals of the Cult of Domesticity to Progressive notions of scientific household management, and differential engagements with these ideologies, can be seen.

Ceramic design motifs at the Fleet and Cornhill Sites did not reflect Victorian expectations of full, matched sets, and increased elaboration of designs to parallel other aspects of material culture in the late nineteenth century world (Rotman 2009). On

Cornhill Street, we see some of these elaborate wares but also simpler designs, older styles like shell-edged vessels, and undecorated or minimally decorated vessels being predominant. However, the sample size for 30 Cornhill Street was small, and the late nineteenth and twentieth century contexts at 41 Cornhill Street were not included in the analysis. These factors limit the interpretations that can be made about the Cornhill Street sites. On Fleet Street, the privy fill was dominated by undecorated or minimally decorated whiteware and ironstone dishes. The lack of elaborate Victorian style vessel decoration may be attributable to several factors. First, residents were not purchasing matched sets, and vessels with simpler or classic decorative motifs were viewed as being easier to mix and match, as well as replace on a piece by piece basis when broken. Second, residents may have been using ceramics that were handed down to them by other family members, especially some of the willow pattern and shell-edged wares in the tableware assemblages, a strategy suggested by domestic advisors to spruce up newer, plain table settings.

Finally, residents may have been engaging the new ideals of domestic science by moving away from having too many plates that were “overly decorated” and might compete with the food on the plate. For African American women who worked for white families, like women on Fleet Street, it may have been especially important to enact sanitary ideals through home furnishing, an act of dissemblance (after Hine 1994) to keep surveillance away. This was especially important in an environment where black women were not afforded the same societal protections as white women and white residents were being implored to inquire into the sanitary behaviors and home lives of their domestic help (Jopling 2008).

Declining amounts of coarse earthenware and stoneware by the first half of the twentieth century at the sites are probably reflective of the growing influence that home economists and domestic scientists were having on American eating habits. Domestic science began to tout the sanitary and uniform qualities of manufactured, industrially produced food products in the late nineteenth century. Food was increasingly canned and packaged by national manufacturers under brand names, instead of purchased in bulk and stored in earthenware or stoneware containers. Canned goods were also coming on the market in increasing variety (Leavitt 2002: 180-2), and if home preservation was taking place, it was being done in sanitary glass mason jars instead of earthenware or stoneware vessels (Ketchum 1991a, 1991b). Chapter Seven further explored these changes to foodways and corresponding gender roles that came about with the “kitchen as laboratory” mantra of domestic science.

Chapter Seven utilized faunal remains and bottle glass to talk about the restriction of home production of food, increasing reliance on market-based consumption of food, and increasing separation between Annapolitans and their food sources around the turn of the twentieth century. Foodways during the late Victorian and Progressive periods were closely tied to normative ideas about domesticity and public health. The decades surrounding the turn of the twentieth century were part of an important “transitional era when cooking, eating habits, and cookbooks, like many other aspects of U.S. culture, became increasingly standardized, scientized and commodified” (Witt 1999: 56). Although everyone needs to eat food, which foods they choose to eat are highly symbolic. The procurement, preparation and service of food are all culturally constructed and embedded in social, economic and political life (Englehardt 2011:13).

During the nineteenth century, changes in food production and distribution practices set the stage for changes to the American diet. Historical and archaeological evidence shows that during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, raising domestic animals was increasingly outlawed or discouraged within the city limits of Annapolis (Annapolis City Counselor 1897, McCullough 1869, McWilliams 1935, Riley 1908). By this time, smaller lot sizes and in-fill construction also limited the amount of lot space that could be used for domestic food production. Food production and primary processing activities increasingly moved outside of the home. The Progressive Era assigned modern and sanitary ideals to new standardized products, including canned and bottled goods, and engagement with “modern cookery” was thought to protect family health, prevent social unrest and alcoholism, and promote Americanization in poor and immigrant groups (Shapiro 2009).

Archaeological evidence from Fleet and Cornhill Streets, along with other Annapolis sites, shows that there was a heavy reliance on market sources of meat (Warner 1998a), and the increasing prohibitions related to improper disposal of animal remains can be seen in the decreasing amounts of oyster shells in the later time periods on Cornhill Street. Glass analysis of the Fleet Street privy assemblage showed that the residents of Fleet Street, were consumers of national brand products. This may have been part of a consumption tactic described by Mullins (1999a), in which African American Annapolitans purchased standardized national brand products to avoid racist practices by local grocers. However Mullins was looking at slightly earlier time periods, and by the time that the Fleet Street assemblage was deposited, canned and bottled goods had taken

on a more accepted and encouraged role in domestic science's prescriptions about gender and cookery.

Engagement with the ideals of domestic science could have been a strategic move, like minimally decorated ceramics, to secure employment and protect women working as domestics and laundresses from accusations of old-fashioned or unsanitary behaviors. One of the explicit goals of domestic science was to elevate the status of household labor, and African American women, who often worked in domestic service may have readily embraced domestic science although "scientific" cooks were initially set up in opposition to "mammy" cooks when domestic science first spread to the South (Witt 1999: 56). Despite the common rhetoric of temperance and prohibition, which generally blamed intemperance on the lower-classes, and racialized groups (Reckner and Brighton 1999), the glass evidence supports the idea that alcohol consumption was relatively consistent across Annapolis sites occupied by both working-class and middle-class African Americans and middle-class white residents. However, patent medicine bottles make up a significantly lower proportion of the glass assemblage from the privy at 40 Fleet Street than they do of assemblages from slightly earlier time periods in Annapolis. This may reflect Progressive Era pure food and drug movements, which started to question the unsubstantiated health claims of patent medicine, during the same time that the medical establishment was being professionalized (Ohmann 1996). However, African American Annapolitans were still dealing with a highly racialized health care system, in which they did not have easy access to doctors (Mullins 1999a).

Limitations of This Study

Walter Benjamin (1968: 87) wrote that “traces of the storyteller cling to the story the way the handprints of the potter cling to the clay vessel” (Benjamin 1968: 92). As archaeologists, we rely on the material records of people to help us interpret their lives and identities. The archaeological evidence that historical archaeologists utilize is always fragmentary at best, and we only find the objects and features that were discarded and preserved. The archaeological record and surviving textual sources have distinct formation processes that should be taken into account, in their interpretation. In sources like newspapers and other historical documents, even when words or statements are accurately quoted, the framing of words can totally change their meaning (Bakhtin 1981: 341). Also, critical archaeology reminds us that those historical documents, as well as archaeologists’ interpretations of the past, are always a product of contemporary ideologies. The nature of the archaeological materials collected from the sites, as well as the theoretical approach utilized here, undoubtedly influenced the interpretations made in this dissertation.

Any study of identity risks reifying categories of identity. When engaging dominant ideologies, it is tempting to use those ideologies similarly to the ways that they were used in the past, as “yardsticks” against which to measure the people we are studying (*sensu* Wood 2004). As archaeologists, we look for traces of identifications in the structures, histories, and daily practices of social collectivities. Gender performances and identifications are fluid and situational, and we cannot access internal thoughts and feelings of individuals archaeologically, although they may be hinted at in historical records. We use historical records and oral histories to inform our interpretations of the

material culture, but we can not know with certainty the motivations or inner lives of the people that we study. This study stems from the idea that identities are socially constructed and that it is possible to expose the fallacy of identities as biologically determined categories, and thereby reject the idea of identity as a set of stable categories (Butler 1999, Voss 2008, Stockett and Geller 2006). However, these identity categorizations and hierarchies of race and gender had and continue to have real impacts on people's lives (Rothenberg 2007: 3). Gendered identities are negotiated through the material culture that archaeologists study.

This study used the negotiation of acceptable gendered behaviors and appropriate material culture as its point of entry into the analysis of identity, in order to narrow the scope of inquiry. However, gender is only one component of identity construction which, in third wave feminist approaches, is considered alongside race, ethnicity, class, age, and sexuality (Stockett and Geller 2006:11). This study has highlighted the idea that "women" is not a homogenous category (Stockett and Geller 2006: 10), challenged normative ideas about gender, and focused attention specifically on the intersections between gendered identities and racialization. Other studies of late nineteenth and early twentieth century history in Annapolis had not explicitly foregrounded the role of gender in the construction of difference along with race and social class. Therefore, focusing on the transformations, performances, and negotiations of gender expressions and ideologies provided interesting new insights about the period. However, in using gender as a point of entry for this study, other aspects of identity that are closely tied to gender were not treated as fully in the analysis. In a single study, it is not possible to give each aspect of identity equal treatment. In the future, studies of gender in post-Civil War Annapolis

could more explicitly operationalize social class and sexuality, ideas engaged in only a limited way in this dissertation. The analysis presented here is one of many possible interpretations of the material culture of Fleet and Cornhill Streets in Annapolis. This analysis highlights gender but attempts to keep other aspects of identity, particularly racialization, in view.

There were gaps in the historical and archaeological records, which had to be addressed. Historical records did not focus on the everyday lives of the residents of Fleet and Cornhill Streets, and archaeological evidence has its own distinct formation processes. To understand the lived experiences of Fleet and Cornhill Streets, oral histories were utilized. The time period of interest for this study is mainly outside of the memories of living individuals, so this study relied heavily on oral histories collected and archived by others in the 1990s, which did not focus on questions related to gender, although gendered aspects of their life experiences were discussed. Jopling (2008)'s oral history tapes are not available in an archive, so her own writing about them was utilized in this project. The interviews conducted by the *Annapolis, I Remember* project (Warren 1990) are on file at the Maryland State Archives. These interviews included only a few Annapolitans who had been residents of Fleet and Cornhill Streets and spoke specifically about these spaces, although respondents talked about the early twentieth century situation in Annapolis generally. Current owners of the properties also shared their knowledge about the sites; however, they have only owned the homes since the 1980s at the earliest, and did not have personal memories of the sites before that time, although some had also spoken to former residents. More oral histories, from former Fleet and

Cornhill Street residents, and their descendants, could provide more nuanced interpretations of the project area.

Information about residency on Fleet and Cornhill was drawn from manuscript census records from 1880, 1900, 1910, 1920 and 1930 as well as city directories (Annapolis City Directory 1910, 1924) and other sources. Manuscript census data for 1940 were released, and became publicly available in 2012. The time period of interest in this study only extended up to the Great Depression, so the manuscript census data for 1940 were not utilized in this analysis. Manuscript census data from 1940 contained more detailed information about level of education, employment, and specific information about gender including three columns targeted specifically “for all women who are or have been married” (United States Bureau of the Census 1940). These columns included questions about whether women had been married more than once, each woman’s age at the time of her first marriage, and the number of children ever born to her, not including stillbirths (United States Bureau of the Census 1940). The moral conventions of the era are notable in the idea that a woman would have to be, or have been married, to have children that could be associated with her. While some of this data could have been correlated with Fleet and Cornhill residents from earlier census years, it would not have provided a complete enough picture to speak to these additional aspects of recorded gendered identities between 1865 and 1930.

This dissertation highlighted the mechanisms of gender identification and differentiation in public and private life through a variety of sources. In trying to capture the effects of gender negotiations through many different expressions and types of material culture, details have necessarily been omitted and the analysis of each type of

material culture has not been as in-depth as could have been possible with the given resources. Since the fieldwork for this dissertation was completed, two additional backyard sites on Cornhill Street have been excavated by Archaeology in Annapolis. However, at the time of the completion of this dissertation, technical reports on those sites were still in progress, so it was not possible to incorporate them into the dissertation.

The limitations of the study presented here, while not an exhaustive list, provide possible avenues for future expansion of this project. However, although they might add insights to the project, they are unlikely to substantially change the findings of this research. Evolving gender norms played an important part in the ways in which social life was reconstructed after the Civil War in Annapolis, a point that had never been made about Annapolis prior to this dissertation project. During the post-Civil War period, definitions of what was gender normative, and what was deviant, were being reconfigured. The archaeological and historical evidence show that gender differentiation had much larger impacts on social life and the appearance of our cities than is usually acknowledged. Racial segregation, suburbanization, demands for public utilities, and progressive reforms all had gendered aspects, as did changing spatial layouts of homes, home furnishings and diets, which were all carefully laid out in prescriptive literature and studied by domestic scientists (Leavitt 2002, Shapiro 2009).

This dissertation interrogated the ways that sexism, heterosexism, and racism have shaped life in Annapolis. The study of gender is often relegated to the single house site, masking the role that gender normalization and notions of domesticity played in public life. We also do not always acknowledge the role that gender normalization has played, because aspects of the gender configurations that emerged during the late

Victorian and Progressive periods are so naturalized today. Definitions of social groups are powerful, and highlight certain aspects of reality, while making others disappear. People are taught to think about gender, race, and class differences in specific ways, and these definitions manifest themselves in daily life (Rothenberg 2007: 3). These definitions of gender, race, and class difference, while socially constructed, translate into real differences in treatment, opportunities, and expectations (Rothenberg 2007: 3).

Implications of Investigating Gender Normalization

Why is it important to expose the operations of gender normativity? What can anthropological studies of gender normalization contribute? As discussed in Chapter Four, this project is influenced by the application of critical perspectives to historical archaeology, an enduring legacy of the Archaeology in Annapolis project (Leone 1984, Leone et al 1987, Palus et al 2006, Shackel 1993). Critical archaeology brings new understandings of, and challenges to, present society. By moving beyond the description of past lifeways, archaeology can show that the roots of modern society were not inevitable, so “archaeology is capable of providing a critique of society by using its history” (Leone et al. 1995). Through archaeological and historical sources, we can gain insights about how the taken-for-granted notions in a society came to be that way, and we can trace the genesis of, as well as different expressions or negotiations of, specific ideologies (Leone et al. 1987).

In addition to the insights described in the previous section of this chapter, studying gender normalization in the Late Victorian and Progressive periods opens up questions about the ways in which enduring traces of these ideologies are still at work in contemporary society. The ideological separation of social life into gendered spheres was

the product of a specific time period, the Victorian Era, and the Cult of Domesticity ideology. The Cult of Domesticity created and mandated a public commercial world of men, and a private domestic home life of women. During the nineteenth century, the separation of the private home from the commercial workplace and commercial life, the end of integrated household economies, and the creation of a consumer economy aimed at the middle class were essential components of this ideology (Wall 1994: 19, Rotman 2009: 19). The symbolic power of women was enhanced within the domestic sphere and among the house and family, although the power of women in political and economic arenas declined during the period when the Cult of Domesticity was dominant (Wall 1994, Rotman 2009: 19). When we understand that the Cult of Domesticity was the product of a particular time period, which mandated particular arrangements of and engagements with material culture, we can look at these expressions through the material remains of daily practices. We can also see challenges to these ideals, particularly as Victorian ideals began to face Progressive Era challenges.

Once we understand these ideologies as the products of specific historical contexts, and not as natural attributes of gender or identity, we can question the ways in which they are still naturalized today. Barbara Voss (2012: 18) explores the ways in which the separation of social life into separate spheres affects societies. First, she points out that the separation of domestic life from civil society and commercial life often relegates sexuality to the private sphere, while simultaneously allowing the sexual politics of public institutions, markets, and governments to remain hidden (Voss 2012: 18). Second, she discusses the ways in which a separate spheres ideology heterosexualizes society. If the domestic sphere is exclusively gendered as a female

space, and civil society is associated with men, then neither gender is about to successfully negotiate every aspect of social life. Therefore “marriage and other forms of cross-gender kinship become essential to survival in a society divided into men’s and women’s realms” (Voss 2012: 18).

Representations about the past are not inconsequential in that they shape people’s identities and perceptions of others and have lasting effects. Interpretations about history can help to justify or naturalize exploitative relationships, thereby supporting the maintenance of the status quo (Little 2007). However, archaeological interpretations about history can also question the relationships between objects, social relationships, and meanings, by historicizing the process of history and meaning making and offering alternatives. Psychologist Cordelia Fine (2010:4) has written about how stereotypes of gender, many articulated in the separate spheres ideology, affect contemporary people on an implicit level. Even when people’s reported beliefs are progressive and modern, researchers have shown that people can be very reactionary in their implicit representations of social groups. Researchers have found the automatic associations that people make to the categories of male and female go far beyond biological attributes. Tests of implicit associations have shown that men, more than women, are implicitly associated with career, high authority, science, math, and hierarchy. Women, on the other hand, are more often implicitly associated with family, domesticity, low authority, egalitarianism and liberal arts (Fine 2010: 6). Fine also discusses experiments that show that expectations of gender shape actual performances of men and women. She therefore concludes that when we take a closer look at gender gaps, “we find that what is being chalked up to hardwiring on closer inspection starts to look more like the sensitive tuning

of the self to the expectations looming in the social context (Fine 2010: 13). Through historicization of gender norms like those contained in the Cult of Domesticity, we can question their persistence and naturalized status in contemporary life.

Gender normalization and the ideological separation between a female domestic sphere and a male public sphere, has also affected the value that is placed on women's work, and on the "traditional tasks" of women. First, when women began working for wages in the nineteenth century on a large-scale, there was the expectation that a woman only needed to support herself until she got married, and that a woman's wages did not need to be sufficient to support additional family members (Kessler-Harris 1991). The gender pay gap continues today, and in 2010, the median earnings number for men was \$47,715 per year, while the median earnings number for women was \$36,931 per year (DeNavas-Walt et al. 2011: 12). Also, the "traditional tasks" of women that were solidified in the Cult of Domesticity, namely caring for the home and children, are not socially valued as highly as the "traditional tasks" of men. Feminist ethicist Nel Noddings (2010) describes the situation in this way:

Women should, of course, have access to the occupations that have conferred status and wealth on men. We should have some control over our lives and futures. But what of the activities for which we have had responsibility for centuries? Should we agree with powerful men that these occupations, paid or unpaid, are worth very little? The discussion here leaves us with an uneasy feeling that, although we want to control our own lives, we may be unavoidably heteronomous in our thinking.

Gender normalization, particularly when it intersects with racialization, has also affected who is seen as being worthy of the protections and resources of the state, as well as where the blame for inequality is assigned. Alice O'Connor (2001) argues that poverty research in the Progressive Era started as a reform-minded inquiry into the political economy of industrial capitalism. However, the individualization of poverty and

inequality were also at work from the beginning of the time period when social codes were being reformulated in the post-Civil War period. Through gender normalization, men and women are measured against gendered standards and, if they were seen as wanting in comparison to these standards, were seen as being to blame for their material conditions because of their individual or group behaviors. Beginning in the late nineteenth century, sociological studies began to focus their gaze on poor communities in major cities, often concluding that cultural obstacles were preventing inner-city, particularly African American, communities from gaining equality (Venkatesh 2006).

At the root of many of these cultural arguments was the role of black families in the reproduction of poverty, and specific characteristics related to normative ideas about gender and domesticity were identified as visible obstacles to economic prosperity and social stability. Although largely ignored by mainstream sociologists when it was first published, *The Philadelphia Negro*, by W.E.B. DuBois (1967[1899]), championed the potential of normative, middle-class African American families, as did the later work of E. Franklin Frazier (2001[1939]). In both these cases, the arguments were made by African American scholars in an effort to encourage the study of urban poverty among African American residents in cultural terms, based on past and present treatment and opportunities, and to reject explanations based on biological racial inferiority. Canonical sociology, including the work of the Chicago School, adopted similar arguments that addressed culture, instead of biology, as the site of human difference in the early twentieth century. Nonetheless, the rejection of biology as the site of difference in favor of culture did not result in the neutralization of racism, and instead preceded different articulations of racial knowledge (Ferguson 2004: 88).

The sociological study of African American culture produced explanations that often attributed African American poverty and inequality to African American gender, sexual, and familial irregularities (Ferguson 2004: 20). Many of these analyses relied on normative assumptions of proper and improper family behavior, where the family formation processes of African Americans were labeled as ‘inappropriate’ (Brewer 1988: 331). Kobena Mercer (1994: 150-1) wrote that “assumptions about black sexuality lie at the heart of the ideological view that black households constitute deviant, disorganized, and even pathological familial forms that fail to socialize their members into societal norms” (as cited in Ferguson 2004: 20). Ideas like the “culture of poverty” - proposed by Oscar Lewis (1959) but used in ways not anticipated by the author (including Moynihan 1965) to place the blame for poverty on its victims (Bourgois 2003: 64) - and the “underclass” concept of William Julius Wilson (2012) became popular ways in the mid- to late- twentieth century to explain poverty and inequality. The “culture of poverty” and “underclass” concepts both focused on cultural arguments.

O’Connor’s (2001: 7) work highlights the ways that “efforts to ‘operationalize’ and test the underclass concept continued to rest far more heavily on indicators of group behavior than on comparable measures of structural, economic, and/or institutional decline in urban neighborhoods – reinforcing the notion that some form of behavioral ‘pathology’ was what caused and sustained the underclass.” She calls for studies of poverty that really examine the cultural mechanisms which accord status and privilege, determine who is considered deserving or underserving and why, and focus attention on how assignments of social value or denigrations based on gender, race, and class are

made, instead of being primarily concerned with whether people have a “cultural affinity” for poverty (O’Connor 2001: 293).

Elizabeth Perry and Rosemary Joyce (2001: 11) wrote that “how and why specific kinds of action came to be representative of certain kinds of gender” are critical questions for archaeologies that foreground gender. By highlighting the ways in which status and privilege have been assigned, and how they relate to systems of gender and race, archaeological and historical studies like the one presented here for Annapolis can provide political and historical contexts that denaturalize inequalities, instead of just individualizing them. Hegemonies and normative formations are “elastic alliances,” which involve disperse and self-contradictory strategies for their maintenance and reproduction (Berlant and Warner 1998: 553). Many of these strategies are reflected in the historical and archaeological record, and gendered performance, involving repetitive actions, is strongly material (Perry and Joyce 2001: 68). Therefore, archaeology can provide important contexts for contemporary debates about inequality, the formation of urban spaces, and poverty.

APPENDIX A: Results of Ceramics Analysis

41 Cornhill (18AP115) Ceramics Charts 1880-1930

Not included in Chapter 6 ceramics analysis because high level of fragmentation, date range of manufacture, and types of features and deposits suggested secondary deposition of ceramics.

Table 1. 41 Cornhill Street, 1880-1930, Earth-toned and white-toned vessels by function.

	Earth-toned vessels	White-toned vessels
<i>Food/Beverage processing, storage, preparation</i>		
Bowl	6	1
Large Hollowware	4	3
Milk Pan	1	
Jar	1	
Crock	1	
<i>Food/Beverage Distribution</i>		
Tureen Lid		1
Pitcher		1
<i>Food/Beverage Consumption</i>		
Plate		48
Bowl		8
Mug		3
Tea bowl		1
Tea cup or bowl		1
Tea cup		4
Saucer		3
<i>Unknown/Undetermined</i>	2	1
	15	75

Table 2. 41 Cornhill Street, 1880s-1930s. Teaware and Tableware by Decorative Type.

	Teawares	Tablewares	Other	Totals
Minimally decorated	3	15		18
Shell edged		15		15
Chinese landscapes	1	7		8
Floral/neoclassical	3	14		17
Mocha/annular		7		7
Other/indeterminate	1	6		7
Totals	8	64		72

40 Fleet Street (18AP110) Ceramic Minimum Vessel Count

Type	Vessel	Unit Number	Level or Feature	Ware Type	Number of Fragments	Description	Morphology	Begin Date	End Date	Notes	Rim Diameter
SG	1	1	Level I	American Blue and Grey Stoneware	1 (body)			mid-18th c.	19th c.		
CE	1	1	Level D	Coarse Earthenware	1 (rim)	redware with interior clear/yellow lead glaze	jug	1700	1900		
OP	2	1	Level D	Porcelain	1 (rim)	iridescent orange, black, and purple glaze		1790	n.d.	looks very recent	
RE	1	1	Level D	Earthenware	1 (body)	interior brown glaze	ginger beer bottle	1820	1930		
CP	3	1	Level F	Porcelain	1 (rim)	undecorated scalloped edge	plate	1790	n.d.		
CP	25	1	Level F	Porcelain	3 (2 rim, 1 body)	teal, green and gilded overglaze floral		1790	n.d.		
RE	2	1	Level F	Earthenware	1 (body)	yellow glaze	ginger beer bottle	1820	1930		
WW	1	1	Level F	Whiteware	1 (rim)	molded, gilded rim		1815	n.d.		
CP	4	1	Level G	Porcelain	1 (rim)	molded, scalloped edge	plate	1790	n.d.		
			Level G		1 (portion of lid)						
RK	1	1	Level H	Rockingham	2 (body)	chain pattern on body piece	teapot lid	1812	1920		
WW	2	1	Level G, Level I	Whiteware	2 (rim)	undecorated		1815	n.d.		
			Level H								
			Level J								
			Level K								
CE	25	1	Level L1	Coarse Earthenware	6 (body)	Redware with interior and exterior brown lead glaze	utilitarian vessel	1700	1900		
			Level H, Level J, Level K, Level								
CE	26	1	L1	Coarse Earthenware	1, 1, 3	Redware with int/ext lead yellow glaze		1700	1900		
IR	10	1	Level I	Ironstone	1 (rim)	undecorated					
SB	4	1	Level I	Salt glazed stoneware	1 (base)		jug	1815	n.d.		
							serving dish/bowl				
WW	3	1	Level I	Whiteware	1 (rim)	undecorated					
			Level I		1 (body)	Lt. red body - exterior brown and grey lead glaze					
CE	2	1	Level J	Coarse Earthenware	1(base)		utilitarian jug	1700	1900		
PW	1	1	Level I, Feature 12	Pearlware	3 (rim)	undecorated		1762	1840		
			Level I, Level J	Coarse Earthenware	1 (body), 1 (base)	Redware with ext. brown glaze (with gray spots)	jug	1700	1900		
CE	3	1	Level J	Coarse Earthenware	1(base)	redware with int. yellow glaze, ext. brown glaze	large platter	1700	1900		
CE	4	1	Level J	Coarse Earthenware	1 (rim) + others	redware with int clear lead glaze		1700	1900		
						redware with interior yellow lead glaze and exterior painted bands		1700	1900		
CE	5	1	Level J	Coarse Earthenware	1 (body)	handpainted red banded dot pattern on inside rim		1790	n.d.		
CP	5	1	Level J	Porcelain	1 (rim)	blue underglaze	teacup	1790	n.d.		
CP	6	1	Level J	Porcelain	1 (rim)	handpainted blue underglaze		1790	n.d.		
CP	7	1	Level J	Porcelain	1 (rim)	handpainted blue underglaze		1790	n.d.		
CP	8	1	Level J	Porcelain	1 (rim)	handpainted blue underglaze		1790	n.d.		
CP	9	1	Level J	Porcelain	1 (rim)	handpainted black		1790	n.d.		
CW	1	1	Level J	Creamware	1 (rim)	undecorated - molded lip on outside	cup or bowl	1762	1820		
IR	1	1	Level J	White Granite	1 (rim)	undecorated	plate	1840	1930		
PW	2	1	Level J	Pearlware	1 (rim)	green shell edge - early rococo design		1780	1800		
						green shell edge - scalloped straight lines - incised		1810	1835		
PW	3	1	Level J	Pearlware	1 (rim)	green shell edge - scalloped straight lines - incised		1810	1835		
PW	4	1	Level J	Pearlware	1 (rim)	green and brown band on the rim					
PW	5	1	Level J	Pearlware	1 (rim)	handpainted polychromatic					
PW	6	1	Level J	Pearlware	2 (1 rim, 1 body)						
RK	2	1	Level J	Rockingham	8 (body and glaze chips)	Rebecca at the well	utilitarian vessel	1812	1920		
SB	2	1	Level J	Brown Rhenish Stoneware	1 (body)						
SB	1	1	Level J	English Brown Salt-Glazed Stoneware	2 (body)			1690	1775		
TG	1	1	Level J	Tin-Glazed Earthenware	1 (rim)	purple banded		1640	1800		
WS	1	1	Level J	White Saltglaze stoneware	1 (rim)	undecorated	plate	1720	1770		
WW	4	1	Level J	Whiteware	2 (rim)	blue shell edge - not impressed or scalloped	plate	1860	1890		
							serving vessel	1815	1915		
WW	5	1	Level J	Whiteware	1 (rim)	blue transfer print					
WW	6	1	Level J	Whiteware	4 (rim, body)	handpainted multi-color floral design	teacup	1815	n.d.		
WW	7	1	Level J	Whiteware	1 (body)	blue and green annular banded pattern					
WW	8	1	Level J	Whiteware	3(body)	burnt whiteware, blue floral design		1815	n.d.		
WW	9	1	Level J	Whiteware	1 (rim)	green band on inside and outside					

40 Fleet Street (18AP110) Ceramic Minimum Vessel Count

YW	1	1 Level J	Yellowware	2 (rim)	incised band - blue annular		1828	1940	
		Level J		1 (rim)					
CW	2	1 Level K	Creamware	2 (rim)	undecorated scalloped	plate	1762	1820	
CE	6	1 Level J, Level K	Coarse Earthenware	14 (base, body, rim)	redware with interior dark brown lead glaze	jug	1700	1900	
CE	7	1 Level J, Level K	Coarse Earthenware	6 (rim and body), 5 (body)	redware with interior dark brown lead glaze		1700	1900	
CE	8	1 Level J, Level K	Coarse Earthenware	6 (body)	redware with brown interior lead glaze		1700	1900	
SB	5	1 Level J, Level K	Salt glazed stoneware	2 (body), 2 (body)					
CE	8	1 Level K	Coarse Earthenware	1 (rim) + others	redware with int clear lead glaze	jug	1700	1900	
CE	10	1 Level K	Coarse Earthenware	2 (base and body)	redware with interior/exterior brown glaze		1700	1900	
CE	11	1 Level K	Coarse Earthenware	1 (body)	redware with slip trailed band design		1750	1820	
CE	12	1 Level K	Coarse Earthenware	1 (handle)	refined redware with reddish brown lead glaze		1700	1900	
CP	10	1 Level K	Porcelain	1 (rim)	handpainted blue	teacup	1790	n.d.	
CP	11	1 Level K	Porcelain	1 (rim)	handpainted red banded rim		1790	n.d.	
CW	3	1 Level K	Creamware	1 (rim)	undecorated	plate	1762	1820	
CW	4	1 Level K	Creamware	1 (rim)	undecorated	plate	1762	1820	
					green shell edge - scalloped straight lines - not incised				
PW	7	1 Level K	Pearlware	1 (rim)					
SB	1	1 Level K	American Brown Stoneware	1 (body)					
WH	1	1 Level K	Whieldon Ware - Cauliflower Patterned	1 (body)	green		1740	1770	
		Level K		1 (body)		utilitarian vessel			
SB	6	1 Level L1	Salt glazed stoneware	2 (body)	brown salt glaze - incised				
SB	2	1 Level K, Level L1	English Brown Salt-Glazed Stoneware	1 (body), 2 (body)	incised (mended)	jug	1690	1775	
CE	14	1 Level L1	Coarse Earthenware	1 (body)	redware with clear/yellow lead glaze		1700	1900	
							1790	n.d.	
CP	12	1 Level L1	Porcelain	2 (rim)	blue underglaze - handpainted floral design	flatware/plate			
CP	13	1 Level L1	Porcelain	1 (rim)	blue underglaze - handpainted banded rim		1790	n.d.	
CP	14	1 Level L1	Porcelain	1 (body)	handpainted overglaze floral pattern		1790	n.d.	
CW	5	1 Level L1	Creamware		10 spout	pitcher	1762	1820	
CW	6	1 Level L1	Creamware	1 (rim)	molded rim	plate	1762	1820	
CW	7	1 Level L1	Creamware	1 (rim)	undecorated with scalloped edge	plate	1762	1820	
CW	8	1 Level L1	Creamware	1 (rim)	undecorated	plate	1762	1820	
PW	8	1 Level L1	Pearlware	1 (rim)	green shell edge - scalloped				
SB	2	1 Level L1	Brown Rhenish Stoneware	1 (body)	incised				
SB	3	1 Level L1	English Brown Salt-Glazed Stoneware	2 (body)			1690	1775	
SG	2	1 Level L1	American Blue and Grey Stoneware	4 (3 body, 1 base)			mid-18th c.	19th c.	
					polychrome hand painted floral (distinctive body coloring)		1640	1800	
TG	2	1 Level L1	Tin-Glazed Earthenware	1 (body)	white glaze		1640	1800	
TG	3	1 Level L1	Tin-Glazed Earthenware	2 (rim)	int. white glaze, exterior brown glaze		1640	1800	
TG	4	1 Level L1	Tin-Glazed Earthenware	1 (body)	white glaze		1640	1800	
TG	5	1 Level L1	Tin-Glazed Earthenware	1 (rim)	white glaze		1640	1800	
TG	7	1 Level L1	Tin-Glazed Earthenware	1 (body), 1 (rim)	blue on white		1640	1800	
WS	4	1 Level L1	Slip-dipped White Saltglaze	1 (body)	incised		1720	1770	
WS	2	1 Level L1	White Saltglaze stoneware		4 scratch blue	cup/bowl	1735	1775	
WS	3	1 Level L1	White Saltglaze stoneware	1 (rim)	handpainted yw, gr, pk, br floral design	cup/bowl	1720	1770	
CE	13	1 Level L1, Level L2	Coarse Earthenware	3 (body)	redware with interior lt. brown lead glaze		1700	1900	
					redware, with interior/exterior brown glaze, incised exterior	jug	1700	1900	
CE	15	1 Level L2	Coarse Earthenware	1 (body)	white glaze		1640	1800	
TG	6	1 Level L2	Tin-Glazed Earthenware	1 (rim)					
						utilitarian vessel			
CE	20	2 Feature 14 Level A	Manganese Mottled	1 (base)		flower pot	1700	1900	
		2 Feature 14 Level A	Coarse Earthenware	1 (rim)	unglazed redware/terra cotta		1790	n.d.	
CP	15	2 Feature 14 Level A	Porcelain	1 (rim)	molded, gilded edge, multicolor	shallow bowl			
CP	16	2 Feature 14 Level A	Porcelain	1 (rim)	blue underglaze - leaf design	teacup	1790	n.d.	
WW	16	2 Feature 14 Level A	Whiteware	1 (rim)	floral decal print	plate	1880	n.d.	
WW	17	2 Feature 14 Level A	Whiteware	1 (rim)	undecorated scalloped edge		1815	n.d.	
YW	2	2 Feature 14 Level A	Yellowware		3	bowl	1828	1940	
		Feature 14 Level D1		1					
		Feature 14 Level D4		6					
		Feature 14 Level D5		1 (base)					
CP	1	2 Feature 14 Level D7	Chinese Porcelain	1	gilded red bird and floral design	vase	1780	1820	Chinese makers mark
WW	18	2 Feature 14 Level D2	Whiteware	1 (rim)	undecorated	plate	1815	n.d.	
WW	19	2 Feature 14 Level D2	Whiteware	1 (rim)	gilded rim with floral decal design around rim	teacup	1880	n.d.	
					floral decal print and band of green glaze along scalloped edge	plate	1880	n.d.	
WW	20	2 Feature 14 Level D4, Level E	Whiteware	2 (rim)					

40 Fleet Street (18AP110) Ceramic Minimum Vessel Count

WW	21	2 Feature 14 Level D5	Whiteware	3 - mends completely	pink and blue flower decal print	teacup decorative	1880	n.d.	
WW	34	2 Feature 14 Level D5	Whiteware	1 (body)	yellow interior, green molded exterior	piece?	1815	n.d.	
WW	22	2 Feature 14 Level D6	Whiteware	1 (rim)	molded scalloped edge	plate	1815	n.d.	
CE	21	2 Feature 14 Level D7	Coarse Earthenware	1 (rim)	unglazed redware	utilitarian vessel?	1700	1900	
IR	2	2 Feature 14 Level D7	White Granite	1 (base and rim)	undecorated	plate	1880	1892	crown makers mark from the Maryland Pottery Company, Baltimore, MD*
IR	8	2 Feature 14 Level D7	White Granite	1 (rim)	undecorated	plate	1840	1930	
SG	4	2 Feature 14 Level D7	Grey Bodied Refined Stoneware	1 (spout)	brown glaze - incised	watering jug	1815	n.d.	
WW	23	2 Feature 14 Level D7	Whiteware	1 (rim)	undecorated	plate	1815	n.d.	
WW	24	2 Feature 14 Level D7	Whiteware	1 (rim)	molded edge	plate	1815	n.d.	
WW	25	2 Feature 14 Level D7	Whiteware	1 (rim and base)	undecorated	shallow bowl	1815	n.d.	partial makers mark "M"
WW	26	2 Feature 14 Level D7 Feature 14 Level D7	Whiteware	2 (rim)	undecorated - gothic form	teacup	1790	n.d.	
EP	1	2 Feature 14 Level D8	English porcelain	2 (rim)	molded with guided rim and pink decoration	teacup			
IR	3	Feature 14 Level D7 2 Feature 14 Level D8	White Granite	6 (2 base, 4 rim) 1 (base and rim)	undecorated	plate	1840	1930	blue double crescent "semi grantie warranted" makers mark Portion of maker's mark - "China" and "kin"
IR	4	Feature 14 Level D7 2 Feature 14 Level D8	White Granite	1 (base and rim) 3 (2 rim, 1 base)	undecorated	plate	1840	1930	
WW	27	2 Feature 14 Level D7 Feature 14 Level D8	Whiteware	2 (base and rim)	plain, scalloped and molded rim	plate	1830	present	
WW	28	Feature 14 Level D7 2 Feature 14 Level D8	Whiteware	1 (base) 1 (rim)	black transfer print - flowers and deer	plate	1868	1883	UK Patent Office Diamond Mark - half cut off so no exact date
WW	29	Feature 14 Level D7 2 Feature 14 Level D8	Whiteware	1 (base and rim)	undecorated	plate	1830	present	"Warranted"
IR	5	2 Feature 14 Level D7, Feature 14	White Granite	2 (rim and base), 1 (rim)	undecorated scalloped edge	plate	1840	1930	
CP	17	2 Feature 14 Level D8	Porcelain	7 (rim, base, body)	undecorated	plate	1790	n.d.	Portion of maker's mark -
CP	18	2 Feature 14 Level D8	Porcelain	1 (rim)	undecorated	teacup	1790	n.d.	
CP	19	2 Feature 14 Level D8	Porcelain	6 (body)	undecorated	vase	1790	n.d.	
IR	6	2 Feature 14 Level D8	White Granite	1 (rim)	undecorated	plate	1840	1930	
IR	7	2 Feature 14 Level D8	White Granite	1 (rim and base)	undecorated blue shell edged w/ impressed lines - small	shallow bowl	1840	1930	
PW	9	2 Feature 14 Level D8	Pearlware	1 (rim)	scalloping	plate	1810	1835	
WW	30	2 Feature 14 Level D8	Whiteware	1 (rim)	brown transfer print - leaf pattern	mug	1815	1915	
WW	31	2 Feature 14 Level D8	Whiteware	1 (rim)	undecorated	mug or cup	1815	n.d.	
WW	32	2 Feature 14 Level D8	Whiteware	3 (1 rim, 2 base and rim)	plain, scalloped rim	plate	1815	n.d.	
WW	33	2 Feature 14 Level D8	Whiteware	2 (rim and body)	undecorated	shallow tureen or serving dish	1815	n.d.	
WW	36	2 Feature 14 Level D8	Whiteware	2 (rim)	undecorated - gothic form	teacup	1815	n.d.	
WW	35	2 Feature 14 Level D8	Whiteware	2 (body)	pink interior, grape design molded and painted	decorative piece?	1815	n.d.	
CP	20	2 Feature 14 Level F1	Porcelain	1 (rim)	yellow, blue and green exterior	flatware?	1790	n.d.	
SG	3	2 Feature 14C Level C	American Blue and Grey Stoneware	1 (body)	brown handpainted overglaze		mid-18th c.	19th c.	
RK	3	2 Level D Level E	Rockingham	1 (body)	Rebecca at the well	utilitarian vessel	1812	1920	
CE	16	2 Level D	Coarse Earthenware	1 (rim)	unglazed redware/terra cotta	flower pot	1700	1900	
CE	17	2 Level D	Coarse Earthenware	1 (rim)	unglazed redware/terra cotta	flower pot	1700	1900	
CE	18	2 Level D	Coarse Earthenware	1 (body)	redware with yellow slip trailed design	base/coaster	1750	1820	
CP	21	2 Level D	Porcelain	1 (rim)	handpainted red banded rim		1790	n.d.	
IR	9	2 Level D	White Granite	1 (rim)	undecorated	plate	1840	1930	
WW	10	2 Level D	Whiteware	1 (rim)	plain, molded and scalloped rim	bowl	1815	n.d.	
WW	11	2 Level D	Whiteware	1 (rim)	blue glaze on one side		1815	n.d.	
WW	12	2 Level D	Whiteware	1 (rim)	molded, guided rim, floral decal		1880	n.d.	

40 Fleet Street (18AP110) Ceramic Minimum Vessel Count

WW	13	2 Level D, Level E	Whiteware	2 (rim), 1 (rim)	undecorated	bowl	1815	n.d.
CE	19	2 Level E	Coarse Earthenware	1 (rim)	unglazed redware/terra cotta	flower pot	1700	1900
CP	22	2 Level E	Porcelain	1 (rim)	undecorated	cup	1790	n.d.
CP	23	2 Level E	Porcelain	1 (lid)	blue floral handpainted design	lid	1790	n.d.
CP	24	2 Level E	Porcelain	2 (rim)	molded	saucer (very small)	1790	n.d.
EP	2	2 Level E	Porcelain	1 (lid)	yellow and grey leaves decoration	lid	1790	n.d.
WW	14	2 Level E	Whiteware	1 (rim)	scalloped, molded		1815	n.d.
		Level E		1 (base)				
YW	3	2 Feature 14 Level E	Yellowware	1 (base)	base similar to YW-2	bowl	1828	1940
WW	15	2 Level F	Whiteware	2 (rim)	brown floral transfer print	teacup	1815	1915
CE	22	2 Level H	Coarse Earthenware	1 (rim)	redware with int/ext dark brown glaze		1700	1900
CE	23	2 Level H	Coarse Earthenware	1 (body)	refined redware with int/ext brown glaze and incised lines on the ext.		1800	1840
SB	7	2 Level H	Salt glazed stoneware	1 (body)	clear salt glaze			
	1	Level I		1 (body)				
SG	5 2	Feature 14 Level C, Level D	Grey Bodied Stoneware	2 (body), 1 (body)	clear salt glaze			
	1	Level J		1 (body)				
CE	24 2	Feature 14 Level C	Coarse Earthenware	1 (body)	Redware with grey exterior glaze		1490	1900

30 Cornhill Street (18AP114) Ceramic Minimum Vessel Count

Vessel Number	Context		Ware/ Variety	Type	Vessel Form	Decorative Technique	Colors	Rim Diameter	Rim Diameter	Base Diameter	Height	Comments
RK - 01	[18AP114.8.STP2 (2)] 18AP114.8.STP2 (3)	Rim - 1 Body - 4	RKNT	Rockingham Ware	Jar		Brown/Yellow	3.5	4.5	unknown	unknown	
YW - 01	[18AP114.8.38, 18AP114.8.E]	Rim - 1 Body - 1	YWNT	Yellowware; Undecorated	Bowl	undecorated			unknown	unknown	unknown	
YW - 02	18AP114.9.D 18AP114.9.E	Body - 2	YWNT	Yellowware; Brown annular bands	Bowl	undecorated underglaze handpainted overglaze (raised)	Brown		unknown	unknown	unknown	
YW - 03	18AP114.8.38	Body - 1	YWNT	Yellowware; White annular bands Creamware; Handpainted brown and yellow annular bands	Bowl	undecorated underglaze handpainted overglaze	White		unknown	unknown	unknown	
CW - 01	18AP114.9.B	Rim - 1	CWNT	Creamware; Molded	Plate	handpainted overglaze	brown, yellow	12	15	unknown	unknown	
CW - 02	18AP114.8.D	Rim - 1	CWNT	Creamware; Molded	Plate	molded			unknown	unknown	unknown	
CW - 03	18AP114.8.G	Body - 1	CWNT	Creamware; Molded	Plate	molded			unknown	unknown	unknown	
CW - 04	18AP114.9.E	Body - 1	CWNT	Creamware; Molded	Bowl	molded			unknown	unknown	unknown	
PW - 01	18AP114.8.E	Rim - 1	PWNT	Pearlware; Blue Shell Edged	Plate	molded	Blue		unknown	unknown	unknown	
PW - 02	18AP114.9.E	Rim - 1	PWNT	Pearlware; Blue Shell Edged	Plate	molded, scalloped	Blue	12	15	unknown	unknown	
PW - 03	18AP114.9.E	Rim - 1	PWNT	Pearlware; Green Shell Edged	Plate		Green		unknown	unknown	unknown	
PW - 04	18AP114.9.E	Rim - 1	PWNT	Pearlware; Green Shell Edged	Plate	molded, scalloped	Green	12	15	unknown	unknown	
PW - 05	18AP114.9.E	Rim - 1	PWNT	Pearlware; Green Shell Edged	Plate	molded, scalloped	Green		unknown	unknown	unknown	
PW - 06	18AP114.8.G	Rim - 1	PWNT	Pearlware; Green Shell Edged	Plate	scalloped	Green		unknown	unknown	unknown	
PW - 07	18AP114.9.E	Rim - 1	PWNT	Pearlware; Handpainted Blue on White	Plate	handpainted underglaze	Blue	12	15	unknown	unknown	
PW - 08	18AP114.9.C	Rim - 1	PWNT	Pearlware; Handpainted Annular Band	Plate	handpainted underglaze	Blue	12	15	unknown	unknown	
PW - 09	18AP114.8.STP2	Base - 1	PWNT	Pearlware; Red Transfer Print	Saucer	transfer print, underglaze	Red		unknown		5	unknown
PW - 10	18AP114.9.E	Rim - 1	PWNT	Pearlware; Flow Blue Pearlware; Handpainted Blue on White	Plate	handpainted underglaze	Blue	12	15	unknown	unknown	
PW - 11	18AP114.9.E	Body - 1	PWNT	Pearlware; Handpainted Blue on White	Bowl	handpainted underglaze	Blue		unknown	unknown	unknown	
PW - 13	18AP114.8.D	Rim - 1	PWNT	Pearlware; Flow Blue Pearlware; Handpainted Blue on White	Plate	handpainted underglaze	Blue	10	12.5	unknown	unknown	
PW - 12	18AP114.8.F	Body - 1	PWNT	Pearlware; Handpainted Blue on White Tin Glazed; Blue on White	Hollowware	handpainted underglaze	Blue		unknown	unknown	unknown	
TG - 01	18AP114.9.E [18AP114.8.38, 18AP114.8.F, 18AP114.8.E]	Rim - 1	TGUN	Porcelain - molded coral and shell design	unknown	handpainted	Blue		unknown	unknown	unknown	
OP - 01	18AP114.8.E	Rim - 2 Body - 1 Handle - 1	OPUT	Porcelain - handpainted blue	Cup (Tea)	molded handpainted	Pink band on rim	3	4	unknown	unknown	
OP - 02	18AP114.8.F	Whole Vessel	OPUT	Porcelain - handpainted blue	Cup; Child Tea	undecorated handpainted	Blue	1	1.5	unknown		2
OP - 03	18AP114.9.D	Body - 1	OPUT	Porcelain - handpainted blue	Cup; Child Tea	undecorated	Blue		matches OP-02 in appearance			
OP - 04	18AP114.9.E2	Rim - 1	OPUT	Porcelain - undecorated	Plate	undecorated		8	10	unknown	unknown	
OP - 05	18AP114.8.E	Rim - 1	OPUT	Porcelain - undecorated	Bowl	undecorated		6	7.5	unknown	unknown	
OP - 06	18AP114.8.28b	Rim - 1	OPUT	Porcelain - undecorated	unknown	undecorated		1	1.5	unknown	unknown	

30 Cornhill Street (18AP114) Ceramic Minimum Vessel Count

OP - 07	18AP114.8.D	Body - 1	OPUT	Porcelain - handpainted	unknown	handpainted overglaze	green, blue, yellow, brown	unknown	unknown	unknown
OP - 08	18AP114.8.38	Base - 1	OPUT	Porcelain - undecorated	Bowl	undecorated		unknown	unknown	unknown
OP - 09	18AP114.8.28b	Base - 1	OPUT	Porcelain - molded	Bowl	molded		unknown	unknown	unknown
OP - 10	18AP114.9.B	Body - 1	OPUT	Semi-Porcelain - undecorated	unknown	undecorated		unknown	unknown	unknown
OP - 11	18AP114.8.28b	Body - 1	OPUT	Porcelain - molded	Hollowware	molded		unknown	unknown	unknown
CP - 01	18AP114.8.C	Base - 1	CPNT	Porcelain - handpainted red	unknown	handpainted overglaze	red	unknown		2 unknown
CP - 02	18AP114.8.D	Rim - 1	CPNT	Porcelain - handpainted blue	unknown	handpainted underglaze blue; exterior brown glaze	blue, brown	unknown	unknown	unknown
CP - 03	18AP114.9.E	Body - 1	CPNT	Porcelain; Handpainted Blue	Plate	handpainted underglaze Blue	Blue	unknown	unknown	unknown
RE - 01	[18AP114.9.D (2)]	Handle - 2	RERR	Refined Redware	Jug		brown	unknown	unknown	unknown
RE - 02	18AP114.8.D	Body - 1	RERR	Refined Redware; Interior white tin glaze, exterior clear lead glaze	unknown		white	unknown	unknown	unknown
RE - 03	18AP114.9.E	Body - 1	RERR	Refined Redware; Interior/Exterior Red/Brown Glaze	unknown		Reddish brown	unknown	unknown	unknown
RS - 01	18AP114.8.D	Rim - 1	RSUN	Grey Bodied Refined Stoneware; Int/Ext Salt Glaze	Crock			3.5	4.5 unknown	unknown
SG - 01	18AP114.9.D	Body - 1	SGAS	Grey Bodied Stoneware; American Blue and Grey Redware; Interior and Exterior Brown Lead Glaze	Jug (Handle)		Blue	unknown	unknown	unknown
CE - 01	18AP114.9.E	Body - 3	CEAM	Redware; Unglazed	Bowl		Brown	unknown		3.5 unknown
CE - 02	18AP114.9.E	Rim - 1	CEAM	Terra Cotta; Unglazed	Bowl			12	15 unknown	unknown
CE - 03	18AP114.8.C	Rim - 1	CEAM	Terra Cotta; Unglazed	Flower Pot			10	12.5 unknown	unknown
CE - 04	18AP114.9.C	Rim - 1	CEAM	Terra Cotta; Unglazed Brown Bodied Earthenware, Exterior Brown Glaze	Flower Pot			2.5	3 unknown	unknown
CE - 05	18AP114.8.38	Body - 1	CEAM	Redware; Exterior Light Brown Lead Glaze	unknown		Brown	unknown	unknown	unknown
CE - 06	18AP114.8.G	Body - 1	CEAM	Redware; Interior and Exterior Brown Glaze	Jug		Light Brown	unknown	unknown	unknown handle
CE - 07	18AP114.8.C	Body - 2	CEAM	Redware; Exterior Grey Glaze	unknown		Brown	unknown	unknown	unknown
CE - 08	18AP114.9.E	Body - 1	CEAM	Terra Cotta; Unglazed	unknown		Grey	unknown	unknown	unknown
CE - 09	[18AP114.8.E (2)]	Body - 1	CEAM	Redware; Interior and Exterior brown Lead Glaze	Flower Pot			unknown	unknown	unknown
CE - 10	18AP114.9.E	Body - 1	CEAM	Redware; Interior and Exterior brown Lead Glaze	unknown	molded lines on exterior	brown	unknown	unknown	unknown
WW - 01	18AP114.8.E	Rim - 1	WWNT	Whiteware; Undecorated	Cup			4	5 unknown	unknown
WW - 02	18AP114.9.E	Rim - 1	WWNT	Whiteware; Undecorated	Cup			3.5	4.5 unknown	unknown
WW - 03	18AP114.8.A	Rim - 1	WWNT	Whiteware; Undecorated	Cup			3.5	4.5 unknown	unknown
WW - 04	[18AP114.9.C (3)]	Rim - 3	WWNT	Whiteware; Undecorated	Tureen			unknown	unknown	unknown

30 Cornhill Street (18AP114) Ceramic Minimum Vessel Count

WW - 05	18AP114.8.G	Rim - 1	WWOT	Whiteware; Blue Shell Edged	Plate		19.5	25	unknown	unknown
WW - 06	18AP114.9.C	Rim - 1	WWNT	Whiteware; Undecorated	Bowl			unknown	unknown	unknown
WW - 07	18AP114.8.D	Rim - 1	WWNT	Whiteware; Undecorated	Bowl		6	7.5	unknown	unknown
WW - 08	18AP114.8.D	Rim - 1	WWNT	Whiteware; Molded	Plate	Molded along rim Underglaze Floral	10	12.5	unknown	unknown
WW - 09	18AP114.9.C 18AP114.9.D	Rim - 1 Body - 1	WWNT	Whiteware; Blue Transfer Print with Handpainted Rim	Plate	Molded along rim Underglaze Floral Transfer Print and handpainted Blue	14	17.5	unknown	unknown
WW - 10	18AP114.9.C	Rim - 1	WWNT	Whiteware; Molded and Scalloped Edge	Plate	Molded and scalloped	10	12.5	unknown	unknown
WW - 11	18AP114.8.28b (3)	Rim - 3	WWNT	Whiteware; Guided Edge	Plate	Guided Floral	10	12.5	unknown	unknown
WW - 12	18AP114.9.B 18AP114.9.C	Body - 2	WWNT	Whiteware; Yellow and Black Transfer Print	Plate	Transfer Print		unknown	unknown	unknown
WW - 13	18AP114.9.B	Body - 1	WWNT	Whiteware; Yellow Transfer Print	Plate	Yellow Floral Transfer Print		unknown	unknown	unknown
WW - 14	18AP114.9.E	Rim - 1	WWNT	Whiteware; Blue Snowflake Transfer Print	Cup	Blue Transfer Print	3.5		unknown	unknown
WW - 15	18AP114.8.D	Rim - 1	WWNT	Whiteware; Molded Rim, Floral Decal	Plate	Molded, decal Green decal le	10		unknown	unknown
WW - 16	18AP114.9.D	Body - 1	WWOT	Whiteware; Mocha Annular Bands in Blue and Dk. Brown	Hollowware	Handpainted Blue, Dk. Brown		unknown	unknown	unknown
WW - 17	18AP114.8.D	Rim - 1	WWNT	Whiteware; Molded	unknown	molded Makers Mark: "ark", "celain", "sons"		unknown	unknown	unknown
WW - 18	18AP114.9.C [18AP114.8.38(2), 18AP114.8.G (12)], [18AP114.8.F (2), 18AP114.8.STP2(2)]	Base - 1	WWNT	Whiteware; Undecorated	Plate	Black		unknown	unknown	unknown
PW - 14	18AP114.8.STP2(2)]	Rim - 1 Body - 17	PWNT	Pearlware; Undecorated	Pitcher			unknown	unknown	unknown

41 Cornhill (18AP115) Ceramic Minimum Vessel Count

Vessel Numb	Context		Ware/Variety	Type	Vessel Form	Decorative Technique	Colors	Rim Diameter	Base Diameter	Height	
BB - 01	18AP115.11.C [18AP115.6.E, 18AP115.6.G] 18AP115.6.E	Body - 1	BBNT	Black Basalt Redware; Interior/Exterior Lt.	unknown			unknown	unknown	unknown	1750-1820
CE - 01	18AP115.11.D (?)	Body - 4	CEAM	Brown Glaze Redware; Interior	unknown		Lt. Brown	unknown	unknown	unknown	
CE - 02	18AP115.7.C 18AP115.6.F	Rim - 1 Rim - 1	CEAM	Dk. Brown Glaze Redware, Interior	Bowl		Dk. Brown	15	unknown	unknown	
CE - 03	18AP115.6.G	Body - 1	CEAM	Clear Glaze Terra Cotta;	Bowl			15	unknown	unknown	
CE - 04	18AP115.6.F	Rim - 1	CEUG	Unglazed Redware; Interior/Exterior	Bowl			10	unknown	unknown	
CE - 05	18AP115.11.40	Body - 1	CEAM	Brown Glaze Redware, Interior			Brown	unknown	unknown	unknown	
CE - 06	18AP115.11.5 18AP115.11.D	Rim - 1	CEAM	Brown Glaze Redware, Int/Ext			Brown	17.5	unknown	unknown	
CE - 07	18AP115.11.40	Body - 3	CEAM	Brown Glaze Redware, Interior/Exterior			Brown	unknown	unknown	unknown	
CE - 08	18AP115.7.24	Rim - 1	CEAM	Grey Slip Prehistoric Cermics;	Bowl/Hollowware		Grey	15	unknown	unknown	
CE - 09	18AP115.7.36 (3)	Body - 3	CEPR	Cord Marked	unknown	cord marked		unknown	unknown	unknown	
CE - 12	18AP115.15.D	Rim - 1	CEAM	Coarse Earthenware; Redware; Red Slip	Bowl/Hollowware		orange				
CE - 13	18AP115.15.D	Body - 2	CEAM	Coarse Earthenware; Redware; Interior		led glazed					
CE - 14	18AP115.19.49	Body - 1	CEAM	Lead Glaze Coarse Earthenware							
CE - 15	[18AP115.16.E(3)] 18AP115.16.E (2)	Body - 3	CEAM	Coarse Earthenware; Redware; Interior/Exterior	unknown	two sided black glaze					
RE-06	18AP115.16.63b	Body - 2		Lead Glaze Refined Redware; Engine Turned; Lead Glazed		indentation stripes	red				1760-1780
CE - 19	18AP115.14.E	Body - 1	CEAM	Coarse Earthenware; Terra Cotta	hollowware		orange				
CE - 21	[18AP115.15.D(7)]	Base - 7	CEAM	Coarse Earthenware; Redware; Interior	milk pan?	black and brown glaze					
RE-09	18AP115.15.D	Body - 1		Refined Redware; White Slip Glazed Annular Band, Interior/Exterior		red and white glaze, annular band	red, white				
RE-08	18AP115.16.C 18AP115.16.58	Body - 1 Rim - 1		Clear Lead Glaze Refined Redware; Interior/Exterior		red glaze on both sides					
CE - 25	18AP115.15.D (2)	Body - 1	CEAM	Clear Lead Glaze Coarse Earthenware Refined Redware;		brown glaze					
RE-10	18AP115.16.E	Body - 1		Interior/Exterior Dk. Brown Glaze		glaze on both sides	brown				
CE - 29	18AP115.15.D (3) 18AP115.15.E	Body - 1	CEAM	Coarse Earthenware; Redware; Interior/Exterior	hollowware	Dark Brown lead Glaze					

41 Cornhill (18AP115) Ceramic Minimum Vessel Count

CE - 30	18AP115.15.D 18AP115.15.69 18AP115.14.61a	Body - 3		Coarse Earthenware; Redware, Slip Trailed		Interior Lead Glaze, Slip Trailed, Yellow					
CE - 34	18AP115.15.D	Rim - 1	Hollowware	Coarse Earthenware; Redware; Interior/Exterior Lead Glaze; Possible handle in 14.D		lead glaze					
RE-07	18AP115.15.E	Body - 1		Refined Redware; Engine Turned; Lead Glazed		indentation pattern	red			1760-1780	
CP - 01	18AP115.11.D	Rim - 1	CPOT	Chinese Porcelain; Brown Glazed	Plate	handpainted	Brown, Blue	10	unknown	unknown	
CP - 02	18AP115.6.G	Rim - 1	CPUT	Chinese Porcelain; Handpainted Blue on White	unknown	handpainted	Blue	10	unknown	unknown	
CW - 01	18AP115.6.G	Rim - 1	CWNT	Creamware; Undecorated Scalloped Edge	Plate	Scalloped edge		too small	unknown	unknown	
CW - 02	18AP115.11.F 18AP115.11.D	Body - 1	CWNT	Creamware; Brown Annular Bands	Hollowware	handpainted	Brown	unknown	unknown	unknown	
CW - 03	18AP115.6.H	Rim - 1	CWNT	Creamware; Undecorated	unknown	none		too small	unknown	unknown	
CW - 04	18AP115.16.F63b	Rim - 1	CWNT	Creamware; Hand painted, annular band	Plate	Hand painted, annular band	Red	too small	unknown	unknown	
CW-10	[18AP115.15.C2(1)], 18AP115.15.D(1)]	Rim - 1	CWNT	Undecorated Creamware	Plate	none	White	larger than 9"	unknown	Unknown	
IR-05	18AP115.15.D	Rim - 1	IRUN	Ironstone Undecorated	Bowl/Chambe rpot?	none	White	9"	unknown	Unknown	1840-1930
CW-14	18AP115.14.49	Rim - 1	CWNT	Creamware Undecorated	Bowl/Holloww are	none	White	too small	Unknown	Unknown	
CW-05	18AP115.7.C	Rim - 1	CWNT	Creamware Undecorated	unknown	none	white	too small	unknown	Unknown	
CW-06	18AP115.16.E 18AP115.15.D, [18AP115.15.D(2)], [18AP115.15.D(5)]	Rim - 1	CWNT	Creamware	Plate	none	White	9"	unknown	Unknown	
CW-08	18AP115.16.58	Rim - 1	IRUN	Undecorated Creamware Ironstone	Bowl Plate	none none	White White	7" 9"	unknown unknown	Unknown Unknown	
EP - 01	18AP115.7.C	Base - 1	EPSP	English Porcelain; Handpainted Blue on White	Plate	handpainted	Blue	unknown		7.5 unknown	
IR - 01	18AP115.6.E (2)	Base - 1	IRUN	Ironstone Undecorated	Plate			unknown	unknown	unkown	1840-1930
IR-02	18AP115.16.63a	Rim - 1	IRNT	Ironstone Undecorated	plate	none	White	9-10"	unknown	Unknown	1840-1930
IR-03	18AP115.6.E	Rim - 1	IRNT	Ironstone Undecorated	plate	Scalloped edge	White	too small	unknown	unknown	1840-1930
OP - 01	18AP115.11.35	Rim - 1	OPNT	Porcelain; Burned Porcelain;	Cup			4	unknown	unknown	
OP - 02	18AP115.6.E	Base - 1	OPNT	Undecorated	Toy-size Saucer			unknown		0.5 unknown	Makers Mark "I
OP - 03	18AP115.11.40	Body - 1	OPNT	Semi-porcelain; Molded Vertical Lines	unknown			unknown	unknown	unknown	
OP - 10	18AP115.15.E	Rim - 1		Other Porcelain; Handpainted Overglaze		Brown decoration					Makers Mark "I
OP - 13	18AP115.15.D	Rim - 1	OPNT	Other Porcelain; Handpainted Overglaze, Guilded Rim		Gold ring					

41 Cornhill (18AP115) Ceramic Minimum Vessel Count

OP - 14	[18AP115.15.D (2)]	Rim - 2	OPNT	Other Porcelain; Undecorated	Hollowware/Cup	Undecorated				
OP - 18	[18AP115.16.E (2)]	Body - 2	OPNT	Other Porcelain; Handpainted Blue on White Underglaze		Blue decoration				
OP - 04	18AP115.15.66	Body - 1	OPNT	Other Porcelain; Handpainted Blue on White Underglaze		Blue decoration				
OP - 05	18AP115.15.48b 18AP115.15.D	Rim - 2	OPNT	Other Porcelain; Handpainted Blue on White Underglaze		Blue decoration				
OP - 06	18AP115.14.c	Body - 1	OPNT	Other Porcelain; Handpainted Blue on White Underglaze		Blue decoration				
OP - 07	18AP115.15.D (2)	Rim - 2	OPNT	Other Porcelain; Handpainted Blue on White Underglaze	Hollowware/Bowl	Undecorated				
OP - 09	18AP115.14.58 18AP115.7.C	Body - 1	OPNT	Other Porcelain; Handpainted Blue on White Underglaze		Blue decoration				
PW - 01	18AP115.11.40 18AP115.7.24 [18AP115.11.D (2)]	Rim - 1	PWNT	Pearlware; Blue on White Handpainted and Transfer Print	Bowl	handpainted and transfer print	Blue	7.5	unknown	unknown
PW - 02	18AP115.16.E	Rim - 2	PWNT	Pearlware; Green Shell Edged	Plate	scalloped, handpainted	Green	15	unknown	unknown
PW - 03	18AP115.7.C	Rim - 1	PWNT	Pearlware; Blue Shell Edged	Plate	scalloped, handpainted	Blue	10	unknown	unknown
PW - 04	18AP115.11.40 18AP115.14.6b	Rim - 1	PWNT	Pearlware; Blue Shell Edge	Plate	scalloped, handpainted	Blue	unknown	unknown	unknown
PW - 05	18AP115.11.40	Rim - 1	PWNT	Pearlware; Blue Shell Edge	Plate	handpainted	Blue	15	unknown	unknown
PW - 06	18AP115.6.G (2)	Rim - 1	PWNT	Pearlware; Green Shell Edged	Plate	scalloped, handpainted	Green	15	unknown	unknown
PW - 07	18AP115.11.F	Rim - 1	PWNT	Pearlware; Green Shell Edged	Plate	straight edge, incised lines,	Green	15	unknown	unknown
PW - 08	18AP115.11.F	Rim - 1	PWNT	Pearlware; Green Shell Edged	Plate	straight edge, incised lines,	Green	unknown	unknown	unknown
PW - 09	18AP115.6.H	Rim - 1	PWNT	Pearlware; Green Shell Edged	Plate	straight edge, incised lines,	Green	unknown	unknown	unknown
PW - 10	18AP115.11.40	Rim - 1	PWNT	Pearlware; Green Shell Edged	Plate	scalped edge, handpainted	Green	unknown	unknown	unknown
PW - 11	18AP115.11.40	Rim - 1	PWNT	Pearlware; Blue Shell Edged	Plate	scalloped edge, handpainted	Blue	15	unknown	unknown
PW - 12	18AP115.11.F	Rim - 1	PWNT	Pearlware; Blue Shell Edged	Plate	scalloped edge, handpainted	Blue	unknown	unknown	unknown
PW - 13	18AP115.7.C	Body - 1 (handle)	PWNT	Pearlware; Black Transfer Print	Cup	Transfer Print	Black	unknown	unknown	unknown
PW - 14	18AP115.11.35	Base - 1	PWNT	Pearlware; Black Transfer Print	Plate	Transfer Print	Black	unknown	unknown	unknown
PW - 15	18AP115.6.G	Rim - 1	PWNT	Pearlware; Blue handpainted	Bowl	handpainted	Blue	15	unknown	unknown
PW - 16	18AP115.6.D [18AP115.6.G, 18AP115.6.E]	Rim - 1 Body - 2	PWNT	Pearlware; Molded Bands	Bowl	molded		5	unknown	unknown
PW - 17	18AP115.6.G	Base - 1	PWNT	Pearlware; Blue handpainted	Plate	handpainted	Blue	unknown		4 unknown
PW - 18	18AP115.11.F	Rim - 1	PWNT	Pearlware; Blue Transfer Print	Plate	scalloped edge, transfer print	Blue	15	unknown	unknown

41 Cornhill (18AP115) Ceramic Minimum Vessel Count

PW - 19	18AP115.11.40 18AP115.6.G	Rim - 1	PWNT	Pearlware; Flow Blue Plate			Blue	15 unknown	unknown	
PW - 20	18AP115.6.H	Rim - 1	PWNT	Pearlware; Brown Annular Bands Plate	handpainted		Brown	unknown	unknown	unknown
PW - 21	18AP115.7.C 18AP115.6.F	Rim - 1	PWNT	Pearlware; Handpainted Brown and Green Plate	handpainted		Brown lines, G	15 unknown	unknown	
PW - 22	18AP115.16.58 18AP115.6.G [18AP115.11.40 (2)] 18AP115.6.D 18AP115.7.24	Rim - 1	PWNT	Pearlware; Handpainted Blue Plate	handpainted		Blue	unknown	unknown	unknown
PW - 23	18AP115.16.58	Rim - 1	PWNT	Pearlware; Flow Blue Plate			Blue	15 unknown	unknown	
PW - 24	18AP115.7.32	Rim - 1	PWNT	Pearlware; Handpainted Blue and Brown Plate		Brown annular band, blue h	Brown and Blu	15 unknown	unknown	
PW - 25	18AP115.6.D	Rim - 1	WWNT	Whiteware; Blue Handpainted Rim Plate	handpainted		Blue	15 unknown	unknown	
PW - 26	18AP115.11.40	Rim - 1	PWNT	Pearlware; Blue Transfer Print Plate	Transfer Print		Blue	unknown	unknown	unknown 1784-1840
PW - 27	18AP115.15.D 18AP115.6.E	Rim - 1 Body - 2 Rim - 1 Base with attached rim - 1	PWNT	Pearlware; Green Shell Edged Plate	unknown	Hand painted	blue, green, orange	unknown	unknown	unknown 1775-1840
PW - 28	18AP115.15.D	Rim - 1	PWNT	Pearlware; Blue Handpainted, blue annular band on both sides	unknown	Handpainted	Dk. Blue, Light Blue	8 unknown	unknown	unknown Barely visible blue pattern
PW - 29	18AP115.15.D(1) [18AP115.15.D(5)]	Body - 1 Rim - 1	PWNT	Pearlware; Blue Transfer Print Plate	unknown	Handpainted	Yellow, white, brown	unknown	unknown	
PW - 30	18AP115.15.D	Rim - 1	PWNT	Pearlware; Blue Transfer Print Plate	unknown	Transfer print	Blue, Dk. Blue	unknown	unknown	unknown 1784-1840
PW - 31	18AP115.16.C	Rim - 1	PWNT	Pearlware; Green Shell Edged lid	Scalloped edge		Green	unknown	unknown	unknown
PW - 32	[18AP115.15.D(4)]	Rim - 1	PWNT	Pearlware	unknown		Green	unknown	unknown	unknown
PW - 33	18AP115.17.61a	Rim - 1	PWNT	Pearlware; decorated on both sides	unknown	Hand painted	Blue	unknown	unknown	unknown
PW - 34	18AP115.6.G	Rim - 1	PWNT	Pearlware; Blue Transfer Print Plate	unknown	Transfer print	Dk. Blue	unknown	unknown	unknown 1784-1840
PW - 35	18AP115.15.D 18AP115.14.D	Rim - 1 Rim - 1	PWNT	Pearlware; Blue Transfer Print Plate	unknown	Transfer print	Blue	unknown	unknown	unknown 1784-1840
PW - 36	18AP115.16.C [18AP115.16.C(2)]	Body - 1 Rim - 1	PWNT	Pearlware; Transfer Print	unknown	Transfer print	Blue	unknown	unknown	unknown 1784-1840
PW - 37	18AP115.16.58 18AP115.16.E	Body - 1 Base - 1	PWNT	Pearlware; Green Shell Edged	unknown	Scalloped edge	Green	unknown	unknown	unknown
PW - 38	18AP115.16.C	Rim - 2	PWNT	Pearlware; Green Shell Edged	unknown	Scalloped edge	Green	unknown	unknown	unknown
PW - 39	18AP115.16.58 [18AP115.16.C(2)] 18AP115.16.E	Body - 2 Rim - 1	PWNT	Pearlware; Cabeling	unknown	Cabeling	Blue, Dk. Brown, Orange, Beige	unknown	unknown	unknown
PW - 40	18AP115.6.H	Rim - 1	PWNT	Pearlware; Blue Transfer Print Plate	unknown	Transfer Print	Blue	unknown	unknown	unknown 1784-1840
PW - 41	18AP115.15.D	Rim - 1	PWNT	Pearlware; Green Shell Edged	unknown	Scalloped edge	Green	unknown	unknown	unknown
PW - 42	18AP115.16.C	Rim - 1	PWNT	Pearlware; Green Shell Edged	unknown	straight edge	Green	unknown	unknown	unknown
PW - 43	18AP115.16.63b	Rim - 1	PWNT	Pearlware; Blue transfer print	unknown	Transfer print	Blue	unknown	unknown	unknown
PW - 44	18AP115.5.D	Rim - 1	PWNT	Pearlware; Blue Handpainted	unknown	Handpainted	Blue	unknown	unknown	unknown 1775-1840

41 Cornhill (18AP115) Ceramic Minimum Vessel Count

PW - 45	18AP115.16.C	Rim - 1	PWNT	Pearlware; Transfer Print	unknown	Transfer print	Blue	unknown	unknown	unknown	1784-1840
PW - 46	18AP115.16.E	Rim - 1	PWNT	Pearlware; Blue Transfer Print	unknown	Transfer print	Blue	unknown	unknown	unknown	1784-1840
PW - 47	18AP115.14.49	Rim - 1	PWNT	Pearlware; Green Shell Edged	unknown	straight edge	Green	unknown	unknown	unknown	
PW - 48	18AP115.16.C [18AP115.16.E(3), 18AP115.16.F(1)] [18AP115.16.F(3)]	Rim - 1	PWNT	Pearlware; Blue Transfer Print	unknown	Transfer Print	Blue	unknown	unknown	unknown	1784-1840
PW - 49	18AP115.11.F	Rim - 3	PWNT	Pearlware; Hand painted	unknown	Hand painted	Blue	unknown	unknown	unknown	1775-1840
PW - 50	18AP115.15.51	Rim - 1	PWNT	Pearlware;	unknown	Hand painted	Green	unknown	unknown	unknown	
PW - 51	18AP115.6.33	Rim - 1	PWNT	Pearlware;	unknown	Sponge	Red, Blue	unknown	unknown	unknown	1770-1830
PW-52	18AP115.14.55, 18AP115.15.D	Base -1 Body -1	PWNT	Pearlware; No patter	unknown	Undecorated	White	Unknown		2	
PW-53	18AP115.15.69, 18AP115.11.F(2)	Body-3	PWNT	Pearlware; Hand painted, Painted; Hand	unknown	Hand painted	Green	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	
PW-54	18AP115..15.d(2)	Body-2	PWNT	Painted	Unknown	Hand (blown) Painted	Brown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	
PW-58	18AP115.15.61b, 18AP115.6.1, 18AP115.15.D, 18AP115.14.G	Handle - 1 Body - 3	PWNT	Pearlware; Blue Transfer Print	Unknown	Hollowware with handle	Blue	Unknown	unknown	Unknown	
RE - 01	18AP115.7.24	Body - 1	RERR	Refined Redware; Very dark Brown glaze	Hollowware	incised lines	Dk. Brown	unknown	unknown	unknown	
RE - 02	18AP115.11.D 18AP115.11.F	Rim - 1 Body - 1	RERR	Refined Redware; Very dark Brown glaze	unknown	molded dots	Dk. Brown	unknown	unknown	unknown	
RE - 03	18AP115.11.40	Body - 1	RERR	Refined Redware; Brown Glaze		incised lines	Brown	unknown	unknown	unknown	
RE - 04	18AP115.11.E	Rim - 1	RERR	Refined Redware; Dk. Brown Glaze			Dk. Brown		7.5 unknown	unknown	
RE - 05	18AP115.11.40 18AP115.11.F	Base - 1 Base - 1	RERW	Refined White Bodied Earthenware; Unknown Type, Dk. Black/Brown Glaze	unknown			unknown	unknown	unknown	
RK - 01	18AP115.11.40	Body - 1	RKNT	Rockingham Ware	unknown			unknown	unknown	unknown	1850-1950
RK - 02	18AP115.14.61b	Rim - 1	RKNT	Rockingham Ware Stoneware;	unknown			Unknown	unknown	unknown	1850-1950
SG - 01	[18AP115.7.D/36, 18AP115.7.C] 18AP115.7.C	Rim - 1 Base - 2	SGAS	American Blue and Grey Stoneware;	Jar/Crock		Blue		10 unknown	unknown	
SG - 02	[18AP115.6.E (2)]	Body - 2	SGAS	American Blue and Grey Stoneware;	Hollowware		Blue	unknown	unknown	unknown	
SG - 03	18AP115.11.40	Body - 1	SGAS	American Brown Stoneware;	Jug		Brown	unknown	unknown	unknown	
SG - 04	18AP115.6.E	Body - 1	SGAS	American Blue and Grey Stoneware; Grey	unknown		Blue	unknown	unknown	unknown	
SG - 05	18AP115.11.F	Rim - 1	SGUN	Bodied, Clear Salt Glaze	Crock	unknown		unknown	unknown	unknown	
SG - 06	18AP115.16.D	unknown		Stoneware; Rhenish blue gray	unknown	unknown	blue, gray	unknown	unknown	unknown	1575-1775
SG - 07	18AP115.15.B	Base - 1		Stoneware; Grey bodied,	Jar	unknown	grey	unknown	unknown	unknown	
SG - 08	18AP115.15.71	Body - 1		Stoneware; American brown	part of a lip, jug	unknown	brown	unknown	unknown	unknown	
SG - 09	18AP115.11.40	Body - 1		Stoneware; English brown	unknown	unknown	brown	unknown	unknown	unknown	
TG - 01	18AP115.11.40	Body - 1	TGUN	Tin-Glazed Earthenware; White	unknown			unknown	unknown	unknown	

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TG - 02	18AP115.7.C	Body - 1	TGUN	Tin-Glazed Earthenware; Handpainted Blue on White	unknown		unknown	unknown	unknown		
TG - 03	18AP115.16.E	Base - 1	TGUN	Handpainted Blue on White, Floral	unknown						
TG - 04	18AP115. 11.40	Rim - 1	TGUN	Handpainted Blue on White, Annular Band Tin-Glazed Earthenware;	Plate	Blueish					
TG - 06	18AP115.15.f1	Body - 1	TGUN	Handpainted Blue on White	unknown						
WH - 01	18AP115.6.H	Body - 1	WHCA	Whieldon-Weldon Cauliflower Pattern White Salt-Glazed Stoneware	unknown	handpainted, molded	Green	unknown	unknown	unknown	
WS - 01	18AP115.6.D	Rim - 1	WSNT	White Salt Glazed Stoneware	Bowl/Cup	Moulded Rim	none	4	unknown	unknown	1720-1770
WS - 02	18AP115.14.C	Rim - 1	WSNT	White Salt Glazed Stoneware	Plate	Barley Pattern	White	too small			1720-1770
WS - 03	18AP115.15.E	Rim - 1	WSNT	White Salt Glazed Stoneware	Plate	Barley Pattern	White	too small			1720-1770
WW - 01	18AP115.6.G	Body - 1	WWNT	Whiteware; Mocha Yellow exterior with white handpainted dots	Hollowware	handpainted	yellow, white	unknown	unknown	unknown	
WW - 02	18AP115.7.C 18AP115.7.D/36	Rim - 1 Body - 2	WWNT	Whiteware; Blue Floral Transfer Print Whiteware;	Tableware (Pla	transfer print	blue	15	unknown	unknown	
WW - 03	[18AP115.7.24 (2)]	Body - 2	WWNT	Red/Orange Exterior Glaze	unknown		Reddish Orang	unknown	unknown	unknown	
WW - 04	18AP115.6.D	Rim - 1	WWNT	Whiteware; Blue Shell Edged Whiteware;	Tableware (Pla	handpainted	Blue	9	unknown	unknown	
WW - 05	18AP115.11.D	Base - 1	WWNT	Undecorated Whiteware; Red Transfer Print	unknown	Makers Mark "W.C.Co"		unknown	unknown	unknown	
WW - 06	18AP115.7.D36	Base - 1	WWNT	Whiteware; Undecorated, Scalloped and molded edge	Hollowware	Transfer Print	Red	unknown	unknown	unknown	
WW - 07	18AP115.11.D	Rim - 1	WWNT	Whiteware; Black Floral Transfer Print Whiteware; Red Transfer Print and Blue Handpainted floral design	Plate	molded, scalloped edge		unknown	unknown	unknown	
WW - 08	18AP115.6.H	Rim - 1	WWNT	Whiteware; Blue Annular Bands Whiteware; Blue Transfer Print	Tableware (Pla	transfer print	black	unknown	unknown	unknown	
WW - 10	18AP115.11.40 18AP115.6.E	Body - 1	WWNT	Whiteware; Blue Annular Bands Whiteware; Blue Transfer Print	unknown	transfer print and handpain	Red and Blue	unknown	unknown	unknown	
WW - 11	18AP115.11.D	Body - 1	WWNT	Whiteware; Blue Annular Bands Whiteware; Blue Transfer Print	hollowware		Blue	unknown	unknown	unknown	
WW - 12	18AP115.6.G	Rim - 1	WWNT	Whiteware; Blue Floral Transfer Print Whiteware;	plate	transfer print	Blue	unknown	unknown	unknown	
WW - 13	18AP115.6.G (2)	Rim - 1	WWNT	Whiteware; Blue Floral Transfer Print Whiteware;	Tableware (Pla	Transfer Print	Blue	unknown	unknown	unknown	
WW - 14	18AP115.11.40	Rim - 1	WWNT	Undecorated Whiteware; Transfer print	Hollowware/Cu	gothic panelling		unknown	unknown	unknown	
WW - 15	18AP115.14.6	Rim - 1	WWNT	Whiteware; Undecorated Whiteware; Blue Shell Edged	Tableware (Pla	Transfer print	Blue	unknown	unknown	unknown	
WW - 17	18AP115.16.E	Rim - 1	WWNT	Whiteware; Undecorated Whiteware; Blue Shell Edged	unknown	none	White	unknown	unknown	unknown	
WW - 18	18AP115.15.D 18AP115.16.F 18AP115.6.E	Rim - 1	WWNT	Whiteware; Undecorated	unknown	Blue edge	Blue	unknown	unknown	unknown	
WW - 19	18AP115.6.H	Rim - 3	WWNT	Whiteware; Undecorated	unknown	none	white	unknown	unknown	unknown	

41 Cornhill (18AP115) Ceramic Minimum Vessel Count

WW - 20	18AP115.16.61b	Rim - 1	WWNT	Whiteware; Green shelled edge	Plate	Hand painted	Green	unknown	unknown	unknown
WW - 21	18AP115.15.D	Rim - 1	WWNT	Whiteware; Handpainted with annular band	unknown	Hand painted	Brown	unknown	unknown	unknown
WW - 22	18AP115.15.D	Rim - 1	WWNT	Whiteware; Blue transfer print	Tableware (Plate)	willow pattern	Blue	unknown	unknown	unknown
WW - 23	18AP115.15.D (2)	Rim - 2 Body - 1	WWNT	Whiteware; Hand painted with Blue edge	Hollowware	Hand painted	3.5"	unknown	unknown	unknown
WW - 24	18AP115.15.D	Rim - 1	WWNT	Whiteware; Hand painted with annular band	Hollowware	Hand painted	Blue, Green, Brown	unknown	unknown	unknown
WW - 25	18AP115.16.E	Rim - 1	WWNT	Whiteware; transfer print	Tableware (Plate)	willow pattern	Blue	unknown	unknown	unknown
WW - 26	18AP115.16.E	Rim - 1	WWNT	Whiteware; Blue shelled edge	Tableware (Plate)	lines	Blue	unknown	unknown	unknown
WW - 27	18AP115.15.D	Rim - 1	WWNT	Whiteware; Blue Shell edged	Tableware (Plate)	incised lines	Blue	unknown	unknown	unknown
WW - 28	[18AP115.16.E(3)]	Rim - 1	WWNT	Whiteware; Blue Shell Edged	Tableware (Plate)	scalloped edge, hand painted	Blue	unknown	unknown	unknown
WW - 29	18AP115.15.D	Rim - 1	WWNT	Whiteware; Transfer print	Shallow Bowl	transfer print	Blue	unknown	unknown	unknown
WW - 30	18AP115.15.D	Rim - 1	WWNT	Whiteware; hand painted, annular band	unknown	Hand painted, annular band	Blue, pink	unknown	unknown	unknown
WW - 31	18AP115.6.E	Rim - 1	WWNT	Whiteware; Transfer print	unknown	transfer print	pink	unknown	unknown	unknown
WW - 32	18AP115.15.E	Rim - 1	WWNT	Whiteware; Transfer print	Plate	transfer print	brown	unknown	unknown	unknown
WW - 33	18AP115.16.E	Rim - 1	WWNT	Whiteware; Transfer print, curved edge	Plate	transfer print	green	unknown	unknown	unknown
WW - 34	[18AP115.16.C(2)]	Rim - 1	WWNT	Whiteware; transfer print, blue floral scalloped edge	Plate	transfer print	blue	unknown	unknown	unknown
WW - 35	18AP115.15.D (2)	Body - 2 Rim - 1	WWNT	Whiteware; hand painted dots	unknown	hand painted	blue	unknown	unknown	unknown
WW - 36	18AP115.16.E		WWNT	Whiteware; hand painted, mocha	hollowware	Hand painted, Mocha	blue, brown	unknown	unknown	unknown
WW-37	18AP115.7.C	Rim - 1	WWNT	Undecorated	unknown	none	White	Unknown	unknown	unknown
WW-38	18AP115.16.E	Rim - 1	WWNT	Undecorated	hollowware	large	White		unknown	Unknown
WW-39	18AP115.15.D	Rim - 1	WWNT	Undecorated	hollowware	none	White	Unknown	unknown	unknown
WW-40	18AP115.15.D	Rim - 1	WWNT	Undecorated	unknown	none	White		unknown	Unknown
YW - 01	18AP115.6.E	Body - 1	YWNT	Yellowware; White Annular Bands	Bowl/Hollowware	handpainted	White	unknown	unknown	unknown
WW - 16	18AP115.16.E	Base - 1	WWNT	Whiteware; Transfer print	Plate	transfer print; Adams Bologna pattern	Blue	unknown	unknown	unknown
WW - 41	18AP115.6.H	Body - 1	WWNT	Whiteware; Transfer print	hollowware	black wave transfer print	black	unknown	unknown	unknown

Appendix B: Results of Glass Analysis

40 Fleet Street (18AP110) Feature 14 Glass MVC

Code	Number	Type	Frag #	diameter	diameter	diameter	diameter	Provenience(s)	Form	Quantity	Technology	Embossing	Comments	Manufacture
BR	2	Container		11 unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	18AP110.2.F14d8	Beer Bottle	1	Moulded/Machine Made		Crown Cap Closure	
CL	2	Container		1 4.0"	.75"	unknown	1.5" long	18AP110.2.F14d7	Bottle	1	Moulded/Machi	McCORMICK & CO. BALTIMORE MD (on side), McC&CO	Non-Leaded	Owens Machine
CL	15	Container		1 unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	18AP110.2.F14d8	Bottle	1	Moulded/Machine Made			Owens Machine
CL	37	Container		1 4.75"	1"	unknown	1.6" square	18AP110.2.F14d8	Furniture Polish Bot	1	Plate Moulded	"C" on base		has cork and resin inside
CL	43	Container		1 2.25"	1.00"	unknown	2.5"	18AP110.2.F14d8	Ink Well	1	Moulded			
CL	3	Container		1 5.25"	2"	unknown	2.5"	18AP110.F14d1	Jar	1	Moulded/Machi	"HELWIG AND LEITCH, BALTIMORE MD" "CL"		Food - Helwig & Leitch located on G Carr-Lowrey Glass Company, Baltimore, MD
CL	32	Container		4 unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	18AP110.2.F14d8	Liquor Bottle	1	Moulded			1920-1963
CL	33	Container		1 1.25"	8.5"	unknown	3.25"	18AP110.2.F14a	Liquor Bottle	1	Plate Moulded	"C.314" on base		1880s-1920s
CL	34	Container		1 unknown	1 and 1/6"	unknown	unknown	18AP110.2.F14d7	Liquor Bottle	1	2 Piece Mold			
CL	35	Container		2 unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	18AP110.2.F14d7	Liquor Bottle	1	2 Piece Mould			1850s-1920s
CL	36	Container		1 unknown	1 and 4/12"	unknown	unknown	18AP110.2.F14d2	Liquor Bottle	1	2 Piece Mould			1850s-1920s
CL	39	Container		1 unknown	unknown	unknown	2.5" long	18AP110.2.F14d8	Liquor Bottle	1	1 Vented Mold			1880s-1920s
CL	4	Container		1 7.25"	1.25"	unknown	3.25" long	18AP110.2.F14d7	Liquor Bottle	1	Moulded	"E.P. JR&CO" on base		E. Packham Jr. & Company, Baltimore, MD - liquor bottle manufacturer
CL	52	Container		2 unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	18AP110.2.F14d8	Liquor Bottle	1	Moulded/Machine Made			Rounded Shoulders
CL	9	Container		5		unknown		18AP110.2.F14d8	Mason Jar	1	Molded/Embos	"TH"	Non-Leaded	Heroine half gallon mason jar. http://www.sha.org/bottle1870s
CL	30	Container		1 unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	18AP110.2.F14d8	Mason Jar	1	Molded			
CL	41	Container		1 7.50"	1.00"	unknown	unknown	18AP110.F14d1	Mineral Water	1	Moulded	"J.B. COOLAHAN ANNAPOLIS, MD REGISTERED		
CL	38	Container		1 unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	18AP110.2.F14d8	Mineral Water Bottl	1	Plate Moulded	"LTIMOR"		1880s-1920s
CL	40	Container		1 6.75"	1.25"	unknown	2.25"	18AP110.F14d7	Mineral Water Bottl	1	Moulded	"M.B. COOLAHAN ANNAPOLIS, MD THIS BOTTLE IS REGISTERED"		
CL	8	Container		2 4.75"	.75"	unknown	1.5" long	18AP110.2.F14d8	Patent Medicine	1	Moulded/ 2 par	"PROF LOW"		
CL	42	Container		1 5 and 1/8"	.75"	unknown	1 and 5/8" lon	18AP110.2.F14d8	Bottle	1	Moulded/Machine Made			Food - Pickles/Horseradish? suction scar
CL	7	Container		1 4 and 3/8"	7/8"	unknown	1.75"	18AP110.2.F14d7	Patent Medicine	1	Moulded			rounded/cork stopper
CL	44	Container		1 5.25"	1"	unknown	1.75" long	18AP110.F14d8	Picnic Flask	1	Moulded	"S G Co." on base		
CL	47	Container		2 unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	18AP110.2.F14d8	Round Bottle	1	Moulded			
CL	48	Container		1 unknown	unknown	unknown	2 and 3/8"	18AP110.2.F14d8	Round Bottle	1	Moulded	"X" in circle on bottom		
CL	49	Container		1 unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	18AP110.2.F14a	Round Bottle	1	Moulded/Machi	"BAKING" on shoulder		Baking Powder or Soda Bottle?
CL	50	Container		3 unknown	unknown	unknown	3.5"	18AP110.2.F14d8	Round Bottle	1	Moulded			
CL	1	Container		1 2.5"	1 and 3/8"	unknown	1.5"	18AP110.2.F14d7	Vaseline Jar	1	Moulded/Machi	"VASELINE" CHESEBROUGH NEW YORK		1908-1920s
CL	31	Container		1 unknown	unknown	unknown	2.5" long	18AP110.2.F14d8	Warranted Flask	1	Moulded	"WARRANTED FLASK"		This flask has a tooled double ring finish, no air venting 1880s-1920s
DG	1	Container		1	1.00"	unknown	2.75"	18AP110.2.F14d8	Wine Bottle	1	Moulded			
CL	18	Container/Hou		1 unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	18AP110.2.F14d8	Mason Jar (?) meas	1	Press Molded	measurement numbers - but does not look like a canning jar		
CL	26	Lighting		2 unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	18AP110.2.F14d7	Lantern Globe	1				plain edge
CL	28	Lighting		3 unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	18AP110.2.14d6	Lantern Globe	1				Scalloped Rim
CL	29	Lighting		2 unknown	2.5"	unknown	unknown	18AP110.F14.d8	Lantern Globe	1				plain edge
CL	51	Other		1		unknown	.75" diameter	18AP110.2.F14d8	Safety Goggle Lens	1	Moulded			
CL	5	Table		1 2.25"	4 and 3/8"	unknown	3.5"	18AP110.2.F14c	Candy or Jelly Dish	1	Press Moulded	Sunburst at base, circles around edge		
CL	27	Table		5 unknown	2.5"	unknown	unknown	18AP110.2.F14d6	Decanter Rim	1	Molded			Scalloped Rim
CL	11	Table		4 3.5"		unknown	2.25"	18AP110.2.F14d8	Drinking Glass	1	Press Molded			Ribbed at base, plain rim
CL	12	Table		3 unknown	2.75"	unknown	unknown	18AP110.2.F14d8	Drinking Glass	1	Molded			Single incised line at rim
CL	13	Table		3 unknown	3.00"	unknown	unknown	18AP110.2.F14d8	Drinking Glass	1	Press Molded			Ribbed at base, smaller ribbed lines at top and in body of glass
CL	14	Table		1 unknown	3.00"	unknown	unknown	18AP110.2.F14d8	Drinking Glass	1	Press Molded			Panels
CL	17	Table		3 unknown	2.75"	unknown	unknown	18AP110.2.F14d7	Drinking Glass	1	Press Molded			Ribbed lines near rim of glass (2)
CL	19	Table		1 unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	18AP110.2.F14d8	Drinking Glass	1	Press Moulded			Diamond pattern around base
CL	20	Table		1 unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	18AP110.2.F14d7	Drinking Glass	1	Press Molded			Small Ribbed lines near rim of glass
CL	21	Table		1 unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	18AP110.2.F14d8	Drinking Glass	1	Press Molded			Small Ribbed lines near rim of glass
CL	22	Table		2 unknown	2.00"	unknown	1.75"	18AP110.2.F14d8	Drinking Glass	1	Molded			undecorated
Amber	1	Table		1 unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	18AP110.2.F14d7	Drinking Glass	1	Press Molded			Diamond patter beginning about 1.25" below the rim
CL	23	Table		3 unknown	unknown	unknown	3.75" squar	18AP110.2.F14d6	Footed Fruit Bowl	1	Press Molded			Circular design - matches CL-10 (CL-10 is lid for this bowl)
CL	25	Table		4 unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	18AP110.2.F14d8	Footed Jelly Stand	1	Press Molded			basket-weave pattern
CL	45	Table		1 unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	18AP110.2.F14a	Glass Dish or Bowl	1	Pressed			Diamond Pattern
CL	10	Table		2		unknown		18AP110.2.F14b	Glass Lid	1	Press Molded			Circular design
CL	24	Table		1 unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	18AP110.2.F14d8	Nappy (low) Bowl	1	Press Molded			Diamond pattern
CL	6	Table		1 unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	18AP110.2.F14d8	Stemware - Opaque	1	Hand Blown			meltd - hand blown
CL	16	Table		1 unknown	unknown	unknown	2.0"	18AP110.2.F14d8	Tumbler Glass	1	Press Blown			Starburst pattern
CL	46	Table/Decorath		1 unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	18AP110.2.F14d8	Vase	1	Pressed			Diamond Pattern
WH	1	Unknown		2 unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	18AP110.2.F14d8	unknown	1	Moulded			Milk Glass

Table Glass unmarked bases -4 - 1 with pressed panels, 2 ribbed, and 2 plain/undecorated

Appendix C: Results of Faunal Analysis

40 Fleet (18AP110) Faunal NISP by Time Period

Time Period	Bird	Chicken	Goose	Bivalve	Deer	Dog	Sheep/ Goat	Pig	Cow	Rodent	Possum	Large Mammal	Medium Mammal	Unidentified Mammal
F. 14 Privy Fill	43**	7	4	49	6	1	14	46	15	9*	2	10	80	1

* Includes 2 designated as large, possibly part of possum; **Includes 18 medium, 14 medium to small and 3 small.

30 Cornhill (18AP114) Faunal NISP by Time Period

Time Period	Bivalve	Deer	Sheep/ Goat	Rabbit- sized	Pig	Cow	Waterf owl	Turkey	Large Artiodactyl	Artiodactyl
1820-1850	12	3	6	1	1	0	0	0	6	2
1850-1880	790	1	6	3	3	4	2	1	6	2
1880-1930	13	0	2	1	1	2	0	0	4	1

41 Cornhill (18AP115) Faunal NISP by Time Period

Time Period	Bird	Bivalve	Deer	Dog	Fish	Sheep/Goat	Pig	Cow	Rodent	Medium Mammal	Unidentified Mammal
1820-1850	12	171	0	0	1	5	2	2	0	1	14
1850-1880	8	965	0	0	0	2	2	4	0	1	31
1880-1930	25	328*	2	0	1	18	23	6	5	8	184

*Excludes oyster that was redeposited from earlier contexts in utility trenches in Test Unit 14.

40 Fleet Street privy skeletal element distribution by portion:

Portion	Bone	NISP	%NISP (w/o oysters)
Torso			
	Rib	72	33.96
	Vertebra	9	4.25
	Cervical vertebra	6	2.83
	Lumbar vertebra	3	1.42
Limbs, Girdles			
	Long bone fragment	24	11.32
	Radius	14	6.60
	Femur	12	5.66
	Ulna	10	4.72
	Humerus	8	3.77
	Tibia	6	2.83
	Tibiotarsus	5	2.36
	Carpometacarpus	3	1.42
	Coracoid	3	1.42
	Scapula	3	1.42
Head, Neck, Feet			
	Cranial	7	3.30
	Tooth	6	2.83
	Metacarpal	3	1.42
	Phalanx	3	1.42
<1% representation			
	Astragalus	2	0.94
	Costal cartilage	2	0.94
	Innominate	2	0.94
	Thoracic vertebra	2	0.94
	Calcaneus	1	0.47
	Fibula	1	0.47
	Mandible	1	0.47
	Metatarsal	1	0.47
	Sternum	1	0.47
	Tarsal	1	0.47
	Trapezoid-magnum	1	0.47
Total		212	

30 Cornhill Street, 1850-1880, skeletal element distribution by portion:

Portion	Bone	NISP	%NISP (w/o oysters)
Torso			
	Rib	5	
Limbs, Girdles			
	Long bone fragment	9	
	Femur	2	
	Ulna	1	
	Humerus	2	
	Tibia	1	
	Scapula	1	
	Pelvis Fragment	1	
	Metacarpal*	1	
	Metatarsal*	1	
Head, Neck, Feet			
	Cranial	1	
	First Phalange	1	
Total		28	

***sheep. Small fragments, not commonly eaten as a foot, probably cut off of limb.**

Comparative Faunal Data from Other Annapolis Sites (from Warner 1998b)

	Bellis Privy	Bellis Court Yardscatter	Bellis Court Total	Gott's Court Total	Maynard-Burgess Privy	Maynard-Burgess F71	Maynard-Burgess Yardscatter	Maynard-Burgess House Addition	Maynard-Burgess Total	Main Street Total
Pig	100	90	190	101	28	110	108	151	397	14
Cow	8	16	24	68	3	7	30	22	62	15
Unidentified Large Mammal	11	24	35	73	4	28	29	52	113	6
Unidentified Medium to Large Mammal	17	23	40	21					0	
Sheep	1		1	6		2	1	5	8	6
Sheep/Goat	3	12	15	27	2		14	12	28	8
Unidentified Medium Mammal	81	442	523	205	154	220	255	591	1220	16
Unidentified Small to Medium Mammal		9	9	2					0	
Beaver		1	1						0	
Cat	2	8	10	1	170	2	6	22	200	1
Dog		2	2	1	22			10	32	
Rabbit		1	1	1		5	1	11	17	
Opposum			0					8	8	
Muskrat		2	2	5					0	
Rat		5	5	1	14	4	6	42	66	9
Mouse			0			4		1	5	
Unidentified Rodent			0	5	2	1		1	4	
Unidentified Small Mammal	5	38	43	2	192	7	11	153	363	
Unidentified Mammal	86	295	381	109	84	165	467	560	1276	
Quail			0					1	1	
Chicken		28	28	9	46	31	23	38	138	39
Pheasant		1	1		16				16	
Mallard Duck			0		3	2			5	
Turkey	4	11	15	12		10	15	58	83	16
Canada Goose			0			1		5	6	
Pigeon			0						0	60
Pheasant			0						0	19
Reptile			0						0	7
Duck	8	3	11			5	1	11	17	
Unidentified Bird	16	214	230	71	125	151	265	673	1214	19
Unidentified Bird Shell			0			3		66	69	
Turtle		2	2			3	12	63	78	1
Crab			0		1			6	7	3
Oyster Shell		2	2				1	8	9	
Clam			0				1		1	
Unidentified Shell			0				2	38	40	
Fish		8	8	9	79	69	42	907	1097	29
Human			0		2				2	3
Unidentifiable	13	151	164		91	127	153	597	968	88
TOTAL	355	1388	1743	729	1038	957	1443	4112	7550	359

Sources: Bellis Court (Warner and Mullins 1993, Aiello and Seidel 1995) , Gott's Court (Warner 1992, Goodwin and Associates 1993), Maynard Burgess (Warner 1998b), Main Street (Lev-Tov 1987)

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