ABSTRACT

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                          AN ARCHAEOLOGY OF AFRICAN AMERICAN
                          CLASS AND IDENTITY IN ANNAPOLIS,
                          MARYLAND, 1850 TO 1930

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This dissertation explores the intersections of race and class within African

American communities of the 19th and early 20th centuries in order to expand our

understanding of the diversity within this group. By examining materials recovered

from archaeological sites in Annapolis, Maryland, this dissertation uses choices in

material culture to demonstrate that there were at least two classes present within the

African American community in Annapolis between 1850 and 1930. These choices

also show how different classes within this community applied the strategies

advocated by prominent African American scholars, including Booker T.

Washington, W.E.B. Du Bois, Anna Julia Cooper, and Nannie Helen Burroughs, as

ways to negotiate the racism they encountered in daily lives. One class, the

"inclusionist" class, within the community embraced the idea of presenting themselves as industrious, moral, clean, and prosperous to their White neighbors, a strategy promoted by scholars such as Booker T. Washington and Nannie Helen Burroughs. However, another group within the community, the "autonomist" class, wanted to maintain a distinct African American identity that reflected the independent worth of their community with an emphasis on a uniquely African American aesthetic, as scholars such as W.E.B. Du Bois suggested. The implementation of different strategies for racial uplift in daily life is both indicative of the presence of multiple classes and an indication that these different classes negotiated racism in different ways. This dissertation explores the strategies of inclusion and exclusion African American scholars advocated; how African Americans in Annapolis, Maryland implemented these strategies in daily life during the 19th and early 20th centuries; and how debates over implementing these strategies are still occurring today.

DOUBLE "DOUBLE CONSCIOUSNESS":
AN ARCHAEOLOGY OF AFRICAN AMERICAN CLASS AND IDENTITY IN
ANNAPOLIS, MARYLAND, 1850 TO 1930

By

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Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the
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Dedication

To Dee, for wanting to know more about her family

and

To my Dad and Mom, for finding me some archaeologists to job-shadow so I could

learn about the history of the people who didn't make it into the history books

Acknowledgements

First, I would like to thank Mark Leone for his support and advice throughout this dissertation process. His balance of tough-love and encouragement kept me going and helped me stay on track. I am deeply grateful for his patience and guidance over the last six years.

I am also thankful to the members of my dissertation committee. Many of the concepts in this dissertation were discussed over coffee with Matt Palus. These conversations were crucial to my own understanding of this project and I appreciate his sincere and critical reactions throughout the dissertation process. Paul Shackel challenged me with his thought provoking suggestions. His honest and supportive feedback has been helpful throughout this project. Pysche Williams-Forson introduced me to Anna Julia Cooper and Nannie Helen Burroughs and encouraged me to include these scholars, which greatly improved the dissertation. I am thankful for her advice, and supply of excellent references. Finally, Don Linebaugh taught me the tools and techniques used in historic preservation, and I am grateful for his attention to detail and encouragement throughout this project.

I owe my endless thanks to Dolores Levister for letting me explore her backyard, home, and family in this dissertation. Dee contacted Archaeology in Annapolis in the fall of 2009 after seeing a *New York Times* article about our work at Wye House Plantation. Her interest in learning more about her family, who had lived in the same house in Annapolis since 1850, and the invitation to Archaeology in Annapolis to excavate, started three seasons of archaeology in the backyard and basement of her house. I am so grateful that Dee has always supported this project –

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Whitlock. I am grateful to all these students for their hard work and positive attitudes in excavating and processing the artifacts used in this dissertation.

Dr. Paul Thacker encouraged me throughout my undergraduate years at Wake Forest University, taught my first archaeology classes, and guided me into graduate school. I am very thankful to him for teaching me my foundations, and continuing to provide me with honest advice and support, even after I graduated.

Thank you to Joy Beasley for letting a freshman in high school follow her around for two days at Monocacy National Battlefield learning what archaeologists do. During those two days, I discovered that I wanted to be an archaeologist, and this dissertation is the culmination of pursing that dream for the last fourteen years.

Thanks to Jocelyn Knauf and Amanda Tang for going first, and blazing the trail. And for always answering my g-chat and e-mail pleas for advice, and for reassuring me along the way. Beth Pruitt, Ben Skolnik, Stefan Woehlke, and Tracy Jenkins helped run the Archaeology in Annapolis Laboratory and excavations that made this dissertation possible. I appreciate their willingness to bounce ideas around and their encouragement throughout this experience. I also owe Mary Furlong and Courtney Hoffman thanks for being my dissertation-writing buddies, and for their understanding, support, and advice. I am grateful for their friendship and for our adventures in graduate school.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

This dissertation research began with a request from Dolores (Dee) Levister. She offered her backyard, and later her basement, in exchange for more information about her family and how they lived their lives. This developed into a friendly relationship, in which I helped Dee maintain her house in Annapolis, and she continued to support my research and offer stories about her family, the Hollidays. In order to understand her family, and their position within Annapolis, I expanded my research to include other African American families and other archaeological sites in the city. I am very grateful to Ms. Levister for all her help and support, and hope that this dissertation, in part, fulfills her request.

This dissertation explores the intersections of race and class within African American communities of the 19th and early 20th centuries in order to expand our understanding of the diversity within this often-homogenized group. By examining materials recovered from archaeological sites, this dissertation uses choices in material culture to demonstrate that there were at least two classes present within the African American community in Annapolis between 1850 and 1930. These choices also show how different classes within this community applied the strategies advocated by prominent African American scholars, writers and thinkers of the time to their daily decisions and developed ways to negotiate the racism encountered in their lives. One class within the community embraced the idea of presenting themselves as industrious, moral, clean, and prosperous to their white neighbors, a strategy of inclusion promoted by scholars such as Booker T. Washington and Nannie Helen Burroughs. As a result we see these ideas reflected in their material through

attempts to emulate certain White Victorian ideals, particularly in their choice of how to set their dining tables. However, another group within the community wanted to maintain a distinct African American identity that reflected the independent worth of the African American community, as scholars such as W.E.B. Du Bois suggested. In the households that belonged to this autonomous class, we also see that identity reflected in their material culture. The implementation of different strategies for racial uplift in daily life is indicative of the presence of multiple classes that negotiated racism in different ways.

The geographical focus of this dissertation is on archaeological sites in Annapolis, in part because of the extensive archaeological research that has been done in the city, and also because of the unique position that the city held during the 19th and early 20th centuries as part of a slave-holding state with a large free African American population prior to the Civil War. Using data from four sites excavated by Archaeology in Annapolis in the historic district of Maryland's capital city, this dissertation explores the idea that there were multiple classes within the African American community of Annapolis. These classes were not just externally imposed by a person's occupation or by whether or not one was living in a home that they owned, but were part of internalized identities expressed in daily life through material objects. Using an understanding of how material objects demonstrate a sense of belonging, I am able to look at the class-based knowledge that informs taste and how these tastes are reflected in the material objects that members of the African American community chose to use between 1850 and 1930. Demonstrating that multiple classes existed within the African American community in Annapolis, I am

able to explore the strategies of inclusion and exclusion African American scholars advocated; how these strategies were implemented in daily life in the 19th and early 20th centuries; and how debates over implementing these strategies are still occurring today.

Archaeology in Annapolis

Historic Annapolis President Anne St. Clair Wright first conceptualized Archaeology in Annapolis as part of a citywide historic preservation effort to preserve both the above- and below-ground resources and to help educate Annapolis residents, visitors, and students about the city's history. Under the direction of Mark Leone, the University of Maryland joined the project to conduct the archaeological investigations needed to achieve these goals. Archaeology in Annapolis is perhaps best known for its focus on capitalist ideology, its emphasis on publicly accessible excavations and interpretations, and its critical evaluation of the past. Since 1981, Archaeology in Annapolis has examined both famous historical figures (e.g. Logan et. al. 1992; Cox et. al. 1995) and forgotten men and women of the City, including African Americans (e.g. Mullins and Warner 1993; Deeley 2013) and, most recently, Filipino Americans (Deeley 2011). Through archaeology and public interpretation, Archaeology in Annapolis has exposed the inequalities in daily life, past and present, demonstrating that these inequalities have specific historical roots, sources, and trajectories, and, therefore, are not inevitable (Leone et. al. 1987).

Over the last 30 years, members of Archaeology in Annapolis have excavated more than 40 sites in the city's historic district, including State Circle (1989-1990) (Read et. al. 1990), the Jonas Green Print Shop (1983-1986) (Cox et. al. 1995; Little

1994), the Brice House (1998) (Harmon and Neuwirth 2000), and the Charles Carroll House and Garden (1986-1990) (Logan et. al. 1992). During the excavations of the Carroll House a bundle containing crystal, buttons and pins was recovered that is believed to be associated with West African spiritual practices (Deeley et. al. In Press; Leone et. al. 2014; Leone and Fry 2001). After finding this bundle, incorporating the presence and contributions of the city's African American community into mainstream Annapolis history became one of the Archaeology in Annapolis' primary goals (Leone 2005; Leone et. al. 2014; Leone and Fry 2001).

The four sites used in this dissertation are all part of the Archaeology in Annapolis' efforts to achieve this goal. Two of these sites, the James Holliday House and the Maynard-Burgess House, were purchased by free African Americans before Emancipation. The remaining two, 49 Pinkney Street and 40 Fleet Street, were tenement properties rented by African American families during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. All of the properties, except for the Maynard-Burgess House, are in the so-called East Street Cluster, identified by Sallie Ives (1979) as one of the five major clusters of African American occupation during this time period. The Maynard-Burgess House is in the cluster around Duke of Gloucester Street (Figure 1).

**Figure 1: Map of Dissertation Archaeological Sites in Annapolis, Maryland
(Base Map Source: Archaeology in Annapolis)**
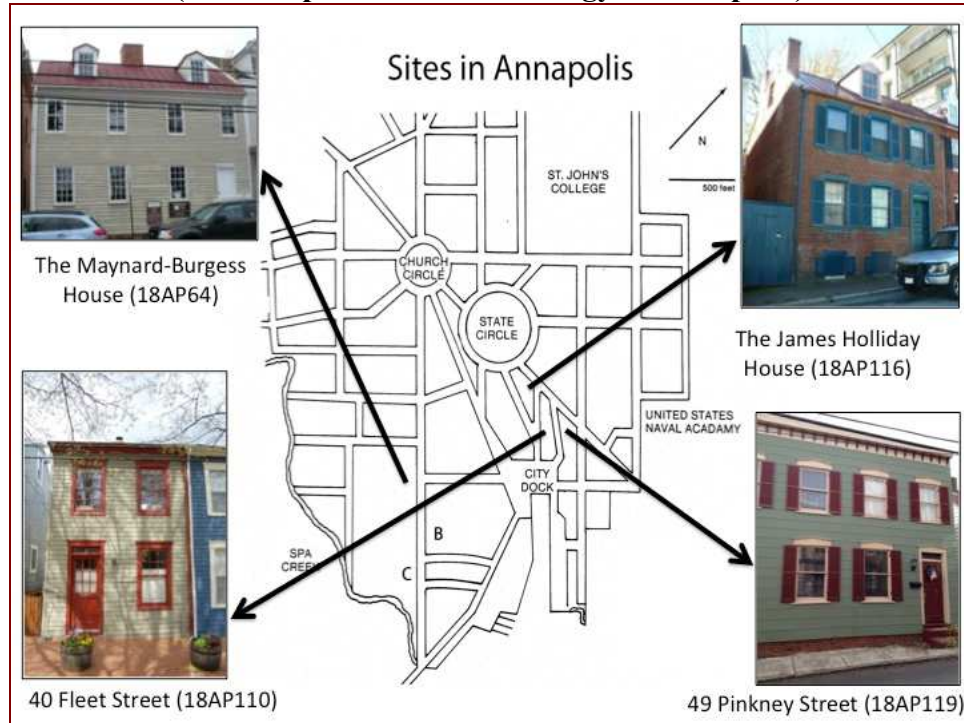
Research Questions

This dissertation focuses on two inter-related research questions, both designed to gain a better understanding of the intersections of race and class in the 19th and early 20th centuries. The first question is: *Can the material differences within the African American community be seen as representative of different class identities?* The second question is: *Do these differences in material culture relate to the different strategies advocated by prominent African American thinkers for negotiating racism in the 19th and early 20th centuries?*

The presence of multiple classes within African American communities, and the tension between them, has been documented in cities such as Washington, D.C. (e.g. Clark-Lewis 2002; Green 1967) and Baltimore (e.g. Hayward 2008) and historical records indicate that they also existed in Annapolis, as there were a variety

of occupations and living conditions available to African Americans at the time (Matthews 2002; Ives 1979; McWilliams 2011). But are these different classes also reflected in the material goods that they used and discarded and what does those differences mean? These material differences would not necessarily have been about income levels, since mass production had made many goods more widely and cheaply available. Instead, they likely reflect an internalization of class differences as part of a personal identity and a desire to differentiate oneself from the people with whom one is most closely identified (Nickles 2000; McCracken 2005; Lury 2011).

Mullins (1999a,b) scratches the surface of this problem in his work exploring 19th and early 20th century African American attempts to combat racism in Annapolis through opportunities in consumer culture. Specifically, he examines how African Americans purchased brand-named goods, which could be purchased through mail-order catalogs or chain stores, to avoid interactions with white sellers who might cheat them, and changed the foods they ate to avoid perpetuating racist stereotypes (Mullins 1999a). In this study, Mullins also identifies a pattern of mismatched ceramics in African American households in Annapolis. To explain this trend, Mullins looks at the household's economics, source of the goods, and desires to circumvent racism, which all likely played at least a part in the process of choosing the ceramics. From the tendency at one site, Mullins projects the pattern to the whole African American community in Annapolis. Although he examines additional sites, and addresses the fact that individuals from the other sites were likely of different socioeconomic statuses, he tends to imply that the individuals in these different groups would have experienced racism and reacted to racism in similar manners.

Because Mullins does not directly address the fact that there are multiple patterns, his explanation for the trend he found does not sufficiently answer or account for why there are different patterns of material culture within the African American community in Annapolis. This dissertation demonstrates that the application of different strategies of racial uplift accounts for many of the different patterns seen in the African American archaeological record in Annapolis.

Theoretical Frameworks

In this dissertation, I draw on several theoretical frameworks used to understand how identities are created, displayed, and reinforced. I explore each of these theoretical frameworks, including critical race theory, practice theory, and material culture theories, as well as theories on consumption, consumerism, and capitalism in more detail in Chapter 2. I use these theories to examine how identities are created and maintained in society through material goods. My approach is rooted in the concept that people express their identities, especially group identities, through the materials that they own, use, and eventually discard. Importantly, material goods reflect the owner's taste, a social phenomenon resulting from social trends, rather than individual choices. According to Bourdieu, taste operates as a guiding force in society, causing people to choose one object over another in order to demonstrate of their position in society (Bourdieu 1984; Lury 2011). Aesthetics are the visual representations of the choices that result from the social knowledge of taste. A person's possessions, as symbols of taste and aesthetic, then become signifiers of cultural knowledge (Lury 2011; Miller 2005). Therefore, if the possession of objects signifies possession of cultural knowledge, and cultural knowledge varies in different

groups, such as classes, then the objects possessed by each group should be different. In other words, different constellations of objects should reflect different identities and cultural knowledge. This allows me to examine how people identified themselves and look at group identities through the material culture associated with individuals.

Practice theory is used to operationalize the concepts of class and consumption and to make them something that archaeologists can study. The use of practice theory in this dissertation centers on the idea that class belonging can be demonstrated and interpreted through an understanding of the material conditions of existence. Using Bourdieu's theories on taste, my research operates under the assumption that differences in taste are reflective of different bases of knowledge and, therefore, of different classes (Bourdieu 1984). I also use practice theory to explore the manipulation of objects by their users, rather than their makers, which is useful in the study of consumerism because consumption is visible in the use of the object, rather than in the object itself (de Certeau 1984:xiii).

The concept of taste is unproblematic in a situation in which individuals can make conscious and deliberate choices about purchases. However, it is complicated when the source of the material goods an individual uses in his or her daily life is restricted, as would have been the case in a racist 19th-century market place. Despite market restrictions, though, it is still likely that people would have strived to demonstrate their identity or class belonging through the goods they owned. Therefore, we can look at the artifacts recovered from various sites in Annapolis to determine the meaning of material differences found in those goods. ,Do they reflect differential access to goods, differential employment locations, or different bases of

cultural knowledge? And can these things, when taken together, be interpreted as a difference in class?

African Americans and Class

In order to cope with pervasive racism, African Americans developed strategies for contending with discrimination and sometimes that meant establishing separate communities that operated parallel to mainstream White society (Wall et. al. 2008:98; Larsen 2003:118; Mullins 1999:4). Within parallel Black and White communities, different definitions of class distinction also developed, following a relational definition of class (Wurst and Fitts 1999:1; Wall et. al. 2008:99). This means that class definitions were based on a variety of factors, such as occupation, property, and real estate, and classes were contingent on the members' relationship to each other rather than the relationship to the means of production (Wurst and Fitts 1999:1). In White communities, class tended to be defined by variables like occupation, especially in the middle-class in which men were usually employed in professional occupations and women stayed at home (Wall et. al. 2008:104). However, because of the occupational discrimination faced by African Americans, professional jobs were not usually available to them, so other factors were used to define class status (Wall et. al. 2008:104; Paynter 1999:188-9). In African American communities, classes were more likely to be defined by whether or not an individual owned real estate, his level of education, and/or whether or not a person lived in a single-family home (Wall et. al. 2008:99-100, 103). In other words, in the African American community, class was defined, in many ways, by the possession of certain material objects.

Part of the separate, but parallel class system that developed in the African American community involved the development of resistance strategies to White racism, and often times these strategies involved taking advantage of the mass market system (Paynter 1999:188-9; Mullins 1999:4; Larsen 2003:118). This likely included purchasing china patterns that were purposefully distinct from or similar to those of their White neighbors, depending on the class to which they wanted to identify (Wall et. al. 2008:105; Wall 1999:114).

Class is, therefore, a difficult concept to define in African American contexts. Various criteria have been used to define socioeconomic class groups within the African American community, including education, income, occupation, skin color, manners, morals, and family background (Landry 1987:x, 23, 29; Gaines 1996:11; Pattillo-McCoy 1999:13-4; Gatewood 1990:149). The subjectivity and fluidity of many of these criteria meant that there was a full range of status groups within the community but that it was often difficult to identify what caused someone to be part of one class over another. There was considerable room for movement between the status groups and socioeconomic classes (Landry 1987:27; Peterson 2011:321; Gaines 1996; Gatewood 1990; Wilson 1980). Despite this fluidity, class was still an important part of African American identity, particularly for those who identified as part of the elite class. This tended to be a small group of mulattos and belonging to this group depended more on skin color, family background, and performance than other criteria for defining socioeconomic class (Landry 1987:21,39; Kerr 2006:xiv; Peterson 2011:321; Gaines 1996:11; Pattillo-McCoy 1999:13-4, 16). Distinguishing

between this group of elites and the Black masses was an important part of strategies for racial uplift, which were promoted by the elite for the masses.

For the purposes of this research, it is not important whether or not we can articulate what criteria would have caused one person to belong to one class over another. Instead, it is more important to demonstrate that multiple classes existed within the African American community in Annapolis, and that the boundaries between theses classes were reinforced in day-to-day actions and practices and visible in their material culture. Furthermore, the presence of multiple classes will also demonstrate that there was not one, universal reaction to racism in the 19th and early 20th centuries in Annapolis. Because race and class are closely related aspects of identity, it is logical that different classes would employ different strategies for racial uplift. These classes can therefore be thought of as an "inclusionist" class and an "autonomist" class. These class terms are based on the terms used by Manning Marable (1995) to describe categories of racial uplift strategies, with "inclusionist" strategies encompassing those that attempt to work within the structures of White society, and "autonomist," or Black Nationalist, strategies attempting to maintain a distinct and independent African American culture. These terms will be used in this dissertation rather than trying to classify the individuals who lived at the four sites examined as "working-class," "middle-class," or "upper-class" because of the fluidity of socioeconomic classes within the African American community. The "autonomist" and "inclusionist" classes can, therefore, absorb multiple and changing socioeconomic classes within a group that shares an identity based on the strategy of racial uplift they employ.

Using these theories, consumption, as a behavior and action, is used to explore class membership and identity. These concepts also allow me to explore the idea that individual and collective identity is based, in part, on a possession of certain knowledge and that demonstrating possession of that knowledge also is part of signifying a specific social identity. Strategies for identity creation and maintenance were in some ways best expressed by well-known African American thinkers of the time (e.g. Du Bois 2008[1904], 2008[1903], 2003 [1896]; Washington 1900[1899], 1995[1901], 2008[1903]; Cooper 1969 [1852]; Burroughs 1921) whose works can be used to help contextualize my research and demonstrate the presence of multiple class identities in African American communities between 1850 and 1930.

In order to understand how identities in the African American community were created and displayed in the past, it is important to account that these identities were not created in a vacuum and that they were affected by historical societal structures. When studying the 19th and early 20th centuries, this means acknowledging the White, Victorian social ideals that were pervasive in society. It is also important to take a critical approach to these norms because African Americans had to interact with these societal structures, that were not created by or for them, on a daily basis. Understanding these structures is important in order to study how the presence Victorian ideals affected both how African Americans saw the structures and interacted with them.

In Chapter 2, I also briefly consider the history of African American archaeology, including how archaeologists have previously dealt with the challenge of acknowledging the White social structures, and where my dissertation fits in this

history. In the past, archaeological research examining African American communities has placed emphasis on defining differences between Black and White communities, particularly examining artifact patterns, and identifying models of transformation and creolization (e.g. Ferguson 1992, 1999; Perry and Paytner 1999; Ruppel et. al 2003; Singleton 1985, 1999; Leone, La Rache, and Babiarz 2005; Deetz 1999; Emerson 1999; Franklin 2001; Leone, Fry, and Ruppel 2001). These studies usually examined African American communities in the context of plantations and slavery, but over time they have expanded to also explore non-plantation contexts, placing emphasis on freedom and resistance instead of enslavement and oppression (e.g. Wilkie 2004; Singleton 1999; Leone, La Roche, and Babiarz 2005; Singleton 2001; Larsen 2004; Matthews 2001; Mullins 1999a, 1999b; Matthews 2001; Little and Kassner 2004; Cheek and Friedlander 1990). These plantation and non-plantation studies demonstrate the importance of considering localized context because race and racial identity are experienced by individuals and, in different contexts, result in different strategies for negotiating racism.

Negotiating Racism in the 19th and 20th Centuries

In order to understand how the class differences indicated by material goods are indicative of the application of different strategies for negotiating racism, Chapter 3 explores the writings of Booker T. Washington (1900[1899], 1995[1901], 2008[1903]), W.E.B. Du Bois (2008[1904], 2008[1903], 2003 [1896]), Anna Julia Cooper (1969[1852]), and Nannie Helen Burroughs (1921). These African American scholars, teachers, and writers proposed very different techniques for how African Americans could and should be successful in post-Emancipation America. These

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strategies for negotiating racism are explored through primary and secondary sources, specifically looking at how they could be translated into day-to-day decisions. The strategies promoted by Washington and Burroughs encourage an industrial education and working within the structures of White society. Du Bois and Cooper argue, on the other hand, for a generalized education and the development of self-sufficient African American communities. It is important to understand the potential material consequences of these distinct strategies in order to understand how could be reflected in the archaeological record. Once the differences in strategies are understood, differences in material goods found in the archaeological record can then be linked to the implementation of different strategies for negotiating racism.

Chapter 4 looks at how these theories and strategies were played out at the local level through a brief history of Annapolis. This history includes the first settlement of colonial Maryland, the first settlement of the city of Annapolis, and Annapolis' colonial and early revolutionary history. This chapter then looks at the development, or lack of development, that characterized the city during the 19th century, followed by a description of the rise of tourism and historic preservation in 20th-century Annapolis.

This general history is followed by a specific history of the four archaeological sites examined in this dissertation: the James Holliday House (18AP116), the Maynard-Bugress House (18AP64), 49 Pinkney Street (18AP119), and 40 Fleet Street (18AP110) in Chapter 5. The James Holliday House is a brick townhome that has been owned and occupied by the same African American family since 1850. John Maynard, a free African American, purchased the Maynard-Burgess

House in 1847, and three generations of his family lived there before it was sold to a former border in the early 20th century. The other two sites, 49 Pinkney and 40 Fleet Street, are both wood frame attached townhomes that were built in the late 19th century and occupied by a number of predominantly African American renters in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. This site history highlights the architectural design, history of development, chain of title, and history of the occupants of each site. Chapter 5 also briefly describes the archaeological investigations that took place at each site.

This study focuses on the time period between 1850 to 1930. I choose these dates because 1850 is the year in which James Holliday purchased his brick townhome in Annapolis. It is also the first year from which we have census records enumerated in a way that can identify the individuals living at the sites being studied. Also, starting the period of examination with 1850 allows for some exploration of differences that may have existed before and after Emancipation. This is particularly important in the case of the sites the Maynard-Burgess House and the James Holliday House, where the occupants were freed slaves who owned their own property before the Civil War. The cut off date is 1930 because by the 1930s, municipal trash collection had begun in Annapolis and the kinds of materials recovered from the period after the 1930s are very different from those recovered prior to formal trash collection.

African American Identities and Material Culture

Ceramics

Ceramics are among the most numerous and best preserved artifacts in historic archaeological sites. As a result, these artifacts have been examined for a variety of reasons and are particularly well suited to analyses that focus on identifying chronologies through changes in form, material, function, and decoration over time in the archaeological record (Bograd 1991; Kintigh 1989; Miller 1980). Ceramics are also commonly used to explore levels of wealth among individuals in the past, and to discuss evidence of social structures and class in the archaeological record (e.g. Wall 1991, 1999; Spencer-Wood 1987; Wall et. al. 2008; Mullins 1999). However, some archaeologists have critiqued studies that equate cost of ceramics with class, suggesting that economic scaling of ceramics can only provide an index of income and not of social class (Bograd 1991:2). Therefore, other approaches have become more common in the study of ceramic assemblages in order to evaluate social structures in the archaeological record. These include examining the presence or absence of matching sets of ceramics (e.g. Mullins 1999; Warner 1998; Wall 1991, 1999) and examining the diversity of a ceramic assemblage (e.g. Walker 2008; Chidester and Gadsby 2011).

In my dissertation, I use ceramics to examine differences between the material goods acquired, and then discarded, by different groups of African Americans in Annapolis in the 19th and early 20th centuries. The ceramic analyses used, described in Chapter 6,includes a ceramic minimum vessel count (MVC); comparing the ratios of teaware and tableware; examining the richness of the ceramic assemblages; and finally, looking at the presence or absence of matching sets of dishes. These analyses

rely on qualitative analyses, using MVCs and descriptions of the ceramics to determine the similarities and differences between the assemblages. Each of the four sites analyzed for this study have MVCs for the ceramics, which include information about the number of vessels found on the sites, the type of ceramic (i.e. creamware vs. porcelain), the forms of the vessels, and a classification of the applied decorative techniques. This information is used to re-establish the functions of the dishes and the taste embodied in these vessels. These analyses indicate the presence of at least two different tastes in choosing ceramic dishes, which are indicative of the cultural knowledge of two classes. Demonstrating the possession of a taste, and its associated knowledge, through the accumulation of specific types of material culture is how individuals were able to reinforce their class belonging and reinforce the boundaries between the classes.

Glass

Glass, like ceramics, is a common subject of study, especially for historical archaeologists (e.g. Jones 1993; Busch 1987; Linn 2010; Staski 1984; Lorrain 1968; White 1978). Glass artifacts don't typically occur in the same large numbers as ceramic artifacts and are often found in much smaller pieces (Larsen 1994:70). However, when large pieces and numbers of glass are recovered, they can provide archaeologists with lots of information about the people who used them in the past. Glass can be classified many different ways, including by color, form, how it was made, and what was contained in the glass (White 1978; Lorrain 1968). Bottles made of glass, in particular, are a popular topic of study in archaeology and are used to study patterns of alcohol consumption, social stratification, ethnicity, and medical

practices, in addition to being used to date archaeological sites (e.g. Staski 1984; Bonasera and Raymer 2001; Busch 1987; Linn 2010; Larsen 1994).

After examining the ceramic assemblages, I describe the glass collections and the group of artifacts typically classified as "small finds" in Chapter 7. Examining bottle glass, in particular, helps me determine where individuals were obtaining the materials that they used and discarded in their homes, demonstrating that two of the sites had a preference for national brand products while the others seemed to prefer locally produced glass-bottle products. Not all of the sites used in this dissertation have minimum vessel counts for glass, but the Maynard-Burgess House, the James Holliday House, and 40 Fleet Street all have barrel privy features for which this secondary analysis was conducted. The comparison of the James Holliday and Maynard-Burgess Houses, in particular, helps bolster the argument that these two sites were occupied by individuals in the same class within the African American community in Annapolis because they were using the same types of materials, obtained from the same, or similar, sources.

Chapter 7 also examines a class of artifacts most commonly associated with women and their work: buttons and sewing materials. Buttons are the most common type of artifact on historic archaeological sites associated with personal adornment, and dress. Often buttons are the only part of clothing that survives in the archaeological record (Prown 1982:4). They are found in large numbers and in large variety of sizes, shapes, materials, and designs. In addition to being used to comment on clothing and fashion, buttons, and the materials used to attach buttons to clothing, are often used to talk about the roles of women and the occupational opportunities

available to them (e.g. White 2005; Loren 2010; Deagan 2002; Beaudry 2006). This second approach is the one I use in Chapter 7. The large number of buttons at the James Holliday House and Maynard-Burgess House and the relative lack of buttons at 40 Fleet Street and 49 Pinkney Street indicate that the women who lived at these homes were employed in different occupations, with women doing work that required the presence of a large number of garments at the former two sites, and women working outside of their homes at the latter two sites. This is likely due to the different financial needs of the households and the types of activities deemed acceptable for women in different classes within the African American community.

The variation of archaeological artifacts at the four sites is not the only indication of differences between the sites' occupants. The written record shows that the residents also had different occupations. The types of occupations, the industries to which these occupations belonged, the number of individuals in the household working, and the location of these jobs inside or outside the house are explored in Chapter 7. This analysis also indicates the presence of at least two classes, an "inclusionist" class and "autonomist" class within the African American community in Annapolis between 1850 and 1930.

Conclusion

This dissertation ends with a discussion of how the material culture found on four archaeological sites in Annapolis, Maryland demonstrates the presence of two social classes within the African American community of the city, and how it also indicates the implementation of different strategies for racial uplift as various prominent African American scholars of the 19th and 20th centuries promoted. One

group within the community, the "inclusionist" class, embraced the ideas of

Washington and Burroughs, and wanted to present themselves as industrious, moral,

clean, and prosperous to their White neighbors. As a result we see attempts to emulate

White Victorian ideals in some aspects of their material culture, especially in their

choice of how to set their dining tables. However, another group within the

community, the "autonomist" class, wanted to maintain a distinct African American

identity, like Du Bois suggested, one that was uniquely African American and

displays "a stalwart originality which shall unswervingly follow Negro ideals" (Du

Bois 2003[1896]:45). In these households, we also see that identity reflected in their

material culture. The actualization of different frameworks is representative of

different strategies or practices of everyday life, and therefore different identities.

This final chapter, Chapter 8, also briefly considers how the debate about how best to

achieve racial uplift is still occurring in the 21st century.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Approaches and Frameworks

For this dissertation, I examine identity, particularly racial and class identity, and how it can be, and has been, expressed in material goods. This is rooted in the concept that people express their identities, especially group identities, through the materials that they own, use, and eventually discard. The choices that resulted in the acquisition of these objects are based on internalization of social patterns, and reflect the taste of the owner. Taste operates as a guiding force in society, causing people to choose objects and materials that demonstrate possession of a specific cultural knowledge and an understanding of their position within society (Bourdieu 1984; Lury 2011). This knowledge is also embedded in the objects themselves and the objects therefore become signifiers of cultural knowledge (Lury 2011; Miller 2005). Therefore different kinds of objects should reflect different identities and cultural knowledge. This correspondence allows for the examination of how people identified themselves, in terms of both race and class, through the objects they used. This in turn allows us to extrapolate group identities through the study of individuals. Drawing on several different theoretical frameworks, including theories of identity, critical theory, theories on consumption, and practice theory, this study seeks understand the intersections of race, class, and identity.

Identity Theory

In order to study the material expression of class within the African American community of Annapolis, I use identity theory to explore how individuals and groups express various aspects of their identity, including class, in their day-to-day lives. The

concept of identity and the theories surrounding its use come in two primary forms: one which refers to identity of self and one which refers to collective, or group, identity. This is due, in part, to the fact that identity is shaped by both the individual and the superstructures of society as a whole (Wilkie 2001; Sokefield 1999; Bourdieu 1984). When combined, this understanding of identity serves many purposes, including allowing individuals to identify, or categorize, themselves and the individuals around them; to develop a self-understanding of social location; and to create a sense of group-ness or collectiveness (Brubaker and Cooper 2000:14-21). For my study of group or collective identity, specifically in reference to collective identities associated with race and class, will be examined through the understanding that these identities are directly related to, and shaped and influenced by, the experiences and identity of specific individuals and vise versa; neither individual identity nor group identity exists independently because both are embodied in the self. Sokefield (1999) sees the "self" functioning as the place in which conflicting identities can co-exist because they are transformed and embodied within the self. Cohen (1994) agrees and sees identity as the result of behaviors of an individual and the process through which an individual combines their various roles into a single cohesive image or identity, which can then be expressed outwardly in behaviors or demonstrations of cultural knowledge.

When discussing identity, either individual or collective identity, it is agreed that race, gender, and class have an impact on the way in which people conceptualize themselves or the group of which they are a part. These and other aspects of identity influence each other and do not exist independent of one another (Wilkie 2001). As a

result, it is very difficult to just study one aspect of identity construction, such as race or class, without acknowledging that all these elements affect how individuals and groups view themselves and how each identity affects the other. However, group identities are based on perceived shared characteristics. Therefore, by identifying the shared characteristics of people who behave in a certain way to demonstrate belonging to a specific group, you can study the expression of that characteristic or group of characteristics as an expression of group identity.

Understanding individuals as the place where multiple identities converge and are acted out in daily life lends itself to the use of identity as an active category of practice, rather than as a static category of analysis. To use identity as a category of practice, you do not have to specifically define the characteristics that cause a person to believe that they belong to one group or another, but rather you need to demonstrate that they use this identity to organize their daily actions and behaviors (Brubaker and Cooper 2000:4-5).

Identity is not only shaped by individual internalization of cultural factors, but is also shaped by the larger superstructure of dominant culture (Miller and Rose 1995). Therefore, individual and collective identities are both influenced by, and the result of, external forces imposed by the dominant culture, and the roles and behaviors expected of an individual within that dominant structure. Brubaker and Cooper (2000:28) acknowledge the power of imposed categorization on the construction of self-identity and the impact that can have both at the individual and collective level, especially in terms of racial identity and Black identity.

Some scholars, such as Nicholson (2008), assert that the concept of race is one of the major obstacles to creating an identity because it is often a category imposed on individuals by the external structure of dominant society. However, because identity is affected by and in part created by, these imposed categories, race is not an obstacle but rather a factor that must be considered when examining identity. Other scholars maintain that race is a useful aspect of the study of identity because it can be used as a means of establishing common ground and can help in acknowledging and identifying collective identity (Franklin 2001). Collective identity can also help to highlight and signal group boundaries within society and is the easiest to identify through its expression in various aspects of material culture (Franklin 2001). Collective identity is therefore the unit of analysis for this dissertation. Collective identity is also used because different classes should have different collective identities.

Critical Theory and Race

To be able to study the presence and meaning of multiple classes within the African American community of Annapolis, I had to explore the implications of the decisions made within the context of the historical social structures present in the 19th and early 20th centuries. In the years following the end of the Civil War, African Americans searched for ways to secure their new freedoms while avoiding the trappings of slavery (Berlin 2010:138). This included negotiating the officially sanctioned segregation of public spaces, such as parks, schools, libraries, restrooms, hotels, drinking fountains, and restaurants, as well as constant the implementation of

racial subordination and the threat of physical and psychological violence that characterized Jim Crow Era-America (Berlin 2010:164; Gaines 1996:52).

When examining structures created and reinforced by racism like those of the Reconstruction and Jim Crow eras, it is important to take a critical approach. It is necessary to examine how white privilege was pervasive in these structures and how this, in turn, affected African American identities and expression of those identities in their day-to-day lives. Critically examining white privilege in societal structures like the market place and Victorian etiquette, which African Americans had to interact with but which were not created by them or for them, is particularly important for understanding how it affected both how African Americans saw these structures and interacted with them.

The concept of "race" as a mechanism for social stratification and form of identity is a relatively new concept, first appearing in the social consciousness in the 17th century and developing a clear meaning in the 18th century (Breen and Innes 1980; Smedley 1998; Shackel 2003). Prior to the 17th century, distinctions between groups of people were primarily made based on ethnicity, with ethnic groups being considered "clusters of people living in demarcated areas develop[ing] lifestyles and language features that distinguish themselves from others and they perceive themselves as being separate societies with distinct social histories" (Smedley 1998:691). These ethnicities were fluid and constantly changing, and biological variations within and between these groups were not ascribed significant social meaning. Under these conditions, people were not organized into equal or ranked

categories based on a limited number of biophysical traits, as they later would be in classifications by racial groups (Smedley 1998).

Race became a dominant form of identity in societies in which it functioned to create a stratified, hierarchical social system (Smedley 1998). For example, in the 17th century, the Africans who arrived in Virginia as slaves were initially not treated very differently from white indentured servants and relationships between blacks and whites were largely structured by economic status, not a racial identity. Owning property had more impact on identity than skin color (Breen and Innes 1980). However, by the end of the 17th century, after Bacon's Rebellion, conditions in Virginia changed, and by 1705, racial discrimination had increased, and racialized identities were imposed on the colonial populations. The change in White planters' attitudes in Virginia that led to racial discrimination reflects the overall transition to basing identity on biophysical characteristics (Breen and Innes 1980). The transition from categorizing people based on ethnicity to categorizing them on perceived racial categories brought about a subtle, but important transformation because racial categories imposed a hierarchical social meaning on physical variations that were then used to structure society as a whole (Smedley 1998:693).

Using the empiricism of Enlightenment thinkers and the notion that an individual is equivalent to his attributes, also allowed individual attributes to be alienated at will, and made it possible for a single characteristic, such as skin color, to be the criterion on which humanity is judged, or, in the case of chattel slavery, the criterion on which humanity was denied (Epperson 1994:16-17). To demonstrate how race became an entrenched, constructed concept, Epperson (2001) explains how

spatial relationships on Virginia plantations changed over time as racialized slavery became increasingly well established. Using an account from a French traveler going through colonial Virginia, Epperson demonstrates how the spatial separation on a 17th-century plantation between indentured servants and slaves was mistaken for being based on religion, and not race. By showing the mistake of this French traveler, Epperson shows that "race" had not yet become the main way of categorizing people, and therefore was not a concept that had always existed (Epperson 2001).

Social identification and stratification by racial categories was seemingly based on physical, observable differences between populations in the New World, but its real meanings and implications were the result of combined social and political situations European colonists found desirable (Smedley 1998:694; Shackel 2003). The combination of skin color prejudice, the institution of slavery, and the idea of the Great Chain of Being, which positioned different natural categories in a hierarchy, developed into race and racial categories in the 17th and 18th centuries, becoming a social mechanism that allowed colonial populations to interact with one another (American Anthropological Association 1998; Harrison 1995). By asserting the superiority of the colonists, and the inferiority of people who were physically different, the colonists were able to justify the subjugation of the Africans being imported to support the institution of slavery (Smedley 1998:694). It conflated biology and culture into a hierarchical evolutionary classification system of biological determinism (Mintz and Price 1976; Smedley 1998; Mukhopadhyay and Moses 1997; American Anthropological Association 1998:713). The European institutions that were implemented were designed to reinforce the separation of free European and

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enslaved African populations (Mintz and Price 1976). This led to the creation of a

social system and worldview that grouped individuals together into races based on

physical characteristics and then assigned statuses, behaviors, and symbolic meaning

to each race. This worldview asserted that cultural behavior was genetically

determined, just like biological variation. By the 19th century, this system of

differentiating and arbitrarily ranking people based on physical characteristics had

been incorporated into the dominant ideology of the American people (Smedley

1998:695).

In the 19th and early 20th centuries, the anthropological approach to race was

strongly influenced by theories promoting unilineal and evolutionary development of

peoples and cultures (Mukhopadhyay and Moses 1997; Smedley 1998; Harrison

1995). Early intersections of bioarchaeology and physical anthropology with race,

under the guidance of E.A. Hooton and Ales Hrdlicka, revolved around the creation

of hierarchical rankings and classifications and naturalistic views of race (Blakey

2001; Mukhopadhyay and Moses 1997; Thomas 2000). The traditions of Hooton and

Hrdlicka continued until the practices and ideas of Franz Boas took hold in

anthropology (Harrison 1995:52; Thomas 2000). Boas began questioning the key

elements of the American racial worldview as early as 1897 (Mukhopadhyay and

Moses 1997:518). After the extermination of 11 million Jews under the guise of

eliminating "inferior races" during World War II, Boasian theories of cultural

relativism, combined with the rise of population genetics from 1930 to 1950, helped

cause a paradigm shift within anthropology, from static definitions of races based on

biophysical characteristics to an understanding that populations are dynamic

categories of people with overlapping gene distributions (Mukhopadhyay and Moses 1997:519; Harrison 1995; Shackel 2003; American Anthropological Association 1998; Thomas 2000). Scholars in anthropology and other disciplines increasingly began to see "race" as a social and cultural construction that has no intrinsic relationships to human genetic and physical variation (Smedley 1998:690; Shackel 2003).

By the 1980s, most anthropologists had adopted an understanding of race as a socially constructed concept rather than a valid biological construct (Mukhopadhyay and Moses 1997). The American Anthropological Association (1998) issued a formal statement on the study of race, acknowledging that it has become clear through scientific study that humans are not divided in biologically distinct groups. In fact, it was discovered that there is more variation within racial groups than between them (American Anthropological Association 1998). With conceptions of a biologically determined race well entrenched in popular imagination and dominant ideologies this shift within the anthropological community initially did not have a large external impact (Mukhopadhyay and Moses 1997).

By the end of the 20th century, anthropologists began to question why they had not been more successful in dismantling popular conceptions of biological race and disseminating their ideas about the social construction of race. Some even argued that when anthropologists stopped talking about race as a biological category, they stopped talking about race altogether (Mukhopadhyay and Moses 1997:520-1). After dismantling racism's biologically validity, what was needed was a push to critically evaluate the social construction of race (Harrison 1998). As part of this effort, it is

important to begin archaeological considerations of African American identity from the perspective of race, rather than ethnicity (Singleton 1997:3). Many anthropologists are able to problematize race, looking at the history, power and political economy in constructing the boundaries and experiences of race, but there is no consensus on how to interpret the social realities of race (Harrison 1998). Even if anthropologists accept that there is no biological foundation for the idea of "race," we cannot ignore the realities of racism at work in the social world, especially in the field of archaeology.

Archaeologists who study the African diaspora inevitably must deal with the concepts of race and racism. But according to Terrence Epperson, most historical archaeologists who attempt to deal with these concepts only end up addressing them superficially (Epperson 2004). Traditionally, there have been three main strategies applied by archaeologists to address race, which have been used with increasing or decreasing frequency over time: (1) "biological reductionism," which tends to view race as a static bio-genetic category that explains human variation in the archaeological record; (2) to reduce "race" to ethnicity in a way that a racial identity becomes equivalent to a category such as "Italian-American"; and (3) "vulgar anti-essentialism," which argues that racial categories are socially constructed and therefore don't really exist (Epperson 1999:2). The second approach, of reducing race to the equivalent of ethnicity, is facilitated by the simultaneous centrality and invisibility of "Whiteness" within the dominant national identity (Epperson 1999:2). All three of these approaches to the study of race are flawed, and in order to truly address race and racism, historical archaeologists need to employ Critical Race

Theory (Epperson 1999, 2001, 2004). The use of Critical Race Theory in this dissertation helps avoids the pitfalls of earlier studies of race in archaeology and informs the study of strategies of racial uplift advocated by African Americans faced with the racial inequalities created and maintained during the late 19th and early 20th centuries in Annapolis.

Critical Race Theory emerged as a way to critique "vulgar anti-essentialism" or race obliviousness (Epperson 1999, 2004). Vulgar anti-essentialism is best articulated as the idea that race simply doesn't exist and "since racial categories are not 'real' or 'natural' but instead socially constructed, it is theoretically and politically absurd to center race as a category of analysis or as a basis for political action" (Crenshaw et. al. 1995:xxvi in Epperson 2004:101). While critical race theorists reject race as a biological category, believing that it is socially constructed, they also see race as a real concept, it has real consequences in the material world, and it shouldn't be ignored (Epperson 1999, 2001, 2004). Citing a Supreme Court case in Georgia (Miller v. Johnson, 1995), Epperson is able to demonstrate how race obliviousness is "a natural consequence of white privilege" and that it makes sense to those whom race puts in the privileged classes (Epperson 1999:3). In this legal example, "the Court majority appropriated the rhetoric of the Civil Rights movement" to argue that because race lacks a biological basis, it also lacks consequences in the real world such as racial discrimination, which "is antithetical to the experiences and interests of most Black Americans" (Epperson 1999:3).

Critical Race Theory asserts that we have to collectively allow ourselves "to know what we know" about the social realities of race and racism, and evaluate

critically your understanding of "Whiteness" and "Blackness" (Epperson 2004:104). And while race, in terms of biological variation, may not be real, racism, the actualized affects of this made-up category, and the consequences of racism are very real. Just because race does not have a biological basis does not mean that race and racism did not and do not have real implications in the experience of individuals (Epperson 2001; Mukhopadhyay and Moses 1997).

Epperson argues for an archaeology of the African diaspora that is "simultaneously race-conscious and anti-essentialist" (2004:105). When studying race, archaeologists must emphasize the fact that race is not a universal, natural, or inevitable aspect of the human condition, but a deliberately constructed category designed to assert a sense of inferiority and "otherness" onto a dominated group of people (Epperson 1990:35; Mullins 2008). One approach to achieving this goal is to explore race as a lived experience affected by the subordination and exploitation, inclusion and exclusion of racism, and is seen in examples such as Ywone Edwards-Ingram's study of the manifestations of medicinal practices of people of African descent (Edwards-Ingram 2001:35). In day-to-day life, racism, White supremacy, and inequality would be part of a normalized experience in both the past and the present (Wilkie 2001:112). Archaeologists are beginning to see that our emphasis on the social construction of race, instead of on the lived experience of race, in our research has been used as a way to conceal race behind a rhetoric of colorblindness (Barnes 2011:7).

Archaeologists must also strive to recognize and celebrate the uniqueness of African American culture, without ignoring the systems of oppression within which

this culture was created. Although these two goals of both valorizing African American culture as a form of resistance and remaining anti-essentialist in our understanding of racial categories may appear to be in opposition to one another, they are both essential if archaeologists hope to "create a more humane social order," foster diversity, and fight inequality (Epperson 1990:35-36). The discipline of Historical Archaeology might, therefore, be better served by shifting the focus from "the construction of race" to "the invention of Whiteness" and trying to problematize the fact that Whiteness is taken as the unquestioned norm among Euro-Americans, making race either invisible or synonymous with ethnicity in archaeological studies (Epperson 2001:68, 70; Paynter 2001). Within anthropology, Whiteness tends to be viewed as a universal concept, a frequently ignored and naturalized norm of society that operates unaffected by the structures of racism and results in a "white-washed" understanding of American history (Paynter 2001:126; Babiarz 2011; Epperson 1999:3; McDavid 2007:75). In order to combat this normalization of Whiteness, White privilege needs to be acknowledged and colorblindness and neutrality rejected (McDavid 2007:75). In this dissertation, Whiteness is seen in the Victorian etiquettes that serve as the baseline against which alternative etiquettes, tastes, and choices in the African American community are visible.

McDavid (2007) demonstrates how White archaeologists can use Critical Race Theory to create alternative, more holistic visions of the past and to confront and deconstruct White privilege. Through the use of Critical Race Theory to reflect on white privilege, archaeologists will be able to further the cause of social justice as part of the process of public archaeology (McDavid 2007:81-2).

Archaeologists should also embrace the sentiments of Critical Race Theory that allow them to "know what they know." Archaeologists must be critically self-reflective, and recognize the forms of dominant ideologies and social order as part of the knowledge producing structure (Franklin 1997). For example, archaeologist Whitney Battle-Baptiste (2011) embraces the notions of self-reflexivity and is very open and critical of her own personal biases and the effect that they have had on her work. Using Critical Race Theory allows scholars to confront biases, their own as well as the biases of others, especially in the study of the more recent African American past (Palmer 2011; Battle-Baptiste 2011).

It seems difficult to do African American archaeology well without acknowledging that (1) race has no biological reality; (2) racism has very real impacts on the material world; and (3) racial identity can't be reduced to an understanding of ethnicity. Using Critical Race Theory allows scholars to consider the intersection of the structures of White hegemony with the lived experiences of both White and non-white people and through the lens of Critical Race Theory, archaeologists can better understand the material consequences of structural racism, especially during a historical period such as the Jim Crow era (Palmer 2011:142; Palus 2011; Epperson 2001). The lens of Critical Race Theory in this dissertation allows me to explore how and why the choices made by African Americans conformed or diverged from the ideal etiquettes prescribed for White consumers. It also helps provide a way of understanding how day-to-day decisions can be seen as part of strategies for negotiating the limitations of the racist marketplace of Annapolis.

When studying African Americans, their identities, and their ways of life in the past, a critical approach is essential to be able to understand how historical structures, especially structures created and reinforced by racism, impacted decision-making. White privilege is pervasive in these historical structures, such as the market place and Victorian etiquette, and African Americans had to interact with them. This would in turn affect both how African Americans saw these structures and interacted with them and is therefore an important part of understanding the choices they made in their everyday life.

An Introduction to the Study of Material Culture and Consumption

To examine the relationships between identity, class, and strategies of racial uplift, I examine three groups of material culture in this dissertation: ceramics, glass, and buttons. The term "material culture" first appears in the 19th century and has been defined many different ways since then (Buchli 2002). These different definitions reflect the changing approaches to material culture over time. The simplest definition of material culture is any material object, thing, artifact, or good (Woodward 2007). It can also be seen as the man-made objects that are "evidence of the presence of human intelligence operating at the time of fabrication" (Prown 1982:1) or as the "vast universe of objects used by humankind to cope with the physical world … and create symbols of meaning" (Schlereth 1985:1).

Today, material culture is largely understood to be "complex, symbolic bundles of social, cultural, and individual meanings fused onto something we can touch, see, and own" (Martin 1993:141). Implicit in almost all definitions of material culture is the idea that it really consists of two things, (1) a physical material object,

which can be touched and held, and (2) a symbolic reflection of social and cultural belief patterns embedded within the object. These definitions also acknowledge both the individual who made and/or used the object, and the larger societal and cultural system of which they were a part and that are reflected in material objects. The common assumption, therefore, behind material culture studies is that by studying material objects, scholars can obtain insights into past lifeways because material objects, consciously or unconsciously, reflect culture and belief patterns of the individuals and society that produced and used them (Schelerth 1982, 1985; Prown 1982; Deetz 1977; Martin 1993; Woodward 2007, Beaudry, Cook, Mrozowski 1991; Binford 1962). Material culture research, today, is not only interested in the object itself, but in the relationship between people and objects; how people use objects and how they are transformed by people and transform people in a certain place and time (Woodward 2007; Prown 1982).

Following a decline in the importance of material culture at the beginning of the 20th century, the revival of material culture studies in anthropology, which began in the second half of the 20th century and continues into the present, was characterized by increasing efforts to analyze, understand, and interpret the meaning of material culture (Buchli 2002; Schlereth 1982). Material culture studies were revived during this time period in part because of a growing interest in consumerism, commodities and their social significance (Buchli 2002; Miller 1995). Use of new theories of social history legitimized the study of a wide range of artifacts, especially vernacular artifacts, and it allowed for the study of society from the "bottom-up" (Schlereth 1982, 1985; Beaudry, Cook, and Mrozowski 1991).

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In the 1980s, the rise in interest in semiotics and structuralism had an important effect on the revival of interest in material culture studies (Buchli 2002). In many ways, the development of structuralism in archaeology was a reaction to processual, functionalist understandings of material culture, which many scholars argued focused on the utility of objects while ignoring their meaning (Shackel and Little 1992). It became clear that material culture was not just a direct reflection of human behavior but was also a transformation of that behavior (Hodder 2003). A structuralist approach to material culture studies was especially popular because it was a way of looking at how objects are a reflection of and a way to study the societal structures that helped produce them (Prown 1982). The basic premise of structuralist studies is that the cultural systems that structure, consciously or unconsciously, human behavior can be systematically analyzed; that they could be understood in the same way that grammar is the structure of language in linguistic studies (Hodder 2003; Schlereth 1982). As part of the study of the structures that shape cultural behavior, material culture began to be seen in terms of signs and signifiers and the relationship between the signified, the signifier, and the object (Hodder 2003; Woodward 2007; Beaudry et. al. 1991).

As part of these structuralist examinations of material culture, the materiality of objects, the non-physical part of understanding an object, began to be appreciated and understood as something that could be more easily acted upon by people (Hodder 2003). Drawing on theories from scholars such as Levi-Strauss and Barthes, material culture scholars began to understand that by manipulating and changing an object, individuals could change the structure of social behavior, both in the present and the

past (Hodder 2003; Woodward 2007). This understanding of the ability to change the structure of society by manipulating objects or the materiality of objects allowed archaeologists to begin to study agency in the past and the ability of individuals to behave as independent actors who are capable of making conscious choices (Hodder 2003; Woodward 2007). The study and understanding of agency brought an increasing focus, first, on resistance, and then on appropriation (Hodder 2003; Miller 1995; Beaudry 1989; Shackel 1998; Lucas and Shackel 1994). Material culture studies also have drawn from Marxist archaeology, which looks in particular at how ideology is embedded, reinforced, and reproduced in material culture (Hodder 2003; Leone 1984). In these studies, the meaning and utility of material culture lies in its ability to communicate information about social behavior. This is also what makes the study of material culture useful in this dissertation through its ability to explore the implementation of strategies of social uplift. The implementation of strategies of social uplift, such as those promoted by Booker T. Washington, W.E.B. Du Bois, Anna Julia Cooper, and Nannie Helen Burroughs, in daily life is a social behavior. Therefore the material culture examined in this dissertation is able to convey information about how, and by which classes, these strategies were employed.

The understanding of material culture as containing and reflecting a set of social relations, and meaning dictated by that set of relations, continues to be the dominant understanding in material culture studies today. But the rise of post-structural and interpretive theory has led material culture studies to examine the relationship not only between the individual who made and/or possessed an object in the past, but also the effect of the researchers' observing the object in the present, in

what Hodder calls an "endless chain of signification" (2003:65). In this chain of signification, the meaning of objects can change, there can be multiple ways to "read" an object, and the way in which an archaeologist, or any material culture scholar, reads an object is influenced by his or her experiences in the present (Hodder 2003). It does the scholar no good to try to remain neutral in light of this fact (Leone 1992).

This interpretation comes out of critical theory, and leads to the understanding that the past is constructed in the present and the importance of recursivity (Leone 1992; Shackel and Little 1992; Hodder 2003). As part of this recursivity, post-structuralist approaches to studying material culture also advocate for the idea of discursive objects, objects that are not neutral because they are created in particular historical and social circumstances, and that are produced as part of scholars' discussions of them (Tilley 1990).

Commodities and Capitalism

Current research in material culture studies has expanded to incorporate increased research into the understanding of commodities and consumption and the association of both with capitalism. The material objects produced under a system of capitalism are studied as commodities. Capitalism, at its core, is a set of social relations, specifically a set of social inequalities, and material objects are capable of reflecting such social relations. Usually, the effects of capitalism are implicitly discussed in most scholarship of commodities and consumption, but they are not always considered critically. This approach of studying consumerism as a reflection of social and ritual behavior continues to dominate most discussions of commodities consumption both inside and outside of anthropology. Historians, in particular, study

consumerism in relation to the changing social behavior of the 19th and 20th centuries, with the rise of department stores and the idea of shopping as a leisure activity (Martin 1993; Lury 2011). These phenomena are also used in the study of 19th century in historical archaeology (Mullins 2011). Today, studies of consumerism have structuralist connotations, likely do to the fact that consumerism is tied up in a capitalist structure. The tension between agency and structure in the study of consumerism lies in the degree to which consumerism, and the commodities being consumed, are reinforcing the structure as part of a normative behavior or creating space in which consumers and commodities can act as independent agents.

Formal studies of commodities and consumerism did not really become popular in Historical Archaeology until theories of structuralism took hold in the discipline. In the 1970s, a modified structuralism was applied to the study of commodities in order to understand consumerism and consumption, drawing heavily on the works of Marx (Miller 1995). Marx referred to commodities as material goods that have both a use value and an exchange, or monetary, value and were produced within a capitalist system (Marx 1915; Woodward 2007; Hodder 2003). For Marx, commodities were not interesting because of their ability to reflect on relationships between people and objects, which is a definition of commodities that becomes popular later, but because they were representations of the fundamental processes of capitalism: alienation, exploitation, and estrangement (Marx 1915; Woodward 2007). Marx made the idea of commodities a legitimate avenue for scholarly research, and through his ideas of fetishism and false consciousness, he paved the way for studies of commodities as a way of reinforcing a normative set of beliefs, social norms,

ideologies, structures, and inequalities. Marx argues that reinforcing dominant social ideologies masks the fact that commodities are produced through the exploitation of the working class (Marx 1915; Woodward 2007; Hodder 2003).

With an increased focus on structures, and how societal structures shape human behavior, the definition of commodities and understanding of consumerism was expanded. Interest in consumerism as a cultural, cognitive process and behavior allowed commodities to be understood in terms of their ability to reflect those social relations and structures (Kopytoff 1986). Scholars began to see commodities as more fluid, and capable of having shifting meanings, and histories or biographies (Kopytoff 1986). Consumerism increasingly began to be understood as a cultural relationship between humans and commodities (Martin 1993).

As historical archaeologists increasingly began to study the 19th century, the implications of capitalism became more apparent in consumer studies. During this century, new goods were created, used, and discarded with increased frequency, and material objects began to play a greater role in creating and maintaining social relations (Shackel 1994, 1998; Leone 1984, 1999). Objects were seen as the embodiment of capitalism, and the normative belief systems that regulated behavior within this system. Commodities were the material container for this set of capitalist processes (Woodward 2007).

The study of commodities, as opposed to the study of material objects more generally, created more space for understanding social relations because buying an object, instead of making it, adds another dimension to the biography of an object in addition to the functional use value of the object. Under capitalism, the primary

relationship between people and objects became that of consumers and commodities, instead of producers and products. This inherently causes the relationship between people and objects to change. Studying commodities and consumerism as part of the forces that structure human behavior creates some room for the analysis of consumers as social actors. However, this is limited by the idea that actors consume rationally and according to social norms. Commodities began to be seen as an embodiment not only of capitalist processes, but also as defined by social relations and a system of exchange (Kopytoff 1986). The equalities inherent in capitalist processes are hidden when obtaining commodities. This is what makes commodities so powerful in their ability to structure human behavior (Kopytoff 1986; Lukács 1971 in Woodward 2007).

This idea of mass consumer goods being the mechanism through which equality of access, and therefore equality in sociability, can be achieved is reflected in Veblen's theory on social emulation (1899). According to Veblen (1899), the ability to consume goods in a way deemed appropriate for your social class, or participate in the conspicuous consumption of the leisure class, is more important for your belonging to that class than your financial situation. However, while the existence of mass consumer goods produced a wider range of goods and made them more generally available, it did not provide equal access to these goods. Inequality is part of the nature of capitalism, and therefore part of the nature of commodities and their consumption (Lury 2011). Structural racism present in the late 19th and early 20th centuries complicates the study of commodities and creates additional inequalities in the study of commodities because of the restrictions it creates on the marketplace and

African Americans as consumers. However, these inequalities in the marketplace do not mean that the commodities consumed by African American are not capable of conveying class belonging. Rather, it means that the study of commodities found at archaeological sites associated with African Americans requires considering these objects as capable of creating and conveying additional meanings.

Consumerism and Agency

The transition from studying commodities as reflections of normative structures to studying commodities as active generators of meaning follows the overall trend within material culture studies. Material culture, in general, has begun to be seen as "active," while material culture and society are seen as mutually constituted within historically and culturally specific contexts (Hodder 2003; Beaudry, Cook and Mrozowski 1991; Miller 1995, 2005; McCracken 2005; Buchli 2002). Archaeologists don't just read objects and commodities as a text, but they understand that objects and commodities are a part of the construction of the context from which they came as much as they are a reflection of it. This understanding of material culture as being important in the construction of social relations is particularly useful to understanding how objects could both create and reflect social boundaries.

This focus on agency and the active nature of objects emphasizes the capabilities of objects to make meaning, in addition to reflecting meaning (Woodward 2007). Consumption is viewed as an increasingly individualist behavior, but these behaviors are culturally meaningful, and studying them gives researchers an opportunity to examine emotion, desire, and individual decisions of the consumer

(Woodward 2007). Within this approach there is a notion that material culture does not just passively reflect culture, but rather is part of the production of culture and society (Hodder 2003).

In its earliest forms, the inclusion of the concept of agency in consumerism usually was understood in terms of resistance. It reconciles the idea that commodities cannot be part of individual expression (because they are part of a mass consumer culture) and agency by looking at how individuals can choose to reject or resist this mass consumer culture (Beaudry 1989; Kopytoff 1986; Woodward 2007; Shackel 1998; Lucas and Shackel 1994). This concept of resistance is an oversimplification of the actual negotiation process and has been replaced by a concept of appropriation, which acknowledges the active role of the consumer to make a conscious choice (Miller 1995). Through this approach, objects could be used to examine both the role they played in conformance to and reproduction of social structures, which had been the focus of most previous studies of consumerism, and also the role they played in resistance to and appropriation of dominant capitalist models in the production of and participation in non-dominant social behaviors (Miller 1995). All of these interpretations rely on the ability of commodities to possess multiple meanings in specific social and historical contexts, and the researcher to understand these multiple meanings in commodities. In looking at appropriation, rather than resistance, non-dominant consumption patterns can be explained through differential access to goods, or desires to create a unique aesthetic. Through these actions, multiple identities could be expressed.

Another interesting phenomenon that accompanied both the increasing study of consumerism and commodities and the study of the agency was a shift in focus that allowed women to be examined more closely within the capitalist system. For a long time, there was a masculine bias in the study of materials within capitalist systems, with an emphasis on production (male) at the expense of use and consumption (female) (Buchli 2002). A shift in interest from producers to consumers created a space in which women could be viewed as managers in the household consumption strategies (Martin 1993). By understanding women in this capacity, researchers could examine the commodities used and discarded to better understand the changing roles of women in the 19th century. They could also begin to understand the differences in race, class, and ethnicity, as it was reflected in the goods these women purchased for their home (e.g. Klein 1991; Wall 1991, 1999; Scott 1994; Larsen 1994). This is particularly evident when the focus in material studies shifts toward understanding personal choice as a way to study taste and fashion (Martin 1993; Buchli 2002).

An Introduction to Practice Theory in Archaeology

In order to study how class and racial identities were expressed, a theoretical understanding of how individuals create these identities within hierarchical structures of race and class is necessary. Practice theory, as opposed to any of the other various approaches to the study of identity offered by structuralist theorists, creates room for individual actors to be creative but does not abandon the idea of structure. Pierre Bourdieu and Michel de Certeau set up ways of thinking about the individuals' everyday practices and how individuals act within and as a result of the forces that structure every day. This allows for a way to conceptualize agency within a structure

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and provides new ways of thinking about how structures, or described by Bourdieu (1977) as "the material conditions of existence", are both reinforced and circumvented. In studying the 19th century, specifically the Jim Crow era in Annapolis, including structure, in some form, in my analysis of race and class is necessary. Racism and power hierarchies affected the choices available to the individuals and groups I am studying, and ignoring them would lead to an uncritical, and potentially essentialized, understanding of the lived experiences of these people. Practice theory is used to study identity, and how it has been expressed in consumer goods. If the choices made by individuals are structured, in part, by the material conditions of existence, then groups with the same material conditions of existence should make similar decisions in their day-to-day lives. Therefore if these choices are reflected in the tastes of individuals of the same groups or classes, then groups with different material conditions of existence (different classes, races, etc.) should have different tastes. Different tastes will be reflected in the material conditions of their existence (i.e. the material culture), which can be recovered archaeologically.

Practice Theory: Bourdieu and de Certeau

In historical archaeology, works of Pierre Bourdieu and Michel de Certeau are among the scholars most often used when employing practice theory. These two authors describe the ways in which actors or agents move within their structured universe and help scholars make sense of seemingly irrational or unpredictable movements of individuals. Bourdieu and de Certeau understand both the structuring forces of a society and the ways in which individuals have the capacity to move (or not move) within those structures. Bourdieu, in particular, is useful because of his

ideas of habitus, "a system of durable, transposable *dispositions*, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures" (Bourdieu 1977:72, emphasis in original). Habitus is produced by the structures of a particular environment, including the material conditions of existence. Bourdieu's ideas about how class is produced, reproduced and reinforced by taste and aesthetic are also important for understanding how identities are performed or displayed in everyday practice (Bourdieu 1984). De Certeau's ideas of strategies and tactics are used as a way to conceptualize agency, the "free will" of actors and individuals, without having to disregard the power structures in a particular place and time (de Certeau 1984). These two theorists conceptualize the world in a way that allows for both individual action, and, to some degree, choice, while acknowledging the restricting forces of society. This creates a framework for scholars to use to conceptualize identity, and the choices made to express identities within a framework of power hierarchies and invisible ideologies. This type of understanding is particularly useful when studying Jim Crow era racism, which was characterized by power structures, which allowed for government sanctioned segregation, and the subsequent spaces of creativity and resistance that were created and maintained as a result of interacting with these structures of inequality.

Bourdieu and de Certeau, like most structural theorists, use language as an analogy for society. There are rules and models that make up, or structure, language, which are helpful when trying to understand language as an abstract concept, but lose their validity when applied to the practical mastery of the language in day-to-day life (Bourdieu 1977:10). When encountering language on a daily basis, it is the practical

knowledge learned from various social interactions that allows an individual to "know" language, and this knowledge is learned at an unconscious level (Bourdieu 1977:10). Therefore, the action of speaking, of using language, is not simply reduced to a knowledgeable understanding of that language (de Certeau 1984:xiii). So to extend this analogy to the practice of everyday living, it is not the formal "rules" of society that structure human behavior, but the unconscious and conscious understanding of the practice of those rules in society that humans obtain from living their everyday lives that predispose them to behave in certain ways. Therefore, it was not just the formal "rules" of White racism that informed the ways in which African Americans responded to it in daily life, but also the actions of other African Americans with whom they interacted.

Despite their usefulness, Bourdieu critiques the understanding of language analogies for society presented by Saussure, Chomsky, and Levi-Strauss. In particular, he takes issue with their attempts to remain objective and simply accept an unconscious part of the structure of society, which most early structural anthropologists seem to accept by default (Bourdieu 1977:24-7). Looking at the structure alone turns systems of observable (and therefore seemingly objective) relations into concrete totalities, created outside of individual and group history, which obscures an understanding of a theory of practice. Therefore, it is necessary to look at the principles of production of the structures of society in order to construct a theory of practice (Bourdieu 1977:72). Understanding how these practices are generated will allow us to study the "*dialectic of the internalization of externality and the externalization of internality*" as the social structure both produces and is

produced by everyday behaviors (Bourdieu 1977:72, emphasis in original). Everyday

action is constrained by the external forces in society. However, once those actions

become embedded as part of the display or performance of an identity, they reinforce

and structure themselves internally and independently of the external structure.

Individuals operate within their structured society through what Bourdieu

calls the "logics of practices" or a theory of the mode of generation of practices

(1977). The force that drives the "logic of practices" is the knowledge that individuals

use to make their decisions on a daily basis. But this knowledge is not a concrete

understanding of an abstract principle, but rather a collective consensus that comes

from a group of individuals with the same, linked dispositions and interests or groups

who share a common identity (Bourdieu 1977:15). With this understanding of

behavior as the logical result of understanding and acting upon the group consensus,

there is an implication that behavior and choices should be predictable. However,

while these decisions can be accounted for in retrospect, it does not mean that in

practice, every action will conform to this prediction (Bourdieu 1977:15). The rules

exist not to dictate how people must behave, but to provide a framework producing

the operationalized unconscious understanding of the rules (Bourdieu 1977:17). This

unconscious understanding is habitus.

Habitus is produced by the structures that constitute a "particular type of

environment (e.g. the material conditions of existence characteristic of a class

condition)" (Bourdieu 1977:72). Habitus is not only a force that organizes practices

and perceptions (a structuring structure), but also a force that is organized by

practices and perceptions (a structured structure) (Bourdieu 1984:170). The material

conditions of existence differ depending on time and place. They are also the place at which most individuals encounter society's structures on a conscious level. The structures that are characteristic of a particular type of condition of existence, such as a particular class group or community, produce the structures of habitus. In turn, habitus then becomes the filter through which individuals base all their behaviors and experiences (Bourdieu 1977:78). Habitus is, therefore, capable of guiding behavior without any formal regulation or institutionalized order because it is based in an adherence to collective consciousness; a collective understanding that is necessary to achieve the group's goals and the group is, therefore, able to self-regulate (Bourdieu 1977:17, 72). Individuals are therefore both in possession of their habitus and possessed by it as it organizes all their thoughts and actions (Bourdieu 1977:18). It is also the place at which the individual can reconcile independent action and a necessity to conform to behaviors deemed necessary for identity maintenance within a group. Habitus is the force that causes individuals' practices, "without either explicit reason or signifying intent," to seem reasonable, sensible, and logical (Bourdieu 1977:79). The fact that habitus is not regulated or enforced by a formal law does not mean that it does not possess a tremendous intrinsic power which is voluntarily reinforced by the individual through symbolic action (Bourdieu 1977:21).

Using the theory of practice creates a operationalized understanding of society that abandons the idea that individual practices and behaviors are the mechanical, predetermined reaction of individuals to structures that shape their world, while simultaneously rejecting the idea that practices are solely determined by the creative agency and free will of individuals (Bourdieu 1977:73). Practices are neither

reducible to an understanding of the sum of the stimuli or structural factors that appear to have triggered them, nor are they reducible to just the structural conditions which produced them (Bourdieu 1977:78). Habitus becomes the primary way in which individuals make decisions and classify their social world, and it can be effective because it occurs on a level of which individuals are not aware (Bourdieu 1984).

Habitus produces a worldview that appears objective to the individual because it is based in a group consensus about what different practices mean. It allows individuals to harmonize their practices and receive continuous reinforcement of their decisions and behaviors from the expression of those same practices reflected in others (Bourdieu 1977:80). History is made up of the actions of a group acting and reacting to a collective consciousness (Bourdieu 1977:79-82). It is easy to see habitus as unconscious and taken for granted, especially in terms of historical situations, because habitus is both produced by history and is in the active process of creating history. Individuals often do not see how their practices, determined by their habitus, are creating history, and therefore are often unaware that it is habitus that generates history.

Habitus is, in part, the product of the collective history and objective structures that reproduce the conditions that create groups of individuals with the same conditions of material existence. Therefore, according to Bourdeiu, class should not be understood as an aggregate of individuals, but as a group of people possessing the same dispositions to produce the same structures, possessing the same habitus (Bourdieu 1977:85). Class is, therefore, reflected in the behaviors and practices of

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people with the same dispositions, and can be seen as manifested in taste and aesthetics. Bourdieu (1984) also asserts that classes are defined in part by what individuals in each class acquire and in part by how they acquire these materials, making material culture the result of a combination of taste and practice. Although cultural capital is primarily acquired through education and family, it is demonstrated in economic and social terms. These social and economic terms frequently have both a knowledge component and a material component. Part of the function of aesthetics and taste, therefore, is to create visual material distinctions between the classes.

Social stratification is created, perpetuated and maintained in day-to-day actions through aesthetics and taste. Taste in many ways is directly analogous to habitus. Taste, like habitus, is heavily influenced by factors often grouped together and referred to as cultural capital. This includes educational capital, social origin, family background, and education, which all more broadly constitute the material conditions of existence. Bourdieu identifies several "legitimate areas" of culture and argues that the closer one moves to these areas, the more strongly differences in habitus are reflected in their practices of daily life (Bourdieu 1984:14).

Taste and aesthetics, which are often mistaken for values, inform and influence the choices that individuals make in daily life, and are used to create distinctions and classifications in the social world. Taste functions as a "sort of social orientation, a 'sense of one's place', guiding the occupants of a given place in social space" toward the disposition adjusted for their material conditions of existence (Bourdieu 1984:466). Taste, like habitus, is partially structured by the systems of goods available and therefore, the choices available to individuals are limited by

structuring forces in society. However, these structures act differently on each class (Bourdieu 1984:260). This is in part what allows societal structures to dictate dominant cultural preferences and reinforce ideology.

Knowledge of "formal refinement" and "legitimate" culture is held by members of the high-class, desired by those in the middle-class, and kept at "arm's length" by those in the low-class. Bourdieu asserts that it is important for us to remember that even in their rejection of legitimate culture, low class individuals must still see their "aesthetic" in terms that are defined by the dominant, high-class aesthetics (1984:41). The same is true about differences between majority and marginalized groups, such as Whites and Blacks in Jim Crow America. Even when rejecting Victorian ideals, African Americans were likely to view their choices in terms defined by dominant White ideals. Low class or marginalized individuals reject high-class aesthetic, and therefore do not feel obliged to project an understanding of it. Middle-class individuals and high-class individuals, however, are expected to understand this dominant, high-class aesthetic, and therefore, are less likely to admit a lack of understanding when presented with objects of a high-class aesthetic. Differences in taste and aesthetic differences are most obvious and pronounced between groups that are closely related in social space and generally have some group competition between them, such as between different class groups within the same city (Bourdieu 1984:60).

In addition to possessing proper educational capital and family capital, individuals must be able to visibly demonstrate this possessed knowledge to the rest of society in order to reinforce their group identity and belonging. The importance of

this knowledge is symbolically manifested in the value and meaning bestowed on materials consumed by both the perceivers and the producers/possessor. In particular, classes are most easily distinguished from one another through the ability of individuals within the group to apply specific aesthetic points of view to the objects they consume. This is especially true of objects already understood to be manifestations of that aesthetic in everyday activities, such as cooking, dress, and decoration (Bourdieu 1984: 40). Therefore, examining the material objects of everyday life reveals the manifestation of aesthetic choices informed by habitus and taste that reflect and reinforce class belonging. These everyday activities create a social space where habitus can operate to reinforce and reproduce class distinctions.

Bourdieu sees ideology as perpetuating dominant culture. However, where other scholars see ideology *masking* the inequalities of the dominant culture (e.g. Althusser 1971), Bourdieu argues that ideology *naturalizes* the differences generated by everyday class struggle. Ideology functions by converting differences generated by the possession of different habitus into differences that seem so natural they don't require questioning or explanation (Bourdieu 1984:68). According to Bourdieu, ideology is a "well-grounded illusion" (Bourdieu 1984:74).

Like Bourdieu, de Certeau looks to develop a theory of how individuals organize and practice their daily lives. However, instead of describing these actions as "practice," de Certeau looks at "operations," or the ways in which individuals "operate" in daily life. Like Bourdieu, de Certeau argues that these practices, or operations, are often (wrongly) considered to be passive and simply guided by rules (1984:xi). By bringing them to the foreground, these everyday "ways of operating,"

or of doing things, are no longer the obscure background upon which social activity takes place (de Certeau 1984:xi). In order to bring to light the motivation behind the actions hidden by the title "consumption," the operational combinations that constitute "culture" must be made explicit (de Certeau 1984:xi-xii).

To understand consumption, both the use of the object itself and the process leading to the belief that the object should be purchased must be examined. Consumption is devious because "it is dispersed, but it insinuates itself everywhere silently and almost invisibly, because it does not manifest itself through its own products, but rather through its *ways of using* the products imposed by a dominant economic order" (de Certeau 1984:xii-xiii, emphasis in original). Because consumption does not manifest itself in the product but rather in the use of the product, we must analyze the manipulation of the object by the user, not the maker (de Certeau 1984:xiii). This is particularly important when looking at use by consumers who the producers did not intend to be users, which includes marginalized groups in the 19th and early 20th centuries, and when examining the materiality of the immaterial (Palus 2010, 2011). Here, the meaning of the object is best understood by looking at how objects were actually purchased and used rather than how they were supposed to be used.

De Certeau views "ways of operating" as constituting the innumerable practices through which users re-appropriate space and structures. These ways of operating must conform to certain rules, but still leave room for the individual to maneuver, to create paths across a space (de Certeau1984:xiv-xvii). In creating these ways of operating, individuals can use one of two techniques: strategies or tactics (de

Certeau 1984). A strategy is the "calculation (or manipulation) of power relationships

that becomes possible as soon as a subject with will and power (a business, an army, a

city, a scientific institution) can be isolated" (de Certeau 1984:34-5). De Certeau

explains a strategy using the analogy of taking a trick in a game of cards. In order for

a strategy (taking the trick) to work, the player must understand both the space of the

game and the rules of the game (de Certeau 1984:53). Successful strategies require

the acquisition of knowledge, the understanding of the structures within which you

are trying to operate, and the understanding of the limits of the ways in which you can

operate within those structures (de Certeau 1984:53-4, 57). With this knowledge, the

individual can create subtle combinations of actions to navigate their way through the

structures (de Certeau 1984:53-4). Strategies can be roughly conceived as being

similar to Bourdieu's concept of habitus, in terms of the necessity to internalize

external structures and externalize internal structures through operation and practice.

However, de Certeau sees habitus as the relationship to the structures, the assumed

reality, while strategies are the observable facts that result from the relationship to the

structures (de Certeau 1984:58). Strategies help us to understand some of the

properties of the logic of practice, the observable ones (de Certeau 1984:52)

Strategies are also useful for understanding material patterns observed through

archaeological excavation and why they conform or deviate from what is expected.

A tactic, on the other hand, is "a calculated action determined by the absence

of a proper locus" (de Certeau 1984:37). The tactic is operationalized in the space of

the "other" as the "art of the weak" (de Certeau 1984:37). Because tactics lack a

place, they are dependent on time, always on the watch for opportunities to be seized

(de Certeau 1984:xix). Tactics must constantly manipulate events in order to turn them into opportunities (de Certeau 1984:xix). Tactical actions, or ways of operating to take advantage of opportunities, depend on seizing the moment and have no hope of keeping the advantages that might be gained through the action (de Certeau 1984:37). The importance of the tactic, therefore, is not found in the situation turned into an opportunity, but in the act and manner in which the opportunity is "seized" (de Certeau 1984:xix). This means that the tactics of consumption become ingenious ways in which the weak make use of the dominant structures in everyday practices (de Certeau 1984:xvii).

"A tactic is determined by the *absence of power*" just as a strategy is determined by and relies on the presence of a *place* of power (de Certeau 1984:38, emphasis in original). Strategies function by resisting the establishment of place over time, while tactics utilize the opportunities presented by time (de Certeau 1984:38-9). De Certeau's theory starts from the assumption that the everyday practices of consumers are tactical in nature (1984:39-40). This assumption is unproblematic for scholars who wish to study groups who are marginalized, and therefore have no place of power. Examples of tactical actions include renters furnishing an apartment with their memories, a speaker using their own "turn of phrases," and a pedestrian moving through unmarked spaces and paths (de Certeau1984:xix, xx). Although de Certeau's starting assumption is accepted, consumers, even marginalized consumers, can use strategies as well.

Bourdieu and de Certeau in Archaeology

Bourdieu and de Certeau's theories on how societal structures shape and are shaped by individuals' choices have many applications in archaeology. Bourdieu's understanding of the application of aesthetic choice in everyday life and modes of acquisition are useful arguments to make in archaeology, although he is more commonly referenced in material culture studies (e.g. Miller 1995, 2005; Lury 2011; Lodziak 2002; Binkley 2000). Decisions based on an individual's understanding of aesthetic and taste are reflected in the material world and the habitual use of objects condition individuals into being social creatures. Objects are part of the structure that creates and is created by habitus, and therefore are part of the naturalization of ideology (Miller 1995, 2005). Bourdieu sees objects as an extension of habitus, but warns that when studying materials, it is important not to forget that knowledge and choice go into producing and choosing those objects (Bourdieu 1984:468).

Despite his relevance in material culture studies, especially in relation to studies of consumerism and objects, Bourdieu rarely shows up in archaeological studies, even those explicitly dedicated to studying forms of consumerism in the archaeological record (e.g. Spencer-Wood 1987; Mullins 1999a, 1999b, 2011). References to Bourdieu are even more difficult to find in reference to consumerism in the context of marginalized groups, perhaps because there is less written about the consumptive behaviors of these groups due to an assumed lack of choice available to them. In his book, *The Archaeology of Consumer Culture*, Paul Mullins only discusses Bourdieu briefly, concluding that Bourdieu's contribution to the study of consumption was the understanding of objective structures to construct differences

between social groups and that consumers will blindly consume what is marketed to them (2011:5).

Some historical archaeologists have used Bourdieu's ideas of habitus to talk about ideology and identity (e.g. Paynter 2001). Habitus is used as a way to understand consciousness and how it is altered when confronted with alternative ways of life and alternative societal structures (Paynter 2001:133). Although not directly referencing Bourdieu or de Certeau in this sentiment, Robert Paynter seems to allude to a material component of "common practices," or ways of operating, that is tied to individual and group identification. This opens the door to using both Bourdieu's concept of practice theory and de Certeau's ideas of ways of operating as a way to look at identity in the material culture, and thus, in the archaeological record.

De Certeau is more frequently referenced than Bourdieu in archaeological literature, including studies that examine marginalized groups. De Certeau can be found in African American archaeology when the scholars are looking at agency but are not willing to relinquish the idea of structure (e.g. Matthews 2001; Mullins 1999a, 1999b; Palus 2010). Mullins uses de Certeau's ideas of "tactics" as a way to understand the agency of subordinate peoples (Mullins 1999a:128, 1999b:171). He looks at the "consumer tactics" of African Americans in Annapolis as part of negotiating the racism of White surveillance and White-controlled markets (Mullins 1999a, 1999b). Mullins argues that an archaeological study of African American consumption should reflect the history of racism, but also highlight the possibility of African American consumer agency (1999a:8). Based on this description, it seems

that, in addition to using de Certeau, Mullins also employs many of the factors

constituting Bourdieu's understanding of habitus.

The homogeneity of individuals' habitus and of the tactics and strategies they

use is caused by the homogeneity of the conditions of existence that structure their

lives (Bourdieu 1977:80; de Certeau 1984:xii). The homogeneous practices

individuals carry out demonstrate their mastery of the unconscious code of habitus,

and demonstrate their belonging to a particular group. Therefore, if the material

consequences of practices, tactics, or strategies are the same, it is likely that they were

demonstrating their mastery of the same habitus. This means that these individuals

had the same material conditions of existence and were part of the same group or

class. If the results of choices, of everyday practices, can be found in objects, and

those objects are recovered archaeologically, then archaeologists can look at the

choices themselves and better understand how class habitus, tactics, and strategies

were manifested in modes of consumption in the past. Similar choices should be the

result of similar modes of acquisition. These modes of acquisition are the combined

result of traditional consumption, based on decisions informed by habitus, and tactics,

seizing opportunities to acquire goods as they become available. By tracing patterns,

and identifying similar modes of acquisition and consumption, archaeologists can

also use Bourdieu and de Certeau to examine the sense of class belonging and class

identity through the objects people left behind.

Therefore, using Practice Theory, as articulated by Bourdieu and de Certeau,

as a lens to look at different archaeological assemblages from sites whose occupants

were of the same race, but were part of different classes within the race, I am able

explore the material signatures of these class differences and how these class differences were reflected in their sense of identity.

Consumer Behavior and Identity

Consumer behavior, specifically the idea of consumer choice, has become an increasingly studied phenomenon as a way to understand the importance of taste, marketing, and the ever-increasing range of commodities available for consumption (Lury 2011). The study of taste, fashion, and personal choice in commodities consumption has led to a tendency to differentiate groups by their social choices, reflected in material goods. Once a pattern of similar acquisition and consumption has been identified for each group, it is labeled as an individual example of an expression of a collective identity created by and reflected in commodities. In previous studies of consumption, choice was seen either as determined by economic conditions or as a passive action subsumed under the umbrella of "mass consumer culture" (Cook, Yamin, and McCarthy 1996). However, some studies have shown that taste can be seen in commodities consumption as having nothing to do with either economic conditions or mass consumer culture, but instead as a reflection of a specific identity. This can be seen in both non-archaeological examples (e.g. Nickles 2002; Binkley 2000), and archaeological examples (e.g. Wall 1991; Mullins 1999).

As a way of addressing both agency and structure, scholars who study consumerism and consumer behavior have turned to concepts such as habitus and taste (Bourdieu 1984; Hodder 2003). In their attempts to use fashion and taste as a way to study agency in commodities, scholars tend to return to ideas of normative behavior. This is because most studies of taste and aesthetics look at how social

norms and ideals are created, perpetuated, and maintained or broken, especially in terms of how social stratification causes deviation from ideals. Style and taste, and their manifestations in what people choose to buy or not buy can communicate a person's identity and play a big role in group definition and boundary maintenance through the ability to identify those who do and do not belong (Beaudry, Cook, and Mrozowski 1991).

Historical archaeologists examine identity construction through consumption, with the idea being that part of the reason that people consume is to demonstrate their belonging in a particular class or group through conspicuous consumption, and these possessions then become an extension of identities and self (Velben 1899; Bourdieu 1984; Belk 1998). Using commodities as part of what defines classes, or groups of people, in archaeology almost inevitably resorts to using some kind of normative understanding of the structures of social relations, because mass consumer culture did exist and even making a conscious choice about what to consume had to occur within this structure. And by virtue of the fact that for identities to exist they need to be communally held, socially communicated and restricted to defined boundaries, these identities become a part of the structure from which people who study agency are trying to get away.

The practical knowledge used to function in the social world is assumed to be reasonable behavior, meaning that, while this knowledge is implementing classificatory schemes, it is doing so below the level of consciousness and discourse, becoming subsumed into the structure without being acknowledged (Bourdieu 1984). Emphases on agency tend to try to avoid structures by focusing on individual choice,

and try to use material culture as a sign system to add meaning to human behaviors (Beaudry, Cook, and Mrozowski 1991; Hodder 2003). Studying consumption is complicated because the action generates its meaning through use of the object, not just through obtaining the object (De Certeau 1984). Through consumption, objects embody two different kinds of meaning: implicit and explicit meaning. While the explicit meaning is easier to ascertain, it is the implicit meaning of objects that critical theorists tend to be interested in because of its ability to reinforce ideologies at the unconscious level (Little 1992; Leone 1984). Furthermore, because the implicit meaning operates on an unconscious level, scholars must be critical of the inherently unequal societal structures within which consumer actions take place (Woodward 2007). Therefore, consumption can simultaneously be part of the structure and be part of individual agency because it is not in the consumption, purchase or possession of the object, but rather in the use of that object, the everyday practice surrounding that object, that meaning is located (De Certeau 1984). And use is much more difficult to ascertain from physical material objects alone.

Most of the studies done of consumerism in Historical Archaeology seem to use this process as a means to an end; a way of studying and understanding the procurement and accumulation of material culture, specifically commodities, as a reflection of other aspects of identity and culture, such as class, race, ethnicity, or gender (e.g. Mullin 1998; Wall 1991; Klein 1991; Brighton 2001; Larsen 1994; Staski 1984). Archaeologists have come to understand consumerism as revolving around the "acquisition of things to conform, display, accent, mask, and imagine who we are and whom we wish to be" (Mullins 2011:2). This understanding of objects and

commodities as an expression of identity comes out of an understanding that self-definition is tied to possessions (Bourdieu 1984; Velben 1898; Belk 1998; McCracken 2005). Implicit in this understanding of the ability to study identity through consumption is the idea of consumer choice, or the agency of the individual. Usually, scholars who give any kind of legitimacy to the study of agency ignore the potential of structures to shape social action, and tend to subsume structure as part of the site-specific historical and social context, and instead focus on the individual behaviors of isolated actors (Mullins 2011). However, this idea of the ability to study identity through meanings read in material objects also requires an understanding that identity and self-definition are ultimately tied up in a question of whether someone conforms or diverges from what is expected of them. In order to understand what is expected of someone, you have to accept or acknowledge, to some degree, the presence of social norms which structure society. For example, you can't talk about a distinctive 19th century African American identity expressed with mismatched ceramics without acknowledging that the social norm defined for the White middle-class at the time was to have matched sets (e.g. Mullins 1999, 2011). And you can't talk about working-class women rejecting middle-class emulation without first acknowledging what the middle-class consumption was supposed to look like, and why working-class women were expected to emulate it (e.g. Wall 1991, 1999).

For the most part, these social norms have been understood as a part of historical context, which, while accurate, is limiting in terms of understanding how these norms would have influenced behavior. Context is a static concept that doesn't influence consumption. But structures can influence consumption as much as

individual choice can because individualism and structure of inequality are "intrinsic to the nature of consumption as an activity" (Miller 1987:196). Through consumption of material objects, individuals can display social status, ethnicity, race, or gender on an individual level, while simultaneously displaying a collective, group identity (Mullins 2011). The process of purchasing commodities, therefore, becomes a place to study the negotiation between individual social actors and societal collectives (Lury 2011).

To study the active voice, or agency, of material culture does not necessarily mean that researchers have to abandon an understanding of the impact of structures on objects. In fact, the two have been studied together successfully in recent scholarship and scholars are increasingly coming to realize that you can't study agency in a vacuum any more than you can study structure in one (Barker and Majewski 2006; Palus 2010, 2011). For the study of agency to be meaningful, it needs to be situated within a larger social and historical context, which most proponents of agency would argue for, but that context needs to include social structures. This is particularly important, and in some ways most evident, when trying to study agency in a context of structural inequalities, such as institutionalized racism.

When you examine the patterns identified in studies that look at material culture, particularly commodities, as being indicative of identities, you notice that the material patterns of supposedly unique identities are not as different as initially thought. In particular, patterns identified as "ethnic" or "racial" have similarities to those identified more generally as "working-class" or "middle-class" as well as to each other. Almost always, these racial or ethnic identities are in some way identified

through their conforming or diverging from the social norms of the middle-class. Perhaps we need to be more critical in our understandings of emulation and acculturation, and try to problematize the degree to which studies of emulation and acculturation can become essentializing if they do not consider that individual choice associated with commodities consumption necessarily occurs within an unequal structure of capitalism and a system of social norms.

In order to reconcile the conflicting concepts of agency and social structures, the idea of aesthetic needs to be re-evaluated in our studies of consumerism and commodities in Historical Archaeology, and we need to examine taste as a possible compromise between individual choice and social structure (see Binkley 2000). A comparative approach will also help historical archaeologists better understand the intersection of these competing ideas. In the early years of Historical Archaeology, processualists looked for patterns in artifacts, and then used these patterns to compare different cultures, looking not for similarities, but for differences that could help illuminate misunderstandings in the past (Leone 2012). Looking at the places where there are differences, these processual theorists urged archaeologists to try to say why those differences existed, and to form a hypothesis about that difference. Historical Archaeology has come a long way since these early processual studies. However, this comparative approach could be very useful in understanding class, ethnicity, and race (Leone 2012).

Many early studies of consumerism used comparative examples to describe consumer behavior and culture (see Spencer-Wood 1987). They were able to achieve comparative analyses because of their use of economic scaling, and other quantitative

approaches to compare assemblages. Despite the seeming acknowledgement of these studies of the place of "choice" in the relationship between people and the objects they consume, these studies examine consumer choice as a set of normative behaviors, particularly in relation to demonstration of socioeconomic status through material objects. These comparative studies are useful in that they allowed disparate assemblages to be compared, but in doing so, they end up being fairly essentialist and leave very little room for the study of agency or the effects of structural inequalities. As a result, these early attempts at comparative studies were largely abandoned in the most recent scholarship on consumerism in Historical Archaeology in favor of nuanced, almost particularistic, studies of agency within a social and historical context (Mullins 2011).

The next step forward in consumer culture research needs to be a way to reconcile these two concepts – comparative studies, which rest on having something to compare, and individualistic exertions of agency and choice. This requires a framework within which comparative studies can be done of individuals' responses to larger societal structures. Patterns in a single assemblage need to be understood both as a representation of choices made by the individuals in that household and as part of a larger, national (if not global) system of consumerism. By expanding our lens, and including more comparative studies, historical archaeologists will lessen the risk of essentialized cultural patterns in our quest to identify patterns of racial and ethnic identity.

Methodology

Taking a comparative approach, and finding ways to make assemblages comparative without resorting to economic scaling is essential. This can be done by examining other aspects of material culture, such as style, form, and diversity, and observing how these vary within and between sites (e.g. Kintigh 1989; Chidester and Gadsby 2011; Walker 2008). It is particularly important to investigate the variation between sites that have different historical contexts. I use a comparative approach here to compare contemporary African American sites of families that had access to the same goods, but not the same socioeconomic status (and therefore not the same tastes), to determine the relationships between choice and structural inequalities in 19th and early 20th century Annapolis, Maryland.

The four sites used in this dissertation were selected based on their relationship to the James Holliday House. The James Holliday House was the basis for this dissertation because of the request made by Dee Levister to learn more about her family. While conducting research on the Holliday family, I noticed many similarities between the family, their home, and the archaeological remains found at their home and the work done by Paul Mullins and Mark Warner at the Maynard-Burgess House. The Maynard-Burgess House was, therefore, selected as one of the sites used in the comparative analyses of this dissertation. Although the Maynard-Burgess House was excavated almost 20 years before the James Holliday House, the excavations were well documented in publications and the archive of Archaeology of Annapolis. One of James Holliday's granddaughters married a Filipino man at the beginning of the 20th century, so 49 Pinkney Street was selected as the second comparative site because, although the site was predominantly occupied by African

American women, Filipino men lived at this site in the 1930s (for a full description of the occupational history of these sites, see Chapter 5). 49 Pinkney Street was also selected because the excavations at this site took place at the same time as the excavations at the James Holliday House. Finally, 40 Fleet Street was selected as the fourth site for comparison because it was built at approximately the same time as 49 Pinkney Street, it had a similar occupation history, and a portion of yard space at 49 Pinkney Street was originally part of the shared yard space of 38 and 40 Fleet Street. 40 Fleet Street was also chosen because it was excavated at approximately the same time as the James Holliday House and 49 Pinkney Street, and it was well documented and analyzed by Jocelyn Knauf.

In addition to examining the architecture, and property history of the four sites, my dissertation uses four data sets for comparison: ceramics, glass, buttons, and occupations. The comparative analyses of glass and ceramics were based on the use of minimum vessel counts. The minimum vessels counts, of both glass and of ceramics, for 40 Fleet Street, 49 Pinkney Street, and the James Holliday House were done using the same methodology (described in detail in Chapters 6 and 7), which made the data easily comparable. This procedure was based on the methodology used by Mullins and Warner in their analyses of the Maynard-Burgess House, which reinforces the use these four archaeological sites in comparative analyses.

Chapter 3: African American Intellectuals and Racial Uplift

In order to study the material signatures of the application of different strategies of racial uplift, I first had to explore the writings of the prominent African American intellectuals who laid out these strategies. In particular, examining the differences between the writings and theories of these late 19th- and early 20th-centuries scholars is critical to understanding how different classes would have employed the strategies in their daily life. Through the analysis of the strategies of racial uplift, I can how and why different strategies appealed to different classes, and how this affects the objects they used in their day-to-day life. There were many scholars who contributed to the discussion of racial uplift in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, but for this dissertation, I focus particularly on the works of Booker T. Washington, W.E.B. Du Bois, Anna Julia Cooper and Nannie Helen Burroughs.

In the period following the end of Reconstruction, there was an assault on Black citizenship and humanity by the White majority who maintained that African Americans were biologically inferior and therefore could not, and should not, be incorporated into mainstream society. In response to this prevailing attitude, the leaders of the African American community – ministers, intellectuals, journalists, and reformers – strove to combat these negative images and stereotypes by demonstrating that a "better class" of Blacks existed and using this as evidence of the progress and civility of their race. This idea of race progress, or racial uplift, among African Americans relied primarily on theories of self-help and was generally espoused by a small group of elite African Americans as a guiding philosophy for those outside of

this elite class. This upper-class Black ideology cannot be separated from the dominant (White) structures of race and racism within which it had to operate (Gaines 1996; Landry 1987; Bay 2000). However, this does not mean that the development and promotion of these theories of racial uplift are proof that the elite African Americans wanted to be members of the White middle-class (Gaines 1996:3; Berlin 2010:178-9). Instead, the unique history and experiences of the Black community resulted in the development of distinct classes within the population that did not necessarily correspond with their White counterparts (Landry 1987:22). Within these independent classes, the theories for uplift emphasized the humanity of African Americans through the evolutionary idea of progress as a way to combat the negative stereotypes prevalent at the time. Black elites hoped that by supporting the idea of the spread of civilization, they could "topple racial barriers and bolster their claims to humanity, citizenship, and respectability" (Gaines 1996:74; Gatewood 1990:11, 37).

Racial uplift strategies reflect the community's struggle to develop a positive Black identity and to turn the negative designation of race into a source of pride and dignity through self-help and class differentiation. By replacing notions of fixed racial differences with an understanding of the ability of the Black family and community to evolve, improve, and progress, over time elite Blacks thought they could combat some of the more racist images and understandings of the African American race (Gaines 1996:3-4; Gatewood 1990). Unfortunately, because this idea of class differentiation within the Black race rested on the idea that one class was superior to another, it necessarily exploited the White stereotypes that it was trying to combat

and therefore could not ultimately be rid of them (Gaines 1996:75; Gatewood 1990:53).

Within the constant struggle to convince the dominant society to recognize the humanity and progress of the African American, there was another simultaneous struggle. The community also fought to find the balance between the desire to be accepted by dominant society and the desire to maintain an independent Black identity. W.E.B. Du Bois possibly best articulated this conflict in his concept of "double-consciousness," which captures the inner conflicts of multiple African American ideologies (Gaines 1996:9; Du Bois 2008[1904]). African Americans were forced not only to see themselves through the eyes of White society, and through their own eyes, but also had to consider how other classes within African American society viewed them, creating a double "double consciousness."

One way in which the Black elite reconciled this internal struggle was by referencing the development of civilization in Africa, asserting the progress of their race prior to American colonization (Gaines 1996). Within the elite class of African Americans, there was a hope that they could combine European and African traditions to develop a uniquely Black culture, thus eliminating the need to pick between the two (Gaines 1996:76; Gatewood 1990; Landry 1987:32-3).

Although the individuals providing much of the thought and literature on racial uplift were focused on how their strategies could oppose racism, their theories had as much to do with class as they did with race (Gaines 1996:2; Landry 1987; Gatewood 1900). By emphasizing class differences within the African American race, the elites hoped that they would be able to demonstrate evolutionary race progress

and distance from the masses (Gaines 1996:20; Gatewood 1990:23). However, with the implementation and entrenchment of Jim Crow regimes, the self-help ideologies of racial uplift increasingly relied on asserting the civility of individuals at the expense of the rest of the race (Gaines 1996:21; Gatewood 1990:23). In other words, in order to demonstrate the moral and cultural progress of the African American middle class and elites, they had to demonstrate that members of those classes were different from the Black masses (Gaines 1996:11, 20; Southern Workman 1899; Gatewood 1990). By striving for acceptance by the dominant White society through the emphasis on class differentiation, elite African Americans actually ended up replicating the racial fictions of the dominant White class, perpetuating the argument that only some of the members of the African American race (i.e. not the elite members) embodied these fictions (Gaines 1996; Gatewood 1990; Landry 1987). This made these elite members reluctant to interact with their "newly freed, unskilled, and illiterate brethren" fearing that White society would not be able to distinguish one group from the other (Akers 2002:16; Landry 1987:34; Gatewood 1990:23).

In developing this theory of race progress, a Black upper-class ideology developed, which was based on the understanding that race progress was measured by Victorian ideals, including the normative patriarchal gender relations and sexual difference in political and domestic spheres (Gaines 1996:xviii; Landry 1987:34). This was due, in part, to the fact that because the political arena was not available to them, the domestic sphere was one of the few avenues left to African American in which they could demonstrate their progress and civility (Landry 1987:59; Gaines 1996:12). For many elite African Americans, demonstrating an ability to conform to

Victorian ideals of family and gender relations became a sign of respectability, and therefore racial progress (Gaines 1996:5; Landry 1987:33-4). This included demonstrating that elite Black families conformed to the bourgeois ideals of cleanliness, literacy and the capacity for leisure activities. These values then translated into the importance of Eurocentric images and ideals of respectability in elite Blacks' aesthetic tastes (Gaines 1996:34-35; 76; Landry 1987:33-4, 58). However, all of these representations of elite Blacks as educated and capable of conforming to Victorian ideals are dependent on the contrasting images of the "so-called primitive, morally deficient lower classes" (Gaines 1996:75).

Although these Victorian, patriarchal family ideals were central to the Black vision of uplift and respectability, they often created tensions between men and women (Gaines 1996:78). The emphasis on the importance of Victorian ideals for upper class African Americans assumes that African American women will accept their subordinate position for the sake of race unity (Gaines 1996:13). However, the male dominance of these ideologies alienated many Black women intellectuals, who created their own visions of racial uplift that emphasized women's leadership in race progress, especially in their roles in the home and raising the next generation (Gaines 1996:4). Black women tended to see racial uplift as a more altruistic action, taking place through institutions such as churches, schools, and hospitals. However, this does not mean that women were not active in creating and implementing social uplift theory (Gaines 1996:42). Churches, in particular, were important institutions in the development of self-reliant African American communities (Jones 2002:35). In addition to potentially alienating women, some uplift ideologies were unpopular

because they required repressing anger toward the dominant White society. This strategy was promoted in order to make the Black race appear more acceptable to this dominant society, but potentially leaving a residue of self-doubt and shame on the African Americans who employed the strategy (Gaines 1996:6).

After the end of slavery and Reconstruction, the dialogue about Black citizenship changed from a discussion of inalienable human rights and legal protections to a discussion of the race's ability to exercise the rights of citizenship (Gaines 1996:21; 75). This ability depended on demonstrating stylized elegance and relying on self-help ideologies (Gaines 1996:69; Gatewood 1990:23).

In striving for class differentiation within the race, it was often not the material conditions of individuals or individual families that differentiated one class from another. Instead, it was an ability to conform to a certain ideology, or moral economy, of class privilege and demonstrate possession of that ideology or identity to the rest of society (Gaines 1996:16-17; Gatewood 1990:23). This is how the Black elite class was able to promote itself as a "better class" in a society that continued to deny African Americans the material markers of bourgeois status (Gaines 1996:14). In other words, the class status of individuals in material or economic senses were not as important as how people strove to represent themselves, or how they demonstrated class belonging and class differentiation (Gatewood 1990:23; Gaines 1996:17). Racial uplift, therefore, is characterized by the tension between the Black elite's perception of themselves and the elite White class with which that they sought to identify themselves, and the social and cultural forces that denied them that status in the eyes of dominant society (Gaines 1996:14; Gatewood 1990:23).

This tension ultimately led to the development and promotion of different strategies for racial uplift within the African American community. Manning Marable argues that these strategies can be placed into three categories: strategies of inclusion or integration; strategies of Black nationalism; and strategies of transformation (Marable 1995). The strategies of transformation have become popular in the last half of the last century, through the works of scholars such as Malcolm X, and are therefore not discussed in this dissertation. The other two strategies, however, have been present and popular since the end of slavery (Marable 1995). Strategies of inclusion seek to dismantle racism from within the structures that reinforce racial discrimination. According to Marable, these strategies place emphasis on acquiring private property and ultimately reinforce the White capitalist model but with Blacks incorporated into that model. Marable (1995) cites Frederick Douglass as the major advocate for this strategy, but Booker T. Washington and Nannie Helen Burroughs's models for racial uplift also fit into this category. Strategies of Black nationalism, argue that racism should be overturned by creating resources and services for the African American community that are separate and autonomous from the White community. Black nationalism strategies can also, therefore, be thought of as strategies of autonomy. These strategies favor an Afrocentric identity, and are more likely to reject rather than emulate Euro-American culture (Marable 1995). According to Marable (1995), Malcolm X and Marcus Garvey best embodied the strategies of Black Nationalism. However, W.E.B. Du Bois' model for racial and social uplift also represented these principles. Because race and class are closely related aspects of identity, it is logical that different classes would employ different strategies for racial

uplift. These classes can therefore be thought of as an "inclusionist" class and an "autonomist" class.

By defining classes in terms of the strategies of racial uplift, rather than in socioeconomic terms, such as middle- or working-class, I am able to explore the presence of different strategies for negotiating racism and their material consequences, while acknowledging that socioeconomic classes within the African American community were fluid. Using the term "class" to describe the groups of people employing these strategies is intentional, to acknowledge that class, and belonging to one class or another, was important within the African American community, especially in the period immediately following the Civil War (Landry 1987; Gaines 1996; Pattillo-McCoy 1999). An individual's position within the hierarchy of socioeconomic class might fluctuate, and defining socioeconomic class position within the African American community was particularly difficult because it tended not be based as much on income and occupation as on performance and behaviors (Pattillo-McCoy 1999:13-4). However, the strategies for racial uplift that appealed to the different classes would have fluctuated less because the inclusionist and autonomist classes could absorb the fluidity socioeconomic class and still be distinct. Therefore, I can examine the material differences between the autonomist class and inclusionist classes visible in the archaeological record in the four sites used in this dissertation in order to complicate our understanding of how African Americans in the 19th and early 20th centuries responded to racism in their daily lives.

The African American intelligentsia and elite spoke universally about the race's advancement, and there were no disputes over the value of education (Gaines 1996:4-5, 32). However, there were vigorous disagreements about how advancement should be achieved, and about how and what kind of education should be used as part of the overall uplift of the African American race (Gaines 1996:4-5, 32, 40; Landry 1987; Gatewood 1990). While there were many scholars who argued vehemently for or against certain approaches to racial uplift, W.E.B. Du Bois, Booker T. Washington, Anna Julia Cooper, and Nannie Helen Burroughs were among the most visible, well known and vocal.

Du Bois and Washington

W.E.B. Du Bois and Booker T. Washington were among the most famous African American scholars of the early 20th century. Both theorized about the future of African Americans after the end of slavery, and each had a solution, about which they felt strongly. These two men both had the best interest of their race in mind, but ultimately came up with two very different ways in which they thought individual African Americans should live their lives in order to progress the race as a whole. Booker T. Washington thought that the best way to advance the African American race was to teach useful skills, the skills of industry. Through the acquisition of these skills, individuals would become honest, hard-working Americans. Washington ignored the "African" aspects of being "African American" in order to better embrace the "American" aspirations of education and the accumulation of property. In contrast, W.E.B. Du Bois believed that the way that the African American race would become prosperous was through the advancement of the most talented of the race, and

accepting the double consciousness forced on the African American, who had to view himself through the eyes of a White man. Du Bois saw African Americans and Euro-Americans operating in two distinct, but parallel worlds, and did not feel that the Black man needed to become part of the White world in order to be successful.

Washington saw the salvation of the African American race in practical training. Industrial training had the same value for Black men as it did for White men, according to Washington, and he believed that the best way to move the African American race forward was to "… give the Black man so much skill and brains that he can cut oats like the White man, then he can compete with him" (Washington 1900[1899]:53). Through this, African Americans would be able to support themselves and in possession of skills seen as desirable by the White community. By making this practical education available to all, the African American race would be able to co-exist with their White neighbors and those neighbors would view them as industrious and prosperous.

Despite the cruel misdoings of slavery, Washington believed that the skill sets that slaves learned on plantations were useful and were generally overlooked (Washington 1900[1899], 1995[1901]). However, it was necessary for African Americans to learn the difference between "being worked and working" and to understand that labor is honorable (Washington 2008 [1903]:5). The African American race needed to learn that industry was the foundation out of which thrift, good work ethic, property ownership, and a bank account would grow (Washington 2008[1903]:9). Learning to make his plantation skills work for him would show the Black man how to lift labor up from a toil and drudgery, as he understood labor to be

under the system of slavery, to a dignified occupation (Washington 1900[1899]:12, 52). Recovering the image of labor from the circumstances of slavery was also part of the reason that Washington maintained that an industrial education was an essential part of developing a foundation for a civilization upon which African American individuals would be able to grow and prosper (Washington 1900[1899]:12; 2008[1903]:9).

Washington believed that the Black race's success was more likely if the races were brought together instead of estranged. One way in which this harmonious existence could be brought about was through trade and commerce, which historically had been the "forerunner of peace and civilization ... between races and nations" (Washington 1900[1899]:54). Washington maintained that African Americans had "no warmer friends anywhere in the country than [they had] among the White people of Tuskegee" (Washington 1900[1899]:70) because by having something that their White neighbors wanted, the interests of the two race groups became interlinked. According to Washington, "the Negro must be led to see and feel that he must make every effort possible, in every way possible, to secure the friendship, the confidence, the co-operation of his White neighbor" (1900[1899]:116).

Another way in which Washington saw the two races coming closer together was through the acquisition of material goods; by being both an intelligent producer and an intelligent consumer (Washington 1900[1899]:54). This was essential to the process of promoting the mutual progress of the two races. According to Washington, "there is an unmistakable influence that comes over a White man when he sees a Black man living in a two-story brick house that has been paid for. I need not stop to

explain. It is the tangible evidence of prosperity" (Washington 1900[1899]:69). It was through property ownership, paying taxes, and the possession of a strong character and intelligence that the Black man would be able to exert influence over politics and government (Washington 1900[1899]:103). By educating African Americans in how to make a home, and how to respect themselves, they would, in turn, earn the respect of their White neighbors, according to Washington (1900[1899]:124). Washington cited Frederick Douglass in this argument, who also believed that accumulating property was one way for African Americans to prove that they could improve their condition (Washington 1900[1899]:168). After all, the ownership of property and the possession of money put African Americans in a position to appreciate leisure, invention and progress (Washington 1900[1899]:168).

However, education alone only increases the wants of an individual, which is insufficient. Mental development alone leaves the possibility that an individual will be educated, but still struggle due to lack of employment and societal prejudices and customs, which could discourage him for his whole life rather than allowing for social and racial uplift (Washington 1900[1899]:64). This was the case in the North following the Civil War, according to Washington, and the aim of his plan was to prevent the same situation from occurring in the South. Rather than acquiring a general education, Washington's plan used mental development that was tied to industrial training as the salvation of the African American race (Washington 1900[1899]:64). Through an industrial education, men not only learned economy, thrift and the dignity of labor but also morality, which were all essential to Washington's ideas for achieving racial uplift (Washington 1900[1899]:88).

Washington believed, in general, that this industrial education had been neglected in favor of trying to achieve political gains in the period immediately following Emancipation. African Americans made the mistake of over-emphasizing politics and holding political offices to the exclusion of everything else in the period immediately following the Civil War (Washington 1900[1899]:103). However, Washington believed that through an industrial education, the Black man could become immediately valuable to his community (unlike someone only involved in politics or "other parasitic employments") and soon become a property-holder, and therefore a "conservative and thoughtful voter" (Washington 1900[1899]:117). These demonstrations of civility and citizenship were, according to Booker T. Washington, how African Americans would improve conditions for the race as a whole, . This put him in direct opposition with W.E.B. Du Bois, who saw engagement in the political arena as one of the best ways for the Black man to advance in society.

Du Bois critiqued Booker T. Washington, accusing him of giving up political and social power and civil rights in exchange for economic success and the accumulation of wealth (Du Bois 2008[1904]:53). According to Du Bois, this exchange would cause the disenfranchisement of the Black community, and establish a legal inferiority of Black to Whites. Du Bois also critiqued Washington for shifting the burden of the problems facing the African American community onto the shoulders of Black folks alone, when he saw the burden as belonging to the entire nation. And although he critiqued Washington's focus on a specifically industrial education, Du Bois maintained that education in general was important and necessary for the African American youth. And that the best way to teach Black children

correctly was to make sure that their teachers were properly educated themselves (Du Bois 2008[1903]:28).

Du Bois argued that up to the 20th century, it had been the educated and intelligent members of the African American community who had led and elevated the rest, with the only obstacles to their progress being slavery and racial prejudices (Du Bois 2008[1903]:16, 20). It was the role, therefore, of Black colleges to maintain high standards of general education, not just teach an industrial education (Du Bois 2008[1904]:109). Along with education, Du Bois said that the ability to vote and establishing civic equality were among the most important goals of the African American community. The well-educated African American man would be able to rise to be the group leader, to "set the ideals of the community where he lives, direct its thoughts and head its social movements" (Du Bois 2008[1903]:25).

Although their approaches to racial uplift and education in particular differed, Washington and Du Bois did agree on one thing: "The Negro race, like all races, is going to be saved by its exceptional men" (Du Bois 2008[1903]:15), who depended in part on an appropriate amount of hero-worship of people like Frederick Douglass (Washington 1900[1899]:134). It is these exceptional men, according to Du Bois, who were going to be able to, through their actions and words, keep skin color from being the defining characteristic of oppressed men and free men (Du Bois 2008[1903]:17).

In addition to his thoughts on how to encourage the progress and success of the African American race, W.E.B. Du Bois was also famous for his theories about the construction of the African American, or dual-identity. W.E.B. Du Bois described

the difficulty the Black man faced as a result of attempting to be both African and American without being "cursed and spit on by his fellows" and without "having the doors of opportunity closed roughly in his face" (Du Bois 2008[1904]:xviii). Du Bois looked at race as both a concept and a concrete reality, and examined the development of both throughout history (Du Bois 2003[1896]). He concluded that there were definitely at least two races, Black and White, and that there had been more throughout history. He argued that although the development of the ideas about race have mainly followed physical lines, there was no physical distinction that could define or explain the deeper differences in cohesion and continuity within racial groups (Du Bois 2003[1896]:44). The real differences between race groups had been caused by a process that placed importance on spiritual and mental differences, and into which physical difference had been integrated (Du Bois 2003[1896]:45). What defined a race was a group of people coming together and agreeing on ideals of life, not skin color. Du Bois looked at how you develop multiple ideals of life, and argued that these ideals of life were developed by the group, not the individual (2003[1896]). Individuals then acted out the group ideals of life through the choices they made in their daily life, including choices about material culture.

Using this understanding of groups as defined by their ideals, Du Bois argued that African Americans must realize that "their destiny is *not* absorption by the white Americans" (2003[1896]:45, emphasis in original). If they were ever to prove that not only were they capable of evolving accomplished individual men, but also of developing an equally worthy culture, then they had to embrace "a stalwart originality which shall unswervingly follow Negro ideals" (Du Bois 2003[1896]:45). Du Bois

posed the question of how an African American should identify: "Am I an American or am I a Negro? Can I be both? Or is it my duty to cease to be a Negro as soon as possible and be an American? If I strive to be a Negro, am I not perpetuating the very cleft that threatens and separates Black and White America?" (Du Bois 2003[1896]:46). Du Bois strove for a way to make it possible for a man to be both African and American without being cut off from the opportunities White society provided (Gaines 1996:9).

In exploring this apparent contradiction between African and American, Du Bois developed the idea of the "veil" behind which the African American had to exist (2008[1904]). He explained that there were parallel Black and White worlds, which were walled off from each other by "distortion, opacity, and discontinuity" (Du Bois 2008[1904]:xv). Living behind the veil or color-line, as Du Bois asserted that Black individuals did, created a second-sighted and divided identity. This gave the Black man "no true self-consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other [White] world" (Du Bois 2008[1904]:5). In seeing himself as the White world sees him, the African American man developed a double-consciousness.

Du Bois argued that there was no reason why different races living together couldn't both simultaneously strive toward their ideals, and that actually being in close proximity to each other might allow both to achieve their goals better (2003[1896]). But he also stressed that it was important for the Black race to come together in order to develop their own ideals, their own identity and then strive to achieve them in order to improve the race as a whole (Du Bois 2003[1896]:48).

Furthermore, African Americans should strive for a social equilibrium and not necessarily social equality and let different life ideals develop side by side.

Applications of DuBois and Washington by Archaeologists

By understanding the writings of W.E.B. Du Bois and Booker T. Washington as a guide for how African Americans should be behaving, my dissertation engages with these texts more directly than many other archaeological studies. Most archaeologists engaged in African American archaeology seem to be aware, at least on some level, of the work of W.E.B. Du Bois, his idea of the color-line, and the idea of double consciousness (e.g. Orser 1998, 2001; Paynter 2001; Edwards-Ingram 2001; Perry and Paynter 1999; Singleton 1999; Mullins 1999a, 1999b; De Corse 1999; Ferguson 1992). Even if they do not directly cite Du Bois, most African American archaeologists are, in some way or another, dealing with the problem of the color-line. W.E.B. Du Bois argued that the "color-line" was the issue of the 20th century (2008[1904]), but many scholars are discovering that race continues to be the issue of the 21st century as well (Orser 2001).

Archaeologists who engage with W.E.B. Du Bois and Booker T. Washington usually do so in one of two ways. The first is to use them as theorists on the African American experience and African American identity. Used in this way, Du Bois is cited more often than Washington to talk about the ways in which Africanisms have factored into American ideology, African American identity, and, therefore, African American archaeology. In particular, archaeologists embrace the idea of the color-line, coined by Du Bois in *The Souls of Black Folk* (2008[1904]), arguing that the presence of material items of African origins will distinguish the color-line in the

archaeological record (Perry and Paynter 2001; Singleton 1999). For many years, the focus of much of the African American archaeology done in the United States was on this search for items that "mark the color-line" (e.g. Deetz 1999; Ferguson 1992; Franklin 1997; Leone, La Roche, and Babiarz 2005; Leone et. al. 1995; Leone et. al. 2001; Singleton 1999, Emerson 1999, Mouer et. al. 1999; Ferguson 1999; DeCorse 1999). More recently, however, there has been a push within African American archaeology to complicate this picture, and not reduce our understanding of the color-line simply to a search for analogs from Africa or signs of resistance. Scholars have also used Du Bois's understanding of the color-line as the basis for using theories of agency in African American archaeology (e.g. Armstrong 2009; Perry and Paynter 1999; Singleton 1999; Mullins 1999a, 1999b).

Being aware of the color-line should have encouraged African Americans to find a way to resist it, according to Warren Perry and Robert Paynter (1999:302). However, the awareness of the color-line also caused a double consciousness in African Americans. Scholars must keep this in mind when they study the African diaspora because the racialized White world that created this double consciousness also stifled African American self-consciousness and forced African Americans to constantly negotiate the contradiction of being Black in a White world (Mullins 1999a:186). This is especially true for archaeologists, who deal with the material consequences of the negotiation of double-consciousness.

Using W.E.B. Du Bois' idea of double consciousness, some scholars recommend a dual focus in the studies of race and racism: a focus on valorizing African American culture and a focus on denaturalizing essentialist racial categories.

This dual focus is what will allow historical archaeologists to study race in a racist society without essentializing or de-valuing the African American experience. Historical archaeologists need to realize that their work on racism is part of the network of exclusion and inclusion that characterizes the system, but simultaneously provides opportunities for resisting the system (Orser 1998:663).

Through excavations of African American sites, historical archaeologists are able to reveal information about people who have only been documented in biased manners, if at all. By doing so, they lift part of the "veil" characterized by the totalizing ideological effects of the White racial societal system (Perry and Paynter 1999:304). In order to understand African American material culture, historical archaeologists must remember that "African-American culture is a constantly emerging hybrid forged through struggle against racism" (Mullins 1999a:186). Historical archaeologists cannot hope to lift the veil by ignoring it (and the White social norms embodied in it), and must instead "study the veil and keep in mind the distorted visions it imposes" and therefore historical archaeologists will continue to engage with Du Bois and the idea of double-consciousness (Perry and Paynter 1999:304). Lifting the veil, and the racism it represents, should be a goal in both the study and the practice of African American archaeology (Singleton 1999:16).

The other way in which archaeologists use Du Bois and Washington is for historical contextual information about the Black experience in the late 19th and early 20th century. They are often used simply as references to Black scholars writing about the Black experience (e.g. Singleton 1999). They can also be used to provide specific referential material to help explain archaeological signatures. In her chapter

on foodways at plantations in Virginia, Edwards-Ingram (2001) uses information written by Booker T. Washington to provide background information about life on plantations, specifically about how food was stored in slave quarters. Mullins (1999a) also uses these scholars to provide contextual information for his study of the ways in which African Americans navigated the racist markets of post-Civil War Annapolis. He uses Du Bois's information about barbers and their clientele, and the emergence of venues specifically catering to African Americans to help contextualize his studies in Annapolis and to better understand how late 19th-century marketing techniques were applied in African American contexts (Mullins 1999a:62, 89).

Some archaeologists have also acknowledged that scholars like W.E.B. Du Bois and Booker T. Washington offered blueprints for other African Americans to follow, even though the models that each advocated were very different (e.g. Mullins 1999a; Epperson 1999; Teague and Davidson 2011; Palmer 2011). Therefore, understanding what African American thinkers were promoting, and to whom these frameworks would have appealed, is key to understanding how it could have been, and was, implemented in the daily lives of those we study archaeologically (Mullins 1999a; Palmer 2011). How Washington's model of hard work, thrift, agricultural diversification and industrial education was translated in early 20th century is seen in Annapolis through the example of Wiley Bates. Bates was an African American shop owner in late 19th-century Annapolis who, like Washington, glorified the importance of manual labor in the quest for worthy citizenship, and equated "African American character with stern self-discipline, genteel performance, and, perhaps most significantly, labor" (Mullins 1999a:99).

The ways of life advocated by Washington and Du Bois would have had material consequences, which can be recovered archaeologically. For example, if individuals in a household were participating in the self-provisioning movement encouraged by Washington, it would affect their foodways. This activity would be visible in the archaeological record through the presence or absence of items such as canning jars, and tin cans (Palmer 2011; Mullins 1999a). Through their different frameworks for the actualization of progress of the African American race, both Washington and Du Bois present ways in which African Americans living during the late 19th and early 20th centuries could have, and, as seen in the case of Wiley Bates, did express their identities.

Anna Julia Cooper and Nannie Helen Burroughs

Although Washington and Du Bois were the most famous of the late 19th- and early 20th-century African American thinkers, possibly because they were among the most prolific, they were not the only Black scholars who offered up theories on how African Americans should live their lives in order to progress the race. As previously mentioned, African American women scholars often had very different approaches to racial uplift from African American men because of the tension caused by the role of Victorian ideals of patriarchy in theories of racial uplift (Tate 1992:58). For these women, education became both a social and political tool for achieving racial uplift and many of these women actively worked within their communities through secular clubs, such as the National Association of Colored Women, the National League of Colored Women, the National Association of Wage Earners, and churches to promote this tool (Johnson 2000:28, 140; Gaines 1996:42). Women such as Mary Church

Terrell, Anna Julia Cooper, Gertrude Mossell, and Nannie Helen Burroughs (to name a few) worked within these organizations to challenge the stereotyped images of Black womanhood, redefine what it meant to be a woman within their communities, and overcome racial oppression for both African American men and women (Johnson 2000:140).

Among the most famous of these African American women scholars were Anna Julia Cooper and Nannie Helen Burroughs. Each of these two women is typically associated with either W.E.B. Du Bois' or Booker T. Washington's education ideals, with Cooper aligning with Du Bois and his theories of classical education and Burroughs agreeing with Washington and his support of industrial education (Johnson 2000:xxiv). This is an oversimplification of the educational philosophies of all four people, but these parallels are frequently used as a way to unify the opposing theories of how to accomplish racial uplift. It is also the reason that these two women were selected for examination in this dissertation, although in their work both women were in contact with other female African American scholars of racial uplift. The theories of Cooper and Burroughs generally combined the theories of industrial and classical education, however, Cooper tended to place more emphasis on the importance of classical education than Burroughs (Johnson 2000:xxiv).

Anna Julia Cooper is said to be the "female Du Bois" because of the emphasis she placed on classical education, particularly in the school she established for girls in Washington, D.C. (Johnson 2000:79). While she saw the importance of an industrial education, she also wanted her students to be prepared to attend college as well

(Cooper 1969 [1852]:261). This was likely due to the fact that she herself held multiple degrees, including a bachelor's degree from Oberlin College, and a doctorate from the Sorbonne (Johnson 2000:xxvi, 45). She also didn't see an industrial education as exclusively preparing for women to enter domestic service. Rather she argued that the education of women made them better suited for their duties as wife and mother (Cooper 1969[1852]:71). Learning about chemistry, mathematics, and natural sciences made women better cooks, housekeepers and better prepared them to deal with children and employees (Cooper 1969 [1852]:71-72). Combining classical and industrial educations in a single curriculum made a woman a more desirable wife and a better mother, and helped her become "the earnest, helpful woman [who is] at once both the lever and the fulcrum for uplifting the race" (Cooper 1969 [1852]:45; Johnson 2000:23). Cooper also saw this combined curriculum as beneficial in a context outside of marriage. Through education and intellectual development, women could gain a capacity for earning a livelihood and self-reliance, which would make them less dependent on marriage for support (Cooper 1969 [1852]:68).

Cooper also saw the benefits of maintaining a self-sufficient, independent Black community in order to instill race-consciousness in the next generation (Johnson 2000:89). By teaching women that more is expected of them than to "merely look pretty and appear well in society," Cooper believed that African American women would learn that they are part of "a race with special needs which they and only they can help" (Cooper 1969 [1852]:78). Teaching teachers, and achieving racial uplift from the top-down aligns Anna Julia Cooper with Du Bois's strategies of racial uplift, which also saw uplift being achieved by the classically

educated members of society. Cooper also recognized that society was structured by a system of codes, symbols, and signs that created a network of subordination and saw the problematic place of luxury items within that network of subordination (Cooper 1969 [1852]:86, 272).

Anna Julia Cooper recognized that she was confronted by both a race problem and a gender problem and that women's voices were not being included in addressing either problem (Cooper 1969[1852]:134). She described this problem succinctly when recalling her experience in a train station waiting room, saying "I see two dingy little rooms with 'FOR LADIES' swinging over one and with 'FOR COLORED PEOPLE' over the other" and wondered under which sign she should walk (Cooper 1969 [1852]:96). However, it appears that Cooper placed more emphasis on including female voices in political and social discourses within the African American community than in reconciling the races (Cooper 1969 [1852]:171). Finally, Cooper saw an industrial education as being capable of helping to overcome the emphasis on individual achievement in professional and political arenas and as a path for progress of the race. She also strongly critiqued the reluctance of African American leaders, particularly male leaders, to speak out against racism in society (Gaines 1996:43).

She also placed a lot of emphasis on the importance of including the voice of women, not as superior or inferior to the voice of men, but as a necessary component to understanding the complete whole of society (Cooper 1969[1852]:60). This is an idea on which both Cooper and Burroughs agreed. Both saw the importance of including female voices in the discussions of racial uplift in order to help combat the expectations of women's subordination. However, both Cooper and Burroughs also

saw the importance of women's roles in the family, home, and marriage in the overall progress of the race (Gaines 1996:79-80). Although Anna Julia Cooper and Nannie Helen Burroughs agreed on many points relative to racial uplift, they differed considerably when it came to who they thought education, especially industrial education, should be targeting. Cooper saw education as being for everyone, whereas Nannie Helen Burroughs focused her attentions on providing education for working-class women.

Nannie Helen Burroughs' emphasis was on promoting domestic service, and professionalizing the occupational opportunity that was most widely available to African American women. She wanted to prepare women for the economic and social realities facing them, and that reality was that most African American women made their living working in the service sector, and there was a demand for trained servants (Johnson 2000:97; Rooks 2004; Burroughs 1921). Burroughs believed that real life training for real life service was the key to racial uplift; not making excuses for their race, but rather demonstrating that they could be successful in spite of it (Burroughs 1921:414). Burroughs argued that if Black women weren't prepared to take advantage of these jobs, European immigrants, who were taking advantage of instruction in domestic sciences, would replace them. If African American women were going to have to work in service jobs, Burroughs argued they should do it well and in the best homes (Johnson 2000:97; Rooks 2004:105). By making homemaking and service sector jobs into a profession based on home economics and domestic sciences, it would make the job more dignified (Johnson 2000:98; Rooks 2004:105). Therefore, at her school, the National Training School, Nannie Helen Burroughs developed a

curriculum that included preparation in domestic science, sewing, laundry, morals, manners, and religion as well as her famous "Three B's": Bible, Bath, and Broom (Kelly 2012:216; Johnson 2000; Burroughs 1921). Burroughs maintained that if African American men and women were morally and spiritually clean, they would be successful, even in a world with obstacles placed in front of them due to the color of their skin (Burroughs 1921:414).

On the surface, this curriculum seemed to emphasize conforming to the ideals of the "Cult of True Womanhood" or "Victorian Ideals," which were predominantly applied to White women, a goal that would seem contrary to Burroughs's emphasis on the importance of the place of working-class African American women (Bair 2008:16). However, Burroughs also placed a lot of emphasis on the importance of teaching African American history, possibly because of her friendship with Carter Woodson, which was meant to instill a sense of racial pride in her students (Wolcott 1997:95; Bair 2008:24).

Despite the fact that jobs in domestic service were the most accessible for Black women, it appears that this was not the job most women in Burroughs's school desired, and many of the women who attended the school took courses to prepare for something other than a life in domestic service (Wolcott 1997). This indicates that although Burroughs was hypothesizing a way for African American women to improve their lives and their race through the enrollment in her school in Washington, D.C., it was not actualized in daily life in the way that Burroughs advocated. Jobs in domestic service offered economic independence for women, but they came with the "prohibitive cost" of having to work in someone else's home (Gaines 1996:15).

Burroughs did, however, recognize that in order for her students to be seen as contributing members of a racist society, they would need to prove that they were worthy, as measured by the ideals of White womanhood (Bair 2008:16). Black women had to keep their own homes, and also work in the homes of White women, making them both guardians and emissaries for their race (Wolcott 1997:97; Rooks 2004). Despite her acknowledgement that Black women had to work in White women's homes, Burroughs still took a lot of pride in her race, and was opposed to interracial marriages, arguing that "Black men who married White women had betrayed the race - just something gone, but nothing missing" (Burroughs in Kelly 2012:218).

Burroughs was active during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, working with her school and the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, giving speeches, and corresponding with other Black leaders of the time. However, Burroughs did not write her philosophies in a major book, making her different from all of the other authors considered here. Instead, historians learned about her philosophies through personal and public correspondence records (Bair 2008:12). This indicates that Burroughs may have been more accessible in daily life as her philosophies were featured in popular publications, which were easier to obtain and circulate.

Adopting Victorian ideals as part of the theories of racial uplift also meant adopting tenets of Victorian femininity, and the "cult of true womanhood" (Johnson 2000:22, 104; Tate 1992:132; Wass and Fandrich 2010:338). This "true woman" ideology dictated moral guidelines for White, middle-class women that valued the

qualities of innocence, modesty, piety, submissiveness, and domesticity (Johnson 2000:22). In the 19th and 20th centuries, this concept of a "true woman" was not extended to Black women because of the prevailing notions and attitudes held by dominant society about Black women (Johnson 2000:22). Instead, Black women were seen as belonging in one of several stereotyped categories, including the "mammy," the loyal, obedient, and happy servant who nurtures the White family they work for; the "jezebel," the sexually provocative and promiscuous woman; and the "sapphire," the working woman who is both a bad mother and a bad wife who emasculates her husband (Johnson 2000:xxix, 49). These stereotypes of Black women served to remove Black women from the images of "true womanhood" and to justify, support, and rationalize the racial and gender subordination of Black woman (Johnson 2000:xxix). This allowed the dominant White society to assume that "a Negro woman cannot be a lady" (Cooper 1969 [1852]:32). A woman in the 19th and early 20th centuries was living in the "double jeopardy of belonging to the 'inferior' sex of an 'inferior' race" (Johnson 2000:xxiii). The lives of African American women embodied the intersection of racial, gender, and class oppression (Johnson 2000:xxix, 5).

This understanding of the ideal woman was redefined as the "ideal Black woman" (Johnson 2000:xxv). The image of the "ideal Black woman" focused on the respectability of African American women, in order to combat White stereotypes and, by not simply adopting the Victorian ideals, it allowed for the expansion of the respectable role of women outside of the home. The duties of the "ideal Black woman" could not be confined to the household but rather must also be concerned

with problems of the community (Johnson 2000:26, 104; Wolcott 1997:91; Tate 1992:56; Rooks 2004:90). Both Burroughs and Cooper believed that women's education should have a focus on service to the community in order to build a "sturdy, moral, industrious, and intellectual woman" (Johnson 2000:xxv). This emphasis on taking education out of the classroom and into a venue of political and social activism is part of what separated Cooper, Burroughs, and other Black women educators from their male counterparts (Johnson 2000:28; Tate 1992:56). By adding this component, these women offered a different option of how African Americans, especially African American women, should be educated.

In addition to the added component of concern with societal problems, the "ideal Black woman" was also not restricted from participating in the work force because of her marital status. African American wives were five times more likely to enter the work force than their White counterparts. This was due to the lack of job opportunities for Black men, which required Black women to seek employment to support their families instead (Johnson 2000:96; Rooks 2004:90, 105). Women who believed that they were part of the Black middle-class were generally represented as employed in a relatively restricted range of occupations, although the most readily available occupation was domestic service (Gaines 1996:136; Wolcott 1997:92; Rooks 2004:105). This need to seek employment caused the vision of the "ideal Black woman" to conflict with Victorian ideals of patriarchy, male leadership, and support of their families (Gaines 1996:137). Many Black elites still harbored other assumptions about women's subordination and that men should support their wives and families, causing tension between the sexes (Gaines 1996:138).

Anna Julia Cooper and Nannie Burroughs seemed to be more concerned with the concrete application of racial uplift, especially in terms of helping those African Americans who were deemed "working class" or those struggling to cope with the changing world after Emancipation and Reconstruction. They wanted to find a way to make people in that group, especially the women, able to support themselves and join the "Black elite," of which both women were eventually a part. But they didn't address the strategies of the Black elite themselves. And like Du Bois, both women recognized that both racial pride and a necessity to accommodate White images of race and appropriate behavior had to be factored into developing theories of social uplift for African Americans and for women. Their strategies were more concrete on some subjects than others. For example, Anna Julia Cooper stressed the importance of giving women a voice, but did not particularly articulate what it was that women should be saying, beyond that that they were equal to men on some level and that they should not be discounted.

In many ways the concrete plans of Burroughs and Cooper were strategies for survival, although they argued that they were strategies for racial uplift. They were not arguing for how to make progress for the race as a whole, with a large picture goal like Washington and Du Bois, but rather for ways in which women could live their daily lives to survive – gain financial independence, maintain appearances of civility and integrity – but they didn't really describe what should happen after that fact. In some ways this made their systems better models because they were dealing with day-to-day decisions, the choices that the average person would have been struggling with. Cooper, Burroughs, and other women like them served as real-life

models for the women reading their works (Tate 1992:128). They just assumed that if you survived day to day, the so-called "race problem" would fix itself (Cooper 1969 [1852]:171).

Because Nannie Helen Burroughs and Anna Julia Cooper focused primarily on education tactics, they did not offer the same kind of long-term plans that Du Bois and Washington did in their writings. It is, therefore, more difficult to see evidence of their theories and strategies for daily life in the material culture left behind by individuals in the past, and is likely why the theories of these two women do not appear in archaeological literature. However, it is important to include their perspectives in order to understand that Du Bois and Washington were not the only two people theorizing on racial uplift and that any practice that an individual adopted was likely influenced by many intellectuals.

Conclusions

Cooper, Burroughs, Washington and Du Bois were all trying to provide African Americans with strategies of how to cope with the culture of racism and remnants of slavery that existed after the Civil War. Du Bois and Cooper saw general education and the elevation of the elite as the most effective ways to achieve uplift for the race as a whole, while Washington and Burroughs tended to view industrial skills and overall morality as the more effective mechanisms for racial and social uplift. When slavery was dissolved, the legal structuring forces of African American daily life were changed, formally, but how much this changed the day-to-day forces structuring their lives is debatable. While legally free, African Americans still had to deal with racist structures and legalized racism. Washington, in particular, offered

ways to try to practice daily life without considering the forces that structured daily life. Du Bois seemed to have some concept of the structuring forces, as evidenced in his concept of the "veil." Burroughs and Cooper also acknowledged the imposed societal pressures and barriers that faced African Americans. Regardless of how well they worked practically, African Americans were aware of these theories of practice that were available for use in late 19th and early 20th century Annapolis (1999a; *Afro-American* Sep 24, 1932, p. 20; Mar 29, 1913 p. 7; Jan 14, 1933 p. 8; *Anne Arundel Advertiser* Oct 28 1870, p.1). It is important to understand the potential material consequences of each theory of practice in order to examine if they are present in the archaeological record. These two methodologies for combating racism should have material consequences that are distinct, so if these methodologies are being employed by different groups of African Americans, then there should be differences in the material goods used and discarded by these groups.

Specifically, because of who each of these frameworks would have appealed to, different class groups within the African American community would have employed the frameworks of these prominent African American scholars differently. If one group of African Americans, the "inclusionist" class, for example, embraced the ideas of Washington and Burroughs, and wanted to present themselves as industrious and prosperous to their White neighbors, we would expect to see that reflected in their material culture. If another group, such as the "autonomist" class, wanted to maintain a distinct identity like Du Bois advocated, one that was uniquely African American, we would likewise expect to see that reflected in their material culture. Using the different approaches laid out by these four scholars, I am able to

explain why there are differences in the material culture found at the four archaeological sites examined in this study. It is the actualization of different frameworks, representative of different strategies or practices of everyday life, and therefore different identities.

Washington, Du Bois, Cooper, and Burroughs were laying out methodologies based on what they thought would allow the African American race to progress into the future. The works of these four African American thinkers and scholars provide historical contextual examples for how the practices of everyday life could, or should, be carried out.

Chapter 4: Annapolis Historical Background

The Early Years of Annapolis

A group of Protestant Virginians settled Annapolis in December of 1649, fifteen years after Maryland was first settled by a group of Catholics in St. Mary's City (Arnett et. al. 1999:3; Brugger 1988:3-7; Brackett 1969[1889]:11; McWilliams 2011:2). (Potter 1989:121; Shackel et. al. 1998:xvii; Ives 1979:131; Chappell et. al. 1998:9; Arnett et. al. 1999:47; Norris 1925:13; McWilliams 2011:4). By 1694, the settlement was established as a port of trade used for shipping tobacco, known as "Annapolis" and was serving as the capitol of the colony of Maryland (Chappell et. al. 1998:9; Riley 2009[1887]:12, 51; Shackel et. al. 1998:xvii; Potter 1989:121, 123; Norris 1925:23; McWilliams 2011:5-6, 16-18; Arnett et. al. 1999:48; Carr 1974:136; Baker 1986:192).

After moving the capital to Annapolis, Nicholson modified the city plan to include circles on the two hills in the city, one for the State House and one for the Anglican Church (Arnett et. al. 1999:48; Brugger 1988:41; Riley 2009[1887]:64; Chappell et. al. 1998:9; McWilliams 2011:18; Potter 1989:124; Shackel et. al. 1998:xvii).). It took many years for the lots laid out in Nicholson's plan to be settled and at the end of the 17th century, Annapolis was still a sleepy village of about forty dwellings (Brugger 1988:41; Baker 1986:197).

For the first quarter of the 18th century, Annapolis remained a relatively small settlement (Potter 1989:125-6; Ives 1979:131). Substantial growth did not occur in the city until the late 1710s and 1720s, when the city became a bureaucratic center (Shackel et. al. 1998:xx). By 1725, more than half of the city was owned by four men,

Charles Carroll, Amos Garret, Thomas Bordley, and William Bladen. Due to the way

in which property was sold in the city, most of the residential land in Annapolis was

held in large blocks by single individuals and remained largely undeveloped in the

18th century (Baker 1986:197; McWilliams 2011:34). However, during the 1730s and

1740s Annapolis developed enough to take on distinctly urban characteristics,

including native population growth, and a market for imported goods (McWilliams

2011:29-71; Baker 1986:208).

The Golden Age of Annapolis

The late 18th century is generally considered the "Golden Age" of Annapolis.

For over eighty years, Annapolis was the center of colonial life, and was the source of

artistic and cultural capital and idealized behavior for the Anglo-American gentility in

Maryland (McWilliams 2011:72-116; Arnett et. al. 1999:4). The city's status as the

capital of the colony attracted wealthy and important people as its residents (Potter

1989:128; Shackel et. al. 1998:xx). This was especially true when the General

Assembly was in session, a time when planters from throughout the colony converged

on Annapolis to take advantage of the urban amenities, including theater, balls, and

horse races (Arnett et. al. 1999:48; Brugger 1988:78; Riley 2009[1887]; McWilliams

2011:76). Annapolis was also the location of several events that led up to the

American Revolution, including calls for resistance to the British trade restrictions

and attacks on merchants who favored the restrictions (Arnett et. al. 1999:4;

McWilliams 2011:83-100). The city did not develop into the Baroque city that

Nicholson had intended, and Annapolis tended to resemble a large village more than a

small city. However, the buildings that were constructed did represent a diverse

number of architectural styles (Brugger 1988:81; Riley 2009[1887]:216-217). Estimates of Annapolis' population between 1695 and 1730 indicate that the population increased from approximately two hundred and fifty people in 1695 to approximately seven hundred by 1730 (Baker 1986:199; McWilliams 2011:80).

In the late 18th century, the city became a place of great importance within the colonial world. Annapolis served as a stopping point for generals traveling north and south throughout the colonies, and was the site of George Washington's military resignation at the end of the American Revolution (Riley 2009[1887]:208, 216; McWilliams 2011:100-116). The Continental Congress met in the Maryland State House in Annapolis for six months at the end of the Revolutionary War, during which time the city served as the Capital of the newly formed United States (Potter 1989:129; Shackel et. al. 1998:xxi; Arnett et. al. 1999:4; Riley 2009[1887]:214; McWilliams 2011:110-116). This is the period of Annapolis' history that has been the focus of 20th century nostalgia, tourism and research.

African Americans in 18th century Annapolis

African slaves began arriving in colonial Maryland shortly after the colony was founded in 1634 (Arnett et. al. 1999:4; Brackett 1969[1889]:26). In 1642, 13 slaves were delivered to St. Mary's City and during the 17th century the increase of Africans in the Maryland colony was relatively slow (Brackett 1969[1889]:37; Baker 1986:201). During the last quarter of the 17th century, the primary source of labor in the colony was indentured servants (Brackett 1969[1889]:37; Brugger 1988:42; McWilliams 2011:41). However, by the end of the 17th century, the number of ships delivering slaves to Maryland began to increase dramatically, due in part to the limits

placed on importing white criminals as indentured servants (Brugger 1988:46; Brackett 1969[1889]:38, 118; McWilliams 2011:41). Africans who arrived in Maryland during this period came from many different tribes along the coasts of the Senegal, Gambia, and Niger Rivers (Arnett et. al. 1999:4; Vos 2014).

Between 1695 and 1708, approximately four thousand slaves were brought into Maryland, at an average rate of at least three hundred individuals per year (Brugger 1988:62; Brackett 1969[1889]:38). Most of these slaves were brought into Maryland by British trading vessels and were part of their desire to encourage tobacco production (Brackett 1969[1889]:41; Arnett et. al. 1999:4; McWilliams 2011:40-41). By 1750, over fifty percent of the African slaves in the American colonies were concentrated in Maryland and Virginia (Arnett et. al. 1999:4; Vos 2014). In October 1695, a "parcel" of 160 Africans landed in Annapolis. Slaves from Africa continued to arrive in large numbers through the middle of the 18th century and became a large portion of the total population of Anne Arundel County and Maryland (Brugger 1988:62, 135; McWilliams 2011:40; Matthews 2002:35). Though still a small settlement in the early to mid-18th century, Annapolis had a substantial slave population (Shackel et. al. 1998; Potter 1989; Ives 1979; Matthews 2002; McWilliams 2011:41). In Annapolis, the African American population constituted roughly twenty four percent of the population, or ninety-five people, in 1710, and continued to grow throughout the 18th century (Shackel et. al. 1998:xxi).

By 1755, approximately one-third of Annapolis' total population, or about three hundred people, were African Americans (Ives 1979:132). By the mid-18th century, free African Americans were also an increasingly important aspect of

Annapolis' population. Through the end of the 18th century, the total number of African Americans in the city continued to increase while the number of enslaved individuals decreased (Shackel et. al. 1998:xxi; Ives 1979:132; Matthews 2002:23, 35, 77; Brackett 1969[1889]:55). This was due, in part, to the large number of manumissions throughout Maryland in the period immediately before and after the American Revolution (Brackett 1969[1889]:55). The shift from a tobacco-based economy to a wheat-based economy that occurred at the end of the 18th century had a significant impact on the labor force in Maryland. Tobacco is a labor-intensive crop, and enslaved African Americans had primarily provided this labor. With the switch to wheat, a far less labor-intensive crop, large numbers of slaves were no longer needed to work the large plantations of rural Maryland (Wallace 2001:85; Rockman 2009:33). Many slave owners were inspired to free their slaves by humanitarianism, and by Quaker and Methodist abolitionist messages. Other plantation owners found it an economic burden to maintain large families of slaves on their farms and were happy to be rid of this responsibility (Rockman 2009:33; Hayward 2008:29; McWilliams 2011:128). Newly freed African Americans flocked to urban areas, such as Annapolis, in search of jobs and safety, resulting in large and diverse free African American communities in Annapolis and Baltimore. By 1800, the number of African Americans in Annapolis had tripled, and represented an increasingly large percentage of the total population of the city (Ives 1979:132).

Post-Revolution Decline, the U.S. Naval Academy, and the Civil War

After the American Revolution, Annapolis began to decline as the city lost its economic and social power (Potter 1989:130; Shackel et. al. 1998:xxi; Riley

2009[1887]:2; McWilliams 2011:130). By 1790, Annapolis began to be surpassed by the growing industrial and commercial port of Baltimore (Leeman 2010:205; Chappell et. al. 1998:14; McWilliams 2011:130). The deeper harbor and more central location of Baltimore, especially with the development of the western part of the state, caused most of the wealthiest residents of Annapolis and the international commerce to leave the state's capital city (Potter 1989:130; Shackel et. al. 1998:xxi; Leeman 2010:205; Chappell et. al. 1998:14; Norris 1925:225; Arnett et. al. 1999:49). The tobacco industry that supported the wealth of Annapolis in the 18th century was replaced by wheat farming, a product which was grown more easily in the western part of the state and then shipped to Baltimore (Norris 1925:225;Wallace 2001:85; Rockman 2009:33).

The source of the social capital in Annapolis disappeared with the Tories at the end of the Revolution, so that the city was no longer the cultural center of Maryland as Annapolis was eclipsed by development in Washington, D.C. and Baltimore (Chappell et. al. 1998:14; Norris 1925:226). The people who did remain in Annapolis were primarily government officials, and those who supported those officials, including shopkeepers, and people in service industries (Chappell et. al. 1998:14; Baker 1986:208; McWilliams 2011:131-137).

Annapolis also had to struggle to remain the seat of Maryland's government (McWilliams 2011:130; Shackel et. al. 1998:xxi; Norris 1925:226). Baltimore residents pushed to have the state government moved out of Annapolis into Baltimore on at least three occasions, in 1786, 1817 and 1864. The city of Baltimore even offered to raise the money to build new public buildings, but all these attempts were

unsuccessful, and Annapolis remained the capital (Potter 1989:131; McWilliams 2011:130; Riley 2009[1887]:272). There was very little construction in Annapolis during the late 18th and early 19th century, and by the middle of the 19th century, Annapolis still looked the same as it did during the height of its colonial Golden Era (Leeman 2010:205; Chappell et. al. 1999:14).

During this period of relative decline, Annapolis worked to convince the federal government to establish a naval school in the city as a way to attract industry and investments back into the city (McWilliams 2011:147-151; Potter 1989:132; Leeman 2010:136). Annapolis was a logical choice for the naval school because of its largely vacant harbor, its easy access to the Chesapeake Bay, and the presence of the unoccupied Fort Severn (Leeman 2010:204-5; Norris 1925:245). The first appeal to establish a naval school in the recently abandoned port in Annapolis came in 1817 (Larsen 2004:176). This appeal was unsuccessful, as not everyone thought that Annapolis was the right location for the Naval School (Leeman 2010:205). It was not until the Elk-Ridge Railroad was built to connect Annapolis to Baltimore and Washington that the bid to build the Naval Academy in Annapolis was seriously considered (Larsen 2004:178; Chappell et. al. 1999:16; Leeman 2010:205; McWilliams 2011:147). After twenty years of petitioning the federal government, Annapolis was finally successful in establishing the U.S. Naval Academy in 1845, putting Annapolis back on the national radar (Potter 1989:132; McWilliams 2011:151-200; Riley 2009[1887]:2). In the years immediately prior to the Civil War, the Naval Academy was a relatively small installation, but a major presence in the otherwise declining city (Brugger 1988:435; Riley 2009[1887]:283) (Figure 2).

Figure 2: Bird's Eye View of the City of Annapolis, Edward Sachse, ca. 1858 (Source: Map Collection, Library of University of California, Davis)

Bird's Eye View of the City of Annapolis
EDWARD SACHSE, CA. 1858

In the first half of the 19th century, the large number of free African Americans in Maryland held an uncertain position within the State, because a Black man was presumed to be a slave until proven otherwise, and state law required free African Americans to either find employment or leave the state (Brugger 1988:212; Riley 2009[1887]:183; McWilliams 2011:137-142). As a result, many free African Americans would purchase their family members and not manumit them immediately for fear they would be forced to leave the state (Riley 2009[1887]:190). Many White Marylanders were in favor of the idea of all free Blacks leaving the state and settling back in Africa, and some of the manumissions made during this period were contingent on this condition (Brugger 1988:212; Brackett 1969[1889]:167; Riley 2009[1887]:272). The number of free African Americans in Maryland increased dramatically in the 19th century while the number of slaves in the state continued to

decline up until the Civil War. Just prior to Emancipation, the majority of the African Americans living in Annapolis were already free (Brugger 1988:169, 210, 268; Ives 1979:132; Matthews 2002:77). At the start of the Civil War, Maryland had the largest number of freed African Americans of any of the slave holding states (Mullins 1999:5; Brugger 1988:210). Many of these freed African Americans moved to cities, like Baltimore and Annapolis, in search of jobs and increasingly created their own enclaves within those cities (Brugger 1988:210-211).

From 1800 to 1850 the number of enslaved African Americans in Annapolis oscillated around six hundred individuals, but their percentage of the total city population declined as the free Black population continued to increase (Ives 1979:132; Leone 2005:22). By 1810, Maryland's free African American population was larger than any other slave holding state in the United States, and by 1840, free African Americans were the head of household in one-quarter of households in Annapolis. Most of these African Americans lived in rental properties, as very few African Americans owned real estate in the city in the mid-19th century (McWilliams 2011:139; Mullins and Warner 1993:15). This large free urban Black community in Annapolis afforded the slaves in the city many benefits and resulted in a multi-faceted community with multiple distinct classes (McWilliams 2011:138-142).

Maryland, as a Northern but slave-holding state, held an ambiguous position during the Civil War (Mullins 1999a:5). Fear of the Southern sentiments prevalent in Maryland and within the institution caused the Naval Academy to relocate to Newport, Rhode Island, at the start of the war (Ives 1979:132, 134; Larsen 2004:203; Norris 1925:263; Mullins and Warner 1993:15; Schneller 2005:14). There was fear

that if the Academy stayed in Annapolis, Southern sympathizers would be able to seize the Academy and its resources and use them against the Northern troops garrisoned in the city (Norris 1925:263; McWilliams 2011:167). The vacated port was used to bring troops into Annapolis, and the city served primarily as a garrison for mostly Union troops, although some Confederate troops arrived in the city as well (McWilliams 2011:174; Ives 1979:132, 134; Larsen 2004:203). Paroled Union troops were also brought to Annapolis and throughout the war the city was taken over by military activity (McWilliam 2011:177).

After the war, Annapolitans had to work to convince the Naval Academy to return (Larsen 2004:203; Matthews 2002:24; Gelfand 2006:3-4). The Naval Academy had become one of the largest and most stable employers in Annapolis, especially for the increasingly large African American population of the city, so the city was anxious to have it returned to Annapolis. That said, up to the Civil War, the Naval Academy was a relatively small and unimpressive entity (Mullins and Warner 1993:15; Potter 1989:132; McWilliams 2011:151-200; Schneller 2005:13). The lack of modern facilities and cramped quarters in Annapolis hindered the Academy's return to the city after the war. In order to get the Academy back to Annapolis, the city cleared the land adjacent to the Academy and the school was expanded considerably (Larsen 2004:203; Riley 2009[1887]:284; Gelfand 2006:3-6; Riley 2009[1887]:284). Notably, minorities and low-income families occupied much of the land that was annexed and cleared for the Naval Academy. These families were kicked out of their homes and forced to relocate to other parts of the city (Jopling 1998:50). Despite the fact that the arrival of the Naval Academy is considered an

essential turning point in the history of Annapolis and that it became a significant part of the city's identity, the Academy has essentially remained an isolated entity from the city of Annapolis (Larsen 2004:179; Leone et. al. 1987:286; Leone 2005:1,3).

Mid-19th-Century Development and the Emergence of African American Neighborhoods

Between 1850 and 1880, the total population of the City of Annapolis more than doubled. In 1870, the population of Annapolis was approximately 5,700 people, and in 1880, it was about 6,600 people, excluding the approximately 500 people who were part of the U.S. Naval Academy. By 1900, the population of Annapolis had increased to approximately 10,000 people (Chappell et. al. 1998:17; Riley 2009[1887]:337; US Bureau of the Census 1850, 1860, 1870, 1880; McWilliams 2011:238).

This population increase in the late 19th century was the result of an increased demand for service workers and laborers in the city following the return of the Naval Academy from Rhode Island; the increase in construction in the City; and the growth of water-related industries (Ives 1979:134; Larsen 2004:204; Shackel et. al. 1998:xxii; McWilliams 2011:238; Matthews 2002:90-2; Schneller 2005:13). Building increased during this period, especially new homes and shops, and several projects designed to enhance the beauty of the city were completed (Larsen 2004:206). Among these building projects were several sets of wood frame townhouses, built to be used as rental properties for African Americans. 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. Taking advantage of the resources of the Chesapeake Bay, seafood

packaging and marketing became the main industry of the second half of the 19th century (Chappell et. al. 1998:16; McWilliams 2011:212). Other than the Annapolis Glass Work on Horn Point, built in 1885, Annapolis lacked substantial manufacturing industries, which differentiated it from most other 19th-century cities (Riley 2009[1887]:337; McWilliams 2011:219; Matthews 2002:21, 25). A summer resort was opened in the early 1880s and connected to the world outside of Annapolis via the railroad. This new railroad was indicative of the popularity of the resort, and the trend toward Annapolis as a destination city and tourist attraction (Riley 2009[1887]:337; Larsen 2004:206, 207; McWilliams 2011:201-246; Matthews 2002:5, 21, 22, 120).

Because foreign-born and native Whites were not entering Annapolis in large numbers, the increase in unskilled labor and service jobs created employment opportunities for the large African American population in the city. In particular, the expanding seafood industry provided opportunities for the African American occupants of the city (Chappell et. al. 1998:17; McWilliams 2011:212; Matthews 2002:92; Ives 1979:134). This increase in job opportunities, combined with increasingly racist attitudes within the Anglo-American population of the city that characterized the Jim Crow era, encouraged spatial and social segregation of the Black and White segments of the population (Ives 1979:129; Chappell et. al. 1998:17, 176). During this time, schools for African American children were established in the city, including a school specifically for African American girls and a Galilean School on East Street (McWilliams 2011:226-7). Sallie Ives (1979) identifies five distinct

clusters of African American communities in Annapolis during this period, composed

of both African American and Anglo-American households (Figure 3).

Figure 3: Approximate Locations of the African American clusters within Annapolis based on Sallie Ives (1979)
(Base Map Source: Archaeology in Annapolis)
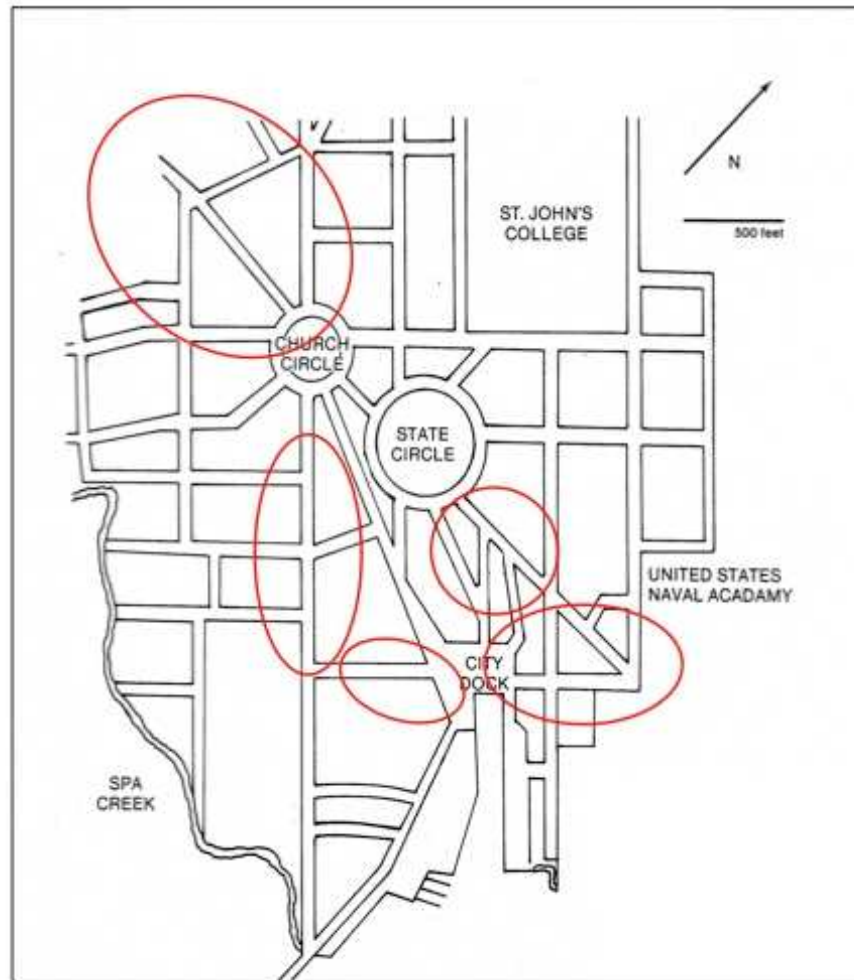
The largest of these five clusters was centered in the western part of the city

and was likely connected to the commercial development on West Street. Two

clusters were located adjacent to the Naval Academy and most of their occupants

found employment at the Academy or in jobs tied to the nearby waterfront. One of

those clusters was centered around East Street and is the central focus of this

dissertation. Seventy-two percent of the heads of households in this East Street cluster

were African Americans who were primarily employed downtown in skilled occupations, including butchers, blacksmiths, wheelwrights, and barbers (Ives 1979:137). However it is important to remember that, especially within the African American community, occupation did not necessarily equate to class and therefore many of these clusters likely contained multiple classes. Finally, a small and mixed cluster was located between Market and Duke of Gloucester streets. Residential segregation in Annapolis continued to increase into the 1880s, and the proportion of African American households outside of the established residential clusters declined (Ives 1979:132, 138; McWilliams 2011:249; Matthews 2002:126; Brown 1994).

In particular, the cluster of black households on the western side of the city expanded significantly during the last decades of the 19th century (Ives 1979:138). During this time period, a few individuals were able to gain prominence and stand out from the majority of laborers and servants within their community (Ives 1979:147; Jopling 1998:57). These individuals were the target renters for the modest frame houses built following the Civil War, such as those found on Pinkney and Fleet streets (Ives 1979:147; Chappell et. al. 1998:17, 176). The emerging elite, which included families such as the Butlers, Bishops, Prices, Shorters, and Bates, lived throughout the five clusters, in relatively large single-family homes and townhomes (McWilliams 2011:203; Chappell et. al. 1998:176). This list of elite families should also have included the Maynards and the Hollidays, two of the families examined in this study.

The 20th Century: Annapolis, a Modern "Ancient" City

By the end of the 19th century, Annapolis was viewed as a sleepy, ancient city, slow to change its ways but "not dead" (Riley 2009[1887]:340; McWilliams 2011:231). In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Annapolis struggled to modernize, adding electric street lighting and trolley trains, yet remained an ancient city, still largely intact from its 17th-century origins (Matthews 2002; McWilliams 2011:253-290; Palus 2011). The colonial feel and character of the city had been preserved and remained present in the facades of buildings and narrow streets of the city (Brugger 1988:614). The Naval Academy, the local and state government, service sector jobs, and tourism continued to fuel the economy of Annapolis, and the city began to grow as it became better connected to Baltimore and Washington in the middle of the century (Larsen 2004:223; Brugger 1988:614; McWilliams 2011:300). In the late 1960s, Annapolis also began holding festivals and shows and to draw on the popularity of boating, taking advantage of its many harbor, creeks, and rivers to attract visitors (Brugger 1988:659; McWilliams 2011:332-336). Real estate investors began purchasing 18th-century structures throughout the city and especially near the market and harbor, turning them into a posh waterfront area, with new housing, commercials zones and parking lots (Brugger 1988:614; Arnett et. al. 1999:50; Matthews 2002:3-5). This caused a new split within the population of Annapolis pitting developers against historic preservationists (Brugger 1988:614; McWilliams 2011:329,337; Matthews 2002).

Many residents of the city believed that Annapolis should embrace its historic roots in order to attract visitors and business (Matthews 2002:133; Shackel et. al. 1998:xvi; Brugger 1988:659). Although the major preservation organizations in

Annapolis were not formed until after 1950, some private efforts to preserve individual buildings were begun during the first half of the century, including the Pinkney-Callahan House and Reynolds Tavern (Chappell et. al. 1998:19; Larsen 2004:223; McWilliam 2011:326; Leone 2005). Led by Anne St. Clair Wright, Historic Annapolis, Inc. spearheaded the preservation efforts in the city beginning in 1952. By 1965, the core of the city had been designated as a National Historic Landmark (Arnett et. al. 1999:50; Chappell et. al. 1998:20; Brugger 1988:655; McWilliams 2011:338; Leone 2005). The restoration work at the William Paca house in the 1970s, and the efforts of St. Clair Wright, brought in another major preservation organization to the City: Archaeology in Annapolis (Brugger 1988:655; Shackel et. al. 1998:xxv; Leone 2005:30). The work of Archaeology in Annapolis, founded in 1981 by Dr. Mark Leone and the University of Maryland, continued the goal of preserving the history of Annapolis and expanded the understanding of the Annapolitans' multiple experiences in the past (Shackel et. al. 1998; Cochran et. al. 2010; Mullins and Warner 1993; Leone 2005; Matthews 2002; Deeley 2011, 2013).

Archaeology in Annapolis is well known for its use of public excavations, capitalist ideologies, and critical theory. In addition to examining famous historical figures in Annapolis, Archaeology in Annapolis has studied the forgotten figures of the city, especially African Americans. Using archaeology and public interpretation, Archaeology in Annapolis has examined historical inequalities in daily life, and demonstrated the specific contexts that created these inequalities. Over the last thirty years, members of Archaeology in Annapolis have excavated more than forty sites in

the historic district of Annapolis, and have made incorporating African American history into the known narrative of Annapolis one of its main goals.

Traditionally in Annapolis, Black history is separated from White history, especially temporally, with the 18th century being about White history and the 19th century about Black history. The written history of the city has been produced almost exclusively by Whites, which, if taken to be the complete history of the city, would present a history that largely ignores the racial tensions between Whites and Blacks in Annapolis (Leone et. al. 1987:286). By searching for sources of history beyond the written documents, the forgotten history of African Americans in Annapolis is being recovered in the city today. My comparative study is an example of how this history is being explored by complicating our understanding of how individuals within the African American community utilized different strategies of racial uplift for negotiating racism and demonstrating their class belonging.

Chapter 5: Site Context and Backgrounds

In order to understand the general patterns of African American occupation and property accumulation across the city of Annapolis, it is necessary to examine the individual contexts of the sites being considered. The general history of the city of Annapolis as a whole has already been explored, but this history does not highlight the details of the lives of the individuals who would have been using, and eventually discarding, the materials that make up the majority of the data set used in this project (see Appendix A for tables of census data from all four sites).

The four sites examined in this dissertation can be grouped, roughly, into two categories: people who owned their homes and people who rented their homes. The James Holliday House and the Maynard-Burgess House were both purchased in the mid-19th century by freed slaves. The houses at 49 Pinkney Street and 40 Fleet Street were tenement properties rented by African American families during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The individual property histories for these sites are important because they help us understand who occupied each site and how each site was being used over time. Furthermore, they help us identify details that highlight the differences and similarities between individuals living at each property which can help identify which individuals would have belonged to the same class and why certain strategies of racial uplift would have appeal to one class and not another.

The James Holliday House, 99 East Street (18AP116)

Architectural Description

The structure at 99 East Street, built sometime between 1784 and 1819 and known as the James Holliday House, is a symmetrical, two-and-a-half-story, three-

bay, two-pile, side gable, brick building with an English basement (Deeley 2013)
(Figure 4).

**Figure 4: Front Façade of 99 East Street, Annapolis, MD
(Source: Kathryn Deeley)**

The building is located on the south side of East Street with the façade of the

building facing north toward East Street. The house consists of a main block with a

20th-century, one-bay, and single-pile rear addition. The main block of the house is of

brick construction in five-course common bond. The house sits on a coursed stone

foundation, which is only visible on the gable end of the house. The gable roof is

covered in standing steam metal with a single front gable dormer with a broken

triangular pediment in the center facing East Street. There is a row of protruding

headers at the cornice line, but no other decorations. The east gable end has two brick

interior end chimneys with two rows of decorative brickwork at the top of the chimney.

The front façade is pierced with evenly spaced hung sash windows on the first and second floors: three on the second floor, two and the door on the first floor, and one in the dormer. The basement has two windows, but they have been boarded up, so the number of lights cannot be seen from the exterior. Each window has large wood lintels, a frame, and sills and is bracketed by wooden shutters. The first floor has a five-panel door with a two-light transom window above the door and a simple wood surround. A hung sash window with a wood lintel, surround, and sill is located at the top of the east gable end of the house between the two chimneys. Also on the east gable end of the house, on the ground, is a bulkhead entrance to the basement of the house with a wooden covering over top of a coursed stone foundation. The east side of the rear façade has two six-over-six hung sash windows with large wooden lintels, sills and surrounds: one on the first story and one on the second story.

The 20th-century addition on the west side of the rear façade was completed by 1926 (Chew Apr 24 1926:14) and has a parapeted flat roof and small interior end brick chimney for a stove flue. The cement block addition is covered in stucco and has two hung sash windows stacked one above the other on the west side of the rear of the addition. The south side of the rear addition also has a small stove vent on the east side at the top of the first floor. On the east side of the addition are three windows of different sizes with brick sills, and the window on the second story of the north side of the addition's east façade is the smallest. A three-panel door with four lights at the top is located on the first story of the north side of the east façade with a

vinyl screen door in front of it and three concrete steps leading up to the door from

the back and side yards.

The front of the house has three painted stone steps set on top of concrete

leading up to the door from a cement sidewalk that runs the length of East Street.

There is no railing attached to these steps. The house at 99 East Street is connected to

another side gable brick house on the west side (101 East Street) and a small grass

alley on the east side separates the house from another townhouse (97 East Street).

This substantial brick townhouse is one of the largest and oldest of the houses

on this block of East Street (Figure 5, 6).

Figure 5: Map of 99 East Street with Backyard Highlighted
(Source: Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps of Annapolis, MD, 1930-1959, Sheet 8)
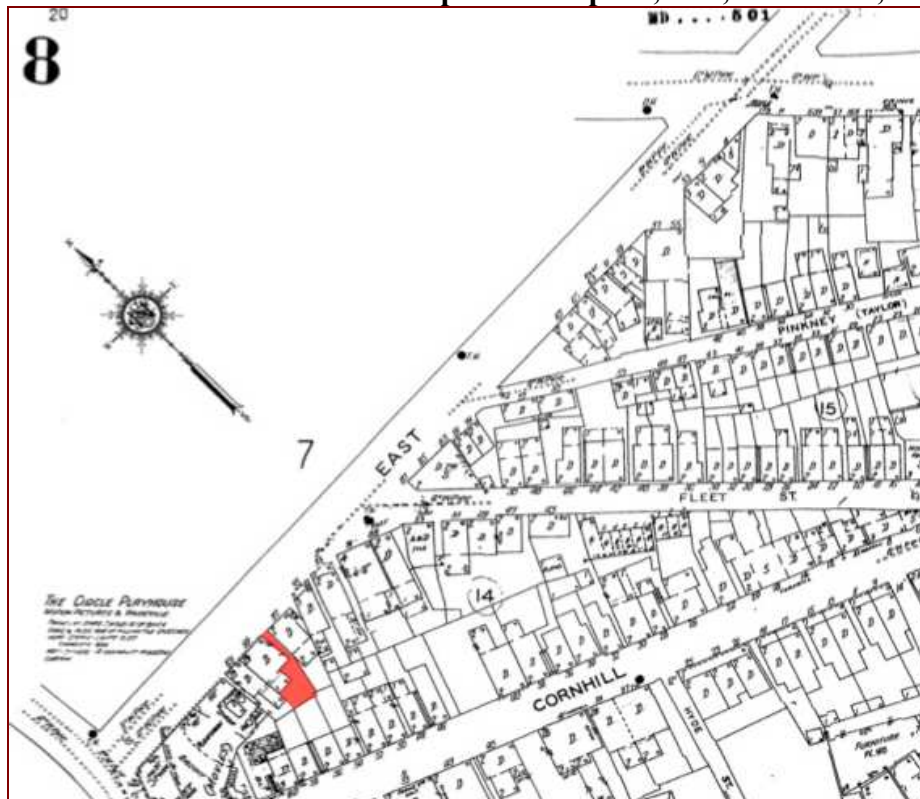
**Figure 6: Detail of 99 East Street with Backyard Highlighted
(Source: Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps of Annapolis, MD, 1930-1959, Sheet 8)**

Property History

The property that the James Holliday House sits on was originally part of the

land surveyed and designated for Governor Francis Nicholson in 1696. After the land

records were destroyed in 1704, Thomas Bordley claimed part of Nicholson's land

including the upper portion of what is now East Street (MIHP AA-492 1983). In

1770, Charles Wallace bought the land extending from the foot of Church Street to

State Circle from Bordley. In that same year, a portion of the land from Cornhill

Street and extending through East Street, designated as Lot 3, was leased to William

Curie for 99 years. This is the land that corresponds to 97, 99, and 101 East Street.

The land remained undeveloped and was sold to Joshua Frazier in 1784. The property

passed to Richard Frazier in 1799, and in 1819, the Frazier family was assessed for two lots improved by two buildings and worth a total value of $1000 (MIHP AA-492 1983). One of those houses was most likely the house at 99 East Street.

Walter Cross bought Lot 3 after Richard Frazier died in 1822 (Anne Arundel County Circuit Court Land Records WSG 8 f. 450 1822). Five years later, 99 and 97 East Street were sold to Harriet Selby and in 1826 101 East Street was sold to Eliza Gassaway (Anne Arundel County Circuit Court WSG 10 f. 560-561 1825). James Iglehart bought Harriet Selby's property in 1847 (Anne Arundel County Circuit Court Land Records JHN 5. F. 586-7 1847; MIHP AA-492 1983). On August 14, 1850, James Iglehart sold 99 and 97 East Street to James Holliday, a freed African American man who was working for the U.S. Naval Academy, for $650 (Anne Arundel County Circuit Court, Land Records JHN 5 f. 141, 1850). Four years later, Holliday purchased 101 East Street for $100 (Anne Arundel County Circuit Court NHG 3 f. 610-612, 1854, MSA CE 59-3).

James Holliday was born c.1809 and was a slave owned by Nicholas Watkins until October of 1819 (Maryland State Archives; Freedom Records, Certificate of Freedom 1831-1845, p. 343) (Figure 7). The Watkins family appears to have owned property in southern Anne Arundel County. In 1842, James Holliday was described as "about thirty three years old," about five feet four and a half inches tall, with a "brown complexion" and a "small scar near the right eye and a small lump above the right eye lid" (Certificates of Freedom 1835:343).

Figure 7: James Holliday, no date
(Source: Dolores Levister, Kunte-Kinte Alex Haley Foundation's Resource
Collection)
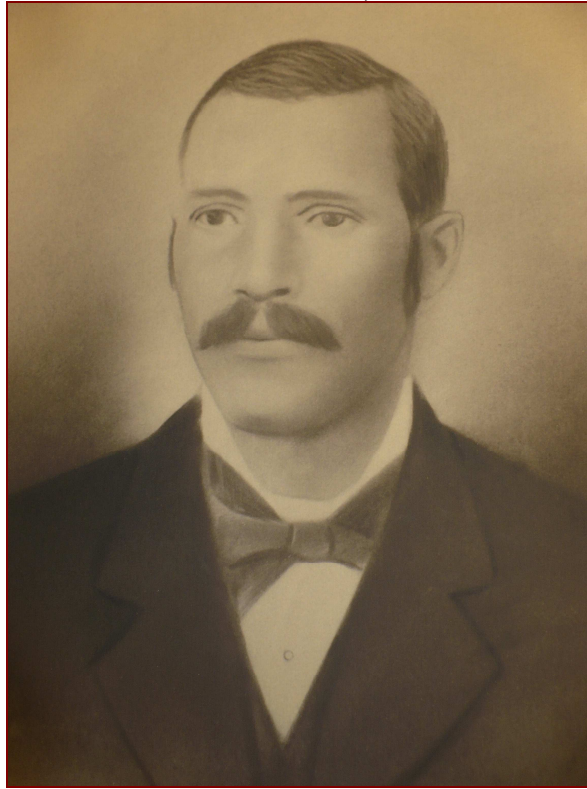
Holliday appears to have worked for Colonel John B. Walbach as a body

servant for a period of time before he started working for the U.S. Naval Academy

(Anne Arundel County Circuit Court, Land Records WSG 26, 1841-1843, f. 0298,

MSA CE 76-70; 1842). After moving to Annapolis, James Holliday worked for the

Naval Academy as a steward messenger for every superintendent from 1845, when

the Academy opened, until his death in 1882. This position would have been

considered one of the relatively high status positions that an African American

working at the Naval Academy could hold during the 19th and early 20th centuries

(Gelfand 2006:52; Personal conversation with James Cheevers, USNA Museum

Curator, 24 March 2011).

James Holliday's wife, Matilda Simms (or Semmes), was born in 1821 and was manumitted by Richard Wells in 1826 (Anne Arundel County, Register of Wills, 1841). In 1841, Matilda was described as five feet five inches tall, about nineteen years old, with a "yellow complexion" and a "scar on her forehead" (Register of Wills 1841). The couple was married on August 6, 1846, after James Holliday began working for the U.S. Naval Academy (McIntire 1979). The Hollidays had six children, three of whom (James H., Thomas, and Anna) died young (US Census Bureau 1860 "Annapolis District" p. 54; US Census Bureau 1870 "City of Annapolis" p. 65-66).

When James Holliday died in 1882, his property was divided between his wife and remaining three daughters. Mary Holliday, the oldest of James Holliday's daughters, married Richard Miles in 1871 and, by 1880, moved to Baltimore with her family, which included six children (1880 Census, "Part of the 5th Precinct 19th Ward of the City of Baltimore", p. 16). His eldest daughter, Mary, received the house and property at 101 East Street, which had a brick building constructed on it between 1860 and 1876. Prior to James Holliday's purchase of 99 East Street, it is suggested that an additional structure was located on the property, possibly a small kitchen outbuilding (Anne Arundel Circuit Court Land Records JHN 2. F. 586-587; Anne Arundel County Circuit Court Land Records WSG 10 f. 560-561). This structure is not described in detail, but was likely not a substantial building, based on the price that James Holliday paid for the property. However, this structure may help explain an excerpt referencing James (Jim) Holliday from an early history of the U.S. Naval Academy, which says:

"On one occasion, when Jim made the summer cruise in the practice ship, he witnessed the destruction of his home in Annapolis, by fire, just as the vessel cast anchor on her return. Of course the Midshipmen made up a purse for him, sufficient to rebuild the house, but Jim spent several years in meditation upon the plans of a more spacious home, and in the mean time the subscription paper was handed to every member of the new class admitted in September each year, with ever increasing financial results, until finally the per capita tax reached an amount beyond the possibilities of a Midshipman's purse, and then Jim and his clever scheme were sat upon by the Academic Board.

But the house was built in the second year of the war, and the generous Cadets paid his traveling expenses to Annapolis and back to Newport that he might have the pleasure of seeing it. In fact they could not do too much for the kind hearted messenger who first took them by the hand on entering the gates of the Academy, and let them through the various stages of their first probationary trial." (Ford 1979[1887]b:42-43)

Based on this account, it would seem that James Holliday's house burned down sometime around the start of the Civil War. However, nothing found in the archaeological record at 99 East Street indicates that there was ever a large fire at this property. And the brick structure at 99 East Street seems to have been built around the turn of the 19th century, not in 1863 (Deeley 2013). However, an 1863 construction date would be accurate for when the brick townhome at 101 East Street could have been built. Based on other historical records, the brick townhome at 101 East Street was built at some point between 1861 and 1876, at which point James Holliday was assessed for one lot and two brick buildings on East Street (MIHP AA-492 1983). Therefore, it is possible that the fire that is referenced in this Naval Academy history burned the small kitchen building and the money from the Naval Academy midshipmen was used to build the house at 101 East Street. Between 1860 and 1870, Holliday's real estate value increased from $1,200 to $1,600, while his personal estate

continued to be valued at $150 (1860 Census p. 54; 1870 Census p. 65-66). A small margin note in the land records also indicates that there was some modification to the property around 1868 (NHG 3 f. 612).

The burning of a small detached kitchen building would also explain the change in the archaeological record in the basement of the townhome at 99 East Street. The earliest materials recovered from the units placed in the basement date to the mid-19th century. This suggests that prior to this time period, the basement space was not being utilized much. During the mid-19th century, the materials found in the basement were primarily organic materials, including oyster shells and animal bone, and ceramics. Both of these things suggest that this space was used for cooking, eating, or food preparation. This may indicate that when the detached kitchen burned down, the Holliday family moved the kitchen for the building from outside to the basement of the house (Deeley 2013).

In addition to moving the kitchen to the basement, James Holliday and his family are also responsible for the installation of a barrel privy in the southeast corner of the yard. This is supported by the major yard modifications, the materials found at the deepest levels of the privy, and the fact that prior to the arrival of the Holliday family, it appears unlikely that the site was occupied for extended periods of time as a full-time residence. When the Holliday family moved into the property, having a privy would have been necessary. The size and use of privies depended on the number of occupants living at a site, and the general sanitation laws of the area, so it is unlikely that prior to permanent occupation there would have been a need for a privy on the site (Geismar 1993).

The house and property at 99 East Street and the adjacent vacant lot of 97 East Street were given to James Holliday's wife, Matilda Simms Holliday, with the condition that the house would be shared by Matilda and their youngest daughter, Eleanora, until Matilda passed away. The house was then supposed to go to Lizzie Holliday, James Holiday's third daughter (Anne Arundel County Circuit Court, Land Record MSA CE 59-42 SH 27 f. 0551 1886). Lizzie Holliday was a schoolteacher, who moved from East Street to a property she had purchased on the north side of Cathedral Street in 1880 (Anne Arundel County Circuit Court Land Records, MSA CE 59-31, SH 16 f.0477 1880).

In 1886, in order to "equalize the distribution of property among her children," Matilda Holliday had a house built at 97 East Street and conveyed that property to Eleanora Holliday Briscoe (Anne Arundel County, Circuit Court, Land Records, MSA CE 59-42, SH 27 f. 0551 1886). This structure was constructed between 1886 and 1891, and burned down in 1989 (1885 Sanborn; 1891 Sanborn; MIHP AA-1801 1983). With the construction of this house, each of James Holliday's daughters would have their own property on East Street. However, Lizzie Holliday passed away in 1896, and left her portion of the property on East Street to her sister Eleanora Holliday Briscoe (Anne Arundel County, Register of Wills, File No 357, WFP1 206 1896).

Eleanora Holliday was the youngest of James Holliday's daughters. She was a dressmaker and married a sailor in the U.S. Navy named Benjamin Franklin Briscoe in 1883. Prior to his marriage to Eleanora, Benjamin Briscoe was a boarder at the Maynard-Burgess House, where he lived with his first wife, Annie (1880 Census

"2nd Precinct, 6th Election District of Annapolis" p. 1, 23; Mullins 1999). Benjamin

Briscoe served aboard five different Naval ships between 1877 and 1913, including

the USS Santee, USS Mayflower, USS Standish, USS Constellation, and USS Reina

Mercedes, serving as a steward, a cabin steward, an Anchor's mate, and cabin cook

(Sailor's Log of Benjamin Briscoe, courtesy of M. Michael Portilla, through the

Banneker-Douglass Museum). The USS Santee served as a gunnery practice ship and

punishment barracks and was docked at the U.S. Naval Academy (Schneller

2005:33). Eleanora Holliday and Benjamin Briscoe had three children, John T.,

Eleanor, and Lucy Louis (1920 Census "Annapolis" Sheet 21B p. 6695, 1910 Census,

"6th District of Annapolis" Sheet 21B p. 98, 1900 Census, "6th Election District,

Annapolis City" Sheet 19B p. 5754). John T. moved away from Annapolis or passed

away before he turned thirty (1920 Census "Annapolis" Sheet 21A p. 6695). While it

is possible that John Briscoe moved, it seems that he likely did not survive as long as

his sisters since he was not included in Eleanora's will. Eleanora, her husband

Benjamin, and their remaining two children lived at 99 East Street until 1923 when

Eleanora died. When Eleanora passed away, she left 97 East Street to her eldest

daughter Eleanor, and 99 East Street, known as "the Home Place," to both Eleanor

and Lucy Louis (Anne Arundel County, Register of Wills, File No. 3303, OBD 3 190,

1923).

Lucy Louis Briscoe married Joseph Anthony Brown in 1923 at St. Mary's

Catholic Church in Annapolis (St. Mary's Catholic Church Archive, Marriage Book

#3 n.d.). Joseph Brown was a custodian at St. Mary's whose family had been

members of the church since at least 1878 (correspondence with Dee Levister, March

3 2010; St. Mary's Catholic Church Archives, Baptism Records n.d.) (Figure 8). Lucy

Briscoe Brown was a public school teacher and lived at 99 East Street her entire life

(1920 Census "Annapolis" Sheet 21A, p. 6695). She and her husband Joseph did not

have any children.

Figure 8: Joseph Anthony Brown with a Horse, c. 1912
(Source: Robert Worden, St. Mary's Catholic Church)

It appears that Lucy's interaction with the Brown family and the Catholic

Church influenced her whole family. Lucy was conditionally baptized in 1904, and

her mother, Eleanora Holliday Briscoe, was conditionally baptized on her deathbed in

1923, the same year that Lucy Louis married Joseph Brown at St. Mary's Catholic

Church (St. Mary's Baptism records n.d.). It appears that Lucy's older sister, Eleanor

Briscoe Portilla never converted to Catholicism, even though she was married at St.

Mary's Catholic Church.

Eleanor Briscoe was a dressmaker, like her mother, and married Cosme

Portilla, a Filipino cook who worked for the U.S. Navy, in 1919 (St. Mary's Catholic

Church Archives, Marriage Book #3 n.d.; 1910 Census, "6th District of Annapolis"

Sheet 21B p. 98, 1920 Census "Annapolis" Sheet 21A, p. 6695; e-mail

correspondence with Dee Levister March 3 2010) (Figure 9).

Figure 9: Cosme Portilla, no date
(Source: Dolores Levister)

During the early 20th century, the U.S. Navy started hiring Filipino men as

messmen in large numbers. Navy officers had previously hired predominately African

American men for this position, but by 1919 the officers had decided that Filipinos

made better messmen because they were "neater, quieter, less sullen, and less

threatening" than their African American counterparts (Schneller 2005:55). This

caused tension between the men of African American and Filipino communities in

Annapolis, although marriages between Filipino men and African American women

were common because of the lack of Filipino women in the United States at the time

(Afro-American 7 Feb 1931 p.18; Madison 2006).

Eleanor and Cosme Portilla had three children, James (who is also listed as

McKee in some records), Marcellus Michael, and Domingo. Eleanor Portilla and

family lived at 99 East Street until Eleanor sold her portion of the house to her sister

in 1926 for $10 and moved to Pennsylvania (Anne Arunel County Circuit Court,

MSA CE 59-344, WMB 34, 1926-1926 f. 0356-7; 1920 Census "Annapolis" Sheet

21A, p. 6695). This gave Lucy and her husband Joseph Brown total ownership of the

property. Lucy and Joseph Brown lived in the home with Lucy and Eleanor's father,

Benjamin Briscoe, who was still living at the site in 1928 (1928 City Directory p. 78,

81). Benjamin Briscoe passed away in his home on East Street on Tuesday,

November 12, 1928, although Joseph Brown is listed as the head of the household in

the 1928 City Directory (Afro-American 24 Nov. 1928 p. 18; 1928 City Directory

p.78, 81, 1930 Census "Annapolis City" Sheet 4B p. 5297).

Lucy Briscoe Brown died in 1959, leaving the house to her husband Joseph

(Anne Arundel County, Register of Wills, File No. 10190 HSC 2 549, 1959) (Figure

10). Joseph Brown deeded 99 East Street to Marcellus Michael Portilla, who was

Lucy Briscoe Brown's godson and nephew, and his wife, Eva, in April of 1960, with

the condition that Joseph Brown could use and live on the property until he passed

away (Anne Arundel County Circuit Court, Land Records, GTC 1385, 1960, f. 0562,

MSA CE 59-1729). Finally, Eva and Marcellus Michael Portilla left 99 East Street to

their daughter Dolores (Dee) Portilla Levister, who owns the property today, in 2008

(Anne Arundel County Circuit Court Land Records Book 14513 f. 670-673 2003;

Anne Arundel County Circuit Court Land Record Book 20458 f. 440-443 2008; e-

mail correspondences from Dee Levister to the author, 2009-2010).

**Figure 10: Lucy Briscoe Brown on the Front Step of 99 East Street with Dolores
Portilla (Levister), c. 1950
(Source: Dolores Levister)**

Archaeological Investigations

Excavations at 99 East Street were conducted as part of the 2010-2012

Summer Field Schools in Urban Archaeology through Archaeology in Annapolis at

the University of Maryland, College Park. Initial shovel test pits were excavated in

the backyard of the site in December of 2009 to determine the quality of the

archaeological resources at the site after an initial request from the homeowner,

Dolores Levister, to find out more about her family and their property (Figure 11).

These tests indicated that the site was stratigraphically intact and artifact rich. After

these initial tests, over the next three summers two 5 ft by 5 ft, one 4 ft by 5 ft, and

one 4 ft by 4 ft excavation test units were placed in the backyard of 99 East Street,

and one 5 ft by 5 ft, one 4 ft by 4 ft, and one 4 ft by 5 ft excavation unit and two

shovel test units were excavated in the basement of the house. From these eight units, over 26,000 artifacts were recovered and analyzed in the Archaeology in Annapolis Laboratory under my supervision and direction. I also completed a ceramic minimum vessel count from this assemblage and a glass minimum vessel count from the glass found in the barrel privy.

Figure 11: Kathryn Deeley, Dolores Levister, and Mark Leone in the Backyard of the James Holliday House during the first season of archaeological excavation (Source: Kathryn Deeley)

The Maynard-Burgess House, 163 Duke of Gloucester Street (18AP64)

Architectural Description

The Maynard-Burgess House, located at 163 Duke of Gloucester Street, is a two-and-a-half-story, four-bay, two-pile, side gable, wood frame building with a two-bay, one-pile wood frame kitchen addition with a shed roof built in the late 19th century. Both the main block and the kitchen addition are clad in wooden weatherboards and sit on a field stone foundation. The first floor of the front façade of the main block is pierced with three evenly spaced six-over-nine hung sash windows

with thin wooden surrounds and a side passage wooden door with a simple wooden

lintel and surround on the north side of the façade. A wooden staircase with five

steps, a landing, and a railing leads up to the side passage entrance. The second floor

has four evenly spaced two-over-two hung sash windows, and the roof line is pierced

with two six-over-six hung sash dormer windows with gable roofs and short returns.

The gable roof is covered in standing seam metal and has a brick central chimney

(Figure 12).

Figure 12: Front Façade of 163 Duke of Gloucester Street, Annapolis, MD
(Source: Kathryn Deeley)

The rear of the main block is partially covered by the late 19th-century

kitchen addition. The uncovered original portion of the house has two hung sash

windows on the second floor, evenly spaced out, and a wooden door centered below

the two windows on the second floor. There is also a window on the east side of the

door, which is not centered and looks asymmetrical. All the windows and the door have simple wooden surrounds, and there is no lintel above the door. The door is about half a story above a brick patio, and appears to have had steps leading to it at one point, but these are no longer part of the building.

The kitchen addition has two six-over-six hung sash windows on the second floor and a six-over-nine sash window and a wooden door on the first floor. The door, on the west (right) side of the addition is accessible by a wooden ramp with a railing. The ramp was a late 20th/early 21st-century addition, and – following the archaeological investigations – interpretative panels are attached to the railings of the ramp.

The wooden clapboards on this house make the façade more closely resemble those of 40 Fleet and 49 Pinkney Streets. However, the house and yard are much larger than either of those properties, and larger than the James Holliday House. The architecture on Duke of Gloucester Street is less uniform than what is found on East, Pinkney, and Fleet Streets, possibly because of the non-residential properties on the Street. However, many of the buildings on Duke of Gloucester street are made of brick, including the home of William H. Butler. Butler was one of the wealthiest African Americans in the late 19th century and he owned several properties in Annapolis, which he used primarily as rental properties (Chappell et. al. 1998:178; McWilliams 2011:203). Therefore, it is more difficult to determine if the Maynard-Burgess House would have conformed to the other residential buildings on the street in the 19th and early 20th centuries (Figure 13, 14).

Figure 13: Map of 163 Duke of Gloucester Street with Backyard Highlighted
(Source: Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps of Annapolis, MD, 1930-1959, Sheet 13)
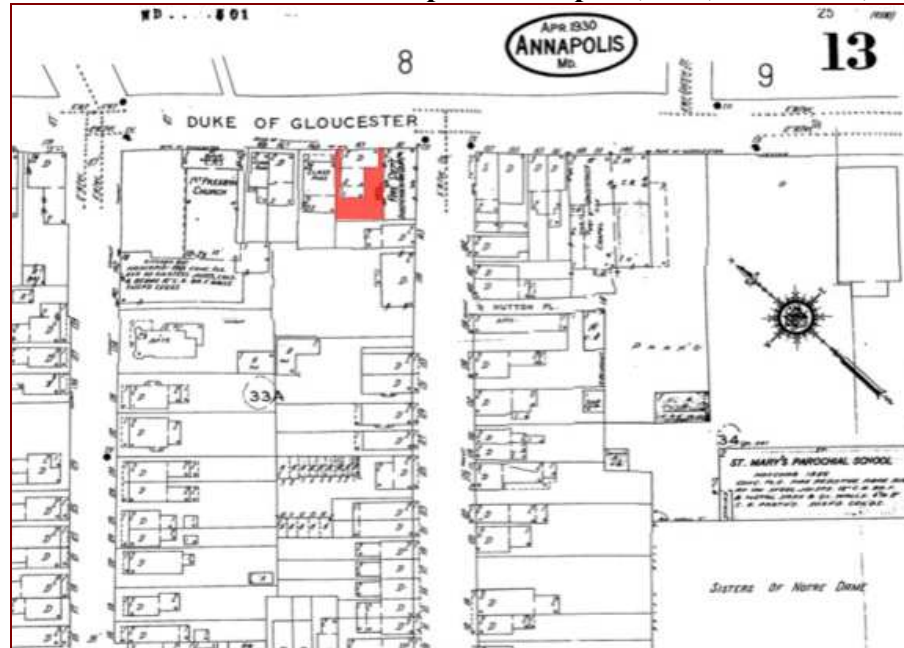
Figure 14: Detail of 163 Duke of Gloucester Street with Backyard Highlighted
(Source: Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps of Annapolis, MD, 1930-1959, Sheet 13)
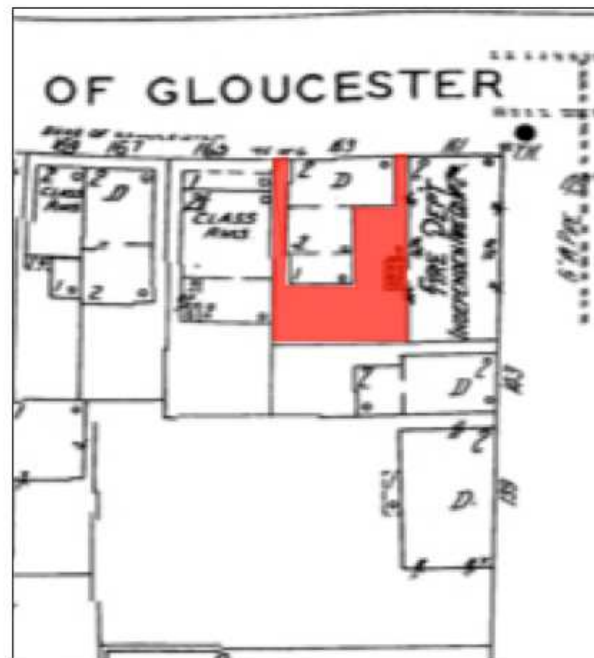
Property History

The Maynard-Burgess house, at 163 Duke of Gloucester Street, was originally

part of lot 33 of the 1718 Stoddert survey map, which was conveyed to George Plater,

Jr. by Edmund Jenings and Thomas Larkin sometime before 1762 (MIHP AA-1336 1983; Mullins and Warner 1993:17). John Hall bought George Plater Jr.'s portion of lot 33 in 1762, as well as the rest of lot 33, lot 34, and half of lot 35 from Charles Carroll (MIHP AA-1336 1983; Mullins and Warner 1993:17). Hall's nephew sold the property in 1809 to James N. Weems, who sold the property a year later to Henry Maynadier (MIHP AA-1336 1983; Anne Arundel County Circuit Court Land Records Liber NH 16 f. 268; Mullins and Warner 1993:17). Fifteen years later, in 1825, Maynadier sold the property to Nicholas Brewer Jr., a trustee appointed for George Medkiff (Anne Arundel County Circuit Court Land Records Liber WSG 11 f. 470; Mullins and Warner 1993:17). It appears that Medkiff had been in control of the property for some time prior to 1825, but the bill of sale wasn't signed until then (Mullins and Warner 1993:17-19). While it is unknown exactly when Medkiff took possession of the property, it appears that it was before 1820 because in an 1820 plat by John W. Duvall, lot 33 is identified as "George Medkiff's land, being part of Lot 33, laid out for Nicholas Brewer" and is divided into ten individual smaller lots (MIHP AA-1336 1983; Mullins and Warner 1993:19). Two of these smaller lots, Lots 9 and 10, were sold to Alexander Magruder in 1821 for $209 (Mullins and Warner 1993:19; MIHP AA-1336 1983). Magruder then sold the property in 1838 to James Iglehart for $250 (Anne Arundel County Circuit Court Land Records Liber WSG 23 f. 179; MIHP AA-1336; Mullins and Warner 1993:19).

In 1847, Iglehart sold Lots 9 and 10 to John Maynard for $400 "with buildings" (Anne Arundel County Circuit Court Land Records Liber JHN 2 f. 559; MIHP AA-1336 1983; Mullins and Warner 1993:19). The average value of an

improved lot was $1,640 in 1849, which suggests that John Maynard bought the lot at 163 Duke of Gloucester Street without any substantial structures on the site (Mullins and Warner 1993:19). However, James Holliday purchased his brick house a year later for $650, so it is possible that John Maynard purchased the property with the wood frame house already on the site. Architectural historians argue that sometime between 1838 and 1847, a two-story frame house was moved to the property because of the presence of the date "1838" scratched into the northwest gable end of the house (Chappell et. al. 1998:100-1). This is further supported by the fact that in 1845, James Iglehart was assessed for four houses and one unimproved lot in Annapolis (Mullins and Warner 1993:19). One of those houses was likely at 163 Duke of Gloucester Street. This building appears to have been relatively insubstantial, having originally been built in the late 18th century as a single-story frame structure and located somewhere other than 163 Duke of Gloucester Street (Chappell et. al. 1998:100). According to the architectural historians, the single-story building was converted to a two-story building at some time before the end of the 18th century, before it was moved to its current location on Duke of Gloucester Street, which was Southeast Street at the time (Chappell et. al. 1998:100-1). When the structure was moved to its new location, the stone foundation was added to support the structure and a center chimney made of brick was added (Chappell et. al. 1998:101).

John T. Maynard was an African American born free around 1810 and raised in Anne Arundel County. He obtained his certificate of freedom in October of 1831 (Mullins and Warner 1993:19). John Maynard married Maria Spencer sometime before 1834. Maria Spencer was a slave owned by a woman named Mildred Robinson

who lived in Annapolis. The year that he married Maria, John Maynard purchased and manumitted Maria's three-year-old daughter, Phebe Ann Spencer, from Mildred Robinson for $80, although the sale wasn't recorded until Robinson's death in 1857. John Maynard also purchased Maria from Mildred Robinson in May of 1838, and manumitted her in 1840 (Mullins and Warner 1993:20). The delayed manumissions of John Maynard's wife and daughter are likely due to the laws in Maryland requiring non-working free African Americans to leave the state (Brugger 1988:212; Riley 2009[1887]:190). Prior to moving to Duke of Gloucester Street, the Maynard family lived in Annapolis (1840 Census "Annapolis" p. 101). Although the precise location is unknown, the Maynards are enumerated as living near several other well-known African American Annapolitan families, including William Bishop, Henry Price, and Moses Lake (1840 Census p. 101). Moses Lake had a long-standing rivalry with James Holliday at the U. S. Naval Academy (Ford 1979[1887]a:20).

In 1850, the Maynard household included John, his wife Maria, Maria's daughter Pheobe Ann, and Maria and John's sons John Henry and Lewis. John Henry was born around 1846, and their second son, Lewis, was born in 1849 (1850 Census "City of Annapolis" p. 538). The household also included Pheobe Spence, age 53, and Fulder Spence, age 19. Both women appear to be related to John's wife Maria, but the exact relationship is unclear (1850 Census p. 538). By 1860, the Maynard household had been reduced slightly and consisted of John and Maria, their children John and Lewis, and Maria's mother, Pheobe. John Maynard was a waiter and his wife was a washerwoman (1860 Census "Annapolis District" p. 28).

By 1860, the Maynard's real estate had increased in value to $1,000, according to the census records, suggesting that the major modifications to the structure still standing on the property occurred between 1850 and 1860. These modifications likely occurred, more specifically, before 1858 because the structure is visible in the 1858 Sachse Birds-Eye map (1850 Census "City of Annapolis" p. 528 and 1860 Census "Annapolis District" p. 28; Sachse 1858) (Figure 15).

Figure 15: Detail of Bird's Eye View of the City of Annapolis, Edward Sachse showing the Maynard-Burgess House, ca. 1858 (Source: Map Collection, Library of University of California, Davis)
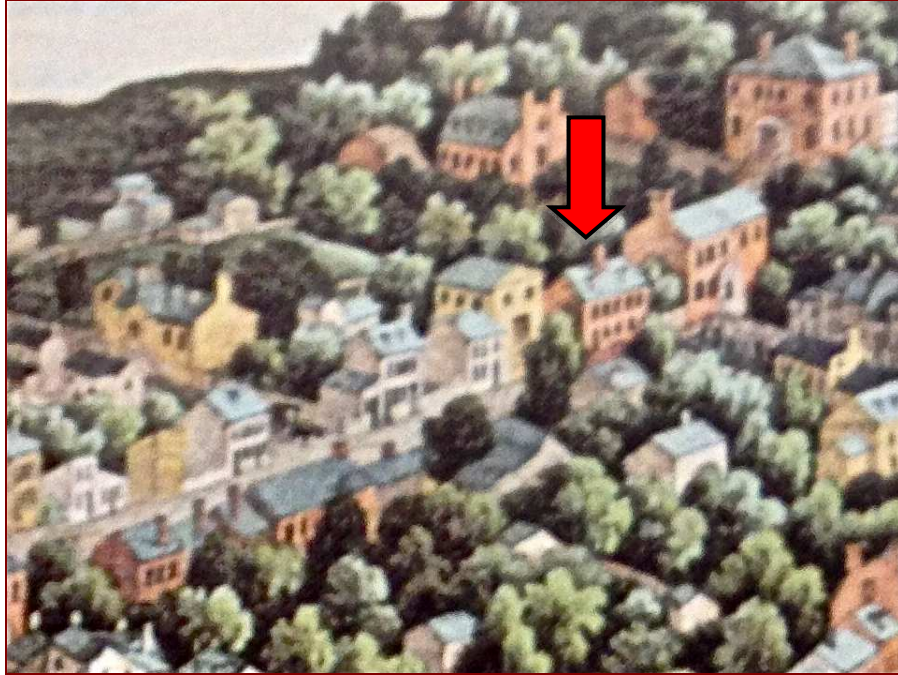
These improvements likely included rearranging the front elevation from three-bays to four-bays with entrances on the outside bays (Chappell et. al. 1998:101). The door on the east end was changed to a window at some point in the late 19th century, likely between 1870 and 1877, around the same time that the two-story kitchen rear addition was added to the building. It appears that the materials used to construct the new

addition were reused, possibly from an earlier detached kitchen (Chappell et. al. 1998:102).

During the period of renovation, the Maynard household consisted of John, Maria, their two sons, John Henry and Louis, and eight-year-old daughter named Lucy. John T. Maynard was a waiter, Maria was keeping house, and their two sons were barbers (Mullins and Warner 1993:23; 1870 Census "City of Annapolis" p. 119). In 1870, the real estate value of the property was listed as $2,000 (1870 Census "City of Annapolis" p. 119). John T. Maynard's eldest son, John Henry, married Martha Ready in September 1871 and their daughter, Maria Louisa, was born in December 1872 (1880 Census "2nd Precinct, 6th Election District of Annapolis" p.23; Mullins and Warner 1993:23). John T. Maynard's remaining two children, Louis and Lucy, appear to have died between 1870 and 1880 (1870 Census p. 119 and 1880 Census "2nd Precinct, 6th Election District of Annapolis" p. 23). John T. Maynard died on July 10, 1875, leaving the property to his wife, Maria (Mullins and Warner 1993:23). When he passed away, Maynard's belongings were inventoried in the "Front Room," a "Side Room," and the "Upstairs," and his personal estate was valued at $105.50 (Chappell et. al. 1998:102). Their son, John Henry died shortly after his father, sometime between 1876 and 1880 (Mullins and Warner 1993:23; 1880 Census "2nd Precinct, 6th Election District of Annapolis" p. 23).

After the death of her husband and son, Maria Maynard used her house as a boarding house, and in the 1880 census, Maria Maynard was living in the house with her widowed daughter-in-law (Martha Ready), her granddaughter (Maria Louisa), and three boarders (1880 Census "2nd Precinct, 6th Election District of Annapolis" p. 23).

These boarders were Willis Burgess, a laborer, Annie Briscoe, whose occupation is listed as "boarding," and Benjamin Briscoe, a sailor (1880 Census "2nd Precinct, 6th Election District of Annapolis" p. 23). Burgess is listed as being single, and both Annie and Benjamin Briscoe are listed as being married, presumably to each other (1880 Census "2nd Precinct, 6th Election District of Annapolis" p. 23). Three years later, Benjamin Briscoe was married to Eleanora Holliday and by 1900 was living at the James Holliday House (1900 Census, "6th Election District, Annapolis City" Sheet 19B p. 5754).

Maria Maynard died between 1880 and 1900 and Martha Ready Maynard inherited the property at 163 Duke of Gloucester Street (Mullins and Warner 1993:20-3; 1880 Census 2nd Precinct, 6th Election District of Annapolis p. 23, 1900 Census, "6th Election District, Annapolis City" Sheet 3A p. 159). Martha Ready Maynard was remarried in 1885 to a man named Thomas Johnson, although it appears that he did not live at 163 Duke Gloucester Street in 1900, suggesting that he was either dead or not living at the site at the time (Mullins and Warner 1993:24; 1900 Census "6th Election District, Annapolis City" Sheet 3A p. 159). By 1900, Martha Maynard Johnson lived at the Maynard-Burgess House, working as a cook, with her adult daughter Maria Louisa (who was a teacher) and her mother, Margaret Blackstone (who was also a cook) (1900 Census "6th Election District, Annapolis City" Sheet 3A p. 159). Also living in the house in 1900 were a husband and wife, Thomas (waiter) and Mary Richardson, suggesting that the women of the family may still have been taking in boarders (1900 Census "6th Election District, Annapolis City" Sheet 3A p. 159). Between 1900 and 1908, Maria Louisa inherited the

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Maynard-Burgess House and married a barber named Upton C.C. Cooper (Mullins and Warner 1993:24; Annapolis City Directory 1910 p. 29). Upton Cooper died in January 1910 of pulmonary tuberculosis, although he was listed in the 1910 City Directory, suggesting that he died late in the year (1910 Annapolis City Directory p. 29; 1910 Census, "6th District of Annapolis" Sheet 9A p. 178; Mullins and Warner 1993:24). In the 1910 Census, Maria Louisa Maynard Cooper is listed as the head of household at 163 Duke of Gloucester Street, working as a boarding house keeper and living with her maternal grandmother, Margaret Blackstone, and a single boarder, Wells Fernandez (1910 Census, "6th District of Annapolis" Sheet 9A p. 178). Fernandez was a 45-year-old Naval Academy barber at the time. Margaret Blackstone was also the mother of Willis Burgess, who had been boarder at the house in the 1880s.

By 1908, the family was in financial trouble, and in October of that year, Maria Louisa, Upton Cooper, and Martha Johnson sold off the lot adjoining 163 Duke of Gloucester Street to George T. Feldmeyer for $1,000, which eventually became a firehouse sometime between 1913 and 1921 (MIHP AA-1336; Anne Arundel County Circuit Court Land Records Liber GW 32 f. 483; Anne Arundel County Circuit Court Land Records Liber GW 65 f. 60). The house at 163 Duke of Gloucester Street was sold at public auction in 1915 to Willis Burgess, a former boarder in the house and brother of Martha Maynard Johnson, and his wife Ella Carter (Anne Arundel County Circuit Court Land Records Liber GW 121 f. 145). In 1910, Willis Burgess and his family were listed as renting a property at nearby 41 Cathedral Street (1910 Census, "6th District of Annapolis" Sheet 4A p. 36; 1910 Annapolis City Directory p. 20).

The listing included his wife, three daughters, son, sister-in-law, and niece (1910 Census, "6th District of Annapolis" Sheet 4A p. 36). By 1920, Margaret Blackstone was still living at the property on Duke of Gloucester Street, but was living with her son and his family instead of her granddaughter, Maria Cooper. The family inhabiting the Duke of Gloucester Street house at that time included Willis Burgess, his wife Mary, daughters Louisa and Naomi, his grandson George, daughter Ella, and Ella's husband Arthur Wiley (1920 Census "Annapolis" Sheet 11B p. 5750). Willis Burgess worked as a domestic, or janitor, at the U.S. Naval Academy, and his two unmarried daughters, Louisa and Naomi, worked as domestics for private families (1920 Census "Annapolis" Sheet 11B p. 5750). Arthur Wiley was employed as a cook at the U.S. Naval Academy (1920 Census "Annapolis" Sheet 11B p. 5750). In 1928, Willis Burgess was still working at the U.S. Naval Academy, as a Utility Man (1928 City Directory p. 84).

By 1930, the number of occupants of the house had decreased considerably, with only Willis Burgess, his wife Mary, their grandson George, and their married daughter Ella Wiley still living at the home. While Ella Wiley was not listed as having an occupation in 1920, in 1930 she was employed as a servant for a private family, even though she was still listed as married (1920 Census "Annapolis" Sheet 11B p. 5750; 1930 Census "Annapolis City" Sheet 68A p. 625). George Burgess, now 21, was working in a sailor shop and Willis Burgess was employed as a fireman for the U.S. Navy (1930 Census "Annapolis City" Sheet 68A p. 625). Willis Burgess died in 1935, but his family continued to own and live in the property until its sale in

1990 to Julie Davis-Grimes (MIHP AA-1336; Anne Arundel Country Circuit Court Land Records Liber 5160 f. 487; Mullins and Warner 1993:25).

On January 2, 1991, the Port of Annapolis purchased the Maynard-Burgess House and lot for $21,000 (Anne Arundel Country Circuit Court Land Records Liber 5240 f. 589). Since then, several groups have worked to preserve the property, interpret its African American history, and renovate the property to be used by the city as a meeting space (Chappell et. al. 1998:102). This is due in part to the work of Archaeology in Annapolis at this site and other African American sites throughout the city.

Archaeological Investigations

Archaeological work was conducted at the Maynard-Burgess House from the fall of 1990 through the summer of 1992 as part of archaeological field schools run by the University of Maryland, College Park and Archaeology in Annapolis. Through these excavations, several features were found in the yard, including a post-1889 cellar, a post-1905 barrel privy, and a mid-19th-century stone and brick foundation (Mullins and Warner 1993:vii). During the fall of 1990, 19 shovel test pits, approximately one foot by one foot, were excavated in the backyard and basement of the house as part of the archaeological testing. During the fall and winter of 1990 to 1991, three 2.5 ft by 5 ft units were excavated, followed by a series of 5 ft by 5 ft units (Mullins and Warner 1993:32). In total, fifty units of various sizes were excavated in the yard between the winter of 1990-1991 and in the summer of 1992 (Mullins and Warner 1993:34, Figure 8).

The artifacts were processed in the Archaeology in Annapolis laboratory under the direction of Marian Creveling and Lynn Jones (Mullins and Warner 1993:32). Glass and ceramic minimum vessel counts were completed for Feature 71, the late 19th-century cellar. A glass minimum vessel count was also done for the barrel privy feature and a sherd analysis was completed for the ceramics from this feature (Mullins and Warner 1993:35, 46-47). The Maynard-Burgess House is one of the most famous efforts of Archaeology in Annapolis and was part of the shift toward placing emphasis on African American history in Annapolis. It has been featured in numerous publications (i.e. Mullins 1999a,b; Warner 1998).

49 Pinkney Street Site Background (18AP119)

Architectural Description

The current structure at 49 Pinkney Street is an asymmetrical, two-story, four-bay, double-pile, parapeted-flat-roofed, wood frame building with wooden weatherboards on a brick foundation built around the end of the 19th century. The house was originally built as two attached row houses, but the current homeowner removed the central wall dividing the two townhouses at the beginning of the 21st century. The roofline is decorated with a simplified Italianate cornice. The front façade is pierced with evenly spaced one-over-one hung sash windows on the first and second floors: four on the second floor and two on the first floor. These windows were likely installed when the building was converted from two row houses to a single detached house. The side passage door on the west side of the façade has a with a single light transom window above the door and a simple wood surround. This same space on the east side of the façade is empty. Each of the windows and the door

has a wooden pyramidal lintel. The windows have simple wooden surrounds and wooden shutters. Two cinderblock stairs lead to the front door, with no railing (Figure 16).

This simple wood frame building looks very similar to the other wood frame buildings built on Pinkney, East, and Fleet Streets at the end of the 19th century (Figure 17, 18). The only difference is that these two townhomes are detached from the buildings on either side. The exterior façade of this townhome is very similar to that of 40 Fleet Street.

Figure 16: Front Façade of 49 Pinkney Street, Annapolis, MD
(Source: Kathryn Deeley)

Figure 17: Map of 49 Pinkney Street with Backyard Highlighted
(Source: Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps of Annapolis, MD, 1930-1959, Sheet 8)

Figure 18: Detail of 49 Pinkney Street with Backyard Highlighted
(Source: Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps of Annapolis, MD, 1930-1959, Sheet 8)
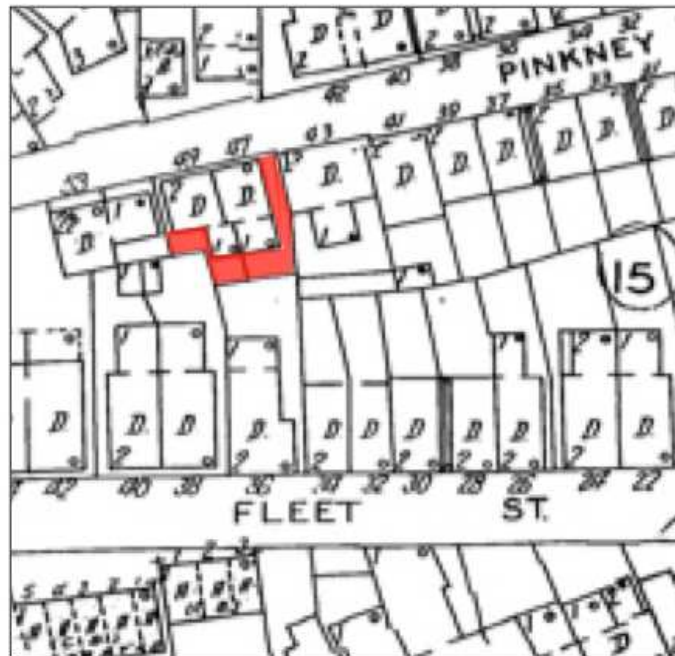
Property History

The land on which 49 Pinkney Street now sits was originally part of lot 87

during the 1696 subdivision of the city, a plot of land that was adjacent to

Nicholson's large lot (Anne Arundel County Circuit Court Land Records Liber GEG 3 f. 57-59 1867). By 1831, the land was owned by Charles Carroll of Carrollton, a wealthy planter who was the only Catholic signer of the Declaration of Independence and whose downtown Annapolis home Archaeology in Annapolis excavated in 1991. That year Carroll sold the lot to John Randall (Anne Arundel County Circuit Court Land Records Liber GEG 3 f. 57-59 1867). During the early to mid-19th century, the property remained vacant and undeveloped, with no substantial structures on the site (Sasche 1858; Anne Arundel County Circuit Court Land Records Liber GEG 3 f. 57-59 1867). However, the archaeology indicates that the site was utilized during this period, and possibly serving as a communal trash or food preparation space during the mid-19th century (Deeley 2011).

John Randall's wife and heir, Eliza Randall, sold the lot to William H. Butler in 1867 (Anne Arundel County Circuit Court Land Records Liber GEG 3 f. 57-59 1867). William Butler owned over twenty-five properties in Annapolis, and was one of the wealthiest free African Americans in the city in the 1860s (Ives 1979; McWilliams 2011:203). Butler lived in a large brick townhouse on Duke of Gloucester Street (MSA SC3520-13083). Additionally, Butler used several of his properties, including the property at 47 and 49 Pinkney Street, to build frame row homes, which he then rented out primarily to African Americans (McWilliams 2011:203). The two frame buildings, then 20 and 21 Carroll's Alley, were built between 1867 and 1880 as tenement houses (Anne Arundel County Circuit Court Land Records Liber GEG 3 f. 57-59 1867; U.S. Census Bureau 1880 "2nd Precinct 6th Election District" p. 3; 1885 Sanborn; 1891 Sanborn). In 1880, one of the two

properties was enumerated, with Robert Anderson, an African American waiter, living in the house with his wife Sarah, their three sons, Julius, William, and Robert, and his mother-in-law Harriet Cooper, a servant (U.S. Census Bureau 1880 "2nd Precinct 6th Election District" p. 3)

William H. Butler died in 1892, but his family continued to own and rent out the property until it was sold to Louis and Pauline Bloom in 1920 (Anne Arundel County Circuit Court Land Records Liber WNW 21 f. 497-499 1920). It appears that part of this purchase included an additional small portion of land at the rear of the property line that added to the backyard of the Pinkney Property. It was purchased from the Workingman's Building and Loan Association and had been part of the backyards of 38 and 40 Fleet Street up to this point. This shared parcel of land is part of the reason that 40 Fleet Street was selected as an additional comparative site for this study.

Between 1900 and 1940, both 47 and 49 Pinkney Street changed street number, street name, and occupants rapidly and frequently. Short residency seems to characterize the 20th-century occupation of these two properties. It appears that few renters stayed in either property longer than ten years. Frequently, more than one family was living in each of these small frame tenement houses. Most of these renters were African American, but there were also Filipino and White occupants.

By 1891, the two properties had been renumbered from 20 and 21 Carroll Alley to 31 and 33 Carroll Alley (1880 Census 2nd Precinct, 6th Election District of Annapolis p. 3, 1885 Sanborn, 1891 Sanborn). By 1903, the buildings had been renumbered again, as 49 and 47 Carroll Alley (1903 Sanborn). The Street name was

changed again between 1921 and 1930 from Carroll Alley to Taylor Street, and then finally changed between 1930 and 1959 to Pinkney Street (1930 Sanborn; 1930-1959 Sanborn; 1920 Census "Annapolis" Sheet 16B p. 4160; 1930 Census "Annapolis City" Sheet 1A p. 4951).

In 1900, African American renters occupied both 47 and 49 Pinkney Street. Three adult women occupied the latter: Hettie Anderson, Agnes Boston, and Lavinia Griffin, as well as Anderson's two-year-old daughter Anna, Griffin's five-month-old son Lewis, and Hagner Queen, who was the adult brother of one of the women. It is possible that Hettie Anderson was the wife of one of Robert Anderson's sons, since she is listed as married but her husband is not enumerated. Robert Anderson and his three sons were living at 49 Pinkney Street in 1880. Lavinia Griffin is also listed as married in the Census, but her husband is not enumerated as living at the property either. Hettie Anderson worked as a washwoman, Boston and Griffin were servants, and Queen worked as a laborer. In that same year, Lizzie Hensen, a widowed African American servant, and her adult daughter, Maud, who also worked as a servant, rented 47 Pinkney Street (1900 Census "6th Election District, Annapolis City" Sheets 1B and 2A p. 64-65).

By 1910, the two houses were occupied by White renters. Two families occupied 47 Pinkney Street: William Buckley, a White chemist at the United States Naval Academy and his wife, Elizabeth; and Alfred Johnson, a White teacher at the Naval Academy, his wife Hannah, and their two young daughters. Samuel Hepburn, a White physician, his wife Annie, and their young daughter were living at 49 Pinkney Street (1910 Census, "6th District of Annapolis" Sheet 6B p. 7135). It appears that

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none of these families resided at these properties for very long. The same year as the census, Samuel Hepburn is listed in the City Directory as living at 40 State Circle and by 1929 he was living in Baltimore (1910 Annapolis City Directory p. 54; 1929 Baltimore City Directory p. 970).

In 1920, only 49 Pinkney Street was enumerated in the Census (1920 Census "Annapolis" Sheet16B p. 4160); Dora Ketta, a 60-year-old Black woman from Tennessee who worked as a laundress occupied the house. Ketta's five-year-old grandson from Africa, Frank Hamilton, also lived with her at the time that the census was taken (1920 Census "Annapolis" Sheet 16B p. 4160). Four years later, in the 1924 City Directory, Thomas Bell and his wife Sarah were listed as occupying the property and Dora Ketta (recorded as Kettle) lived further down the street (1924 City Directory p. 60). Bell was an African American mariner and he and his family lived at the site until at least 1928. Two years later, the property was home to two different families (1930 Census "Annapolis City" Sheet 1A p. 4951). In 1930, 49 Pinkney Street was rented by Adriano Celestil, a Filipino waiter at the Navy Yard, his African American wife Glendora, and their boarders Eugenio Sanares, a Filipino laundry worker at the Naval Academy and his African American wife Cornelia (1930 Census "Annapolis City" Sheet 1A p. 4951).

The high turnover of renters was also evident at 47 Pinkney Street during the 20th century. Although the house was not enumerated in the 1920, in 1924 Mattie Burton, a domestic, was listed as living in the house. By 1928 the house was vacant (1928 Annapolis City Directory p. 317; 1924 Annapolis City Directory p. 60). Two years later, 47 Pinkney Street was occupied by Flariana Fubarja, a Filipino waiter at

the Navy Yard, his African American wife Elizabeth, their two-year-old twin sons and one-year-old son (1930 Census "Annapolis City" Sheet 1A p. 4951). It is this period of occupation that was the initial focus of the archaeological investigations at this site.

In 1940, Elvora Gross, a Black maid in a private home, and her two-month-old daughter, L. Blancher, occupied 47 Pinkney Street. The pair had lived in the home since 1935 (1940 Census Sheet No 6A). In the 1940 Census, 49 Pinkney Street was not enumerated but it is possible that Richard Chavis was living there, since he was listed as living there in the 1939 City Directory and would later purchase the property (1940 Census Sheet 6A; 1939 Annapolis City Directory p. 84, 296; Anne Arundel County Circuit Court Land Records Liber 600 f. 50).

The Blooms owned both townhouses until 1950, when they were sold to Richard Chavis (Anne Arundel County Circuit Court Land Records Liber 600 p. 50). Chavis owned the property until 1995, when he sold it to Luther, Sarah and Marian Chavious (Anne Arundel County Circuit Court Land Records Liber 7074 f. 245). The Chavious family sold the houses three years later to Stephen and Kristen Mirack (Anne Arundel County Circuit Court Land Records Liber 8409 f. 557). The current owner, a U.S. Naval Academy graduate, Robert Beaton, purchased 47 and 49 Pinkney Streets in 2003, and has since turned the two row houses into a single family home, taking the house number of the side of the property where the door is located: 49 Pinkney Street. (Anne Arundel County Circuit Court Land Records Book 13752 p. 75; conversations with Robert Beaton, June 2011).

Archaeological Investigations

Excavations at 49 Pinkney Street were conducted as part of the Summer 2011 Session I Field School in Urban Archaeology through Archaeology in Annapolis at the University of Maryland, College Park. One of the goals of this archaeological investigation was to determine if there was archaeological evidence of the Filipino occupation of this site (see Deeley 2011). One 5 ft by 5 ft and one 4 ft by 5 ft excavation test units were placed in the backyard of 49 Pinkney Street, covering the majority of the yard space (Figure 19). From these two units, over 13,000 artifacts were recovered, and processed in the Archaeology in Annapolis Laboratory. I conducted a ceramic minimum vessel count for this assemblage, but there was no large feature in the yard from which a glass minimum vessel count could feasibly be conducted.

Figure 19: Excavation crew and homeowner Bob Beaton in the completed excavation unit at 49 Pinkney Street (18AP119) (Source: Benjamin Skolnik, Archaeology in Annapolis)

40 Fleet Street Site Background (18AP110)

Architectural Description

The building 40 Fleet Street is one of a pair of attached two-story, two-bay, wood frame buildings with a side-passage entry built in the late 19th century. The row houses have a side gable roof covered in standing seam metal. Two brick central chimneys pierce the roof, one in the center of each row house. The entry to the building is on the west (left) side of the first-story façade, with a hung sash window. The wooden door contains a window and a single-light transom. On the second story there are two evenly spaced hung sash windows. All of the windows and the door have a thick wooden surround and large wooden cornice (Figure 20). This house looks very similar to 49 Pinkney Street, without shutters. It is also very similar to the other attached row houses on Fleet Street. 40 Fleet Street is the smallest of the four sites examined in this dissertation, both in terms of the house size and yard size (Figure 21, 22).

Figure 20: Front Façade of 40 Fleet Street, Annapolis, MD
(Source: John Blair, Archaeology in Annapolis)

Figure 21: Map of 40 Fleet Street with Backyard Highlighted
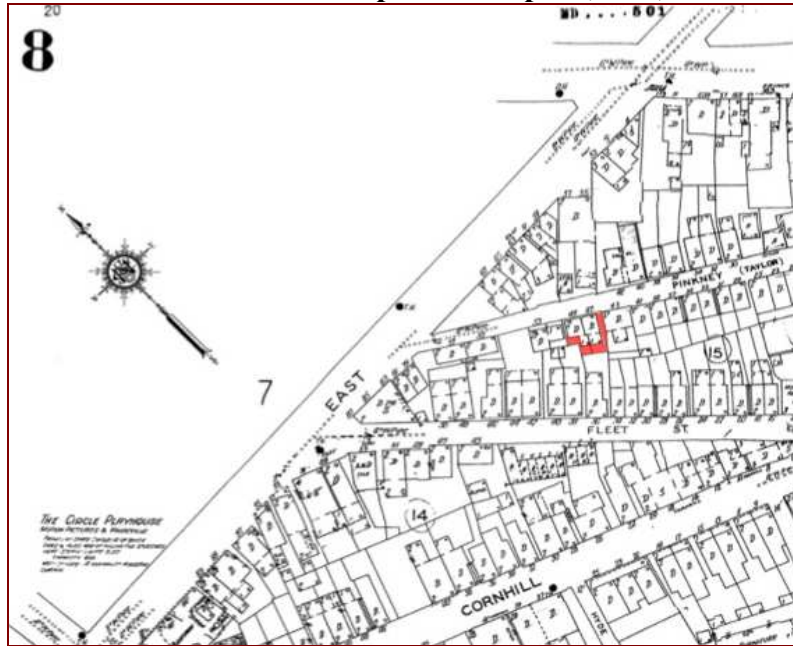**(Source: Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps of Annapolis, MD, 1930-1959, Sheet 8)**
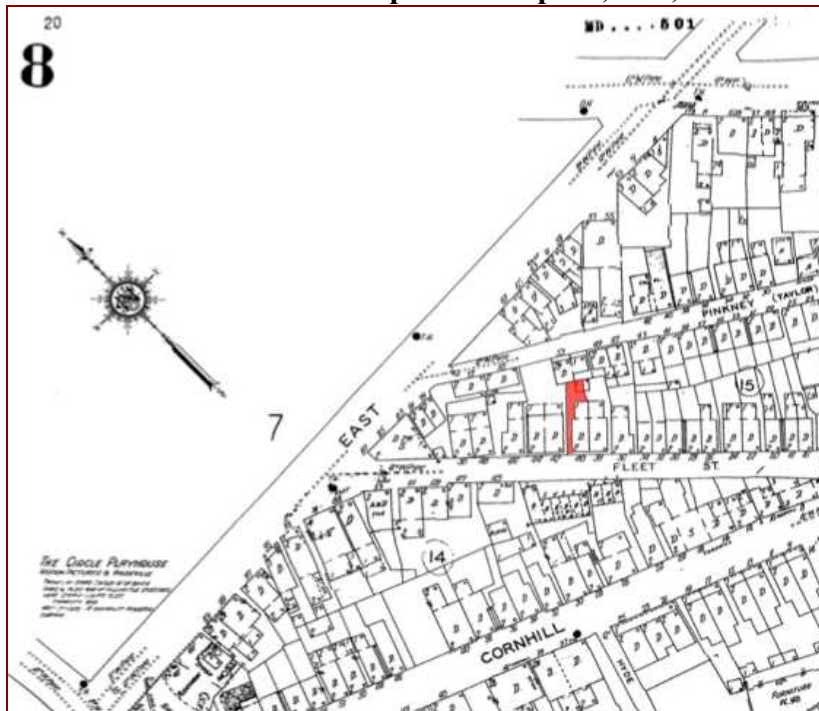
Figure 22: Detail of 40 Fleet Street with Backyard Highlighted
(Source: Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps of Annapolis, MD, 1930-1959, Sheet 8)
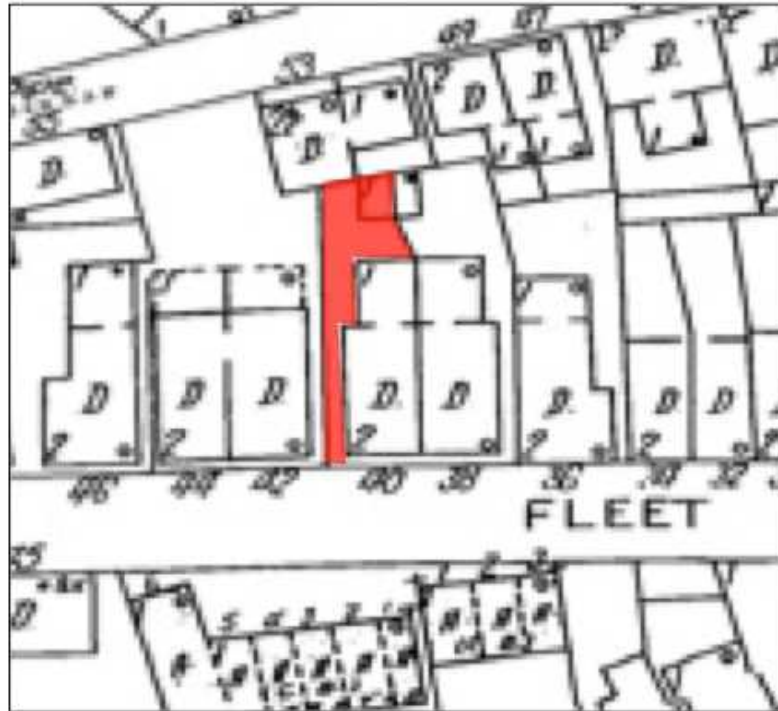
Property History

40 Fleet Street, like 99 East Street, was originally part of the lot laid out for

Governor Francis Nicholson in 1696. This particular lot was set aside for a garden, a

vineyard, and a summerhouse. After the destruction of all of the land records in

Annapolis in 1704, a portion of Nicholson's lot was claimed by Thomas Bordley and

eventually sold to Charles Wallace in 1770. How the land was used between the end

of the 17th century and 1770 is unclear, but shortly after Wallace purchased the land,

he laid out two streets – Cornhill and Fleet Streets – and subdivided the land and then

began to sell and lease the lots for development (MIHP AA-1297 1983). These lots

were developed into a tavern, artisanal workshops, and boarding houses on Cornhill

and Fleet Street. Fleet Street is recorded as a street after 1769, and archaeological investigations indicate that the street was likely set down before 1770, making it one of the earliest streets laid out in Annapolis (Cochran et. al. 2010:28-29).

The lot that contains 40 Fleet Street was leased to William Hewitt in 1771 for 99 years. Following Hewitt's death in 1779, the property was leased to Elizabeth Foulk, and then sold to her following the death of Charles Wallace in 1812 for $75.00. At the time of the sale, there was one house on the lot. The house was then passed down through the women in Foulk's family, starting with her daughters, Catharine Plains and Mary Miller. Catharine Plains had obtained full ownership of the property by 1837, and the lot passed to her daughter, Eliza Hutton, in 1844. After the death of Eliza Button, her grandchildren, Rosalind, Kate, and Edgar Hutton, owned the land and the Workingmen's Building and Loan Association bought the lot from them in 1885 for $250.00. The price of the property and the absence of a structure on the lot in the 1885 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map indicate that the early 19th-century structure had been demolished between 1878 and 1885 (MIHP AA-1297 1983; 1885 Sanborn). The Workingmen's Building and Loan Association built the two-story attached row house that currently stands at 40 Fleet Street between 1885 and 1887 (MIHP AA-1297 1983; 1885 Sanborn Map). The company was one of the savings banks in Annapolis that offered mortgages and built many properties in the city in the late 19th century. These banks made homeownership available to people with lower incomes and built several wooden row houses to be rented out as tenement houses primarily to African American tenants (MIHP AA-1297 1983; Knauf 2010, 2013; McWilliams 2011:209).

In the 20th century, the Workingmen's Building and Loan Association rented the 40 Fleet Street property out to several different families. In 1900 there were two families living at the site, the McCarthy and Johnson families (1900 Census "6th Election District, Annapolis City" Sheet 18B p. 5733). Milton McCarthy was a Hod Carrier, and he lived with his wife, Charlotte, and stepson Lewis, who was a Farm Hand. Albert Johnson was a waiter who lived with his wife Maggie, and their daughters Gladis, Bertha, and Mary (1900 Census "6th Election District, Annapolis City" Sheet 18B p.5733). After 1900, the Price family rented the property from about 1910 until at least 1940 (1900 Census "6th Election District, Annapolis City" Sheet 18B p.5733; 1910 Census, "6th District of Annapolis" Sheet 44B p. 9127; 1920 Census "Annapolis" Sheet 22A p. 6795; 1930 Census "Annapolis City" Sheet 2A p. 5050; 1940 Census Sheet 13B). In 1910, the Price family consisted of George (an oysterman), his wife Sarah (a washwoman working at home), their son Andrew (a wagon driver), and their daughter Catherine (1910 Census, "6th District of Annapolis" Sheet 44B p. 9127). Ten years later, the family was reduced to just Sarah Price and her granddaughter, Mildred. After the death of her husband, Sarah Price appears to have changed jobs, and instead of working from her home as a washwoman, she worked as a domestic for a private family, a position in which she could presumably make more money to support her family (1910 Census, "6th District of Annapolis" Sheet 44B p. 9127, 1920 Census "Annapolis" Sheet 22A p. 6795; Knauf 2010, 2013). Sarah Price may have received some help from family after her husband's death because in the 1910, 1924 and 1928 City Directories, Ambrose Price is listed as the head of the household for 40 Fleet Street, and Sarah is listed as

his wife (1910 Annapolis City Directory p. 89; 1924 Annapolis City Directory p. 177; 1928 Annapolis City Directory p. 217). However, it appears that Sarah did not remarry because she is listed as a widow in the U.S. Censuses. In the 1939 City Directory, Sarah Price is listed as the head of household for 40 Fleet Street and the widow of George Price (1920 Census "Annapolis" Sheet 22A p. 9127; 1930 Census "Annapolis City" Sheet 2A p. 5050; 1940 Census Sheet 13B; 1939 Annapolis City Directory p.194). Also, in that year's census Ambrose Price is listed as living on South Street with his wife Eliza (1920 Census "Annapolis" Sheet 1A). Ambrose Price is therefore likely Sarah Price's brother-in-law, who helped her and her family after the death of his brother George. In 1930, Sarah and granddaughter Mildred were also living with Katherine Price, Sarah's daughter, and Bernard Trivis, her nephew, with Sarah still supporting her family as a servant in a private home (1930 Census "Annapolis City" Sheet 2A p. 5050).

In March 1920, the Workingmen's Building and Loan Association sold 40 Fleet Street to Virginia Owens (Anne Arundel Country Circuit Court Land Records Liber WNW 31 f. 406), and then it was sold again two years later when Virginia Owens defaulted on the mortgage (MIHP AA-1297). The lot was then conveyed to Jacob Blum and Louis Kotzin, who owned several properties on Fleet Street together, presumably as rental properties (MIHP AA-1297). After the death of Jacob Blum in 1948, and of his wife Fannie in 1957, the house at 40 Fleet Street was sold to Ellen G. McGowan in 1964 (Anne Arundel Country Circuit Court Land Records Liber 1772 f. 406; MIHP AA-1297). McGowan sold the house to Loranne M. Pipe in 1989 and then to Jon C. Belanger and wife Marta T. Belanger in 1998 for $171,600 (Anne

Arundel Country Circuit Court Land Records Liber 5032 f. 783; Anne Arundel
Country Circuit Court Land Records Liber 8442 page 151). The Belangers sold the
property to James Walter Stebel and Athalea C. Stebel in 2001 for $245,000 (Anne
Arundel Country Circuit Court Land Records Liber 10435 page 608). Finally, the
Stebels sold the house in November 2006 to Marcus Paul Zupan and Dana Elizabeth
Waldmann, who own the property today (Anne Arundel Country Circuit Court Land
Records Liber 18740 page 280).

Archaeological Investigations

Two 5 ft by 5 ft units were excavated in the backyard of 40 Fleet Street as part
of the 2008 Field School. This was an extension of a project that began in the spring
as a contract with the City of Annapolis Department of Public Works to conduct
archaeological excavations under the city sidewalks on Cornhill and Fleet Street
(Cochran et. al. 2010; Knauf 2010). One of the units was placed in the southwest
corner of the backyard, closer to the house, and was intended to provide information
about how the yard space was used throughout time. A second unit was placed in the
far northeastern corner of the yard. This unit was placed in the back part of the yard
because the 1921 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map indicated that there had been an
outbuilding located on the north side of the lot, suspected to be a privy. This proved
to be the case and excavation uncovered a barrel privy in this unit. A ceramic
minimum vessel count was conducted for both units and a glass minimum vessel
count was completed for the privy feature (Knauf 2010; Cochran et. al. 2010).

Conclusions

These four properties represent homes that were both owned and rented by African Americans during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. They housed individuals people in a variety of occupations, working inside the home and outside the home, and working in different parts of the city. Taken as a group, these four properties can be broken into two subgroups: owners, or the Hollidays and the Maynards; and renters, or the families who lived at 40 Fleet and 49 Pinkney Street. The Maynards and the Hollidays owned the houses they lived in; the men of the households had steady jobs outside the homes (primarily employed in major industries in the city such as U.S. Naval Academy), the women, if employed, worked in industries that allowed them to be at home, and the property stayed within the family for multiple generations. The properties on Fleet and Pinkney Street were rented out, with high tenant turn over, and generally more than one family occupying the property at a time, and both the men and women of the household generally worked outside the home.

The similarities between the people within these two groupings suggest the presence of at least two classes of African Americans in Annapolis. The Maynards and Hollidays owned real property, presumably had more stable incomes, and long family histories of occupation in Annapolis dating to before the Civil War. The patriarchs of these families were free and owned property before Emancipation, making them part of a class of African Americans who were free and supporting themselves and their families by the mid-19th century. The Maynards and Hollidays would likely have existed in the same social circles, especially given that one of the boarders with the Maynards eventually married one of James Holliday's daughters.

Conversely, the people who lived on Fleet and Pinkney streets were renting their homes, which were tenement houses. The yard space of 49 Pinkney Street and 40 Fleet Street are contiguous, and without fencing, it would have been part of one larger yard space shared by several tenement houses. The structures were built at approximately the same time, are very similar in terms of structures, size, and use, and were occupied primarily by African American renters. The evident cohesion and division within and between these four properties allows them to be easily grouped and studied as two groups of two. These can then be used to identify trends within and between different groups of African Americans in 19th and early 20th century Annapolis.

Chapter 6: Demonstration of Taste and Class in Dining Behaviors

The natural group divisions seen in the property histories of the four archaeological sites examined in this dissertation are also evident in the material culture recovered from the excavations. In particular, the ceramics found at these sites indicate the presence of two classes within the African American community and demonstrate how the strategies of racial uplift promoted by Washington, Du Bois, Cooper, and Burroughs were implemented in dining behaviors. In order to study these ceramics, which would have been used as part of dining and entertaining rituals, I also examine how White Victorian ideals prescribed the use of these objects. This is important to understanding the structures within which the African American families in Annapolis were operating, and how their decision to conform or diverge from the ideals demonstrates both strategies of racial uplift and class belonging.

As established in Chapter 2, scholars realize that you can't study agency in a vacuum any more than you can study social structure in one (Barker and Majewski 2006). For the study of agency to be meaningful, it needs to be situated within a larger social and historical context. This is particularly important, and in some ways most evident, when trying to study agency in a context of structural inequalities, such as institutionalized racism. Studying commodities and consumerism as forces that structure human behavior creates some room for the analysis of individual social actors, but only in so far as those actors consume rationally and according to social norms. The study of taste, fashion, and personal choice in commodities consumption allows archaeologists to differentiate groups by their social choices as reflected in

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their material goods. The standard practice has been to identify a pattern of similar acquisition and consumption for each group and then to label this pattern of individual examples as an expression of a collective identity created by and reflected in material culture. However, this approach to studying identity through meanings read in material objects also requires an understanding that identity and self-definition are ultimately tied up in a question of whether someone conforms or diverges from what is expected of them. In order to understand what is expected of someone, you have to accept or acknowledge, to some degree, the presence of the social norms which structure society.

This is especially true in the study of ceramics and the dining behaviors associated with them. In order for studies of ceramics to reach their full potential, they must first be contextualized in specific societal and historical miliuex, thus allowing archaeologists to explore their implications in the study of consumer choice, aesthetics, and identity (Barker and Majewski 2006:230). There have been many studies conducted that examine how archaeological assemblages diverge from prescribed White Victorian dining etiquettes (e.g. Wall 1994, 1999, 2001; Brighton 2010, 2011; Mullins 1999; Shackel 1996; Fitts and Yamin 1999). However, this study examines not only how African American archaeological assemblages conform to and diverge from White norms, but it also looks at how much variation existed within the African American community in Annapolis in the 19th and early 20th centuries. This variation then helps us understand how consumer choice was used to negotiate racist societal structures in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Ceramic Studies

Ceramics are among the most common and most numerous artifacts found on archaeological sites. They are used as part of in a variety of different human behaviors, including food preparations, consumption, preservation, and entertaining, and are found on almost all domestic archaeological sites. Ceramics have been analyzed in historical archaeology for a variety of reasons, and are traditionally used in methods that focus on identifying chronologies and patterning in the archaeological record (Bograd 1991:1). Archaeologists often employ ceramics for secondary analyses because they account for a large percentage of most assemblages, are stable, went through many different style and manufacturing changes, and are easily datable (Barker and Majewski 2006:205). There was a marked increased in the number of ceramic types and vessel forms produced and marketed for consumption between the 16th and 18th centuries. The so-called "ceramic revolution" increased the availability of tea wares in particular, and led to a large market for white-bodied ceramics including creamware, pearlware, and whiteware (Barker and Majewski 2006). Ceramics have been classified and examined using many different characteristics, including decoration, ware type, degree of vitrification, body type, and glazing (Barker and Majewski 2006; Carpentier and Rickard 2001; Wetherbee 1996; Miller 1980, 1993). The classification system that is most useful depends on the research question being asked; whether the archaeologist is trying to understand the behaviors of the consumers and merchants of ceramics or the technological changes and advances within ceramic production (Barker and Majewski 2006; Lucas 2003). Throughout the history of Historical Archaeology as a discipline there have been

many different approaches to the study of ceramics and they have been used to study aspects of society, from economics to class, gender, race, and identity.

Ceramic Analyses in Historical Archaeology

In the 1970s and 1980s, historical archaeologists created models of consumerism using the structuralist and Marxist understandings of commodities and consumerism to build upon anthropological writings about the meanings of things and to help understand the artifacts they recovered (Martin 1993; Spencer-Wood 1987; Miller 1974, 1980). One of the studies from this period that has had a profound impact on the study of ceramics was the classification study conducted by George Miller (1980). Miller developed a model for studying ceramic consumption in the 19th century, which he then expanded on and refined over time (1980, 1991, 1993). The model Miller developed was based on the price, availability, and popularity of ceramic types and styles, and used these factors to generate a value index. These classifications of ceramics were based on visible traits, including glaze tint and vitification of the body, and were designed to emulate the classification system used by the potters who made the ceramics and merchants who sold them (Miller 1993:4).

After the publication of George Miller's article on ceramic economic scaling in 1980, ceramics were used to make assertions about social structure and class in the archaeological record. In this model, ceramics are grouped by time period and social/economic status, which allows changes in manufacturing, technology, ceramic marketing, and/or changes in household purchasing decisions to be seen over time (Klein 1991; Spencer-Wood 1987). This combined structuralist Marxist approach is possibly best exemplified in the collection of examples in Suzanne Spencer-Wood's

edited volume *Consumer Choice in Historical Archaeology* (1987). The examples in

this book rely heavily on economic scaling models, especially Miller's (1980, 1991),

and comparative studies to identify distinctive patterns associated with specific

socioeconomic statuses.

Because these studies rely on an understanding of individuals behaving as

rational consumers, they are not well equipped to deal with the nuances of individual

choice that can also affect consumer behavior. In these examples, consumption is

examined as an intra-class phenomenon that establishes normative order and group

cohesion, and is fostered by the existence of mass consumer goods (Miller 1987,

1991, 1993). Implicit in Miller's discussion, and in many other studies of

consumerism done during this period, is the idea that commodities are consumed in a

social system in which people strive to acquire goods, and they acquire these goods

based on collectively held beliefs of what the ideal consumer should own (Martin

1993; Miller 1980, 1987; Spencer-Wood 1987). It is this implied understanding that

normative behaviors exist, and that the consumer will act rationally, that allows

Miller (1980) to use marketing strategies in 19th century to create an economic scale

that connects commodities to socioeconomic status. This idea of mass consumer

goods being the mechanism through which equality of access, and therefore equality

in sociability, can be achieved is reflective of and based on Thorstein Veblen's theory

on social emulation, or "conspicuous consumption" (1899). However, while the

existence of mass consumer goods produced a wider range of goods and made them

broadly available, it did not provide equal access to these goods. Inequality is part of

the nature of capitalism, and therefore part of the nature of commodities and their consumption (Lury 2011).

Miller's model for ceramic classification and understanding ceramics is only one of several models used by archaeologists. Some scholars have critiqued Miller's methods, suggesting that economic scaling of ceramics can only provide an index of income and not of social class, and it lacks critical contextual information necessary to draw conclusions about behavior (Bograd 1991:2; Klein 1991:77). Other classification systems include the socioeconomic model, which argues that quantity and quality of ceramics found at a site will be dictated by the economic level and social affiliation of its occupants, and/or the accessibility model, which argues that ceramic patterning is based on ability to access markets (Klein 1991:78). Researchers, however, have criticized these two models arguing that they are too simplistic and lack historical validity. In particular, the socioeconomic model is considered to be inaccurate because it bases status on the occupations of men, when the people purchasing, using and discarding ceramics were predominantly women (Klein 1991).

Archaeologists have also used ceramics to understand consumer choice, societal structures, race, class, and gender identities in specific historical contexts, rather than just using generalized economic models. The study of ceramics is often associated, directly or indirectly, with the study of class (e.g. Wall 1991, 1999; Wall et. al. 2008; Brighton 2011; Mullins 1999). These studies approach and define class differently, but are all explicit in how this term is being used, because in order to use ceramics to answer research questions effectively, archaeologists must situate them properly in the historical, economic, and social context in which they were produced,

used, and discarded (Klein 1991:77). Some of these studies use class as an explanation for an aggregation of differences (Wall et. al. 2008), some look at it as the relationship between different groups, and some see it as a gradational hierarchical relationship (Wurst and Fitts 1999; Fitts 1999). In general, all of these authors agree that individuals expressed class, especially belonging to the middle class, in the past through the objects they purchased, used, and eventually threw away, especially the dishes they used to set their tables and entertain their guests, and therefore can be interpreted by archaeologists through the study of this category of material culture. Therefore, the existence of multiple classes, and the characteristics of classes, such as the "inclusionist" and "autonomist" classes, can be seen in the patterns of dish consumption.

Teawares, Tablewares, Matching Dishes and the Roles of Women

Comparisons of vessel forms are common in archaeological studies of ceramics, especially comparisons of vessels associated with tea drinking and those with dining. They can be used to compare sites to determine if the tablewares and teawares from the two sites resemble each other and if they resemble prescribed social norms. For example, Diana Wall (1991) compares tea wares and tablewares independently for two middle class sites in New York. Her research found that the tablewares were fairly similar between the two sites, but that the teawares were very different. Most of the tablewares were white granite in both houses. However, the second most common tableware was shell-edged and blue transfer print in the wealthier house, but not from a matched set; and undecorated in the poorer house. More differences were seen in the teawares, though. In the wealthier home, most of

the teawares were porcelain with molded panels, or decorated with gilt floral bands. But in the poorer household, most of the teawares were white granite and paneled to match the tablewares (Wall 1991). The fact that both of these mid-century families used ironstone vessels for their family meals suggests that family meals had the same social meaning for both the wealthier and poorer middle class families. These dishes mean that these women were rejecting buying the more expensive, printed pattern dishes, which the wealthier family could have afforded, and were instead choosing to eat off of vessels in the middle price range. Wall suggests that this may be because the mid-range Gothic style of the dishes had a connotation that could have "enhanced the sacred aspect of women's domestic role within the ritual of family meals" (Wall 1991:78-9). However, the two different assemblages of teawares suggest that these two sets of women participated in two different kinds of teas. One in which the family took part in the tea, which was participated in by both sets of women, and one in which the fancier dishes would have been used for guests. The wealthier, middle class family was the only one to participate in the second kind of tea, even though both families could have afforded the fancy wares, suggesting a material and behavioral difference between the two classes. Although large sets of matching tea and tablewares were not widely available until the end of the last decades of the 19th century, teawares were already being sold in sets of no less than six (Praetzellis and Praetzellis 1992:88).

Terry Klein (1991) cites Wall's 1991 study of the middle class and elite women in New York City in the late 18th and 19th centuries to demonstrate the changing role of women in rural contexts, where dinner served a purely functional

role, rather than the urban contexts where meals became part of elaborate social rituals. In this study, Klein uses ceramics as a measure for how and when women became actively involved in the growth of the "cult of domesticity." In the late 18th and 19th centuries there was also an increasing ritualization of meals, which is linked to the growth of the women's sphere within the households; meals became a ritual and a symbol of social order in the upper and middle classes. During this time period, dining rooms started to appear in architecture, as do other specialized spaces, such as spaces for children, signifying the increasingly domestic role of women during the mid-19th century. With the dining room, came an increased attention to the table settings, including glass and ceramic dishes. The role of women in their homes was changing as "the purchase and use of ceramic tablewares and teawares [was] determined by the role of women within the household" (Klein 1991:80). The patterns of ceramic use change when the role of women change, with these changes first appearing in households of upper economic and social positions, and found later in the lower economic and social groups. These changes are also found in urban contexts before they are seen in rural contexts (Klein 1991:80).

In Klein's study, the changing role of women model is a better explanation for the differences seen between rural and urban assemblages than models that examine cost or availability because the role of women was slower to change for rural farmers. Private dining was generally not possible on farms because large amounts of food had to be prepared for farm workers who were not members of the farm household (Klein 1991:86). Because of the different roles of women in urban and rural households, the way in which meals were served varied and meals had different functions within each

of these two households (Klein 1991:87). Studies that look at the African American community and class have the added component of considering the racist structures in which the ceramics were acquired, used, and discarded, especially when looking at the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

The Importance of Ceramics in Victorian Dining Rituals

Eating food can be said to always be "conducted in culturally and historically specific ways fraught with public meaning" (Walker 2008:123). This was especially true during the Victoria era, and for members of the middle-class, for whom the ability to exhibit proper dining etiquette was a "public exercise in social competence and boundary maintenance" and the ability to demonstrate proper dining habits represented a display of the mastery of Victorian social conventions (Walker 2008:123).

During the Victorian Period, dining had become a formalized ritual during which knowledge of proper etiquette, and therefore class identity, was demonstrated on a daily basis (Fitts 1999:49; Williams 1985; Tomes 1870, 1875; Kasson 1990; Brown 1995[1940]). Middle-class Americans, especially, believed that a person's table manners directly reflected their gentility, and therefore the ability to demonstrate proper dining etiquette became a prerequisite for class belonging (Fitts 1999:49). By the middle of the 19th century, a distinctive and specific White middle-class lifestyle and worldview had developed and most White middle-class households were demonstrating an ability to conform to both the lifestyle and worldview through their dining etiquette and by setting their tables with matching dishes (Fitts 1999:46, 50; Williams 1985:76-78; Walker 2008:123; Martin 2001:17). This proper dining

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etiquette included setting the table in a very specific and precise manner, which was detailed in various publications designed to provide advice on and to describe ideal Victorian manners (Lavin 1888; Sangster 1904; Leslie 1850; Tomes 1870, 1875; Williams 1985; Brown 1995[1940]). The ideal Victorian table was dominated by ceramics pieces with supplemental pieces of glass and silver (Fitts 1999:50; Williams 1985:79-90). The basic set of ceramic dishes needed to set a Victorian table required at least twenty different vessel forms, which could then be enhanced by other vessels with specific functions such as egg cups, relish dishes, and coffee cups (Fitts 1999:52; Williams 1985:79-90). Additionally, the ideal table was to be set with dishes that matched, or came from the same set, and had the same decorative treatment. Etiquette books, newspapers, and magazines fueled the consumer demand for specialized and stylish wares by insisting that they were necessary for setting a beautiful Victorian dining table (Mullins 1999a:147).

In fact, some of these etiquette books even went as far as to say that a table covered with different kinds of dishes would be inelegant and splotchy (*The House Beautiful* 1898 in Mullins 1999:150). According to this dining etiquette, matching dishes were to be used at both formal social occasions and at family meals (Fitts 1999:49; Williams 1985:47-48). These matching dishes tended to be all-white ironstone dishes after the early 1840s, with styles becoming less angled and molded after about 1870 (Wetherbee 1996:vi, 10; Wall 1999:112). By 1850, ceramics that were entirely white appeared to be the most popular of all the ceramic types sold in the United States (Wetherbee 1986:vi, 10; Wall 1999:112). The Gothic pattern, in particular, seems to have been especially popular among the middle-class, possibly

because of its Christian connotations and association with the ideology of the cult of domesticity (Wall 1999:25-26; Fitts 1999:47, 58; Knauf 2013).

Traditionally, the ability to conform to Victorian ideals is measured in the archaeological record by analyzing the presence or absence of matched sets of ceramics within the assemblage (Chidester and Gadsby 2011:12). However, this approach has been critiqued because the presence of matched sets demonstrated not only the aspiration of members of the middle-class to conform to Victorian dining habits, but also the economic component associated with the mass production and mass consumption of ceramics occurring during the 19th and 20th century that made matching ceramics available to poorer consumers (Chidester and Gadsby 2011:13; Walker 2008:124).

Among the earliest studies of matching dishes is Miller's examination of a tenant farmer site in Southern Maryland (Miller 1974). At this site, many different molded rim patterns were found among the dish assemblage, and while they didn't match, Miller interpreted this assemblage as an attempt to collect a nearly matching set over time (Miller 1974:204). When comparing this tenant farmer site to other sites in Southern Maryland, Miller found that this piece-meal collection pattern was not present among the wealthier residents of the area (Miller 1974:209). In another study that examines the presence or absence of fashionable white dishes, Shackel and Lucas (1994) argue that purchasing ceramics reflects an acceptance or rejection of ideologies associated with the shift from artisan systems to factory systems, with former artisans being less likely to purchase the most popular or fashionable

ceramics, even though they were available and relatively affordable (Lucas and Shackel 1994; Shackel 1998).

In her examination of late 19th-century, middle-class households in New York, Diana Wall (1999) found that there was a consistent preference for 12-sided Gothic Ironstone plates in both the wealthier and poorer middle class households examined. However a difference between the two ends of the middle class was seen in the teawares, where a preference for fancier Italianate painted porcelains was seen only in the upper middle class households. There was also a preference for plain-white dishes seen in the tenement households studied, but the patterned dishes differed between the middle-class households and the tenements households. While the Gothic pattern dominated the assemblages in the middle class sites, other white-on-white patterns were found at the tenement sites (Wall 1999:111). In this study there appears to be a distinction between the upper and lower middle-class as well as a distinction between both of these groups and the working-class families living in the tenement houses (Wall 1999:112). This indicates that the working-class women at the tenement sites were not attempting to emulate the middle-class women with their choice of dish patterns, but that all of the sites examined appear to be boardly conforming, or attempting to conform, to the Victorian ideal of matching dishes (Wall 1999:113).

This pattern of preference for plain-white dishes was also seen in Brooklyn, despite the availability of a variety of different decorated wares during the mid and late-19th century, including transfer-printed wares, shell-edged dishes, and painted porcelains (Fitts 1999:55). This preference for plain-white dishes over all the

decorated wares available in all of the households in a single neighborhood may be indicative of all the members of a community conforming to the buying preferences of their neighbors (Fitts 1999:56). This fits the idea that choice in dishes demonstrates social cohesion and group belonging.

Plain-white ironstone, or white granite, dishes became the dominant types in the Dublin section of Paterson, New Jersey, in the late 19th century (Brighton 2011:45). This change to a preference for white granite dishes is interpreted as an indication of the members of immigrant households' greater access to the market place and their acceptance of the ideology of American consumer culture, and presumably the ideologies of Victorian etiquette (Brighton 2011:45).

Comparisons of vessel forms have also been used to examine if vessel complexity changes over time. In his study of Irish immigrants in New York and New Jersey, Stephen Brighton identifies changes in the number of serving vessels found at each site as a change in identity from Irish to Irish-American (Brighton 2011). The increase in the number of serving vessels is identified as an overall increase in complexity of the ceramic assemblage. Demonstrating that your household possessed the knowledge to be able to conform to Victorian ideals, including how to set a table, was part of expressing belonging to a particular group or community. Therefore, the dishes placed on the dining table helped visually reaffirm social boundaries through the habitual behavior of eating (Wall 1999:113). This is especially true of the White middle-class, in which a premium was placed on conformity, rather than individuality (Fitts 1999:58). Being able to set your table in the manner deemed appropriate to the White middle-class demonstrated the ability of individuals to "speak the same

language of plates" as their neighbors and other members of their class (Wall 1999:115; Fitts 1999).

However, many studies have shown that disenfranchised and marginalized groups tend not to mimic the behavior of dominant groups of society, and instead develop their own lifestyle and worldview (Fitts 1999:40). For African Americans, this can be seen in various aspects of culture, including how they chose to purchase brand name goods from national markets through catalogs or chain stores rather than purchase them from local racist markets (Mullins 1999; Paynter 1999:189), how "racialized" White and Black communities developed (Paynter 1999; Larsen 2003), and how they chose to set their tables. The marginalization of the Black community was designed to create an "other" against which proper White behavior could be judged. However, by creating this separation, space was also created for a distinct and unique African American world, separate but parallel (Paynter 1999:189; Larsen 2003:120; Mullins 1999:23).

Among the best-known studies of African American consumption of ceramics are those done by Mark Warner and Paul Mullins, which were focused on the investigations of the Maynard-Burgess House in Annapolis. By studying the ceramic assemblage from this site and comparing it to a few other sites in Annapolis, Mullins concluded that African Americans, as a collective group, were acquiring their ceramics from non-mass marketplace sources through toting and as a result, there was a vast aesthetic diversity within these assemblages (Mullins 1999a:148). This diversity included a wide variety of decorative techniques and patterns, as well as ceramics that were slightly older than the other artifacts found in the same context

and were heavily worn (Mullins 1999a:148). Instead of purchasing matching sets of dishes from the marketplace, Mullins argues that African Americans obtained mismatching dishes through a network of bartering, stealing, salvage, and/or receiving gifts among domestics who worked in White spaces (Mullins 1999a:148-150). Although some studies have been done suggesting that some consumers obtained sets of dishes that conformed (or roughly conformed) to Victorian etiquette, there was no indication of "such a strategic consumption pattern in the Annapolis assemblages" nor was there any indication of any long-term acquisition plans to collect a matching set (Mullins 1999a:148-150). Mismatching ceramics were found at Maynard-Burgess House, and Bellis Court, which sharply contrasted with both the Victorian etiquette of the time and the assemblage found at a White physician's home on Main Street (Mullins 1999a:151). Although these ceramic assemblages diverged from the convention of obtaining and using matching dishes, this does not mean that the owners' were unaware of these conventions, and the functional make-up of the dishes was very similar between the Maynard-Burgess House and a White doctor's home in Annapolis (Mullins 1999a:152).

Warner also examined two of these sites in Annapolis (the Maynard-Burgess House and the White physician's home), and compared them to the excavations at Gott's Court. In this study, Warner looked at the presence or absence of teawares. In his examination, more similarities were found between the Maynard-Burgess House and the White doctor's house on Main Street in the percentage of the ceramic assemblage accounted for by teawares (36 and 39 percent respectively) than at Gott's Court, which only contained 16 percent teawares (Warner 1998:196-197). Warner

interpreted this discovery as a difference in social class between the occupants of Gott's Court and those at the Maynard-Burgess House and the Main Street site (Warner 1998:199). Warner doesn't argue that the Maynards were simply emulating the behaviors of their White neighbors, but rather that they were using the same objects, but with a different symbolic meaning. This results in African Americans simultaneously participating in the Victorian ideal of formal tea service, while rejecting the Victorian ideal of using matching dishes (Warner 1998:207). Warner begins to touch on the idea that there was differentiation within the African American community, and it is at this point that my dissertation continues the investigation, looking into what this differentiation looked like, and what were the potential sources of these class distinctions.

Ceramic Analyses from Annapolis

Ceramics have been used for analyzing the residents of Annapolis since the beginning of Archaeology in Annapolis. One of the earliest analyses using ceramics in Annapolis looked at the change in vessel variation over time to see how dining etiquettes changed from the 18th to the 19th century (Leone et. al. 1987). And ceramics have been used in understanding the African American community in Annapolis, both in the past and the present (e.g. Leone 1995; Mullins 1999; Warner 1998). Some ceramic comparisons have already been done of African American sites in Annapolis (e.g. Warner 1998; Mullins 1999a, 1999b), but these have been mostly qualitative and looked generally at the presence and absence of tea wares and matching sets in trying to establish a distinction between Black and White communities in Annapolis.

In my research, ceramics are used to examine if there is a difference between the material goods acquired, and then discarded, by different groups of African Americans in Annapolis in the 19th and early 20th centuries. This examination can be done qualitatively, using minimum vessel counts (MVCs) and with descriptions of the ceramics to determine the presence or absence of matched sets of ceramics. It can also be done quantitatively by examining the costs of the pieces within each collection and by looking at the diversity, or richness, of the ceramic assemblage. Using minimum vessel counts for this research is facilitated by the fact that the methodology used for all of the MVCs for the collections from Annapolis was the same as the one Paul Mullins laid out for the Archaeology in Annapolis Laboratory in the early 1990s (see Mullins and Warner 1993).

Minimum Vessel Counts

In order to study the ceramics recovered from the four sites examined in this dissertation, minimum vessel counts were conducted and compared. Minimum vessel counts (MVCs) are used to calculate the smallest number of unique vessels that can account for all of a single type of artifact, usually glass or ceramic, recovered from a specific context. The first step in a minimum vessel count is to put back together, or mend, as many as possible of the individual artifact pieces recovered from the context of interest. This ensures that pieces from the same vessel get grouped together in the count and that single vessels are not counted more than once. Usually this is done by ware type, with only one type out for mending at a time. For the minimum vessel counts for 40 Fleet Street (18AP110), The James Holliday House (18AP116), and 49 Pinkney Street (18AP119), all of the white bodied ceramics (creamware, pearlware,

whitewares, porcelain, and ironstone/white granite) were examined together, to ensure that vessels were not accidentally counted twice because of misclassification and to maximize the chances of mending as many sherds as possible back together.

The next step in conducting a minimum vessel count is to select the criteria for designation of a unique vessel. Typically, either base fragments or rim fragments are identified and used to represent the unique vessels. Using bases *or* rims prevents the same vessel from accidentally being counted twice if they are not connected together by body pieces. All of the minimum vessel counts for assemblages from Annapolis use rim fragments to identify unique vessels. Rims from each ware type were identified and each rim was considered a unique vessel unless it was too small and indistinct for us to be sure it couldn't be part of one of the other rims present. Special exceptions were occasionally made for body pieces that could not be accounted for by the rims present in the assemblage. Typically this meant rims smaller than half an inch were not included in the count. After the mends were complete, and the rims and unique body sherds identified, the ceramics were assigned vessel numbers and cataloged.

In the process of recording the MVC, each vessel was described in terms of the decorative techniques present and the vessel form. These labels were largely descriptive, so in order to make the data comparable, more generalized labels for the decorations were created. Because three sites were analyzed within a relatively short time span, the classification system for decorative techniques was almost identical for 40 Fleet Street (18AP110), The James Holliday House (18AP116), and 49 Pinkney Street (18AP119). These categories were refined and then applied to all four sites.

These categories were based on color and design rather than technologies. The resulting decorative categories were: Asian Motifs; Floral/Neoclassical; Mocha/Annular; Sponge Decorated; Minimally Decorated; Minimally Decorated, Molded; Undecorated; Other/Indeterminate.

Undecorated ceramics constituted ceramics that lacked any decorative motifs beyond glaze. Minimally Decorated ceramics were those that were predominately white, but had some other types of decorative technologies present, including incising, hand painting, and molding. Most ceramics included in this category were either molded, especially panel molded, or shell-edged. The category also included vessels with gilding along the rim, incised lines, and simple geometric under- and over-glaze patterns. To differentiate between vessels that were plain white and those with color, a separate category was used for vessels that were minimally decorated with only molding: Minimally Decorated, Molded. This distinction is important because of the difference in the way that colored dishes and plain white dishes would have looked on a dinner table or in a tea display.

Sponge Decorated ceramics included vessels that have paint that has been applied using a sponge or has been splattered onto the vessel using a paintbrush (sometimes identified as spatterware). This included ceramics with both single and multiple colors, although the most common colors were blue and pink/red. Ceramics were designated as Floral/Neoclassical if they had designs that contained flowers, and/or Greek and Roman modified motifs. Many of these designs were transfer-printed. Ceramics with even, regular bands or stripes, of any color, were classified as Mocha/Annular. Generally these stripes were light blue, dark brown, white, tan, or

black. This category also included ceramics with dark brown or black dendritic, fern, or tree-like patterns. The most common vessel form within this category was bowls, but it was also found on mugs, or pitchers (Carpenter and Rickard 2001:121). Other/Indeterminate was used as a category only if the decoration present could not be identified or if the pattern did not clearly fit within any of the other categories or could fit into multiple categories.

Because this analysis was conducted in the 1990s, the MVC from the Maynard-Burgess House used the more generalized category of "Decorated, Undistinguished" to encompass ceramics designated as "painted," including ceramics with floral, neoclassical, or Asian motifs, as well as sponge decorated ceramics. The original ceramics could not be located, so the MVC could not be modified to match the categories used in the other three MVCs. The fact that these decorative categories had to be combined into a single category did not significantly affect the ability to use this assemblage in these comparative analyses because the major distinctions made in these analyses were between tablewares and teawares, and between undecorated or plain-white dishes and decorated, colored dishes.

For vessel form, seven vessel categories were used: Table, Tea, Serving, Personal, Utilitarian, Other, and Undistinguished. The descriptive terms in each MVC catalog were used to fit all of the vessels into one of these categories. In the designation of vessel category, all plates and bowls were classified as tablewares and all tea cups, saucers, and tea pots were classified as teawares. The category of "Personal" was used for chamber pots, spittoons, and a match holder. "Serving" vessel encompassed the vessels that food would have been served in and included

large platters, basins, and tureens and "Utilitarian" was used for storage and cooking vessels. "Other" was used for vessels that could be identified but did not fit into the other categories, and included decorative vases, toy teacups and saucers, and figurines. Vessels designated as "hollowwares" or otherwise could not be definitively identified and were classified as "Undistinguished."

For the majority of the comparisons, only the white-bodied ceramics were examined, including creamware, pearlwares, whitewares, ironstone/white granite, and porcelain. This eliminated utilitarian wares, such as storage jars, and mixing bowls, from the analysis, as well as flower pots and other vessels that would not have been part of dining rituals but instead would have been part of food preparation, storage or other activities and are not included in these analyses. This trend of examining only the dishes associated with dining and table setting behaviors is common in archaeological studies of ceramics (e.g. Wall 1991, 1999; Brighton 2011; Mullins 1999; Warner 1998; Walker 2008; Chidester and Gadsby 2011). The ceramics used in these analyses came from different archaeological contexts, but all represented a time period between 1850 and 1930. The ceramics in each of the minimum vessel counts that were from contexts that did not date to this time period were excluded from this comparison.

The ceramics used in the MVC from the James Holliday House included all of the ceramics recovered from the eight archaeological units excavated in the basement and backyard of the house. The 1,932 ceramic sherds recovered constituted 476 vessels, 325 of which were white-bodied ceramics associated with dining behaviors between 1850 and 1930. All of the ceramics recovered from the two units in the

backyard of 49 Pinkney Street were used to create the ceramic MVC for this site. From the 1,885 ceramic sherds recovered, 240 unique vessels were identified, 175 of which were white-bodied dishes associated with dining behaviors and with the late 19th- to early 20th-century occupation of the site. From 40 Fleet Street, 71 unique vessels were identified from the total ceramic assemblage from two units in the backyard of the site. Thirty-one of these vessels were associated with dining behaviors, were white-bodied, and dated to the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

The minimum vessel counts for 40 Fleet Street (18AP110), the James Holliday House (18AP116), and 49 Pinkney Street (18AP119) were conducted in the Archaeology in Annapolis laboratory as part of undergraduate student independent studies under the direction of Jocelyn Knauf and myself. The data from 40 Fleet Street (18AP110) were rechecked by Jocelyn Knauf and used as part of her dissertation (Knauf 2013). I rechecked the data from the James Holliday House (18AP116) and 49 Pinkney Street (18AP119) for this dissertation. Narrowing down the minimum vessel counts to include only white-bodied vessels, or those associated with dining behaviors, and dating to the time period of interest for all four sites was also done as part of the analyses for this dissertation.

The Maynard-Burgess minimum vessel count is different from the other three counts. The analysis was only conducted on a single feature – a cellar feature filled in the late 19th century. From the ceramics found in the cellar, 44 unique vessels were identified. The ceramics from this site have been analyzed and written up in several different publications (Mullins and Warner 1993; Mullins 1996, 1999a; 1999b; Warner 1998). However, the most complete and descriptive table of the ceramics

from the cellar minimum vessel count was recorded in Paul Mullins's dissertation (1996), and was the table used for the analyses in this dissertation. Of the 44 unique vessels from the cellar, 37 were identifiable as white-bodied and associated with dining behaviors and date to the late 19th century.

Because of the large differences in the total number of vessels from each site, percentages were used rather than raw numbers in comparing the four sites. This helped equalize the differences between the sites and make the data more comparable (For the complete MVC from each site, see Appendix B).

In order to examine the possibility of multiple classes existing simultaneously within the African American community of Annapolis, I examined many different aspects of the ceramic collections. First I looked at the ratios of tablewares to teawares, a measure that has been used by archaeologists to establish class differences. Second, I examined the richness, or diversity, of each assemblage, which is another way archaeologists measure of class and which can also be used to explore the acceptance or rejection of Victorian dining ideals. Finally, I examined the presence or absence of matching sets of ceramics, to assess the degree to which individuals accepted or rejected prescribed consumption ideas, as articulated in Victorian etiquettes, and their conscious choices within dining etiquette. It also allowed me to explore the potential expression of a uniquely African American aesthetic in dining behaviors and how this reflected strategies for coping with the racist structures of the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Tablewares vs. Teawares

Archaeologists generally consider the presence of teawares to be an indication of wealth and an ability to conform to accepted Victorian social norms, which deem tea drinking and its associated rituals an important part of demonstrating wealth, upper class status, and the proper roles of women within the cult of domesticity (e.g. Brighton 2011; Walker 2008; Wall 1991; Mullins 1999). Archaeologists also frequently examine teawares to determine if there is a distinction between the dishes used for guests who came to tea, and those used by the family during daily meals (e.g. Wall 1999).

At the James Holliday House, teawares accounted for 28.3% of the total vessels in the minimum vessel count, with tablewares constituting the largest percentage of the vessels at 58.8% (Table 1). Looking at differences between tablewares and teawares, it appears that there was not a distinction between how tables were set for guests (who came to tea) and family (who ate dinner), because the proportions of decorated and undecorated (or plain white) ceramics were roughly the same between the two vessel categories at the site (Table 2) (Figure 23).

**Figure 23: Teacup and Saucer with Floral decal curated by the Holliday Family
(Source: Dolores Levister, photograph taken by Kathryn Deeley)**

Table 1: Vessel Forms from the James Holliday House (18AP116) MVC

Vessel Form	Other	Personal	Serving	Table	Tea	Undistinguished	Total
Number of Vessels	12	1	15	191	92	14	325
Percentage of Total Vessels	3.69	0.31	4.62	58.77	28.31	4.31	100

Table 2: Tablewares and Teawares from the James Holliday House (18AP116) by Decorative Technique

Tablewares and Teawares/ from the James Holliday House (18AP116)				
Decorative Category	Count of Total Tablewares	Percentage of Total Tablewares	Count of Total Teawares	Percentage of Total Teawares
Undecorated	10	5.2	6	6.5
Minimally Decorated, Molded	48	25.1	33	35.9
Minimally Decorated	54	28.3	19	20.7
Floral/Neoclassical	33	17.3	21	22.8
Asian Motifs	7	3.7	2	2.2
Mocha/Annular	16	8.4	8	8.7
Other//Indeterminate	23	12	3	3.3
Total	**191**	**100**	**92**	**100.1**

At the Maynard-Burgess House, teawares accounted for the largest percentage of the total vessels (40.5%), followed by tablewares (29.7%) (Table 3). Like the James Holliday House, there were a large number of decorative techniques present in both the teawares and tablewares (Table 4). However, it appears that the teawares at the Maynard-Burgess House might have been slightly more decorated than the tablewares, with the tablewares being predominately undecorated or shell-edged. This may suggest that teawares, or the dishes used for guests, were even more brightly colored than the dishes that were used for daily family meals. This suggests that the Maynards placed importance on entertaining and demonstrating class belonging through this entertaining ritual.

Table 3: Vessel Forms from the Maynard-Burgess House (18AP64) MVC

Vessel Form	Other	Personal	Serving	Table	Tea	Undistinguished	Total
Number of Vessels	1	1	1	11	15	8	37
Percentage of Total Vessels	2.7	2.7	2.7	29.73	40.54	21.62	100

Table 4: Tablewares and Teawares from the Maynard-Burgess House (18AP64) by Decorative Technique

Tablewares and Teawares from the Maynard-Burgess House (18AP64)				
Decorative Category	Count of Total Tablewares	Percentage of Total Tablewares	Count of Total Teawares	Percentage of Total Teawares
Undecorated	4	36.4	4	26.7
Minimally Decorated, Molded	1	9.1	3	20.0
Minimally Decorated	4	36.4	1	6.7
Decorated, Indeterminate	1	9.1	4	26.7
Asian Motifs	1	9.1	3	20.0
Total	**11**	**100.1**	**15**	**100.1**

At the tenement house on Pinkney Street there was a very different pattern, with teawares constituting only 12.6% of the vessels, while tablewares accounted for 53.1% of the vessels found at this site (Table 5, Table 6). Both the James Holliday House and the Maynard-Burgess House had larger percentages of teawares present in their assemblages, suggesting that these two households placed a greater emphasis on entertaining guests, likely because they were part of a different class than the families living in the tenement house. The teaware vessels that were present in the minimum vessel count from Pinkney Street tended to be undecorated. The tablewares were also predominately undecorated. Although the types of decorative treatments applied to the vessels were roughly the same between the table and teawares, there were slightly more teawares decorated with floral/neoclassical motifs and slightly fewer minimally

decorated wares. This was because many of the minimally decorated wares were

shell-edged plates and bowls. These shell-edged tablewares were still mostly white,

even though they were decorated.

Table 5: Vessel Forms from the 49 Pinkney Street (18AP119) MVC

Vessel Form	Other	Personal	Serving	Table	Tea	Undistinguished	Total
Number of Vessels	2	2	1	93	22	55	175
Percentage of Total Vessels	1.14	1.14	0.57	53.14	12.57	31.43	100

Table 6: Tablewares and Teawares from 49 Pinkney Street (18AP119) by Decorative Technique

Tablewares and Teawares from 49 Pinkney Street (18AP119)				
Decorative Category	Count of Total Tableware	Percentage of Total Tablewares	Count of Total Teawares	Percentage of Total Teawares
Undecorated	1	1.1	0	0
Minimally Decorated, Molded	29	31.2	9	40.9
Minimally Decorated	30	32.3	4	18.2
Floral/Neoclassical	13	14	6	27.3
Asian Motifs	6	6.5	1	4.5
Sponge Decorated	1	1.1	0	0
Mocha/Annular	11	11.8	2	9.1
Other/Indeterminate	2	2.2	0	0
Total	**93**	**100.2**	**22**	**100**

At 40 Fleet Street there was a slight preference for more decoration in the

teawares than in the tablewares, but the vessels were still overwhelmingly plain

white, or nearly plain white dishes. Approximately half of the small number of

teaware vessels were white with molding and 40% of the tablewares were

undecorated (Table 7, Table 8). So while these dishes were technically different, they

would have looked very similar to each other when placed on a dinner or tea table.

Like the dishes from the James Holliday House, there were no major distinctions in

the types of decoration used on teawares and tablewares. The preference for plain-white, molded dishes in both teawares and tablewares may suggest an attempt to more closely resemble Victorian dining etiquette in both family meals and in interactions with guests. It has been suggested that this resemblance might be due to the fact to that the women in this household, and at 49 Pinkney Street, relied on employment in White women's households (Knauf 2013; In Press). It is also possible that the plain-white dishes appealed to these women because they placed an emphasis on morality and purity, as advocated by Nannie Helen Burroughs (Burroughs 1912; Wall 1991). The emphasis on plain-white or minimally decorated wares was very different than what was seen at the James Holliday and Maynard-Burgess Houses. This indicates that these households were using ceramics goods to demonstrate belonging in different groups. The fact that there were fewer teawares at 49 Pinkney and 40 Fleet Street suggests that entertaining guests was less important or possibly that the women of these households had less time for these rituals. Either way, it indicates that the women, and by extension the rest of the family, likely belonged to different social groups.

Table 7: Vessel Forms from the 40 Fleet Street (18AP110) MVC

Vessel Form	Other	Personal	Serving	Table	Tea	Undistinguished	Total
Number of Vessels	2	0	0	22	6	1	31
Percentage of Total Vessels	**6.45**	**0**	**0**	**70.97**	**19.35**	**3.23**	**100**

Table 8: Tablewares and Teawares from 40 Fleet Street (18AP110) by Decorative Technique

Tablewares and Teawares from Fleet Street (18AP110)				
Decorative Categories	Count of Total Tablewares	Percentage of Total Tablewares	Count of Total Teawares	Percentage of Total Teawares
Undecorated	9	40.9	0	0.0
Minimally Decorated, Molded	5	22.7	3	50.0
Minimally Decorated	7	31.8	1	16.7
Floral/Neoclassical	1	4.5	2	33.3
Asian Motifs	0	0.0	0	0.0
Total	**22**	**99.9**	**6**	**100**

The difference in the degree of decoration was even more pronounced in the teawares from the four sites. If possession of dishes is an indicator of class belonging, the possession of the "correct" dishes for your class would have been even more important in teawares than in tablewares, since tea was a dining ritual generally shared with guests, friends, and neighbors, while dinners, when tablewares were used, were predominately for the family (Wall 1999; Warner 1998). Therefore the possession of plain-white or decorated teaware would be a way of displaying class belonging to guests. This is significant because class belonging was more likely to be performed for guests and therefore displayed an even more distinct African American aesthetic for guests.

The percentage of teawares recovered from the Maynard-Burgess House was the highest of the four sites examined, followed by the James Holliday House. This suggests that this form of entertaining was more important in these two households than in the households on Pinkney and Fleet streets. If the presence of a larger number of teawares is taken as an indicator of a higher class, then this suggests that the Maynards, Burgesses, and Hollidays had a higher social station than the families

living on Pinkney and Fleet Streets. However, the presence of teawares alone does not equate a household with a higher class. But the presence of teawares combined with the difference in overall aesthetics of the assemblages indicates that there were least two classes within the African American community of Annapolis (Table 9).

Table 9: Comparison of Tablewares and Teawares the Four Archaeological Sites

	Tablewares		Teawares	
Sites	*Count*	*Percentage*	*Count*	*Percentage*
James Holliday House (18AP116)	191	67.5	92	32.5
Maynard-Burgess House (18AP64)	11	42.3	15	57.7
49 Pinkney Street (18AP119)	93	80.9	22	19.1
40 Fleet Street (18AP110)	22	78.6	6	21.4

Richness

In its most general usage, diversity is related to the "number of classes of items present in an assemblage" (Kintigh 1989:25). Diversity is related to both the number of classes of artifacts present and the uniformity or evenness of the distribution of the percentage of each class (Kintigh 1989:25-6). Richness is a diversity measure assessed by measuring the number of classes present in a collection or assemblage (Kintigh 1989:26). To use richness to analyze ceramic assemblages from the 19th and early 20th centuries in Annapolis, we must acknowledge some assumptions about the Victorian ideals surrounding proper dining etiquette (Walker 2008:123). In this study, richness is represented by the number of different classes of dining vessels present in the MVC and operates under the assumption that "the larger and richer the assemblage, the more the dining ritual approximated the Victorian

ideal" (Walker 2008:124). Archaeologists have used analyses of the richness of ceramic assemblages to determine if people in the past lived materially similar lives at different sites and in different contexts (Chidester and Gadsby 2011; Walker 2008). Assemblages with similar richness indicate that the people responsible for those assemblages were living materially similar lives, and therefore likely belonged to similar social groups.

Richness studies look at the numbers of different vessel forms or categories in order to compare assemblages, both to each other and to societal norms. There have been different approaches to richness analyses, especially in terms of what constitutes a distinct vessel form and which forms should be counted. It appears to be generally accepted that these comparisons are looking exclusively at vessels that would have had a function related to food preparation and dining (Chidester and Gadsby 2011; Walker 2008). This means that vessel forms such as flowerpots, figurines, match holders, spittoons, and unknown vessel forms were not included in this analysis. In this analysis, only white-bodied vessel forms related to dining were examined. Even after narrowing down the assemblages to only these vessel categories, the richness analysis was limited by the fact that the level of detail recorded in the four MVCs used in this dissertation was very different and the overall size of the assemblages varied greatly. Using the richness data from the MVCs from the four sites examined in this study, it appears that the James Holliday House assemblage contained considerably more diversity in the vessel form than the remaining three sites, with a richness of 23. The next highest diversity was found at the Pinkney Street site (15), followed by the Maynard-Burgess House (10) and finally the Fleet Street site (6).

However, these numbers are likely more indicative of the level of detail in the MVCs and the overall size of the assemblage, than of the actual differences in diversity of the assemblages (Table 10).

Table 10: Richness Table of the Different Vessel Forms

	Richness			
	James Holliday House (18AP116) Vessel Forms	**49 Pinkney Street (18AP119) Vessel Forms**	**Maynard-Burgess House (18AP64) Vessel Forms**	**40 Fleet Street (18AP110) Vessel Forms**
	12" Plate	12" Plate	Plate	9" Plate
	10" Plate	11" Plate	Twiffler	8" Plate
	9" Plate	10" Plate	Coffee Cup	Plate
	8" Plate	9" Plate	Cup	Cup
	7" Plate	8" Plate	Saucer	Tea Cup
	5" Plate	7" Plate	Deep Saucer	Shallow Bowl
	7" Bowl	Plate	Flatware	
	6" Bowl	Bowl	Hollowware	
	5" Bowl	Small Bowl	Ten-Sided Basin	
	4" Bowl	Cup	Egg Cup	
	Plate	Teaware		
	Bowl	Saucer		
	Large Bowl	Tableware		
	Shallow Bowl	Hollowware		
	Platter	Flatware		
	Butter Dish			
	Creamer			
	Cup			
	Tea Cup			
	Saucer			
	Tureen			
	Serving Dish			
	Tableware			
Richness	**23**	**15**	**10**	**6**

When one looks more closely at the richness tables, you notice that only the James Holliday assemblage and the Maynard-Burgess assemblage contained vessels with specialty functions – like soup tureens, creamers, butter dishes, ten-sided basins,

and egg cups. The Pinkney and Fleet Street assemblages were primarily made up of cups, plates, and bowls, all of which could have been used for multiple purposes. The presence of these specialty vessels can be seen as better indicators of increased vessel complexity than richness alone. If you take an increase in vessel complexity to be an indicator of conforming to Victorian dining ideals, then sites with more specialty vessels were conforming to Victorian dining etiquettes more closely than those without these vessels. Victorian dining etiquette dictated that a table must be set with a variety of dishes with specific functions, and that these dishes had to be used in a specific order and manner (Lavin 1888, Sangster 1897, 1904; Williams 1985; Leslie 1850; Tomes 1870, 1875). Owning these types of specialty dishes could suggest an attempt to conform to Victorian ideals. Moreover, demonstrating an ability to purchase and use a large number of different types of vessels may represent a display of wealth and therefore class. Although class is not exclusively based on wealth, it is definitely one of the factors that influences and reinforces class belonging. Class belonging is also demonstrated through behaviors, especially dining behaviors. Being able to set a dining table with dishes that serve very specific functions may indicate that within the African American community the ability to conform to certain dining etiquettes may have been part of creating class distinctions within the community. This was further supported by the percentages of teawares to tablewares.

Matching versus not-matching

One of the most noticeable aspects of dishes, and often the characteristic that is used to classify ceramics, is their decorative treatment. The decoration, or lack of decoration, was the most noticeable difference between assemblages examined in this

dissertation. Two of the assemblages from the Maynard-Burgess and James Holliday Houses in this study were brightly colored and clearly not part of any kind of matching set, despite the White societal norm of owning matching sets of dishes, while the other assemblages, from Fleet and Pinkney Streets, contained plain white dishes that, while still not from a matched set, would have looked very similar and matched when in use.

The large number of different vessel forms, and the presence of a large number of teawares seem to indicate an ability to conform to ideal Victorian societal rules of dining etiquette. However, the dishes from the James Holliday House did not come from matched sets. In fact, the dishes were very mismatched. Of the 358 unique white-bodied vessels recovered from the James Holliday House, 61% were decorated in some way. This means that from the James Holliday House, 218 unique vessels with colored decorations were recovered, none of which came from the same set or pattern. The remaining 39% were white, either undecorated or molded, dishes. In the decorated dishes, many different patterns and colors were present. Twenty-one percent of the decorated dishes had floral or neoclassical patterns on them including colored, hand-painted designs of flowers with vines and leaves, multi-colored decal floral designs, and single colored transfer-printed designs of leaves and flowers (Figure 24).

Figure 24: Selection of the decorated dishes from excavations at the James Holliday House (18AP116)
(Source: Kathryn Deeley)

Floral patterns were common in slave-made quilts, and are thought to have evoked images of Erzulie, the Vodun goddess of love (Fry 2002:7). These quilts were also characterized by a use of bold colors, and a preference for reds in the quilts (Fry 2002). The use of lots of bright colors was also seen in the production of Kente cloth, a symbol often associated with a distinctly African identity (Cunningham 2009; Austerlitz 2005; Thompson 1983). Red and white colors also had several important associations within African religions, including being associated with royalty and with Shàngó, the Yoruba thunder god (Thompson 1983; Fry 2002). Red flowers on a white dish could have invoked these same associations. Thus, the mismatching, brightly colored dishes on a table may be evidence of the translation of these same aesthetic preferences and an attempt to set the dinner table in a way that had a distinctive African aesthetic.

Minimally decorated dishes accounted for 24% of the vessels and included 40 unique shell-edged vessels. Most of these vessels had either blue or green glaze, but each one was different in terms of the molded design on the rim, the amount of colored glaze, and/or the shape of the rim molding. Shell-edged vessels accounted for 48% of the minimally decorated vessels (Table 11).

Table 11: Decorative Categories from the James Holliday House (18AP116)

Decorative Categories from 18AP116 – James Holliday House		
Decorative Category	**Number of Vessels**	**Percentage**
Asian Motifs	9	2.77
Floral/Neoclassical	65	20.0
Mocha/Annular	38	11.69
Sponge Decorated	2	0.62
Other/ Indeterminate	27	8.31
Minimally Decorated	80	24.62
Minimally Decorated, Molded	87	26.77
Undecorated	17	5.23
Total	**325**	**100.01**

The blue and green shell-edged pieces would have looked more similar to each other, but still came from different sets with at least seven different molded motifs present and the shades of blue and green found on each piece varied greatly from one vessel to another (Figure 25).

The Maynard-Burgess House assemblage was also mostly made up of decorated, but not matched, dishes. Of the 37 white-bodied dishes recovered from the cellar feature of the Maynard-Burgess House, 59%, or 22 vessels, were decorated in some way. The majority of these decorated wares were identified in the MVC as "decorated" but the specific decoration was not identified. The original MVC did not include a category for floral or neoclassical motifs or sponge decorated, and therefore a majority of these "decorated" wares would likely have fit into this category. However, because this was not clear, and the original ceramics could not be located, these ceramics were included here in a general "Decorated, Indeterminate" category. This does not affect the understanding of the overall aesthetic of the assemblage because they have been described in multiple publications (i.e. Mullins 1996, 1999a,b; Warner 1998; Mullins and Warner 1993). In these publications, the dishes are described as brightly colored and mismatched. The decorated wares that could be

identified included "Asian Motifs," "Mocha/Annular" and "Minimally Decorated." The category of "Minimally Decorated" included shell-edged dishes. This means that there was slightly fewer minimally decorated vessels from the Maynard-Burgess assemblage than the James Holliday House but that these dishes were an important part of both assemblages. The remaining dishes, 15 vessels, were either undecorated, or minimally decorated with molding (Table 12). This means that like the James Holliday House, the dishes at the Maynard-Burgess House were predominately decorated, mismatched dishes, and contained many different color treatments and therefore went against prescribed Victorian dining etiquettes, despite the presence of teawares and vessels with specialty functions.

Table 12: Decorative Categories from the Maynard-Burgess House (18AP64)

Decorative Categories from 18AP64 – Maynard-Burgess House		
Decorative Category	**Number of Vessels**	**Percentage**
Asian Motifs	4	10.81
Floral/Neoclassical	0	0
Mocha/Annular	3	8.11
Sponge Decorated	0	0
Other/ Indeterminate	1	2.7
Decorated, Indeterminate	8	21.62
Minimally Decorated	6	16.22
Minimally Decorated, Molded	6	16.22
Undecorated	9	24.32
Total	**37**	**99.98**

Unlike the Maynard-Burgess and the James Holliday houses, the dishes from 49 Pinkney Street presented a very different pattern, with a larger percentage of undecorated and plain-white wares and few decorated wares. The largest number of vessels in a single category was Undecorated dishes, accounting for 59 vessels, or

34% of the total number of vessels in the minimum vessel count (Figure 26). These two categories of dishes were plain white, with no other color on them and would have both looked very similar, if not exactly matching, on the dinner table. Forty-three percent, or 76 vessels, in the Pinkney Street assemblage were undecorated, or minimally decorated with just molding. Plain-white dishes, especially molded Ironstone dishes, were also among the most popular and fashionable dishes in the late 19th and early 20th century (Wetherbee 1996). Some scholars argue that these plain-white dishes appealed to consumers because they evoked images of purity and cleanliness that were an important part of the Cult of Domesticity (Wall 1991, 1991). The consumers at 49 Pinkney Street may also have been expressing this same preference, and following Nannie Helen Burroughs advice of emphasizing morality (Burroughs 1912). However, there were still decorated wares in this assemblage. Most of these had floral or neoclassical designs and accounted for 16% of the assemblage (Table 13). These were the same types of decorations seen in the James Holliday House assemblage, but there were fewer of them in this assemblage. This pattern was also seen at 40 Fleet Street. We know that the Pinkney Street House was a rented tenement home, with occupants who held jobs outside their homes, which suggested that they were not part of the same class as the Holliday and Maynard families, but were part of the same class as the families living on Fleet Street.

Table 13: Decorative Categories from 49 Pinkney Street (18AP119)

Decorative Categories from 18A119 – Pinkney Street		
Decorative Category	Number of Vessels	Percentage
Asian Motifs	9	5.14
Floral/Neoclassical	29	16.57
Mocha/Annular	8	4.57
Sponge Decorated	3	1.71
Other/ Indeterminate	4	2.29
Minimally Decorated	46	26.29
Minimally Decorated, Molded	17	9.71
Undecorated	59	33.71
Total	**175**	**99.99**

At the house on Fleet Street, over half of the dishes recovered were either

minimally decorated with molding or undecorated (Table 14). These plain-white

vessels, like the dishes found on Pinkney Street, would have looked much more like a

matching set than the dishes found at the Maynard-Burgess or James Holliday houses because they were predominately plain-white with minimal or no decoration (Figure 27). These dishes were more similar to the dishes that were broadly fashionable and popular in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. These plain-white dishes also more closely imitated the aesthetic described in etiquette books from the late 19th and early 20th centuries. There were some decorated dishes in the assemblage, but they were few in number (only six vessels) and most of these dishes had floral decorations.

Table 14: Decorative Categories from 40 Fleet Street (18AP110)

Decorative Categories from 18A110 – Fleet Street		
Decorative Category	**Number of Vessels**	**Percentage**
Asian Motifs	0	0
Floral/Neoclassical	4	12.9
Mocha/Annular	0	0
Sponge Decorated	0	0
Other/ Indeterminate	2	6.45
Minimally Decorated	8	25.81
Minimally Decorated, Molded	8	25.81
Undecorated	9	29.03
Total	**31**	**100**

Figure 27: Examples of the plain-white dishes recovered from excavations at 40 Fleet Street (18AP110) (Source: Jocelyn Knauf, Archaeology in Annapolis)

The same types of decorative techniques were found at all four sites examined in this dissertation. This included undecorated dishes with only molded panels, shell-edged dishes and dishes with floral and neoclassical designs. However, there were two distinct patterns in the percentages of each type of decoration in the assemblage. The dishes from the James Holliday and the Maynard-Burgess houses had lots of decorative patterns present – and lots of colors represented – and these types of dishes dominated the minimum vessel counts. The dishes from 40 Fleet and 49 Pinkney Streets were predominately dishes without colorful decorations. These dishes were generally undecorated or only decorated with molding or molded panels. While none of the dishes examined in this dissertation came from a matching set of dishes, the plain-white ones would have looked more like a matching set.

Conclusions

The notion of using matching vs. non-matching dishes is not as simple as saying that the dishes didn't match therefore one group of people was not as good at conforming to Victorian etiquettes while another group was better able to approximate White dining ideals. This is because each group seems to accept some of the Victorian dining etiquettes while rejecting others in an etiquette that was designed to be used all together to set a table.

The presence of a distinctive preference for multi-colored and decorated dishes on the dining table within the African American community suggests that there were different dining etiquettes within this community. Mullins (1999) and Warner (1998) have both noted this pattern in their prior studies. However, they don't fully explore the fact that this aesthetic preference did not include the entire African American community in Annapolis.

In order to add complexity to our understanding of the African American experience in Annapolis, we need to explore the diversity within the African American community. By examining the two distinct patterns seen in the dishes used and discarded by different groups within the African American community of Annapolis, we gain a better understanding of the diversity within clusters of African American households in the city. Two households showed a preference for decorated, brightly colored, non-matching dishes, while the other two households showed a preference for plain-white dishes. These patterns represent two different tastes, and therefore two different classes within the African American community, an "inclusionist" class and an "autonomist" class. By looking not only at the existence of patterns and connected them to different classes, but also at the potential sources of

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the patterns and aligning them with literature and thought from the late 19th and early 20th centuries, I am able to demonstrate how the strategies promoted by prominent African American thinkers were translated into different tastes and actualized in everyday life.

Chapter 7: Demonstrating Class through Glass, Buttons, and Occupation

The glass found in the privies at three of the four sites examined in this dissertation, and the buttons found at all four sites also suggest the presence of at least two different class groups within the African American community in Annapolis in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Examining the historical records for lists of household occupations also demonstrated the presence of at least two groups within this community. These items also showed that the group boundaries between the inclusionist and autonomist classes were reinforced by the purchase of different commodities.

Glass

Glass, like ceramics, is a common subject of study, especially for historical archaeologists (e.g. Jones 1993; Busch 1987; Linn 2010; Staski 1984; Lorrain 1968; White 1978). Glass tends to be more difficult to use in secondary analysis than ceramic artifacts because the glass shards are less distinctive and are often found in smaller pieces (Larsen 1994:70). However, when large pieces and numbers of glass are recovered, they can provide archaeologists with information about the people who used them in the past. Glass can be classified many different ways, including by color, form, how it was made, and what was contained in the glass (White 1978; Lorrain 1968). Bottles made of glass, in particular, are a popular topic of study in archaeology and are used to study patterns of alcohol consumption, social stratification, ethnicity, and medical practices. Bottles are also used to date archaeological sites (e.g. Staski 1984; Bonasera and Raymer 2001; Busch 1987; Linn

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2010; Larsen 1994). Glass bottles can serve many functions, containing fluids that range from water to alcohol. Alcohol bottles include beer, wine and hard liquor bottles (Staski 1984). Glass is also used to make soda and mineral water bottles, which generally are carbonated water with minerals or flavors added (Linn 2010:69; Riley 1958). Sometimes these waters also have high alcohol contents and are examined in addition to the explicitly alcohol-related bottles. Glass bottles are frequently used to examine levels of alcohol consumption within and between groups (Staski 1984; Reckner and Brighton 1999). Archaeologists also examine glass to understand medical practices and treatments, and health, sanitation, and standards of cleanliness of the past (Bonasera and Raymer 2001). Studying the kinds of goods people used that were sold in glass bottles can also provide archaeologists with information about wealth, taste, and personal habits (Busch 1987). Glass bottles are also used to look at patterns associated with ethnicity and/or race (e.g. Mullins 1999b; Linn 2010; Staski 1984).

Most of the work that has been done on privies has been in an urban context and generally used to discuss topics of sanitation, cleanliness, class, and ethnicity (Wheeler 2000:1; Stottman 2000). Artifacts discarded into privies tend to be less damaged by compaction forces after deposition and as a result, are recovered by archaeologists in conditions that more closely resemble their form during use. For glass in particular, this means that bottles found in a privy are more likely to be whole, or nearly whole, and more easily identifiable. This makes minimum vessel counts much easier to conduct for glass in these features.

Of the four sites examined in this dissertation, three of them had barrel

privies: the James Holiday House, the Maynard-Burgess House, and 40 Fleet Street

(Figure 28). Privies are an excellent source for well-preserved artifacts, including

glass, ceramics, and animal bones, as the sites' residents frequently used them as a

trash can or dumping ground (Geismar 1993:66, 68).

Figure 28: Barrel Privies from 40 Fleet Street (18AP110) (above) and the James Holliday House (18AP116) (below)
(Source: Jocelyn Knauf, Archaeology in Annapolis (above); Kathryn Deeley, Archaeology in Annapolis (below)

Minimum vessel counts were conducted for the glass recovered from the three

privy features. Like the minimum vessel counts done on the ceramics, the aim of this

analysis was to determine the smallest number of vessels that could account for all the

glass recovered from each archaeological feature. As with the ceramics, the number

of vessels calculated from the glass minimum vessel count was a conservative

estimate. Reassembling the glass helped ensure that the same bottle was not counted twice and also made it easier to identify the bottles, their sources, and their contents.

For the minimum vessel count, the bottles were sorted and identified by color, size, and form. Any legible marks were catalogued and used to help identify how the bottle was used and what it contained. All three glass minimum vessel counts were done in the Archaeology in Annapolis Laboratory. The glass from the Maynard-Burgess House (18AP64) was analyzed by Mark Warner and Paul Mullins and recorded in Paul Mullins's dissertation (Mullins 1996). Jocelyn Knauf conducted the glass minimum vessel count for 40 Fleet Street (18AP110) and I completed the glass minimum vessel count for the James Holliday House (18AP116) (See Appendix C for complete Glass Minimum Vessel Count Tables). For the minimum vessel counts, the glass was classified into the following categories: Food, Personal, Preserving Jar, Whiskey/Liquor, Wine/Champagne, Tablewares, Drinking Glass, Lighting, Unknown, Other, Pharmaceutical, Tumbler, and Shot Glass (See Appendix C for Complete Glass MVCs).

James Holliday House (18AP116)

The glass recovered from the privy at the James Holliday House constituted 27 unique vessels (Table 15). The largest category of glass recovered from the privy was "Food." Of the 8 vessels classified as "food" vessels, 6 of them were embossed with some portion or all of the word "Rumford" (Figure 29). Rumford was most well known for their production of baking powder, which became widely available and popular after the Civil War. Baking powder was a substitute for yeast and could be used to make bread, pies, and other raised baked goods. The Rumford Chemical

Works also produced Horsford's Acid Phosphate, which was advertised as a cure for "dyspepsia, indigestion, headache, mental and physical exhaustion, nervousness, hysteria, and night sweats of consumption," among other things (Rumford Chemical Works 1870). According to the advertisement, Horsford's Acid Phosphate "makes a delicious drink with water and sugar only." This Rumford Chemical Works product was sold with a paper label, which did not preserve in the privy, in addition to being embossed with the company name. Therefore, it is possible that these six bottles were baking powder bottles, but it seems more probable that these Rumford bottles were used for self-medication rather than baking. However, they are still labeled as "food" to maintain consistency with the minimum vessel count from the Maynard-Burgess House.

Mineral and soda water bottles were used in the 19th century for medical purposes, as a substitute for alcohol, or as a cure for overindulgence (Yamin 2001:161; Linn 2010:82-3). The other pharmaceutical bottle found in the backyard privy of the James Holliday House was a small Essence of Peppermint bottle (Figure 30). Peppermint had several uses, including flavoring foods, making candies, and curing ailments (Jones 1981:26; Bonasera and Raymer 2001:58). In medicine, essence of peppermint was used for nausea and to relieve stomach and bowel pain, headaches, toothaches, rheumatic conditions, and sea-sickness (Jones 1981:5, 7). This particular bottle of peppermint came from the deepest levels of the privy that were excavated, and dates to the mid-19th century at the latest. Since it appears that the privy was installed around the time that James Holliday purchased in the house in 1850, this peppermint bottle indicates that there was a pattern of self-treating ailments

from the beginning of the Holliday family occupation of the site. Self-medicating and non-traditional medicines continued to be prevalent within the extended Holliday family up to the 21st century (conversations with Dolores Levister, June 2010-2011)(Figure 31).

Figure 29: "Rumford" Bottles from the James Holliday House (18AP116) Privy (Source: Kathryn Deeley)

Figure 30: Essence of Peppermint Bottle from the James Holliday House (18AP116) (Source: Kathryn Deeley)

Figure 31: Self-Help Books (left) and Exercise Equipment (right) found inside the James Holliday House (18AP116) (Source: Dee Levister, photographs take by Kathryn Deeley)

The other medicinal bottle found in the privy was a large, unmarked patent medicine bottle. The size and shape of the bottle suggest that it contained some kind of mineral water. However, without the paper label that would have accompanied the bottle, it is difficult to say exactly what the bottle would have contained. Using a combination of water and herbs as part of home remedies was common in African American communities, as part of traditions that descended from West African ideas of the symbolic power of water and herbs associated with various African deities (Deeley, Woehlke and Leone In Press; Mullins 1999a:51).

All three of the "Personal" glass vessels appear to have come from ointment jars of varying sizes, colors, and completeness. One of these ointment jars was complete, with a black, sticky residue still contained within the jar. These jars likely contained lotions and/or creams that could have been used as cosmetics. A nearly complete picnic flask was also recovered from the privy, dating to the late 19th or early 20th century (Figure 32).

Figure 32: Picnic Flask from the James Holliday House (18AP116) Barrel Privy (Source: Kathryn Deeley)

This was the only bottle found that is specifically associated with alcohol, although a portion of the top of a decanter was also recovered. A partially complete mason jar with a Maltese cross in the center was also found. This was the only evidence of canning or home food preparation discovered among the glass vessels in the privy. This follows the trend in Annapolis of little to no evidence of the residents preserving fruits and vegetables, even though this was a popular practice throughout the Unites States in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Mullins 1999b:33). Almost all of the bottles found in the privy that were identifiable were bottles containing brand-name products that were mass-produced and mass-marketed throughout the United States in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Table 15: Categories of Glass from the James Holliday House Privy (18AP116)

James Holliday House (18AP116) Privy Glass Minimum Vessel Count		
Vessel Type	**Count**	**Percentage**
Pharmaceutical/Medicine	2	7.41
Food	8	29.63
Lighting	2	7.41
Personal	3	11.11
Preserving Jar	1	3.70
Unknown	7	25.93
Unknown Table	2	7.41
Whiskey/Liquor	1	3.70
Wine/Champagne	1	3.70
Total	**27**	**100.00**

The Maynard-Burgess House (18AP64)

The glass assemblage from the Maynard-Burgess House was very similar to that found in the privy at the James Holliday House. The largest category of glass found at this site was "Pharmaceutical" bottles (Table 16). I believe this category is misleading, however, because most of the bottles in this category were mass-produced soda/mineral water bottles and not bottles used by doctors for prescription medicines. Four of these bottles were unmarked, but the remaining vessels could be identified as mass-produced bottles from all across the United States. The bottles included one from E.A. Ricker, a soft drink company in Florida; one from Parke Davis and Company, a Detroit based drug company; one from Reed & Carnrick, a New York based bottler that sold various Maltine Elixirs advertised as medicines; and one from Wyeth & Bro, a Philadelphia based company that made medicinal fluid extracts (American Bottler 1912:63; Hoefle and Davis 2000:30; Griffenhagen and Bogard 1999:88; Wyeth 1892). All of these bottles appeared to have contained liquids that would have been used for self-medication. The one identifiable food bottle came

from a Rumford bottle, like the numerous Rumford bottles found at the James

Holliday house. There were also two vessels identified as "Shot Glasses" found in

this privy. These two glass items may have been used as "dose glasses," used to

measure medicines. This could also indicate self-medication at this site. The other

bottles recovered from the site also reflected this preference for brand-name bottles,

and no embossments from local bottlers were found among the bottles from the

Maynard-Burgess House (Mullins 1996, 1999b). The Maynard-Burgess House glass,

like that found at the James Holliday House, showed a preference for national brand-

name products and using store-bought medicines for treating ailments.

Table 16: Categories of Glass from the Maynard-Burgess House Privy (18AP64)

Maynard-Burgess House (18AP64) Privy Glass Minimum Vessel Count		
Vessel Type	**Count**	**Percentage**
Pharmaceutical	9	39.13
Food	3	13.04
Whiskey/Liquor	2	8.70
Fresh Beverage	2	8.70
Unknown	2	8.70
Tumbler	3	13.04
Shot Glass	2	8.70
Total	**23**	**100.00**

Overall the collections from the two privies at the James Holliday and

Maynard-Burgess houses were fairly similar, in terms of size and composition. This

indicates that the families living at these two properties were obtaining their goods

from similar sources, and that these sources were providing them with access to

brand-name, nationally-marketed goods sold in glass bottles. The use of national

brand products has been identified as a way for African Americans in Annapolis to

circumvent racist White storeowners in the city (Mullins 1999b). Despite the

misleading labels of "Food" and "Pharmaceutical" at the James Holliday House and Maynard-Burgess House, respectively, the majority of bottles from both sites contained soda or mineral waters. Both of these types of bottles were commonly used as ways to treat ailments without seeing a doctor. The lack of medicinal bottles prescribed by doctors also supports this conclusion. This appears to have been another tactic used to avoid the racism of dominant White culture.

40 Fleet Street

Of the rented properties on Fleet and Pinkney streets, a privy was only found at 40 Fleet Street. The glass recovered from the privy from 40 Fleet Street was very different from the assemblages at the James Holliday and Maynard-Burgess houses. There were more total vessels recovered from this privy than from either of the other properties (Table 17). The largest categories of glass recovered from the privy were Alcohol Bottles (9) and Drinking Glass (10). There were considerably more vessels associated with alcohol recovered from the privy at 40 Fleet Street than at either the James Holliday or the Maynard-Burgess houses. These vessels included wine, alcohol, and beer bottles, as well as two flasks. One of the flasks was a picnic flask, similar to the one found in the Holliday House privy, and the other was a bottle marked "Warranted Flask" (Knauf 2010:94). This seems to indicate that there was more alcohol consumed at this site than at the other two houses. However, it is also possible that the Maynards and Hollidays were consuming alcohol in less overt ways, such as through the soda waters. This would seem to suggest the adoption of middle-class values in favor of abstinence, a part of the Victorian ideals of respectability (Reckner and Brighton 1999:67).

Of the nine vessels whose contents, manufacture dates, and origins could be determined because of embossing on the bottles, four of them were made in Baltimore and two were manufactured in Annapolis (Knauf 2010:94) (Figure 33). Although there were more locally purchased glass products, there were still brand-name, nationally-marketed goods in glass bottles found in the assemblage. Three bottles were identified as goods manufactured throughout the United States (Knauf 2010:94). The presence of the locally produced goods may indicate a pattern of resorting to the use of these local brands when the national brands were not available, either because of the market options or due to financial considerations.

Figure 33: Bottles from the Barrel Privy at 40 Fleet Street (18AP110) labeled "J.B. Coolahan, Annapolis, MD" (right) and "M.B. Coolahan, Annapolis, MD" (left)
(Source: Kathryn Deeley)

Conversely, it could also represent a preference for patronizing local businesses, demonstrating an ability to be successful within the existing structures, and resorting to national brands only when they couldn't obtain the desired goods locally. The

national-brand bottles found at the site included a Vaseline bottle from Chesebrough, New York, and Professor Low's Worm Syrup, from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (Knauf 2010:94-95). Professor Low's Worm Syrup was one of several types of medicines that were sold by traveling salesmen and advertised to help get rid of worms (Stoddard 1879:90; Ober 2003:63). The Worm Syrup bottle was one of three medicinal bottles recovered from the privy at 40 Fleet Street.

There was also significantly more table glass recovered from 40 Fleet Street than from the James Holliday or the Maynard-Burgess houses. This included several drinking vessels, a candy dish, three serving bowls of varying sizes, a tumbler, and a stemmed glass (Figure 34). Most of this glass was pressed glass, with a diamond pattern, which did not come from a matching set. But like the ceramics from this site, these glasses together would have resembled a matched set on the table (Knauf 2010:95). American Victorian forms of eating in the late 19th and early 20th centuries encouraged the inclusion of specialized glass serving pieces in table settings (Brighton 2011:44). The presence of the table glass at 40 Fleet Street indicates that these families were more closely imitating this style of dining etiquette.

Figure 34: Table Glass Recovered from the 40 Fleet Street (18AP110) Barrel Privy
(Source: Kathryn Deeley)

The assemblage from the privy of 40 Fleet Street was twice as large as either

the assemblage from the James Holliday or Maynard-Burgess house. This could

indicate that the residents of 40 Fleet Street used twice as much glass as the residents

of the other two sites. However, it is also possible that the larger quantity of glass was

a result of more than one residence using this privy. The location of the privy in the

backyard of 40 Fleet Street – and the fact that the fence that currently separates 40

Fleet Street from 49 Pinkney likely did not exist in the late 19th and early 20th

centuries – suggests that this privy might have been shared by multiple houses. This

increased use could account for the larger number of glass vessels in this privy. The

large amount of glass seen both in the MVC for 40 Fleet Street, and the general

assemblage from 49 Pinkney Street could also be an indication that junking was

occurring in these two backyards (Deeley 2011:48). Junking involves collecting

recyclable materials, such as glass and metal, that can be sold for a small profit (Little and Kassner 2002:62).

Table 17: Categories of Glass from the 40 Fleet Street Privy (18AP110)

Glass Minimum Vessel Count from 40 Fleet Street Feature 14 Privy Deposit		
Vessel Type	**Count**	**Percentage**
Pharmaceutical/Medicine	5	8.93
Food	4	7.14
Lighting	3	5.36
Personal	3	5.36
Preserving Jar	2	3.57
Unknown	1	1.79
Other Household Bottles	1	1.79
Whiskey/Liquor	13	23.21
Wine/Champagne	5	8.93
Decorative Table Wares	7	12.50
Drinking Glass	12	21.43
Total	**56**	**100.00**

The larger overall collection of bottles found at 40 Fleet Street could also account for the presence of more locally-produced bottles and more table glass than was found in either of the other two privies examined in this study. It is also possible that it is indicative of a preference for drinking glass and local brands among the residents of Pinkney and Fleet streets. The Maynard and Holliday families showed a preference for name brand bottled goods, while the families living at 40 Fleet Street preferred locally bottled products. There was also a higher number of alcohol related bottles found in the privy at 40 Fleet Street than in either of other two privies. The quantity of alcohol bottles may suggest that self-medicating took two different forms: (1) drinking alcohol and (2) drinking brand-name remedies sold as "cure-alls" or home remedies. However, it is also possible that the bottles from the James Holliday and the Maynard-Burgess houses were coming from different sources than those

found in the privy at 40 Fleet Street. It might have been more important to the Maynards and Hollidays to purchase brand name bottles and avoid the local merchants in Annapolis. The glass assemblage, like the ceramics, indicates that there was a different method of procurement or a different taste involved in the acquisition of glass bottles and tablewares at the sites owned by the occupants versus those that were rented.

These differences in preference of glass bottle types and sources further indicate how class difference was reflected in material culture choices. Some of these choices were tied to decisions about how tables should be set, such as the choice to include more glass tablewares as seen in the glass recovered from the 40 Fleet Street privy. These clear table glasses, combined with plain-white ceramic dishes, created a table that promoted the ideas of cleanliness and morality, two traits advocated by Nannie Helen Burroughs (Burroughs 1921). Other choices, such as the choice for national brands over locally bottled goods, followed W.E.B. Du Bois's strategy for creating and supporting African American businesses and communities, separate from dominant White society (Du Bois 2003[1896]). If the goods required could not be acquired from local African American markets, then buying national brands would presumably be better than buying from the racist White markets of Annapolis. Buying local goods indicates an attempt to demonstrate an ability to be successful within the White markets and structures, like Booker T. Washington and Nannie Helen Burroughs encouraged (Washington 1900[1899]; Burroughs 1921).

Buttons

On historic archaeological sites, buttons are the most common type of artifact associated with personal adornment and dress. In fact, they are often the only part of clothing that survives in the archaeological record (Prown 1982:4). They are found in abundance and in numerous different sizes, shapes, materials, and designs. Most of the archaeological consideration of the study of buttons has been in the context of colonial dress and personal adornment and looks at buttons in the 17th and 18th centuries (e.g. White 2005; Loren 2010; Deagan 2002). In the Colonial Period, buttons were primarily used only by elites as fasteners as the majority of clothing was fastened with laces, ties, belts, or hooks (Deagan 2002:158).

Sewing, and therefore the artifacts associated with sewing, is almost always associated with women in archaeology (Beaudry 2006:2, 8; Beaudry and Mrozowski 2001:123; Karskens 2003). This is likely because women were responsible for buying and/or making clothing for their families, in addition to keeping the items clean and presentable (Stamper and Condra 2011:155).

Buttons and hooks-and-eyes were the primary form of clothing fasteners used until after World War II (Lindbergh 1999:51). By the 19th century, many items of clothing and personal adornment, including buttons, were being mass-produced and marketed to a wider range of social classes (Loren 2010:91; Peacock 1978:7). This makes buttons more common on archaeological sites from the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Buttons were used both as clothing fasteners and as embellishments on garments (Deagan 2002:157; Peacock 1978:8). In women's clothes, in particular, this remained the case until the middle of the 19th century. However, women's undergarments – including petticoats, chemises, drawers, and corsets – were usually

fastened with laces and ties (Wass and Fandrich 2010:303-4). Although buttons were common on most domestic historic-period sites, they were more numerous on sites associated with laundering and dressmaking (Mullins 199b; Purser 1992; Karskens 2003:43; Jordan 2005).

The abundance buttons found at the Maynard-Burgess and James Holliday Houses, combined with the census data, indicate that there were activities involving large amounts of clothing items taking place at these two sites. However, the types of buttons that were found at each site were different. A large number of brass and glass buttons were found at the Maynard-Burgess House, while the James Holliday house assemblage contained a greater quantity of porcelain buttons. This is reflective of the fact there were different types of clothing activities happening at these two sites: laundering and dressmaking.

Large brass buttons were most commonly found on coats, particularly men's coats and military coats (White 2005:58; Deagan 2008:158; Peacock 1978:12; Loren 2010:50). A single man's coat could have over 15 buttons on it, either single- or double-breasted with one or two rows of buttons, respectively (Stamper and Condra 2011:329). These jacket buttons tended to be decorative, rather than functional (Wass and Fandrich 2010:133). They were generally large, and made of white or yellow metals (White 2005:58-9). Copper and copper-alloy buttons were particularly fashionable on men's coats in the 19th century (White 2005:64-5). By the late 19th century, large brass buttons on men's coats started to be replaced by smaller sized buttons, sometimes made with steel. After the 1860s, brass became more common on ladies and children's clothing as well (Hughes and Lester 19991:179, 217).

Bone and shell buttons were functionally interchangeable and served a variety

purposes, used on dresses, waistcoats, and shirts (especially men's shirts), and

undergarments (Beaudry and Mrozowski 2001:127; Lindbergh 1999:51; White

2005:69). Bone buttons were generally made from the large shin bones of cattle,

which was a material that was available for buttons when nothing else was available,

typically making them inexpensive (Hughes and Lester 1991:8; White 2005:69;

Peacock 1978:56). Smaller bone buttons tended to be used on underclothing and

larger bone buttons on trousers and waistshirts (Lindbergh 1999:52). Bone was also

used as a base for veneer of pearl and shell in the mid- to late 19th century (Hughes

and Lester 1991:8).

Shell buttons were very expensive and fashionable during the 18th century,

but became increasingly more affordable in the 19th century as new sources of raw

materials were found in the United States (White 2005:71). Shell buttons were made

from a variety of different mollusk shells, and were often referred to as "pearl" or

"mother-of-pearl" buttons (Peacock 1978:62).

Decorative buttons were usually made of either porcelain or glass. In their

earliest production, glass buttons were made in conjunction with other materials.

However, by the 19th century, they were produced alone with only a metal shank

(Peacock 1978:23). Decorative glass buttons were particularly popular for use on

men's waistcoats (Peacock 1978:30). Porcelain buttons were more commonly found

as decoration on women's clothing. By the mid-19th century, the more durable and

attractive porcelain buttons began to replace bone and shell buttons as the ceramic

buttons became more widely available and cheaper (Beaudry and Mrozowski

2001:127; Torley 1962:173; Sprague 2002). Porcelain buttons, also known as prosser buttons, calicoes, or "small chinas," were generally used undecorated or with piecrust edging, and were often slightly larger than their bone and shell counterparts (Beaudry 2001:127; Lindbergh 1999:52; Hughes and Lester 1991:31; Sprague 2002). When the buttons were decorated, it was usually with transfer-printed designs, particularly checkered patterns (Peacock 1978:54). By the 1860s, most women's dresses were closed with buttons or hooks-and-eyes down the front. Sometimes the two were used together, with the hooks-and-eyes used to take the strain off the closure and reduce the likelihood of a buttonhole ripping from wear, and the buttons used as decorative accents. These hooks-and-eyes were usually made from brass and were used as hidden closures (Stamper and Condra 2011:95). Buttons on the front of women's bodices tended to be close together and made of decorative materials (Stamper and Condra 2011:95). Small, white ceramic buttons were also used as men's waistcoats fasteners and on ladies' waistshirts (Lindbergh 1999:52; Peacock 1978:54). Mother-of-pearl buttons were also popular decoration for the front of dresses in the 19th and early 20th centuries (Wardrop 2009:30).

Dresses made up the bulk of women's wardrobes in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Although men's clothes started to be mass produced and marketed in the mid-19th century, women's clothing continued to be custom made for individual women, either by the wearer herself, a member of her family, or by a professional dressmaker (Stamper and Condra 2011:256; Wass and Fandrich 2010:322, 340). The production of women's ready-to-wear clothing did not begin to develop as a

commercial industry until the end of the 19th century (Stamper and Condra 2011:145).

When a dressmaker was commissioned to make a dress, the customer would go to the dressmaker, they would agree on a pattern for the sleeves, bodice, and skirt, and the dressmaker would cut out the pieces of the dress. The dressmaker would help the customer select the fabrics, trims, and embellishments for the dress, including buttons and fasteners, in addition to cutting and basting the dress (Stamper and Condra 2011:146, 275). Frequently the customer would then take the pieces and sew them together herself, but other times, she would have the dressmaker assemble the pieces for her (Wass and Fandrich 2010:322, 324; Wardrop 2009:47; Stamper and Condra 2011:36, 145). In either situation, the dressmaker would have needed access to these items, including the buttons and fasteners, and therefore archaeologists can expect to find these items in places where dressmakers worked.

Dressmakers either worked in urban shops or traveled to the families who needed their services. Large cities had well-established dressmaking industries, mostly owned and operated by women, with dressmakers working out of their homes or going to the homes of their clients (Stamper and Condra 2011:145; Rothschild and Wall 2014:92; Clark-Lewis 1994:82). At a dressmaker's home, you would expect to find the types of buttons used on dresses, and under garments, including porcelain, shell, and bone buttons. You would also expect to find greater quantities of hooks-and-eyes at a site where dresses were being produced. Women's garments in particular were closed with hooks-and-eyes, rather than buttons (White 2005:74). These are the types of buttons and fasteners found at the James Holliday House.

The James Holliday House (18AP116)

At the James Holliday House, the large number of porcelain buttons is consistent with the production of dresses (Table 18). The majority of buttons from the James Holliday house were found in the basement of the house, suggesting that the dressmaking business of the Holliday family women was operated from this space, which was also used as the kitchen (Deeley 2013) (Figure 35). In the basement of the James Holliday House, over 11 brass hook-and-eye clothing fasteners were recovered. Of the almost two hundred buttons recovered from the James Holliday house, only four of them were military buttons, although many of the men in the Holliday family worked for the U.S. Navy.

Figure 35: Northern side of the basement of the James Holliday House (18AP116)
(Source: Kathryn Deeley)

The largest categories of buttons found at the James Holliday House were shell and porcelain buttons. These buttons were generally smaller and were more commonly associated with shirts and dresses, both of which would have likely been

made by a dressmaker. There was also an abundance of bone buttons, which would have been used in making undergarments (Figure 36).

Figure 36: Selection of buttons recovered from the basement of the James Holliday House (18AP116)
(Source: Kathryn Deeley)

The vast majority of these buttons came from the units excavated in the basement of the house. These, along with the straight pins, thimbles, knitting needles, and awl that were also found in the basement suggest that it was the location of an in-home dressmaking business run by the women of the extended Holliday family. The basement of the house was also where the majority of the toys and other artifacts associated with children and child rearing were found (Figure 37). The presence of toys has been interpreted as an investment in children and their general education, the type of education W.E.B. Du Bois promoted (Yamin 2002; Du Bois 2003[1896]). The basement of the James Holliday House was also the kitchen during the 19th and 20th centuries (Deeley 2013). This indicates that this space was used as a place where the women of the Holliday family could combine their responsibilities as wives and mother with their moneymaking endeavors, contributing to the family income through dressmaking.

Figure 37: Lead Soldier (left) and Ivory Domino (right) found in the basement of the James Holliday House (18AP116)
(Source: Kathryn Deeley)

Table 18: Buttons Recovered from the James Holliday House (18AP116)

James Holliday House (18AP116) Buttons		
Type	Count	Percentage
Glass	7	3.66
Brass	15	7.85
Shell	77	40.31
Bone	20	10.47
Iron	7	3.66
Lead	1	0.52
Porcelain	24	12.57
Synthetic	15	7.85
Wood	11	5.76
Copper	14	7.33
Total	**191**	**100**

The Maynard-Burgess House (18AP64)

At the Maynard-Burgess House, if there were laundering activities going on, you would expect to find the buttons associated with the types of clothing that one would have sent to be laundered. This includes undergarments, and therefore shell and bone buttons, and clothing associated with single men, who presumably weren't

washing their own clothes. This was especially true of men employed in occupations that involved a uniform, such as the military. This would account for the large quantity of brass and glass buttons found at the site, which were commonly used on men's jackets (White 2005:58).

The Maynard-Burgess House had a very large assemblage of buttons, the majority of which were glass and brass buttons, both of which were generally used on jackets (Mullins and Warner 1993:Appendix V) (Table 19) (Figure 38). There was an abundance of brass buttons recovered from the Maynard-Burgess house and 14 of them were military or uniform buttons. This was the most military buttons recovered from any of the sites examined in this dissertation, and likely corresponds with the men who were boarding at the house and who worked in uniform at industries throughout the city. The number of residents of the house alone could not account for this quantity of buttons, so it is possible that in addition to operating a boarding house, the women of the Maynard-Burgess House were also taking in laundry, although Maria Maynard is the only one listed in the census as a washerwoman (1860 Census "Annapolis District" p. 28; Mullins 1999b).

Figure 38: Brass Buttons from the Maynard-Burgess House (18AP64)
(Source: Kathryn Deeley)

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A laundering business could certainly account for the great quantity of buttons found at the Maynard-Burgess House. An abundance of buttons is more easily explained by washing than by other clothing-related activities, such as mending or dressmaking (Lampard 2009:54). Doing laundry in the 19th and 20th centuries was an involved process with many different steps, lots of specialized equipment, and a substantial time investment. Although many families took this task upon themselves, sometimes the task was hired out, especially to African American women who were looking for a way to supplement the family income (Wass and Fandrich 2010:272). There were many opportunities for buttons to be lost in the different steps of the laundering process, including pre-soaking, scrubbing, rinsing, hanging and ironing.

Excavations of spaces used specifically as laundries have revealed large numbers of buttons and fasteners, but also materials specific to laundering, such as bluing, irons, and starch (Rothschild and Wall 2014:124). The lack of these specific laundering tools at the Maynard-Burgess House suggests that laundry was not the only activity happening in the yard of the house and that it was not an extensive operation. The laundry done at the Maynard-Burgess house was likely a side business, possibly as part of the house's boarding operation, rather than a full time, independent business. "Boarding," as opposed to "lodging" or "rooming," involved more services than simply providing a place to sleep (Rothschild and Wall 2014:97). The volume and variety of buttons suggest that some type of laundering or mending took place at the Maynard-Burgess house. These activities would have been acceptable ways that a middle class woman, either single or widowed, could

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supplement her income (Rothschild and Wall 2014:97). At least 11 brass hooks-and-eyes were also found at the Maynard-Burgess House, which indicates that if laundering was taking place, it was not exclusively men's clothing because hooks-and-eyes were much more common on women's clothing.

Table 19: Buttons Recovered from the Maynard-Burgess House (18AP64)

Maynard-Burgess House (18AP64) Buttons		
Type	**Count**	**Percentage**
Glass	115	28.12
Brass	90	22.00
Shell	79	19.32
Bone	52	12.71
Iron	14	3.42
Lead	11	2.69
Porcelain	10	2.44
Synthetic	14	3.42
Wood	9	2.20
Copper	5	1.22
Horn	2	0.49
Other Metal	3	0.73
Mixed Materials	5	1.22
Total	**409**	**100.00**

40 Fleet Street (18AP110) and 49 Pinkney Street (18AP119)

The large numbers of buttons found at the James Holliday and Maynard-Burgess houses correspond with women working inside the home at both sites. This is contrasted with the considerably smaller number of buttons found at 49 Pinkney Street and at 40 Fleet Street, where all of the adults, in particular the adult women, were employed outside the home (Table 20, Table 21).

Three of the women of Pinkney and Fleet streets were employed as laundresses or washwomen, working from home. However, the quantity of buttons

recovered from these sites and the lack of specialized laundering tools suggest that either the laundering wasn't taking place on site, or that it was a very small-scale operation. The majority of the recovered buttons were glass, porcelain, and bone, but there was not nearly as many of any kind as was found at the James Holliday or Maynard-Burgess houses.

Table 20: Buttons Recovered from 49 Pinkney Street (18AP119)

49 Pinkney Street (18AP119) Buttons		
Type	**Count**	**Percentage**
Glass	17	26.15
Brass	6	9.23
Shell	2	3.08
Bone	11	16.92
Iron	2	3.08
Porcelain	17	26.15
Synthetic	4	6.15
Wood	1	1.54
Copper	5	7.69
Total	**65**	**100**

Table 21: Buttons Recovered from the 40 Fleet Street (18AP110)

40 Fleet Street (18AP110) Buttons		
Type	**Count**	**Percentage**
Glass	16	51.61
Brass	3	9.68
Shell	1	3.23
Bone	4	12.90
Iron	2	6.45
Lead	0	0.00
Porcelain	1	3.23
Synthetic	2	6.45
Wood	1	3.23
Copper	1	3.23
Total	**31**	**100**

Although accidental loss could account for some buttons (Connah 2009:90), the number of people living at each site was roughly the same during the late 19th and

early 20th centuries with possibly more people living at 40 Fleet and 49 Pinkney streets. If the buttons at these four sites were discarded through loss alone, there should have been slightly more buttons from Fleet and Pinkney streets, and you would not expect to find nearly double number of the buttons at the Maynard-Burgess and James Holliday houses. This suggests that the lack of buttons at 49 Pinkney Street and 40 Fleet street can be accounted for by the fact that the women at the two rented properties did the majority of their work outside the home.

The abundance of buttons at the James Holliday and the Maynard-Burgess houses combined with the relative lack of buttons at 40 Fleet Street and 49 Pinkney Street indicates that the women who lived as these homes were employed in different occupations. This is likely due to the different financial needs of the households and the types of activities deemed acceptable for women in different classes within the African American community. The written records of the household composition and occupations of the members of these households reinforce this theory.

Occupations

In addition to the differences in the types of glass bottles, the presences or relative absences of buttons found archaeologically at the four sites examined in this dissertation, there was also a difference in the occupations of the properties' residents . The types of occupations, the industries of which these occupations were a part, the number of individuals working in the household, and the location of these jobs inside or outside the house all indicate the presence of at least two classes within the African American community in Annapolis between 1850 and 1930 (Table 22).

Table 22: Residents' Occupations from the U.S. Census Records of Annapolis

Census Year	James Holliday House	Maynard-Burgess House	49 Pinkney Street	40 Fleet Street
	Residents' Occupations from U.S. Census Records			
1860	Waiter USN	Waiter		
1860		Washerwoman		
1870	P. Waiter	P. Waiter		
1870	Keeping House	House Keeping		
1870	At Home	Barber		
1870	At Home	Barber		
1870	At School	At Home		
1870	At School			
1870	P. Waiter			
1880	Messenger	Keeping House	Waiter	
1880	Keeping House	Servant	Housekeeping	
1880	Dressmaking	At School	Servant	
1880	School Teacher	Laborer		
1880	Servant	Boarding		
1880		Sailor		
1900	Steward	Cook	Wash Woman	Hod Carrier
1900	Dressmaker	Teacher	Servant	Farm Hand
1900		Cook	Servant	Waiter
1900		Waiter	Laborer	
1900			Laborer	
1900			Servant	
1910	Steward, Navy	Boarding House	Chemist, US N Academy	Oyster
1910	Dressmaker, At home	Barber	Teacher, US Naval Academy	Washwoman, At Home
1910	Dressmaker, At home		Physician	Driver, Wagon
1920	Cook, Navy	Domestic, US Naval Academy	Laundress, At home	Domestic, Private Family
1920	Dressmaker, At home	Domestic, Private Family		
1920	Teacher, Public School	Domestic, Private Family		
1920		Cook, Us Naval Academy		
1930	Laborer, Church	Fireman, US Navy	Waiter, Navy Yard	Servant, Private Family
1930		Servant, Private Family	Laundry, Navy Yard	
1930		Dresser, Sailor Shop		

At the James Holliday House, the men were employed in the major industries of the city, particularly the Naval Academy. James Holliday was a private messenger for the superintendent of the U.S. Naval Academy, a position that would have been considered relatively important within the Academy (conversation with Jim Cheevers, Senior Curator, USNA, 24 March 2011; Ford 1979:42-5; Robinson 1881:391). Benjamin Briscoe and Cosme Portilla were both employed in the U.S. Navy, as a steward and a cook, respectively. Anthony Brown worked for a local Catholic church, St. Mary's, as a custodian. St. Mary's Church is a large Catholic church in Annapolis, near the Maynard-Burgess House, with a long history of African American membership and involvement (Worden 2003). The women of the Holliday family generally worked from home, and were employed as either dressmakers or teachers.

The men of the Maynard-Burgess house were employed as waiters and barbers at major Annapolis institutions, including the Naval Academy and the Carvel Hotel. The Carvel Hotel was a premier hotel that was attached to the back of William Paca's colonial mansion at the turn of the century (McWilliams 2011:236). The boarders who stayed at the home in the late 19th and early 20th century were also employed at these same major institutions, in addition to the U.S. Navy. The women who lived at the Maynard-Burgess house ran the boarding house and were teachers. In the 1920s and 1930s, when the family was suffering from financial troubles, the women appear to have also worked as domestic servants outside of the home (1920 Census "Annapolis" Sheet 11B p. 5750, 1930 Census "Annapolis City" Sheet 68A p. 625; Mullins and Warner 1993). Working outside of the home appears to have been a last resort for the women of the Maynard family, likely because this was not

considered acceptable occupation for middle class women (Rothschild and Wall 2014:97).

Discussing the occupants of 40 Fleet Street and 49 Pinkney Street is more complicated than at the James Holliday House and the Maynard-Burgess House because these properties were rented, with families rarely living at the site for longer than twenty years. The only exception was the Price family, who lived at 40 Fleet Street for at least thirty years. The Price family was also unique because they were the only family living in the home throughout most of the early 20th century. During the 20th century, there were at least two families living in each of the two structures that now constitute the single-family home at 49 Pinkney Street, with up to nine people living at the site at one time. This suggests that the men and women living at this site couldn't afford the rent of the property and had to pool their resources or share the cost of the rent.

The men of 40 Fleet Street and 49 Pinkney Street were employed throughout the city as waiters, laborers, hod carriers, and oystermen. These positions included more menial labor and were slightly less stable employment than the jobs held by the men of the other two houses. There were three exceptions: the three White men who lived at 49 Pinkney Street, two of whom were employed at the U.S. Naval Academy, as a chemist and teacher, and one who worked as a physician. However, these men and their families appeared to have only lived at the site for a very short period of time.

The women of the 49 Pinkney and 40 Fleet Streets were primarily employed outside the home. At 40 Fleet Street, Sarah Price was employed as a washwoman

while her husband was working in the oyster industry (1910 Census "6th District of Annapolis" Sheet 44B p. 9127), but after his death, she changed occupations to work as a domestic servant for a private family (1920 Census "Annapolis" Sheet 22A p. 6795). Presumably this change in occupation was so that Mrs. Price could support her family when she became a widow with a daughter, granddaughter, and nephew to support (1920 Census "Annapolis" Sheet 22A p. 6795, 1930 Census 1930 Census "Annapolis City" Sheet 2A p. 5050). At 49 Pinkney Street, when women were employed, they were predominantly employed as servants, presumably in the homes of White women.

It appears that the women in particular had very different roles in the two sets of houses. Since women were generally the keepers of the home, and dictated of how family aesthetics would be played out in the home, it makes sense that these women with different occupations would have different tastes. Those different tastes would affect the choices those women made in the items they obtained and used in their homes.

Conclusions

The differences in types of glass bottles and the number of buttons recovered from the four archaeological sites examined in this dissertation, combined with the historical records of the occupations of those houses, indicate the presence of at least two social classes within the African American community in Annapolis. The presence of these classes is reinforced and demonstrated through choices in occupation and through the location of those occupations (inside or outside the home). Certain occupations were acceptable in one class, but not in another. This

seems to be tied to the idea that respectable Victorian middle-class women do not work outside their homes, where their presence is required for the proper maintenance of the home and child rearing (Rothschild and Wall 2014; Fitts 1999; Wall 1991, 1999). This reinforces the idea that African Americans in the 19th and early 20th centuries were not unaware of Victorian ideals of respectability. Therefore, deviations from these norms seen in the archaeological records are not indications of ignorance. The glass, buttons, and historical records reinforce the pattern seen in the ceramics that indicate the presence of at least two classes within the African American community in Annapolis between 1850 and 1930, and that these classes were employing different strategies for negotiating the racist structures of the city at the time.

Chapter 8: Interpretations, Conclusions and Future Directions

The choices that individuals make in the objects that they own, use, and eventually discard, are an important part of the expression of socio-cultural identities (McCarthy 2001:147). These objects are embedded with symbolic meanings, which are reflected to both the owner and user as well as the individuals with whom those people interacted (Schlereth 1982, 1985; Martin 1993; Prown 1982; Deetz 1977; Woodward 2007; Praetzellis and Praetzellis 1992; Beaudry et. al. 1991). This was especially true of the Victorians, who were well aware of the power of objects to reinforce the idea of appropriate societal behaviors and ideals (Praetzellis and Praetzellis 1992; Williams 1985; Kasson 1990; Tomes 1870, 1875; Lavin 1888; Leslie 1850; Sangster 1904). Therefore, the differences in material culture, particularly the material culture associated with dining rituals, identified in this dissertation can be seen as evidence of different embedded knowledge. This indicates the presence of multiple classes, each of which had different knowledge bases and therefore different tastes. The different embedded cultural knowledge is also an aspect of identity that can be studied archaeologically because identity is displayed and reinforced through daily practices, which have material consequences (Bourdieu 1984). Everyday action is constrained by the external forces in society and guided by taste. Taste, like habitus, is guided by a subconscious understanding of what is expected of an individual as member of a specific group. By demonstrating an ability to conform to group taste, individuals demonstrate their belonging to a status group or class. Taste is reflected in everyday actions and becomes embedded as part of the

display or performance of an identity. This then reinforces and structures internally individual identity, independent of the external structure, that becomes embedded in the objects that are chosen as a result of that internalized identity. If objects reflect identity, then we, as archaeologists, can study how individuals saw themselves based on the objects they consumed and determine if individuals behave and consume objects in a way that indicates that they are part of the same group. This allows us to see that material differences between the "inclusionist" class and "autonomist" class through archaeological excavations in Annapolis, Maryland.

In addition to demonstrating the presence of multiple classes, the differences in material culture also indicate the implementation of different strategies for racial uplift. In the second half of the 19th century, African Americans began to realize that they were as entitled to upward mobility as their White counterparts, and developed and implement their own strategies for achieving this racial uplift (Tate 1992:139). During the 19th and early 20th centuries, there were many African American scholars who presented options for these strategies. Among these were W.E.B. Du Bois, Booker T. Washington, Anna Julia Cooper, and Nannie Helen Burroughs. Washington and Burroughs advocated strategies that included industrial education, and hard work within the existing structures of White Victorian society. Burroughs also emphasized the importance of demonstrating morality and cleanliness as part of racial uplift. Cooper and especially Du Bois emphasized a generalized education and the uplift of a small group within the community who would then help raise up the rest of the race and create independent Black communities.

The implementation and subsequent internalization of these racial uplift

theories is part of what shaped African American identities of individuals in the late

19th and early 20th centuries. This had material consequences, which are studied

archaeologically in this dissertation. One group within the community of African

Americans in Annapolis embraced the ideas of Washington and Burroughs, and

wanted to present themselves as industrious and prosperous to their White neighbors.

As a result, we see attempts to emulate White Victorian ideals in some aspects of

their material culture, especially in their choice of how to set their dining tables.

However, another group within the community wanted to maintain a distinct African

American identity, like Du Bois advocated, one that was uniquely African American.

In these households, we see that identity reflected in their material culture. The

actualization of different frameworks is representative of different strategies or

practices of everyday life, and therefore different identities.

Demonstrating Class Belonging through Material Culture

Ceramics

The use of ceramics to study various aspect of culture, including race, class,

and ethnicity, is well established in archaeological literature (e.g. Mullins 1999a,b,

2011; Wall 1991,1999; McCarthy 2001; Fitts 1999; Shackel 1998; Purser 1992;

Solari 2001). Because of their role in ritual entertaining and consumer choice,

ceramics are closely associated with the material manifestations of class identity

(McCarthy 2001:148). In this dissertation, analyses of ceramics demonstrated the

presence of at least two classes within the African American community in

Annapolis, and also that these classes were employing different strategies for racial

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uplift in their dining rituals. Two households, the James Holliday and Maynard-Burgess houses, showed a preference for brightly colored, mismatching dishes with lots of decorative patterns, techniques, and colors present in the assemblages. The remaining two sites examined in this dissertation, 40 Fleet Street and 49 Pinkney Street, also consisted of collections of mismatching dishes, but these dishes were predominantly plain-white.

When placed on a dinner table, the undecorated dishes would have looked more like a matched set of dishes, even if the pieces themselves did not come from a matching set. Having matching sets of dishes would have been the goal as it was considered the ideal of White Victorian dining etiquette. However, the dishes recovered from the James Holliday House were considerably more decorated, with a wide range of color ranges and patterns present. When placed on the dining table, these dishes would have looked deliberately brightly colored and mismatched. This went directly against the prescribed Victorian ideals, and more closely resembled preferences seen in distinctly African traditions, such as the production of Kinte cloth and slave quilts (Fry 2002).

At the James Holliday House and the Maynard-Burgess House, the men of the household worked for the U.S. Navy, U.S. Naval Academy, the Carvel Hotel, or St. Mary's Catholic Church. It is likely that the ceramics that they would have been able to acquire through their workplaces would have been ceramics that were relatively fashionable, cheap to produce and durable. By the late 19th and early 20th century, that would have meant Ironstone or White Granite dishes, which had become cheaper by this time period and were commonly used in these types of industrial settings

(Miller 1993; Wetherbee 1986; Myers 2015). Therefore, the presence of the mismatched Ironstone at each of these sites could be accounted for by toting items from their workplaces, rather than conscious consumer action. However, toting alone cannot explain the wide variety of ceramics found, especially the decorated pieces found at the James Holliday and the Maynard-Burgess houses. Also, ceramics produced for Naval ships were often made specifically for that ship, and marked as such (e.g. Grenchik 2012; Pugh 1971). It seems likely that if they were acquiring ceramics from major institutions in Annapolis, especially the U.S. Naval Academy, that at least one fragment with institutional markings would have been found among the ceramics recovered in the archaeological excavations. However, no such ceramics were found at any of the four sites examined in this dissertation from the thousands of ceramics excavated.

The women at the Maynard-Burgess and James Holliday houses primarily worked from home, either as dressmakers, teachers, or managers of a boarding house. While it is possible that the women were given ceramics in exchange for their services, they would have been receiving these ceramics from other African Americans who would have been the people using their services. This means that those African Americans would have acquired the brightly-colored ceramics through some means in order to use them as payment, and still indicates a preference for those dishes within the African American community in Annapolis.

Mullins suggests that these mismatched dishes were acquired in a piece-meal fashion through non-market sources, in a tactic similar to recycling or pilfering (1999a:147). If these ceramics were mismatched because they were not purchased,

but rather acquired through non-market sources, it seems unlikely that high numbers of richness could be achieved because the recipient of the ceramic would have not much say in its form or decoration. This could account for the large number of mismatched ceramics and why none of the ceramics recovered came from a matching set, but it would not account for the large diversity within the assemblage.

Whether the dishes were purchased in a market, gifted or exchanged for other services, or stolen doesn't matter, because all of these options would have been available to all of the families examined in this study. However, there was still a difference in the ceramics between the households. If all African Americans were toting their ceramics, as Mullins (1999a) suggests, then they would have had little to no control over the aesthetics of those ceramics, and we would expect all the ceramics found at all four sites to look approximately the same. However, this is not the pattern seen in these four Annapolis households. From the sites on Pinkney and Fleet streets, where the women were employed predominately as domestic servants, presumably in White households, the ceramics recovered consisted primarily of the plain-white dishes that were fashionable in the White community. Therefore, if any group within the African American community was obtaining ceramics through toting, it was this group working in the homes of White women. The brightly-colored dishes found at the James Holliday House and the Maynard-Burgess House were more likely obtained through other means, such as ceramic markets or through curation over time. There were several shops that would have sold ceramics in Annapolis, including W.H. Taylors, L.H. Rehn, R.R. Magruder, John H. Thomas, and J.O. Taylor, among others (Anne Arundel Advertiser 1870; Evening Capital 1884). And there were

markets specifically advertising dishes to African Americans (Afro-American Ledger 1925, 1930). Therefore, the ceramics found at the Maynard-Burgess and James Holliday Houses were more likely purchased in small quantities, over time, to achieve a distinctly colorful aesthetic, based on a conscious and deliberate choice.

The pattern of accumulating dishes from non-matching sets has been discussed from several sites in Annapolis; it has been described as a uniquely African American pattern (Mullins 1999a; Warner 1998). But when examining more sites within Maryland's capital city, it appears that there were multiple patterns present within this community. Mixing colors and patterns on a dinner table was an identifiable trend seen in two of the four sites examined in this study. However, the fact that this pattern is not seen throughout the entire African American community in Annapolis indicates that this trend is representative of only a portion of the community and likely represents the presence of multiple patterns. These multiple patterns are also indicative of the display of multiple classes, and therefore identities, within African American Annapolitans in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Warner (1998:201-3) argues that the members of the "Black elite" in Annapolis were the individuals mentioned in the local newspapers, and would have included individuals such as Wiley Bates, William H. Butler, and the Bishops. He also indicates that some members of the Maynard family were also mentioned in the newspaper (although this information proved to be inaccurate or unable to be verified). But members of the Holliday family were definitely mentioned in the *Afro-American,* an African American newspaper printed in Baltimore which featured a column specifically dedicated to the social events of Annapolis. The Holliday family

and their descendents were mentioned in this column on several occasions, including a mention of when they added an addition to their home on East Street and when a nephew came to visit from Philadelphia (Afro-American 1928; Chew 1926a, b). Therefore, it seems very likely that the Holliday family was part of the same class as the rest of the individuals who are mentioned frequently in the local newspapers, the so-called "Black elite." The Holliday family was not mentioned as frequently as some of the better-known African American elite of Annapolis, such as William H. Butler and William Bishop, but they were mentioned. Although their presence could not be determined in the local newspapers, it seems that based on the similar patterns seen in the archaeological evidence from the two houses, that the Maynards and the Hollidays were of the same class, the "autonomist" class. This class was distinct within the African American community and the individuals within it would have strived to separate themselves, both through performance behaviors, and through the accumulation of goods from the other members of their same race within the city. This is reflected particularly in the accumulation of objects used for behaviors involving guests, such as teas.

The increased number of teawares, combined with the higher number of specialty vessels, suggests that the Maynard and the Holliday families belonged to a social class that put more of a premium on entertaining guests, which was generally true of the middle and upper classes. This suggests that these two families were in a different class from the families living on Pinkney and Fleet street. This combined with the fact that there was a very distinct difference in the pattern of decorative treatments of the dishes found at these four sites suggests that the mismatched,

decorated dishes found at the Maynard-Burgess and James Holliday houses were part of a deliberate and conscious choice to display a uniquely African American dining etiquette and aesthetic to themselves and to those around them.

Unlike the Maynards and the Hollidays, the individuals and families that lived on Pinkney and Fleet streets during the late 19th and early 20th centuries were not mentioned in the local African American newspapers. And there was a very different pattern seen in their accumulation of goods. This suggests that the individuals who lived in these homes were part of a different class than the Maynards and Hollidays, the "inclusionist" class and displayed that class difference through different strategies in their day-to-day life. These families would have interacted more often and more closely with the keepers of ideal Victorian etiquette – White women – in whose homes they would have been working. These families also primarily had a female head of household, with multiple families living in the same house. It is possible that this reflects financial strain, and therefore something like entertaining guests may not have been as important to members of this class as they were to the members of the African American "autonomist" class of Annapolis. This could explain the difference in the teawares between the four sites. However, the fact that there was a difference in the dishes in both the tableware and the teawares suggests that this pattern was not just the result of economic differences. Rather, it was the embodiment of different strategies used for coping with racism in the world around them and for displaying class belonging.

Glass

The glass recovered from privies at three of the four sites examined in this dissertation reinforces the idea that there were at least two social classes within the African American community in Annapolis. Two of the privies, from the James Holliday and the Maynard-Burgess houses, contained glass bottles from national-brand companies, while the other privy, from 40 Fleet Street, contained bottles from local bottling companies. This indicates that the individuals using the glass bottles and filling these privies were obtaining their bottles from different sources. The glass found at the James Holliday House and at the Maynard-Burgess House indicates a preference for brand-name products. This included bottles made by Rumford Chemical Works, E.A. Ricker, Parke Davis and Company, Reed & Carnrick, and Wyeth & Bro. This may be reflective of availability, in terms of access or price, since local goods tended to be cheaper than the national-brand goods, so they were a more reasonable consumer choice for the working-class residents (Mullins 1999b:25). National-brand products were rarely advertised in African American newspapers and magazines on a regular basis, while goods and services provided by African American companies were (Rooks 2004:108-9). Therefore, if working-class women were the target audience of these advertisements, it would explain the preference for locally made products over national-brand glass products seen at 40 Fleet Street. The presence of national-brand bottles at the James Holliday and Maynard-Burgess houses indicates a selective preference for participation in White Victorian ideals, and reinforces the idea that the lack of participation in this etiquette through other avenues of mass-consumer culture did not indicate a lack of awareness, but rather a conscious choice.

There was also a substantial difference in the number of alcohol-related vessels and glass vessels associated with table settings, with more of both types of vessels found at 40 Fleet Street than at either the Maynard-Burgess or James Holliday houses. The lack of alcohol, wine, and beer bottles at the Maynard-Burgess house seems to indicate conformity to Victorian preferences for temperance (Reckner and Brighton 1999). However, it is also possible that this was reflective of a sampling error, due to the larger assemblage from the 40 Fleet Street privy. The scarcity of alcohol-related bottles could also have been because alcohol consumption took a different form at the James Holliday and Maynard-Burgess houses. In the latter case, people at these sites would have been drinking mineral waters with alcohol in them, and there were numerous soda and mineral water bottles found in both the James Holliday and Maynard-Burgess House privies. These mineral water bottles may also have been indicative of self-medicating taking place at both of these sites. Either way, it marks a difference in alcohol consumption or medical treatment between the sites examined in this dissertation, and reinforces the presence of at least two classes within the African American community of Annapolis. These differences in preference of glass bottle types and sources further indicate how class difference was reflected in material culture choices. Some of these choices were tied to decisions about how tables should be set, such as the choice to include more glass tableware, as seen in the glass recovered from the 40 Fleet Street privy.

The increase in glass tableware conformed to patterns of American forms of eating which included more glass in table settings and plain-white dishes (Brighton 2011:44; Fitts 1999; Wall 1991, 1999). This suggests that, like the ceramics, there

was a preference for accumulating glass that closely approximated Victorian ideals among one group of African Americans of Annapolis that was not present in the other group studied in this dissertation.

Occupations

The census records of the four sites examined in this dissertation indicate that the men who lived at these sites worked in similar industries, although in slightly different positions. However, the women had very different occupations, with middle-class women working inside the home as dressmakers, teachers, or operators of a boarding house and working-class women working outside the home as domestic servants in private households. While women from both sets of households were listed as "washwomen," the lack of buttons at 40 Fleet or 49 Pinkney streets suggest that any laundry business that was taking place at the site was small scale, and likely supplemental, rather than an occupation used to support a family. The large number of buttons at the Maynard-Burgess house indicates that the laundry operation at this site was more extensive than at the other two sites. This may indicate that the family was going through economic difficulties, but as a middle-class family, the women were not able to change occupations and work outside the home, like Sarah Price of 40 Fleet Street did when her husband passed away. It was considered unacceptable for upper- and middle-class women to work in domestic service, but desirable for working class women (Rooks 2004:90). Therefore these choices in occupation further reinforce the presence of multiple classes within the African American community in Annapolis.

African American Classes and Consumer Culture

African American participation in mass culture is complex, but well documented in the historical and archaeological record (e.g. Cohen 2008; Mullins 1999a,b, 2011; Solari 2001; Jopling 1998; Afro-American 1925, 1930a,b). In many instances, African Americans preferred the uniformity and standardization of mass consumer culture (Cohen 2008:152; Mullins 1999b). Brand name consumption was a way to circumvent the racism of local marketers (Mullins 1999a,b). Victorian etiquette prescribed the consumption of these mass-produced goods in many forms, including as matching sets of dishes for specific rituals, such as lunches, teas, and dinners (Fitts 1999:46, 50; Williams 1985:76-78; Walker 2008:123; Martin 2001:17; Kasson 1990:200). This ultimately evolved into a "more is better" mentality among White Americans (Nickles 2002). However, adopting the use of mass-produced objects, such as ceramics or glass, did not translate into African Americans blindly accepting White Victorian consumer preferences (Cohen 2008:147). Instead of encouraging African Americans to be absorbed and integrated into mainstream White ideals, mass-production of objects allowed African Americans to become more independent within the race, and to develop their own aesthetics and ideals in the use of these seemingly uniform objects (Cohen 2008:147-8). Over time, the same mass-produced and market objects, such as glass and ceramics, took on different cultural significance and meaning within Black and White classes and within different classes in the Black community. Consumption became an avenue through which different classes of African Americans could assert their independence, from both the White classes and other African American classes (Cohen 2008:154).

The use of material culture as a physical manifestation of class barriers was important because the group divisions within the African American community were not based just on money or other economic factors. These divisions were based on many factors, including family background, address, specific club memberships, education, and consumption patterns and these divisions varied from place to place (Landry 1987:27; Gaines 1996:14; Gatewood 1990). Regardless of the factors upon which these divisions were based, the divisions were rigidly defined, very exclusive, and there was often fierce competition between the groups (Gatewood 1990:53). According to the *Washington Bee*, trying to catalog the wealth of individual elite African Americans was irrelevant because it was "merit and respectability," not money, that ultimately regulated social matters (Gatewood 1990:55; Gaines 1996). This merit and respectability could be best displayed and reinforced by the items that an individual placed in their home. Even Booker T. Washington believed that you could best judge a person and their class belonging by examining their homes and the objects in that home (Rooks 2004:96; Gaines 1996).

Therefore, to understand the presence or absence of multiple social classes within the African American community of Annapolis between 1850 and 1930, I had to examine not only historical records of income sources and occupation, but also how mass produced objects were used by the individuals living at the sites examined in this study. The four sites examined in this dissertation could be grouped into two classes: the "inclusionist" class and the "autonomist" class. The two "inclusionist" class sites, 40 Fleet and 49 Pinkney streets, were rented properties, with multiple families typically living on the site at a single time. At these two houses, both men

and women are recorded as working, and primarily working outside the home. Both

these sites showed a preference for plain-white dishes from non-matching sets, and at

40 Fleet Street, a presence of locally bottled glass goods, and a number of glass

tablewares. The two "autonomist" class sites, the James Holliday House and the

Maynard-Burgess House, were owned outright by single families for many

generations. The men who lived in these houses worked for major institutions in the

city, and while the women of the households worked from home. At these two middle

class sites, archaeological excavations recovered predominantly brightly colored, and

mismatched ceramics and national-brand bottled glass goods. The combination of the

study of ceramics, glass, buttons, and occupation indicates the presence of at least two

classes within the African American community of Annapolis in the 19th and early

20th centuries. Examining these same factors also indicates that in addition to being

an expression of two different class-based identities, these objects demonstrated that

part of the reason there were differences in the material culture between these two

groups was because they were implementing different strategies for racial uplift.

Strategies of Racial Uplift: Washington, Du Bois, Cooper and Burroughs

Strategies of racial uplift represented a struggle to develop a positive Black

identity and community with a strong sense of pride and dignity in a society

constructed of strongly racist structures through self-help and class differentiation.

However, within the African American community, there has never been a consensus

on which strategy will work best. This was true of the late 19th and early 20th

century, with scholars such as Booker T. Washington, W.E.B. Du Bois, Anna Julia

Cooper, and Nannie Helen Burroughs all presenting different strategies for how best

to improve the quality of life for African Americans in the United States. Within all of their strategies, there were some similarities, such as an emphasis on the importance of education in racial uplift. However, who should be educated and what should be taught varied greatly from one social theorist to the next.

Booker T. Washington saw the salvation of the African American race in practical training. This training would give African Americans skills that would allow them to support themselves and that the White community would see as desirable and allow them to be included in White society (Washington 1900[1899]). Through this training and through the acquisition of material goods deemed "proper" by White society, the races would be brought together, which Washington believed was more effective than estranging the races (Washington 1900 [1899]).

Du Bois, on the other hand, believed that if African Americans were going to prove that they were not only accomplished individuals, but that they also had a culture that was independently worthy of the respect of White Americans, then they needed to embrace those aspects of their culture that set them apart from White Americans, to create an autonomous African American culture (DuBois 2003[1896]:45). This goal of creating, maintaining, and embracing a uniquely African American culture, according to Du Bois, could be achieved while living in close proximity to White culture, but, in order to be successful and achieve racial uplift, African Americans needed to come together as a race and assert their own unique identity (Du Bois 2003[1896]:48).

While Anna Julia Cooper and Nannie Helen Burroughs were not as prolific as Washington or Du Bois, it is important to consider the impact these female social

theorists on the daily decisions of African Americans because they acted as real-life role models (Tate 1992). Cooper believed that good representations of African Americans were those that represented them as strong and independent, "not the humble slave of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*," but a group of people also uniquely affected by the racist circumstances surrounding them (Cooper 1969[1852]:223). Burroughs encouraged African Americans to take responsibility for their conditions and work to take advantage of opportunities available to them. She also placed an emphasis on African Americans presenting themselves as "proper" in their dress, homes, and work (Burroughs n.d., 1921; Elders 2008:142). According to Burroughs, if men and women "[went] forward clean, spiritually developed, and physically fit for real service, and approach[ed] their task with courage and faith, making no apologizes for the color of their skin" they would be successful with in the White world (Burroughs 1921:414). Burroughs, like Washington, believed that African Americans could and should be incorporated into "proper" White society (Burroughs n.d., 1921).

The ideas of these scholars and the strategies that they advocated were available to a broad African American audience, with the theories of Du Bois, Cooper, Burroughs, and Washington featured in African American newspapers and magazines throughout the United States, including in local newspapers available in Annapolis, in addition to being available as books (Afro-American 1913, 1932, 1933; Burroughs 1921; Tate 1992). It was up to individuals living in the late 19th and early 20th centuries to internalize these theories and implement them in their daily lives. This implementation had material consequences.

By accumulating dishes that, while not from the same set, would have looked more or less the same and been a better approximation of the Victorian ideal of matched sets of dishes, the families living on Pinkney and Fleet streets were following the advice of Booker T. Washington, and would have been better able "to secure the friendship, the confidence, the co-operation of his white neighbor" as a result (Washington 1900[1899]:116). By demonstrating to their White neighbors and employers that they could set a table to resemble the Victorian ideal, these families seemed to be employing Washington's strategy for African Americans education and living. Washington argued that by educating African Americans in how to make a home, and how to respect themselves, they would in turn, earn the respect of their White neighbors, and this would ultimately result in the uplift of the race as a whole (1900[1899]:124). These plain-white dishes, combined with the clear table glass found at 40 Fleet Street could have been used to evoke images of purity and morality, both of which were values promoted by Nannie Helen Burroughs in her strategies for racial and social uplift (1921; n.d.). Using, and ultimately discarding, seemingly matching white dishes, demonstrated a possible way in which individuals were able to actualize Burroughs and Washington's advice in daily life.

When placed on a dinner table, the undecorated dishes would have looked more like a matched set of dishes, even if the pieces themselves did not come from a matching set. Having matching sets of dishes was considered to be the ideal of White Victorian dining etiquette. However, the dishes recovered from the James Holliday House and Maynard-Burgess House displayed a wide range of color ranges and patterns and would have looked deliberately brightly colored and mismatched on the

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dining table. This went directly against the prescribed Victorian ideals. This was not an indication unawareness of or inability to conform to Victorian ideals, because both sites that had mismatching dishes appeared to have been conforming to Victorian ideals associated with tea drinking rituals and had dishes with specialized function.

These dishes with multiple patterns, especially floral patterns, and multiple colors, especially reds, more closely resembled preferences seen in distinctly African traditions, such as the production of Kinte cloth and slave quilts (Fry 2002; Thompson 1983; Cunningham 2009). Therefore the dishes found at the Maynard-Burgess and James Holliday Houses represented an actualization of Du Bois' advice to develop a culture that displays "a stalwart originality which shall unswervingly follow Negro ideals" (Du Bois 2003[1896]:45). Du Bois believed that this was necessary to develop and maintain an independent, autonomous culture that allowed African Americans to be successful beyond the veil. W.E.B. Du Bois believed that the way that the African American race was going to become prosperous was through the advancement of the most talented of the race, and by accepting the double consciousness forced on the African American, who was then forced to view himself through the eyes of a White man. Having to see themselves as White people saw them, and also to be conscious of how other African Americans saw them, both in the same class and different classes, created a double "double consciousness" among African Americans in Annapolis trying to create and maintain distinct class identities using material culture.

The preference for purchasing brand-name bottle products found at the Maynard-Burgess and James Holliday Houses also indicated that adoption of W.E.B.

Du Bois's strategy for creating and supporting African American businesses and communities, separate from the dominant White society they encountered on a daily basis (Du Bois 2003[1896]). If the desired products could not be obtained from local African American markets, choosing national brand products would be a likely alternative because it still allowed individuals to avoid the racist White marketers in Annapolis.

The presence of locally bottled goods found at 40 Fleet Street, conversely, may indicate a desire to demonstrate an ability to be successful within the White markets and structures within Annapolis, which conforms to strategies for social uplift advocated by Booker T. Washington and Nannie Helen Burroughs encouraged (Washington 1900[1899]; Burroughs 1921).

The strategies of Anna Julia Cooper and Nannie Helen Burroughs were also seen in the choices of employment, particularly among the women living at these four sites. Both women advocated strategies for racial uplift that encouraged teaching women skills that would be valuable both in domestic service and as wives and mothers (Cooper 1969[1852]:71; Johnson 2000:97). Cooper in particular argued for the benefits of educating women beyond helping them secure positions working in the homes of White women. To this end, Cooper directed a lot of her message toward the male academic elite (Tate 1992:58). This was part of redefining what it meant to be an "ideal Black woman," with an emphasis placed on respectability within the African American community, rather than on conforming to Victorian ideals (Johnson 2000:xxv; Wolcott 1997:97). Anna Julia Cooper argued that one of the best ways to improve on the condition of African Americans in American society was

through the education and advancement of its women (Cooper 1969[1852]:45; Tate 1992:56). Burroughs agreed that education was key, but also emphasized that professionalizing and promoting domestic service would help advance African American women (Johnson 2000:97; Burroughs 1921).

Finding employment as dressmakers or as schoolteachers was difficult and, in urban areas in particular, working as a domestic servant was one of the few occupations readily available for African American women, especially for women who wanted or needed to continue work after getting married (Rook 2004:105). Domestic labor was portrayed in many magazines written for a female African American audience as a desirable place for a certain class of African American women because it meant working in a home, regardless of whose home that was (Rooks 2004:90). Working in a White woman's home would allow Black women to learn how to identify and purchase objects for the home that were "modern and glamorous. Making the right choices would by extension make the shopper modern and glamorous as well" (Rooks 2004:90). Therefore, the fact that the women of 40 Fleet Street and 49 Pinkney Street were predominately employed as domestic servants may indicate the implementation of the strategies of Cooper and Burroughs in the African American community in Annapolis. According to these two female African American scholars, it would have been desirable for the class of women at these two sites to work as domestic servants, but it would have been less desirable for the class of women of the Maynard and Holliday families to do so.

The material culture from the four archaeological sites examined in this dissertation demonstrates how two different classes in the African American

community of Annapolis were implementing strategies of racial uplift. One group within the community of African Americans in Annapolis embraced the ideas of Washington and Burroughs, and wanted to present themselves as industrious, prosperous, moral and clean to their White neighbors. As a result we saw attempts to emulate and demonstrate their inclusion in White Victorian ideals in some aspects of their material culture, especially in their choice of how to set their dining tables. However, another group within the community wanted to maintain a distinct African American identity, like Du Bois advocated, one that was uniquely African American. In these households, we saw that identity reflected in their material culture. The actualization of different frameworks was representative of different strategies or practices of everyday life, and therefore different identities.

Strategies of Social Uplift: Past, Present, and Future

Burroughs and Washington's theories advocated the advantages of practical training, self-sufficiency, and behavior and consumption in ways that would be considered "proper" by White standards, and can in many ways be considered to fall into the theories of respectability politics. The term "politics of respectability" was first coined by Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham in her 1993 book *Righteous Discontent: The Women's Movement in the Black Baptist Church, 1880-1920*. She saw the term as encompassing the modifications of individual behavior as a strategy for social uplift (Harris 2003:213; Higginbotham 1993:187).

The idea behind the politics of respectability echoes in many ways what has been understood as Booker T. Washington's philosophies – if African American men and women can demonstrate to the rest of society and to each other that they are

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capable of behaving in ways that conform to what White society (or Victorian etiquette) deems is "proper," then they will be able to uplift, save, and protect their own society. The politics of respectability can be seen in the 19th and early 20th centuries in setting a table with white dishes that approximate the Victorian ideal of matching sets of tea and tablewares, or in working as domestic servants in the homes of white women. And it can be seen today in arguments about how "the reason blacks are facing discrimination or police brutality is because they have not been acting properly in public – particularly young, poor people" (Michael Dawson in Ioffe 2014). Michael Dawson, director of the Center for the Study of Race, Politics, and Culture at the University of Chicago, argues that "[r]espectability, in essence, is about policing the behavior 'properly' so as to not attract unwelcome attention from whites – with 'properly' being a normative white middle class presentation" (Ioffe 2014). This, and other theories of social and racial uplift, continue to be popular topics of discussion in media outlets today, including sources such as *The Washington Post, The Huffington Post,* and *MSNBC* (e.g. Ioffe 2014; Henderson 2014). The politics of respectability and its merits, or lack thereof, are even found in the speeches of President Barack Obama (Henderson 2014). Within respectability politics is the idea that if the problem is something that can be improved upon internally, then there is a sense of an ability to actually change and improve upon the situation (Ioffe 2014). In today's world, respectability politics manifests as men and boys dressed in "pulled-up, belted pants, neatly pressed dress-suits and bow-ties" (Henderson 2014) instead of matching dishes, although Washington also made arguments about the importance of proper dress in the 19th century (Wass and Fandrich 2010:329). Although the

material objects used have changed over time, the principle of the performance of identity is the same as it was over a hundred years ago.

However, for every example in contemporary popular culture, there are two more articles critiquing the approach (e.g. Coates 2014; Smith 2014; Harris-Perry 2014; Craven 2014). These critics argue that the strategies advocated by respectability politics "legitimiz[e] the kind of fault-finding critiques of African-American behavior that has been more common among conservatives" (Henderson 2014) and "dressing and behaving properly is not going to stop white cops from shooting innocent black people" (Harris-Perry 2014). "It's dangerous, however, to tell Black people to dress better, work harder or be respectable because it diverts attention from the gaze of the oppressor to the behavior of the disenfranchised" (Craven 2014). According to these critics, "Respectability will never be a solution because the issue isn't us; it's how white America views blackness" (Craven 2014). This lines up very closely with what Du Bois called "double consciousness."

This argument about how best to achieve racial uplift began before Washington, Du Bois, Cooper, and Burroughs, and continues to be an argument today, and likely will continue to be an argument for the foreseeable future. But while these different strategies are being advocated, they are being internalized and incorporated into the behaviors of individuals and into the performance of their identities.

The Future of the Archaeology of Class, Race and Identity

This dissertation research began with a request from Dolores (Dee) Levister. She offered her backyard, and later her basement, in exchange for more information

about her family and how they lived their lives. My dissertation helps Ms. Levister recover part of her family's early history through the research into how the members of her family lived from 1850 to 1930 and how they fit into the African American community of Annapolis. This dissertation, like several other studies done by Archaeology in Annapolis in the last two decades, contributes information about a segment of the population that has been historically under-represented and recovers history that would otherwise be lost.

By examining the patterns seen in different groups within the African American community of Annapolis, this dissertation creates a better understanding of the diversity within clusters of African American households within the city. By looking not only at the existence of patterns, but at the potential sources of the patterns and aligning them with the works of African American scholars and educators from the 19th and early 20th centuries, this dissertation is able to explore how strategies for racial uplift went from hypothetical advice written about in newspapers, magazines, and books to actualized advice seen in the behaviors and choices made by African Americans in their everyday lives.

This dissertation presents a pattern and a potential model which could be expanded on and tested in other regions to gain a better understanding of the relationship between dispersed populations and of whether national or local forces and environments are stronger in defining identity construction in the future. It could also be expanded to use other types of material culture, in particular faunal remains, which have been used to discuss differences in how identity is expressed in food (Mullins and Warner 1993; Mullins 1999a,b; Lev-Tov 1998; Tang 2014).

The analyses used in this dissertation demonstrate the importance of using comparative studies when exploring concepts of class and identity in the archaeological record. There is a tendency to essentialize material culture to a single meaning, looking for specific objects that are markers of certain racial, ethnic, or social classes. However, this dissertation demonstrates how objects are not simple markers of identity, but rather reflective of choices made by individuals. These choices serve multiple functions, including as a way to demonstrate and reinforce class-based identities, and a way to negotiate racism through the implementation of theories of racial and social uplift. An explicitly comparative approach and the exploration of the ability of objects to embody multiple meanings simultaneously will make the study of material culture more useful and relevant in historical archaeology in the future (Leone 2012).

The material culture found at the James Holliday House, the Maynard-Burgess House, 49 Pinkney Street and 40 Fleet Street indicates the implementation of different strategies for social uplift by different class-groups within the Annapolitan African American community. Each class identified with different strategies articulated in the writings and theories of major 19th and early 20th century African American thinkers. But ultimately the choices that both classes within the African American community made in the objects they used in their day-to-day represent ways in which class boundaries were created and maintained and how individuals negotiated the racist societal structures that characterized the 19th and early 20th centuries in Annapolis, Maryland.

Appendices

Appendix A: Tables of U.S. Census Data from 1850 to 1930

Selection of Census Data for the Holliday Family, 1860-1940

Year	Address	Last Name	First Name	Age	Relationship	Race	Gender	Marital Status	Occupation/ Industry
1860		Holliday	James	57		Mulatto	Male		Waiter, U.S.N.
		Holliday	Matilda	39		Mulatto	Female		
		Holliday	Mary E	12		Mulatto	Female		
		Holliday	James H	10		Mulatto	Male		
		Holliday	Eleanor	9		Mulatto	Female		
		Holliday	Thomas	7		Mulatto	Male		
		Holliday	Elizabeth	4		Mulatto	Female		
		Holliday	Anna	2		Mulatto	Female		
		Holliday	William	1 month		Mulatto	Male		
1870		Holliday	James	55		Black	Male		P. Waiter
		Holliday	Matilda	45		Mulatto	Female		H. Keeping
		Holliday	Mary	22		Mulatto	Female		At Home
		Holliday	Eleanora	19		Mulatto	Female		At Home
		Holliday	Elizabeth	13		Mulatto	Female		At School
		Holliday	Anna	10		Mulatto	Female		At School
		Holliday	Thomas	14		Mulatto	Male		P. Waiter
1880	49 East St	Holyday	James	60	(Head)	Mulatto	Male	Married	Messenger
		Holyday	Matilda	50	Wife	Mulatto	Female	Married	Keeping House
		Holyday	Eleanore	20	Daughter	Mulatto	Female	Single	Dressmaker
		Holyday	Lizzie	17	Daughter	Mulatto	Female	Single	School Teacher
		Rocks	Peter	8	Servant	Black	Male		Servant
1900	57 East St	Briscoe	Benjamin	47	Head	Black	Male	Married 17 years	Steward
		Briscoe (Holliday)	Ellenora	47	Wife	Black	Female	Married 17 years	Dressmaker
		Briscoe	Lillie	12	Daughter	Black	Female	Single	
		Briscoe	John T	10	Son	Black	Male	Single	
		Briscoe	Louis L[ucy]	9	Daughter	Black	Female	Single	
1910	99 East St	Briscoe	Benjamin	61	Head	Mulatto	Male	Married 23 years	Steward, Navy
		Briscoe	Eleanor	42	Wife	Mulatto	Female	Married 23 years	Dressmaker, At home
		Briscoe	John T	20	Son	Mulatto	Male	Single	None
		Briscoe	Lillian	21	Daughter	Mulatto	Female	Single	Dressmaker, At home
		Briscoe	Lucy L	17	Daughter	Mulatto	Female	Single	None
1920	99 East St	Briscoe	Benjamin	65	Head	Black	Male	Married	Cook, U.S. Navy
		Briscoe	Eleanor	55	Wife	Black	Female	Married	None listed
		Briscoe	Eleanor	27	Daughter	Black	Female	Single	Dressmaker, At home
		Briscoe	Lucille	24	Daughter	Black	Female	Single	Teacher, Public School
		Patella	Marcella	3	Grandchild	Black	Female	Single	
		Patella	James	12	Grandchild	Black	Female	Single	
1930	99 East St	Brown	Joseph	39	Head	Neg	Male	Married	Laborer, Church
		Brown	Lucy	38	Wife	Neg	Female	Married	none
		Brown	Anthony	80	Father	Neg	Male	Widowed	None
1940	99 East St	Brown	M. Lucy	46	Head	Neg		Married	
		Brown	Joseph	49	Husband	Neg		Married	Laborer, Church
		Portilla	Marcellus	23	Nephew	Neg		Single	
		Portilla	McKee	14	Nephew	Neg		Single	
		Portilla	Domingo	15	Nephew	Neg		Single	
		Washington	Carl	38	Lodger	Neg		Married	Laborer
		Washington	L. Angella	23	Lodger's Wife	Neg		Married	Maid, Private home

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Selection of Census Data for the Maynard and Burgess Families, 1850-1930

Year	Address	Last Name	First Name	Age	Relationship	Race	Gender	Marital Status	Occupation/ Industry
1850		Manerd	John	30		Black	Male		None Listed
		Manerd	M	27		Black	Female		
		Spence	Fulder	19		Black	Female		
		Maynard	John H	4		Black	Male		
		Maynard	Lewis	9 Months		Black	Male		
		Spence	Pheoba	53		Black	Female		
1860		Maynard	John	48		Black	Male		Waiter
		Maynard	Maria	45		Black	Female		Washerwoman
		Maynard	John H	13		Black	Male		
		Maynard	Lewis	11		Black	Male		
		Spencer	Pheobe	65		Black	Female		
1870		Maynard	John	60		Black	Male		P. Waiter
		Maynard	Maria	52		Mulatto	Female		H. Keeping
		Maynard	John	24		Black	Male		Barber
		Maynard	Louis	20		Mulatto	Male		Barber
		Maynard	Lucy	8		Mulatto	Female		At Home
1880	27 Gloucester St	Maynard	Maria	66	Head	Mulatto	Female	Widow	Keeping House
		Maynard	Martha	28	Daughter-in-Law	Mulatto	Female	Widow	Servant
		Maynard	Maria	8	Granddaughter	Mulatto	Female	Single	At School
		Bugess	Willis	30	Boarder	Mulatto	Male	Single	Laborer
		Brisco	Annie	23	Boarder	Mulatto	Female	Married	Boarding
		Brisco	Benjamin	30	Boarder	Mulatto	Male	Married	Sailor
1900	25 Gloucester	Johnson	Martha	48	Head	Mulatto	Female	Married, 29 years	Cook
		Maynard	Louisa	27	Daughter	Black	Female	Single	Teacher
		Blackstone	Margaret	69	Mother	Black	Female	Widow	Cook
		Richardson	Thomas	24	Head	Black	Male	Married, 1 year	Waiter
		Richardson	Mary	23	Wife	Black	Female	Married, 1 year	Not listed
1910	41 Cathedral Street	Burgess	Willis	46	Head	Black	Male	Married; Married 26 years	Laborer, Gold Storage House
			Mary	43	Wife	Black	Female	Married	Laundress, At home
			Louisa	20	Daughter	Black	Female	Single	Maid, Private home
			Naomi	18	Daughter	Black	Female	Single	Maid, Private
			Clinton	16	Son	Black	Male	Single	Helper, Gold Storage House
			Ella	13	Daughter	Black	Female	Single	None
			Frankie	11	Nephew	Black	Male	Single	None
			George	3	Grand-child	Black	Male	Single	None
		Gaunt	Julia	37	Sister-in-Law	Black	Female	Single	Laundress, At home
			Claradella	16	Niece	Black	Female	Single	Laundress, At home
1910	163 Gloucester	Cooper	Mariah L	38	Head	Black	Female	Widowed	Keeper, Boarding House
		Blackstone	Margaret	79	Grandmother	Black	Female	Widowed	Not Listed
		Fernandez	Wells	45	Boarder	Mulatto	Male	Single	Barber, Naval Academy
1920	163 Duke of Gloucester	Burgess	Willis	55	Head	Black	Male	Married	Domestic, US Naval Academy
			Mary	52	Wife	Black	Female	Married	
			Louisa	26	Daughter	Black	Female	Single	Domestic, Private Family
			Naomi	23	Daughter	Black	Female	Single	Domestic, Private Family
		Wiley	Ella	21	Daughter	Black	Female	Married	
		Wiley	Arthur	22	Son-in-Law	Black	Male	Married	Cook, US Naval Academy
		Burgess	George	13	Grandson	Black	Male	Single	
		Blackstone	Margaret	70	Mother	Black	Female	Widow	
1930	163 Gloucester	Burgess	Willis	70	Head	Neg	Male	Married	Fireman, US Navy
			Mary	62	Wife	Neg	Female	Married	None
		Wiley	Ella	26	Daughter	Neg	Female	Married	Servant, Private Family
		Burgess	George	21	Grandson	Neg	Male	Married	Presser, Sailor Shop

Selection of Census Data for 47 and 49 Pinkney Street, 1880 - 1940

Year	Address	Last Name	First Name	Age	Relationship	Race	Gender	Marital Status	Occupation
		Anderson	Robert	24	Head	Black	Male	Married	Waiter
1880	20 Carroll Alley	Anderson	Sarah E.	24	Wife	Black	Female	Married	Housekeeping
		Anderson	Julis	5	Son	Black	Male	Single/Child	
		Anderson	William	3	Son	Black	Male	Single/Child	
		Anderson	Robert	1	Son	Black	Male	Single/Child	
		Cooper	Harriet	40	Mother-in-Law	Black	Female	Widowed	Servant
1900	33 Carroll Alley	Anderson	Hettie	30	Head	Black	Female	Married	Wash woman
		Anderson	Anna R	2	Daughter	Black	Female	Single/Child	
		Boston	Agnes	24	Servant	Black	Female	Single	Servant
		Griffin	Lavina	23	Head	Black	Female	Married	Servant
		Griffin	Lewis	5 months	Son	Black	Male	Single/Child	
		Queen	Hagner	27	Brother	Black	Male	Single	Laborer
1900	31 Carroll Alley	Hensen	Lizzie	Unknown	Head	Black	Female	Widowed	Laborer
		Hensen	Maud	18	Daughter	Black	Female	Single	Servant
1910	47 Carroll Qt	Buckley	William	42	Head	White	Male	Married	Chemist, US N Academy
		Buckley	Elizabeth	27	Wife	White	Female	Married	None
		Johnson	Alfred	33	Head	White	Male	Married	Teacher, US Naval Academy
		Johnson	Hannah	30	Wife	White	Female	Married	None
		Johnson	Caroline	6	Daughter	White	Female	Single	None
		Johnson	Elmira	3	Daughter	White	Female	Single	None
1910	49 Carroll Qt	Hepburn	Samuel S	36	Head	White	Male	Married	Physician
		Hepburn	Annie	35	Wife	White	Female	Married	None
		Hepburn	Elinor	6	Daughter	White	Female	Single	None
1920	49 Carroll Alley	Ketta	Dora	60	Head	Black	Female	Widowed	Laundress, At home
		Hambilton	Frank	5	Grandson	Black	Male	Single	None
1930	49 Taylor Street	Celestil	Adriano	22	Head	Fil	Male	Married	Waiter, Navy Yard
		Celestil	Glendora	21	Wife	Neg	Female	Married	None
		Sanares	Eugenio	24	Roomer	Fil	Male	Married	Laundry, Navy Yard
		Sanares	Corneila	21	Roomer wife	Neg	Female	Married	None
1940	47 Taylor	Gross	Eleanora	34	Head	Neg	Female	Divorced	Maid, Private home
		Gross	L. Blanche	2 months	Daughter	Neg	Female	Single	None

Selection of Census Data for 40 Fleet Street, 1900 - 1940

Year	Address	Last Name	First Name	Age	Relationship	Race	Gender	Marital Status	Occupation/ Industry
						Selection of Census Data for 40 Fleet Street, 1900-1940			
1900	26 Fleet Street	McCarthy	Milton	Unknown	Head	Black	Male	Married	Hod Carrier
		McCarthy	Charlotte	Unknown	Wife	Black	Female	Married	
		Johnson	Lewis	Unknown	Stepson	Black	Male	Single	Farm Hand
		Johnson	Albert	25	Head	Black	Male	Married	Waiter
		Johnson	Maggie	23	Wife	Black	Female	Married	
		Johnson	Gladis B	5	Daughter	Black	Female	Single	
		Johnson	Bertha M	2	Daughter	Black	Female	Single	
		Johnson	Mary E	1	Daughter	Black	Female	Single	
1910	40 Fleet Street	Price	George	40	Head	Black	Male	Married	Oyster
		Price	Sarah	35	Wife	Black	Female	Married	Washwoman, At home
		Price	Andrew	19	Son	Black	Male	Single	Driver, Wagon
		Price	Catherine	14	Daughter	Black	Female	Single	None
1920	40 Fleet Street	Price	Sarah	40	Head	Black	Female	Widowed	Domestic, Private Family
		Price	Mildred	6	Grandchild	Black	Female	Single	
1930	40 Fleet Street	Price	Sarah	50	Head	Neg	Female	Widowed	Servant, Private Family
		Price	Katherine	29	Daughter	Neg	Female	Single	None
		Price	Mildred	15	Granddaughter	Neg	Female	Single	None
		Trivis	Bernard	14	Nephew	Neg	Male	Single	None
1940	40 Fleet Street	Price	Sara	65	Head	Neg	Female	Widowed	
		Price	Catherine	35	Daughter	Neg	Female	Single	House Work, Private home

Appendix B: Complete Ceramic Minimum Vessel Counts Data Tables of White Bodied Ceramics

Decorative Categories from the James Holliday House (18AP116)

Decorative Categories from the James Holliday House (18AP116)							
Decorative Category	Other	Personal	Serving	Table	Tea	Undistinguished	Total
Asian Motifs	0	0	0	7	2	0	**9**
Floral/ Neoclassical	2	0	5	33	21	4	**65**
Minimally Decorated	0	0	1	54	19	6	**80**
Mocha/ Annular	7	1	6	16	8	0	**38**
Other/ Indeterminate	0	0	0	23	3	1	**27**
Sponge Decorated	1	0	0	0	0	1	**2**
Undecorated	0	0	0	10	6	1	**17**
Minimally Decorated, Molded	2	0	3	48	33	1	**87**
Total	**12**	**1**	**15**	**191**	**92**	**14**	**325**

Decorative Categories from the Maynard-Burgess House (18AP64)

Decorative Categories from the Maynard-Burgess House (18AP64)							
Decorative Category	Other	Personal	Serving	Table	Tea	Undistinguished	Total
Asian Motifs	0	0	0	1	3	0	**4**
Floral/ Neoclassical	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
Minimally Decorated	0	0	0	4	1	1	**6**
Mocha/Annular	0	0	0	0	0	3	**3**
Other/ Indeterminate	0	1	0	0	0	0	**1**
Sponge Decorated	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
Undecorated	0	0	0	4	4	1	**9**
Minimally Decorated, Molded	0	0	1	1	3	1	**6**
Decorated, Indeterminate	1	0	0	1	4	2	**8**
Total	**1**	**1**	**1**	**11**	**15**	**8**	**37**

Decorative Categories from 49 Pinkney Street (18AP119)

Decorative Categories from 49 Pinkney Street (18AP119)						
Decorative Category	Other	Personal	Serving	Table	Tea	Undistinguished	Total
Asian Motifs	0	0	0	6	1	2	**9**
Floral/ Neoclassical	0	0	0	13	6	10	**29**
Minimally Decorated	0	0	0	30	4	12	**46**
Mocha/ Annular	0	2	1	11	2	1	**17**
Other/ Indeterminate	0	0	0	2	0	6	**8**
Sponge Decorated	0	0	0	1	0	3	**4**
Undecorated	0	0	0	1	0	2	**3**
Minimally Decorated, Molded	2	0	0	29	9	19	**59**
Total	**2**	**2**	**1**	**93**	**22**	**55**	**175**

Decorative Categories from 40 Fleet Street (18AP110)

Decorative Categories from 40 Fleet Street (18AP110)						
Decorative Category	Other	Personal	Serving	Table	Tea	Undistinguished	Total
Asian Motifs	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
Floral/ Neoclassical	1	0	0	1	2	0	**4**
Minimally Decorated	0	0	0	7	1	0	**8**
Mocha/ Annular	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
Other/Indeterminate	1	0	0	0	0	1	**2**
Sponge Decorated	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
Undecorated	0	0	0	9	0	0	**9**
Minimally Decorated, Molded	0	0	0	5	3	0	**8**
Total	**2**	**0**	**0**	**22**	**6**	**1**	**31**

Appendix C: Privy Glass Minimum Vessel Counts Data Tables

James Holliday House (18AP116) Privy Glass Minimum Vessel Count

James Holliday House (18AP116) Privy Glass Minimum Vessel Count	
Vessel Type	**Description/Comments**
Whiskey/Liquor (AQ-1)	aqua colored
Food (AQ-2)	57 on bottom, RUMFORD on shoulder, aqua colored glass.
Food (AQ-3)	no finish
Food (AQ-4)	Likely Rumford Baking Powder Bottle; Looks like AQ-2 and AQ-3
Pharmaceutical (AQ-5)	Hand blown bottle with pontle scar, aqua, Embossed on the side; Full bottle would have said "By The/King's Patent/Essence Of/ Peppermint
Unknown (AQ-6)	aqua colored
Food (AQ-7)	Shoulder of bottle; Looks like AQ-2 and AQ-3
Food (AQ-8)	Shoulder of bottle; Looks like AQ-2 and AQ-3 and AQ-7
Unknown (AQ-9)	Shoulder of Bottle; Possibly canning jar
Food (AQ-10)	Finish, shoulder, and part of body
Unknown (AQ-11)	Round Bottle
Unknown (AQ-12)	Round Bottle; Possible soda bottle
Preserving Jar (AQ-13)	Maltese Cross in center of jar; likely had metal lid;
Medicinal (CL-1)	liquid inside at time of excavation; "panel short neck" patent bottle; unembossed
Decanter (CL-2)	Some evidence of acid wash and decoration; part that would go in bottle broke off
Food (CL-3)	Finish only; possible pickle or horseradish jar.
lighting (CL-4)	Bead molded rim
Unknown Table (CL-5)	decorated with circles and diamond shapes, possibly a candy dish
Unknown (CL-6)	Base of circular bottle; likely blown-in mold
Food (CL-7)	Finish only
Unknown Table (CL-8)	Pressed vertical line design 1/4" below rim
Personal (CL-9)	Whittemore Boston made shoe polish
personal (BR-1)	Machine-made; black sticky ointment inside; possible cosmetic jar
Unknown (BR-2)	Amber Glass; Curved body fragment
Unknown (GN-1)	"7-up" Green color; base only
Personal (WH-1)	Possibly cold cream jar
Personal (WH-2)	Possibly cold cream jar
Lighting (WH-3)	Glossy finish on inside curve, matted finish on outside; Frosted
Wine/Champagne (DG-1)	Likely pieces of Olive Green Wine Bottles

Maynard-Burgess House (18AP64) Privy Glass Minimum Vessel Count

Maynard-Burgess House (18AP64) Privy Glass Minimum Vessel Count	
Vessel Type	**Description/Notes**
pharmaceutical (CL4)	E.A. Ricker/Jacksonville
pharmaceutical (CL5)	undecorated
pharmaceutical (CL6)	PD & CO [base; Parke Davis and Company]
pharmaceutical (CL7)	undecorated
pharmaceutical (CL8)	undecorated
pharmaceutical (CL9)	Wyeth & Bro/Philadelphia
pharmaceutical (CL11)	undecorated
pharmaceutical (SL1)	OD [base]
pharmaceutical (AM1)	Reed and Carnrick/NY
food (CL2)	undecorated
food (CL10)	undecorated
food (AQ2)	Rumford
whiskey/liquor (CL3)	Warrented Flask
whiskey/liquor (CL13)	undecorated
milk (CL12)	undecorated
fresh beverage (AQ1)	undecorated
unknown (DG1)	undecorated
unknown (AQ3)	undecorated; possibly milk
tumbler (CL1)	undecorated
tumbler (CL16)	undecorated
tumbler (CL17)	undecorated
shot glass (CL14)	undecorated; matching size CL15
shot glass (CL15)	undecorated; matching size CL14

40 Fleet Street (18AP110) Privy Glass Minimum Vessel Count

40 Fleet Street (18AP110) Privy Glass Minimum Vessel Count	
Type	**Quantity**
Beer Bottle	1
Liquor Bottle	9
Furniture Polish	1
Mason Jar	2
Patent Medicine	2
Mineral Water	3
Extract Bottle	2
Wine	1
Round Bottle	4
Picnic Flask	1
Warranted Flask	1
Food	1
Cosmetic	1
Ink Well	1
Drinking Glass	10
Candy or Jelly Dish	1
Decanter	1
Footed Fruit Bowl	1
Footed Jelly Stand	1
Large Bowl	1
Small Bowl	1
Lid	1
Stemware	1
Tumbler Glass	1
Measuring Cup	1
Light Globes	3
Vase	1
Glass Lens (non-prescription)	1
Unknown	1
Total	**56**

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