

Figure 42. Several Medicinal Forms Recovered from Feat. 103, The Courthouse Site, 18AP63. **A.** AYER’S AGUE CURE Bottle, **B.** Paneled Medicinal/Extract Form, Unembossed, **C.** Paneled Medicinal/Extract Form, Unembossed, **D.** MEXICAN MUSTANG LINIMENT Bottle, **E.** DOCTOR McLANE’S AMERICAN WORM SPECIFIC Vial (Larsen 2002).

Figure 43. Representative Tumblers from Feature 103, The Courthouse Site, 18AP63 (Larsen 2002).

Forty-nine of the 84 identified vessels (or nearly 56%) provided information with which to calculate a mean glass date for the assemblage. Using dates available for the different manufacture techniques present in the assemblage as well as dates acquired through specifically identifiable products, a mean glass date of 1874 was calculated for the 88 Franklin St. privy. An 1870 date is established as the glass *tpq* for the privy – this the earliest manufacture dates for several turn molded vessels. The *tpq* date of 1870 and the calculated mean glass date of 1874 are, again, very close and suggest a short lag time between acquisition of glass containers and their deposition.

Fifty-nine percent of the vessels (n=50) were identified as containers (Table 17). Nineteen percent (n=16) of the glass vessels were tablewares. Glass associated with lamps or lamp chimneys was a remarkable 20 percent (n=17) of the total. Unlike what was found for Feature 118, only 1 percent (n=1) of the vessels remained unidentified as to type. This again underscores the integrity found in the Feature 103 glass assemblage.

The larger percentage of containers over the other types of vessels is not unusual. Containers comprise a significant proportion of the total vessels as they are not purchased as a commodity themselves, but for the products they once held. Over the last quarter of the 19th century, glass bottles were increasingly considered only as packaging. Once the product was consumed, the containers were increasingly just discarded. Tablewares, however, are purchased for their functional use, much like that of ceramics. The lower percentage of these vessels is probably the result of greater curation. The number of lamp chimneys (n=15) is unusually high. These are very fragile glasswares and are often difficult to clearly discern from archaeological contexts. The number found in the Feature 103 assemblage, likely, represents many more.

Table 17. Feature 103 Glass Vessels by Type and Form.

TYPE	FORM	N	%
Container	Alcohol	16	19.05
	Chemical	2	2.38
	Food	1	1.19
	Medicinal	5	5.95
	Medicinal/Extract	6	7.14
	Other	5	5.95
	Personal	1	1.19
	Unidentified	14	16.67
<i>Subtotal</i>		<i>50</i>	<i>59.52</i>

Tableware	Dish	1	1.19
	Hollowware	3	3.57
	Salt	1	1.19
	Stemware	1	1.19
	Tumbler	9	10.71
	Unidentified	1	1.19
<i>Subtotal</i>		<i>16</i>	<i>19.05</i>
Lighting		17	20.24
Unidentified		1	1.19
TOTAL		84	100

Of the 84 vessels counted, 16 (or 19.05%) were identified as alcohol forms (6 flasks, and 10 bottles). Two circular, faceted bottles were identified as chemical bottles. A square bottle with a wide mouth was identified as a food form. Medicinal bottles were represented by two vials, two circular bottles, and a uniquely molded “log cabin” bottle. Each of these bottles included product information – one embossed MEXICAN/MUSTANG/LINIMENT; DOCTOR McLANE’S/AMERICAN WORM/SPECIFIC; MRS. WINSLOW’S/SOOTHING SYRUP ; and a bottle embossed ST/DRAKE’S/1860/PLANTATION/X/BITTERS (Figure 41). The six Medicinal/Extract bottles were each the standard rectangular paneled bottles with a prescription finish (Figure 42). Containers listed as Other include four different types of ink bottles, and one ground shank stopper. The Personal bottle was embossed LYONS//NEW YORK//FOR THE HAIR//KATHAIRON. Fourteen other bottles remain unidentified beyond type.

Tablewares were 19% of the vessel count. Identified tableware forms present included: a dish, 3 general hollowwares (one of them having molded bulleyes), a salt, a fragment of stemware, 9 different tumblers (5 having arched panels, 3 being undecorated, and one fluted – Figure 43), and one unidentified tableware.

Faunal Analysis. Faunal materials from the 88 Franklin Street privy were sent out for identification and analysis. The assemblage is larger than that recovered from Feature 118, having 2,137 bones. Of this total, 396 bones were identifiable to species (Table 18). The feature contained a mix of food remains, two animal burials, and animals that would usually be considered scavengers (e.g., rats, dogs, cats, and even possibly racoon).

Table 18. Feature 103 Faunal Species List.

Species	Common Name	Number of Bones
<i>Procyon lotor</i>	raccoon	2
<i>Ondatra zibethica</i>	muskrat	2
<i>Canis familiaris</i>	dog	26
Canid	dogs, wolves, foxes	5
<i>Bos taurus</i>	cow	70
<i>Ovis aries</i>	sheep	3
<i>Ovis/Capra</i>	sheep/goat	43
<i>Sus scrofa</i>	pig	126
Cricetidae	New World rodents	1
<i>Rattus</i> sp.	Old World rodents	11
<i>Sylvilagus floridanus</i>	cottontail rabbit	1
Passeriformes	songbirds	1
<i>Columba livia</i>	rock dove	18
Anatidae (cf. <i>Mergus</i> sp.)	?merganser	1
<i>Branta canadensis</i>	Canada goose	3
Anatidae	ducks, geese, and swans	1
<i>Megaceryle alcyon</i>	belted kingfisher	2
<i>Meleagris gallopavo</i>	turkey	22
<i>Gallus gallus</i>	chicken	88
<i>Terapene carolina</i>	box turtle	6
Perciformes	perches	
<i>Perca flavescens</i>	yellow perch	1
Centrarchidae	sunfishes and basses	7
<i>Lepomis</i> sp.	sunfishes	48
Ictaluridae	freshwater catfish	21
<i>Ameiurus</i> sp. (cf. <i>catus</i>)	possible white catfish	1
<i>Ameiurus</i> sp.	bullhead catfishes	11
<i>Morone</i> cf. <i>saxatilis</i>	possible striped seabass	1
	large mammal	197
	medium mammal	561
	small mammal	2
	mammal	37
	large bird	3
	bird	126
	fish	555
	small fish	5
	unidentifiable	994
Total Identifiable		396
Total All Bones		2876

One articulated dog skeleton and one cat were found while excavating the privy (Figure 44). A collar was found associated with the dog. In discussing the presence of cats and a dog in a backyard trash pit at the Maynard-Burgess site, Mark Warner wrote,

the most expedient disposal option for the residents of the household was to deposit the remains in a backyard trash pit rather than excavating a new hole. The presence of several cats and a dog in the trash pit today seems a somewhat cavalier method of household pet disposal, but the animals may have simply have happened to die on or very near the houselot [Mullins and Warner 1993: 48].

This disposal was contrasted with a dog burial found in a corner of the backyard that showed that the household had more formal pet burials than those found in the trash pit. The dog and the cat found in Feature 103 appear to have been buried as the privy was being filled – there was no evidence of a new hole being dug into the privy. No other pet burial was found in this lot, but another pet burial was found in 1990 in the backyard of a house just down the street (Warner and Mullins 1993)

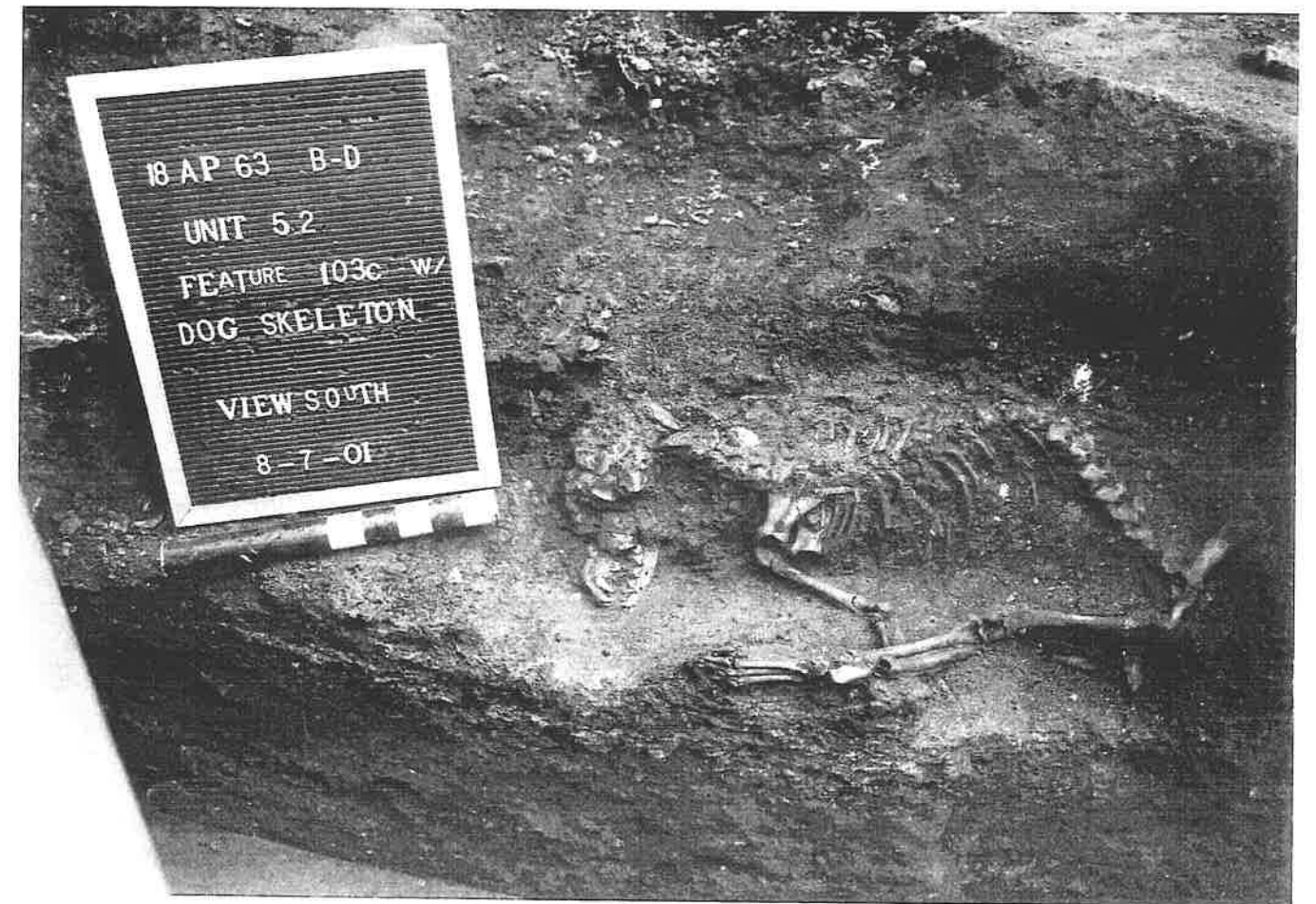


Figure 44. Unit 52, Feature 103c – Dog Skeleton *in situ*, Facing South (Pallus 2001).

The dog remains, the cat, the rats, even the raccoon may represent urban scavengers. As is usually the case for 19th century assemblages, most of the food remains fall under cow, sheep/goat, and pig. A variety of other food remains are present within Feature 103. Turkey and chicken were present as were Canada goose, and duck. Fish remains include yellow perch, sunfishes and basses, freshwater catfish, possible white catfish, bullhead catfish, and possible striped sea bass. Also present were remains of box turtle, cottontail rabbit, raccoon, and muskrat. This list provides an interesting possibility of wild food sources supplementing the regular acquisition of process meats.

Summary of Analyses for Feature 103. The ceramic vessel count provided an 1858 date for the privy's ceramic assemblage. Glass, having tighter production dates during the late 19th century, provided a later date of 1874. These dates are not as drastically different as those derived from the Feature 118 assemblage – only 16 years difference as opposed to nearly 42 years.

The 1874 date precedes the first Census Data that includes address information (1880). Similarly, no city directory goes back that far. We know that during the 1870s, the property was owned by James R. White. The 1880 Census data has 42 year old, Charlotte Barord as living in 88 Franklin St. with her two daughters, Mary and Lottie Barord. The Census designated the Barords as “mulatto.” Given that the derived ceramic and glass dates are not absolute and precise, it is probably safe to assume that the Barord household is represented in Feature 103.

The consumer strategies noted by Mullins and Warner can be evaluated in light of the new data from the ceramic, glass, and faunal analyses. According to their studies, ceramics from Annapolis' African-American contexts have shown a period of extended curation – this is largely visible in the difference between the ceramic *tpq* and the calculated mean date. In addition, assemblages contain few matching wares. Matching ceramics have been uncommon at other African-American Annapolitan sites including the Maynard-Burgess Site, Gott's Court, and the previous work done at the Courthouse Site. Glass assemblages from Annapolis' African-American Sites typically hold few food storage containers or preserving jars. In addition, identifiable bottles tend to reflect more national brands than local bottlers or goods. Faunal analysis from the Maynard-Burgess site (Mullins and Warner 1993) found a fair amount of diversity in the animals represented and thus in the diet of the household members. Here, significant amounts of fowl and fish were part of the diet in addition to the typical cow, pig, and sheep. The Bellis Court privy (Aiello and Seidel 1995) in contrast, showed a heavy reliance upon pork and the other typical mammalian sources of food.

The 88 Franklin St. privy assemblage certainly does not contradict these observations. At the same time, they are not a simple fit within these expectations. Archaeology is rarely that neat and it is, after all, one of the stated goals of this work to conduct archaeology on additional African-American households in order to acknowledge and express the diversity present within the community.

The ceramic assemblage from Feature 103 does not express the degree of curation present in the assemblage just next door. If one compares the mean ceramic date with the *tpq* for the privy – 1870 from the glass date⁴ – there is a wider lag evident in the ceramic assemblage. Mullins and Warner have suggested that extended use likely reflects “generational exchange and barter of household ceramics among African-Americans” (Mullins and Warner 1993). The result is that more old and unmatched vessels are being used together in African-American households. For this assemblage, the ceramics used were perhaps not all that old.

The Feature 103 ceramic assemblage, like other African-American assemblages from Annapolis, does not show evidence of regular sets of ceramics. The percentages of decorative types show variety. No one decorative type stands out with the exception of undecorated vessels – these of course could be used together or with less decorative pieces to present a degree of uniformity. As with the case of other Annapolis African-American sites, there is no clear evidence of an attempt to put together matching sets. For example, the teawares (which represented 14.29% of the total vessels counted) included a molded Rockingham/Bennington teapot, a second Jackfield-like teapot. These were disposed of along with an overglaze blue painted, late hardpaste porcelain cup, three undecorated whiteware cups, four undecorated ironstone cups, and one molded ironstone cup. Presumably, these cups were used with the following saucers: a handpainted blue pearlware, an undecorated hardpaste porcelain, two handpainted polychrome whitewares, a sponge/spatter decorated whiteware, a hand painted green whiteware, and two undecorated ironstone saucers. The rest of the ceramic assemblage shows comparable decorative variation.

Glass analysis on the Feature 103 privy found few glass storage vessels and no preserving jars. This is consistent with the trends suggested by Warner’s and Mullins’ work. The preference for national brands over local products is more difficult to discern. The other African-American sites from Annapolis found assemblages that dated from the 1880s on into the early 20th century. As this assemblage predates those, the reflection of the strategy to circumvent local markets is complicated by the nature of glass production and usage.

The 1880s are watershed years for glass manufacture but also for product marketing. Prior to this decade, glass assemblages tend to include fewer embossed bottles and show a greater degree of curation and reuse of glass bottles. After this time, there is an archaeologically evident proliferation of consumable products packaged increasingly in marked glass containers. An ever growing number of these products were offered on a national scale as brand named goods. It is the presence of these goods that Mullins and Warner are referring to when suggesting a greater reliance upon national products.

As this assemblage predates this change, assessing the reliance upon national products as a means of circumventing racism in local markets is difficult. Five (out of 84) vessels could be

⁴ Though a cupric alloy, cartridge case was also recovered from 52.103c. The specific *tpq* for this particular item is not known to the author, but it would fall to last quarter of the 19th century.

identified to products through their embossments. This represents less than 6% of the whole glass assemblage. Another seven bottles (the six medicinal/extract forms and the food bottle) could well have been national products whose paper labels did not survive in the archaeological record. However, even this number would still be considerably less than the percentage present in the Maynard-Burgess cellar assemblage where 23 of 91 vessels (or 25.3%) could be identified to makers or to specific products.

Feature 103 glass vessel analysis does not show the same trend toward a greater use of national products. This contradiction, however, is more likely the result of a different market environment than an eschewing of national products.

Area Four

Measuring 15 x 20 ft, Area Four incorporates the backyard space of 86 Franklin St. Portions of this area were sampled during Phase I/II excavations in 2000. Trench 2 and 3 as well as Excavation Unit 32 found intact features and many artifacts. As this area is part of the Charity Folks (1832) holding, further excavation and recovery was deemed necessary.

Surface elevations for Area Four were 37.61 ft amsl. Removal of the construction/destruction layer revealed a brick wall (Feature 100 from 2000 excavations) running east - west through the area. The area north of the wall was not dug as deep (only to 36.48 ft amsl) as the focus of this area was the 86 Franklin St. yard.⁵ The remainder of the area was dug to a depth of 35.64 ft amsl.

Three new units were placed and excavated in Area Four (Figure 45). Units 51 and 55 were situated to examine the area between 2000 excavations' Unit 32 and Trench 3. Unit 54 was set up to the south of Unit 32 with a common profile with Units 51 and 55.

Unit 32 (N256 E163) -- Revisited.

Several significant contexts were found in Unit 32-- Levels H, I, Feature 100, and several post hole features. Levels H and I were strata of clay loam having an extremely organic smell. Level H was dug as an arbitrary layer about .3 feet deep. A change was made to layer I when a diminishment of artifact density was noted. Level H appeared to be capped by an irregular layer of coal and cinder, giving H a significant distinction from the other depositions found in the project area.

Level H held over 1,250 artifacts (Larsen 2001: 76). Of these, 330 were ceramics. A mean date of 1849.9 was derived from 246 of these ceramics, but this date is perhaps a bit misleading. Level H held a copper alloy, printing plate for a Baltimore clothing store -- Mabley and Carew -- and advertising clothing for the 1885 winter season (Figure 46). Additionally, a train token ("THE DIST. OF COL./ONE FARE//WASH. RY. & E./CO./CAP. TRAC CO.")

⁵ The 88 Franklin St. context in Area Four was sampled in previous work and since it was determined that this space sat under an addition to the building no further was deemed necessary.

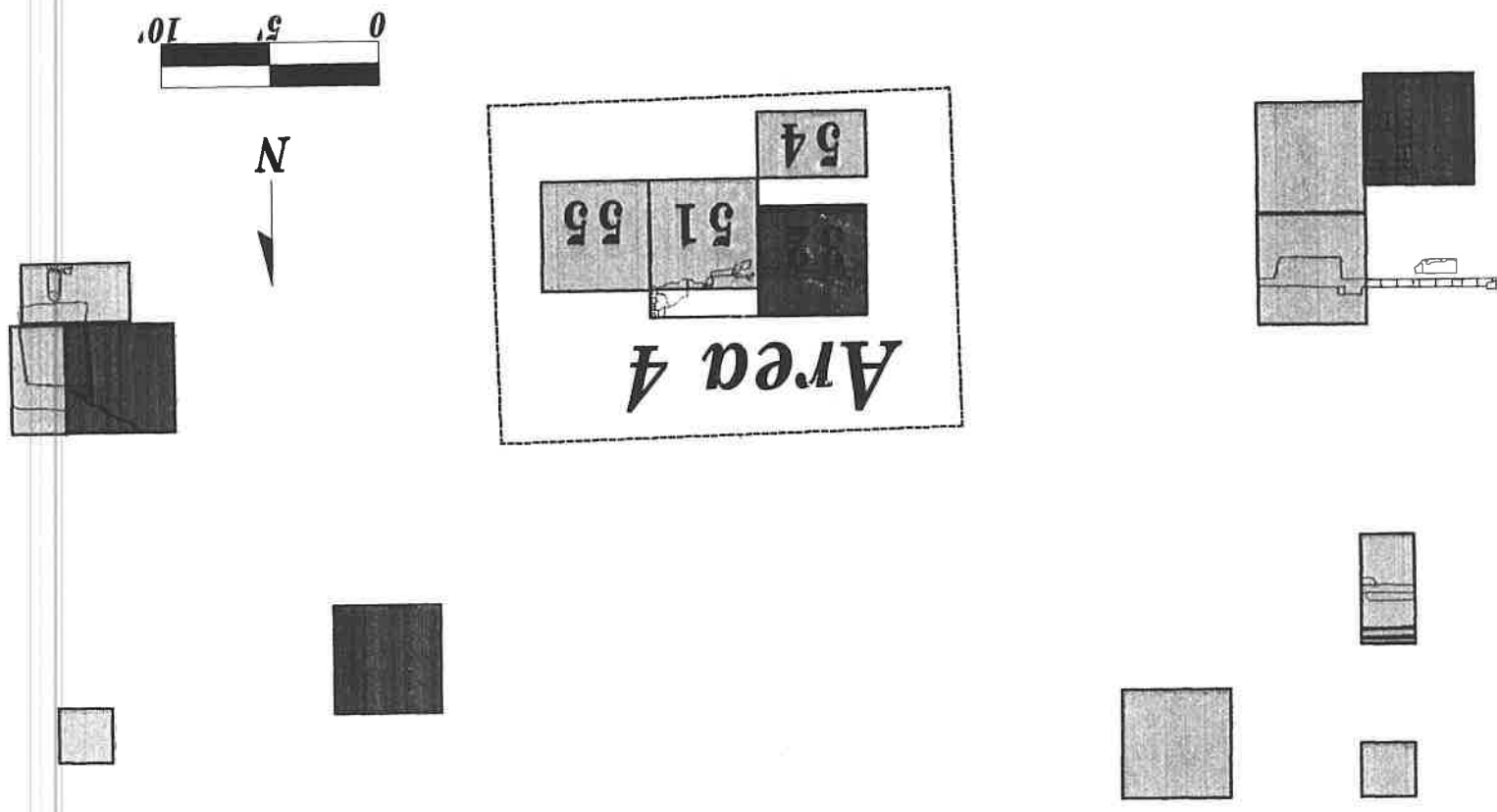


Figure 45. Area Four, Units 51, 54 and 55.

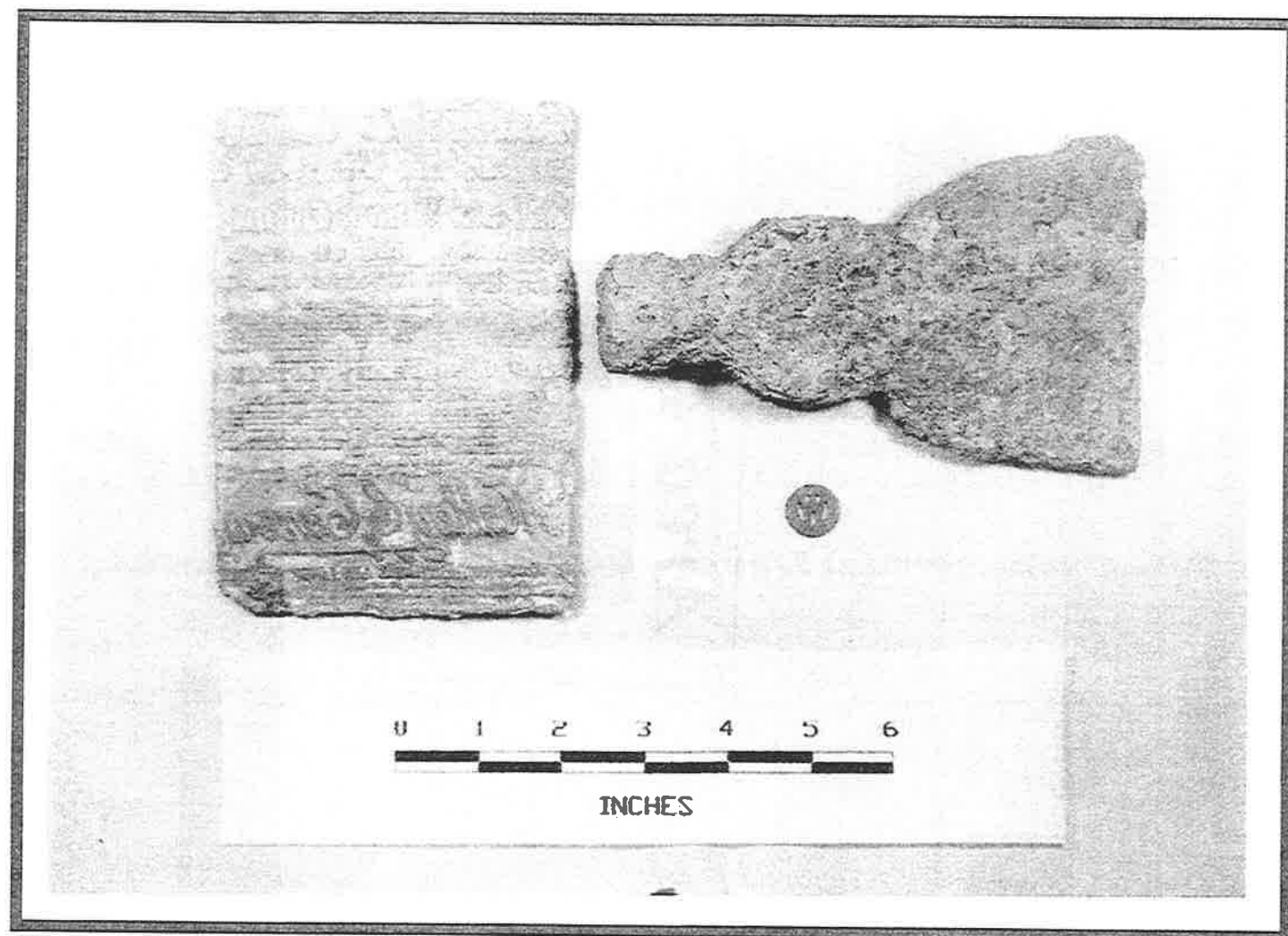


Figure 46. Unit 32, Level H Artifacts; 18AP63 Courthouse Site. Clockwise From Left: Printing Plate, Ax Head, DC Fare Token (Larsen 2000).

seems more likely to be associated with a later date. Other significant objects included: an axe head, slate pencil, and several 4 hole sew-through buttons. The axe head is particularly interesting as this unit was placed to evaluate a location on the Bishop Estate Plat Map labeled as “woodshed” though one should not make too much of this. The layer proved a culturally rich deposit with contradictions. Why such early ceramic dates with this late 19th- or turn-of-the-20th-century context?

More than 725 artifacts were recovered from Layer I (Larsen 2001: 78). Two hundred sixteen diagnostic ceramics provided a mean date of 1867.3 (interestingly, this layer’s mean date is nearly twenty years later than the mean date derived from the layer above). This places the context to the period of intense neighborhood development from the 1870s through the Turn of the 20th century.

A survey of Baltimore and Annapolis newspapers from 1884-1886 provides some new background on the Mabley and Carew printer’s plate (*Evening Capital* and *The Morning Herald*). A quick examination of Baltimore newspapers found numerous advertisements over the Fall of 1884 for the opening of a new men’s clothiers named Mabley and Carew. While most of the mirror image of the plate is corroded and difficult to see, enough could read to know that it specifically mentions Fall and Winter Cloths and a date of 1885. The available Baltimore papers and Annapolis’ *Evening Capital* were examined for this ad. Mabley and Carew had large ads (like those in Figure 47) in the papers at least biweekly during the fall of 1885 (the year prior, a new ad was placed every few days).

Nothing found matched up with the plate from the backyard of 86 Franklin.⁶ Two are contemporary and similar – one from the *Morning Herald* 1885, and the other from the *Evening Capital* 1886 (Figure 48). Mabley and Carew continuously advertised retail at “wholesale prices” and “marked goods at the lowest prices.”

We shall take pleasure in showing you a stock that in extent, variety and general excellence is unsurpassed in Maryland or in the South. . . . Our facilities are perfect; our stock is complete. We therefore, know that we can supply everybody with Clothing at better advantage to purchasers than can be afforded by any concern in the South. . . . Everybody is invited to examine our stock, whether desiring to purchase or not, and all visitors may rely upon courteous and civil attention [*The Morning Herald*. 12 Oct. 1885; p.4 c5-6].

These are very common statements found in the Mabley & Carew ads that appeared almost weekly in the Baltimore papers and at least monthly in Annapolis’ *Evening Capital*. What was meant by “courteous and civil attention,” and what being unique in the South meant remain ambiguous.

⁶ Some have felt the plate represents a handbill – perhaps being run off as needed and distributed. The plate, however, is similar in size to the two column ads found in the *Morning Herald* and *Evening Capital*..

WE ARE READY
— FOR THE —
FALL AND WINTER SEASON.

We invite every consumer of Clothing to visit our house. We shall take pleasure in showing you a stock that in extent, variety and general excellence is unsurpassed in Maryland or the South. Every day during the past month we have received direct from our manufacturing department large quantities of the latest, most desirable and best goods, all made by our expert tailors to whom we pay liberal wages because of their proficiency and excellent work. Our facilities are perfect, our stock is complete. We, therefore, know that we can supply everybody with Clothing at better advantage to purchasers than can be offered by any concern in the South.

OUR MEN'S DEPARTMENT
Includes all grades of Clothing, beginning with good durable Suits at \$4. Then we have an immense stock of better Suits at \$7.50, \$8, \$10 and \$12. We particularly desire to call your attention to our special line of

SUITS FOR FIFTEEN DOLLARS.
At which price we can offer you a variety of fabrics to select from, all colors and styles, among which we mention Black, Brown and Blue Corkscrews, Plain Diagonals, Fancy Checks and Plaids, Plain Goods, neat Mixtures, Cheviots and Blue Goods. All of the above are in Four-Button Cutaways, Square-cut Sacks, Cutaway Sacks and Double-breasted Sacks. These Suits are warranted All-Wool, durable, fast colors, correct styles and superior make. We do not hesitate to state that such a line of \$15 Suits were never before offered in Maryland.

EXTRA FINE DRESS SUITS.
Buyers of Fine Clothing should examine these goods before investing a dollar for Fall or Winter Garments. We have exerted our BEST EFFORTS to EXCEL in the superiority and fine finish of our Extra Fine Clothing, and we are now pleased to display an assortment of Choice Fabrics, cut and made by regular custom tailors, which cannot be offered elsewhere in Baltimore excepting at an advance of 15 to 25 per cent. in excess of our prices.

FALL OVERCOATS.
October is the month of all months when a Light-Weight Overcoat is most desirable. The changeable weather, cool mornings and evenings, with frequent warm days, too warm for a heavy overcoat, and yet too cool without an outside garment, renders a Light-Weight, absolutely a necessity for comfort.

OUR OVERCOAT DEPARTMENT Occupies One Entire Floor.
No matter what your wishes may be regarding style, color or material, you will find in the vastness of our stock exactly the garment to please you, and the price will be satisfactory, for we always sell at smallest profit margins. We can sell you a good Melton Overcoat for \$5. From that style and price you can go all along the line to \$25, which will purchase an elegant silk-lined garment from best imported cloth—in fact, an Overcoat for which a merchant-tailor would charge you \$40 or \$50.

BOYS' DEPARTMENT.
Two-piece Suits, new, natty, styles, in handsomest goods—Corduroys, Tricots, Broad Diagonals, Plaids, Checks and Plain Goods in all styles. Norfolk, Pinsted and Plain Jackets from \$2 to \$15. Long Pants Suits from \$3 to \$24. Single-Breasted Sacks, Double-Breasted Sacks and Four-Button Cutaways are the neatest and best fitting garments for Boys that can be made.

CHILDREN'S CLOTHING IS OUR SPECIALTY
And our stock this season is unusually attractive. We want parents to examine our immense display, which occupies almost the entire second floor. We guarantee our prices the lowest.

BOYS' OVERCOATS.
Our line of Boys' Overcoats is complete. We believe in being prepared to meet every demand for any style or material. Therefore we have a stock in store to-day which cannot be duplicated in Baltimore. Prices range from \$2 to \$23; sizes from 3 to 13 years.

Everybody is invited to examine our stock, whether desiring to purchase or not, and all visitors may rely upon courteous and civil attention.

MABLEY & CAREW,
S. W. CORNER BALTIMORE AND LIGHT STREETS.

Figure 47. Mabley and Carew Ad (*The Morning Herald* 1885)

MABLEY & CAREW.

CHRISTMAS HOLIDAY NEW YEAR

1885 SEASON! 1886

We have made special preparations for the HOLIDAY SEASON
by placing in stock an extra assortment of elegant
garments for

Men, Boys and Children.

These goods were manufactured by us expressly to meet the de-
mands of

A BRISK HOLIDAY TRADE,

And include the most recent patterns in fabrics of every shade
and grade.

We are Cutting Prices in every Department.

And at no time during the season have we displayed a larger or
more complete stock than now, or sold goods at prices so low.

When you visit Baltimore to purchase Christmas presents it
will pay you to examine our extensive line of

Men's, Boys and Children's Clothing!

You can buy better clothing, and get more value for your mon-
ey at Mabley & Carew's than at any retail store in the city.

WE HAVE MARKED GOODS AT LOWEST FIGURES

When the people wish to buy, and are selling many garments
at less than cost of making.

We also offer a choice assortment of attractive Christmas Nov-
elties, handsome and useful articles, in our FURNISHING
GOODS DEPARTMENT,

Retailed at Wholesale Prices.

Remember our CUT-RATE SALE will continue during the En-
tire Holiday Season.

LOW PRICES PREVAIL ALL OVER THE HOUSE.

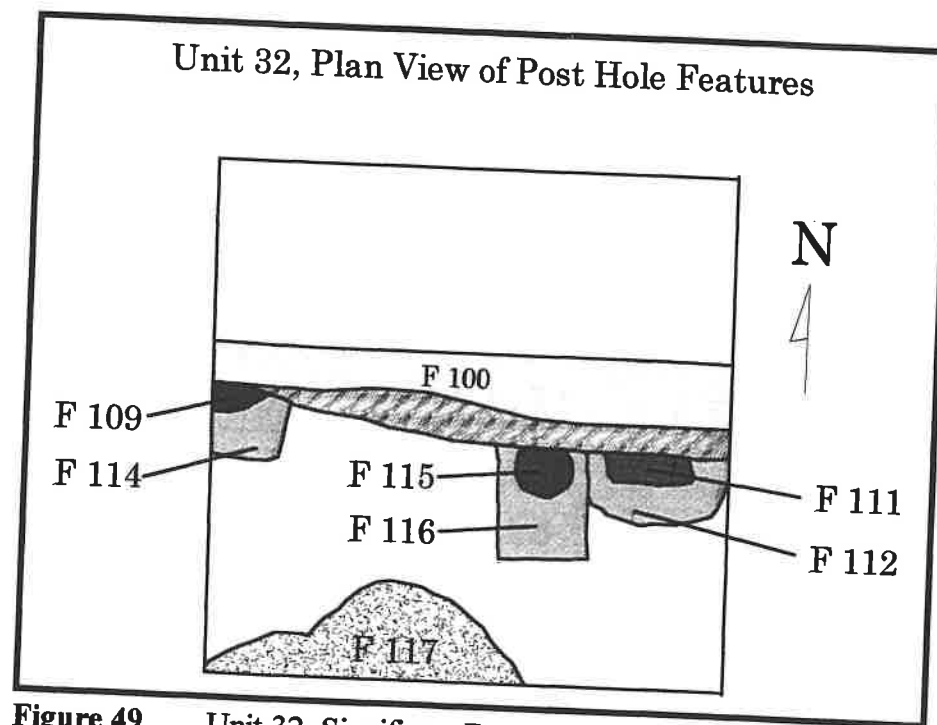
MABLEY & CAREW,
S. W. COR. BALTIMORE AND LIGHT STS.

Figure 48. Mabley and Carew Ad - Evening Capital 1886)

Why this printing plate was found in the yard space between the 86 and 84 Franklin St. residences also remains unknown. One would most likely associate the presence of a printing plate with the print trade. The 1880 Census (see Warner and Mullins 1993:Appendix I) identifies a white resident on Franklin St. as a printer – 40-year-old Irish immigrant John Maley who lived at 21 Doctor St. (or 72 Franklin St.) located a few doors down on the South side of Mt. Moriah. Later, at the turn of the 20th century, Rev. Solomon Timothy Tice (Mt. Moriah pastor, 1892-1897) also lived at 72 Franklin St. and published the Negro Appeal newspaper in Annapolis from 1899-1900. Additionally—though this is admittedly a stretch—Mt. Moriah Church was connected with the print trade as a regular customer (i.e., bulletins and announcements). How this plate came to be deposited here is unclear and will probably remain so.

In light of this research's goals toward examining consumer choices, however, it may be worth *considering* the plate *could* be evidence of marketing directed to African Americans. The Baltimore clothiers *may* have provided a means of circumventing local markets in a manner similar to that outlined by Mullins and Warner (1993) for "national" products. Mabley and Carew marketed to a large region – with Baltimore being its southernmost outlet. The store routinely advertised their prices. Courteous and civil service may have suggested racism at the service counter might be avoided.

The printing plate and fare token give archaeologists clearer evidence of the interconnections between Annapolis and the larger, nearby cities of Baltimore and Washington, D.C. Both cities held a large African American population with established communities and even black-owned businesses. While the Mabley and Carew ad does not represent an African-American owned business, it does underscore the ability to travel or purchase things outside Annapolis.



Feature 100 was first identified bisecting Unit 32 and proved to be a mortar laid, brick wall running east-west across the unit. This feature was the base of the south of the ca. 1910 addition made to 88 Franklin St. When excavated, no builders trench was found. The base of the wall was found at 34.68 ft.amsl.

In Unit 32, three sets of post molds and associated holes were

Figure 49. Unit 32, Significant Features.

found on the south side of Feature 100 – these were F 109 and 114; F 115 and 116; and F111 and 112 (see Figure 49). Only a few artifacts were recovered from each with little to provide conclusive dates. It is clear, by the association of the features with the 88 Franklin wall, that the post holes and molds predated the wall. What is not clear, however, is whether these features are part of a fence dividing the lots or part of an outbuilding such as a wood shed.

Unit 51 (N254.5 E168)

Unit 51 was placed east of Unit 32 and up against the south edge of Feature 100. The richness of the late 19th century yard area sampled by Unit 32 made expanding into adjacent units a foregone conclusion. As the bulk of the recovered materials came from south of Feature 100, it was decided to shift the unit southward and sample more of the 86 Franklin St. lot. The north wall of the unit was placed up against Feature 100.

The removal of the overburden in Area Three removed soils down to and including a heavy clay layer. This layer had been present in Unit 32 and was found to have no cultural materials within it. In monitoring the removal of this clay, no cultural materials (beyond brick flecks) were recovered or even seen.

The opening surface of this unit showed three distinct soil types and thus three different proveniences. These all roughly ran east-west across the unit. This showed a high level of activity here in the back yard space for 86 Franklin Street and a high degree of complexity in understanding and excavating the strata. In digging the unit, three distinct areas were present until the transition to subsoils was reached.

Levels C, E, and G were found only in the southern third of the unit (Figure 50). These likely reflect some unknown feature or cut into the soils in this area. The artifacts (Table 19) suggest these to be 20th-century disturbances. The appearance of quantities of earlier ceramics (creamwares, and pearlwares) suggests an early 19th century date. However, the clear evidence of automatic machine-made bottles (post 1904) in each of these levels, as well as the asphalt roofing material and pieces of metal lathe (post 1940s) found in Level E all point to the 20th century.

Level D corresponds with Unit 32, Level H. This was a very artifact rich level within Unit 51 with over 1,140 artifacts being recovered from this provenience (Table 20). A late 19th century date was determined for this level in Unit 32. Materials recovered from Unit 51 all correspond.

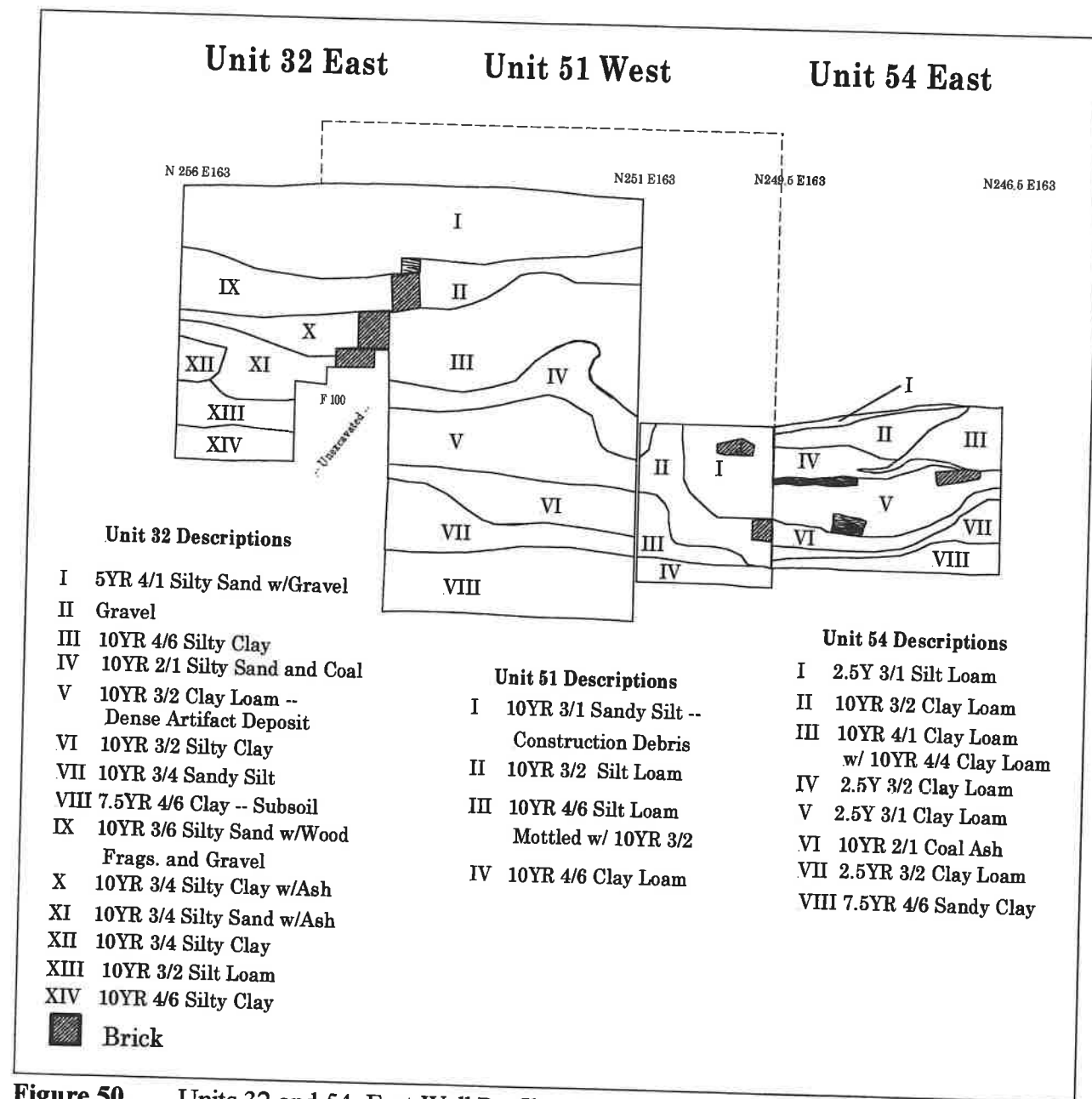


Figure 50. Units 32 and 54, East Wall Profiles; Unit 51, West Wall Profile

Table 19. Summary of Artifacts from Unit 51, Levels C, E, and G.

	Level C	Level E	Level G
Ceramics			
Course Earthenware	7	10	6
Creamware	2	7	32
Pearlware	10	3	62
Whiteware	12	7	36
Other Earthenware	2	2	12
Porcelains	3	1	3
Stoneware	1	-	8
Tobacco Pipe	1	-	1
Glass			
Bottle Glass	34	224	49
Flat Glass	25	86	41
Glass Tumbler	-	-	1
Metal, Bones, Other Materials			
Nails	10 (4 wire)	1 (cut)	43 (1cut, 1 wire)
Other Metal	6	5	-
Architectural	26	29	10
Shell	7	-	10
Coal	4	8	4

Table 20. Summary of Artifacts from Unit 51, Level D.

	<u>Level D</u>
Ceramics	
Course Earthenware	24
Creamware	55
Pearlware	167
Whiteware	181
Other Earthenware	45
Porcelains	13
Stoneware	23
Tobacco Pipe	26
Glass	
Bottle Glass	134
Flat Glass	141
Glass Tumbler	3
Other Glass	5
Metal, Bones, Other Materials	
Nails	117
Other Metal	11
Architectural	56
Shell	107
Coal	25
Other	1 (clay marble)

Several post hole features were found next to Feature 100 in Unit 51. Another post mold and associated post hole (Features 132 and 134 respectively) were found just south and partially underlying Feature 100. Twenty-two whitewares (eight blue shell edged), a single sherd of an exterior glazed course earthenware, two pieces of flat glass, four pieces of bottle glass, one partial clam shell, and a piece of coal were recovered when the post mold was excavated. Feature 134 held significantly more artifacts – one slip/trailed decorated earthenware, twenty-five sherds of undecorated creamware, twenty-four sherds of undecorated pearlware, fourteen sherds of shell

edged pearlwares (one green the rest blue), eighteen sherds of undecorated whiteware, and a single sherd of a hand painted whiteware, one piece of American blue-and-gray stoneware, a single tobacco pipe bowl fragment, seven pieces of flat glass, two pieces of bottle glass, eighteen unidentified nails, one slate pencil, two chunks of brick, fifteen shells, and two pieces of coal.

Feature 139 was partially exposed in the northeast corner of Unit 51. The dark grayish brown stain is probably another post hole. Artifacts recovered included fourteen pieces of creamware (four of which are decorated with a transfer print), two sherds of handpainted pearlwares, three undecorated whitewares, one sherd of yellowware, two pieces of stoneware, twenty-nine pieces of glass, eighteen nails, four unidentified metal objects, eight architecture items (such as mortar, brick, slate), eight pieces of shell, and twenty pieces of coal.

Unit 54 (N249.5 E163)

Unit 54 was placed to the southwest (corner) of Unit 51 in order to further test the break in strata visible in the south third of Unit 51. As there was not enough room for a full 5 x 5 ft unit within Area Four, the unit was excavated as a 3 x 5.

The initial level continued to hold heavy inclusions of modern construction/destruction debris. It was characterized by random and disarticulated wood fragments, some of them painted red and many of them over .5 ft in length. While in the field, this seemed to be further evidence of the razing of the neighborhood in the 1970s. In reflection, however, this level was capped by a substantial and nearly sterile clay level that in other units (32 and 51) marked the time boundary between area's residential use and the subsequent Courthouse parking lot. It is possible that this level represents construction/destruction debris that predated the neighborhood's destruction and may be related to how this area of the yard was used during the middle of the 20th century. It is also possible that this debris is the result of a deeper impact as one moved away from building foundations. This seems to be the case with what was encountered in Unit 34 during the 2000 excavations (Larsen 2001: 95-97). Artifacts are generally mixed and not temporally sensitive enough to clarify this relationship.

Subsequent levels showed a great degree of surface undulation. These were not flat level yard surfaces. Artifacts were present in good numbers – particularly architectural materials (Table 21).

Level D was comprised of coal/ash deposits on an historic grade. Within this deposit was found a series of wooden planks running east-west along the north side of the unit. This was designated as Feature 140 (Figure 51). First found at 34.76 ft amsl, the base of planks was found at 34.56 ft amsl. When the feature was dismantled (after documentation) some of the "bottom" surfaces were found to have been painted red – much like fragments of wood found in the levels above. Because of the fragmentary nature of the remaining wood, the nature of this feature remains unclear.

Table 21. Summary of Artifacts from Unit 54, Levels B, C, and D.

	<u>Level B</u>	<u>Level C</u>	<u>Level D</u>
Ceramics			
Course Earthenware	5	1	1
Creamware	-	22	1
Pearlware	6	5	2
Whiteware	12	18	5
Other Earthenware	3	2	2
Porcelains	5	5	2
Stoneware	10	3	5
Tobacco Pipe	-	1	-
Glass			
Bottle Glass	78	141	45
Flat Glass	40	-	49
Glass Tumbler	2	-	-
Metal, Bones, Other Materials			
Nails	6 (3 cut, 3 wire)	6 (1 cut, 3 wire)	1 (cut)
Other Metal	7	1	1
Architectural	17 + 25 lbs. brick	8 + 10 lbs. brick	1
Shell	13	13	11
Coal	1	2	2
Synthetics	9	3	1 (rubber)
Textiles	14	-	-

The original goal of unit placement was an attempt to locate a described “woodshed” in the northeast corner of the yard. This wood may represent the flooring of an outbuilding. However, except for the post holes found on the lot line, no other possible structural supports for an outbuilding were located.

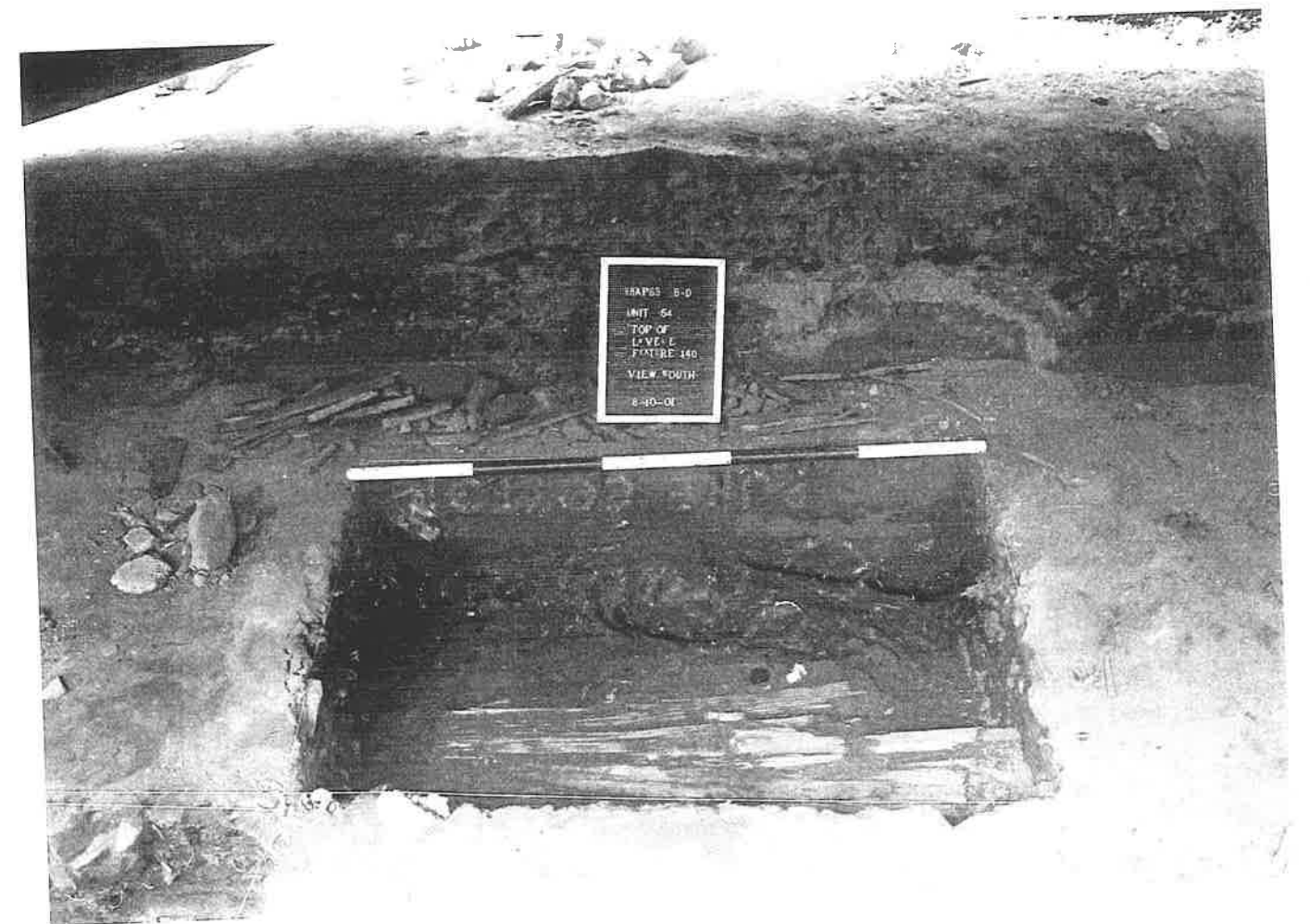


Figure 51. Unit 54, Feature 140, Facing South (Beadenkopf 2001).

The nature of the surrounding contexts, perhaps, provide some idea of the nature of Feature 140. All levels to this point have held a lot of architectural materials including some sizeable wood fragments. This "planking" may simply represent accumulated or stored materials from a shed or other outbuilding after it was knocked down. The uneven ("undulating" was the word used by excavators) surfaces may suggest this to have been a high traffic. It may also have been an area prone to wet conditions and mud (as it is today). Wood planking may have provided informal walkways or work surfaces in this environment. One of these less formal interpretations seems the most likely explanation for this feature.

Soon after recording and removing Feature 140, weather became a factor. Rains were particularly hard on this Area of the site – two of the Museum's down spouts empty onto this portion of the lot. Attempts were made to redirect the water away from the excavations – these efforts helped immensely, but Units 54 and 55 still needed to be bailed and cleaned on more than one occasion.

Unit 55 (N 254.5 E173)

Unit 55 was placed directly to the east of Unit 51. Part of this unit had been impacted by the previous summer's Trench 3. The east wall of the unit falls inside of Trench 3. Before excavations for Unit 55 began, the backfilled trench was cleared out once more.

Levels A-C abutted Feature 100 (or the wall of the 1910s addition to 88 Franklin St). These were not found to be old contexts – Level A held a plastic coffee cup lid. Level D was found along the south wall of the unit (and so, opposite Feat. 100) but still appears to be fairly recent.

Level E continued the artifact rich strata first identified in Unit 32 (Level H) and later in Unit 51 (Level D). The surface varied widely in elevation – again, described as undulating. More than 250 artifacts were recovered from this provenience (Table 22). Seventy diagnostic ceramics were used to calculate a mean ceramic date of 1825.82 for this level.

The final days spent on completing excavations of Unit 55 were hampered by a series of afternoon thunderstorms. Most of the rain came during the evenings after the work day was completed. Because of the amount of storm water directed to this lot, morning often found units flooded (particularly hit were Units 54, 55, and the privy Units 33, 50, and 52)

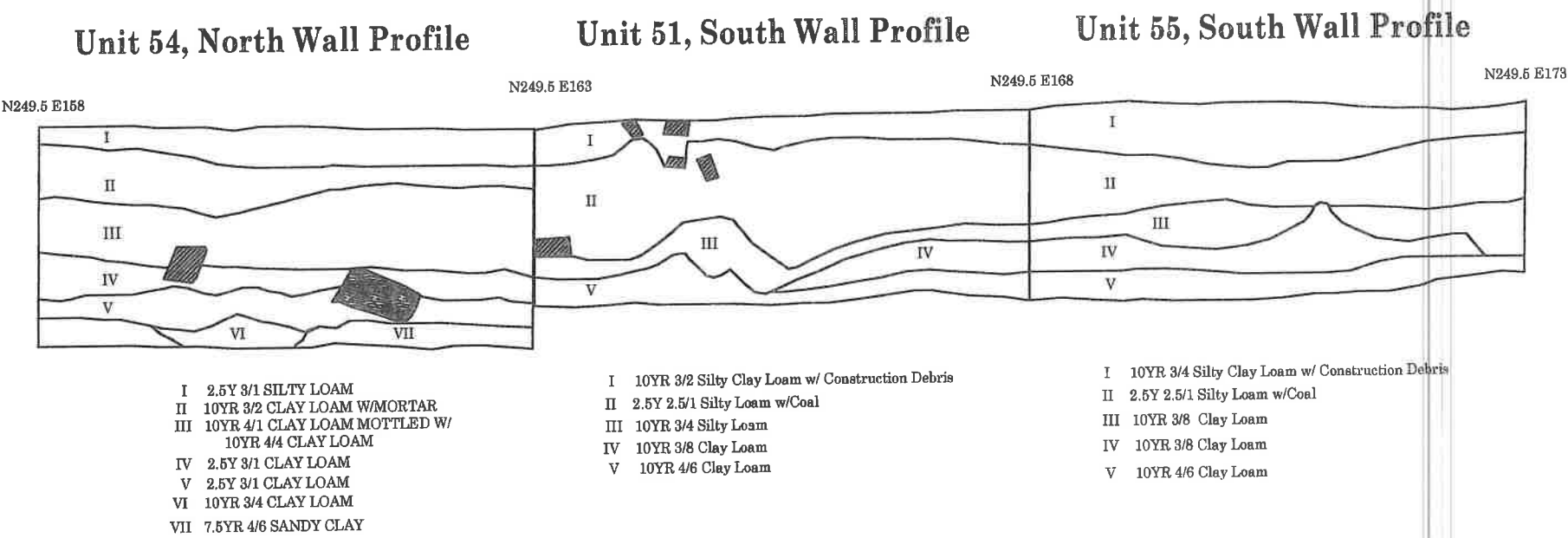


Figure 52. Unit 54, North Wall Profile; Units 51 and 55, South Wall Profiles.

Table 22. Summary of Artifacts from Unit 55, Levels E.

	<u>Level E</u>	<u>Level F</u>	<u>Level G</u>
Ceramics			
Course Earthenware	1	8	3
Creamware	11	9	4
Pearlware	45	59	15
Whiteware	25	2	28
Other Earthenware	4	2	1
Porcelains	5	6	2
Stoneware	3	6	-
Tobacco Pipe	3	4	-
Glass			
Bottle Glass	43	29	17
Flat Glass	35	-	11
Metal, Bones, Other Materials			
Nails	28	7 (1 cut)	17
Other Metal	1	4	3
Architectural	18	2	4
Shell	2	8	-
Bone	10	-	-
Coal	13	2	1
Synthetics	1	-	-

Area Five

A 20 x 15 ft area was opened to sample the southwest portion of the lot (Figure 53). This, like Area One, was intended to sample the fronts of the lots and provide a chance to examine the structures that once stood in the project area. Area Five’s opening elevations averaged 38.0 ft amsl. The backhoe removed the recent fill to an average level of 36.42 ft amsl. More than 240 artifacts were recovered during the monitoring of this work and provenienced as Unit 48. Artifacts, as expected, were mixed but clearly reflected the recentness of the fill deposits.

The opening of Area five revealed features from both the 86 and 88 Franklin St. houses. Feature 136 was a mortar laid brick wall running east-west across Area Five. This wall proved to be the south wall of 88 Franklin Street. Two brick piers were also found just south of Feature 136. The easternmost was designated Feature 137 and the other Feature 142. It is now clear that 86 and 84 Franklin St. were frame structures that rested on brick piers such as the two found here in Area Five.⁷

Units 49 and 51 were placed within Area Five to test the strata lying below 86 and 88 Franklin Streets. Unit 49 was located east of the previous year's Unit 35 with the intent of uncovering the remainder of Feature 110. Unit 51 was laid in to the north of Unit 49. This unit was further able to examine Features 136 and 137.

Unit 35 (N250 E135) -- Revisited

One of the significant features identified by Phase I/II excavations was Feature 110 found in Unit 35. Feature 110 was a series of bricks forming two corners of a rectangle (Figure 54). The brick feature measured 3 feet north to south. An east-west measurement of the feature was

not obtained as the feature extended beyond the wall of the unit, however, just over 2 feet was exposed. The surface of the feature measured a fairly uniform 35.8 ft amsl. The brick created an opening that measured nearly 1.5 feet north to south (again, the east-west measurement was unobtainable). The interior of this rectangle was excavated as Feature 110a. The soils filling this space were found to be loose and easily excavated. They were removed to reveal a clear cut into more compacted soils. This cut measured approximately .75 ft (or 9 inches) from the surface of the brick to the bottom of the cut.

It was initially believed that this feature was another building pier for the 86 Franklin structure. However, in excavating around the feature it became quite clear that it was rather insubstantial for a structural support. The southern line of brick was only a single course deep. Oddly, the northern edge of the feature proved three courses deep creating an uneven footing that was clearly cutting into and sitting upon loose fill.

Unit 35, Feat. 110

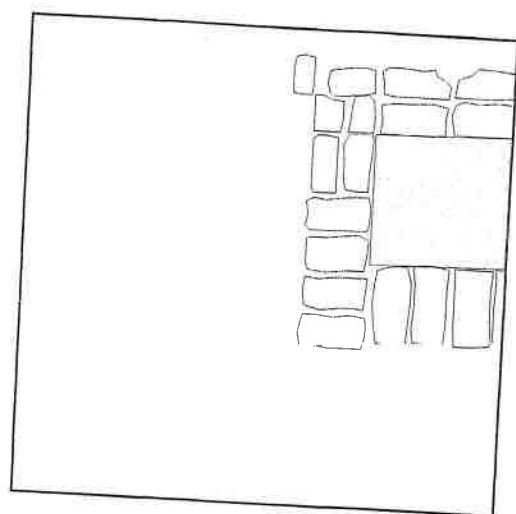


Figure 54. Unit 35, Feature 110.

⁷ Similar piers for 84 Franklin St. were found in Unit 1 (Aiello and Seidel 1995) and Unit 52 (above).

The location was significant. The westernmost edge of the feature measured approximately 12 feet from the present sidewalk.⁸ The southernmost edge of the feature measured only 8.5 feet off of the north wall of the Museum. It is known from 1994 excavations (Aiello and Seidel 1995; see also Appendix B, Unit 1 Summary), that a ca. 4 foot alleyway existed between the 86 and 84 dwellings and the Mt. Moriah building. This would place Feature 110 about four feet into the interior of the 86 Franklin Street dwelling. Newly uncovered foundations for 88 Franklin Street further help in situating the feature within the 86 Franklin St. Structure – its placement is just south of the house’s center.

This, coupled with the nature of the feature cutting into soils below the brick line, suggested to the author that this feature *may* have been a root cellar or a shallow storage pit accessed from inside the house. Artifacts were recovered from this feature, but not in significant numbers to provide solid dates (Table 23). Nor were the artifacts clearly suggestive of any type of behavior, activity, or function.

Table 23. Artifact Summary – Unit 35, Feature 110a.

F. 110a	
Ceramics	
Pearlware	2
Whiteware	19
Other Earthenware	1
Porcelains	1
Glass	
Flat Glass	7
Metal, Bones, Other Materials	
Nails	4
Architectural	24 (plaster, mortar, and brick)
Shell	22
Bone	14
Coal	17

⁸ The present walkway lines up with the front of the Banneker-Douglass Museum and the law offices that still stand at 92 Franklin Street. When compared to historic maps—such as the 1930s Sanborn seen in Figure 19 – this walk would be in the same approximate location as the front of 86 Franklin.

Unit 49 (N251 E140)

Unit 49's primary purpose was to expose the remainder of Feature 110. It would additionally provide a sampling of the materials and strata that sat below the house at 86 Franklin Street. Unit 49 was set up east of Unit 35 but shifted one foot northward. The plan for units was to open new units to the north of 49 toward 88 Franklin Street. Having Feat. 136 visible at the surface, it was felt that shifting north one foot would prove advantageous for the next unit. Feature 110 could still be fully exposed and collected.

It became apparent soon after beginning excavating Unit 49, that *nothing* of Feature 110 was present. Tumbled bricks were found, some of them showing signs of mortar around them, but no bricks were in place. There was, similarly, no discernable trace of the associated cut into the soils that was present in Unit 35.

Archaeologists set about trying to re-evaluate Feature 110. In trying to figure out what had happened, new measurements were taken. Measuring off the newly exposed 88 Franklin St. wall it was clear that the 3-sided brick feature was six feet away (we know the 86 Franklin Structure frontage was 12 ft across). Feature 110 was located at the center of the house.

Commission on African American History and Culture member, Godfrey Blackstone (2001), visited the site around the time we were pondering Feature 110. He remembers the neighborhood – remembers the interior of the house of Lulu Hardesty, who lived at 80 Franklin Street, and felt the brick was part of the base for the coal stove chimney. Such a feature was built into the interior wall with the stove pipe traversing from room to room in order to heat the whole house. Given the centrality of the feature, this explanation makes good sense.

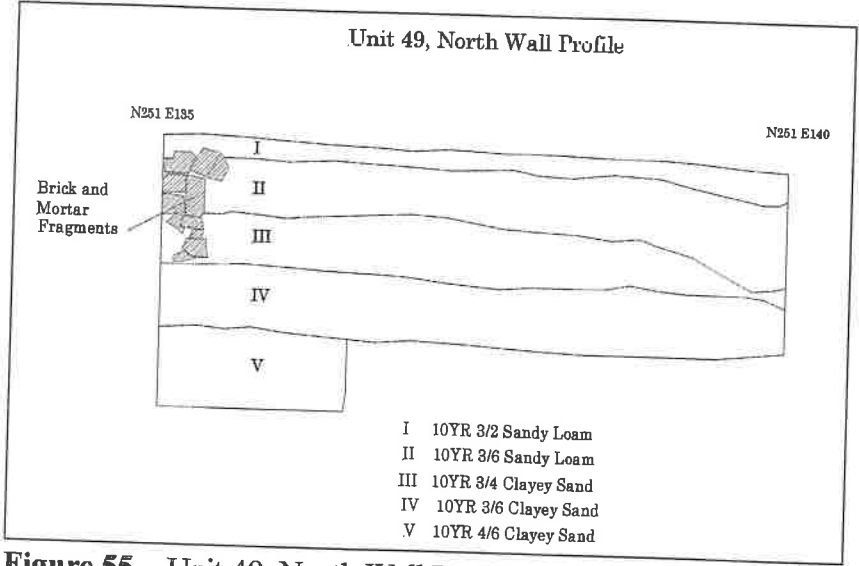


Figure 55. Unit 49, North Wall Profile.

The stratigraphy in Unit 49 was fairly straightforward (Figure 55). Level A resulted from a long period of accumulation below the house at 86 Franklin St. Four hundred ninety-eight artifacts were recovered from this level, including an 1884 penny. It logically follows that subsequent levels would represent the time just prior to construction of the house. Artifacts were abundant throughout the unit (Table 24). Mean ceramic dates were calculated for Levels B

and C. The Level B assemblage was comprised of 429 artifacts. Of these 117 ceramic sherds were used to calculate a mean ceramic date of 1843.7 for this provenience. Level C held 594 artifacts. Of these, 270 ceramic sherds were used to calculate a mean ceramic date of 1841.6 for Level C. Level C, however, has a solid *tpq* of 1860 from a penny found in this context.

Table 24. Summary of Recovered Artifacts from Unit 49.

	Level A	Level B	Level C	Level D
Ceramics				
Course Earthenware	4	5	19	9
Creamware	12	12	23	11
Pearlware	9	32	61	60
Whiteware	38	84	204	44
Other Earthenware	11	13	2	1
Porcelains	10	6	8	3
Stonewares	1	9	6	4
Tobacco Pipe	1	1	7	4
Glass				
Bottle Glass	102	35	71	28
Flat Glass	74	48	88	45
Other	17			
Metal, Bones, Other Materials				
Nails	49 (12 cut, 4 wire)	17 (6 cut)	41	20
Other Metal	17 (1884 penny)	4	9 (1860 penny)	11
Architectural	28 + 25 lbs brick	9	16	29
Shell	99	146	31	100
Coal	25	8	7	

Unit 53 (N256 E140)

Unit 53 was a full 5 x 5 unit opened to the north of Unit 49. This unit was also effected by the rains at the end of the field season. Soils were clayey and proved very difficult to work with when wet.

Feature 136 (the brick wall) ran east-west through unit dividing it into a roughly 2 ft section to the north and a 2.5 ft section south of the feature. Levels A and B were located north of F. 136 while Levels C and D were found south of the feature.

Levels A and B both held 20th century materials that likely accumulated under the 88 Franklin St. dwelling. Excavation of the north side of Feature 136 was halted at this point as the field season came to a close.

Levels C and D were excavated on the south side of Feature 136 in order to expose and examine the wall of 88 Franklin St (Feat. 136) and the brick pier for 86 Franklin St. (Feature 137). Ninety artifacts were recovered from Level C (Table 25). Level D held considerably more with a total of 367 artifacts collected. This ca. .5 ft layer appears to have been a quick deposit as several ceramic fragments were found tumbled and on end.

Table 25. Artifact Summary – Unit 53, Levels C and D.

	<u>Lvl. C</u>	<u>Lvl. D</u>
Ceramics		
Course Earthenware	3	7
Creamware	-	15
Pearlware	4	70
Whiteware	23	70
Other Earthenware	-	1
Stoneware	-	9
Tobacco pipe	-	3
Glass		
Bottle Glass	47 (38 from Ball Mason jars)	44
Flat Glass	3	40
Metal, Bones, Other Materials		
Nails	2 (cut)	24
Other Metals	3	2
Architectural	-	6 + 6.5 lbs. brick
Shell	5	-

Feature 136 (Figure 56) was a mortar laid brick wall that proved to be the south wall for 88 Franklin St. The feature was defined at the units surface and averaged an elevation of 35.59 ft amsl. The bottom of this wall was found through excavations of the south side of the unit. The base of the wall was found at 34.35 ft amsl.

The mortar laid brick pier for 86 Franklin St. was found within Unit 53. Its elevation at the top measured 35.44 ft amsl. The bottom of this feature was also found through excavations of the south portion of the unit. The base of this pier was determined to be 34.45 ft amsl.

Features 136 and 137 proved significant in archaeologists efforts in relocating the structures and the nature of their foundations. As stated above, excavation was hampered by rains late in the field season. It was determined that the returns from this unit were not significant enough to warrant the efforts necessary to continue. Since the bases of both features had been found, the unit was parked and ultimately ended without further excavation.

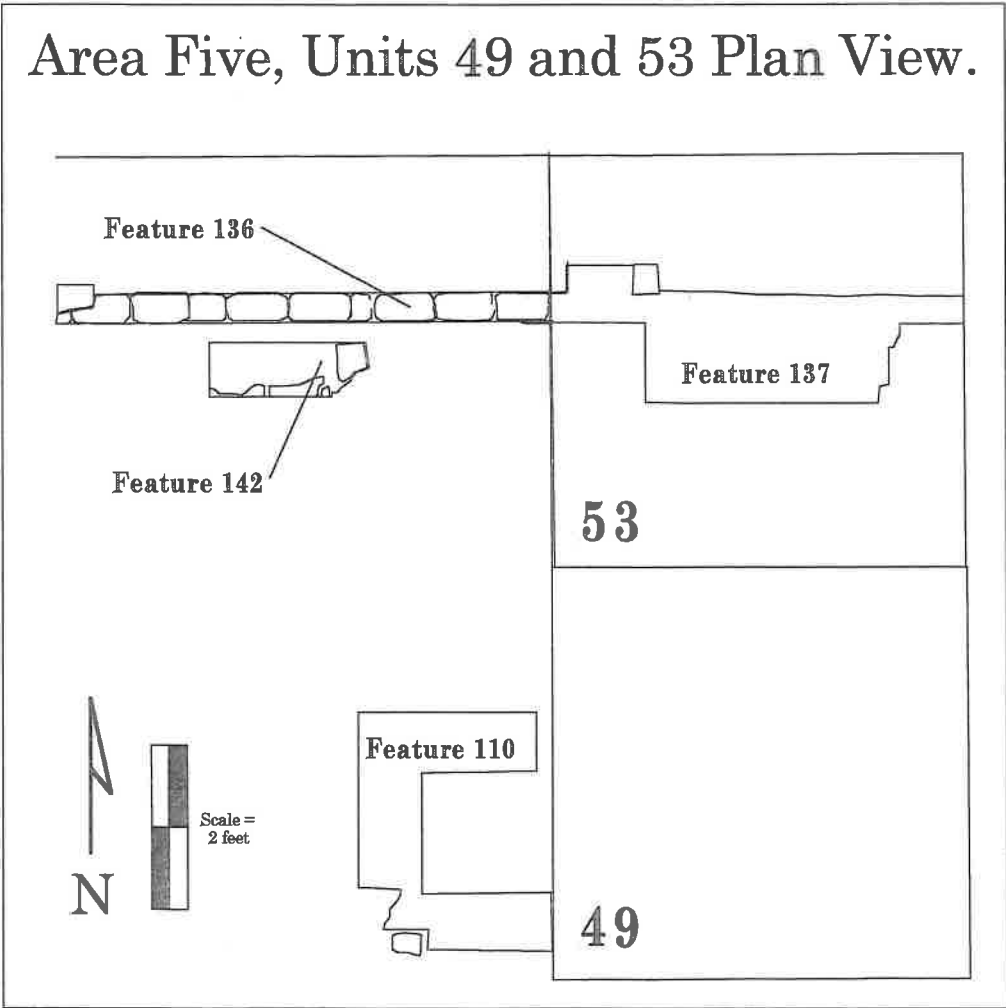


Figure 56. Area Five, Plan View of Significant Features.

SUMMARY AND INTERPRETATIONS

The Banneker-Douglass Project has provided an opportunity to revisit and reexamine African-American archaeology at the Courthouse Site. In many ways, because of the smaller scale of this project versus previous development of this block, archaeologists have had the opportunity better to pursue research goals regarding African-American presences at this site. The smaller project area allows for a more concentrated sampling and therefore a better focus on the site.

The three research objectives with which Archaeology in Annapolis entered these investigations were, again, the examination of the changing landscapes and built environment, the archaeology of households, and the testing of interpretations of racism and consumer strategies. These goals provide a logic with which to review the current findings.

Examination of the changing landscape is perhaps easiest understood through a chronological or temporal approach. The physical development of this small portion of the block is now much better understood in light of recent archaeological findings. As the historic contexts defined by Maryland's Comprehensive Historic Plan (Weissman 1986) were already introduced above, they provide handles, here, for discussing changes evident in this site.

Archaeological contexts dating as far back as the 17th century have been found elsewhere on the Courthouse block (Aiello and Seidel 1995). This was not, however, the case in the Banneker-Douglass Project Area. No cultural context (or even the stray artifact) was found from this early settlement period (1634-1750).

The deepest contexts – those found just above culturally sterile subsoils – hold artifacts that date back as far as the period of rural agrarian intensification & town development (1750-1815). Nowhere in the project area was evidence of intense activity found. No features were identified with this period. It is clear from previous archaeology that the current project area was not far from the 18th century home of Daniel Dulany (Aiello and Seidel 1995: 24).¹ The few artifacts recovered from these levels and their association with more recent objects is consistent with this area being undeveloped, open space during this time.

The earliest available documentation for development within the current project area comes during the first third of the 19th century. The period of "Agricultural-Industrial Transition & Economic Adaptation" (1815-1870) saw the large open lots in and around this area begin to be subdivided and developed. Excavations provide clear evidence for this period and the transition to a more urban environment.

¹ The back wall of that structure was probably no more than 50 or 60 ft from the easternmost portion (Areas 2 and 3) of the current project area.

Excavations in Areas One and Five provide the clearest contexts from this period. The soils found under the houses provided protected contexts dating to the early 19th century. Structural features, themselves, provide clues to the sequence of development. Historic records note that Jacob Slemaker acquired the property for 88 and 90 Franklin Street in 1821. In Slemaker's 1835 will, mention is made of two frame houses built since his purchase of the property. The archaeology corroborates the structures' presence in the 1830s, but also gives additional information about how these structures were originally laid out and built.

The cellar cut found in Unit 40 shows clearly that the front sections of these buildings were built without cellars. The rather insubstantial partition wall evident in Unit 43 (Feature 127) makes it clear that the 88 and 90 Franklin Street dwellings were built together, with a common wall between them.

Area Five provided information about the origins of 86 and 84 Franklin St. It is known that this land was part of the parcel bought by Charity Bishop, a free African-American, in 1832. Details about how these lots were developed, however, are unknown – only that by 1878, the Hopkins Map (Figure 11 above) shows the length of Franklin Street to be fully developed.²

Materials collected from under the 86 Franklin Street house shed some light on when these buildings were built. These contexts were present in Units 49 and 53 as well as Unit 35 from the previous year's excavations. The soils determined to have accumulated below the house while it was standing contained a wide range of artifacts reflecting the nearly 100 years the building is known to have stood. An 1884 penny was found in this context and provides a solid *tpq* for this accumulation.

The soils below this can be assumed either to have been brought in with the construction of the building or to have been in place before the building's construction. In either case, materials from these strata can provide some idea of when these dwellings were built. The ceramics from Unit 49, Levels B and C were used to calculate a mean date for these levels. Level B had a calculated date of 1843.7 and Level C at date of 1841.6. These dates should not be taken as absolutes since they reflect manufacture dates for durable items that are generally curated until broken. Fortunately, in this case, Level C held another penny – this one dated 1860.

The two pennies provide a very good picture of when the two buildings were built – after 1860. Historic records show the buildings in place by 1871 (Plat from William Bishop Estate,

² Including the Mt. Moriah AME Church building built in 1874. Many have hoped that archaeology at the Courthouse Site may shed some further light about the original location of the Church. Archaeology, unfortunately hasn't uncovered anything regarding this question. The only information of this nature known to this author is the plat from the estate of William Bishop showing property on Doctor Street (dated 1871, MDHR #4877-77). The dwellings that were later known as 86 and 84 Franklin Streets sit next to a building labeled "Bethel Church." This document predates the 1874 construction of the current Mt. Moriah/Banneker-Douglass building, but little is known of this previous structure or how long it was used.

MDHR #4877-77). As 1860 was also the starting year of the American Civil War, it is likely that these buildings were built for a post-emancipation Annapolis. Importantly, they were built by African Americans for African Americans. This shows the nature of Annapolis' African-American community at this major junction of change for African-American lives. Community building – from within the African-American community – began earlier than most of us suspect.

Archaeology from the rest of the project area gives further material which to look at subsequent development of this community. This enters the next historic context – that of Industrial/Urban Dominance (1870-1930). In looking at Annapolis' African-American community, this is a period of community building but also one characterized by the everyday presence of Jim Crow racism.

The privies (recovered from Areas 2 and 3) provide looks into the consumption habits of the households at 90 and 88 Franklin Street. The 88 Franklin St. privy (Feature 103) holds artifacts that accumulated during the 1870s and early 1880s. The 90 Franklin Street privy dates to the early 1890s. Each of these can be related back to the households that created them. Analyses on the ceramics, glass, and faunal assemblages provide information about what the tables were like in these homes, what types of products were being used in that household, and even what types of meats were being consumed by residents.

Comparing these two privies is of some interest as one is related to a white household and the other is most likely African American. Similarities are remarkable. Both privies are comprised of similar types and compositions of ceramics. In comparing decorative types, in both assemblages undecorated vessels predominated (42.8% in F. 103 and 31.9% in F.118). In both cases, transfer printed wares were the second most prominent decorative type (17.3% in F. 103 and 15.3% in F. 118). In comparing vessel forms present in each of these assemblages, once again, similarities outweigh differences. Tablewares and teawares (most of the refined ceramics) from Feature 103 comprised 60.9% of the counted vessels. Tablewares and teawares made up 52.8% of the F. 118 vessels. The number of teawares accounts for what difference there is in these numbers. Feature 103 held 19 tea or coffee related vessels (or 14.29% of all the vessels). Only five teawares (or 6.94% of the total vessels) were recovered from Feature 118. From this we might determine that tea or coffee consumption, a fashionable and/or social endeavor, was more important to the African-American household at 88 Franklin St.

The glass assemblages from the two privies also prove very similar. Bottles and other containers made up 59.5% of the vessels recovered from Feature 103. Bottles and containers were 61.5% of the Feature 118 assemblage. This is not a remarkable difference. In both these assemblages alcohol related bottles were the most prominent form (19% in F.103 and 15.4% in F. 118). The other identifiable forms from these two privies were found in relatively small numbers and their variances do not appear out of the ordinary. Glass tablewares also proved similar between the two assemblages (19% of F.103 vessels and 20.5% of F. 118). Feature 103 held one remarkable difference – the number of lighting related vessels (predominately lamp chimneys, but also lamp bases, and reservoirs). Twenty percent of the glass vessels were lighting related. This

is unusual to most 19th century sites, but little can be done with this beyond speculation (maybe they held a lot of evening teas).

Preliminary examination of the faunal analysis provides some interesting variation. The Feature 118 assemblage held 26 identified pig bones, 6 cow bones, and 6 bones from sheep/goat. This (very roughly) expresses a difference in presence of pig to cow and sheep/goat of about 4:1:1. One hundred twenty-six pig bones were identified in the F. 103 assemblage. Seventy bones were identified as cow and 46 were identified with sheep/goat. This represents a presence of pig to cow and sheep/goat of roughly 3:2:1.

It should be noted that this is just a quick observation. Both assemblages are considered small for serious statistical analyses. But the presences provide a way of comparing the two assemblages.

The most notable difference in the faunal assemblages is the number of different species identified. While both assemblages show a variety in diet by the addition of fish and fowl, a greater variety is present in the Feature 103 assemblage. Feature 103 also suggests the inclusion of wild game in the diet. This is not as apparent in the Feature 118 assemblage.

While there may not be a significant variation evident between these two privies, their comparative value is still important in looking at other contexts collected at the Courthouse site and from other sites around Annapolis. This is where variation can be seen.

A striking example of variation may come from a comparison of Feature 103 with Feature 79 (the 20th century Bellis Court privy) excavated in 1994 (Aiello and Seidel 1995: 222-227). The ceramics from these two privies are roughly similar. Again there were more teawares found in F.103 (14.3% versus the 11.1% found in the Feature 79). The glass showed a bit more variation. There was considerably more bottles and containers recovered from Feature 79 (these represented roughly 80% of the glass vessels, whereas bottles and containers comprised only 59.5% of the glass assemblage from Feature 103). This may be a function of changing times and consumption patterns. The Bellis Court Privy dated from the early 20th century – probably some 40 years difference from the 88 Franklin St. privy. Alcohol was the most prominent form in both privies. Alcohol related bottles were about 28% of the glass vessels in Feature 79. They were only 19% of the vessels from Feature 103.

The faunal material perhaps shows the most drastic difference. A particularly large number of pig remains were identified from the F. 79 privy – over a quarter of all the bones recovered and 79% of the identifiable bones were pig. The Bellis Court privy faunal assemblage was determined to hold 88% mammalian remains and no evidence of fish remains. In contrast the 88 Franklin St. privy shows a reliance upon a much wider diversity of meat sources. This variety was also found in the Maynard-Burgess house assemblage. There was still a preference for pork, but fowl, fish, and even some game are also present within this assemblage.

The third targeted area, the yard space between 86 and 84 Franklin St., was not analyzed like the privies but the recovered artifacts do provide some interesting insights into the lives of the individuals who lived there. Archaeology of this yard area (collected in the units from Area 4) provided evidence of intense activity in this area.

Several post holes were found along the lot line between 86 and 88 Franklin Street. This suggests that the yards were once separated by a fence. By 1913 this fence was replaced by the south wall of the 88 Franklin Street addition. A large number of artifacts were found accumulated near this fence line – this includes unique items such as the ad plate for the Baltimore Mabley and Carew clothing store, and the fare token from a Washington, DC trolley line. As one moved south towards the center of the yard, a much greater degree of disturbance and activity was found. This appears to have been a rather busy workspace for the household, full of stored coal. The churned up yard surfaces and the board walkway suggest a good degree of everyday household traffic through the yard.

Evidence of post 1930s occupation at the site is found everywhere, but it is, almost always, only visible through the lens of the block's demolition. The 90 Franklin Street cellar is filled with a mix of 19th and 20th century objects tumbled in with slabs of concrete and architectural debris. The result makes systematic study of this period difficult for archaeologists. Fortunately, the 1990 Courthouse project began collecting some oral histories of former residents of the block. This effort has continued, though sporadically, since. In setting up the public program for this project, the Banneker-Douglass Museum agreed to accept and collect oral histories that might be prompted by the excavations and press for this project.

The third research objective for this project was the reexamination of previous interpretations of racism and consumer strategies stemming from the examination of Annapolis' African-American sites. Mullins and Warner approached their analyses with the question of "how African America could simultaneously participate in, modify, and reject various elements of consumer culture" (Mullins and Warner 1993: 124). Noting that consumer choices are influenced by innumerable factors (such as economic status, cultural identity, regional markets) Mullins and Warner interpreted details of their findings in ceramic, glass, and faunal assemblages at several of Annapolis' African-American sites through a lens of racism – "all material consumption by African Americans negotiated the boundaries erected by racism" (Mullins and Warner 1993: 124). This negotiation creates strategies – strategies that underscore the presence and importance of self sufficiency among African-American Annapolitans.

Mullins' and Warner's observations of the ceramic, glass, and faunal assemblages are based on a strategy of circumvention of racism in the marketplace. Ceramics may be bartered for, off-market, rather than purchase in local stores. Nationally produced and advertised goods provide a way of avoiding inferior goods or differentiated pricing that could result from local racism (otherwise expressed through segregation laws and practices). The reliance upon a broad range of meat sources perhaps buffers one from over reliance upon local markets. Each of these are logical explanations for trends visible within the archaeological record.

Findings from the Banneker-Douglass Project do not contradict these. There are subtle differences – the ceramics not showing the lag time visible at other sites and the glass results having fewer bottles identifiable to products – but overall these observations can also be seen in this most recent work. The differing results from analyses of the 88 Franklin St. privy (Feat. 103) are likely the result of this features’ age – at least 10 years older than the features previously examined by Warner and Mullins.

It is important, however, to keep revisiting these interpretations in light of new work. With each new African-American household excavated and analyzed, variation will express itself. Archaeologists need be aware of that and even look for it. Unfortunately, it is too common for archeological studies to be done, conclusions made, and then future work to apply those findings over and over with little questioning.

These observations need further refinement. Further archaeological study provides continued opportunity. The results of the Banneker-Douglass Project at The Courthouse Site point out two possibilities.

The printer’s plate and fare token found in the 86 Franklin St. yard, perhaps, provide one avenue of pursuit. The ad from the printer’s plate was for a Baltimore clothing store. The fare token was for a DC line. Washington, D.C. and Baltimore had large and strong African-American communities. How did Annapolis’ African-American community fit in with these nearby cities?

The Courthouse block itself held several African-American businesses and entrepreneurs. Prominent African-American Annapolitan, Wiley Bates, operated a grocery store at 52-54 Cathedral Street during the 1890s-1920s. Other businesses were also present on the block (Aiello and Seidel 1995). Additional research needs to consider the presence of African Americans in Annapolis’ markets. Mullins’ subsequent work (1996 and 1999) has dealt with this question through a more historical approach, but the archaeology surely reflects the choices made by African-American business owners and their customers.

“Circumventing markets” provides a logical interpretation for many of the findings from African-American households examined archaeologically. It acknowledges the presence of racism in the marketplace during the years of Jim Crow. The “circumventing markets” strategy, however, needs to be refined to account for and accommodate the presence of parallel markets – both within Annapolis and elsewhere in the region. Racism, however, remains as a central consideration for *all* future consumer behavior studies for the late 19th and 20th centuries.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Except for the front of the Courthouse, this was the last large open area left on the block. With the completion of the Museum Expansion Project, there is little left for future possible work at the Courthouse Site.

The archaeology initiated by this current expansion project has provided a wide sampling of the project area. Given how much disturbance that has already occurred – the eight ft wide trench next to the north wall of the Museum done to seal the foundation in the mid 1990s, the known disturbance found in the middle of the site (the extent of disturbance encountered in Unit 34 and Trench 2 found during 2000 excavations, and the rubble filled cellar found in Unit 40 and evidence of disturbance seen at the base of Area 2), and the four trenches and twenty units dug over the course of three field seasons – additional archaeology is not deemed necessary.

The state may wish to have an archaeologist on hand to monitor the excavations for the new construction. This would provide an opportunity to view the entirety of the four structures and associated yard spaces at one time. Photo documentation and quick mapping of any significant features would not impede work progress, but would perhaps provide additional information important to the current collection.

Beyond fieldwork, historical documents and artifact assemblages from four excavations done for the Courthouse Site offer many avenues for future research. Members of the Commission on African American History and Culture and members of the Banneker-Douglass Staff have expressed interest in mounting an exhibit on the archaeology from the site. This would be enormously valuable and would do a lot toward making the archaeology available to the community.

The relationship between archaeology and community is a potentially great one. Archaeology, as an event or a spectacle, may spur memories or just further conversations about the period and specific circumstances of everyday life in a segregated Annapolis. Archaeology cannot provide the same detail as is available in oral histories, but it can provide entry into periods that precede current memory. This material, if it continues to be recorded and otherwise collected, provide a richly detailed account of a community that no longer physically exists, but which remains an integral part of Annapolis' past.

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APPENDIX A:
PROJECT RECOVERY PLAN

**Data Recovery Plan for Phase III Archaeological Investigations, Rehabilitation and
Expansion of Banneker-Douglass Museum--Part of the Courthouse Site (18AP63),
Annapolis, Maryland.**

Archaeology in Annapolis
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Introduction

The following recovery plan for phase III archaeological investigations has been prepared at the request of the Maryland Commission on African American History and Culture and the Maryland Department of Housing and Community Development (DHCD) in advance of the rehabilitation and expansion of the historic Banneker-Douglass Museum located on Franklin St., in Annapolis, Maryland. The purpose of these Phase III investigations is to mitigate the proposed building expansion project's adverse effects on archaeological resources already determined to be eligible for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places, and to comply with Maryland state historic preservation law Article 83B, §§ 5-617 and 5-618 of the Annotated Code of Maryland.

Phase III investigations will be undertaken by Archaeology in Annapolis. Archaeology in Annapolis is a joint project between the University of Maryland College Park and Historic Annapolis Foundation and has been working in the historic district of Annapolis since 1981. Dr. Mark P. Leone and Eric L. Larsen will serve as Co-Principal Directors for the project. Fieldwork will be supervised by Eric Larsen with the help of an assistant. Eric Larsen and Dr. Jessica Neuwirth will oversee artifact processing and analysis.

The site of the proposed Phase III archaeological examination is the lot next to the Banneker-Douglass Museum building and located just off Church Circle inside the historic district of Annapolis (Figure 1). Owned by Anne Arundel County, the lot is being leased to the State of Maryland for purposes of initiating the current expansion project. The property is bounded on the South side by the Banneker-Douglass Museum, on the east by the new Anne Arundel County Courthouse and on the north by private law offices. Expansion of the existing museum is scheduled to impact the lot's entirety.

The property to be developed is known to have once held four separate dwellings built during the mid 19th century and occupied until they were torn down in the 1970s. In the latter half of the 19th century, the area became part of Annapolis' African-American community.

Previous archaeology done for this project found intact cultural remains dating from this period including two different households' privies, a root cellar/storage pit, a sheet midden relating to a possible woodshed as well as other structural features. The evident integrity of the site and its potential for yielding additional information and insights into Annapolis' African-American community—its households, material culture, and adaptations—show the site eligible for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places under Criterion D, archaeological significance (Larsen 2001).

As the entire lot will be impacted by the Museum's expansion and measures to avoid or minimize the project's adverse effects to the site are not feasible, Phase III archaeological investigations are warranted to mitigate the adverse effects to this significant property. This Recovery Plan will outline the retrieval and analyses of archaeological information in order to further current understanding of site formation processes as well as collection of material evidence with which to continue examinations of African-American culture in 19th and early 20th-century Annapolis.

Background for the Project and Project Area

Historical documentation (including historic maps) provides little information on the development of this area before 1798. Evidence of earlier development, however, was found in both 1990 and 1994 excavations of the Courthouse block (Warner and Mullins 1993; Aiello and Seidel 1995). No clear contexts or early materials were identified during the Phase I/II investigations of the current project area, however, the potential remains. Should investigations encounter materials from this early era, a more specific strategy (generated in consultation with the Commission and with the Trust) will be needed to follow them up.

From previous research (Seidel and Larsen 1994; Aiello and Seidel 1995) it is apparent that the original courthouse structure (the current Church Circle frontage) was built in 1825. It is also known that the section at the corner of Cathedral and Franklin Streets was not developed until some time after 1865, with the Hopkins map (1878) showing buildings concentrated along Franklin Street. Franklin Street was first developed, changing from the earlier pattern of larger open lots to the more dense development evident during the closing decades of the 19th century. Because of this, it is likely that early 19th century activity may be found within the proposed project area.

Deeds and Assessments suggest that two frame structures were built in the two northernmost house lots (88 and 90 Franklin Street) by 1835 (Aiello and Seidel 1995: Appendix B). The two dwellings located next to the Mt. Moriah A.M.E. Church were noted in 1871 as improvements made by William Bishop during his ownership of the property (property was willed to his wife Elizabeth in 1835: Aiello and Seidel 1995: Appendix B). The archaeological materials recovered from the Phase I/II excavations show some suggestive mid 19th century dates, but the overall site stratigraphy remains unclear.

Coincidental with the physical development of this block was a transition from a mixed race neighborhood to a predominately African-American neighborhood by the turn of the twentieth century. This was found through examinations of census data and city directories done by Archaeology in Annapolis in 1990 (Warner and Mullins 1993). Further historical research done for 1994 excavations (Aiello and Seidel 1995: Appendix B) also examined assessment records for the block going back to the early 19th century. This confirmed both the transition from large lots to the smaller lots and denser development that was evident at the end of the 19th century. It also showed a pattern of ownership by whites, who rented to black and white tenants. This was the case for both the 88 and 90 Franklin Street dwellings that are part of the area under proposed investigation. The 86 and 84 Franklin Street dwellings (directly adjacent to the north side of the Mt. Moriah Church building) showed a similar pattern of subdivision and development, but were owned by African Americans since 1832. These two lots, and the Mt. Moriah lot itself, were part of a parcel purchased by Charity Folks from the heirs of John Shaw in 1832. From 1832 to the early 1900s, these lots (from 86 Franklin down to the corner of Franklin and Cathedral) were owned by descendants of Charity Folks. This chain of ownership included William Bishop, a free African American in 1850 and one of the wealthiest men in Anne Arundel County. The Charity Folks parcel and the further successes of her heirs, served as an anchor for a strong African American presence on the block. The establishment of the Mt. Moriah Church building on the block around 1874 was the result of this long term presence. The Church further served as a focus for future presences of African Americans in this area.

The results of the few test units placed within the current project area during 1994 excavations appeared somewhat mixed. The two units suggested the presence of intact deposits. Unit one, placed next to the Banneker-Douglass Museum building, contained an intact brick footer associated with the dwelling known as 84 (or 86½) Franklin Street. In addition, though limited by the number of features running through the alleyway between the Mt. Moriah structure and the two dwellings, there was evidence of undisturbed contexts in which artifacts suggest dates as early as the middle of the 19th century. These would correspond to the period of development of this block. Unit two, located in the backyard of 90 Franklin Street, did not seem to show the same degree of integrity as found in Unit 1, but yielded artifacts dating to the late 19th century. Trench three was placed in an attempt to find the lot lines between 90 and 88 Franklin Street. The trench contained cultural deposits, including a series of articulated bricks, that may have been part of a two-story addition to the 90 Franklin Street dwelling. Stratigraphy from the trench, however, suggested a high degree of disturbance. This was perhaps the result of being partially within the structure. What was seen was largely the result of significant changes related to the razing of the structures by the County in the 1970s.

Phase I/II testing also found signs of significant disturbance (Larsen 2001). One unit, placed to examine the boundary between the 88 and 90 Franklin Street lots, found recent impact all the way down to subsoils. Large slabs of concrete were found as far down as 3 feet below the current surface and artifacts reflect a recent date for the disturbance (probably associated with the neighborhoods destruction during the 1970s). The location of the 1994 test trench and this 2000 unit happens to fall in the center strip of the open space between two buildings that escaped

demolition in the 1970s—the Banneker-Douglass Museum building and the law offices at 92 Franklin Street. In working around these structures, the center portion of the project area, seems to have borne the brunt of disturbance.

While portions of the project area have seen considerable disturbance over the last several decades, Phase I/II testing done in 2000 shows that much of the site remains intact (Larsen 2001). Limited excavations exposed four intact and significant contexts relating to 19th- and early 20th-century occupation of the site. These included portions of two separate household privies (located at the back of lots for 88 and 90 Franklin Street), a root cellar/storage pit (located inside 86 Franklin Street), and a sheet midden relating to a possible woodshed (found in the yard space between the 86 and 84 Franklin Street houses).

The research objectives for this project have been geared toward addressing the continuing goals of Archaeology in Annapolis' investigations of African American sites. Understanding of the changing landscape and built environment will be furthered by the continued identification of features such as house foundations, builders' trenches, outbuildings, and activity areas. Additionally, the recovery of culturally rich deposits such as middens, privies, and root cellars, will benefit our understanding of life in Annapolis on the level of the household. Collections from this portion of the block will be valuable additions to the body of archaeological evidence for Annapolis' African-American community.

Research Questions

Phase I/II investigations documented about 140 years of occupation of the project area, broken up between four distinct dwellings and several different households (Larsen 2001). Research questions for the proposed Phase III investigations include continued inquiries into the site's archaeological formation processes and household material assemblages as well as broader anthropological questions about the site's reflection of African-American life in Victorian society.

The first goal of Phase III work will be continued examination of the site's stratigraphy and the recovery of artifact samples from these years of occupation. The intent is the further interpretation of the functional layout of the dwellings and their associated yard spaces. This will be approached through the identification of distinct activity areas within the site and by associating these with their respective occupants and/or households.

The examination of a privy provides an obvious example of how this goal will be approached through the archaeology. Once a privy has been fully excavated, analysis of glass and ceramic data along with *tpq* dates from the assemblage can provide dates of use for the feature. The location of the privy in a particular lot and the determined date range can then be compared with information collected from the historic record. City directories and Census Data provide some indication of the households' composition at different times in the site's history. Together this information provides basic indication of patterns of acquisition and use of goods for a particular household.

These basic patterns can then be compared across the site and with other sites. This leads to this research's broader, anthropological goals.

Previous work with late 19th and early 20th century African-American sites in Annapolis does not reveal a radically different consumer culture for African Americans. In fact, African American assemblages closely resemble contemporary assemblages across Annapolis – all Annapolitans participating in a common consumer culture. Recent work by Dr. Paul Mullins and Dr. Mark Warner, however, points out that African Americans, living under a system of Jim Crow racism did not have the same relationship with the markets as other Annapolitans (see for example Warner and Mullins 1993, Mullins and Warner 1993; Mullins 1999). They accurately point out that:

Although historians have studied this transformation of Victorian America in great detail, African-American culture generally has been seen as a research subject with little or no link to consumer culture. The most extreme effect of this analytical separation is the “melting pot” implication that emergent mass consumption monolithically commodified all consumers, including African-Americans, yielding a society of interchangeable shoppers [Mullins and Warner 1993:29].

They argue that while increasingly mass produced goods have a standardizing effect, their consumption by various groups does not indicate that identical objects imparted the same meaning to all consumers. Warner's and Mullins' work began to examine how African Americans in Annapolis both participated in and resisted consumerism by analyzing a range of consumer goods and exchange strategies in a turn-of-the-20th-century African-American household.

This work has and will continue to concentrate on faunal assemblages, table ceramics, and container glass—each of which are well represented in archaeological assemblages. These artifact types have each been extensively studied by archaeologists and other scholars, and were acquired in a diverse range of exchange relationships ranging from cash-based market exchange to barter to home production.

Mullins' and Warner's work provided an initial examination of how such studies can and indeed need to be undertaken. They note several strategies that allowed African-Americans to avoid racism experienced in the local markets. A preponderance of fish remains suggests a reliance upon the nearby Chesapeake Bay. These resources could be obtained directly or purchased from street vendors.

Such tactics were significantly influenced by the economic standing of African Americans and their marginalization in a racist marketplace, but they were also culturally distinctive. On one hand, the purchase of fresh fish was economically prudent, since it was

relatively inexpensive when purchased on the streets and free when caught by a member of the household. Yet, on the other hand, it also promoted social independence, because the purchase of fish on the street meant that African Americans could circumvent White Annapolitan merchants or butchers [Mullins and Warner 1993: 125].

Professionally prepared bottled and canned goods in the assemblage reflect a similar trend toward minimizing dependence upon local merchants. National brand products have set published prices and quality standards. Their purchase by households reduced reliance upon local merchants whose bulk goods could vary in price and quality.

Evidences of such strategies are apparent in the Maynard-Burgess assemblage and are provoking in their implications. However, these conclusions are largely drawn from the archaeology of a single, well-studied household. Materials from the Courthouse site provide an exciting opportunity to continue examining these types of consumer strategies.

Past investigations of the Courthouse Site have expressly attempted to find and describe distinct features attributable to the African-American presence at the site. Features such as privies are among the richest artifact-bearing deposits on historic sites, and provide opportunity to examine cultural materials that can often be attributed to specific households. While this goal was successfully accomplished in the past (a barrel privy was found during 1990 excavations and two privies were found in 1994 excavations), this is clearly only a small representation of the more than 50 households once present on this block.

Full recovery of the resources already identified through the Phase I/II investigation—two privies, a root cellar, and the possible wood shed—would significantly improve the ability to provide an empirically rigorous synthesis of African-American consumer behavior. Analysis of the diverse material consumption strategies within a spatially distinct, socially diverse neighborhood would be exceptional (if not unique) in contemporary historical archaeology.

Analyses of ceramic, glass, and faunal assemblages from the current project will provide directly comparable data. This new data can be compared with contexts recorded with earlier Courthouse excavations, but it can also be compared directly with the Maynard-Burgess material. The expected results will begin to reflect the diversity present within Annapolis' African-American community.

Background Research

Background research will incorporate a minimum of five days work and will be initiated prior to fieldwork. Significant research on the properties has been completed during the different Courthouse Site investigations. Previous research has examined historic maps, Census Data, City Directories, Deed Searches, Assessment Records, and collected oral histories of former residents of the block. These will be reexamined with the intent of determining the owners and occupants

of the 84-90 Franklin Street houses. Specific attention will be paid to the composition of the different households.¹ The composition of the households will be particularly valuable when linked to the assemblages collected during fieldwork. Once materials (i.e., ceramics, glass, and faunal materials) are analyzed, they can then be directly associated with the particular household.

Additional research will attempt further to develop the property's appropriate historic contexts and to learn more about the individual occupants of the households under study. Because of the extent of previous research, the exact form of this additional research remains unclear.

Attempts will be made to examine the wills of individuals associated with these four dwellings (for example, the wills of Charity Folks, William Bishop, even Wiley Bates—prominent African Americans who owned portions of the project area. This will provide additional detail to our understanding of the development of the properties but may also provide helpful insights into these individuals standing within the African-American community and within the larger community of Annapolis.

A (necessarily limited) perusal of some local newspapers (such as the *Evening Capital*) and relevant columns from more regional African-American papers (i.e., the *Afro American Ledger*) may provide insight into the nature of Annapolis' markets during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Advertisements from newspapers provide some idea of at least what is being pitched to consumers. This can be contrasted and compared with the evidence of consumption available through the archaeological record via vessel counts and faunal analysis.

Project archaeologists will also attempt to consult with individuals who are familiar with the property's history and development and those who have conducted previous historical and architectural research on the property. Other appropriate sources and informants will be consulted and interviewed when and where possible.

Fieldwork

A program of systematic sub-surface archaeological testing will be conducted to accomplish the goals of the study and mitigation of the site. All fieldwork will be conducted and recorded according to performance standards set by the State in the *Standards and Guidelines for Archaeological Investigations in Maryland* (Shaffer and Cole 1994). To enhance the comparative value of data recovered, all recordation for the project will be done using standard Archaeology in Annapolis forms supplemented by field notes kept by the project archaeologist and technicians.

¹ Determining the compositions of households is complicated by the nature of the properties—these were each used as rental properties during the late 19th and early 20th centuries and had a fair degree of turnover during the period of study.

The grid used by Archaeology in Annapolis for the Phase I/II excavations will be reestablished. This enables easy relocation of both 1994 and 2000 test units and will allow for further use of a series of digitized historic maps (created by Archaeology in Annapolis for predictive use in 1994 fieldwork).

Archaeology in Annapolis proposes the removal of recent, destruction/construction related deposits across most of the site through mechanical excavation. Previous testing (from 1994 and 2000 investigations) found this to range from ca. 1 to 1.5 feet in depth across the site. A loader or grade all will be hired to scrape away and remove this uppermost layer of soils. A buffer of ca. eight feet will be maintained next to all standing structures. All mechanical excavation will be monitored by project archaeologists.

As space for work and backdirt piles is limited, it is suggested that fieldwork proceed in two stages. Mechanical stripping should be done first for the northern "half" of the project area (Figure 2). Spoils piles should then be located on the south side of the site. Once excavations are completed for this half of the site, units will be backfilled. Mechanical stripping of the southern "half" can then proceed, with spoils piles located on the north side of the site.

Archaeology in Annapolis will hand excavate a minimum of ten standard units. These will measure five by five feet. After mechanical stripping, soils will be removed following natural stratigraphy. Units will be excavated to sterile subsoil, which is expected to be found at a depth of ca. 4 ft below pre-1995 surface layers. Excavation will continue into subsoils for .5 feet to confirm the absence of cultural materials.

All soils will be screened using 1/4" mesh, but smaller screens may be used if conditions warrant. In addition, bulk soil samples will be taken from feature fill or other contexts if judged to have potential for recovery of significant information.² Units will be dug to sterile subsoil. If unanticipated deep deposits or structural features beyond the proposed scope of work are identified during the course of the investigations, Archaeology in Annapolis will document and investigate them to the extent possible given budget and time constraints. With consultation of the Trust and the Commission, such deposits or features may not be excavated in their entirety.

For all excavation units, soil stratigraphy will be recorded and representative plans and profiles drawn and photographed. All test units will be recorded according to professional standards. The final number of units will be determined in consultation with the Historical Trust, however, for complete mitigation a minimum of ten 5 x 5 foot squares needs to be completed. Cultural features uncovered by excavation units will all be thoroughly mapped, recorded and

² Two privies will be part of Phase III excavations. Archaeology in Annapolis will likely water screen samples of privy soils in order to collect small finds such as bone and other organic materials. The sampling strategy will be finalized in consultation with analysts (i.e., the contracted faunal specialist), but will reflect a systematic sampling—such as every twentieth five gallon bucket of soils removed.

photographed. All records will be made using standard Archaeology in Annapolis forms. This material will be supplemented by field notes kept by the project archaeologists and technicians. .

Four significant Features were identified in Phase I/II testing. These include a privy (Feat. 103) located in the 88 Franklin St. yard area; a root cellar (Feat. 110) associated with the 86 Franklin St. structure; a possible wood shed/outbuilding in the 86 Franklin St. yard (incorporating post related Features 109, 111, 112, 114, 115, and 116); and a second privy (Feat. 118) identified in the 90 Franklin St. backyard. Units will be placed to expose fully and recover these identified contexts.

Additional units will be placed to examine the nature of the dwelling structures. Excavating the structures has been avoided since the first Phase II excavations for the Courthouse Site. Warner and Mullins (1993), after sampling cellars found with a ground penetrating radar survey, found excavating these features of limited value. After digging through 3.5-4 feet of fill, they encountered a concrete basement floor with little below it. The cellar fill above the concrete floor was all mixed fill associated with the buildings destruction by the County in 1970. Trenches dug during Phase II excavations for the Banneker-Douglass project, however, called this assumption into question for these dwellings. Significant foundations or cellar holes were not found for the 86 Franklin Street home. Additional testing of the structures was not feasible given the extent of area to be excavated for the County Courthouse expansion project. Given the more limited area for this project, examination of the structures themselves is warranted. Any remaining units could be placed to examine the backyard areas of these four residences further.

During the first stage of excavations—on the north side of the site—two units placed next to Unit 36 will likely create a grouping that will fully expose and allow for full excavation of Feature 118 (Figure 3). A unit will be placed next to the wall of the front (and presumably earliest) part of the house at 90 Franklin Street. Attempts will be made to straddle the foundation wall with the greater portion of the unit sampling the interior of the structure. This will be done to examine the building's foundation and construction, provide potential for sampling any builder's trench, establishing whether this building had a cellar and then sampling the archaeological integrity of that cellar.³ Additional units can be added around the cellar depending upon results of this initial test.

Most of the units will be located on the south side of the project area and excavated during the second stage. A couple of units will be located next to Unit 35 in order to sample the

³ The 90 Franklin Street structure is the least accessible of the four structures within the project area. The building's original exterior has been impacted or is not accessible. The front of the house fronted the sidewalk and Street. The north side abutted 92 Franklin Street (as visible through the "ghosted" roof line still visible on the wall of the still standing law offices. Historic maps all show the south wall abutting 88 Franklin Street. Finally the east wall has been impacted by subsequent additions. 1990 trenching shows the subsurface of this addition to be highly disturbed.

entire 86 Franklin Street root cellar (Feature 110) and the 88 Franklin Street builders' trench (Feature 113) found during Phase II. Two units will be placed around Unit 33 to locate and excavate the extent of the 88 Franklin Street privy (Feature 103). Unit 37 (which was only partially excavated during Phase II) should be dug to subsoils and a couple of adjoining units added alongside in order to create a clustering with which to sample the possible wood shed/outbuilding found in the 86 Franklin Street yard. The remaining units will be placed as deemed necessary based on field results.

By grouping units around the four previously identified features, a good spread of the project area is obtained. This coverage allows opportunity to examine lesser known aspects of the physical development of the site. Examining the 88 and 90 Franklin Street structures may provide details about when and how development of the block proceeded during the early to mid 19th century. Similarly, artifact deposits identified during Phase II testing provide materials for analysis for these periods.

Concentrating excavations around known artifact rich features, such as the two privies, will also provide data with which to continue the African-American consumer studies initiated by Mullins and Warner through work at the Maynard-Burgess Site and previous excavations at the Courthouse Site.

A detailed map of the site will be produced showing the exact locations of all uncovered features, structures, and test units. All methods of fieldwork will be extensively documented to include: detailed maps, drawings, photographs, notes and other records. Pertinent documentation will be included in the report.

The Franklin Street and courthouse sidewalk on either end of the property will be fenced to provide safety when the site is not open. This fencing, however, will not impede public access to the site when excavations are underway. All excavations will be backfilled by the consultant by the end of fieldwork. Current grades will be reestablished as best possible upon leaving the field.

Public Education/Interpretation

Archaeology in Annapolis will, on a daily basis, put up its "Summer Excavations" banner in order to call public attention to the project. Archaeology in Annapolis will work with the staff of the Banneker-Douglass Museum and in consultation with the Commission on African American History and Culture to develop a public archaeology component to the excavations. This will include temporary interpretive signage and site tours. Signage and guided tours will focus on interpreting the ongoing excavation in light of historical research, previous archaeology, and new discoveries. This public program should serve to stimulate public education about the residential history of the site, its relationship to the African-American community in Annapolis, and how archaeology can contribute to our understanding of the past.

Formal site tours with archaeologists/guides will be made available during the week and citywide archaeology tours will be made available on select Saturday "public days."

Volunteering, under professional supervision, will be encouraged as part of the project's public education opportunities. Similarly, the Anthropology Department of the University of Maryland, intends to place field school students on the site as the site provides a particularly rich educational opportunity.⁴

Analysis and Report Preparation

Following completion of fieldwork, the last and essential phase of the project—the analysis and report preparation will commence. This phase will involve a thorough analysis of all the excavated material and data, in order to interpret the site and to address the agreed upon research questions. The archaeology program will culminate in the completion of a final archaeological report detailing the results and interpretations of the project.

All recovered artifacts and documentation will be processed according to the performance standards specified in *Technical Update No. 1 of the Standards and Guidelines for Archaeological Investigations in Maryland: Collections and Conservation Standards* (Sieffert 1999). Processing will involve, but not be limited to the following:

- a. Clean all artifacts.
- b. Identify and catalog all artifacts according to standard type names and chronologies, and using the Trust's standard lot system.
- c. Label artifacts with the lot/catalog number.
- d. Bag and box all artifacts in standardized containers.
- e. Photograph or draw significant artifacts and illustrate in the report.
- f. Thoroughly analyze recovered materials using standard, acceptable techniques for historical archaeology.
- g. Conserve most significant artifacts to state standards.

The analysis will encompass a careful review of the background data, fieldwork results and recovered materials. Minimum vessel analyses for ceramic and glass recovered from significant features such as the privies should be completed to make current work comparably with other contexts recovered from the Courthouse site. This should use both terminus post quem (tpq) dates and mean ceramic dating for vessels.⁵ Ceramic analysis should indicate presence of types, forms, and decorative preferences. Glass analysis should include manufacture dates, form, manufacturer and content where determination is possible. Faunal analysis from significant

⁴ *The minimum requirement to meet the scope of work will be fulfilled by paid labor.* Volunteer and student labor will supplement requirements for mitigation.

⁵ Ceramic mean dates will also be calculated through straight sherd counts for comparative purposes. More information for questions of consumer habits is available through use of vessel counts and so these will be more heavily relied upon. Glass, however, is the more reliable artifact type for calculating post Civil War through early 20th century contexts such as these. Glass mean dates will only be calculated through vessel counts.

contexts will determine species, number of identified species (NISP) and minimum number of individuals (MNI).

The grouping of current units around units dug for Phase II and efforts to complete recovery of important features necessitates doing these analyses using the artifacts collected from both investigations. Conducting these analyses using the partial features recovered during Phase II excavations would have created skewed if not redundant information. Not using them as part of Phase III investigations would be equally problematic.

The full ceramic, glass, and faunal analyses will provide data that can be directly compared with the other contexts recovered from the Courthouse Site and other sites in Annapolis. To facilitate direct comparison further, Archaeology in Annapolis is making efforts to contract this work through the same analysts that worked on previous projects at the Courthouse Site.

The report shall thoroughly discuss the study's goals, methodology, results, recommendations and interpretations of the above outlined research questions. The report should include suggested recommendations for future management, treatment and investigation of the property's archaeological record, if appropriate. The document shall follow the performance standards outlined for the State of Maryland (Shaffer and Cole 1994).

Technical Report

The project results, interpretations, and recommendations will be presented in a report that will include sections dealing with the background research, methodology, results, analyses, illustrations, recommendations, and interpretations of the research objectives. The report format shall conform to the performance standards outlined for the state of Maryland (Shaffer and Cole 1994).

Copies of the draft report will be submitted to the Commission on African American History and Culture and copies to the Maryland Historical Trust for review. The draft report will meet all requirements for content of the final report. Reviewing agencies will submit written comments to the consultant within 45 calendar days of receipt of the draft. Suggested revisions will be incorporated into the final report.

The final report will be submitted according to the schedule below. Five copies of the final report will be provided to the Commission on African American History and Culture and Five copies to the Maryland Historical Trust. Copies of both the draft and final reports will also be sent to the City of Annapolis, Anne Arundel County .

Artifact Collections

Artifact processing and storage preparation will conform to the Trust's curation standards (Siefert 1999). The lot is owned by Anne Arundel County. It is the desire of the Commission and the Trust that artifacts be turned over to the State of Maryland with a deed of gift to be obtained

from Anne Arundel County. The collection, along with a detailed descriptive catalog, should be delivered to the designated repository for permanent curation.

Associated Records/Documentation

All project field records, maps, drawings, slides, black and white prints and negatives and other documentation should be processed and prepared for storage in a manner consistent with the Trust’s curation standards (Seiffert 1999). A complete set of associated records shall be submitted to the designated artifact repository and one complete copy of the documentation delivered to the Trust.

Project Budget and Time Schedule

The implementation of this work will take place in four phases – background research, fieldwork, laboratory processing and analyses, and report generation. The budget has been broken down into necessary items for each phase.

Background Research (First week – begun 20 days after notification of awarding contract).

Fieldwork (Five weeks in field following background research).

Artifact Processing and Laboratory Analysis (12 weeks following completion of fieldwork).

Report Preparation (Following completion of Artifact Processing and Lab Analysis--draft to be submitted no later than 120 days following completion of Fieldwork).

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APPENDIX B:
FEATURE SUMMARIES

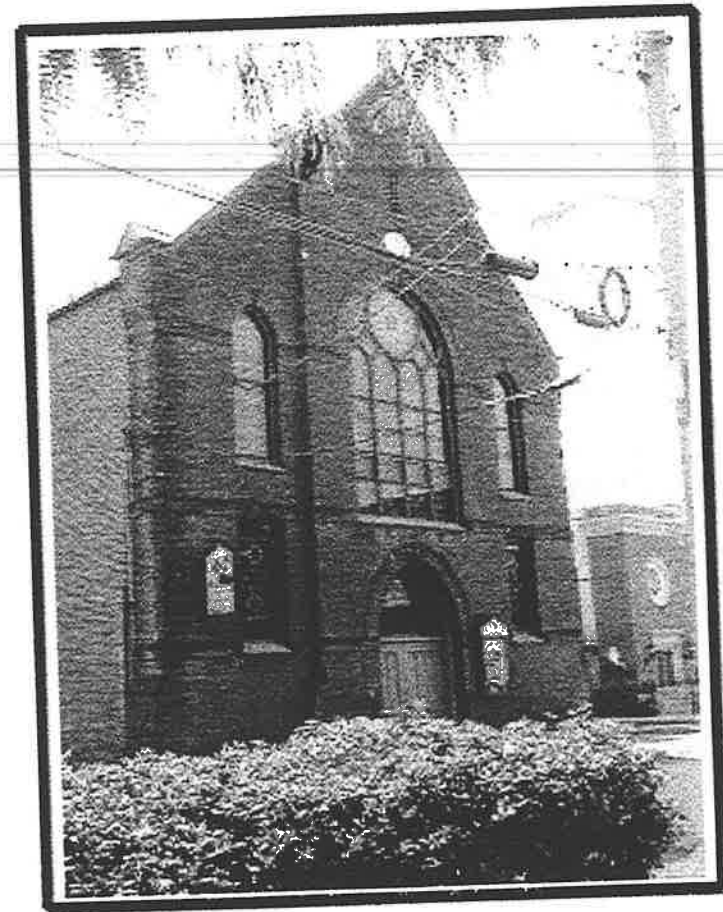
FEATURE SUMMARIES

Feat. #	Description	Location	Stratigraphic Context	Interpreted Function
100	Mortar laid brick wall.	Area 4, Units 32, 50, and 51.	Located within overburden.	South wall of 88 Franklin St. addition (ca. 1910).
101	Concrete slab and blocks.	Area 4, Trench 3.	Found below recent construction fill.	Unidentified but located at the rear of 88 Franklin St. – recent, overlaying an insulated copper wire.
102	Pipe trench for 4" PVC pipe.	Area 3, Unit 33.	Identified w/in recent construction fill.	Recent power conduit from 1990s Courthouse construction.
103	Approximate 4 x 4 ft. soil stain.	Area 3, Units 33, 50, and 52.	Identified below construction fills.	Privy vault for 88 Franklin Street (artifact mean dates to 1870s).
104	Backfill, slump, and wood lining relating to F. 103.	Area 3, Unit 33.	Identified w/F.103.	Original cut for privy for 88 Franklin St.
105	Circular soil stain.	Area 3, Unit 33.	Assoc. w/level F.	Probable tree root – few 19 th century ceramics and small bone fragments.
106	Ash deposit.	Area 4, Unit 32.	Assoc. w/level J.	Unknown–artifacts include hand painted pearlwares, annular/mocha pearlwares, as well as transfer printed whitewares–suggest an early to mid 19 th century context.
107	Soil stain.	Area 3, Unit 33.	Identified in level G; located near wood lining for F103.	Possible post or support for privy–shallowness of Feature, however, does not substantiate this. Most likely root disturbance.
108	Soil stain.	Area 3, Unit 33.	Found in Level G near wood lining for F.103.	Possible post or support for privy–shallowness of Feature, however, does not substantiate this. Most likely root disturbance.
109	Soil stain.	Area 4, Unit 32.	Levels L-M.	Post mold adjacent to F.100 (on South Side); assoc. w/F.114. Few artifacts recovered but reflected roughly mid 19 th century. Related to lot line, may well represent fence line.
110	Three sided, mortar laid brick feature with fill.	Area 5, Unit 35 and 49.	Identified in Unit 35, Level C.	Support/foundation for stove and chimney inside of 86 Franklin St. Artifacts recovered provide no clear diagnostics. Level C ceramics provided an 1853 mean date (thus, feature would post date this).
111	Soil stain.	Area 4, Unit 32.	Identified in Level L; assoc. L-M.	Post mold adjacent to F.100 (on South side); assoc. w/F.112. Related to lot line, may well represent fence line.
112	Soil stain.	Area 4, Unit 32.	Identified in Level L; assoc. L-M.	Post hole adjacent to F.100; assoc. w/F.111. Related to lot line, may well represent fence line.
113	Brick rubble fill	Area 5, Unit 35.	Identified in Level E; sloped downward through levels E-H.	Rubble fill for a large cut assoc. w/ 88 Franklin St. No clear diagnostics recovered by context places it earlier than F.110.

Feat. #	Description	Location	Stratigraphic Context	Interpreted Function
114	Soil stain.	Area 4, Unit 32.	Identified in Level L; assoc. L-M.	Post hole adjacent to F.100 (on South side); assoc. w/F.109. Artifacts include undec. whitewares, course stoneware, bottle glass, and bone fragments. Related to lot line, may well represent fence line.
115	Circular soil stain.	Area 4, Unit 32.	Identified in Level L; assoc. L-M.	Post mold adjacent to F.100 (on South side); assoc. w/F.116. Related to lot line, may well represent fence line.
116	Rectangular soil stain.	Area 4, Unit 32.	Identified in Level L; assoc. L-M.	Post hole adjacent to F.100 (on South side); assoc. w/F.116. Related to lot line, may well represent fence line.
117	Large soil stain.	Area 4, Unit 32.	Assoc. w/ Level M.	Unknown--while only partially w/in the unit, the stain has a potential diameter of ca. 3 feet..
118	Approximate 4 x 4 ft. soil stain.	Area 2, Units 36 and 41.	Identified below construction fills.	Privy vault for 90 Franklin Street (artifact mean dates to ca. 1890).
120	Circular stain ca. .4 ft south of law offices.	Area 2, Unit 41.	Cutting Feat. 121.	Post hole -- may be related to construction of the back section of 92 Franklin St. or perhaps related to subsequent repointing of wall.

120	Circular stain ca. .4 ft south of law offices.	Area 2, Unit 41.	Cutting Feat. 121.	Post hole -- may be related to construction of the back section of 92 Franklin St. or perhaps related to subsequent repointing of wall.
121	Trench running E-W along south wall of 86 Franklin St.	Area 2, Unit 41.	Found just below overburden.	Builders trench for rear addition to 92 Franklin St.
122	Rectangular shaped stain.	Area 2, Unit 41.	Cutting Feature 121.	Post hole -- may be related to construction of the back section of 92 Franklin St. or perhaps related to subsequent work on the addition.
123	1 x 1.5 ft lens of soils mixed with coal.	Area 2, Unit 41.	Found south of Feature 121-- only .2 ft thick upon excavation.	Isolated pocket of coal within stratum..
124	Trench running N-S.	Area 1, Unit 40.	Found w/Level E.	Proved to be cellar cut for ca. 1910 addition to 90 Franklin St.
125	Circular stain.	Area 2, Unit 42.	Found w/Level A.	Post hole associated w/F.126. Possibly related two privy structure.
126	Rectangular stain.	Area 2, Unit 42.	Found w/Level A.	Post mold associated w/F.125. Possibly related two privy structure.
127	East-West line of brick	Area 1, Unit 43.	Found w/Level A.	Common wall separating 88 and 90 Franklin St.
128	Dark rectangular soil stain.	Area 2, Unit 42.	Found w/Level C.	Likely trash pit located nearby the Feat.118 privy.
129	Slump next to Feat. 118 cut.	Area 2, Unit 41.	Levels C and D.	Possible slump, likely related to the filling of the Feat.118 privy.
130	Soil stain adjacent (North) to Feat. 118.	Area 2, Unit 41.	Found w/Level D.	Area of leaching next to Feat. 118 privy vault.
131	Rectangular soil stain, not more than .2 ft in depth.	Area 1, Unit 45	Found w/Level C.	Unknown, but its location makes it possible that it may be result of support for a common porch for 88 and 90 Franklin St. (ca.. 1910).

Feat. #	Description	Location	Stratigraphic Context	Interpreted Function
132	Soil stain.	Area 4, Unit 51.	Found w/in Level D.	Post mold found south of F.100. Associated with F.134. Related to lot line, may well represent fence line.
133	Concentration of oyster shell adjacent to F.103 privy.	Area 3, Unit 50.	Found w/Level D.	Related to original excavation or flooring for privy structure – <i>excavations stopped before excavated</i> . Associated w/ F.138.
134	Concentration of shell and ceramics adjacent to the South side of F.100.	Area 4, Unit 51.	Found w/Level D.	Post hole associated with F.132. Related to lot line, may well represent fence line.
135	Concentration of brick.	Area 3, Unit 52.	Defined w/Level D.	Disturbed brick pier for the north side of the 84 Franklin St. structure.
136	Mortar laid line of brick, running E-W, 2 courses wide.	Area 5, Unit 53.	Defined below overburden at the start of hand excavations.	South wall for 88 Franklin St.
137	Mortar laid brick, measuring ca. .8 x 3 ft.	Area 5, Unit 53.	Defined below overburden at the start of hand excavations.	Structural pier for the north side of 88 Franklin St.
138	Wood plank and oyster shell [<i>contiguous with F.133 in Unit 50</i>].	Area 3, Unit 52.	Found w/Level D.	Related to original excavation or flooring for privy structure – <i>excavations stopped before excavated</i> . Associated w/F.133.
139	Partially exposed circular soil stain.	Area 4, Unit 51.	Defined w/ Level H, located in NE corner of the unit.	Post hole south of F.100. Related to lot line, may well represent fence line.
140	Wood planks running E-W.	Area 4, Unit 54.	Found w/Level D.	Unknown due to fragmentary nature of remaining wood – may be related to flooring for an outbuilding (such as the wood shed shown on maps) or may represent stored materials or informal walkways.
141	Small rectangular stain.	Area 4, Unit 55.	Defined w/Level E. Located in NW corner.	Post mold related to F.139. Located on lot line, may well represent fence line.
142	Mortar laid brick, measuring ca. .6 x 2 ft.	Area 5, Unit 48.	Found after removal of overburden.	Structural pier for the north side of 88 Franklin St.
143	Trench running E-W.	Area 1, Unit 43.	Defined w/Level G.	Pipe trench for 90 Franklin St. water service.



Final Report to the Maryland Humanity Council

“African-American Archaeology in Public:”

18AP63 Banneker-Douglass Museum/Courthouse Site Public Archaeology Program

Prepared by: Kristofer M. Beadenkopf:

**Historic Annapolis Foundation, in cooperation with the Department of
Anthropology, University of Maryland, College Park**

November 13, 2001

**Maryland Humanities Council Grant FY01
Administrative Summary**

Grant Number: 159

Amount of Grant: \$ 7,975.00 (MD Humanities Council)
\$ 14,695.00 (Matching)
\$ 22,650.00 (Total)

Title: The Annapolis Courthouse Site: African American Archaeology in Public.

Sponsor: Historic Annapolis Foundation, in cooperation with the Department of Anthropology, University of Maryland, College Park.

Address: 18 Pinkney Street, Annapolis, MD 21401

Telephone: (410) 626-1032
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Federal I.D.#: 2-064783

County: Anne Arundel

Congressional District: 1

State Senate District: 30

State Delegate District: 30

Authorizing Official: Brian Alexander
Title: President and CEO, Historic Annapolis Foundation
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Work Phone: (410) 267-7619
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Report Preparation by: Kristofer M. Beadenkopf
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Grant Administrator: Tim Connolly
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Project Abstract:

Concurrent with Phase III excavations at the Banneker-Douglass Museum site, which ran from July 9 through August 18, 2001, the Archaeology in Annapolis Project conducted public archaeology programs. The public programming at the site was a collaborative effort between the Archaeology in Annapolis Program, the Historic Annapolis Foundation, and the University of Maryland, College Park, Department of Anthropology. The site was open to the public 5 days a week for 5 weeks and public participation was encouraged on all levels ranging from physical participation to intellectual discourse with excavators and tour leaders. To aid in the interpretation of the site for the public, seven signboards were established throughout the site. This signage served to orient the visiting public to the goals, justification, and facts associated with the site, the excavations, and overall development of history and archaeology in Annapolis. Moreover, these sign boards served to draw public interest to the site as well as to be a vehicle which would stimulate discourse between the archaeologists and the public once the visitor was engaged. In addition to the presentation boards, formal site tours were provided free of charge to over eight hundred visitors. This number, however, does not include the multitude of individuals and families that stopped to read the signs on the periphery of the site but for a variety of reasons did not have the time for an actual tour from our staff. Approximately twenty percent of the tours were provided to school and camp groups from the local area. In sum, the 2001 public outreach program at the Banneker-Douglass site achieved great successes. The public archaeology program not only educated the public about the importance of archaeological investigations and interpretations of this region but also engaged visitors in a cultural and historical discourse that was beneficial not only to the project itself but also to the creation of a public that is aware of the past and its importance to the present.

Project Dates:	July 9, 2001 through August 18, 2001 Public Tours were made available July 9, 2001 through August 11, 2001
Location of Events:	84-90 Franklin Street Annapolis, Maryland
County:	Anne Arundel County
Congressional District:	1
State Senate District:	30
State Delegate District:	30
Audience Size:	813 (not including the number of individuals who stopped to read the signage, but declined a tour)
Entrance fee:	Free

Narrative Essay:

Project Overview

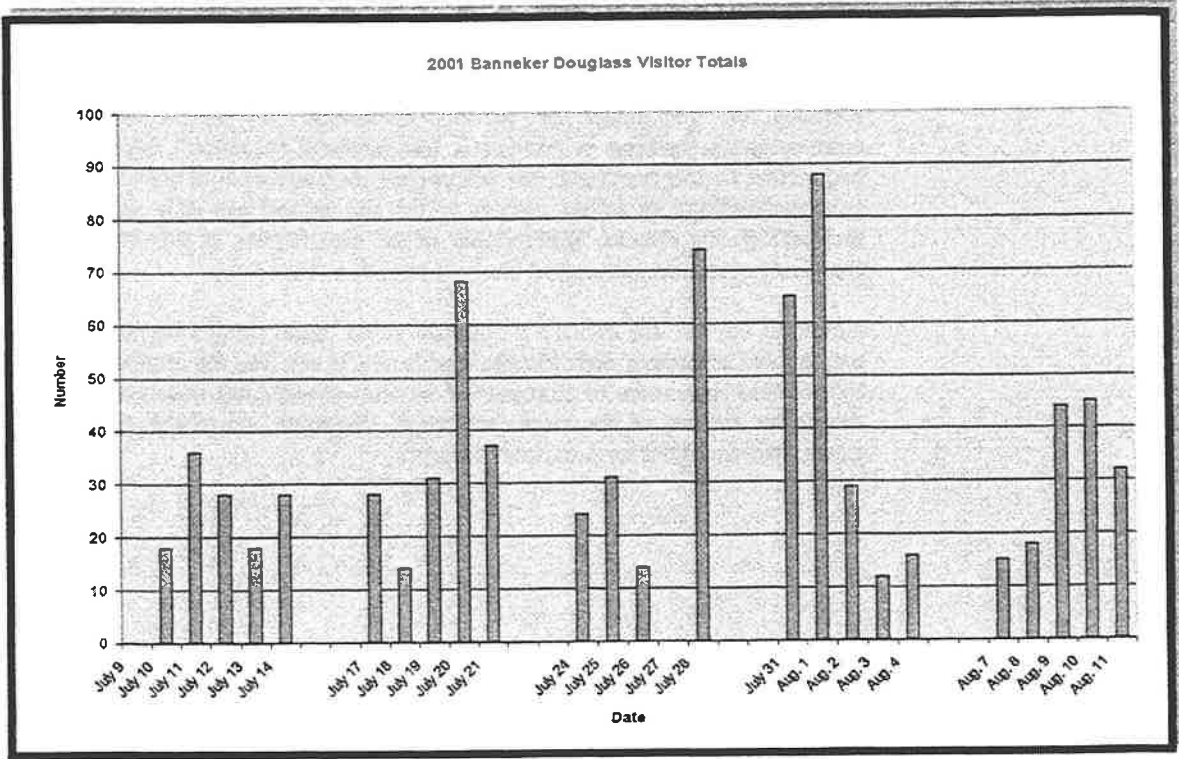
From July 9 through August 11, 2001, the Archaeology in Annapolis Project, run jointly by the Historic Annapolis Foundation and the Anthropology Department at the University of Maryland, College Park, conducted a public archaeology program in conjunction with archaeological excavations at the Banneker Douglass Museum.

The public program consisted of:

- Interpretations of the Banneker Douglass museum/Courthouse site were provided for the public through a series of seven signboards set up throughout the site as well as formal tours provided by three on site public interpreters/archaeologists. Tours were advertised by banners and by verbal announcement to interested pedestrians by the staff and made available to the public from 9:00 AM to 4:00 PM, Tuesday through Saturday, during the -week program. This form of advertisement proved to be invaluable, as most pedestrians who stopped to read the introductory signs were not aware of the fact that the site was an open one in which visitors could receive a guided tour of the site while the excavations were being conducted.
- The signage and tours focused on an interpretation of the results from previous field seasons at the site and the ongoing excavations, historic research, and new discoveries. The signs and tours were developed to work together to create a shared frame of reference through which visitors and archaeologists could discuss the issues knowledgeably. The signs introduced visitors to Archaeology in Annapolis, its goals, its findings from previous excavations, significant individuals associated with the site, 19th century African American life, and discussions about how archaeology can be utilized to create views of the past. The guided tours explained the processes of archaeological excavation, artifact analyses and deduction, as well as the role and importance of archaeology in the retrieval of information about daily life that would otherwise be lost or gone unexplored. Moreover, and perhaps most significant of all, these tours encouraged the visiting public to question the results and develop an understanding of how history and meaning are created. Above all, it was emphasized during the tour that the results of the archaeological excavations through informed interpretations were merely one of many ways in which the data sets can be interpreted. Although the archaeologists have offered these conclusions the tour was designed to inform and challenge the public to think about how they might contribute to understanding the past and present. For the complete set of signs and brochure used during this 2001 public archaeology program please refer to Appendix A. For copies of the tour script see Appendix B.
- During the 5 week public program two large tour groups from local camps were hosted by the archaeologists. Consisting of between 0 and 70 school age children and their camp counselors, these groups received both a guided tour of the archaeological site but also of the Banneker Douglass Museum.
- Although volunteers were welcomed, no member of the public offered his/her services, passing up the chance to "be an archaeologist for the day" as it was advertised. Despite the lack of volunteers the public program enjoyed great successes through interest in the tours and interpretive signage.
- Throughout the 5 weeks the program enjoyed media coverage from local and national news press agencies as well as television coverage on local networks. For list of non-print media coverage and copies of the print media please refer to Appendix C.
- The success of the public program was derived from responses to a questionnaire that was passed to visitors as they completed the tour. This response form addresses questions concerning distance traveled to the site, what was learned about archaeology, African American culture, connections between past and present, and any other comments that would guide us through developing a public program in proceeding years. To ensure prompt and systematic sampling of visitor opinions visitors were encouraged to complete the form before his/her departure. Five percent (5%) (39 of 813 recorded visitors) of visitors to the site completed this questionnaire. This sample is more than an adequate to understand the cross section of individuals, families, and groups that visited the site. For a synopsis of the visitor responses please refer to the next section.

Description of Project:

The 2001 field season at the Banneker-Douglass/Courthouse site (18AP63) was a twofold enterprise consisting of a Phase III/excavation of the subsurface remains of four row houses occupied by African American families from the 1860s through the mid-20th century and the provision of an interpretation/tour of the site to the visiting public. On July 9, 2001, a team of seven field technicians, under the direction of Dr. Mark P. Leone and Mr. Eric Larsen continued the excavations of the previous year. The goal of the 2001 excavations was a thorough examination of archaeological features uncovered in 2000 as well as the identification and examination of other features not previously uncovered. While a discussion of the excavations at the site is certainly necessary and significant, the primary objective of this report is a description of the nature and results of the public program that was conducted concurrently with the archaeological excavations. The public programming aspect of the 2001 field season at the site was conducted by Andrew Madsen (Director of Public Programming), Kristofer M. Beadenkopf (MAA student intern at UMCP), and Chase Taylor (High school student). In keeping with the mission of Archaeology in Annapolis, the presentation and interpretation of the site to the public and the generation of a historical and cultural discourse about the complex and varied ethnic heritage of the Chesapeake region with visitors were goals of this year's public program. These goals were accomplished with great success through the display of a series of integrated signboards, which outlined the nature, purpose, significance and history of the archaeological investigations and of the site (see Appendix B for copies of the signboards). These goals were also achieved through formal tours provided by our designated guides and discussions with our excavation staff. The success of the 2001 Public Programming at the Banneker-Douglass site was evaluated from questionnaires completed by visitors to the site. These questionnaires were designed by Andrew Madsen and sought to elicit information concerning the distance traveled by the visitor to the site, what was learned by their experience at the site, what was previously known about archaeology, ideas about how the site relates to the present day, and any general comments. Five percent (5%) of those who engaged in the tour responded to the response forms. From this sample a good amount of information about the overall public's response to archaeology in Annapolis can be derived.



Nature of the Audience:

Audience profile information was derived from completed visitor response forms. Although 813 individuals received a formal tour, many more stopped to read the text signage but declined a tour. Of the 813 visitors that accepted a tour of the site 5 percent of them returned a completed response form. The following is a summary of the information provided by the responses, as well as recommendations for the development of future visitor response forms.

Number: 813

Age: While such personal information was not asked of the audience, it can be reasonably approximated that an overwhelming majority of the visitors to the site were between the ages of 20 and 40.

It is recommended here that a field dealing tactfully with an age bracket should be included in future questionnaires. This information should prove valuable in adjusting the manner in which the public presentation of the site is developed as well as coverage of any issues that are important to specific age groups.

Sex: While such personal information was not collected, we can estimate that visitors to the site were of both sexes, equally. Again, this information should be sought in future response forms. Much like age, the sex of the visitor might indicate special interests that should be discussed. Once again, the presentation of this requirement should be completed with tact.

Background: The “background” of visitors to the Banneker-Douglass site ranges from individuals who live within the city of Annapolis to those that reside 40+ miles outside of the city’s boundaries. From the responses received, we can infer that prior to the tour of the site, many did not have exposure to archaeological methods or knowledge of current theoretical or topical concerns of archaeologists working in Annapolis (see personal responses). Moreover, few had visited an archaeological site before their tour, and as their initial experience with archaeology in action visitors to the site gained not only knowledge of archaeology but also an appreciation of the significance of this kind of work (personal communications and analysis of visitor responses).

Although we did not include a question about racial categories, as one of the tour guides at the site, Kris Beadenkopf is able to say that the numbers of “walk by” visitors who were of European-American descent out numbered African-American visitors of the same “category”. However, all of the planned tour groups were of African-American descent.

Question # 1 *What did you learn about archaeology that you did not know before you visited the site?*

This question was designed to measure the efficacy of the tour at providing information about archaeological field and analytical methodologies to the public, as well as gauging the level of knowledge about archaeology held by the visitor prior to his/her visit to the site. This question was also set up to open the post tour dialogue with a general question, which would become more focused on an African American theme in question number two. Of the 39 visitors who completed the response forms, 36 responded to this question, most with a phrase or sentence.

While a great range of answers was provided, many of the responses reflected an appreciation of general historical knowledge gained, as well as object-oriented lessons, appreciation of archaeological work as a whole, and the importance of interpretation. Some of the responses include (presented here as they relate to the aforementioned themes:

- “Historical facts unknown to us”
- “that blacks and whites lived close together”
- “history that we have here in Annapolis”
- “about the importance of the privy, African American display of revolt through buying National Brands”
- “Everything, the history of the houses, people... what the interns have found so far”
- “how you can tell when there is a soil color change”
- “lots of tedious and painstaking work for every artifact found”
- “the importance of archaeology in understanding African American culture in Annapolis and a closer look at the difference between urban and rural sites”
- “Amen, there is an interest in truly learning about African American culture”

The number and nature of these responses represent the enthusiasm of visitors in letting us know of their appreciation of the educational value of the tours as well as the role of the tour experience as a forum for discussion.

Question # 2 *What did you learn about African-American culture that you did not know before visiting the site?*

This question served to focus the visitor’s experience on one of the most important topics of the archaeological investigations and interpretive concern of the Banneker-Douglass site. Of the 32 responses received for this question, 63 percent emphasized an understanding of the economic position of African Americans in 19th century Annapolis and how freed blacks resisted racist merchants through foodways. While the same trends of general comments about history and objects remain, many of the visitors took away from their tour deeper understandings about the significance of the kind of interaction between archaeologists and the public offered by Archaeology in Annapolis, especially as they relate to addressing African American issues. The following responses illustrate this point in the words of the visitors.

- “the use of National vs. local Brands”
- “the differences in food consumed and purchased and reasons for those differences”
- “food plays a large part in understanding social actions in Annapolis”
- “that there was a large African American population in Annapolis”
- “that fish really was an African American staple food”
- “importance of name brand household products”
-

Question # 3 *What connection do you see between this site and everyday life?*

This question was posed to draw from the visitor any connection he/she saw between the past that was presented at the site and current cultural tradition. This inquiry served to measure the success of the tour in making history and archaeology relevant to the present. Moreover, it encouraged the visitor

to think beyond the facts that were presented and to utilize that information to realize his/her own interpretation of significant points and their degree of relevance to the present. Of the 37 responses returned (95 percent of the total) indicate a strong impression of an understood relationship between the past and present, with an emphasis on a continuum of discrimination and ways in which African Americans circumvent such social and economic phenomena. An educated public with informed interpretations is one of the goals of this project that was achieved through the public archaeology program at the Banneker-Douglass site. The following excerpts clearly indicates that the public actively engaged in and understood the significance of this important discourse.

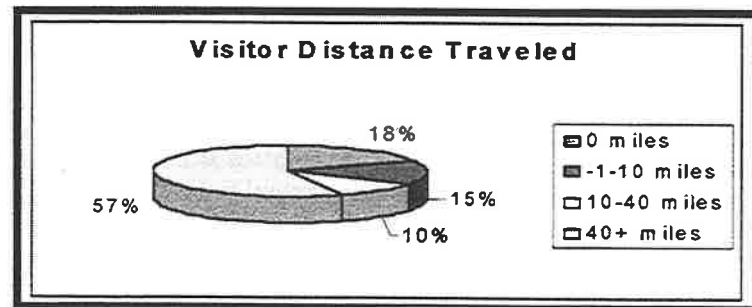
- “we’re all connected”
- “today’s garbage = tomorrow’s history lesson”
- “there is always a connection between past and present”
- “I think the effort to remain self-sufficient and not depend on the local market is still important today”
- “It made me think about the connection between foodways and culture—like then, foodways still differ between social and ethnic groups, etc.”
- “History is valuable in understanding who we are today”
- “I may be part of history”
- “[the archaeology] will help correct some negative associations with African American culture”

While all of these statements are representative of the types of answers received, the last two sentiments express interesting and important realizations. Visitors to the Banneker-Douglass site enjoyed an experience that brought to the forefront of their consciousness the reality of the present, their role in history, and the knowledge that archaeology makes significant contributions to history, and to present conceptions of not only the past but also of present social constructs.

Question # 4 How far have you traveled to visit Annapolis today (circle your answer):

0 miles (Annapolis resident)
 1-10 miles
 10-40 miles
 40+ miles

This question was designed to provide important information about from where the audience originated. Such information provides to us an understanding of how much interest exists in the history and archaeology of Annapolis locally and beyond. Furthermore, knowing from where our visitors come allows us to reformulate our advertising strategies as well as increasing the potential for “word of mouth” advertising for Annapolis. The following chart shows the number of visitors from each distance category.



Question # 5 *Please feel free to comment generally on the tour you took today of the Banneker-Douglass archaeology site.*

This question was designed to provide the visitor ample opportunity to freely express any and all sentiments regarding his/her experience at the Banneker-Douglass site. Of the responses returned 30 individuals (or 77 percent) replied to this offer. While most (95 percent) hailed the experience as informative and interesting, others focused on the quality of the tour and the interpreter's ability to effectively communicate ideas. Still yet, many others expressed an interest in more information, and more of these types of public archaeology programs. The following are representative examples of the responses.

- "Thank you...informative...interesting"
- "I thought the tour was informative and interesting, and the tour guide was professional, friendly, and knowledgeable."
- "Fascinating! Very nice tour guide!"
- "Excellent! I would appreciate knowing what happens to the artifacts"
- "I enjoyed learning about the accomplishments of African Americans"
- "It was the archaeology course I always wanted to take and never did. I think I will read more about archaeology and appreciate it more. Thanks so much!"

These quotes illustrate the amount of praise visitors had for our efforts and perhaps more significant an indication that the visitors were intellectually stimulated. The last two statements recorded here attest to the overall success of the 2001 public archaeology program at the Banneker-Douglass Museum site.

- Quality of Humanities Content:

The content consisted of questions about heritage derived from African-American scholars and residents of Annapolis. The content was anthropological and historical. Much of the information was archaeological. A combination of oral histories, anthropology, and local history was used to explain the reasons for the excavation and the results of earlier archaeological work. All the presentations were dialectical and prompted a good deal of give and take between visitors and professional archaeologists who provided the tours.

- Centrality of comments made by humanities scholars:

Humanities scholars involved the staff of the Banneker-Douglass Museum, who are historians, museum specialists, and experts in African-American material culture and its scholarship. Historic Annapolis Foundation provided information on archaeology and preservation through Dr. Jessica Neuwirth. Dr. Mark Leone edited all texts. Texts were written by professional archaeologists, Andrew Madsen and Janice Hayes-Williams, a local historian. All comments were textual.

- Degree of interaction between scholars and the general public:

The professional archaeologists at the site gave tours. Therefore their face-to-face interaction used humanistic knowledge in explaining archaeological method to well over 800 visitors.

- Names and Disciplines of participating scholars:

Dr. Mark Leone, Anthropology
 Dr. Jessica Neuwirth, Archaeology
 Mr. Andrew Madsen, Anthropology
 Mr. Kristofer Beadenkopf, Anthropology
 Mrs. Janice Hayes-Williams, History
 Mr. Eric Larsen, Anthropology

- Effective/Recommended speakers: N/A

- Did the project differ from what was proposed?

There were no public dig days.

- Objectivity and balanced exploration of the topic:

Every effort was made to approach an explanation of the archaeology from a dialectical standpoint. All opinions were described as hypotheses, and all conclusions, as tentative, pending more analysis. Because ample time was left for give and take between archaeologists and visitors, virtually all questions received adequate explanation. This resulted in a balanced exploration of the archaeological interpretation.

- Any additional activities that resulted from this project:

Banneker-Douglass Museum staff member, Maisha Washington, created and ran an archaeological field program for approximately 100 African-American youngsters from economically-challenged neighborhoods in Annapolis. Archaeology in Annapolis staff provided equipment, staff time, a written curriculum, and some funding for this unique effort to teach children the methods of archaeology. The children were taught archaeological contributions of African-American foodways and West African religious practices. The youngsters who worked with Ms. Washington, worked in a separate setting, but visited the Banneker-Douglass site.

- Comments about experience with MD Humanities Council:

As always, the Council staff is great to work with.

Appendix A
Signage
Brochure

African-American Archaeology in Annapolis:

Archaeology in Annapolis has undertaken archaeological excavations of a number of important African-American sites in Annapolis since the founding of the program in 1981. These sites have included the 19th century African-American Maynard-Burgess House, the Gott's Court Site and other portions of the Courthouse area including the Bellis Court area. All these were row houses, once a predominantly African-American community dating back over one hundred and sixty years.

Insurance maps indicate that four houses stood on this lot during the late 19th century and existed until recently. The records show a pattern of land ownership by whites, and African-Americans. Whites rented to African-American and to white tenants at 88 and 90 Franklin Street. The other two houses, 84 and 86 Franklin Street, were owned by African-Americans and rented out to African-Americans since 1832. The archaeologists will study how the archaeological finds are related to the individual households, as well as the changing pattern of yard use.

This placard, and the placards entitled, "2001 Excavations of the Banneker-Douglass Site", "African American Foodways in 19th century Annapolis", and "Material expressions of African-American self-reliance in 19th century Annapolis" were written by Andrew Madsen. July 2001.

African American Foodways in 19th century Annapolis:

The study of the bones, called “faunal analysis” by archaeologists, tells the story of some of the dietary practices, or foodways, of the residents who lived at the site. The study of the bones can help archaeologists understand more about the consumption patterns of African-Americans in Annapolis, how the bones may reflect choice, traditional African-American foodways, and how the former residents sought to free themselves from dependence upon the local merchants.

For example, at the African-American Maynard-Burgess house the majority of the bone remains found were from fish. This is important because fish could be caught for free, bartered for on the street and otherwise acquired from sources and people outside of local marketplaces. The faunal data from the African-American Courthouse block, including the nearby Bellis Court area revealed that there was a strong preference for pork over beef. This is in contrast to the dominant trend towards increasing beef consumption by white Annapolitans during the later part of the 19th century. Other African-American sites in Annapolis have indicated a strong reliance on fowl, primarily chicken during this period. Local oral histories are filled with accounts of chicken keeping in the backyards of numerous early 20th century African-American residents in this neighborhood. The archaeologists working at the Banneker-Douglass site today will seek to learn if this foodways pattern occurred here too. As more African-American sites are excavated and interpreted, a richer picture of 19th century African-American foodways will emerge.

Material expressions of African-American self-reliance in 19th century Annapolis:

The study of the artifacts left behind by African-Americans can be used to document daily life, and come to a richer understanding of the strategies of existence and resistance used by African-Americans during the 19th and 20th centuries. Archaeologists have revealed that African-Americans living in Annapolis at the Maynard-Burgess site may have circumvented racism in the local marketplaces, and increased their independence and self-reliance by purchasing national brand bottled goods. National brand goods were of consistent quality and not subject to tampering by local merchants. Archaeologists have also recovered evidence that indicates that African-Americans may have used generationally inherited or bartered dishes because the majority of the dishes found were mis-matched and show heavy use-wear. The study of the animal bone showed that often fish were consumed. Fish could be caught from the local waterways and also obtained from African-American street vendors, or family. These foodways avoided local merchants.

**Dr. William Bishop
(1849 - 1904), property owner, community trustee,
family man and physician**

Born a free person of color in 1849, Dr. William Bishop, was the descendant of the complexities of interactions between slaves and immigrants. In 1885, Dr. Bishop graduated from the Howard University Medical School as Class Valedictorian. He later returned to Annapolis as the city's first physician of color.

Dr. Bishop married Annie Elizabeth Chew and had four children. During his lifetime, he inherited and acquired numerous properties in the City of Annapolis. Family members owned several lots on this site during the 19th and 20th Centuries. A leader in Republican politics, and an active member of St. Phillips Episcopal Church, Dr. Bishop was also a trustee of the Stanton Colored Public School and was involved in the founding of Anne Arundel General Hospital.

Educated, and refined, modest and unobtrusive, Dr. William Bishop, took much interest in uplifting people of color, and was revered by the "entire" Annapolis community, as one of "the best men of his race." Janice Hayes Williams, July, 2001.

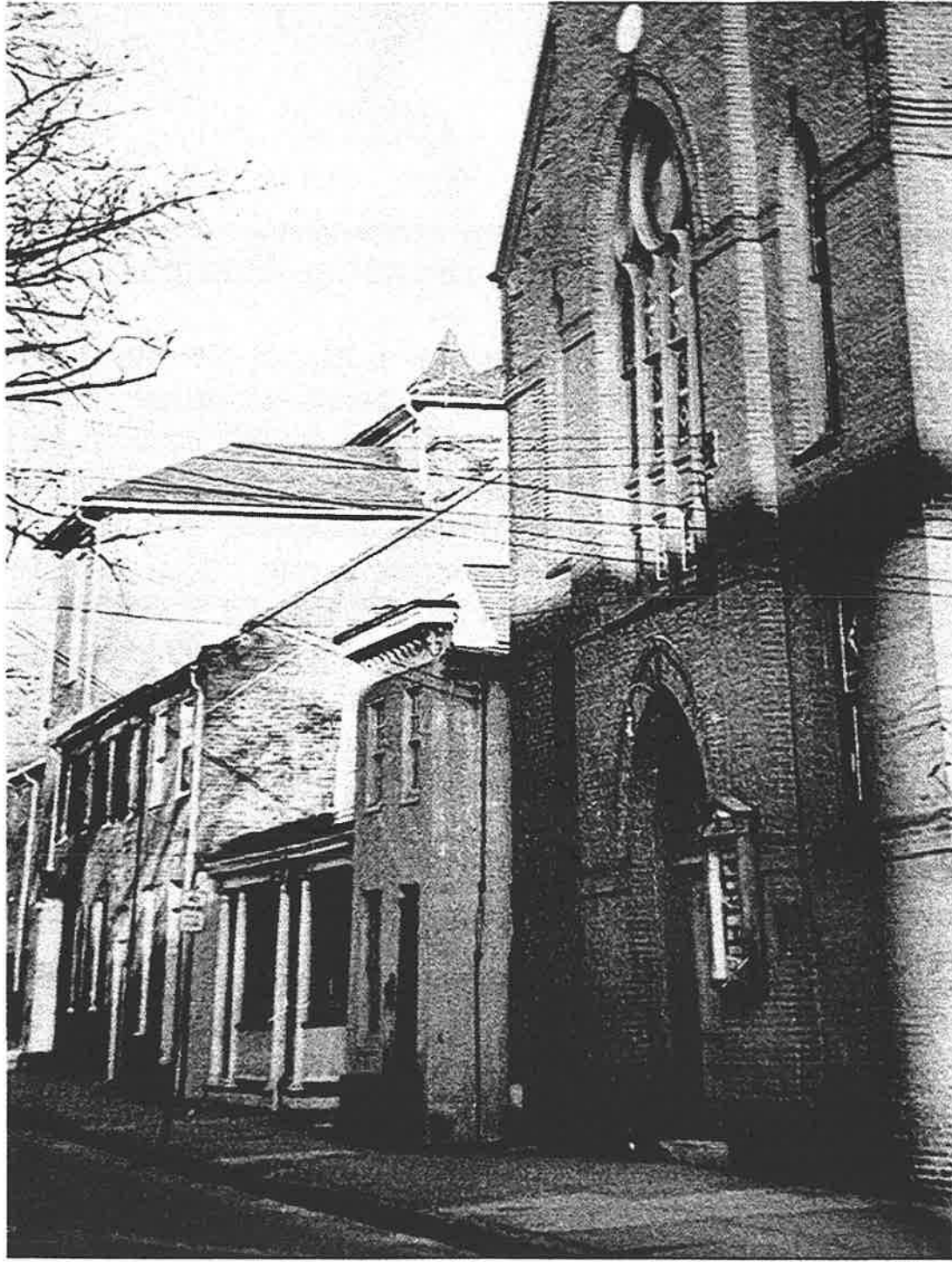
Free Black Families

And they bought themselves out of slavery. Circumscribed by discriminatory laws and practices, many free African Americans were consistently and successfully engaged in achieving freedom for family members held in bondage. Many blacks who obtained their freedom during the early to mid 18th century, were free due to their birth as “mulattos” or of mixed European parentage. From the late 18th century to the mid 19th century, the number of free black Marylanders swelled, with a systematic wave of manumissions by family members, by law for mulattos who were bound out until the age of 21 or 31, and by sympathetic slave owners. By the eve of the Civil War, Maryland’s free black population was the largest in the nation.

Their bond to Maryland was “Family.” Successfully laboring for economic empowerment, social acceptance, equality and freedom, free black families became an integral part of this (their) community. In business, politics, education, and religion, free blacks set high standards, and made a commitment to independence for all families of color. Janice Hayes-Williams July 2001.

2001 Excavations of the Banneker-Douglass Site:

The 2001 excavations of the Banneker-Douglass site must happen before the planned addition of the Banneker-Douglass Museum. Four houses once stood on this site during the 19th century: 84-90 Franklin, once Doctor, Street. The 2001 investigations will include the complete excavation of two privies, associated with 88 and 90 Franklin Street; we will also excavate a root cellar, a midden (dump) at 86 Franklin Street, and the remains of a woodshed. It is possible that other features not found during the 2000 excavations may be encountered. These areas will also be mapped and excavated as part of the 2001 archaeological fieldwork. All of the data from the current excavation will be analyzed and compared with the data from other known 19th century African-American sites in Annapolis. This comparison will provide a better understanding of African-American lifeways on this part of the Courthouse block.



A photograph of Franklin Street showing the original AME Mt. Moriah Church and the 86-90 Franklin Street residences. The photograph was possibly taken in the 1940's or 1950's.

Appendix B

Tour Script

Banneker-Douglass Site Tour, July-August, 2001.

The Banneker-Douglass site lies within a traditionally African-American portion of Annapolis known as the Courthouse block. Archaeological excavations, oral histories and historical research all indicated a strong and diverse African-American presence in this part of Annapolis throughout the 19th and 20th centuries. The excavation of the Banneker-Douglass site has been necessitated by the proposed construction of an addition to the Banneker-Douglass museum located next door in the original Mt. Moriah Church. The construction will destroy the important archaeological features located in this lot and thus the Historical Annapolis Foundation and the University of Maryland are conducting a thorough archaeological investigation of the site. During the 19th and 20th centuries four houses, 84-90 Franklin Street, were located within this now vacant lot. Initial investigations conducted last August revealed several important, and intact archaeological features related to the African-American occupation of these structures including two privies, a root cellar, a rich deposit of artifacts called a "sheet midden" by archaeologists, and the remains of a possible woodshed.

Before archaeologists begin to excavate they carefully map the entire site, placing a measured grid over the site that contains locational information called coordinates, so that when discoveries are made they can be labeled with information concerning their provenience, or location within the site. Within this grid the archaeologists will excavate five-foot by five foot square areas called "test units". These test units are used to expose important archaeological deposits called "features" so that the privies, root cellar and sheet midden documented during last year's excavations can be fully excavated this summer. Within each test unit the archaeologists will carefully remove the soil by level, bagging all of the artifacts found within each soil together. It is important to bag all of the artifacts found within each soil deposit together because the differing soils represent different discard events. The more recent discarded artifacts are found in the upper levels of the test unit, while the older artifacts are found in the deeper levels. By comparing the artifacts found in the upper levels from those found in the lower levels the archaeologists can understand the development of the site and the periods of site occupation. All of the soils removed are carefully screened so that all of the artifacts can be found. The work is very methodical because as the archaeologists are excavating the site, they are in the process taking the site apart level by level and recording very carefully what they are excavating, how they are excavating and what they are finding. After the completion of the excavation, the artifacts are washed, dried, counted, analyzed and the data recorded and a report is written that presents the discoveries so that we can all read about the archaeological history that occurred on this part of Franklin Street.

As I mentioned before, two privies, outhouses, were found and partially recorded during the initial excavations conducted last year. Since the advent of indoor plumbing in this part of Annapolis dates to about 1917 to 1930, thus these features likely date to the 1870 to 1930 period. Privies are important archaeologically because they often contain items thrown away by the residents that lived at the site. Archaeologists use ceramics to aid them in establishing dates for archaeological sites and features. Merchants records, and ceramic production records have helped archaeologists establish date ranges for 19th and 20th century ceramics. The analysis of the ceramics from the privy features found last year indicate that the 88 Franklin Street privy dates to circa 1863, and the 90 Franklin Street privy dates to circa 1855. The root cellar is another interesting and important archaeological feature. Recorded within what was 86 Franklin Street, this feature may have been used for the storage of vegetables, and/or other possessions or foodstuffs. Another African-American root cellar excavated at the Maynard-Burgess site here in Annapolis revealed a rich deposit of artifacts important for the interpretation of the site. The hope is that this root cellar will yield artifacts that will help the archaeologists understand more about African-American lifeways in this portion of Annapolis. Archaeologists also uncovered a rich concentration of mid 19th century artifacts within one area and will also be fully excavating this feature. Over 1,200 artifacts were found within one small area. The complete excavation of this feature and the interpretation of the artifacts found within the feature, will help archaeologists understand the variety and types of goods used and foods consumed at the site during the mid 19th century. Three small posts, suggesting the location of an

outbuilding, possibly a woodshed in the vicinity of where 86 Franklin Street once stood will be explored. Each of these features is very important for the interpretation of the way of life of African-American households in Annapolis. Only a handful of similar 19th century African-American sites have been excavated in Annapolis.

Some very interesting ideas have been formulated as a result of the excavations of the African-American Maynard-Burgess, Gott's Court, Courthouse and Bellis Court sites here in Annapolis. For example, at the Maynard-Burgess and Gott's court sites large quantities of bottles were recovered. This is not uncommon on 19th century sites, but what was interesting was that the majority of the bottles was from National product brands, as opposed to locally produced and filled bottles. Archaeologists have suggested that the purchase of bottled goods produced by national brands that were of a consistent quality might represent self-reliance and independence and one way in which the African-American community circumvented the local markets which may be apt to dilute, or make the bottled goods inferior for the African-American community. The excavations conducted at the Banneker-Douglass site will be used to help test this notion by looking closely at the bottles and inspecting the numbers of national versus local brands.

As with bottles, ceramics offer archaeologists important information concerning the types of wares used by the occupants at an archaeological site, the types of meals prepared and ceramics when studied as a group, can offer the archaeologist important information concerning the social standing of the families that once resided on the site. For example, at the African-American Maynard-Burgess site a wide variety of ceramics were recovered. The ceramics did not represent pieces of a matching table service as was found on many predominately white Annapolis sites. The ceramics were mis-matched, and showed heavy used wear indicating that they were likely exchanged between households, or passed down from one generation to another. This is a very important observation of the ceramics used on African-American sites because archaeologists suggest that the use of passed down, or exchanged ceramics served to increase independence from the local markets, and minimize racism, in the way that the purchase of national brand bottle goods served to minimize racism, by making the African-American community less dependant upon the local marketplace.

Archaeologists also study the bones of animals eaten on an archaeological site. Such study is called "faunal" analysis. It is important for archaeologists to study the bones of the animals eaten to understand the diet of the household under study in order to compare the data with the data from other sites and present a richer view of the foodways, and the lifeways, of the household that once lived at the site. Archaeologists have studied the animal bones and have used the data to conclude that although African-Americans did participate in a common consumer culture with white Annapolitans, the African-American community did not have the same "relationship" with the market as the white community. For example, other archaeologist have noted from studying the animal bones present on the site, strategies that the African-American community may have been utilizing to circumvent the racism of the local markets. Archaeologists have noted a high percentage of fish remains recovered from African-American sites in Annapolis. It was observed at the 19th century African-American Maynard-Burgess house site that the majority of the bone remains found were from fish. This is important because fish could be caught for free, bartered for on the street and otherwise acquired from sources and people outside of local marketplace; strengthening the independence of the African-American community. The archaeology also revealed that the faunal data from the African-American Courthouse block, including the nearby Bellis Court area, revealed that there was a strong preference among the African-American residents for pork over beef. This is in contrast to the dominant trend towards increasing beef consumption by white Annapolitans during the later part of the 19th century. Other African-American sites in Annapolis have indicated a strong reliance on fowl, primarily chicken during this period. Local oral histories are filled with accounts of chicken keeping in the backyards of numerous early 20th century African-American residents in this neighborhood. The archaeologists working at the Banneker-Douglass site today will seek to learn if this foodways pattern is reflected here. As additional 19th and early 20th century African-American sites are excavated, archaeologists will be able to see if their observations recorded about African-American sites are borne out or whether there is more variability to the archaeological record than previously understood. So, archaeology is in a sense "fluid" in that the interpretations suggested today based on previous work conducted may be validated tomorrow, or may require modification. Archaeological interpretations and the understanding of 19th and early 20th century African-American lifeways are therefore constantly developing

according to new discoveries and new archaeological evidence. As with the purchase of national brand bottle goods, and the use of exchanged or handed down ceramics the consumption of fish obtained from the local waterways or street vendor may have been another way in which the African-American community circumvented in part, the 19th and 20th century racism in Annapolis. Archaeologists are looking closely to find animal bone so that the foodways of the households that resided on this part of Franklin Street can be understood and compared to the data known from the other 19th century African-American sites in Annapolis.

So, the archaeological data indicates that the 19th and 20th century African-American community in Annapolis may have been seeking to increase their independence by minimizing their reliance on the local merchants by purchasing national brands, using exchanged or handed down ceramics and by consuming locally obtained fish. The archaeologists are eager to compare the data from the artifacts which are being found today with the data that already exists to see if this pattern of consumer market participation and resistance is represented at the Banneker-Douglass site.

We know from the historical records that there were once four houses standing within this lot. The archaeologists will be seeking to compare the archaeological findings from the Banneker-Douglass site to see if the finds can be associated with the individual houses that once stood on this site. This is important for the interpretation of the differences and similarities between African-American households during the 19th century. An important aspect of interpreting the past lifeways of the African-American community here in Annapolis will focus on the differences between the lives of the families that lived in the four houses. For example we know from the historical record that house numbers 88 and 90 Franklin Street had been historically owned by whites, while renting to both white and African-American tenants. In contrast, house numbers 84 and 86 had been owned exclusively by African-Americans since 1832 and rented to predominately African-Americans. It will be important for the understanding of African-American households in Annapolis during the 19th and 20th centuries to compare the artifacts from the houses to understand the differing lives of the people that lived on this site as it developed from a mixed race neighborhood during the early and mid 19th century to a predominately African-American neighborhood by the end of the century.

Archaeology is critical for interpretation of those segments of society, which were marginalized, exploited or written about in the historical record from a narrow or biased perspective. The historical record of the African-American community needs to be critically evaluated, and the importance of the incredibly rich and diverse 19th and 20th century African-American lifeways documented to allow for a greater connectedness between present and past in Annapolis. Archaeological study has the potential to enrich us all by documenting aspects of the past lifeways to allow for a more complete, and richer picture of the lives of the African-American residents of Annapolis. An example of the interconnectedness of the present and the past comes from the study of vases, mantle statues, figurines, or patriotic wall hangings and pictures, collectively known as "bric-a-brac". These trinkets feature exotic designs and motifs and were mass-produced in large quantities during the 19th century. These items perhaps had intrinsic meaning aside from their value as decorative objects. Perhaps you or your family has a cast statue, or figurine at home in your livingroom or on the mantle as a decorative item. 20th century African-American oral histories often recount the display of items of bric-a-brac. Commonly displayed in 19th and 20th century homes, such bric-a-brac is also found on archaeological sites. Archaeologists sometimes mistakenly observe the fragments of statues and figurines as too expensive for African-Americans to acquire and are interpreted as gifts from their white masters or bosses. Undoubtedly, white employers did give such gifts to their workers, however, this "bric-a-brac" was affordable and offered the 19th century resident of Annapolis to furnish his, or her residence with objects that gave the impression of exoticism and affluence. Such bric-a-brac items were commonly displayed in the homes of many Americans during the 19th century. Passed down through the generations, many bric-a-brac items can still be seen adorning the mantles and living rooms of Annapolis residents today. The archaeologists excavating the Banneker-Douglass site will look for evidence of bric-a-brac items at the site.

During the last 12 minutes I have tried to display some of the ways in which archaeologists use the data interpreted from the artifacts found on a site such as the Banneker-Douglass site to interpret the rich history of 19th and 20th century African-Americans Annapolitans. Additionally, I have sought to illustrate that

archaeology is not static, interpretations are constantly changing as new data emerges from the sites that are excavated; our way of life is not unchanging; the past and our interpretation of the past is open to discussion and debate. I have also sought to illustrate some of types of artifacts that archaeologists use to interpret the past and some of the ideas that archaeologists in Annapolis have discussed concerning what the artifacts mean for 19th century African-American history. History is not just about facts and dates, but is about people and process and the furthering of our understanding of not just the notable figures in history such as Thomas Jefferson and George Washington, but the ordinary, and often marginalized segments of society such as the African-American community in Annapolis. The next time that you visit an historic site I hope that you will think about what is being presented to you, how it is being presented and why it is being presented or interpreted; and always ask questions. I thank you very much for your interest in the archaeology at the Banneker-Douglass site and I would be happy to answer any questions that you might have about the site, the ongoing discoveries or the tour.