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Black Women, Beauty, and Labor: Towards an Archaeology of African-American Women in Indianapolis, Indiana

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BLACK WOMEN, BEAUTY, AND LABOR: TOWARDS AN ARCHAEOLOGY OF AFRICAN-AMERICAN WOMEN IN INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA

by

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BLACK WOMEN, BEAUTY, AND LABOR: TOWARDS AN ARCHAEOLOGY OF AFRICAN-AMERICAN WOMEN IN INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA

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For two consecutive summers (2002 and 2003), I conducted fieldwork in the Ransom Place Archaeology neighborhood on the near Westside of Indianapolis, Indiana. I found myself increasingly drawn to the material culture left behind by the African-American women who had lived in the area roughly 100 years ago. Such material culture begs many questions: What social and political forces influenced the construction of African-American women's understandings of self in the early twentieth century? Who was responsible for the construction and dissemination of beauty ideals, notions about women's work, and how did those ideals differ across the color line? Using as an entry points the early twentieth-century material remains and supporting historical documentation, this thesis examines the quotidian lives of early twentieth-century African-American women *vis-à-vis* a critical examination of race, materialism, labor, and beautification practices across and along the color line, as well as the relationship between the two. The result is an illumination of the complex social, political, and economic milieu in which African-American women lived, worked, and struggled against an unrelenting sexual and racial inequality that continues in the present.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

For two consecutive summers (2002 and 2003), I conducted fieldwork in the Ransom Place Archaeology neighborhood on the near Westside of Indianapolis, Indiana. As Public Program Coordinator, teaching assistant and at times field technician, many of the artifacts uncovered during various archaeological investigations by Ransom Place Archaeology passed through my hands. I found myself increasingly drawn to the material culture left behind by the African-American women who had lived in the area roughly 100 years ago. Examples of such material culture include hair combs, powder compacts, perfume bottles, tooth powder, sewing needles, thimbles, buttons, jewelry, and other beauty and hygiene accoutrements. Such material culture provides insight into the daily lives of these women, which is "a strong clue that there is significant albeit enigmatic symbolism lurking within these things [artifacts]" (Mullins 2001:159). Curiosity about objects that at first glance appear to be nothing more than mere tools to aid in various beauty and domestic labor practices, spawn far from mundane questions: who were these women; why did they purchase and use such items; how did they live; and what was their work? The material culture begs many questions, but one question lies at the heart of the research proposed here: What social and political forces influenced the construction of African-American female notions of self during the early twentieth century? In other words, what were the socio-political and economic forces working to encourage these women to buy a vast range of cosmetics including straightening combs and bleaching creams? Who was responsible for the construction and dissemination of beauty ideals,

notions about women's work, and how did those ideals differ across the color line? Why did women embrace beauty ideals that may now seem potentially disempowering? Why were these women subscribing to particular notions about labor, beauty, and body image (see Hall 1995; Morgan 1995)? Labor practices and beauty/hygiene regimes are two of the many components that structured the lives of African-American women and thus are singled for the purposes of this research. For the purposes of this research, beauty and hygiene regimes are defined as processes in which women modify their physical appearance (body and dress) in order to reproduce and modify socially constructed notions of physical aestheticism. It is arguable that labor and beauty in particular have a dialectical relationship and within the context of the early twentieth-century to examine the scholarship of labor you must also examine the scholarship of beauty. The relationship between beauty and labor practices is an ongoing one and is situated in the idea that the social perception of a person by the larger society can dictate the labor opportunities made available to that person. In other words, one (beauty) informs the potential for success in the other (labor). Moreover, it is proposed that a critical examination of the socially and politically informed ideals, notions, and practices surrounding each of these variables can illuminate life across the color line, and examine how contextually distinct power relations emerged, were continuously reconstructed, and reproduced by material consumption. The practices associated with both the production, e.g. advertising and the consumption of material culture are often constructed for the purposes of reconstructing power relations that support and maintain an existing social order. These practices inform both the construction of self by an individual, as well as the construction of a collective group identity. For archaeologists, this argument is not new; in fact, it may seem to some a straw person. However, within archaeological

discourse, there is an undeniable void concerning the early twentieth century lives of African-American women. This may seem odd considering that the roughly 65 years between the end of the Civil War and the end of the Harlem Renaissance was a pivotal moment in the lives of African-Americans. Using as an entry points the early twentieth-century material remains recovered by Ransom Place Archaeology and supporting historical documentation, this thesis examines the everyday lives of African-American women in early twentieth-century urban contexts *vis-à-vis* a critical examination of race, materialism, labor, and beautification practices across and along the color line, as well as the relationship between the two. It is through the examination of this relationship that the historical roots of inequality that existed between African-American women and their White genteel counterparts in the early twentieth-century become known.

This inequality was masked by an ideology of beauty that was rooted in a widely held belief in biologically based racial inferiority. This ideology, which has roots in the era of slavery, was still very much alive during the first part of the twentieth century and was consistently reproduced through mass communication and material commodities, e.g. commercial print advertising and the marketing of personal hygiene products. Therefore, the impact these practices and the material culture they produced had on the lives of African-American women— specifically their ability to propagate and reproduce stereotypical images of African-American women— is explored. Even today, stereotypical visual representations of African-American women inundate our everyday lives, e.g. the Pine-sol lady, Aunt Jemima, Foxy Brown, and Mrs. Butterworth. Seldom if ever do we ask ourselves about the origins of these images, and the stereotypes they represent. However, neither beauty terms nor the images are innocuous or natural. In fact, they are socially constructed and as such, they have specific and complex origins that

must be better understood if we are to "de-naturalize" not only their usage, but also the efficacy of their usage to denigrate African-American women. Contemporary stereotypes that refer to the character, beauty and the bodies of African-American women have complex historical roots. These stereotypical terms and images have been used to situate, classify, and discriminate against African-American women for the better part of 300 years. These stereotypes are tools for the propagation of ideologies about race, class, and gender. Thus, if we are to understand the present usage of these stereotypes, their propagation, their pervasiveness, their ability to change through time, and the reasons behind their initial construction we must dig deep into the socio-political and economic history of the United States. We must examine the systematic process of denigration and dehumanization that for the last 300 years has shored up and perpetuated a society, in which Black women are the victims of relentless sexual and labor exploitation. It is thorough the historical examination of the material culture directly associated with the propagation of these stereotypical images of African-American women that a clearer picture of their origins and the complex social, political, and economic forces behind their reproduction, and perpetuation begins to emerge. The material culture is a jumping-off point for this research, which examines the origins of the material culture's manufacture and the advertising practices that supported and propelled its commodification. The result is an illumination of the complex social, political, and economic milieu in which African-American women lived, worked, and constantly struggled against an unrelenting sexual and racial inequality that continues in the present.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL CONTEXTUALIZATION OF RESEARCH AREA AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL CORRELATES

Ransom Place Archaeology is an ongoing archaeological project that focuses on the Ransom Place Historic District and the swath of downtown Indianapolis, Indiana that now resides under the Indiana University Purdue University Indianapolis (IUPUI) campus. The archaeological project examines the lines of difference that have structured life there since the mid-nineteenth century, especially the relationship between material culture and race. Ransom Place archaeology examines "the everyday material culture in this community as a mechanism to illuminate the complexity of living in a racialized society since the late-nineteenth century….in sum, what was African-American culture and everyday life like in a vibrant neighborhood despite—and in defiance of—persistent racial boundaries"(Mullins 2002). The archaeology carried out by Ransom Place Archaeology provides a compelling context in which to explore the interpellation of African-American women into beauty ideology. During the first two decades of the twentieth century, the African-American population in Indianapolis, Indiana more than doubled from 15,931 to 34, 678 (Brady 1996). This increase in population was the result of a mass migration by African Americans from the South to North in search of improved social, economic, and labor opportunities. When African Americans settled in the Indiana state capital, what they found was established Black communities and multicultural neighborhoods with churches, businesses and various social organizations (Brady 1996). In 1900, the predominantly working-class population of Indianapolis' near Westside included an already substantial African-American constituency, which comprised 14 percent of the area's total population (Brady 1996; see table 1). Factories

located along White River to the Southwest and Indiana Avenue (a major commercial artery at the time) surrounded the neighborhood, while corner stores dotted its internal landscape (see figure 1). Consequently, African Americans had access to many mass produced commodities, which were sold somewhere in the area. At the turn of the century, the near Westside of downtown

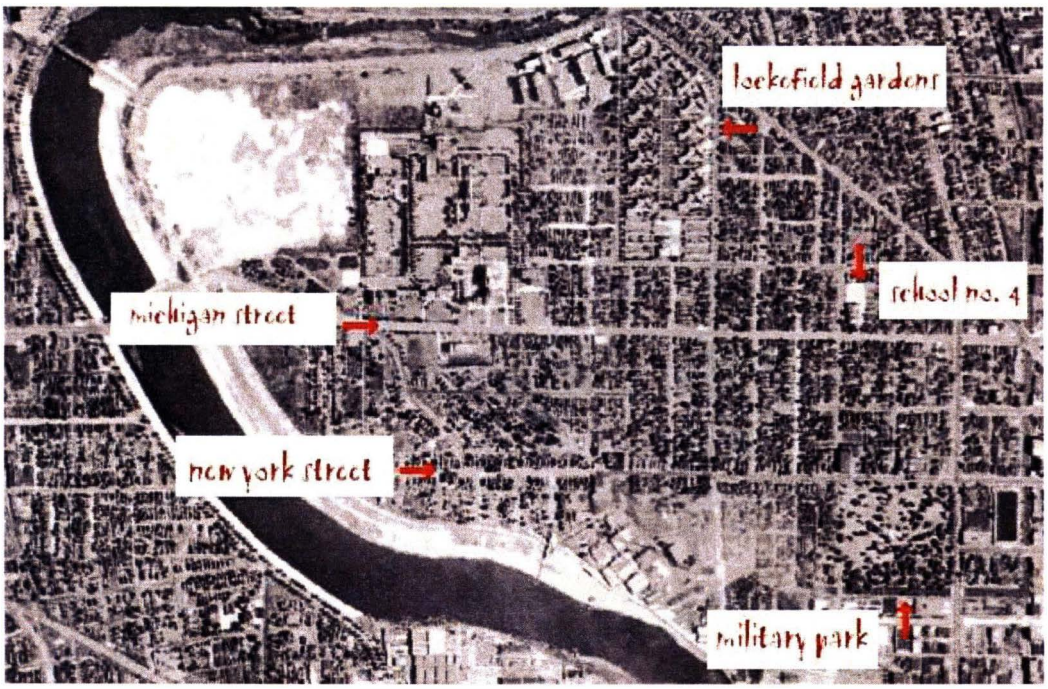

Figure 1: Ariel photograph of Ransom Place Archaeology research area (Ransom Place Archaeology http://www.iupui.edu/~anthpm/survey.html).

Indianapolis was a predominantly working class multicultural area in which small businesses, shops, industries, and boarding houses dotted the local landscape and included an established African American enclave that attracted a steady flow of new residents from the South (Douglass 2004: 4; Brady 1996). Census data from the Ransom Place research area demonstrates the multicultural nature of this area in which African Americans, European immigrants and native-born Whites were living alongside each other at the turn of the twentieth century (Brady 1996; see tables 1-4). Among the most

famous of these newcomers was the African-American beauty entrepreneur Madame C.J. Walker, who located her cosmetics empire to Indianapolis, IN 1910 (Blackwelder: 2003; see table 2).

Figure 2: Photograph of Madam C.J. Walker ca.1914 (Wikipedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Madame_C.J._Walker).

Madame Walker opened both a manufacturing facility that produced the goods of her cosmetics empire and a beauty school for African-American women, where they learned techniques to sell Madame Walker products door-to-door and become the proprietors of their own beauty shops (Rooks 2000).

Many of the African-American women who lived in this are were domestic laborers and/or working in the service industry in some capacity (Indianapolis City Directory 1914). Such jobs included laundresses, seamstresses, domestic servants (Cotter *et al* 1999; Indianapolis City Directory 1914). While we know where these women

Agnes	127 (83.55%)	24 (15.78%)	1 (.65%)
Blackford	161 (80.90%)	38 (19.09%)	0
California	245 (89.41%)	29 (10.57%)	0
Douglass	231 (94.28%)	14 (5.71%)	0
Indiana	165 (66.80%)	82 (33.19%)	0
North	46 (38.65%)	72 (60.49%)	1 (.84%)
TOTAL	975 (78.88%)	259 (20.95%)	2 (.16%)

Table 1: Race by Neighborhood Area, 1880 (Ransom Place Archaeology http://www.iupui.edu/~anthpm/survey.html).

Neighborhood	White	Black/Mulatto	Illegible/blank
Agnes	253 (96.56%)	9 (3.43%)	0
Blackford	161 (48.49%)	171 (51.50%)	0
California	324 (89.50%)	38 (10.49%)	0
Douglass	335 (96.26%)	10 (2.87)	3 (.85%)
Indiana	106 (52.73%)	95 (47.26%)	0
North	146 (39.67%)	222 (60.32%)	0
TOTAL	1325 (70.74%)	545 (29.09%)	3 (.16%)

Table 2: Race by Neighborhood Area, 1900 (Ransom Place Archaeology http://www.iupui.edu/~anthpm/survey.html).

Neighborhood	White	Black/Mulatto	Illegible/blank

Agnes	106 (100%)	0	0
Blackford	126 (51.63%)	117 (47.94%)	1 (.40%)
California	301 (79.84%)	73 (19.35%)	3 (.79%)
Douglass	567 (97.92%)	12 (2.07%)	0
Indiana	42 (20.58%)	161 (78.91%)	1 (.49%)
North	141 (38.95%)	221 (61.04%)	0
TOTAL	1283 (68.53%)	584 (31.19%)	5 (.26%)

Table 3: Race by Neighborhood Area, 1910 (Ransom Place Archaeology http://www.iupui.edu/~anthpm/survey.html).

Neighborhood	White	Black/Mulatto	Illegible/blank
Agnes	157 (80.51%)	38 (19.48%)	0
Blackford	53 (18.53%)	233 (81.45%)	0
California	344 (59.41%)	235 (40.58%)	0
Douglass	501 (100%)	0	0
Indiana	9 (3.71%)	233 (96.27%)	0
North	23 (5.89%)	365 (93.58%)	2 (.51%)
TOTAL	1087 (49.56%)	1104 (50.34%)	2 (.09%)

Table 4. Race by Neighborhood Area, 1920 (Ransom Place Archaeology http://www.iupui.edu/~anthpm/survey.html).

resided and how they earned a living, the archaeology conducted in Ransom Place over the last decade provides an invaluable insight into the daily lives of these early twentieth-century African-American women. "Today the Ransom Place Historic District includes a mix of vernacular homes dating from Reconstruction onwards, and the surrounding neighborhoods include a refurbished nineteenth-century canal, the African-motif Walker Theatre built in 1927, Crispus Attucks High School, and the campus of Indiana University-Purdue University, Indianapolis (IUPUI)" (Ransom Place Archaeology http://www.iupui.edu/~anthpm/ransom.html).

Appendix A includes a cultural and demographic history gleaned from the Archaeological and Historical Survey of the IUPUI Campus section of Ransom Place Archaeology website that was written by Dr. Paul R. Mullins the Principal Investigator of Ransom Place Archaeology.

Evans-Deschler Site Archaeology

The artifact assemblage recovered from the Evans boarding house located on the Evans-Deschler site in the Ransom Place Archaeology Research Area is the primary inspiration for the research presented in this thesis. The Evans boarding house was a single household residence built sometime between 1908 and 1910 (see figure 3). It stood at the rear of the lot located at 423-25 N. California St. and stood just three feet to the south of the German-American run Steinmetz meat cutting and packing store and was one of the only African-American homes on the block in 1910 (Ransom Place Archaeology http://www.iupui.edu/~anthpm/fs2001.html; see figure 4). Hattie Evans ran the boarding house in 1910 and lived there with four other lodgers (Indianapolis City

Directory Ransom Place Archaeology http://www.iupui.edu/~anthpm/fs2001.html). Evans and lodger Edna Jones worked as laundresses, which was typical employment for African-American women of this time (Indianapolis City Directory; Ransom Place Archaeology http://www.iupui.edu/~anthpm/fs2001.html).

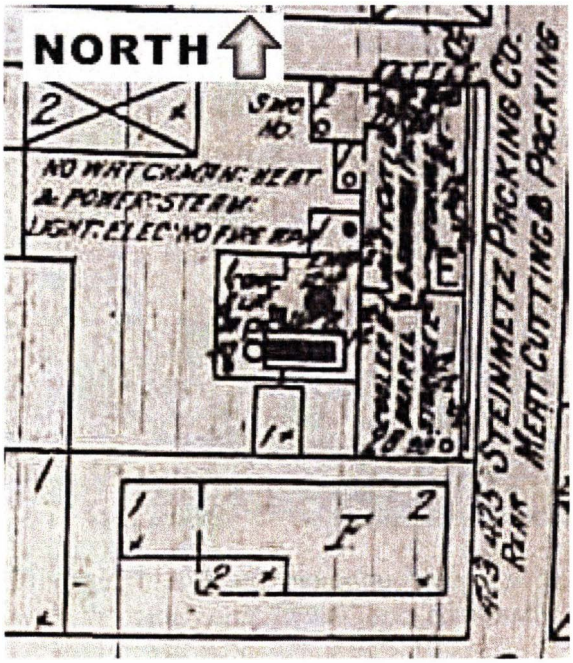

Figure 3: Sanborn Insurance map showing the location of the Evan's boarding house (Ransom Place Archaeology house.http://www.iupui.edu/~anthpm/fs2001.html).

Another lodger, Belle Thompson was a domestic, which was another common occupation for African-American women of that time (Indianapolis City directory; Ransom Place Archaeology http://www.iupui.edu/~anthpm/fs2001.html). Two men lived in the home, John Curry a janitor, and Richard Bowling a cook (Indianapolis City Directory; Ransom Place Archaeology http://www.iupui.edu/~anthpm/fs2001.html). By 1914, Evans was gone and Wesley L. Lockridge, an ash wagon driver, and Belle Thompson ran the boarding house (Ransom Place Archaeology

http://www.iupui.edu/~anthpm/fs2001.html). By 1920, Lockridge was still living in the home along with 13 other African Americans including a railroad worker Oscar Flower and his wife Alice, a laundress (Indianapolis City Directory; Ransom Place Archaeology http://www.iupui.edu/~anthpm/fs2001.html).

Figure 4: Aerial Photograph of Evan's Boarding house and surrounding area (Ransom Place Archaeology http://www.iupui.edu/~anthpm/fs2001.html).

Appendix B includes brief written history of the "super block" or the area immediately surrounding the boarding house. This written history was gleaned from the 2001 Ransom Place Archaeology Field School website written by Dr. Paul R. Mullins the Principal Investigator of Ransom Place Archaeology.

Material culture associated with both personal hygiene and labor serves as the archaeological correlates for the research. Examples of such items traditionally include, hairbrushes, combs, buttons, jewelry, cold cream jars to identify just a few. The artifacts utilized in this research were recovered by Ransom Place Archaeology during its 2001 excavation of the Evans-Deschler site located on the near-Westside of downtown Indianapolis, Indiana (see appendix A). The artifacts were collected over a six-week

period of time and stored in the Archaeology laboratory located at Indiana University Purdue University at Indianapolis until the fall of 2004 at which time I procured the assemblage for processing. All artifacts associated with the Evans boarding house were washed and catalogued for the purposes of curation and analysis. The analysis of the boarding house assemblage resulted in a Terminus Post Quem (TPQ) date of 1915 for this assemblage. This TPQ comes from a proprietary prescription bottle with the druggists name (Conrad Keller) and address (1344 S. Meridian St.) plate embossed on the front. The druggist is listed for two consecutive years in the Indianapolis City Directory (1914 and 1915) and he is then listed as a Justice of the Peace from 1916-1920. The bottle itself is roughly 3 inches tall, with a tooled finish and 4 pin-head type mold air-vents (2 on opposite shoulders and 2 on opposite heels), is not machine made, and thus morphologically fits in with the historic data. Consulting the Sanborn Insurance maps for Indianapolis yielded an explanation for the address on the bottle not coinciding with the address listed for the druggist in the city directory. The Sanborn map shows that the address on the bottle (1344 S. Meridian St.) was at one point the address listed in the city directory. The Sanborn was last updated in 1914, so the address changed sometime prior to this year (see figure 5). This is not unusual as street addresses went through three changes during this part of the early twentieth century. The assemblage contains items that are related to the practices of everyday life, including, beauty/hygiene regimes, such as tooth powder bottles and cold cream jars, and accoutrements associated with domestic forms of labor, such as sewing needles and buttons. These items are vehicles for the construction, reproduction, and maintenance of self-identity. In other words not only are these items a window unto the past, but more importantly a window into the ideas past peoples held about themselves and the ideas held about them by others. The social,

political, and economic relationships that influence and often result from the production of material culture are both important avenues for inquiry. Timothy Pauketat (2001:10) argues that "material culture as a dimension of practice is itself causal. Its production—while contingent on histories of actions and representations—is an embodiment of people's dispositions—social negotiation—that brings about the changes in the meanings, dispositions, identities, and tradition." Examining material then simply the purpose of mundane identification, but also as a "continuously unfolding phenomenon" (Pauketat 2001:10).

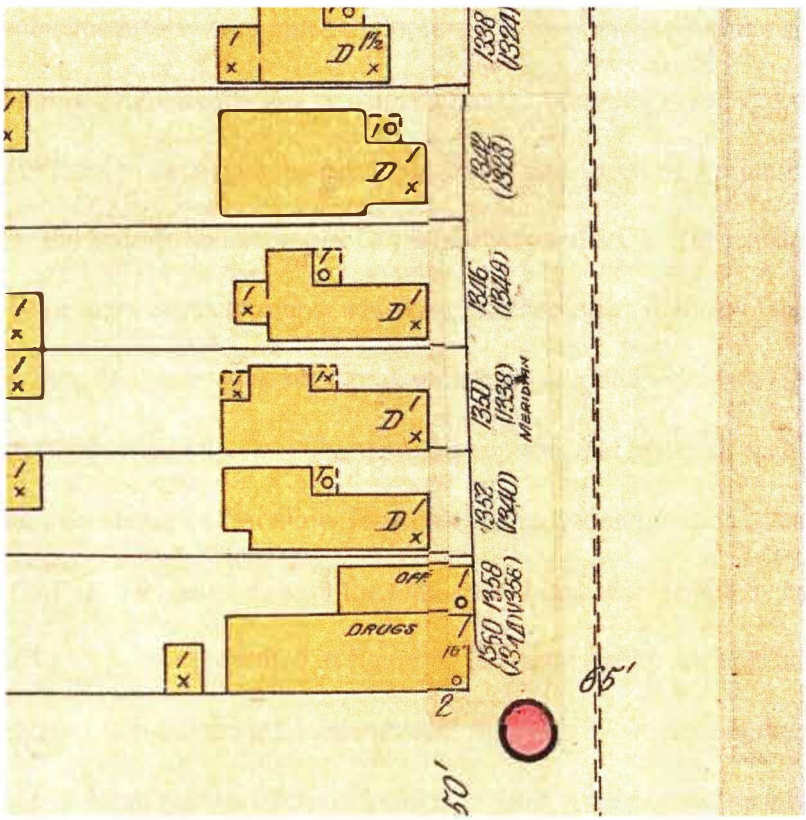

Figure 5: Sanborn Insurance map #367, 1898 of Indianapolis showing prescription bottle address. The 1344 address embossed on the prescription bottle was the address prior to the address 1350 directly above it (The Digital Collections of IUPUI University Library http://indiamond6.ulib.iupui.edu/cdm4/item_viewer.php?CISOROOT=/SanbornJP2&CISOPTR=741&CISOBOX=1&REC=4).

Material culture may also be used to examine forms of "cultural resistance" as argued by Pauketat (2001:11): "cultural resistance could be located within any contrary practice where the knowledge exists of the alternatives." Thus, examining the material culture left behind by African-American women can elucidate many facets of not only how they saw themselves, but also how they dealt with their daily lives and resisted the circumstances surrounding them.

The Evans-Deschler site assemblage is not unlike the other site assemblages collected in and around the Ransom Place research area. There 4,723 artifacts in the assemblage, which is mostly comprised of domestic refuse deposited by the site's historic residents and construction debris that remained after the boarding house was demolished. The database utilized to catalogue the assemblage was developed by Adrian Praetzellis specifically for the historic archaeological sites (see Appendix C). This catalogue is divided into 10 primary artifact groups, which include activities, domestic, faunal, floral, indefinite use, industrial, personal, structural, undefined use, and unknown (see table 5) . Artifacts are further sorted into category, type, description, and material, each of which have numerous subcategories that allow for a more refined identification of each artifact (see tables 6 thru 9). The percentage of the total assemblage represented by each of the primary artifact groups is represented in figure 6. Domestic group artifacts have the highest percentage (37%) of the total assemblage, followed by artifacts in the unknown group (20.6 %). A large portion of the unknown group is comprised of metal artifacts that could not be identified because of their severely rusted state. Of the

Table 5: Evans-Deschler Site Artifacts by Group

Artifact Group	Sum Of Whole Count	Sum Of Fragment Count
-	0	0
Activities	7	16
Domestic	6	1742
Faunal	3	687
Indefinite Use	0	6
Industrial	2	21
Personal	30	103
Structural	37	746
Undefined Use	0	341
Unknown	1	976

Table 6: Evans-Deschler Site Artifacts by Category

Artifact Category	Sum Of Whole Count	Sum Of Fragment Count
-	3	737
-	0	12
Ammunition	0	1
Architectural	37	746
Bone	3	677
Clothing	25	13
Clothing Maintenance	0	2
Electric	2	4
Food	2	9
Food Prep/Consumption	0	321
Food Storage	0	23
Furnishings	1	52
Games	1	1
Grooming/Health	3	20
Hardware	2	2
Heating/Lighting	0	21
Misc. Closures	1	1
Misc. Metal Items	1	811
Shell	0	10
Social Drugs - Alcohol	0	16
Social Drugs - Tobacco	0	1
Tools	1	1
Toys	3	4
Transportation	0	1
Unknown	0	1145
Writing	1	7

Table 7: Evans-Deschler Site Artifacts by Type

Artifact Type	Sum Of Whole Count	Sum Of Fragment Count
-	14	795
Animal	2	662
Arch	0	1
Automotive	0	1
Bird	0	1
bottle	1	0
Closure	0	1
Container	4	34
Decorative Item	0	41
Drinking Vessel	0	23
Fastener	17	5
Fish	1	11
Furniture	0	3
Jewelry	7	2
Kitchen	0	50
Lamp	0	20
Mammal	0	1
Music	0	1
Poultry	0	3
Shellfish	0	10
Structural	37	745
Tableware	0	240
Teaset	1	27
Toiletry	1	6
Toys	0	2
Unknown	1	1953

Table 8: Evans-Deschler Site Artifacts by Description

Artifact Description	Sum Of Whole Count	Sum Of Fragment Count
-	2	72
Alcoholic-beverage Bottle	0	5
Animal	3	676
Ball	0	1
Bead	7	0
Bell	1	0
Bolt	1	0
Bottle	2	812
Bottle/Jar	0	3
Bowl	0	13
Brick	0	7
Bullet	0	1
Button	17	0
Can	2	9
Cap	2	3
Caulk	0	1
Chamberpot	0	6
Clam	0	6
Cloth	0	1
Cream/Creme Jar	1	0
Cream/Crème Jar	0	3
Crock	0	7
Cup	1	20
Cut Nail	11	15
Domino	0	1
Doorknob	1	0

Table 8: continued

Artifact Description	Sum Of Whole Count	Sum Of Fragment Count
Drawer Pull	0	3
Eyelet	1	0
Fabric	0	1
Femur	0	1
Figurine	0	3
Flowerpot	0	37
Fuse	1	2
Garter Buckle	0	4
Glass - unknown form	0	889
Globe	0	3
Hanger	0	4
Hat Pin	1	0
Hinge	1	0
Hook	0	1
Horseshoe	0	1
Ink Bottle	1	0
Insulator	1	0
Jar	0	3
Jug	0	4
Key	1	0
Latch	0	1
Lens	0	1
Lid Liner	0	1
Light Bulb	0	17
Marble	1	0

Table 8: continued

Artifact Description	Sum Of Whole Count	Sum Of Fragment Count
Medicine Bottle	0	3
Metal - unknown form	0	845
Milk Bottle	0	12
Mineral-water Bottle	0	7
Mortar	0	8
Nail	16	110
Necklace	0	2
Ointment Bottle	0	1
Part	0	1
Pencil	0	6
Perfume Bottle	1	0
Pharmaceutical Bottle	1	4
Pin	0	1
pipe	0	1
Plaster	0	1
Plate	0	69
record	0	1
Safety Pin	1	0
Saucer	0	14
Screw	0	2
Screwdriver	0	1
Sewer Pipe	0	18
Shade	0	1
Shell - unknown type	0	4
Snap	0	1
socket	1	0
Soda-pop Bottle	0	3
Spring	0	2

Table 8: continued

Artifact Description	Sum Of Whole Count	Sum Of Fragment Count
Stemware	0	4
Stopper	0	2
Tablet	0	4
Tableware - unknown	0	123
Teaspoon	0	6
Teaware - unknown form	0	1
Tile	0	28
Tumbler	0	19
Undefined	0	107
Vase	0	2
Washer	0	2
Window	0	548
Wine Bottle	0	10
Wire	0	1
Wire Nail	7	25

Table 9: Evans-Deschler Site Artifacts by Material

Material	Sum Of Whole Count	Sum Of Fragment Count
-	0	0
Brick	0	7
Ceramic	2	467
Combined Materials	2	17
Faunal	14	688
Ferrous Metal	9	48
Glass	14	2354
Non-Ferrous Metals	39	1001
Plastic	5	20
Unknown	1	28
Unknown Synthetic	0	3
Wood	0	5

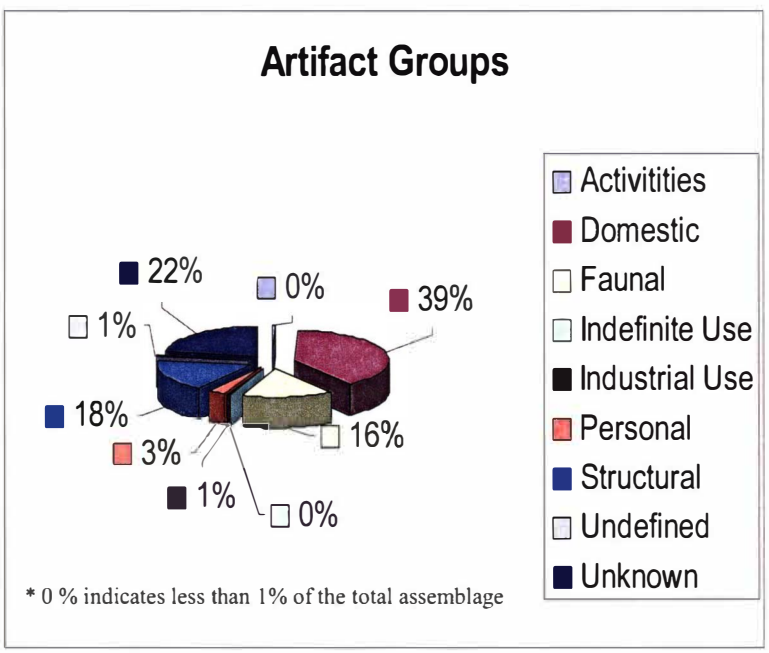

Figure 6: Pie graph of Evans-Deschler Site artifact group percentages

assemblage's identifiable artifacts, personal group artifacts comprise just 2.8 percent of the overall assemblage. Personal group artifacts are of central concern to this research and of particular concern are the personal group artifacts that fall into the categories of Grooming/Health, clothing, which comprise 45.8 percent of the total personal group artifacts and 1.3 percent of the total artifact assemblage. These artifacts relate directly to regimes of beauty and hygiene and include such items as cold cream jars, jewelry, and buttons. Beauty and hygiene artifacts spawn a larger discussion about the emergence of Black beauty culture in the early twentieth century. However, the relatively small percentage of such items in the site's assemblage lead to questions about their scarcity, especially when the mass advertisement of such products and the site's close proximity to the Madame Walker beauty and hygiene school and her plant, which manufactured beauty products especially for African-American women is considered.

CHAPTER III

THEORETICAL UNDERPINNINGS FOR RESEARCH

Brackette Williams (1992:608) doubts that "one can really understand the past 300 years of African-American ethnogenesis without attention to the uses of feminine and masculine personal-hygiene products." Williams (1992: 609) gives the term "disciplinary technologies" to personal hygiene products because of their ability to provoke "submissive consciousness" to ideologies about racial inferiority in those who utilize them. Calling on Bourdieu's (1984) theory on cultural capital formation, Williams (1992) argues that the "the necessity for taste (done hair) becomes the taste for necessity (cultural artifacts for cooking hair)." Williams(1992) echoes Robert Paynter and Randall McGuire's (1991:9) employment of Foucault's conception of power wherein the disciplining of a culture begins with an "elite notion of correct social behavior, proceeds to develop a physical means to bring about this behavior in others, and ends with the original ideal being grounded in action." In her example Williams (1992) points to the elitist White notions of beauty and social refinement (Victorian cult of true womanhood), the rise of print advertising, and middle-class consumer culture as the factors leading to the development of personal hygiene products that were marketed specifically towards African-American women, such as skin bleaching agents, hair straighteners, and straightening combs. The Victorian Cult of True Womanhood was arguably the embodiment of elitist notions of correct social behavior in the early twentieth century (Carlson 1992; Foster 1973). Moreover, according to Williams, the use of these disciplining technologies combined with the depictions of African-American women in

print advertisements and their limited access to labor opportunities acted as the physical means necessary to exert power and control over African-American female women after emancipation. The influence of these physically controlling mechanisms may have forced African-American women to submit, albeit unconsciously, to elitist notions of correct social behavior and physical aestheticism such as the use of beauty and hygiene products. Williams (1992:609), concludes that the power differentials at play between African-American and White groups resulted in the formation of a new African-American cultural identity and planted firmly within the social, political, and cultural ideologies of this group are the roots of black beauty culture. This emerging group with a self-ascribed identity defined by the "actions and technologies" that facilitated its emergence "should be recognized for its importance in the process of ethnogenesis and its great potential for scholarly examination" (Williams 1992:609). This research explores this new, urban, post-emancipated African-American population.

Noliwe Rooks (2000:10) argues that the African-American women of the late-nineteenth early twentieth centuries — one generation away from slavery — were very consciously positioning their identities within their own communities and larger society by way of advertising campaigns that promoted not only black beauty culture but also class consciousness and gender equality. Advertisements are representations of the notions people hold about the proper social, political, and cultural behavior for themselves and others. Unpacking her argument further, Rooks (2000) posits that the emergence of a black beauty culture gave way to new labor opportunities for African-American women that were outside of the traditional realms of domestic labor, thus fostering a sense of independence and a means for social and economic advancement; e.g., as door to door sales women and beauty shop operators. Similar to Rooks (2000),

Rosemary Joyce (1996:168) studies representational images of gender in Classic Maya monuments, which were advertisements in their own time— and speaks to the purpose and power of such images: "The production of representational images is a cultural means to respond to and shape the conditions of social existence. The selection of features to be incorporated in human images promulgates stereotypes of natural or essential human behavior."

Using the archaeological record to elucidate the racial, social, political, and economic lives of African-American women in the early twentieth century is a daunting task. The issues raised by Williams (1992) and Rooks (1990) can be explored archaeologically if we use material culture as a jumping-off point for the examination of the historical circumstances surrounding the lives of African-American women in the United States or the historic roots of their contemporary situation. Thus, there must be a link between the past and the present. Leone (1992:18) argues that writing as a historical archaeologist assumes there is a link between the material culture of the past and the conditions of contemporary society and that artifacts are the mirrors and building blocks of culture:

> Things are symbols of meaning, as well as personalized expressions of meaning. Artifacts are fetishized forms of exploitation, as well as avenues of personal fulfillment. We see artifacts as products of rational thought, as well as conduits of emotion. They are about borrowing status, as well as about forming identity. Artifacts can be about both economic base and superstructure. They are products of capitalism and rebellions against it.

Consequently, examining the material culture left behind by African-American

women of the past can elucidate many facets of their daily lives. However, such an examination can also provide an entry point for examining African-American women and the conditions of their contemporary social context. Today, there are a number of stereotypes that refer to the character, beauty and the bodies of African-American women. Visual representations of stereotypical African-American women inundate our everyday lives, e.g. pine-sol lady, Aunt Jemima, Foxy Brown, Mrs. Butterworth. Seldom, if ever do we ask ourselves about the origins of these terms, images, and the stereotypes they represent. Such terms as "Nappy Headed" and "Ho" are, so much a part of the American pop culture vernacular we rarely give them a second thought, instead we assume that they are just there, existing without effect and appear to have an almost organic existence. However, these stereotypes and caricatures are not new or natural; they are simply newer versions of the old. The older versions like those seen in trade cards and the advertisements of mass produced consumables depicted images very similar to ones still seen today. Beauty and hygiene products promised (and still do) — through advertising and their usage— to combat these often vulgar representations of African-American women, by transforming and modifying their phenotypic traits, so that they more closely resembled those of that defined a particular standard of beauty. This promise of transformation is still exists in contemporary advertisements. African-American women are still encouraged to straighten their hair and even out their complexion, but why? By examining the lives of African-American women in the past, we can begin to understand the "why" both in the past and in the present.

Artifacts that link the past to present are products of various social, economic, and political ideologies. These historical ideologies are the roots and causes of contemporary society and " can explain how people kept in inferior positions came to these positions" and "because such conditions, of the both inferior and the superior, are often embedded in circumstances asserted to be inevitable, the origins of that group asserting such inevitability can be impugned" (Leone 1999: 7). "Ideology in this sense comprises the givens of everyday life, unnoticed, taken for granted, activated, and produced in use. It is the means by which inequality, bondage, frustration, etc., are made acceptable, rationalized, or hidden. Ideology serves to reproduce society intact; knowledge, or consciousness of ideology, may lead to ultimate emancipation" (Leone et al. 1987: 284).

Often, the discipline of archaeology is the victim of stereotyping that labels archaeology as either a dry objective science or fantasy-laden with Hollywood-inspired action and adventure like that in Indiana Jones. These caricatures of archaeology afford the discipline little or no connection to the real contemporary world; instead, it examines obscure scientific and historical detail left behind by now-lost peoples. Historically, archaeology has been portrayed as devoid of any contemporary social relevance; instead, archaeologists appeared to be virtually uninfluenced by the contemporary world in which they live and practice archaeology. Unfortunately, within the discipline of archaeology there is a widely accepted presumption that archaeological practice is valid only when it is modeled after the "hard" sciences. This theoretical position is reflected in disciplinary debates over archaeology's scientific methodology, such as proper excavation technique and artifact identification. The focus on archeology's scientific dimension leaves little or

no room for interpretation that is relevant to the contemporary social context, resulting in an ambiguous or unexamined relationship between scholarship and the contemporary world. In his analysis of archaeology's social relevance, Parker Potter (1994:8) concludes that "Discussions of archaeological practice usually end up being discussions about how to collect archaeological data, not discussions of how to apply archaeology" (Potter 1994:8). An alternative theoretical position to the antiquated ideas regarding appropriate archaeological practice is brought to task by critical archaeology. It is from a critical archaeological perspective that this research goes forward. While this perspective is more widely used in archaeology today than in the past, there is still a strong processual voice within the discipline, or a tendency to view culture functionally with little or no focus on internal group struggle and conflict and the intrinsic political nature of archaeology. Leone (1999:7) argues that historical archaeology is the product of capitalist society and as such using archaeology should take on a reflexive and critical approach. A reflexive and critical approach should create a consciousness of social reality, which according to Leone (1999:7) an "illumination or awareness of social reality can lead to changes in the way society views history and the contemporary social context."

Critical archaeology seeks to interpret contemporary relevance, elicit, and initiate change within the contemporary world. Critical Theory is a Western Marxist philosophy developed by a circle of scholars associated with the Institute for Social Research at the University of Frankfurt between the world wars. Critical Theory was not developed for use in archaeological practice. However, it can prove a useful tool to help archaeologists recognize the relevance of archaeological knowledge in the contemporary world. Illuminating the connection between context and relevance allows archaeologists and

community constituents to examine the roots of existing ideologies and the various interests and concerns to which archaeology may be relevant.

Examining the historical roots of contemporary ideologies is central to the research proposed here.

The conception of ideology has gone through a number of transformations throughout nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Various scholars, including Marx and Engels, Gramsci, Althusser, and scholars that are more contemporary that seek to explain them have exhaustively examined ideology in terms of its function within a society.

For the purposes of this research, ideology is defined as "class-interested beliefs among many competing interpretive visions of social life, none of them necessarily with an easy claim to "reality" except that ideology does objectively distort concrete class inequality (personal correspondence, August 15, 2007). Randall McGuire's (2002) understanding of ideology is also most useful to this research. In *A Marxist Ideology,* McGuire's (2002) discussion of ideology is a departure from earlier conceptualizations that saw individuals as having little or no agency in the interpellation of ideology. McGuire (2002) posits that ideology is not something that happens to individuals, but something that is negotiated and often times manipulated to fit the needs of the individual. Although, McGuire (2002) follows a Marxist vein of thought, in that a ruling class must be integrated by an ideology in order to maintain dominance and mystify this domination by somehow convincing the whole society that they share the same common interests, he departs from Marx in that he argues that there is no single dominant ideology because the "same sets of beliefs, symbols, and rituals may be given different meanings and importance in different sectors of society and at different times" (McGuire

2002:142-3). In a Gramscian vein, McGuire's (2002) approach to ideology places an emphasis on its material dimensions. Ideology does not exist just in peoples' heads, but has an observable material and behavioral manifestations; it springs from the day-to-day reality of peoples' lives. Social groupings, behavior, and material objects embody ideology and give it reality. The appearances created by the things fulfill the expectations of ideology and through this affirmation, recreate, and legitimate ideology (McGuire 2002:142). Such an ideology may or may not be accepted by subordinate groups, and in fact, they may "rework" it into an "ideology of resistance" (McGuire 2002: 142). It is the conflict that arises from the clashing ideologies of the ruling and subordinate classes that results in a conscious starting point for resistance (McGuire 2002: 142). Moreover, "day-to-day reality" is differentially experienced and perceived by individuals and is thus not the same for all of a society's members (McGuire 2002:142). Therefore, social relations channel the experiences people have, and the differences they experience set the stage for the formation of multiple cultures and multiple ideologies (McGuire 2002:142).

Because this chapter deals with the theoretical underpinnings of this research, consideration should be given to historical archaeology's ability to serve as a voice for those who were left out of the historical grand narratives because of their marginalized status within society. In other words, can historical archaeology serve as an outlet for these marginalized groups to speak so that a more complete narrative of the past can emerge? According to Mark Leone (1995:251; see also Leone et al. 1995), the answer to this question is yes.

Such political involvement will provide a more coherent justification for our concern with forgotten, anonymous, and unknown peoples and groups, who are the

exploited and suppress members of classes. These people have not been left out of mainline presentations of the past by mistake. Rather, it is the politics of class that accounts for the absence of immigrants, children, women, slaves, and free African Americans in models of social behavior that are created through historical narratives. This politics not only suppresses the exploited themselves, but their histories as well, leaving historical archaeology as their means of finding voice. Because this is the chapter dealing with the theoretical underpinnings of this research, it is also important to consider whether our research questions as archaeologists address what today's African-American descendent communities deem important about their past; in other words, what do stakeholders consider important about their history and their ancestors– simply, what do they want to know? From my experience at Ransom Place, it has become clear to me that the African-American descendent community would like to know about the daily lives of those who came before them, and no detail is inconsequential or mundane. Mark Leone (1992:262) had a similar experience with the descendent community in Annapolis, Maryland: "Our African-American colleagues also told us they were sick of hearing about slavery. The topic was well understood by black people, who found it demeaning and degrading. Not all black people were descended from slaves, after all; nor was slavery the only condition black people had ever known. What about conditions in freedom, before and after emancipation?"

CHAPTER IV

HISTORIOGRAPHICAL DISCUSSION OF STEREOTYPING AND AFRICAN-AMERICAN WOMEN

Material culture is not the only historical source that begs examination. Artifacts that link the past to present are after all material manifestation of various social, economic, and political processes. These historical processes are the roots and causes of contemporary society and " can explain how people kept in inferior positions came to be in such positions" and "because such conditions, of the both inferior and the superior, are often embedded in circumstances asserted to be inevitable, the origins of that group asserting such inevitability can be impugned" (Leone 1999: 7). This chapter helps to realize the overall goal of this research by providing a historical contextualization for the material remains left behind by the Evans Boarding house women and how these remains factor into a larger historical discussion about the ideologies surrounding the appearance and labor practices of these women. Also discussed are the historical roots of traditional stereotypes associated with African-American women and how these stereotypes and their visual manifestations served as agents of specific ideologies about race and gender that propagated specific class-interested beliefs, as well as visions of correct behaviors and social life as it should be. Ultimately, such stereotyping acted to distort, shore up, and perpetuate existing race, class, and gender inequalities. Therefore, a historiographical discussion of African-American women and the stereotypes used to map onto their bodies ideologies about race, class, and gender —both in the past and in the present— is necessary for a further contextualization of this research, its findings, and the broader discussion of why African-American women may have felt compelled to use the beauty

and hygiene products that led to at times drastic changes in their physical appearance in an effort to pursue a wider variety of labor opportunities.

Walking down the breakfast aisle of the local market, Aunt Jemima smiles up at me and Mrs. Butterworth's stout and faceless figure is standing poised and ready to serve. At first glance, these faces seem to be nothing more than likable and innocuous forms of advertising; after all, what child would not enjoy pouring syrup on their pancakes from a bottle that looks like a doll? However, the reality is that these images of African-American women are rooted in racially charged notions of Black inferiority. The construction of such stereotypes is by no means a historical accident. The construction of these stereotypes, as we shall see, was purposeful and meaningful to those who constructed and subsequently propagated them. Even today's American society is inundated with stereotypes of African-American women that posit truth claims about who they are to the rest of the America and to themselves. These stereotypes are socially constructed and through repeated reconstruction are continuously mapped onto the bodies and personalities of African-American women. Thus, what follows is a historiographical discussion of the last seventy-plus years of scholarship, dedicated to the origins of these stereotypes, in order to understand better how changing interpretations of stereotypes, such as Mammy and Jezebel have influenced the constitution of African-American womanhood in scholarship, material culture, and other mediums of public discourse. While stereotypes of Black women remain pervasive today, their scholarly interpretations have witnessed dramatic changes over the last century.

Mammy: Fact or Fiction?

In 1938, writing for the Tuskegee Institute, Jessie Parkhurst offered what was called a "factual" account of Mammy's life the essay *The Black Mammy in the Plantation Household,* in the *Journal of Negro History.* In this account, Mammy was portrayed as a traditional and romanticized figure of the plantation household (see figure 7). It is not until the 1970's that this perception of Mammy as a "real" person falls under a critical gaze and is subsequently viewed as a socially constructed stereotype. In order to provide a historical context in which to situate Parkhurst's essay, it should be noted that it is very much in line with the tenants of the Dunning School. The Dunning School, a historiographical school of thought, generated much of the scholarship about the civil war and the Reconstruction up until the 1960s Revisionist movement. Sympathetic to former slave owners and leaders of the confederacy, The Dunning scholars romanticized accounts of slavery and were leading proponents against the right to vote and bear arms for African-Americans, especially ex-slaves.

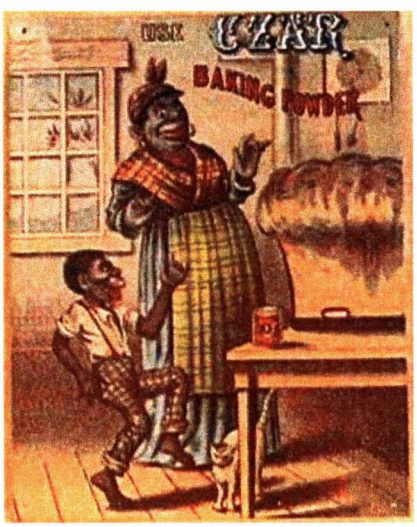

Figure 7: Mammy depicted in an advertising trade card (Jim Crow Museum of Racist Memorabilia http://www.ferris.edu/jimcrow/mammies/more/).

Parkhurst (1938:349) situates Mammy as an acceptable and romanticized figure for "Whites" and an unacceptable one for "Negroes" during the era of slavery. Parkhurst (1938) focuses on the differences across the color line about such a "traditional character." Moreover, Parkhurst (1938:350) argues that the intent of the essay is to show the factual role of Mammy in the plantation household of the Antebellum South. According to Parkhurst (1938) Mammy was a staple of the plantation economy whose duties revolved around childcare and assisting the plantation mistress in daily household tasks. Mammy was next in line to the mistress in the plantation house hierarchy of authority and very often was known to "boss" everyone around in the household (Parkhurst 1938: 351). Parkhurst (1938) posits that Mammy became a firmly planted tradition within plantation lore because she "arose on the plantation, bloomed when the plantation was in its glory, and so took hold on the imagination of the people of the South" (Parkhurst 1938:351). Eventually "Black Mammy" entered the homes of middle-class White southerners and poorer farmers and became a symbol of class status and "membership in the Old South aristocracy" (Parkhurst 1938:351; see figure 8).

Figure 8: Mammy depicted on the cover of a children's book (Jim Crow Museum of Racist Memorabilia http://www.ferris.edu/jimcrow/mammies/more/).

The transformation of Mammy into a romanticized figure was complete and she became not only an important part of the imagination, but something to be possessed. Parkhurst (1938:352) continues this portrait of Mammy with an account of her relationship with the family she served, as one of extreme closeness, wherein Mammy was "as much a part of the family as blood members were", and a unique type of foster mother. Mammy reflected the ideals of the family she served so thoroughly, according to Parkhurst (1938:352) that her mind associated more with Whites than Blacks. In addition, it was often Mammy that was by the side of her mistress's deathbed. A staggering list of attributes it put forth to describe Mammy's nature (Parkhurst 1938:352):

> She was considered self-respecting, independent, loyal, forward, gentle, captious, affectionate, true, strong, just, warm-hearted, compassionate-hearted, fearless, popular, brave, grade, pious, quick-witted, capable, thrifty, proud, regal, courageous, superior, skillful, tender, queenly, dignified, neat, quick, tender, competent, possessed, with a temper, trustworthy, faithful, patient, tyrannical, sensible, discreet, efficient, careful, harsh, devoted, truthful, neither apish nor servile.

At one point, Parkhurst (1938: 353) goes so far as to say that because Mammy was often a diplomat in household disputes that she was similar to a "prime minister" in her household role. Parkhurst (1938) attempted to give Mammy a voice in history by imbuing her with some sort of agency in her day-to-day life on the plantation. However, the fact remains that Mammy was a captive, and in some respects, Parkhurst (1938) succeeds in invalidating the brutal realities of slave life. Unfortunately, Parkhurst (1938) succeeds in firmly planting Mammy into the categorical "happy slave" image and as such successfully perpetuates traditional and romanticized notions of slavery. It is also

important to point out that Parkhurst's (1938) composite portrait of Mammy offers no place to discuss or even recognize the diversity of experiences within the institution of slavery. In other words, Parkhurst (1938) homogenizes the slave experience and gives the appearance that every woman slave had the same "happy" experience.

Changing Conceptions of Mammy and Other Stereotypes

In the 1970's, coinciding with the emergence of the Black Feminist movement, Mammy was no longer viewed as the factually based and traditional figure of the slavery era embraced in previous scholarship and historical sources. Scholars began to deconstruct Mammy and other derogatory images of African-American women, such as the image of the Black woman field laborer. These images were transformed from celebrated traditions of slavery to purposeful and socially constructed stereotypes that served historically specific, political, and economic interests (see figure 9). Scholars began to view these stereotypical images of African-American women as entry points for a critical discourse about the efficacy of these widely distributed stereotypes to produce acceptable, albeit disempowering images of past African-American women, but also as a way to investigate the relationships between past African-American women and other non-black members of society. This quote taken from Nancie Caraway's (1991:78) *Segregated Sisters* is an eloquent summary of the changing tide regarding stereotypes of black women:

> Black women historically have been powerless to displace the patriarchy's monopolization of the negative imagery, which has cast them variously as depraved sexual temptresses, castrating matriarchs, breeders, or sexless,

deferential mammies. The contemporary Black feminist project prioritizes the displacement of such an ideological legacy.

Figure 9: Henry's Carbolic Salve advertisement (Jim Crow Museum of Racist Memorabilia http://www.ferris.edu/jimcrow/mammies/more/).

Deborah Gray White (1999) locates the origins of stereotypes such as Mammy and Jezebel in the period prior to the Civil War. White (1999) argues that Mammy and Jezebel were constructed in order to justify the continuation of slavery in the South in spite of a strong abolitionist sentiment in the North. White (1999:27) argues that African-American women stand "at the crossroads of two of the most well-developed ideologies in America": woman and Negro. Moreover, race and sex ideologies, whose prime beneficiaries were White men, were "molded into a peculiarly American mythology during the era of slavery, whose prime beneficiaries were White men" (White 1996:28). The myths surrounding Black women have been nearly impossible to escape and if "she is rescued from the myth of the Negro; the myth of the woman traps her. If she escapes the myth of the woman, the myth of the Negro still ensnares her" (White 1996:38). During the slavery era, White (1999:29) argues that it was the black woman's status as chattel that combined with myths about sex and race to "create a complicated set of myths about black womanhood." Two such myths are Mammy and Jezebel (see figure 10 and 11). White (1999:29) describes Jezebel as a woman completely governed by her libido and who could not be more opposite from the prevailing image of the Antebellum white women– the Victorian Lady, she was neither pious nor prude, and "domesticity paled in importance before matters of the flesh." Such images of the black women as sensual temptresses can be traced back to initial contact between Europeans and Africans, e.g., the Hottentot Venus (White 1999, see figure 12). White argues that the propagation of the Jezebel myth was exacerbated by the conditions in which slave women existed. Slave women were used as breeders to increase the slave owners "property" and because "casual correlations have always been drawn between sensuality and fecundity," a rapidly growing slave population coupled with the reproductive success of slave women was

taken as a clear indication of a Black woman's "lust" (White 199:31; see figure 13). Appearance was another indication of promiscuity, and the sometimes ragged and minimal clothing worn by slave women only perpetuated this "lust" aspect of the

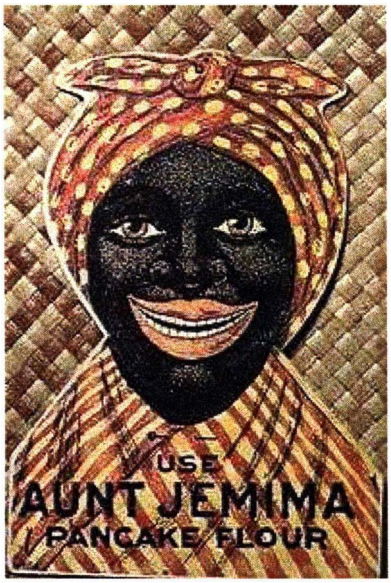

Figure 10: Mammy depicted in early Aunt Jemima advertisement (Jim Crow Museum of Racist Memorabilia http://www.ferris.edu/jimcrow/mammies/more/).

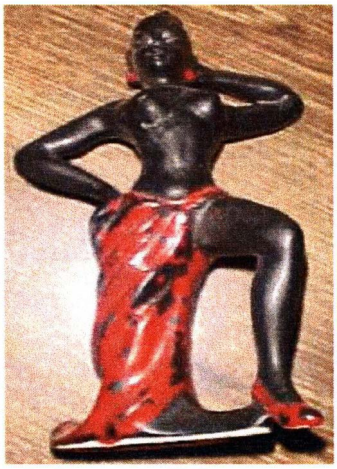

Figure 11: Photograph of a Jezebel figurine (Jim Crow Museum of Racist Memorabilia http://www.ferris.edu /jimcrow/jezebel/more/).

Figure 12: Hottentot Venus (http://www.westminster.gov.uk/libraries/ archives/ blackpresence/16.cfm).

Figure 13: Jezebels (Jim Crow Museum of Racist Memorabilia http://www.ferris.edu/jimcrow/ jezebel/more/).

Jezebel myth (White 1999). Sex between white men and captive slave women (forced and otherwise) was rampant in the Antebellum South, and as a result so was miscegenation (see figure 14). Some white women were vehemently opposed to miscegenation and were joined by white men who feared a "mongrelization" of the white race (White 1999:43). White women felt the shame brought on them by the sexual indiscretions of their husbands, brothers, and sons. They were especially troubled by the emerging "negative characterization of black women" and found themselves unable to "reconcile the image of Jezebel with the close contact white children had with the black house servants" (White 1999: 43). Jezebel was a threat to the White woman's children, home, marriage, and genteel way of life. Abolitionists noticed this contradiction between promiscuous slave women and childcare provider, and argued that the existence of such a paradox was evidence of the moral degeneracy of the South (White 1999). To counter the abolitionist charges, the South had to construct a viable alternative for the justification of slavery and "slavery had to be explained in a context of white moral supremacy" (White 1999:44). Therefore, according to White (1999:46) the context for the creation of Jezebel's alter ego emerged: "on the one hand there was the women obsessed with the matters of the flesh, on the other was the asexual women. One was carnal, the other maternal. One was at heart a slut, the other deeply religious. One was a Jezebel, the other a Mammy." White (1999) reminds us that much of the information we have about Mammy comes from the sanitized memoirs written after the Civil War and are the same memoirs used by Parkhurst to write the account of Mammy that was discussed earlier in this chapter. Thus, she cautions that while there may be some truth to the versions of Mammy constructed within such memoirs, we must remember the historical context in which the memoirs were written.

Figure 14: Cartoon depicting the White man's lust for African-American women (Jim Crow Museum of Racist Memorabilia http://www.ferris.edu/jimcrow/mammies/more/).

White (1999:49) pens a brief outline of the Mammy myth based on the content of the post-Civil War memoirs:

> She was a woman completely dedicated to the white family, especially to the children of that family. She was the house servant who was given complete charge of domestic management. She served also as friend and advisor. She was, in short, surrogate, mistress, and mother.

According to White (1999:49), these memoirs positioned Mammy as "someone special" who was more than just another slave, but reminds us that this image of Mammy is just as misleading as the one of Jezebel, and credit its pervasiveness to its supposed grounding in reality. White (1999) proceeds to deconstruct the Mammy image and argues that on a whole house slaves were thought to have a better life than those in the fields, but at the same time, house slaves were on call 24 hours a day, just as overworked as the field slaves, and often the victims of sexual exploitation because of their close proximity to the male members of the families they served. Mammy's undying dedication to the family she served often came at the price of her own family; her workload more often than not was more than any one woman could handle. White (1999) posits that Mammy's relationship with her Mistress was often a constant source of conflict and far from the over-romanticized ideal that was propagated in post-Civil War memoirs. Moreover, the idea that Mammy was rewarded for her lifetime of service by being cared for even after she could no longer work is another aspect of the Mammy myth that is far from the historical reality. Unfortunately, a more accurate picture is that of an old Mammy who was abused, abandoned, and often turned out to die, although this was not always the case (White 1999). For White (1999) the question becomes one of explaining how the myth of Mammy, which was so far from reality, became so ubiquitous. Locating the origins of

Mammy in the 30 years prior to the civil war, White (1999:56) hypothesizes that Mammy in all her mythical glory was a picture perfect representation of "keeping with the maternal and Victorian idea of womanhood prevalent in nineteenth century American." Moreover, ideas about womanhood in the Antebellum South went hand in hand with ideas about race– as it was on the backs of blacks and women that Southern men "built their patriarchal regime" (White 1999:56). Thus Mammy was both the personification of the "perfect slave and the ideal woman." Mammy was much more than the product of "cultural uplift theory"; she was the product of antebellum Southern forces that raised motherhood to sainthood: "As part of the benign slave tradition, and as a part of the Cult of Domesticity, Mammy was the centerpiece of the Antebellum Southerners perception of the perfectly organized society" (White 1999:57-58). Thus, it is concluded that the myths of Mammy and Jezebel have a dialectical relationship – the existence of one informs and constructs the existence of the other.

To conclude, I offer a few thoughts about White's account of the origins and implications of the Mammy and Jezebel myths. It appears as though Mammy and Jezebel were victims of circumstance and within the institution of slavery, powerless against their oppressors. However, it is hard to believe that Mammy and Jezebel were completely without agency or voice. Realizing that autobiographical accounts of the female slave experience are minimal– by this I mean accounts written be slaves or ex-slaves, not an interviewer – they do exist. What becomes obvious from White (1999) is that regardless of the context Mammy and Jezebel cannot be accepted as factual representations of African-American slave women and their lives. These images are mythical beings dreamed up in the minds of those who wanted to celebrate the faded glory of the South. Another critique of the Mammy stereotype comes from Jean Noble (1978) in her book

Beautiful Also, are the Souls of my Black Sisters. Noble's book is one of the first attempts at a comprehensive history of African-American women in the United States. In the chapter *Dishwater Images,* Noble (1978: 77) attributes the omnipresence of Black domestic stereotypes in contemporary film and literature (e.g. *Gone with the Wind)* to "Dishwater images" like Mammy (see 15).

Figure 15: *Gone with the Wind* movie still 1938. (Jim Crow Museum of Racist Memorabilia http://www.ferris.edu/jimcrow/mammies/more/)

Writing in a Black feminist vein, Noble (1978) argues that images such as Mammy, which have foundations in reality, are projected thorough fiction, and map onto our consciousnesses the ideologies they hold about race and gender. The characteristics given

to Mammy through such images are more fiction than fact: e.g., affectionate, loyal, loving, and argues that more often then not these characteristics were displayed because they were generic indicators of job performance (Noble 1978:77). What is interesting about Noble's discussions is that she suggests that both Blacks and Whites were victims of these stereotypes. During and after the Civil War the house slaves who stayed in their Master's service were seen as "black snobs" who were "unable to respect free issue blacks, black snobs" and to "uppity and backward to participate in building unity with other blacks who had served in the fields and the yards, and they hated poor whites to much to trust and alliance with them" (Noble 1978:78). These perceptions lead to an estrangement between household and field slaves, which then lead to the African-American constructed stereotypes such as "handkerchief head", which was a female version of Uncle Tom (Noble 1978:78). This dual victimization resulted in a deep and destructive self-hatred among many African Americans (Noble 1978). Moreover, many freed African Americans who wanted to leave the old stereotypes behind laid the blame at Mammy's feet and argued that if she would leave the "white folk's kitchen, white folks would see other qualities in us" (Noble 1978:78).

Frances Foster (1973:434) argued in 1973 that changes in traditional representations of African-American women (e.g. Topsy, Peaches, Caledonia, and Aunt Chloe) were fading because the "Black Woman" had become a pivotal figure in a number of social movements, and as a result the traits of her personality have changed resulting in a weakening of older stereotypes. However, what needs to be done now is a reconciling of the old with new. In other as older stereotypes fade, new ones quickly take there place. Today we have racially charged terms such as "Hoochie Mama", "Nappy Headed Ho", and "Welfare Queen" that are verbal signs for racially based stereotypes of

African-American women. Unfortunately, these more contemporary racist stereotypes are simply newer versions of the old, constructed to fit the times, and the reason behind their construction remains the same – propagating ideological images for purposes of cultural subordination and social control. Rupe Simms (2001:895) argues that future scholarship about African-American women and stereotypes should begin with an examination of how African-American women have resisted such stereotypes and focus on the behaviors exhibited by them to combat their "portrayal as mammies, mules, and Jezebels". As noted earlier, most of the scholarship generated to discuss stereotypical images of African-American women focus on their origins and usages, which is important. However, creating a more complete picture of the relationship between African-American women and these images needs to take place. African-American women of the past need a voice in this discussion, then maybe a more complete picture can emerge. This chapter has set the stage for the next, wherein a more complete discussion of the complex relationship between the pervasiveness and morphological characteristics of stereotypes associated with African-American women, the racist ideologies of early advertising practices, and the effects of both on the labor "opportunities" available to past African-American women.

CHAPTER V

IDEOLOGY, BEAUTY, AND LABOR

Between 1890 and 1920, the proportion of White women working in the domestic sphere declined by one-third, while the proportion of African-American women rose by 43 percent (Aptheker 1982:113). By the 1920s, in spite of major advances in household technology, half of all employed African-American women worked as domestics and by the 1930s, this figure rose to sixty percent (Aptheker 1982:113). Domestic work remained the most common labor source for African-American women until the end of World War II (Aptheker 1982:114). Domestic service for African-American women was in its most simple form, a "confirmation and continuation and of their servile status as former slaves" that according to Bettina Aptheker (Aptheker 1982:114) was no "historical accident."

As discussed earlier, from emancipation (1865) through the Harlem Renaissance (1930) a narrowly defined beauty ideology worked to influence both the physical appearance of African-American women and the labor opportunities available to them. Moreover, this ideology played and integral role in the beauty and household product advertisements, which disseminated both the tenants of beauty ideology and ideologically acceptable labor roles. Advertisements encouraged African-American women to emulate notions of beauty through bodily practice and assume the disempowering labor roles deemed appropriate for them by a larger dominant white society. Many questions surface as we begin to think about the forces that constructed the labor situation of African-American women at the turn of the twentieth century, especially, how and why did

African-American women embrace an ideology of beauty and labor that may now seem potentially disempowering? The relationship between beauty and labor practices is ongoing and is situated in the idea that the social perception of a person by the larger society in which a person lives can dictate the labor opportunities made available to that person or in other words, one (perceived beauty) informs the potential for success in the other (labor). It is arguable that these two components in particular have a dialectical relationship and a critical examination of the politically charged ideologies surrounding each of these variables can illuminate life across the color line, examine how contextually distinct power relations emerged and were continuously reconstructed, and reproduced.

First, this research will discuss the foundational aspects of beauty as an ideology in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, followed by a discussion of how beauty as an ideology worked to influence larger perceptions of African-American women. This chapter examines the efficacy of beauty ideology to manipulate the consciousness of African-American woman, and the effects this manipulation had on the labor opportunities available to them in the late- nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This research concludes with an archaeological case study in order demonstrate archaeology's ability to inform this discussion.

Beauty Ideology in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries

Understanding the efficacy of beauty ideology to elicit the participation of African-American women in the potentially disempowering confines of such an ideology is central to the explication of why these women were (and are still) viewed as well-suited for domestic labor, inferior in comparison to their White counterparts, and within specific advertising mediums metaphorically stereotyped in, "relation with dirt, labor, the earth,

and (technological discursive) primitivism" (Mehaffy 1997:156; see also Carlson 1992, Foster 1973, and Glenn 1992). As noted earlier, in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries beauty ideology was shored up by a widely held belief in a biologically determined racial inferiority coupled with genteel notions of femininity. A growing urban male dominated, White middle class consumer culture, and the Victorian Cult of True Womanhood propagated such beliefs and notions. At the turn of the twentieth century, a racial hierarchy remained in place "in which large-brained white men, and only large brained white men, the highest products of superiority, were fully civilized" (Rooks 2000:39). Thus, skin color, hair texture, and facial features were the earmarks of one's position on the "hierarchy of humanity" (Rooks 2000:39). According to Bell Hooks (1992) at the turn of the twentieth century, the standard of beauty was "whiteness," or as Noliwe Rooks (2000:27) describes it, "a peach complexion, straight hair, an aquiline nose, with a forehead that slopes not the slightest bit forward." It was the pervasiveness of the Victorian Cult of True Womanhood that exemplified such a standard of beauty. The Victorian Cult of True Womanhood dictated that women commit to the domestic sphere, where they were expected to be both wife and mother (Carlson 1992:61). The Victorian woman personified piousness, modesty, chastity, and virtue. She spent her leisure time lunching with other ladies and attending church activities (Carlson 1992). Her appearance was as follows:

> In appearance, she was well-groomed and presentable at all times. Her hair was carefully arranged and her costume was immaculate and appropriate fro the occasion. In public, she wore the traditional Victorian attire: A floor-length dress, with fitted bodice, a full skirt, and long sleeves often trimmed with ruffle or lace. For formal wear, she would likely don a low-cut gown, which might reveal a

considerable portion of her 'neck.' The ever-present hanky with the tatted or crocheted trim displayed her delicate taste and her ability at fine needlework (Carlson 1992: 62).

Her husband's home was her responsibility. The perfection of the home was seen as an extension of the woman's personality, a representation of her worth as a human being," as well as a representation of her husband's class status (Aptheker 1982:135). Moreover, the employ of domestic servants was an extension of the husband's class status and financial expertise, not an effort to relieve White urban middle class women of the drudgeries of housework so that they may have more time for leisurely activities (Aptheker 1982:134). By 1900, these descriptions of the turn-of-the-century Victorian woman were specifically "formulated for white Anglo-Saxon Protestant women of the urban middle class" (Daniel 1987:388). Many African-American women were socialized to subscribe to the ideals of the Victorian women; e.g., pious, pure, submissive, and domestic, even though they were isolated politically, socially, and economically from their White counterparts (Daniel 1987:388). Moreover, because their fathers, brothers, and husbands (like them) were deprived by the White majority of suffrage, political rights, and economic opportunities, they found it hard to support their families (Daniel 1987). As a result, African-American girls grew up expecting to enter the labor force and contribute to the household income (Daniel 1987: 388). In order to examine fully what defined beauty as an ideology in later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries it is necessary to move beyond its foundations to the avenues of its dissemination.

Advertisements and Beauty Products: The Agents of Beauty Ideology

Contemporary American television and cinema continue to portray African-American women in service-oriented roles, which are degrading to their own ideological notions of womanhood. It is arguable that the portrayal of African-American women in such ways is directly related to the inequality both past and present between African-American women and their White counterparts. As noted earlier, this inequality was masked by an ideology of beauty, rooted in the widely accepted perception of a racially determined biological inferiority and notions of femininity propagated by the Victorian Cult of True Womanhood. As an ideology, Beauty is based upon a widely held belief in biologically based racial inferiority that was reproduced daily in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries via popular media (e.g. newspapers, magazines, and lithograph advertising or trade cards). It is through the examination of specific advertisements that both the relationship between African-American women and their White "genteel" counterparts and the perceived identity of African-American women by the larger dominant White culture can be located. Such a relationship is demonstrated in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century advertisements of a myriad of mass-produced consumables from laundry soap and fertilizers to beauty products (Mehaffy 1997; see figure 16). The advertisement depicts the profile of two women facing each other, one completely blacked out and featureless while the other is white and fully animated (see figure 17):

> The two figures face each other and appear to be looking into each other's eyes. Because the dark figure's eyes are obscured by her black skin, she can only look out into darkness and cannot actually see how unattractive she is or the white woman she could become. The white figure, however, can look back at the

African American woman she used to be. Along with her white skin, she has now gained the privilege of sight (Rooks 2000:27).

Figure 16: Sunlight Soap advertisement from 1901 (Jim Crow Museum of Racist Memorabilia http://www.ferris.edu/jimcrow/mammies/more/).

Figure 17: Face bleaching cream advertisement (Rooks 2000:28).

Prior to 1904 White-owned companies constructed the majority of advertisements

directed at African-American women. The advertisements depicted culturally accepted fashions and hairstyles that promised not only a means of attaining the beauty ideal, but also a "particularized body relation to the dominant culture" (Rook 2000:11). According to Rooks (2000:13), the marketing of beauty products towards African-American woman began in the 1830s in African-American periodicals. The advertisements included both traditional stereotypical caricatures of African-American women, e.g. Mammy and field laborer, and a White standard of beauty that was nearly impossible for African-American women to achieve because of biologically determined phenotypic traits (Rooks 2000). The products promised the caricature and its socio-economic implications – light skin, straight hair, and social acceptance – but were often dangerous and led to premature balding, which only further exacerbated the problem of trying to achieve the standard of beauty portrayed in the advertisements (Rooks 2000:13; see figure 18 and 19).

Figure 18: Bleaching cream advertisement (Jim Crow Museum of Racist Memorabilia http://www.ferris.edu/jimcrow/ mulatto/).

Additionally, Rooks (2000:26) points out, early mail order advertisements discussed African American women as "suffering from an African heritage and searching for the

'cure' whiteness can offer" and argues that the ads are latent with discourses that "write racial ideologies on the bodies of African-American women." Below are two examples of the advertisements Rooks (1998: 30; 33) references:

> Lighten your dark skin: Race men and women protect your future...Be attractive. Throw off the chains that have held you back from prosperity and happiness that rightly belongs to you. Apply Black and White Ointment (for white or colored folks) as directed on package....Be the envy of everybody.
>
> -Black and White Ointment Advertisement 1919

> You owe it to yourself, as well as others who are interested in you, to make yourself as attractive as possible. Attractiveness will contribute much to your success– both socially and economically. Positively nothing detracts from your appearance as short, matted un-attractive curly hair....We all know how much care is taken of the hair by all the leading society ladies.
>
> -Curl-I-Cure: A Cure for Curls Advertisement 1905

These ads through a direct juxtaposition of African-American women and Caucasian women implied that class mobility and membership into larger White society could be achieved through the morphing of their bodies (Rooks 2000). Repeatedly, the features of African-American women were positioned as "incapable of representing a standard of beauty constructed outside of the dominant ideologies surrounding race" (Rooks 2000:34). Mehaffy (1997) argues that in late nineteenth-century trade cards, African-

American women figured predominately in the construction of an ideal White consumer. Moreover, advertising cards were "the most ubiquitous mass commercial images from the nineteenth century" whose distribution was intended to familiarize consumers with the latest brand name products, validate the existence of a burgeoning commodity culture, and extend brand consciousness onto the most remote geographical areas (Mehaffy 1997:132; see figure 20).

Figure 19: Photograph of a Lucky Brown vintage hair pressing oil tin ca. 1938. Notice how the symmetry of the woman's face changes from side of the tin to the other (Esnarf http://www.esnarf.com/934k.htm)

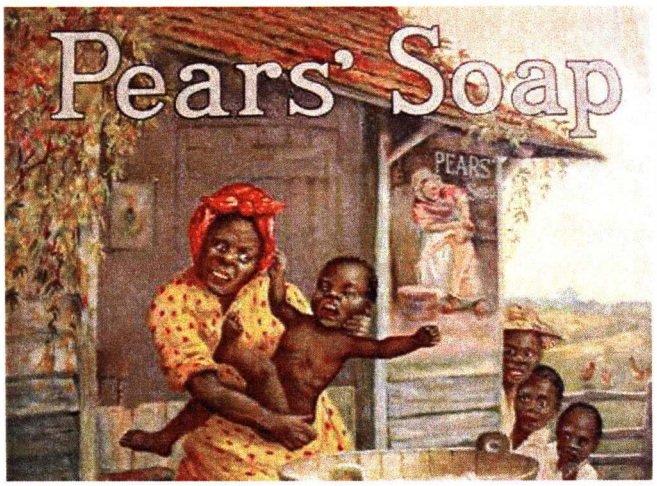

Figure 20: Pears' Soap advertisement (Jim Crow Museum of Racist Memorabilia http://www.ferris.edu/jimcrow/mammies/more/).

Figure 21: ONT thread trade card (Mehaffy 1997:134).

Like Rooks (2000), Marylin Mehaffy (1997) argues that these cards legitimized post reconstruction race and gender stereotypes of African-American women who were regularly depicted in direct binary opposition to their White, genteel, consumers of domesticity. Mahaffey (1997:141) argues that through the mass distribution of trading cards, the torch (as physical labor was effaced from the White ideal of genteel femininity that dominated social consciousness at the turn of the twentieth century) of domesticity was passed from White women to African-American women. Trade card imagery was relentless in its repeated depiction of a binary juxtaposition of White women with an African-American women toiling in the fields (Mehaffy 1997:148). African American women were viewed as not only the producers of raw material, but "a raw material to be refined and domesticated" (Mehaffy 1997:148). As an example, Mehaffy (1997:134-135) describes an ONT thread advertising card ca. 1880 (see figure 21):

> Illustrates the new, but still ideally demure, white consumer: eyes lowered as she sews by hand even as the mass-produced sewing machine at her side mutely testifies to her active participation in commodity culture. The accompanying black laborer, notable for her bold gaze and muscular hyperembodiment, produces the raw material – cotton – for the work of the bourgeois ideal – domestication and refinement....This card thus blurs the boundaries between and, asserts a mutually reinforcing bond among three epistemologies: white women's domesticity, black women's physical labor, and a new therapeutic consumer ethic, the three joined by a strand of ONT thread.

Trade cards implied that body, beauty, and gentility could be accumulated. Like many others, this trade card demonstrates the direct opposition between African-American women and their White counterparts. The white woman in the advertisement represents

the ideal standard of beauty: a peach complexion, straight hair, an aquiline nose, with a forehead that slopes not the slightest bit forward (Rooks 2000:27; see figures 22 and 23).

It becomes clear through an examination of these advertisements that an ideology of beauty existed and beauty products and their advertisements were its agents. These advertisements served as the vehicles for what McGuire (2002: 102) called the "objectification of material culture," wherein people transfer things into material culture that is "necessary for the reproduction of humans and the social order" (McGuire 2002:102). Beauty products are examples of how "material culture may help create

Figure 22: Advertisement for Madame Walker's Hair Grower (Ransom Place Archaeology http://www.iupui.edu/~anthpm/ fssyl.html).

society, but it does so both through the actions of individuals and by the structuring of those actions in ways individuals may not be aware of" (McGuire 2002:102). If we look at the advertisements and the products as products of social relations and part of the

structure of such relations, "it bears the stamp of those relations and in some sense reflects them" (McGuire 2002:102). These items and their advertisements were not just a backdrop for a set of social relations that defined the relationship between African-American women and the rest of society, but are indicators of these relations and gave "reality to the social ties that bind people together. It serves as both a model of and a model for social action. The realities it creates may not accurately reflect the social relations it is embedded within and may instead misrepresent them. In this way it becomes a medium for domination and the exercise of power over people", thus reinforcing and reproducing beliefs that mask the power and domination held by one group over another (McGuire 2002:103-4). These advertisements along with the products promised African-American women a leg up in the world, but they also helped to facilitate the internalization of ideologies about African-American racial inferiority within African-American and White communities. Therefore, compliance with ideologies and self-policing, which included using the products and changing one's appearance, equaled the rewards of a better job and a higher social standing. Thus, resistance to ideologies of racial inferiority and beauty may have been unlikely because they were situated as the normal ordering of society and the relations within it. However, as the examination of the archaeological record from the Ransom Place Neighborhood demonstrates, African-American women were not simply passive agents of beauty ideology.

Ransom Place Archaeology: Resisting Ideologies?

The thousands of household artifacts discarded in these neighborhoods are nearly identical in Black and White households as well as rich and poor. When comparing the

assemblages of different households in Ransom Place there is little difference between the artifact assemblages and without the aid of background research, it is impossible to tell whether the assemblage came from an African-American, White, rich, or poor residence. The symbolism of these objects gives clues about the effects of beauty ideology on African-American women living nearly a century ago. The symbolism in these artifacts may be located in not only their intended use, but also how they were or were not used. When analyzing the assemblage from the Evans boarding house left behind by Hattie Evans and her boarders, I found no other identifiable beauty accoutrements besides cold cream jars, hatpins, and a gold heart locket.

However, I did identify hygiene items, e.g. a glass "Wrights [word missing] Tooth Powder" bottle and what appears to be a glass powder jar. Many of the beauty and hygiene products marketed to Black women and were intended to help facilitate a self-transformation of African-American women into mirror reflections of their White genteel counterparts as epitomized by the tenants of the Victorian Cult of Womanhood. Across the archaeological record recovered from Ransom Place, these products appear infrequently, while evidence of domestic forms of labor (e.g. needles, thimbles, and buttons) is abundant. This is somewhat of an unexpected result considering both the large African-American population of area and its close proximity to the Madam C.J. Walker beauty/hygiene school and factory where beauty products were manufactured and solicited door-to-door on a regular basis. What follows is a brief discussion of factors that when occurring simultaneously provide elucidate potential explanations behind the absence of these artifacts in the Evans boarding house assemblage.

Figure 23: Advertisement for Madame Walker's Beauty Preparations (National Parks Service, http://www.nps.gov/history/nr/twhp/wwwlps/lessons/walker/WAfacts4.htm).

One potential reason is the influence of early twentieth century Black intellectualism on the African-American population of this area. During the early twentieth century, African-American intellectuals such as Booker T. Washington had quite explicit ideas of what constituted African-American womanhood. For example, Washington refused to allow Madam Walker to address the attendees at 1912 annual convention of the National Negro Business League (he was the founder and president) with Madam C.J. Walker. She may have seemed a likely candidate to address such an audience because she was reportedly the first African-American millionaire in the United States. However, Washington was openly opposed to Walker and other beauty manufacturers because they promoted a White standard of beauty (Rooks 2000:60; see figures 22 and 23). For many years he did not permit beauty culturists to teach at the Tuskegee Institute and did not grant membership into the National Negro Business League to those who produced hair-care products (Rooks 2000:61). Like Washington, Marcus Garvey openly opposed beauty culturists like Madame Walker. He refused to run hair straightening and skin bleaching advertisements in his *newspaper The Negro World* on the grounds that such products try to "make a new race and make a monkey out of the Negro" (Rooks 2000:77). Thus, while more investigation needs to be carried out it is not unreasonable to suggest that a potential factor contributing to the lack of beauty and hygiene products in the archaeological record may in fact suggest that African American women were influenced by the ideas of Washington and Garvey and therefore, were not embracing a potentially disempowering ideology of Beauty, even though such goods were manufactured only blocks away. However, simply because a particular type of artifact is missing from an assemblage does not mean that it was not once there.

Ann Smart-Martin (1989:1) discusses the importance of the absence of artifacts. She gives a number of reasons for why artifacts that are known to exist historically may not be found in archaeological contexts. Smart-Martin (1989:1) argues that while we cannot change the archaeological record, we can change our analytical focus to consider the social and economic value of using certain artifacts "within a framework of the full range of available choices" and then "perhaps some more sophisticated statements can be made about the materials and behavior that are recovered"

For example, pewter, a major component of tableware items for two centuries, is seldom recovered in archaeological excavations. Three simple reasons explain its absence. First, pewter's durability prevented significant breakage and discarding and, second, its resale value for recasting provided a major outlet for its disposal. Finally, if discarded, as a metal alloy it suffered varying degrees of decomposition in the ground. Smart-Martin's (1989) observations are helpful when analyzing the assemblage from the Evans boarding house, if we consider that many of the hair-straighteners and bleaching creams available to African-American women were housed in metal tins and the majority of the assemblage's metal artifacts were in a state of decomposition that made identification impossible (see figure 19). Cost is another factor to consider, as bleaching creams and straighteners were expensive items, that may have whose purchase, although not exclusively, may have been hard to justify by women who made modest living as live-in domestics, day workers, or laundresses. Some of these creams and lotions sold for as much as 50 cents per tin (or bottle). According to a survey of day worker domestics in 1920, Chicago, IL, African-American female domestics earned between $2.50 and $3.00 per day (Harley 1990:6). Table 11 is gleaned from a historical survey of domestic servant

wages in Chicago over a roughly 30 period from 1890-1929 (Hanson and Douglas 1930:3). When looking at this table, which does not differentiate between male and female domestics, we see that African-American women domestics earned on average less then their male counterparts (See Harley 1990). Below is an excerpt that appeared in the *Independent* on January 25, 1912 (*History Matters, The U.S. Survey Course on the Web* at http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/80/). It is a first hand account given by a domestic servant and testimony to the low wages these women received.

> You might as well say that I'm on duty all the time—from sunrise to sunrise, every day in the week I am the slave, body and soul, of this family. And what do I get for this work—this lifetime bondage? The pitiful sum of ten dollars a month! And what am I expected to do with these ten dollars? With this money I'm expected to pay my house rent, which is four dollars per month, for a little house of two rooms, just big enough to turn round in; and I'm expected, also, to feed and clothe myself and three children. For two years my oldest child, it is true, has helped a little toward our support by taking in a little washing at home. She does the washing and ironing of two white families, with five persons; one of these families pays her $1.00 per week, and the other 75 cents per week, and my daughter has to furnish her own soap and starch and wood.

It is not a leap to suggest that because of the low wages paid to domestics, beauty products, like "Madame Walker's Hair Grower" were considered by some to be luxury items, whose purchase was hard to justify. Moreover, we know that luxury items were not reserved solely for purchase by the rich and as Mullins (2001) points out and were often purchased by those of modest means. However, such items can in some instances

TABLE I

THE MOVEMENT OF THE MONEY AND REAL WAGES OF DOMESTIC SERVANTS IN CHICAGO, 1890–1929

Year	(1) Number of cases	(2) Average weekly wage	(3) Relative weekly wage 1890–99 = 100	(4) Relative weekly wage 1914 = 100	(5) Relative cost of living 1890–99 = 100	(6) Relative cost of living Dec. 1914 = 100	(7) Dec. 1914 Chicago = 100	(8) Relative Real earnings 1890–99 = 100	(9) Relative Real earnings Dec. 1914 (U. S.) = 100	(10) Dec. 1914 (Chicago) = 100
1890.....	68	$3.82	95	54	104			91		
1891.....	56	4.15	103	59	101			102		
1892.....	65	4.23	105	60	102			103		
1893.....	81	4.50	111	64	100			111		
1894.....	77	3.99	99	57	97			102		
1895.....	99	4.16	103	59	97			106		
1896.....	152	3.83	95	55	99			95		
1897.....	62	3.60	89	51	100			89		
1898.....	51	4.12	102	59	100			101		
1899.....	86	4.08	101	58	102			99		
1900.....	118	4.28	106	61	106			100		
1901.....	113	4.40	109	63	108			101		
1902.....	133	4.57	113	65	111			102		
1903.....	146	4.93	122	70	116			105		
1904.....	81	5.10	126	73	115			110		
1905.....	76	5.07	125	72	115			109		
1906.....	146	5.36	132	76	119			111		
1907.....	143	5.77	143	82	126			113		
1908.....	55	5.60	138	80	121			115		
1909.....	100	5.68	140	81	121			116		
1910.....	113	6.16	152	88	128			119		
1911.....	82	6.41	159	91	132			120		
1912.....	90	6.64	164	95	133	Ave. March and April		123	Ave. March and April	
1913.....	70	6.68	165	95	137			120		
1914.....	138	7.03	174	100	139			125		
1915.....	46	6.14	152	87	135	98	100	113	89	88
1916.....	64	7.08	175	101	145	106	111	120	95	91
1917.....	104	7.63	189	109	169	124	129	111	88	84
1918.....	79	8.40	208	120	205	150	158	101	80	76
1919.....	114	10.50	259	149	236	172	200	110	87	75
1920.....	140	14.05	347	200	287	210	250	121	95	80
1921.....	63	14.83	366	211	251	183	205	146	115	103
1922.....	81	12.77	315	182	228	167	177	139	109	103
1923.....	85	14.84	367	211	231	169	179	159	125	118
1924.....	41	15.00	371	213	233	170	179	159	125	119
1925.....	47	14.06	347	200	236	173	179	147	116	112
1926.....	47	14.55	360	207	242	177	180	149	117	115
1927.....	45	14.27	352	203	236	173	178	149	117	114
1928.....	48	13.98	345	199	234	171	178	148	116	112
1929.....	37	13.32	329	190						

Table 10. Wages of domestic laborers in Chicago from 1890-1929 (Hanson and Douglas 1930: 48).

be indicators of class and something as simple as the high cost of beauty products may be another factor to help explain their absence from the Evans boarding house assemblage.

Finally, while overall the Evans-Deschler assemblage is strikingly similar to the assemblages from other sites in Ransom Place, the cold cream jars lead to a larger discussion about African-American women, beauty ideology, and labor simply because these jars and their once present contents are material manifestations of beauty ideology. For those who manufactured and advertised cold creams, as well as other beauty products, the messages in their advertisements equated consumption with ideological subordination into an existing social order, where elite and middle class Whites and Victorian ideals of womanhood reigned supreme, and where African-American women were thought best suited for domestic labor. The advertisements for such commodities and the visual manifestations of stereotypes depicted in them are also material manifestations and agents of the ideology. On the other hand, many African-American women, such as Madame Walker, became successful beauty entrepreneurs and opened beauty shops that were exclusively spaces for African-American women that were void of men and White racism. Therefore, seemingly mundane commodities such as cold cream jars and other beauty and hygiene products were duplicitous vessels that had the ability to both incorporate people ideologically as well as provide some mechanism for self-empowerment, resistance, and the creation of alternative ideologies. Their duplicitous character provided a mechanism for ideological implication, but also a mechanism for both empowerment and the defeat of the racist implications of the ideology and its agents, e.g. consumer culture, commodities, and advertisements. Such an approach to material culture replaces a simple binary explanation of its consumption, wherein those who consume are ideologically implicated and those who do not are resisting. If the beauty

and hygiene products in the Evans boarding house are approached as duplicitous vessels then what begins to emerge is a picture of competing ideological regimes. African-American women were implicated and actively resisting one ideological system while creating an alternative and competing ideological system, wherein African-American women defined not only beauty, but also their suitable labor roles.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

This research has used material culture evidence from the Evans boarding house site in Indianapolis, Indian to elucidate and discuss the lives of African-American women in the early twentieth century. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the majority of African-American women, who worked outside of the home, were employed in the domestic labor sphere. While a host of factors (e.g. limited access to education and economic opportunities) contributed to African-American women's participation in domestic forms of labor, beauty ideology appears to have played a pivotal role in the construction of available labor opportunities for turn of the century African-American women. Via various forms of advertising and the marketing of beauty products, African-American women were subject to a constant bombardment of images that posited a standard of beauty that was physically impossible for them to achieve, but was also directly related to the often undesirable and limited labor opportunities available to them. However, the limited use of such products, as evidenced by the Evans boarding house artifact assemblage, suggests that African-American women may not have overtly subscribed to the widely held ideologies about race, class, and gender, which propagated and reproduced inferiority between them and their white counterparts.

Unfortunately, the beauty and labor ideologies described in this research are still very much embedded within contemporary American social consciousness, as evidenced on grocery store shelves all over the United States where "Aunt Jemima" smiles up at you and "Mrs. Butterworth" is ready to serve (see figure 24). So, a good question to ask is

what needs to be done now? A reconciling of the old with new may be a good entry point to formulate an answer to this question. In other words, as older stereotypes fade, new ones quickly take their place (see figure 25). I think I have begun this process, but have succeeded only in scratching the surface. Today we have stereotypes such as "Hoochie Mama", "Baby Mama", "Video Ho", and "Welfare Mama" and while these stereotypes seem new the reason behind their construction remains the same – they make popular ideological images that encourage cultural subordination and social control. The historic products discussed in the research are still available today and their advertisements continue to be material manifestations of ideology and the disciplining technologies, which tell women that their economic and social power and success are directly correlative with their perceived beauty.

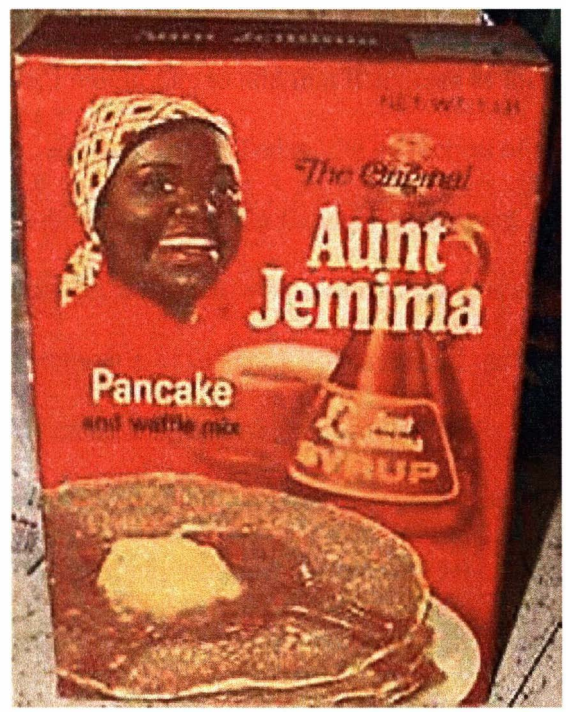

Figure 24: Aunt Jemima advertisement ca. 1960s (Jim Crow Museum of Racist Memorabilia http://www.ferris.edu/jimcrow/mammies/more/).

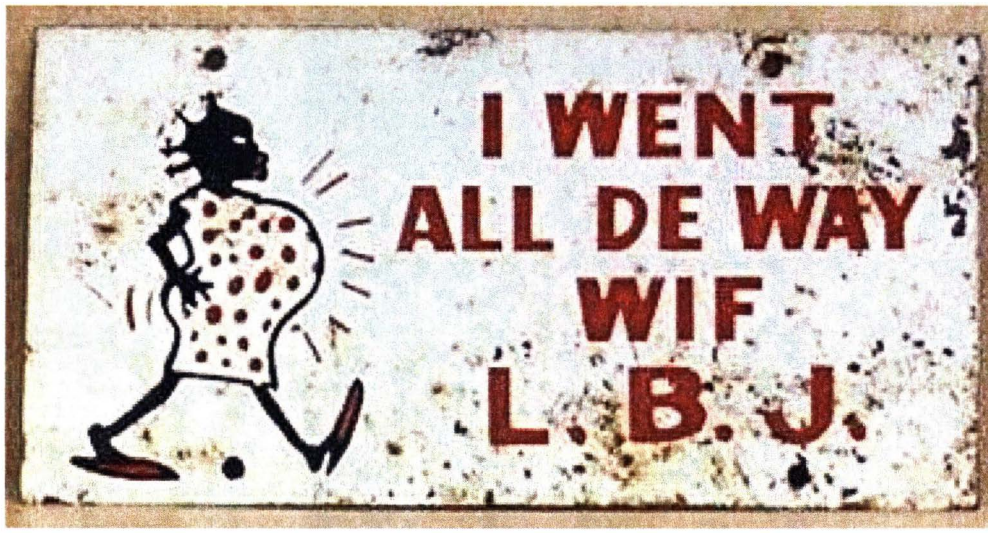

Figure 25: License plate promoting President Lyndon B. Johnson's civil rights record (Jim Crow Museum of Racist Memorabilia http://www.ferris.edu/jimcrow/jezebel/more/).

As one final note, I would like to add that it appears as though we have come full circle, or we are back where we started. Today, the collection of racially charged black memorabilia is quite a hobby in the U.S. In fact it is so popular, there are roughly 50,000 collectors in the U.S. today (cite Jim Crow Museum). There is even a self-help guide for collectors. Notice the catchy title of the book displayed in Figure 26, "Black Americana". The title itself effectively camouflages both the racially divided historical context that such material culture represented and in which it was produced. Instead of being material testaments to horrific history of exploitation and ideological subordination, such items are charming little knick-knacks to decorate one's home and pin on one lapel (see figures 27 and 28).

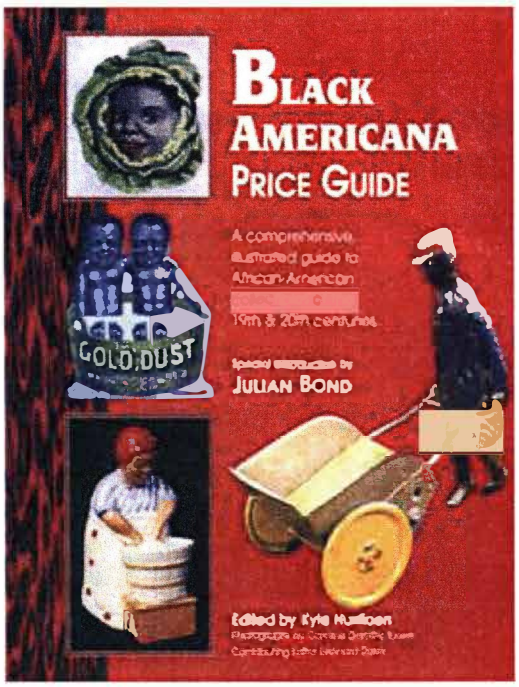

Figure 26: "Black Americana" collector's guide ((Jim Crow Museum of Racist Memorabilia (http://www. ferris.edu/jimcrow/newforms/more/)

Figure 27: Contemporary lapel button of the Mammy character from *Gone With The Wind* (Jim Crow Museum of Racist Memorabilia http://www.ferris.edu/jimcrow/newforms/more/)

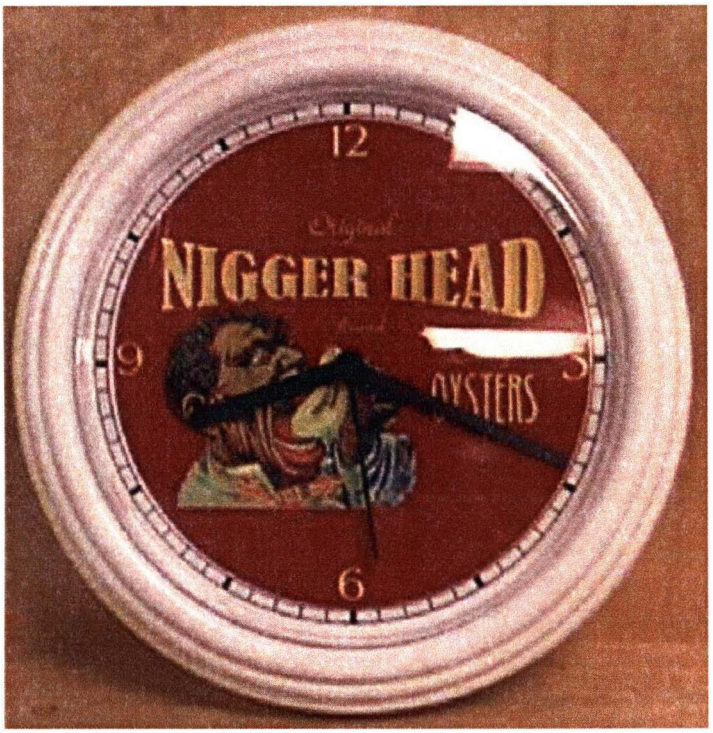

Figure 28: Wall clock up for auction on E-bay (Jim Crow Museum of Racist Memorabilia http://www.ferris.edu/jimcrow/newforms/more/).

Appendix A

Cultural and Demographic History of the IUPUI Campus

Below is a cultural and demographic history gleaned from the Archaeological and Historical Survey of the IUPUI Campus section of Ransom Place Archaeology website that was written by Dr. Paul R. Mullins the Principal Investigator of Ransom Place Archaeology (http://www.iupui.edu/~anthpm/survey.htm).

The Color Line in Near-Westside Neighborhoods

The campus survey is designed to provide systematic information on the people who have lived on campus over 150 years and identifying how and why settlement patterns changed over that period. The near-Westside mirrors many of Indianapolis' predominant demographic patterns, but it still retained considerable diversity across the neighborhoods between the Canal, White River, and 10th Street. Indianapolis is often reduced to an ethnically homogenous city, and in comparison to northern metropolises like Chicago Indianapolis did indeed have many fewer European immigrants. Native White Hoosiers dominate almost all census inventories from the near-Westside until the 1920's or later, but a vast range of European immigrants and African Americans also made their homes throughout the near-Westside. Like much of the city, the near-Westside had considerable neighborhood diversity, with quite distinct ethnic and class settlement patterns that changed over time.

Of the migrants who settled in the near-Westside, African Americans established the clearest long-term presence, especially along Indiana Avenue. However, neighborhoods south of Michigan Street remained home to many White Hoosiers and European immigrants well into the Depression. Many areas that eventually became predominately African American also did not become Black neighborhoods until after the Depression. The popular impression that the near-Westside was a universally Black and

poor community over more than a century certainly contradicts the vast social, ethnic, and class diversity attested to in primary literature.

A detailed census analysis was conducted of six near-Westside neighborhood study areas on the IUPUI campus to establish the area's basic demographic patterns. All census information for the years 1880, 1900, 1910, and 1920 was transcribed for all residents in these six neighborhoods, providing a sample of 7253 residents. (Data from the 1930 census was not released until this project was nearly completed, so it has not yet been integrated into the database.) While the census is not without drawbacks, this sample still provides our best demographic picture of the near-Westside at the turn of the century.

Six neighborhood study areas were selected from the contemporary IUPUI campus. The neighborhood study areas are in most cases single blocks and all homes facing onto them, though the size of these blocks and number of homes within each varies considerably. Homes facing each other within contiguous blocks were considered part of single neighborhood samples; i.e., "neighborhoods" were not defined only as homes inside a single block but instead defined as homes that were both within a block and facing onto it. This methodology assumes that homes that face each other are likely to be of a comparable social and material status, and in many cases they are often more similar than homes that back onto each other. Most of the near-Westside is overwhelmingly residential, spotted with corner stores within neighborhoods, and these neighborhood study areas reflect that pattern. Only one area in the sample, the Indiana Avenue neighborhood study area, is not primarily residential, and it still was home to between 250 and 275 residents in each census sample.

Agnes Street: The Agnes Street neighborhood area includes Agnes (now University Boulevard), Vermont, Patterson, and Michigan Streets and is intersected by Pettijohn

Street. This area was the westernmost settled portion of the near-Westside by the mid-1870's, and lots to the west would not have a significant number of residents for more than 30 years. In Summer 2003 excavations were conducted in the northeast corner of the Agnes Street block.

California Street: The California Street neighborhood area includes the block bordered by California, Vermont, West, and Michigan Streets. This was among the earliest settled areas of the near-Westside, directly adjoining the Mile Square. Archaeological excavations were conducted in this neighborhood area at the Evans-Deschler Site in 2001. The study area was overwhelmingly residential. Large homes along West Street began to subdivided into rental units after the turn of the century, and several businesses and churches eventually found homes along West and Michigan Streets. Like most areas south of Michigan Street, the study area remained predominately White into the 1920's.

Blackford Street: The Blackford Street neighborhood area is bordered by Blackford, North, California, and Michigan Streets. This block contained School Number 4, which was an African-American school, and several churches were located within the neighborhood as well, including Jones Tabernacle AME Zion, Ebenezer Baptist, and several smaller, short-lived congregations. These institutions served as a magnet for genteel African Americans who settled around the school and churches in the last 20 years of the nineteenth century. Through World War I, the study area maintained a relatively equal number of Black and White residents, but by 1920, Black residents composed 81% of the study area's population.

Indiana Avenue: The Indiana Avenue neighborhood area includes all businesses and homes located between California and Blackford Streets, a stretch that is now numbered 701-799 Indiana Avenue. Indiana Avenue was the central business and social

thoroughfare in African-American Indianapolis from the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and Black business people had established businesses along the Avenue to the east even earlier. The Avenue was home to a vast range of enterprises ranging from groceries to saloons, and the Avenue remained the heart of the African-American near-Westside until its decline after World War II. The remaining neighborhood areas were primarily residential, and their residential populations increased over the census study period of 1880-1920. However, by 1880, the residential space along Indiana Avenue already was occupied, and many lots were exclusively businesses. The number of residents in the Indiana neighborhood study area was very stable, ranging from 247 residents in 1880 to 242 in 1920; in contrast, the remaining residential populations grew and in some cases doubled over the same period.

Douglass Street: The Douglass Street neighborhood area is bordered by Douglass, New York, Blake, and West Market Streets. The area was dominated by small, tightly packed residences that neighbored industries along the White River, where many residents worked. The neighborhood was dominated by working-class White Hoosiers until the 1920's, and many of their neighbors were Irish immigrants. By 1920, a community of Greeks had moved into the neighborhood as well, fanning out from a slightly earlier Greek community along West Street on the east side of Military Park.

Appendix B

"Super Block" Area History

Below is a brief written history of the "super block" or the area immediately surrounding the boarding house. This written history was gleaned from the 2001 Ransom Place Archaeology Field School website written by Dr. Paul R. Mullins the Principal Investigator of Ransom Place Archaeology (http://www.iupui.edu/~anthpm/fs2001.html).

"Super Block" Historical Background

Divided into lots around the mid-nineteenth century, the Super Block likely was among the first IUPUI campus spaces to be settled by Europeans. West Street is the western border of the original "Mile Square" plan created in 1821 by Alexander Ralston. An 1831 map of the city (right) identifies the Military Park lot immediately south of the Super Block as a "reserve," and it shows New York Street extended west to a dead-end conclusion at about where Blackford Street is today. Michigan and Vermont Streets each ended at West in the 1831 map, and neither California nor Blackford Streets had been laid out at that point. The map does not show any structural features, but it does identify a steam mill on the White River, and a market square appears in the plan at the northeast corner of West and Market Streets.

The Super Block is located immediately north of Military Park, which is bordered by New York Street, West Street, Blackford Street, and the Central Canal. The oldest public park in Indianapolis, Military Park was donated to the State by Congress in 1827, and it was originally used for militia training. The Park was the site of Indianapolis' first recorded Fourth of July Celebration in 1822, and in 1852, it hosted Indiana's first State Fair. During the Civil War, it was a camp for recruitment and training, and thousands of soldiers encamped there, when it was known as Camp Sullivan. The Park was decorated

with a fountain and Civil War relics in the late-nineteenth century, and between 1908 and 1916 a pavilion was erected that still stands.

The Central Canal was built to the east and south of the project area between 1836 and 1839, and some industries soon began business nearby, such as the Sheets paper mill at Market and West Streets, and a flour and wool mill along the White River. The emergence of these industries encouraged residents to move toward the western edges of the Mile Square, which by mid-century became densely settled. Some of these newcomers arrived via improved transportation networks that ran through Indianapolis. The National Road, the main east-west highway in the antebellum US, extended through Indianapolis in the 1830's, and in 1839 the central north-south road in the region, Michigan Road, crossed at Washington Street, and passed north directly to the east of the Super Block. These overland routes brought many migrants to the Circle City from Ohio and Kentucky, and by the final quarter of the nineteenth century both states were well-represented by residents in the project area. Near-Westside residents found an increasing amount of industrial employment in walking distance. No heavy industries ever were located in the Super Block, but flour mills, pork slaughtering and packing houses, foundries, and railroad yards were located in walking distance. Indianapolis' manufacturing expanded rapidly after the arrival of the railroad in 1847, and the city's population doubled over the 1850's and again over the 1860's, reflecting the growth of local workplaces and Indianapolis' increasing accessibility.

The Super Block had taken the basic form it has today by the mid-1850's, and its first residents settled along New York Street in the early 1850's. By the 1880's the lot property lines and alley layout were clearly defined. Ten-foot wide unpaved alleys that are no longer extant ran through the blocks. Most of these alleys had street names and

eventually hosted small homes, but they were too narrow for significant traffic. At various times, smaller un-named alleys as narrow as 5' wide also were cut through portions of the block to access stables, backyard workshops, businesses, and modest homes.

In the late nineteenth century the neighborhood that now rests under the IUPUI campus was a relatively compact residential community within reach of railroad yards in West Indianapolis, packing houses (with the largest to the south), and various city workplaces. The 1887 Sanborn Fire Insurance map indicates that the project area's homes were primarily frame one and two-story structures, with no businesses, churches, or other non-residential spaces identified. A few modest enterprises eventually set up shop in the Super Block: for instance, the Century Biscuit Company sat at the corner of New York and Blackford Streets between 1908 and 1914, and a sanitarium was accepting visitors at 538 New York Street, at the northeast corner of New York and California. Some residences also hosted home-based businesses (e.g., laundresses, seamstresses, etc), but the neighborhood always remained predominately residential.

At least two churches have called the neighborhood home since the late nineteenth century. The Merritt Place Methodist Episcopal church was established at the northwest corner of New York and California between 1914 and 1916, apparently in a remodeled home that had stood in the lot at the turn of the century. The congregation remained there until at least 1935. By 1935, the Sanctified Church of God was located at 419 California Street, in a 1½ story stove-heated frame building less than 30' square. Several other churches were located in blocks neighboring the Super Block. The best-known of these, Bethel African-Methodist-Episcopal Church, was established as a congregation in 1836 and active in the abolitionist movement and the Underground Railroad. The church was

burnt in 1862, apparently by slavery supporters, and in 1867, the church was rebuilt where it still stands at 414 West Vermont Street, just a block east of the Evans-Deschler Site.

Who lived in the Super Block?

The first clear demographic profile of the neighborhood comes from the 1880 census. When the census-keeper recorded the homes within the Super Block in 1880, they identified 251 residents, of whom nearly half (122) were native-born Hoosiers. Over one-quarter (27%) were foreign-born, including immigrants from Ireland, Germany, Scotland, England, and Canada, but just 11 individuals were identified as Black or Mulatto. After Indiana, the most common birthplace of neighborhood residents was Ohio (21), Pennsylvania (18), Kentucky (17), Ireland (16), and New York (11). Only two families in the project area had Black or Mulatto heads of household in 1880, and the remaining two people of color were employed as live-in domestics. One of these two African-American live-in domestics, Lily Carson, was working in the household of David Cady at 235 California Street, on the site that this summer's field school will excavate. By the early twentieth century, the community west of the downtown canal became home to many African Americans. These residents were part of the Great Migration fleeing Jim Crow racism and searching for improved material and social opportunities in the north and Midwest. Settlement patterns in the Ransom Place neighborhood indicate that the blocks surrounding Indiana Avenue were settled by African Americans more quickly than the Super Block. In 1910, 469 of Ransom Place's 707 residents were Black or Mulatto (66.4%). In contrast, the Super Block had just 13 Black or Mulatto residents among the 638 individuals living on the block (2.03%). The Super Block was still thoroughly White

Hoosier: nearly two-thirds of the Super Block's 638 residents in 1910 were born in Indiana, and 13.32% (85) were born outside the US. The most common birthplace of Super Block residents born outside the US in 1910 was Ireland (25), with a range of Eastern European neighbors from Austria, Germany, and Hungary. The Super Block also included Yiddish neighbors from Russia, Austria, and Germany (14 total). It appears that in the 1920's the Super Block was making the transition to being a predominately African-American neighborhood, a process that had happened along Indiana Avenue and in neighborhoods like Ransom Place a little more than a decade earlier.

Some of the Super Block's lots began to be subdivided into rental residences in the late-nineteenth century, which increased landlords' earning potential. This pattern was typical throughout the near-Westside. In 1900, for example, 22 of 36 properties on the block between Vermont, California, Michigan, and West were rentals. In comparison, 64.1% of the properties in Ransom Place in 1900 were rented; ten years later in 1910, the percentage of renters in Ransom Place would mushroom to 77.8%. Many small homes on narrow or half lots were built backward as far as the lot would accommodate, yielding quite cramped quarters.

Appendix C

Evans-Deschler Site (12MA869) Artifact Catalogue

12MA869 Artifact Catalogue

Bag No.	Provienence	Level	Feature	Group	Category	Type	Description	Material	Ware	Mark	Whole Ct.	Ct.	Frag. Ct.	Remarks
00.1	35S	2	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-	"ck405200	1		0	
00.1	35S	2	-	Industrial	-	-	Sewer Pipe	Ceramic	coarse		0		2	
00.1	35S	2	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0		2	colorless; threaded
00.1	35S	2	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0		1	green
00.1	35S	2	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-	illegible	0		2	aqua
00.1	35S	2	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0		3	colorless
00.1	35S	2	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0		1	partial finish and neck;
00.1	35S	2	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0		19	bottle
00.1	35S	2	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0		3	green; base
00.1	35S	2	-	Domestic	-	bottle	Cap	Ferrous	-		1		0	aluminum milk bottle
00.1	35S	2	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0		1	brown; base
00.1	35S	2	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Window	Glass	-		0		42	
00.1	35S	2	-	Faunal	Bone	Animal	Animal	Faunal	-		0		41	
00.1	35S	2	-	Personal	Clothing	Fastener	Button	Faunal	-		3		0	shell
00.1	35S	2	-	Personal	Clothing	-	Button	Glass	-		1		0	milkglass
00.1	35S	2	-	Personal	Clothing	Jewelry	Necklace	Ferrous	-		0		2	heart shaped; gold
00.1	35S	2	-	Domestic	Clothing	Fastener	Snap	Non-	-		0		1	2
00.1	35S	2	-	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Tableware -	Ceramic	yellowware		0		2	

Bag No.	Provienence	Level	Feature	Group	Category	Type	Description	Material	Ware	Mark	Whole Ct.	Frag. Ct.	Remarks
00.1	35S	2	-	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Tableware -	Ceramic	refined		0	8	ironstone? Rim sherd
00.1	35S	2	-	Activities	Games	-	Marble	Glass	-		1	0	black
00.1	35S	2	-	Domestic	Heating/Lig	Lamp	Globe	Glass	-		0	1	colorless
00.1	35S	2	-	Domestic	Heating/Lig	Lamp	Light Bulb	Glass	-		0	6	
00.1	35S	2	-	Unknown	Misc. Metal	Unknown	Metal -	Non-	-		0	47	
00.1	35S	2	-	Activities	Toys	-	Plate	Ceramic	whiteware		0	1	Doll plate
00.1	35S	2	-	Activities	Toys	Jewelry	Bead	Plastic	-		2	0	children's plastic beads
00.1	35S	2	-	Domestic	Unknown	Unknown	Glass -	Glass	-		0	2	aqua
00.1	35S	2	-	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	-	Plastic	-		0	1	blue
00.1	35S	2	-	Domestic	Unknown	Unknown	Glass -	Glass	-		0	9	colorless
00.1	35S	2	-	Domestic	Unknown	Unknown	-	Ceramic	earthenware		0	1	
00.1	35S	2	-	Undefined	Unknown	Unknown	Metal -	Ferrous	-		0	27	foil
00.1	35S	2	-	Domestic	Unknown	Unknown	Glass -	Glass	-		0	1	blue
00.1	35S	2	-	Domestic	Unknown	Unknown	Glass -	Glass	-		0	6	milkglass; cold cream
00.1	35S	2	-	Domestic	Unknown	Unknown	Glass -	Glass	-		0	3	green
00.1	35S	2	-	Domestic	Unknown	Tableware	Tableware -	Ceramic	refined		0	2	porcelain?
00.1	35S	2	-	Indefinite	Unknown	Unknown	Undefined	Ceramic	refined	"patent	0	2	fuse? Insulator?
00.1	35S	2	-	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	-	Plastic	-		0	1	green rim
00.1	35S	2	-	Activities	Writing	-	Pencil	Wood	-		0	5	
00.2	35S	2	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	5	brown
00.2	35S	2	-	Industrial	-	-	Sewer Pipe	Ceramic	coarse		0	3	

Bag No.	Provienence	Level	Feature	Group	Category	Type	Description	Material	Ware	Mark	Whole Ct.	Frag. Ct.	Remarks
00.2	35S	2	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Window	Glass	-		0	9	
00.2	35S	2	-	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Bowl	Ceramic	whiteware		0	3	
00.2	35S	2	-	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Tableware -	Ceramic	whiteware		0	1	
00.2	35S	2	-	Unknown	Misc. Metal	Unknown	Metal -	Non-	-		0	1	
00.2	35S	2	-	Domestic	Unknown	Unknown	Undefined	Ceramic	coarse		0	2	
00.2	35S	2	-	Domestic	Unknown	Unknown	Glass -	Glass	-		0	9	colorless
00.2	35S	2	-	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Glass -	Glass	-		0	1	
102.1	35S	3	-	Faunal	Bone	Animal	Animal	Faunal	-		0	2	
102.1	35S	3	-	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Glass -	Glass	-		0	2	colorless
102.1	35S	3	-	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Glass -	Glass	-		0	1	green
102.1	35S	3	-	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	-	Ferrous	-		0	1	aluminum
102.1	35S	3	-	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	-	Unknown	-		0	4	
103.1	0 35S	3	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	1	colorless, seam
108	35S	A	18	-	-	-	-	-	-		0	0	DISCARD
121.2	35S 7.5E	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-	"...ARD..."	0	13	green
121.2	35S 7.5E	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-	"6 [square	0	1	partial base
121.2	35S 7.5E	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-	"...&	0	1	gold label
121.2	35S 7.5E	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	18	brown
121.2	35S 7.5E	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	38	partial finished, partial
121.2	35S 7.5E	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	83	colorless
121.2	35S 7.5E	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Soda-pop	Glass	-		0	1	Coke bottle

Bag No.	Provienence	Level	Feature	Group	Category	Type	Description	Material	Ware	Mark	Whole Ct.	Frag. Ct.	Remarks
121.2	35S 7.5E	1	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Cut Nail	Non-	-		0	2	
121.2	35S 7.5E	1	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Tile	Ceramic	refined		0	1	
121.2	35S 7.5E	1	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Window	Glass	-		0	17	glass block window
121.2	35S 7.5E	1	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Tile	Ceramic	yellowware?		0	1	
121.2	35S 7.5E	1	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Wire Nail	Non-	-		0	3	
121.2	35S 7.5E	1	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Window	Glass	-		0	45	
121.2	35S 7.5E	1	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Nail	Non-	-		0	12	rusted
121.2	35S 7.5E	1	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Tile	Ceramic	redware		0	1	
121.2	35S 7.5E	1	-	Faunal	Bone	Animal	Animal	Faunal	-		0	52	butcher marks
121.2	35S 7.5E	1	-	Domestic	Food	Container	Can	Non-	-		0	2	
121.2	35S 7.5E	1	-	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Plate	Ceramic	ironstone?		0	16	partial base and rim
121.2	35S 7.5E	1	-	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Plate	Ceramic	pearlware		0	2	
121.2	35S 7.5E	1	-	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Tableware -	Ceramic	whiteware		0	1	transferprint blue
121.2	35S 7.5E	1	-	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Plate	Ceramic	yellowware		0	2	
121.2	35S 7.5E	1	-	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Plate	Ceramic	refined		0	3	polychrome, floral
121.2	35S 7.5E	1	-	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Plate	Ceramic	ironstone?		0	3	partial rim
121.2	35S 7.5E	1	-	Domestic	Food	Kitchen	Bowl	Ceramic	refined		0	2	partial rim
121.2	35S 7.5E	1	-	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Plate	Ceramic	refined		0	4	banded black and
121.2	35S 7.5E	1	-	Domestic	Food	Kitchen	Crock	Ceramic	stoneware		0	1	Albany Glaze, handle
121.2	35S 7.5E	1	-	Personal	Furnishings	Decorativ	Flowerpot	Ceramic	redware		0	1	
121.2	35S 7.5E	1	-	Domestic	Heating/Lig	Lamp	Light Bulb	Combined	-		0	2	bases

Bag No.	Provienence	Level	Feature	Group	Category	Type	Description	Material	Ware	Mark	Whole Ct.	Frag. Ct.	Remarks
121.2	35S 7.5E	1	-	Domestic	Heating/Lig	Lamp	Light Bulb	Glass	-		0	6	
121.2	35S 7.5E	1	-	Unknown	Misc. Metal	Unknown	Metal -	Non-	-		0	56	
121.2	35S 7.5E	1	-	Personal	Social Drugs	-	Alcoholic-	Glass	-	"HALF	0	1	
121.2	35S 7.5E	1	-	Domestic	Unknown	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	1	bottle base
121.2	35S 7.5E	1	-	Domestic	Unknown	Unknown	Undefined	Ceramic	refined		0	3	
121.2	35S 7.5E	1	-	Domestic	Unknown	Unknown	Undefined	Ceramic	refined		0	3	industrial porcelain
121.2	35S 7.5E	1	-	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Glass -	Glass	-		0	5	milkglass, melted
29.1	35S	A N1/2	4	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	1	green
29.1	35S	A N1/2	4	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Wire Nail	Non-	-		0	3	
29.1	35S	A N1/2	4	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Nail	Non-	-		0	1	
29.1	35S	A N1/2	4	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Cut Nail	Non-	-		0	1	
29.1	35S	A N1/2	4	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Brick	Brick	-		0	1	
29.1	35S	A N1/2	4	Faunal	Bone	Animal	Animal	Faunal	-		0	19	calcined
29.1	35S	A N1/2	4	Faunal	Bone	Animal	Animal	Faunal	-		0	4	butcher marks
29.1	35S	A N1/2	4	Personal	Clothing	Jewelry	Bead	Unknown	-		1	0	
29.1	35S	A N1/2	4	Industrial	Electric	-	Fuse	Combined	-		1		
29.1	35S	A N1/2	4	Personal	Social Drugs	Container	Wine Bottle	Glass	-		0	1	olive green, partial base
29.1	35S	A N1/2	4	Domestic	Unknown	Unknown	Glass -	Glass	-		0	6	colorless
32.1	35S	2	-	Domestic	-	-	Cap	Ferrous	-		0	1	aluminum milk bottle
32.1	35S	2	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Nail	Non-	-		0	2	
32.1	35S	2	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Nail	Non-	-		5	1	

Bag No.	Provienence	Level	Feature	Group	Category	Type	Description	Material	Ware	Mark	Whole Ct.	Frag. Ct.	Remarks
32.1	35S	2	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Window	Glass	-		0	2	
32.1	35S	2	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Mortar	Combined	-		0	2	
32.1	35S	2	-	Faunal	Bone	Animal	Animal	Faunal	-		0	14	
32.1	35S	2	-	Personal	Clothing	Fastener	Safety Pin	Non-	-		1	0	
32.1	35S	2	-	Personal	Clothing	-	hanger	Non-	-		0	3	
32.1	35S	2	-	Personal	Clothing	-	Pin	Non-	-		0	1	
32.1	35S	2	-	Domestic	Electric	-	-	Combined	-		0	1	electrical cord
32.1	35S	2	-	Structural	Electric	-	Wire	Combined	-		0	1	insulated
32.1	35S	2	-	Indefinite	Hardware	-	Washer	Non-	-		0	1	
32.1	35S	2	-	Activities	Hardware	-	Washer	Non-	-		0	1	
32.1	35S	2	-	Domestic	Heating/Lig	-	Light Bulb	Glass	-		0	1	
32.1	35S	2	-	Unknown	Misc. Metal	Unknown	Metal -	Non-	-		0	4	
32.1	35S	2	-	Unknown	Misc. Metal	Unknown	Metal -	Non-	-		0	1	sink filter?
32.1	35S	2	-	Unknown	Misc. Metal	Unknown	Metal -	Non-	-		0	2	staples?
32.1	35S	2	-	Unknown	Misc. Metal	Unknown	Metal -	Non-	-		0	13	
32.1	35S	2	-	Activities	Tools	-	Screwdriver	Non-	-		0	0	shaft only
32.1	35S	2	-	Undefined	Unknown	Unknown	Glass -	Glass	-		0	1	green
32.1	35S	2	-	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	-	Ferrous	-		0	7	aluminum foil
32.1	35S	2	-	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	-	Plastic	-		0	1	
32.1	35S	2	-	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	-	Plastic	-		0	1	yellow
32.1	35S	2	-	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	-	Unknown	-		0	2	

Bag No.	Provienence	Level	Feature	Group	Category	Type	Description	Material	Ware	Mark	Whole Ct.	Frag. Ct.	Remarks
32.1	35S	2	-	Activities	Writing	-	Pencil	Ferrous	-		0	1	lead
33.1	35S	A	3	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	2	brown
33.1	35S	A	3	Activities	Ammunitio	-	Bullet	Non-	-		0	1	end cap
33.1	35S	A	3	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Window	Glass	-		0	3	
33.1	35S	A	3	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Tile	Ceramic	redware		0	1	roofing tile
33.1	35S	A	3	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Nail	Non-	-		0	14	
33.1	35S	A	3	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Cut Nail	Non-	-		0	2	
33.1	35S	A	3	Faunal	Bone	Animal	Animal	Faunal	-		0	10	
33.1	35S	A	3	Domestic	Food	Container	Can	Non-	-		0	4	
33.1	35S	A	3	Domestic	Food	-	Teaspoon	Non-	-		0	6	complete
33.1	35S	A	3	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Tableware -	Ceramic	whiteware		0	4	
33.1	35S	A	3	Personal	Furnishings	-	Bell	Non-	-		1	0	telephone bell cap
33.1	35S	A	3	Unknown	Misc. Metal	Unknown	Metal -	Non-	-		0	1	heavy, cylindrical in
33.1	35S	A	3	Activities	Toys	-	Ball	Combined	-		0	1	rubber ball
33.1	35S	A	3	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Glass -	Glass	-		0	3	aqua
33.1	35S	A	3	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Glass -	Glass	-		0	17	colorless
35.1	NPSS		-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-	"...S..."	0	1	colorless
35.1	NPSS		-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	1	brown, finish, neck, &
35.1	NPSS		-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-	"...TO" /	0	1	brown, partial base
35.1	NPSS		-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	16	brown
35.1	NPSS		-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-	[inverted U]	0	1	colorless

Bag No.	Provienence	Level	Feature	Group	Category	Type	Description	Material	Ware	Mark	Whole Ct.	Frag. Ct.	Remarks
35.1	NPSS		-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	1	colorless, partial bottle
35.1	NPSS		-	Domestic	-	-	Milk Bottle	Glass	-	"...Bottling	0	3	colorless
35.1	NPSS		-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	16	green, partial finish
35.1	NPSS		-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-	[x with	0	1	colorless, partial base
35.1	NPSS		-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Tile	Ceramic	earthenware		0	5	mottled blue
35.1	NPSS		-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Window	Glass	-		0	41	
35.1	NPSS		-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Caulk	Unknown	-		0	1	painted yellow
35.1	NPSS		-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Tile	Ceramic	eathenware		0	1	
35.1	NPSS		-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Nail	Non-	-		0	5	
35.1	NPSS		-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Bolt	Non-	-		1	0	bolt and nut rusted
35.1	NPSS		-	Industrial	Electric	-	Insulator	Glass	-		1		milk glass
35.1	NPSS		-	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Tableware -	Ceramic	ironstone		0	3	
35.1	NPSS		-	Domestic	Food	Teaset	Saucer	Ceramic	whiteware		0	2	
35.1	NPSS		-	Domestic	Food	Teaset	Cup	Ceramic	porcelain		0	2	green slip
35.1	NPSS		-	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Cup	Ceramic	earthenware		0	4	ironstone?
35.1	NPSS		-	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Plate	Ceramic	earthenware		0	1	banded green
35.1	NPSS		-	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Plate	Ceramic	earthenware		0	3	banded black,
35.1	NPSS		-	Domestic	Food	Teaset	Saucer	Ceramic	refined		0	2	lusterware, bone china?
35.1	NPSS		-	Domestic	Food	Kitchen	Crock	Ceramic	stoneware		0	4	salt glaze
35.1	NPSS		-	Domestic	Food	Kitchen	Crock	Ceramic	stoneware		0	2	salt glaze exterior &
35.1	NPSS		-	Personal	Furnishings	Decorativ	Vase	Glass	-		0	1	colorless, cut glass

Bag No.	Provienence	Level	Feature	Group	Category	Type	Description	Material	Ware	Mark	Whole Ct.	Frag. Ct.	Remarks
35.1	NPSS		-	Personal	Furnishings	Container	Chamberpot	Ceramic	ironstone		0	1	rim
35.1	NPSS		-	Personal	Furnishings	Unknown	-	Ceramic	earthenware		0	1	toilet? Sink? Industrial
35.1	NPSS		-	Personal	Grooming/H	Container	Cream/Creme	Glass	-	"32"	1	0	milk glass cold cream
35.1	NPSS		-	Activities	Hardware	-	-	Non-	-		1	0	machine part?
35.1	NPSS		-	Unknown	Misc. Metal	Unknown	Metal -	Non-	-		0	1	
35.1	NPSS		-	Unknown	Misc. Metal	Unknown	Metal -	Non-	-		0	9	
35.1	NPSS		-	Personal	Social Drugs	Container	Alcoholic-	Glass	-	"N" {inside	0	4	crosshatch motif
35.1	NPSS		-	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	-	Plastic	-		0	1	yellow
35.1	NPSS		-	Domestic	Unknown	Unknown	Glass -	Glass	-		0	41	colorless
35.1	NPSS		-	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	-	Ceramic	earthenware		0	1	
35.1	NPSS		-	Domestic	Unknown	Unknown	-	Ceramic	earthenware		0	4	
35.1	NPSS		-	Domestic	Unknown	Unknown	Glass -	Glass	-		0	2	aqua
35.1	NPSS		-	Domestic	Unknown	Unknown	Glass -	Glass	-		0	3	green
35.1	NPSS		-	Domestic	Unknown	Unknown	Glass -	Glass	-		0	2	blue
35.1	NPSS		-	Domestic	Unknown	Unknown	-	Ceramic	yellowware		0	1	mottled brown
36.1	35S	A	5	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Brick	Brick	-		0	1	
36.1	35S	A	5	Unknown	Misc. Metal	Unknown	Metal -	Non-	-		0	1	
36.1	35S	A	5	Unknown	Misc. Metal	Unknown	Metal -	Non-	-		0	1	
55.1	35S	A	9	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	1	
55.1	35S	A	9	Industrial	-	-	Sewer Pipe	Ceramic	coarse		0	10	
55.1	35S	A	9	Industrial	-	-	Sewer Pipe	Ceramic	coarse		0	1	

Bag No.	Provienence	Level	Feature	Group	Category	Type	Description	Material	Ware	Mark	Whole Ct.	Frag. Ct.	Remarks
55.1	35S	A	9	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Window	Glass	-		0	1	
55.1	35S	A	9	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Mortar	Combined	-		0	1	
55.1	35S	A	9	Faunal	Bone	Animal	Animal	Faunal	-		0	13	
55.1	35S	A	9	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Tableware -	Ceramic	whiteware		0	1	transfer print red
55.1	35S	A	9	Domestic	Heating/Lig	Lamp	Globe	Glass	-		0	1	colorless
55.1	35S	A	9	Domestic	Unknown	Unknown	Glass -	Glass	-		0	1	green
55.1	35S	A	9	Domestic	Unknown	Unknown	Glass -	Glass	-		0	4	colorless
55.1	35S	A	9	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	-	Unknown	-		0	20	
6.2	35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-	"...OU..."	0	1	colorless
6.2	35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-	"...H..."	0	1	colorless
6.2	35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-	"FORBID...	0	1	colorless
6.2	35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-	"...PIN..."	0	1	colorless
6.2	35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	1	colorless, partial finish
6.2	35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Milk Bottle	Glass	-		0	1	colorless, partial finish
6.2	35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-	"...YORK..."	0	1	colorless, partial base
6.2	35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-	"F" [inside	0	1	colorless, partial base
6.2	35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-	"PA" / "4	0	1	colorless, partial base
6.2	35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-	"	0	1	colorless, partial base
6.2	35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-	"2 5" / "2"	0	2	colorless, complete
6.2	35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	7	colorless, parital bottle
6.2	35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	31	brown, partial base and

Bag No.	Provienence	Level	Feature	Group	Category	Type	Description	Material	Ware	Mark	Whole Ct.	Frag. Ct.	Remarks
6.2	35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-	"N"[inside	0	23	brown
6.2	35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	6	aqua
6.2	35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	6	colorless, partial finishes
6.2	35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	1	colorless, partial finish
6.2	35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	6	cobalt
6.2	35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Soda-pop	Glass	-	"ozs."	0	2	Coke bottle
6.2	35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Milk Bottle	Glass	-		0	8	colorless, partial base
6.2	35S	1	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Hinge	Non-	-		1	0	door hinge
6.2	35S	1	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Window	Glass	-		0	41	colorless
6.2	35S	1	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Nail	Non-	-		0	18	
6.2	35S	1	-	Faunal	Bone	Animal	Animal	Faunal	-		0	68	butcher marks
6.2	35S	1	-	Faunal	Bone	Fish	Animal	Faunal	-		1	11	vertebrae
6.2	35S	1	-	Personal	Clothing	Fastener	Eyelet	Non-	-		1	0	
6.2	35S	1	-	Personal	Clothing	Fastener	Button	Faunal	-		4	0	shell; 3 w/ 2 holes & 1
6.2	35S	1	-	Personal	Clothing	Fastener	Button	Faunal	-		1	0	bone? 2 holes
6.2	35S	1	-	Personal	Clothing	Fastener	Button	Plastic	-		1	0	2 holes
6.2	35S	1	-	Personal	Clothing	Fastener	Button	Glass	-		1		4 holed
6.2	35S	1	-	Personal	Clothing	-	Hanger	Non-	-		0	1	
6.2	35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Container	Can	Non-	-		2	1	can pull tabs
6.2	35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Tableware -	Ceramic	refined		0	1	peach slip
6.2	35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Tableware -	Ceramic	whiteware		0	8	

Bag No.	Provienence	Level	Feature	Group	Category	Type	Description	Material	Ware	Mark	Whole Ct.	Frag. Ct.	Remarks
6.2	35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Plate	Ceramic	refined		0	2	rim, porcelain?
6.2	35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Plate	Ceramic	pearlware		0	2	
6.2	35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Plate	Ceramic	whiteware		0	1	partial footring
6.2	35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Tableware -	Ceramic	whiteware		0	1	molded motif, pink slip
6.2	35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Tableware -	Ceramic	refined		0	1	ploychrome floral
6.2	35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Drinking	Tumbler	Glass	-		0	1	green, rim sherd
6.2	35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Tableware -	Ceramic	refined		0	1	green slip
6.2	35S	1	-	Personal	Furnishings	Decorativ	Hook	Non-	-		0	1	picture hanger
6.2	35S	1	-	Personal	Furnishings	Music	record	Plastic	-		0	1	
6.2	35S	1	-	Activities	Games	-	Domino	Ceramic	-		0	1	
6.2	35S	1	-	Personal	Hardware	-	Key	Non-	-		1	0	
6.2	35S	1	-	Domestic	Heating/Lig	Lamp	Light Bulb	Combined	-		0	2	threaded base, metal
6.2	35S	1	-	Indefinite	Misc.	Closure	Latch	Non-	-		0	1	
6.2	35S	1	-	Unknown	Misc.	Unknown	Cap	Plastic	-		1	0	bakolite screw top cap
6.2	35S	1	-	Unknown	Misc. Metal	Unknown	Metal -	Non-	-		0	9	
6.2	35S	1	-	Domestic	Misc. Metal	-	-	Non-	-		1	0	faucet filter
6.2	35S	1	-	Undefined	Misc. Metal	Unknown	Metal -	Non-	-		0	300	more then 300 items
6.2	35S	1	-	Indefinite	Misc. Metal	Animal	Horseshoe	Non-	-		0	1	
6.2	35S	1	-	Unknown	Misc. Metal	Unknown	Metal -	Non-	-		0	1	
6.2	35S	1	-	Faunal	Shell	Shellfish	Clam	Faunal	-		0	6	
6.2	35S	1	-	Activities	Tools	-	Screwdriver	Non-	-		0	1	shaft only, no handle

Bag No.	Provienence	Level	Feature	Group	Category	Type	Description	Material	Ware	Mark	Whole Ct.	Frag. Ct.	Remarks
6.2	35S	I	-	Activities	Toys	Toys	Figurine	Plastic	-		0	2	yellow, head of toy
6.2	35S	I	-	Activities	Transportat	Automoti	Lens	Glass	-		0	1	red, car brake light
6.2	35S	I	-	Domestic	Unknown	Unknown	-	Ceramic	refined		0	6	industrial porcelain,
6.2	35S	I	-	Domestic	Unknown	Unknown	Glass -	Glass	-		0	21	green
6.2	35S	I	-	Domestic	Unknown	Unknown	Glass -	Glass	-		0	1	black, plate rim?
6.2	35S	I	-	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	-	Plastic	-		0	1	red
6.2	35S	I	-	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	-	Plastic	-		0	1	bakolite? yellow and
6.2	35S	I	-	Domestic	Unknown	Unknown	Glass -	Glass	-		0	2	colorless, ribbed surface
6.2	35S	I	-	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	-	Plastic	-		0	5	various bakolite
6.2	35S	I	-	Domestic	Unknown	Unknown	Glass -	Glass	-		0	310	colorless
6.3	35S	I	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-	"...E..."	0	2	
6.3	35S	I	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-	"IIDI..." /	0	1	
6.3	35S	I	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-	"10 - 8"	0	1	
6.3	35S	I	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	23	colorless
6.3	35S	I	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	2	threaded partial finish
6.3	35S	I	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	1	partial finish; milk
6.3	35S	I	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	6	green
6.3	35S	I	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	1	red & white painted
6.3	35S	I	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	1	blue; partial lip
6.3	35S	I	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-	'...FORB..."	0	12	brown; partial base
6.3	35S	I	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	2	milk glass

Bag No.	Provienence	Level	Feature	Group	Category	Type	Description	Material	Ware	Mark	Whole Ct.	Frag. Ct.	Remarks
6.3	35S	I	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-	"OR RE -	0	1	
6.3	35S	I	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Wire Nail	Non-	-		0	4	
6.3	35S	I	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Screw	Non-	-		0	1	
6.3	35S	I	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Nail	Non-	-		0	7	
6.3	35S	I	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Window	Glass	-		0	13	
6.3	35S	I	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Mortar	Combined	-		0	1	
6.3	35S	I	-	Faunal	Bone	Animal	Animal	Faunal	-		0	35	
6.3	35S	I	-	Personal	Clothing	Jewelry	Bead	Glass	-		2	0	1 yellow & 1 white
6.3	35S	I	-	Personal	Clothing	Unknown	Fabric	Unknown	-		0	1	gray; sweater?
6.3	35S	I	-	Personal	Clothing	-	-	Unknown	-		0	1	nylons w/ seam; tied in
6.3	35S	I	-	Personal	Clothing	Jewelry	Bead	Ceramic	-		1	0	white
6.3	35S	I	-	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Plate	Ceramic	pearlware		0	1	
6.3	35S	I	-	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Plate	Ceramic	whiteware		0	1	pink floral motif; rim
6.3	35S	I	-	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Tableware -	Ceramic	whiteware		0	1	orange slip
6.3	35S	I	-	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Plate	Ceramic	refined		0	1	pink floral motif
6.3	35S	I	-	Personal	Grooming/H	Container	Cream/Crème	Glass	-	"...DS"	0	3	Pond's Cold Cream Jar;
6.3	35S	I	-	Undefined	Misc. Metal	Unknown	Metal -	Non-	-		0	10	
6.3	35S	I	-	Unknown	Misc. Metal	Unknown	Metal -	Non-	-		0	1	thimble sized, bowl
6.3	35S	I	-	Domestic	Unknown	Unknown	Glass -	Glass	-		0	38	colorless
6.3	35S	I	-	Domestic	Unknown	Unknown	Glass -	Glass	-		0	5	various motifs
6.3	35S	I	-	Domestic	Unknown	Unknown	Glass -	Glass	-		0	1	peach; molded motif

Bag No.	Provienence	Level	Feature	Group	Category	Type	Description	Material	Ware	Mark	Whole Ct.	Frag. Ct.	Remarks
6.3	35S	1	-	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	-	Plastic	-		0	4	marbled yellow & gray
6.3	35S	1	-	Domestic	Unknown	Unknown	-	Ceramic	-		0	1	industrial porcelain
6.3	35S	1	-	Domestic	Unknown	Unknown	Bottle/Jar	Glass	-		0	3	aqua
62.1	35S	3	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	1	brown
62.1	35S	3	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Tile	Ceramic	redware		0	1	roofing tile
62.1	35S	3	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Tile	Ceramic	-		0	2	
62.1	35S	3	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Window	Glass	-		0	9	
62.1	35S	3	-	Faunal	Bone	Animal	Animal	Faunal	-		0	20	
62.1	35S	3	-	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Tableware -	Ceramic	whiteware		0	6	floral decal, banded black
62.1	35S	3	-	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Tableware -	Ceramic	yellowware		0	2	
62.1	35S	3	-	Unknown	Misc. Metal	Unknown	Metal -	Non-	-		0	20	
62.1	35S	3	-	Faunal	Shell	Shellfish	Shell -	Faunal	-		0	2	
62.1	35S	3	-	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	-	Unknown	-		0	1	
72.1	35S	A	11	Domestic	-	-	Cap	Non-	-		0	1	bottle cap
72.1	35S	A	11	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	3	brown
72.1	35S	A	11	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Window	Glass	-		0	4	
72.1	35S	A	11	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Tile	Ceramic	earthenware		0	1	
72.1	35S	A	11	Unknown	Misc. Metal	Unknown	Metal -	Non-	-		0	3	
72.1	35S	A	11	Faunal	Shell	Shellfish	Shell -	Faunal	-		0	1	mother of pearl?
72.1	35S	A	11	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Spring	Non-	-		0	2	
72.1	35S	A	11	Domestic	Unknown	Unknown	Glass -	Glass	-		0	2	colorless

Bag No.	Provienence	Level	Feature	Group	Category	Type	Description	Material	Ware	Mark	Whole Ct.	Frag. Ct.	Remarks
74.1	35S	B	4	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Tile	Ceramic	redware		0	1	
74.1	35S	B	4	Faunal	Bone	Animal	Animal	Faunal	-		0	2	
74.1	35S	B	4	Unknown	Misc. Metal	Unknown	Metal -	Non-	-		0	10	
74.1	35S	B	4	Domestic	Unknown	Unknown	Glass -	Glass	-		0	1	green
74.1	35S	B	4	Domestic	Unknown	Unknown	Glass -	Glass	-		0	1	colorless
77.1	35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	6	green, base
77.1	35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	12	brown
77.1	35S	1	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Brick	Brick	-		0	2	
77.1	35S	1	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Window	Glass	-		0	30	colorless
77.1	35S	1	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Tile	Ceramic	earthenware		0	1	
77.1	35S	1	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Wire Nail	Non-	-		0	7	
77.1	35S	1	-	Faunal	Bone	Animal	Animal	Faunal	-		0	2	
77.1	35S	1	-	Personal	Clothing	Fastener	Button	Non-	-		1	0	painted
77.1	35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Container	Can	Non-	-		0	2	
77.1	35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Tableware -	Ceramic	whiteware		0	7	
77.1	35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Plate	Ceramic	whiteware		0	1	rim, banded black
77.1	35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Plate	Ceramic	refined	"O.P C ..."	0	1	
77.1	35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Plate	Ceramic	Rockingham		0	1	
77.1	35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Teaset	Cup	Ceramic	porcelain?		0	4	
77.1	35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Kitchen	Jug	Ceramic	-		0	4	white, salt-glazed
77.1	35S	1	-	Personal	Furnishings	Furniture	Drawer Pull	Non-	-		0	3	articulating, floral motif

Bag No.	Provienence	Level	Feature	Group	Category	Type	Description	Material	Ware	Mark	Whole Ct.	Frag. Ct.	Remarks
77.1	35S	1	-	Unknown	Misc. Metal	Unknown	Metal -	Non-	-		0	48	
77.1	35S	1	-	Personal	Social Drugs	Container	Cap	Plastic	-		0	1	
77.1	35S	1	-	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Glass -	Glass	-		0	1	purple
77.1	35S	1	-	Domestic	Unknown	Unknown	Glass -	Glass	-		0	3	milk glass
77.1	35S	1	-	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Glass -	Glass	-		0	7	aqua
77.1	35S	1	-	Domestic	Unknown	Unknown	Glass -	Glass	-		0	1	cut glass
77.1	35S	1	-	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Glass -	Glass	-		0	4	colorless
77.2	35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	6	brown
77.2	35S	1	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Window	Glass	-		0	49	
77.2	35S	1	-	Personal	Clothing	Fastener	Button	Glass	-		1	0	milk glass, 2 holes
77.2	35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Tableware -	Ceramic	refined		0	1	decal floral patter
77.2	35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Tableware -	Ceramic	porcelain?		0	1	
77.2	35S	1	-	Personal	Furnishings	Decorativ	Figurine	Ceramic	refined		0	1	head, porcelain?
77.2	35S	1	-	Personal	Grooming/H	Container	Jar	Glass	-		0	3	powder jar?, cut glass
77.2	35S	1	-	Unknown	Misc. Metal	Unknown	Metal -	Non-	-		0	51	
77.2	35S	1	-	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Glass -	Glass	-		0	2	aqua
77.2	35S	1	-	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Glass -	Glass	-		0	4	green
77.2	35S	1	-	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Glass -	Glass	-		0	17	colorless
77.2	35S	1	-	Activities	Writing	-	-	Non-	-		0	1	pen nib?
77.3	35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	4	brown
77.3	35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-	"12 [circle	0	2	colorless, base

Bag No.	Provienence	Level	Feature	Group	Category	Type	Description	Material	Ware	Mark	Whole Ct.	Frag. Ct.	Remarks
77.3	35S	I	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Window	Glass	-		0	2	
77.3	35S	I	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Doorknob	Ferrous	-		1	0	brass
77.3	35S	I	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Brick	Brick	-		0	1	
77.3	35S	1	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Wire Nail	Non-	-		0	7	
77.3	35S	1	-	Faunal	Bone	Animal	Animal	Faunal	-		0	13	
77.3	35S	1	-	Personal	Clothing	Fastener	Button	Faunal	-		2	0	two holes, shell
77.3	35S	1	-	Personal	Grooming/H	Toiletry	Bottle	Glass	-	"Wright's"	0	6	colorless, base and
77.3	35S	1	-	Unknown	Misc. Metal	Unknown	Metal -	Non-	-		0	50	more than 50
77.3	35S	1	-	Domestic	Unknown	Unknown	Glass -	Glass	-		0	2	colorless, cut glass
77.3	35S	I	-	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Glass -	Glass	-		0	1	green
77.3	35S	I	-	Undefined	Unknown	Unknown	Glass -	Glass	-		0	3	colorless
82.1	0 35S	I	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	34	brown, 1 finish
82.1	0 35S	I	-	Industrial	-	-	Sewer Pipe	Ceramic	stoneware		0	1	
82.1	0 35S	I	-	Unknown	-	-	Glass -	Glass	-		0	4	milk glass
82.1	0 35S	I	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	11	partial finishes and bases
82.1	0 35S	I	-	Unknown	-	-	Glass -	Glass	-		0	1	red
82.1	0 35S	I	-	Unknown	-	-	Glass -	Glass	-		0	1	blue
82.1	0 35S	I	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-	"G" / "e"	0	1	base
82.1	0 35S	I	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	44	green, partial finish
82.1	0 35S	I	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-	"...LE"	0	1	partial base
82.1	0 35S	I	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Window	Glass	-		0	52	

Bag No.	Provienence	Level	Feature	Group	Category	Type	Description	Material	Ware	Mark	Whole Ct.	Frag. Ct.	Remarks
82.1	0 35S	1	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Cut Nail	Ferrous	-		2	0	
82.1	0 35S	1	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Wire Nail	Ferrous	-		1	0	
82.1	0 35S	1	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Nail	Ferrous	-		3	0	
82.1	0 35S	1	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Brick	Brick	-		0	1	
82.1	0 35S	1	-	Faunal	Bone	Animal	Femur	Faunal	-		0	1	butcher marks
82.1	0 35S	1	-	Personal	Clothing	-	Hat Pin	Ferrous	-		1	0	
82.1	0 35S	1	-	Personal	Clothing	Jewelry	Bead	Glass	-		1	0	red
82.1	0 35S	1	-	Industrial	Electric	-	Fuse	Combined	-	"23"	0	2	ceramic and metal
82.1	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Undefined	Ceramic	refined		0	11	rim, banded orange and
82.1	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Kitchen	Undefined	Ceramic	redware		0	1	
82.1	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Kitchen	Undefined	Ceramic	stoneware		0	1	Clear glaze
82.1	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Undefined	Ceramic	whiteware		0	1	
82.1	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Undefined	Ceramic	whiteware		0	19	Floral decal pink &
82.1	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Kitchen	Undefined	Ceramic	stoneware		0	1	Albany Slip
82.1	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Kitchen	Undefined	Ceramic	stoneware		0	1	
82.1	0 35S	1	-	Personal	Social Drugs	-	Wine Bottle	Glass	-		0	1	olive green base
82.1	0 35S	1	-	Activities	Tools	-	socket	Faunal	-		1	0	socket for socket wrench
82.1	0 35S	1	-	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Glass -	Glass	-		0	4	aqua
82.1	0 35S	1	-	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Metal -	Ferrous	-		0	9	
82.1	0 35S	1	-	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Glass -	Glass	-		0	84	
82.2	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	1	complete finish,

Bag No.	Provienence	Level	Feature	Group	Category	Type	Description	Material	Ware	Mark	Whole Ct.	Frag. Ct.	Remarks
82.2	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-	"D[illegible	0	1	colorless
82.2	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Chamberpot	Ceramic	ironstone?		0	2	transfer print blue
82.2	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	1	complete finish,
82.2	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Mineral-water	Glass	-		0	7	aqua
82.2	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	1	partial finish, colorless
82.2	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	1	partial finish, aqua
82.2	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	1	partial lip, colorless
82.2	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-	"J60"	0	2	aqua, partial base
82.2	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	1	partial lip, aqua
82.2	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-	"Rex"	0	1	colorless, partial base
82.2	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	8	colorless
82.2	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	11	aqua
82.2	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	1	complete finish,
82.2	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	3	aqua, partial base
82.2	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	14	brown, partial finish
82.2	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	12	green
82.2	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-	"...EDE..."	0	1	colorless
82.2	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-	"LOW" /	0	1	colorless
82.2	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-	"...AY..."	0	1	colorless
82.2	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-	"...& P..."	0	2	colorless
82.2	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-	"NEW	0	2	colorless

Bag No.	Provienence	Level	Feature	Group	Category	Type	Description	Material	Ware	Mark	Whole Ct.	Frag. Ct.	Remarks
82.2	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	9	finish & base, colorless,
82.2	0 35S	1	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Tile	Ceramic	earthenware		0	1	
82.2	0 35S	1	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Wire Nail	Non-	-		6	0	
82.2	0 35S	1	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Window	Glass	-		0	49	
82.2	0 35S	1	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Tile	Ceramic	refined		0	1	
82.2	0 35S	1	-	Faunal	Bone	Animal	Animal	Faunal	-		0	26	some calcined
82.2	0 35S	1	-	Faunal	Bone	Animal	Animal	Faunal	-		0	2	butcher marks
82.2	0 35S	1	-	Personal	Clothing	Fastener	Garter Buckle	Non-	-		0	1	
82.2	0 35S	1	-	Personal	Clothing	Fastener	Garter Buckle	Non-	-		0	1	
82.2	0 35S	1	-	Personal	Clothing	Unknown	Cloth	Unknown	-		0	1	sweater?
82.2	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Teaset	Teaware -	Ceramic	porcelain		0	1	orange slip
82.2	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Tableware -	Ceramic	ironstone		0	1	
82.2	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Plate	Ceramic	whiteware		0	1	floral decal brown and
82.2	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Tableware -	Ceramic	refined		0	1	clear glaze
82.2	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Tableware -	Ceramic	refined		0	1	clear glaze
82.2	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Teaset	Cup	Ceramic	porcelain		0	1	rim, blue glaze
82.2	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Tableware -	Ceramic	whiteware		0	2	transfer print brown
82.2	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Teaset	Cup	Ceramic	porcelain		0	1	Blue and purple
82.2	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Plate	Ceramic	refined		0	4	
82.2	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Tableware -	Ceramic	whiteware		0	6	burned
82.2	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Tableware -	Ceramic	ironstone		0	1	

Bag No.	Provienence	Level	Feature	Group	Category	Type	Description	Material	Ware	Mark	Whole Ct.	Frag. Ct.	Remarks
82.2	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Teaset	Saucer	Ceramic	porcelain		0	2	
82.2	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Teaset	Saucer	Ceramic	porcelain		0	4	rim sherds, floral
82.2	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Drinking	Stemware	Glass	-		0	2	articulating fragments,
82.2	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Kitchen	Undefined	Ceramic	stoneware		0	1	salt glaze
82.2	0 35S	1	-	Personal	Furnishings	Decorativ	Flowerpot	Ceramic	refined		0	29	painted green and yellow
82.2	0 35S	1	-	Personal	Grooming/H	-	Medicine	Glass	-		0	1	colorless, complete
82.2	0 35S	1	-	Personal	Grooming/H	Toiletry	Perfume Bottle	Glass	-		1	0	perfume bottle stopper
82.2	0 35S	1	-	Personal	Grooming/H	-	Ointment	Glass	-	"ENT" /	0	1	colorless, complete
82.2	0 35S	1	-	Personal	Grooming/H	-	Medicine	Glass	-	"...urly	0	1	plate embossed
82.2	0 35S	1	-	Personal	Grooming/H	-	Medicine	Glass	-	"W.B.M.	0	1	brown, partial complete
82.2	0 35S	1	-	Unknown	Misc. Metal	Unknown	Metal -	Non-	-		0	19	
82.2	0 35S	1	-	Personal	Social Drugs	-	Wine Bottle	Glass	-		0	2	olive, partial base &
82.2	0 35S	1	-	Activities	Toys	Teaset	Cup	Ceramic	whiteware		1	0	
82.2	0 35S	1	-	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Glass -	Glass	-		0	95	colorless
82.2	0 35S	1	-	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Undefined	Glass	-		0	3	milkglass
82.2	0 35S	1	-	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	-	Glass	-		0	2	burned
82.2	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	Unknown	Tableware	Tableware -	Ceramic	ironstone		0	1	
82.2	0 35S	1	-	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	-	Glass	-		0	1	colorless
82.2	0 35S	1	-	Activities	Writing	Container	Ink Bottle	Glass	-		1	0	colorless
82.3	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	12	brown
82.3	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	7	green

Bag No.	Provienence	Level	Feature	Group	Category	Type	Description	Material	Ware	Mark	Whole Ct.	Frag. Ct.	Remarks
82.3	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-	"...RE..."	0	1	
82.3	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-	"...CE..."	0	1	
82.3	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	11	bases and fragments
82.3	0 35S	1	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Tile	Ceramic	earthenware		0	3	
82.3	0 35S	1	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Window	Glass	-		0	56	
82.3	0 35S	1	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Brick	Brick	-		0	1	
82.3	0 35S	1	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Window	Glass	-		0	2	purple
82.3	0 35S	1	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Nail	Non-	-		8	0	rusted
82.3	0 35S	1	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Cut Nail	Non-	-		2	0	
82.3	0 35S	1	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Tile	Ceramic	earthenware	"...s."	0	1	
82.3	0 35S	1	-	Faunal	Bone	Animal	Animal	Faunal	-		0	59	butcher marks & l
82.3	0 35S	1	-	Faunal	Bone	Animal	Animal	Faunal	-		0	2	calcined
82.3	0 35S	1	-	Personal	Clothing	-	Button	Combined	-		1	0	metal & bakolite
82.3	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Teaset	Cup	Ceramic	porcelain		0	1	handpainted
82.3	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Tableware -	Ceramic	whiteware		0	17	
82.3	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Kitchen	Undefined	Ceramic	stoneware		0	12	Albany slip
82.3	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Kitchen	Undefined	Ceramic	stoneware		0	1	salt glaze, brown
82.3	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Tableware -	Ceramic	yellowware		0	1	
82.3	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Plate	Ceramic	whiteware		0	1	transfer print red &
82.3	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Teaset	Saucer	Ceramic	whiteware		0	1	handpainted blue
82.3	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Kitchen	Bowl	Ceramic	stoneware		0	3	Albany slip

Bag No.	Provienence	Level	Feature	Group	Category	Type	Description	Material	Ware	Mark	Whole Ct.	Frag. Ct.	Remarks
82.3	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Plate	Ceramic	porcelain		0	6	floral decoration
82.3	0 35S	1	-	Unknown	Misc. Metal	Unknown	Metal -	Non-	-		0	100	rusted
82.3	0 35S	1	-	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Glass -	Glass	-		0	63	
82.3.	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Kitchen	Undefined	Ceramic	earthenware		0	3	rim
82.4	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	14	brown
82.4	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	1	partial neck and
82.4	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	2	finish
82.4	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	5	colorless
82.4	0 35S	1	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Tile	Ceramic	earthenware	"Pat. June	0	1	Black slip
82.4	0 35S	1	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Wire Nail	Non-	-		0	1	
82.4	0 35S	1	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Cut Nail	Non-	-		0	2	
82.4	0 35S	1	-	Industrial	Architectural	Structural	Sewer Pipe	Ceramic	stoneware		0	1	
82.4	0 35S	1	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Nail	Non-	-		0	8	
82.4	0 35S	1	-	Structural	Architectural	Arch	Tile	Ceramic	earthenware		0	1	yellow
82.4	0 35S	1	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Tile	Ceramic	earthenware	"...ETC o."	0	1	white
82.4	0 35S	1	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Window	Glass	-		0	25	
82.4	0 35S	1	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Tile	Ceramic	earthenware	"...LIS I..."	0	1	brown
82.4	0 35S	1	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Screw	Non-	-		0	1	
82.4	0 35S	1	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Tile	Ceramic	earthenware		0	1	brown
82.4	0 35S	1	-	Faunal	Bone	Animal	Animal	Faunal	-		0	92	
82.4	0 35S	1	-	Personal	Clothing	Fastener	Garter Buckle	Non-	-	"Pat. Feb.	0	2	Paisley design

Bag No.	Provienence	Level	Feature	Group	Category	Type	Description	Material	Ware	Mark	Whole Ct.	Frag. Ct.	Remarks
82.4	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Cup	Ceramic	earthenware		0	3	ironstone?
82.4	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Tableware -	Ceramic	yellowware		0	1	
82.4	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Bowl	Ceramic	whitware		0	1	transfer print brown
82.4	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Tableware -	Ceramic	whiteware		0	18	
82.4	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Tablet	Ceramic	porcelain		0	4	
82.4	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Bowl	Ceramic	yellowware		0	1	clear glaze, mottled
82.4	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Drinking	Tumbler	Glass	-		0	2	colorless
82.4	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Teaset	Saucer	Ceramic	whiteware		0	2	rim sherds, transfer
82.4	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Kitchen	Undefined	Ceramic	stoneware		0	5	Albany glaze
82.4	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Kitchen	Undefined	Ceramic	stoneware		0	1	Albany glaze, jug?
82.4	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Kitchen	Undefined	Ceramic	stoneware		0	1	Alabny glaze? Bowl?
82.4	0 35S	1	-	Personal	Furnishings	Decorativ	Flowerpot	Ceramic	redware		0	2	painted green
82.4	0 35S	1	-	Personal	Furnishings	Container	Chamberpot	Ceramic	ironstone?		0	1	rim sherd
82.4	0 35S	1	-	Unknown	Misc. Metal	Unknown	Metal -	Non-	-		0	8	rusted
82.4	0 35S	1	-	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Glass -	Glass	-		0	38	colorless
82.4	0 35S	1	-	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Glass -	Glass	-		0	1	ashtray? salt dish?
82.4	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	Unknown	Unknown	Undefined	Ceramic	earthenware		0	4	
82.5	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	2	mostly complete
82.5	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	5	brown
82.5	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	1	brown
82.5	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	6	Aqua

Bag No.	Provienence	Level	Feature	Group	Category	Type	Description	Material	Ware	Mark	Whole Ct.	Frag. Ct.	Remarks
82.5	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	2	aqua
82.5	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	4	colorless, burned
82.5	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	1	colorless, partial base
82.5	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-	"ER	0	16	complete? Colorless
82.5	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-	"...E..."	0	1	brown
82.5	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	1	colorless, finish, neck
82.5	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	1	colorless, partial base
82.5	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	1	colorless, finish, neck
82.5	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	1	colorless, partial finish
82.5	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	1	colorless, finish, neck
82.5	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	1	colorless, partial base
82.5	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		1	0	colorless
82.5	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	1	colorless, partial base
82.5	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	2	colorless, partial base
82.5	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	1	colorless, parital finish
82.5	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	1	colorless, finish &
82.5	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	1	colorless, partial neck
82.5	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	9	aqua, finish & neck
82.5	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	1	colorless, partial base
82.5	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	1	colorless, partial finish
82.5	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	2	aqua, finish, neck &

Bag No.	Provienence	Level	Feature	Group	Category	Type	Description	Material	Ware	Mark	Whole Ct.	Frag. Ct.	Remarks
82.5	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-	"W	0	1	colorless, partial base
82.5	0 35S	1	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Tile	Ceramic	redware		0	1	
82.5	0 35S	1	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Plaster	Ceramic	-		0	1	
82.5	0 35S	1	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Cut Nail	Non-	-		4	0	
82.5	0 35S	1	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Window	Glass	-		0	49	
82.5	0 35S	1	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Nail	Non-	-		0	7	rusted
82.5	0 35S	1	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Window	Glass	-		0	4	
82.5	0 35S	1	-	Faunal	Bone	Animal	Animal	Faunal	-		0	122	
82.5	0 35S	1	-	Faunal	Bone	Animal	Animal	Faunal	-		0	2	cow or pig tooth?
82.5	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Drinking	Tumbler	Glass	-		0	3	colorless, partial base
82.5	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Tableware -	Ceramic	refined		0	1	ironstone? Polychrome
82.5	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Cup	Ceramic	earthenware		0	1	ironstone?
82.5	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Plate	Ceramic	whiteware	illegible	0	1	
82.5	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Tableware -	Ceramic	whiteware	"Dres..."	0	2	
82.5	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Tableware -	Ceramic	porcelain		0	2	floral pattern green
82.5	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Teaset	Cup	Ceramic	refined		0	3	porcelain?
82.5	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Tableware -	Ceramic	whiteware		0	1	tranfer print red and
82.5	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Tableware -	Ceramic	refined		0	1	ironstone? transfer
82.5	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Drinking	Tumbler	Glass	-		0	7	colorless
82.5	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Tableware -	Ceramic	whiteware		0	9	
82.5	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Drinking	Tumbler	Glass	-		0	2	colorless

Bag No.	Provienence	Level	Feature	Group	Category	Type	Description	Material	Ware	Mark	Whole Ct.	Frag. Ct.	Remarks
82.5	0 35S	I	-	Domestic	Food	Teaset	Saucer	Ceramic	porcelain		0	1	
82.5	0 35S	I	-	Domestic	Food	Drinking	Tumbler	Glass	-		0	1	colorless, molded motif
82.5	0 35S	I	-	Domestic	Food	Kitchen	Bowl	Ceramic	stoneware		0	2	clear glaze
82.5	0 35S	I	-	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Bowl	Ceramic	whiteware		0	1	transfer print brown
82.5	0 35S	I	-	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Plate	Ceramic	refined		0	1	porcelain? scalloped
82.5	0 35S	I	-	Domestic	Food	Drinking	Tumbler	Glass	-		0	1	colorless, rim
82.5	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Drinking	Tumbler	Glass	-		0	1	colorless
82.5	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Drinking	Stemware	Glass	-		0	1	colorless, rim
82.5	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Drinking	Stemware	Glass	-		0	1	colorless, rim, wine
82.5	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Drinking	Tumbler	Glass	-		0	1	colorless, rim
82.5	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Kitchen	Undefined	Ceramic	stoneware		0	1	salt glaze
82.5	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	Food	Container	Lid Liner	Glass	-		0	1	milkglass
82.5	0 35S	1	-	Personal	Furnishings	Decorativ	Vase	Ceramic	porcelain		0	1	gilded, polychrome
82.5	0 35S	I	-	Personal	Furnishings	Container	Chamberpot	Ceramic	whiteware		0	1	whiteware
82.5	0 35S	I	-	Personal	Furnishings	Decorativ	Flowerpot	Ceramic	redware		0	5	painted green
82.5	0 35S	I	-	Personal	Furnishings	Container	Stopper	Glass	-		0	2	Decanter stopper
82.5	0 35S	I	-	Personal	Grooming/H	-	Pharmaceutic	Glass	-	"Conrad	1	0	colorless, plate embossed
82.5	0 35S	I	-	Personal	Grooming/H	-	Pharmaceutic	Glass	-	"...ers..."[s	0	2	colorless,embossed,
82.5	0 35S	I	-	Personal	Grooming/H	-	Pharmaceutic	Glass	-	"...F..."	0	2	colorless, embossed
82.5	0 35S	I	-	Domestic	Heating/Lig	Lamp	Globe	Glass	-		0	1	scalloped rim
82.5	0 35S	I	-	Unknown	Misc. Metal	Unknown	Metal -	Non-	-		0	26	rusted

Bag No.	Provienence	Level	Feature	Group	Category	Type	Description	Material	Ware	Mark	Whole Ct.	Frag. Ct.	Remarks
82.5	0 35S	1	-	Personal	Social Drugs	Container	Wine Bottle	Glass	-		0	5	olive green
82.5	0 35S	1	-	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Glass -	Glass	-		0	1	green, molded motif
82.5	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	Unknown	Unknown	Undefined	Ceramic	yellowware		0	1	everted rim, blue
82.5	0 35S	1	-	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Glass -	Glass	-		0	1	pastel green
82.5	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	Unknown	Unknown	Undefined	Ceramic	yellowware		0	1	clear glaze, mottled
82.5	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	Unknown	Unknown	Undefined	Ceramic	refined		0	23	
82.5	0 35S	1	-	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Glass -	Glass	-		0	1	colorless, molded motif
82.5	0 35S	1	-	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Glass -	Glass	-		0	1	colorless, molded motif
82.5	0 35S	1	-	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Glass -	Glass	-		0	1	colorless, scalloped
82.5	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	Unknown	Unknown	Bottle	Glass	-		0	105	colorless
82.5	0 35S	1	-	Domestic	Unknown	Unknown	Undefined	Ceramic	Redware		0	1	clear glaze
82.5	0 35S	1	-	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Glass -	Glass	-		0	32	colorless
89.1	35S	A	11	-	-	-	-	-	-		0	0	DISCARD- wall cleaning
96.1	35S	2	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Mortar	Combined	-		0	4	
96.1	35S	2	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Nail	Non-	-		0	11	
96.1	35S	2	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Cut Nail	Non-	-		0	1	
96.1	35S	2	-	Faunal	Bone	Animal	Animal	Faunal	-		0	12	
96.1	35S	2	-	Faunal	Bone	Animal	Animal	Faunal	-		0	1	partial mandible w/ teeth
96.1	35S	2	-	Personal	Clothing	Fastener	Button	Plastic	-		1	0	bakolite?
96.1	35S	2	-	Domestic	Food	Kitchen	Undefined	Ceramic	redware		0	1	clear glaze exterior,
96.1	35S	2	-	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Tableware -	Ceramic	yellowware		0	1	annular white and blue

Bag No.	Provienence	Level	Feature	Group	Category	Type	Description	Material	Ware	Mark	Whole Ct.	Frag. Ct.	Remarks
96.1	35S	2	-	Unknown	Misc. Metal	Unknown	Metal -	Non-	-		0	1	
96.1	35S	2	-	Faunal	Shell	Shellfish	Shell -	Faunal	-		0	1	
96.2	35S	2	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	2	green
96.2	35S	2	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Cut Nail	Non-	-		3	2	
96.2	35S	2	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Window	Glass	-		0	1	
96.2	35S	2	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Nail	Non-	-		0	10	
96.2	35S	2	-	Faunal	Bone	Animal	Animal	Faunal	-		0	24	
96.2	35S	2	-	Faunal	Bone	Bird	Animal	Faunal	-		0	1	beak
96.2	35S	2	-	Faunal	Bone	Animal	Animal	Faunal	-		0	4	ribs
96.2	35S	2	-	Faunal	Bone	Animal	Animal	Faunal	-		0	1	vertebrae
96.2	35S	2	-	Faunal	Bone	Animal	Animal	Faunal	-		1	1	vertebrae
96.2	35S	2	-	Faunal	Bone	Poultry	Animal	Faunal	-		0	3	leg & wing
96.2	35S	2	-	Faunal	Bone	Mammal	Animal	Faunal	-		0	1	hambone, butcher marks
96.2	35S	2	-	Faunal	Bone	Animal	Animal	Faunal	-		1	0	mandible w/ teeth,
96.2	35S	2	-	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Tableware -	Ceramic	ironstone?		0	3	
96.2	35S	2	-	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Plate	Ceramic	pearlware		0	5	
96.2	35S	2	-	Personal	Furnishings	Container	Chamberpot	Ceramic	whiteware		0	1	rim sherd
96.2	35S	2	-	Domestic	Heating/Lig	Lamp	Shade	Glass	-		0	1	colorless, hurricane
96.2	35S	2	-	Industrial	Misc. Metal	-	Part	Non-	-		0	1	car part?
96.2	35S	2	-	Personal	Social Drugs	Container	Wine Bottle	Glass	-		0	1	green
96.2	35S	2	-	Indefinite	Unknown	Unknown	Undefined	Faunal	-		0	1	leather strap

Bag No.	Provienence	Level	Feature	Group	Category	Type	Description	Material	Ware	Mark	Whole Ct.	Frag. Ct.	Remarks
96.2	35S	2	-	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Glass -	Glass	-		0	5	colorless
96.2	35S	2	-	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Glass -	Glass	-		0	3	colorless
98.1	0 35S	2	-	Domestic	-	-	Bottle	Glass	-		0	2	brown
98.1	0 35S	2	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Cut Nail	Non-	-		0	5	rusted
98.1	0 35S	2	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Nail	Non-	-		0	14	rusted
98.1	0 35S	2	-	Structural	Architectural	Structural	Window	Glass	-		0	2	
98.1	0 35S	2	-	Faunal	Bone	Animal	Animal	Faunal	-		0	17	butcher marks
98.1	0 35S	2	-	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Tableware -	Ceramic	porcelain		0	1	
98.1	0 35S	2	-	Domestic	Food	Kitchen	Undefined	Ceramic	redware		0	2	
98.1	0 35S	2	-	Domestic	Food	Tableware	Plate	Ceramic	pearlware		0	4	
98.1	0 35S	2	-	Unknown	Misc. Metal	Unknown	Metal -	Non-	-		0	15	rusted
98.1	0 35S	2	-	Personal	Social Drugs	-	pipe	Ceramic	refined		0	1	pipe stem fragment
98.1	0 35S	2	-	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Glass -	Glass	-		0	7	colorless

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