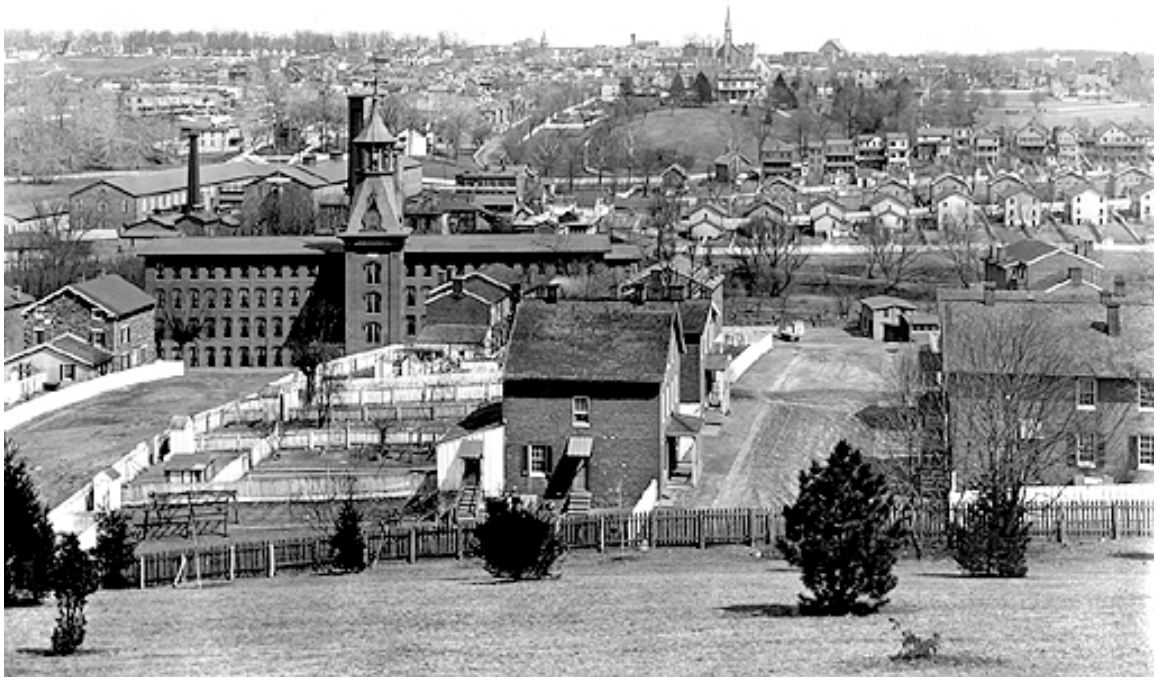

History from "The Bottom[1]" Up: A Research Design for Participatory Archaeology in Hampden - Woodberry, Baltimore, MD.

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Abstract:

Researchers Gadsby, Chidester, and Shackel of the Center for Heritage Resource Studies at the University of Maryland direct an ongoing archaeological research program in the Baltimore community of Hampden. Rather than defining research questions on our own, we have adopted a participatory research strategy that seeks to do history from the "bottom up" that includes input from members of the Hampden community throughout all phases of the archaeological process. With this strategy, we hope to help members of the Hampden community recover a sense of their neighborhood's heritage, and to enhance their political voices in the discourse around the rapidly gentrifying Hampden. Using a series of community history workshops as a starting point for laying out research objectives, this document outlines program goals as well as research objectives for work to be conducted in the summer of 2005.

Contents

Abstract **2**
Introduction: The Proposed Project **4**
Setting: Hampden Mapped in Geographic and Social Space **6**
Geographic Setting 6
Social Setting 6
Hampden in Time: History and Historians of Hampden **9**
Community Archaeology: A Review of Current Theory and Practice **13**
Theoretical Bases for Community Archaeology 13
Community Archaeology in Practice: Some Recent Projects 17
Pakbeh Regional Economy Program 17
New Philadelphia 18
The Ludlow Collective 18
A Research Design for Community Archaeology in Hampden **19**
Goals 19
Objectives 21
Project Design 22
Preliminary Research 23
Community History Workshops 23
Research Design Statement 23
In-Depth Historical Research 24
Public Archaeology Field Session 24
Artifact Processing and Analysis 25
Report Production and Public (Participatory) Interpretation 25
Community History Workshops: Some Results and Implications for Archaeological Fieldwork in Hampden **26**
Gentrification, Stability, and Social Change 28
Race and Racism on and off the Shop Floor 29
Class, Labor and Paternalism 30
Gender, Family and Work 31
Research Questions **32**
Methods **33**
Field and Laboratory Methods 34
Public Outreach Methods 36
Conclusion **37**
References Cited **37**

Introduction: The Proposed Project

This document constitutes an outline for the execution of a proposed participatory, or community-based, archaeology project in the Baltimore neighborhood of Hampden. The project will take the form of an archaeological field session directed at high school students in the Hampden neighborhood as well as area university students. The field session will take place over the course of six weeks in the summer of 2005. Trained historical archaeologists will instruct students and community volunteers in basic archaeological field and laboratory methods. Students and volunteers will perform controlled excavations at sites associated with Hampden mill workers, and will interpret their findings to the visiting public through site tours. Students and volunteers will also perform necessary post-field processing of artifacts and take an active part in interpreting finds for the production of a formal report.

Broadly, researchers hope to address two issues within the traditionally working-class Hampden community. First, Hampden is a community that has for nearly a century been characterized by a phenomenon that researchers have termed "residential stability," the tendency of families to remain in the community for generations. However, in the last decade, the community has begun to undergo a great deal of change, with new community members bringing greater affluence to the neighborhood. Researchers believe that an archaeological project would serve the community as a means of establishing a link between past and present, between heritage and current conditions in Hampden. Researchers consider this link between the past and present to be an important way to engage the community in a democratic manner that is sensitive to community

needs and values. Of particular concern is a growing gap between so-called "Old Hampden" – members of working class families who have been in the neighborhood for several decades – and "New Hampden" – new renters and homeowners in the community who are contributing to gentrification in the area. Growing diversity in the neighborhood, which has long been considered exclusively white and working class, is another issue that can be illuminated by public discussion.

Recent public history workshops conducted by the Center for Heritage Resource Studies at the University of Maryland with funding from the Maryland Humanities Council have begun this discussion already. Workshop participants have identified four major topics of concern in Hampden's history. Those topics are race, gender roles, class and labor heritage as well as gentrification and stability. These topics will dominate the research portion of the project and will provide a starting point for a public discourse about Hampden, its heritage, and its contemporary situation.

Second, researchers hope to address educational difficulties within the community. Hampden has a very high (between 35% and 65%) high school dropout rate. Recent efforts to establish a neighborhood high school have faltered due to financial crisis in Baltimore City Public Schools. A group of committed educators have formed, with very little city support, the Community Learning for Life High School Program, an innovative, internship-based secondary education program designed to serve Hampden youth at risk of leaving the public education system. A goal of the project is to partner with that program to provide a hands-on learning experience for neighborhood students that will pair them with college-student mentors. With the help of a Baltimore City summer jobs

program, the project seeks to employ these high school students in work that will build work skills and provide incentive to complete high school and continue their education.

Setting: Hampden Mapped in Geographic and Social Space

Geographic Setting

Hampden is located in central Baltimore, Maryland. The area is located in the piedmont region of central Maryland, just along the fall line to the coastal plain. It occupies a low ridge just north of and upstream from the confluence of the Jones Falls to the west, and its tributary Stony Run to the east, both of which ultimately drain into the Patapsco River and the Chesapeake Bay. Soils are typically of the Joppa, Legore and Manor Urban Land complexes, ranging in slope from 0%-15%, and while they are generally well drained, occasional flooding occurs in the lower portion of the Jones Falls Valley. Beirne (1976) considers the area to be geographically isolated by the rivers, a situation that has contributed to the social isolation and community stability that Hampden experienced for the first century and a half of its existence. The adjacent neighborhood of Woodberry is geographically similar, but lies on the west side of the Jones Falls.

Social Setting

Hampden is a predominantly white, working class urban neighborhood that is currently undergoing rapid gentrification. The USGS reports that as of the year 2000, the population of Hampden was 4,873. Just over 90% of those people reported themselves as being racially “white” (U.S. Census 2004). This is a notable statistic in a city with a 65% African-American population. The neighborhood is composed largely of row homes (or

town houses), some of which date as early as the 1840's, when they served as housing for workers in the mills that used to be an important part of Hampden's economy.

Only one textile mill still operates in the area. Much of Hampden's economic activity is now based around a series of shops and restaurants along 36th street, most of which sell home decorations, antiques, food, liquor, or books, as well as an assortment of convenience stores, pharmacies, hardware stores, dry cleaners, tax lawyers and so forth. These businesses represent a commercial renaissance for the neighborhood that has been underway for roughly a decade.

The commercial renaissance has attracted a number of new middle-class homebuyers to the area. Property values have risen precipitously (up to 160% in some parts of the neighborhood), and developers are targeting much of the area's available green space for new home construction. These changes have had a powerful impact on Hampden's traditional community. Many have expressed a sense of helplessness in the face of change, and some fear that the rising property taxes that accompany rising housing prices will force them out of homes that their family has owned for decades or generations. As one longtime resident says, since the start of gentrification, "there's nothing here for us anymore" (Juanita Morris, Personal Communication 2004).

A number of civic and social service organizations exist in Hampden to combat this feeling of helplessness, which goes along with a loss of political voice These include

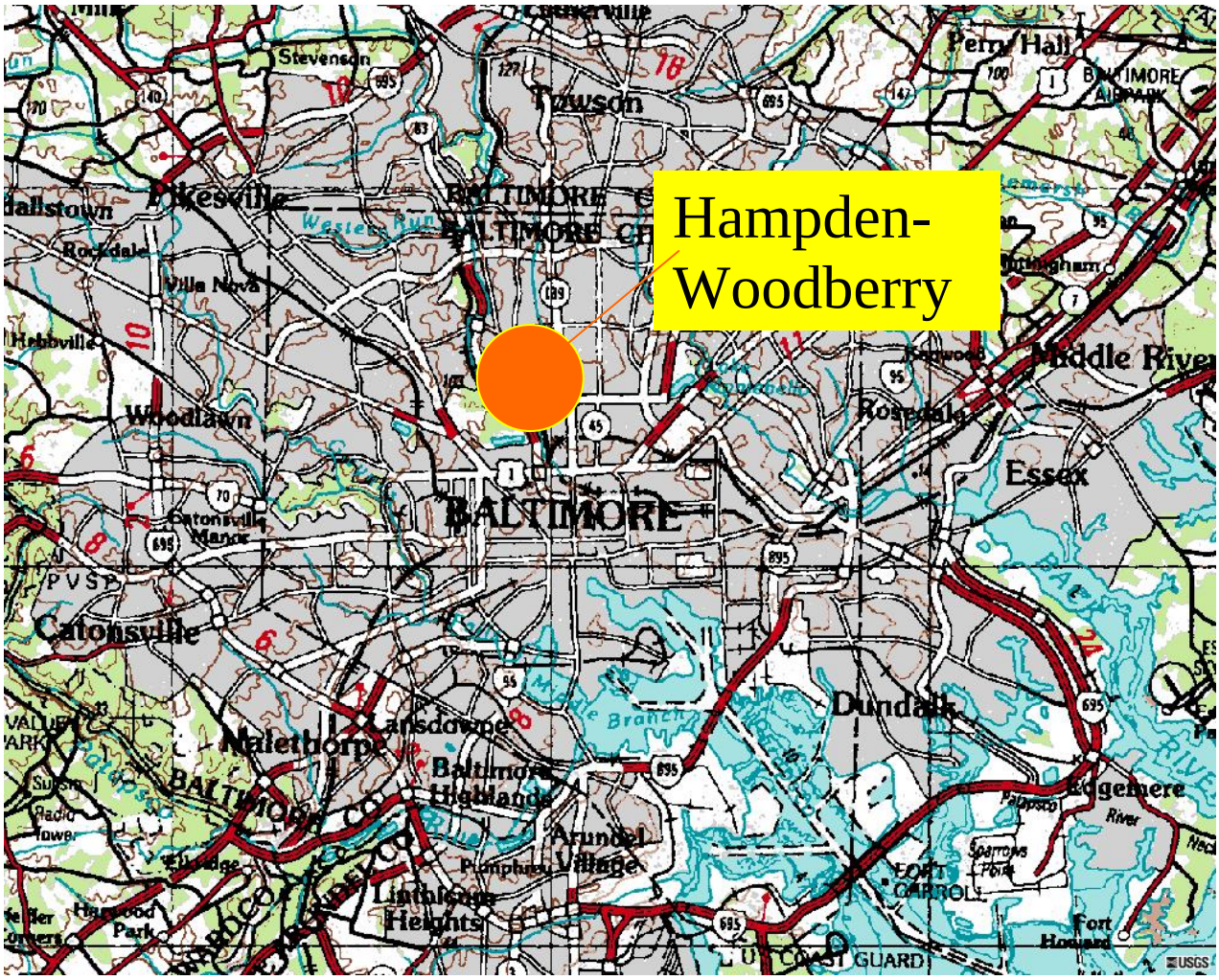


Figure 1: Hampden Location Map

The Hampden Community Council and The Hampden Family Center. Part of the foundation of the proposed archaeology project is community activism through heritage. Our hope is that as all Hampden residents become aware of the community's history, particularly its history of working-class struggle and labor heritage, that they will find grounds for a public discourse that includes all community members. The project is also designed to foster community pride by engaging the public in an ongoing study of the archaeological remains of everyday life there.

Hampden In Time: History and Historians of Hampden

Hampden-Woodberry is a community that plays host to a rich social history, a history that has been documented by numerous scholars and organizations (Beirne 1979,1989; Baltimore Neighborhood Heritage Project (BNHP) 1979; Bullock 1970; Hare 1989; Harvey 1991, 1988; Hollyday, 1994; McGrain1985). The neighborhood began the early years of the nineteenth century as a series of scattered villages designed to serve gristmills along the Jones Falls. The area actually consists of a number of neighborhoods including Medfield, Heathbrook, Hoe's Heights, Stone Hill and Hampden, a fact that reflects the fractured nature of the early years of its development (Beirne 1989). As the mills converted to the production of cotton duck, the early villages, located in or near the river valley adjacent to the mills, gradually expanded uphill, converging in the Hampden village area. The area gradually grew into a moderately sized and cohesive town community with a large, stable working population, mostly of western European descent (Beirne 1975: 86-87). Originally located in Baltimore County, the neighborhood was incorporated into the City of Baltimore in 1888 (Arnold 1978:188).

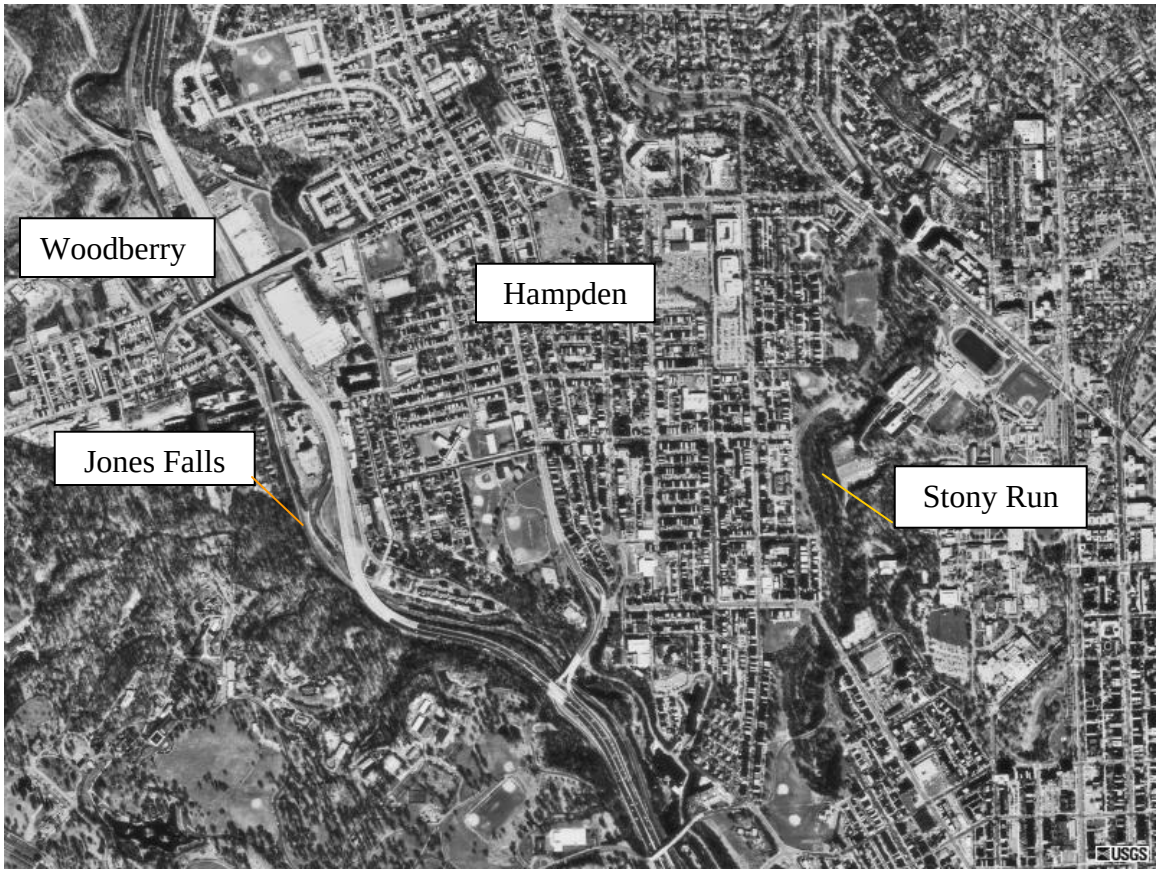


Figure 2: Aerial Photo of Hampden and Surrounding Areas.

Churches, public halls, labor halls, social clubs, and a library gradually came to play a major part in the town's development (Bullock 1979:16). Many of these institutions, particularly the churches, are still visible on the contemporary landscape. Often constructed by the owners of area mills, these institutions were an important part of the area's social and political dynamics as well. The construction of such institutions played a major role in a system of labor relations that Beirne (1975:62) has called industrial linkages and Harvey (1988:34) dubs "paternalism." By either name, the construction of these institutions constitutes a method, by mill owners, of engaging Hampden's residents and workers in a series of relations that tied them to the community, and especially to the mills.

Figure 3: Mount Vernon No. 1 Mill

Those mills (Figure 3), and their associated industries constitute a vital part of the Hampden story. Without them, Hampden, if it existed at all, would exhibit an entirely different character. The mill owners literally built the oldest parts of the neighborhood and had a hand in the development of much of the rest. The mills themselves constituted a source of livelihood for Hampden's residents well into the twentieth century, and served as an important source of community cohesion (Hollyday 1994: 101-115; Beirne 1989: 68). At the height of the industry, seven mills operated in the Jones Falls Valley. They employed 3,000 people and commanded a major part of the nation's cotton industry

into the Second World War (Beirne 1975:90). One cotton mill still operates in Woodberry today.

Labor relations play a vital role in Hampden's history. Throughout the first century of Hampden's history, its mill owners used a system of paternalism to establish industrial discipline in the community. Both Harvey (1988) and Beirne (1976) describe a system that used housing, institutional building, churches, kinship relations and race/heritage to maintain discipline among factory workers. Harvey (1988 22-25) notes, also, that a tacit agreement existed between workers and mill owners, in which the owners agreed not to hire people of African or Eastern European descent in exchange for worker discipline. The power of this relationship lasted until after World War I, when organized labor began to hold serious power in Hampden. The rise of organized labor coincides with the replacement of paternalist systems with a system akin to modern corporate capitalism,

Demographic stability has been a theme in Hampden's history. Generally, migrants from rural parts of Virginia, West Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania inhabited the area (Harvey 1988:2-3). The 1880's saw a dramatic increase in migration to Hampden, but a high degree of residential stability has been present since then (Beirne 1975:84). This stability has meant much to Hampden-Woodberry residents who see their neighborhood as unique and traditional.

A feature of demographic stability has been the historical exclusion of outsiders from the community. As noted, African-Americans and Eastern Europeans have historically been

excluded from the community, and from the livelihood that the mill labor allowed workers. The area remains predominantly white. As recently as 1990, racist groups have been allowed to march in Hampden, citing it as "one of the last white neighborhoods around" (News Services and Staff Reports June 7, 1990). This perception is due in part to Hampden's resistance to the blockbusting real estate practices of the 1960's and 1970's, when speculative realtors sought to destabilize neighborhoods by buying below market value from white homeowners afraid of integrated neighborhoods, and selling at above market value to African-American families (Durr 2003). Hampden has not been as successful at resisting gentrification, and the increased diversity that comes with it. While conditions seem to be changing rapidly, and diversity seems to be on the increase, it remains important for Hampden to confront its past racial difficulties.

Community Archaeology: A Review of Current Theory and Practice.

Theoretical Bases for Community Archaeology

Sabloff (1998), in a recent address to the Archaeology Division of the American Anthropological Association, stated that archaeologists had, for some time, been doing a poor job of addressing the public as a constituency. McGuire and Reckner note that part of the problem has been the assumption on the part of archaeologists that they are "experts with the knowledge, the skill, and the right to determine what questions we should ask about the past and what the answer to those questions should be" (2003:83). Community archaeology requires that archaeologists abandon some of this power over the knowledge that they produce to the communities for whom they are producing it.

Community archaeology has its intellectual roots in Marxist and neo-Marxist thought (see especially Duke and Saitta 1998; McGuire and Reckner 2003), and in critical theory (Potter 1994:26-44) and postmodern /post-processual theory (Hodder 1997, McDavid 2004). Neo-Marxist thought, and its concern with ideology and false consciousness, is exemplified by the work of Louis Althusser (1972). Althusser's analysis of the reproduction of capitalist systems has had a major influence in many scholarly fields, including historical archaeology. Althusser posited that capitalism; a system of inherent inequality, sustained and reproduced itself by making its structures (family, church and state) seem "natural" and "right." A corollary of this for archaeologists is that exploring the historical construction of supposedly "natural" structures can combat some of the inequality that resides in capitalism. By "piercing" ideology, one can bring about social change, but it is necessary to communicate one's archaeological research effectively to the public.

Another major influence from social theory has been the work of Jürgen Häbermas (1970), particularly his writing on ideal speech situations. Häbermas reasoned that democratic society is dependent on the quality of public discourse within it. He invented an "ideal speech situation" (Kemp 1988, see also Preucel and Hodder 1996:  -609) in which all participants in a discourse must have the same chance to employ a number of different kinds of speech acts (communicative, representative, regulative and constative). There is an implicit recognition in this work that such situations cannot really exist, but that we can strive for them (Preucel and Hodder 1996:  -609). These ideas about

knowledge production have had a great influence on archaeologists concerned with having descendant and indigenous voices and ideas represented within their work.

Thirdly, the influence of postprocessualism throughout the discipline of archaeology has made an impact on public communication in archaeology. Hodder (1997:693) notes, "a clear movement within archaeology and heritage has brought multivocality and interactivity central stage. …Within museums and heritage centres the need has increasingly been felt to respond to multiple voices and to engage in a wide range of issues." A result of this movement has been that archaeologists who wish to work with the public have designed research programs explicitly aimed at ensuring that community voices are heard. McDavid (2004) lays out four principles for developing a "postmodern" public archaeology. They are reflexivity: situating one's voice relative to other voices speaking on the same issues; multivocality: insuring that all voices are heard; interactivity: the ability for publics to act on and experience a response from archaeological data or interpretive material; and contextuality: the embedding of archaeological information within a web of background information. Archaeologists interested in engaging with communities have recently been engaged in incorporating some or all of these aspects of postmodernity into their research and interpretation.

Archaeology as Craft: A Tool for Community Service

While public history and heritage projects are nothing new (indeed, historical scholarship on the left has long advocated a "bottom-up" approach to practicing public history), the practice of community-based, participatory archaeology - in which communities are

involved in all phases of the design, implementation and interpretation of the project - has only arisen in the last ten to 15 years. Such projects have been undertaken by archaeologists like Mark Leone and Parker Potter (Potter 1994) in Annapolis, the Ludlow collective, which works with descendant communities on the archaeology of the Colorado Coalfield War (McGuire and Reckner 2003), Paul Shackel, who is developing a community archaeology project at New Philadelphia, as well as others. McGuire and Reckner (2003:83-84, also Shanks and McGuire1996) note that traditional "public" projects in historical archaeology have placed all authority into the hands of the "professionals," the archaeologists. They have employed an alternative methodology that treats archaeology as a craft that can *serve* communities by generating knowledge that they ask for through dialogue.

The proposed project is designed with this concept of "craft archaeology" – of using methodological expertise to serve descendant communities - in mind. In order to be publicly relevant and democratic, we believe that community-based archaeology should be subject to public input and scrutiny at all stages of development. Beginning with information gathered from public history workshops conducted in the fall and winter of 2004, archaeologists will try to answer research questions "designed" by members of the Hampden community.

Craft archaeology alters the political economy of knowledge production in archaeology, placing archaeologists in the position not of experts, but of facilitator/teachers who can help the community to discover information about its past. The next section explores

how it has been practiced, and what the results of a community-based archaeology will look like.

Community Archaeology in Practice: Some Recent Projects.

Two recent volumes (*World Archaeology* 34(3) 2002 and Shackel and Chambers 2004) highlight the growing importance of community archaeology in the field. While only a handful of community archaeological projects have been performed to date, their goals and origins are quite diverse. In some cases, such as those of Alexandria Archaeology (Cressey et al. 2004) and the Pakbeh Regional Economy Program, research programs have begun without choosing to incorporate participatory goals into their research designs, but have found public engagement so overwhelming that they had to incorporate them. In other cases, as in that of Shackel (2003), descendant communities have sought out archaeologists and presented them with a research problem. In still other cases, as that of the Ludlow Collective (McGuire and Reckner 2003), archaeologists have found their site, sought out descendant communities and worked as activists to promote the interests of those communities.

Pakbeh Regional Economy Program

The Pakbeh Regional Economy Program began as a "processual" research program designed to locate evidence of ethnic divisions in the archaeological record at the site of Chunchucmil, Mexico (Ardren 2002: 380). As a result of long-term contact and dialogue with the Maya community from the nearby town of Kochol, however, the goals of the research have shifted to public interpretation and economic enhancement of the area through the construction of an outdoor living history museum. Public meetings, along

with the presence of local people on the archaeological site, have contributed to this shift. Maya groups, instead of being forced to "listen" to the authority of archaeologists from North America, are becoming active in the production of knowledge about their past (Ardren 2002).

New Philadelphia

New Philadelphia, Illinois is the site of the United States' first incorporated African-American town. Work at the site began in 2002 with a controlled surface collection and has continued in the last several years with more extensive excavation and archaeological research. The project began when the site's contemporary landowners contacted Shackel (Paul A. Shackel, Personal Communication 2003) and inquired about creating a heritage site on the property. Since then, with support from the National Science Foundation, project participants have established the goal of making New Philadelphia a significant part of the American public memory (Shackel 2004).

The Ludlow Collective

Since the late 1990's a team of archaeological researchers and historians known as the Ludlow Collective has conducted research at the site of the Ludlow Tent Colony Massacre of 1914. The massacre (in which 20 members of striking miner families were killed by National Guard machine guns and arson) was a major event in the Colorado Coal Field War of 1913-1914, which resonated on a national scale (McGuire and Reckner 2003:83). Members of the collective have worked since that time to seek out members of

the organized labor movement as a public constituency and to participate in public acts memorializing the massacre. In this case, a group of researchers with pre-existing sympathy for the labor movement have targeted a heritage site and sought to communicate its past through archaeology.

A Research Design for Community Archaeology in Hampden

Goals

The proposed project has three major goals: to serve the heritage needs of the various Hampden communities; to provide educational opportunities and training to area youth and university students; and to create an ongoing, self-sustaining organization dedicated to the promotion of heritage and archaeological research of Hampden. These goals complement the overall goals and methods of community archaeology and promote the craft of archaeology as a means for creating and sustaining community control of its heritage.

Hampden is a community in the sense that it is a geographically-bounded neighborhood in Baltimore the residents of which occupy the same spaces, share public resources, and make use of similar amenities. In another sense, however, Hampden contains several communities: a community of people whose families have lived there for many generations; a community of young families and professionals who have recently purchased property in the neighborhood; a community of merchants and businesspeople; a youth community; a community of the elderly; a small African American community; and so forth. The community concept is complex enough to resist bounding in terms of

geography, or even in terms of sociological constructs like socioeconomic status. People can be members of more than one community. Communities can go in and out of being and people can join or leave them. Nonetheless, a major goal of the project is to identify the various communities and interest groups in Hampden and to foster open public dialogue among them by promoting heritage as a forum for that dialogue. It is hoped that accessible and compelling heritage information will engender active public discourse and public pride.

Hampden youth constitute an underserved population. A chief indicator of this status is the high school dropout rate, which hovers between 23% and 52%, depending on the source and the part of Hampden under consideration. Areas around the Jones Falls (the "bottom" mentioned in the title of this paper) have the highest dropout rate (U.S. Census 2004c, see Figure 3). A goal of the project is to combat this dropout rate by partnering with area schools, including the recently developed Community Learning for Life High School Program, to train area youth in the techniques of archaeological practice and to bring them into contact with area university students to demonstrate the benefits of higher education.

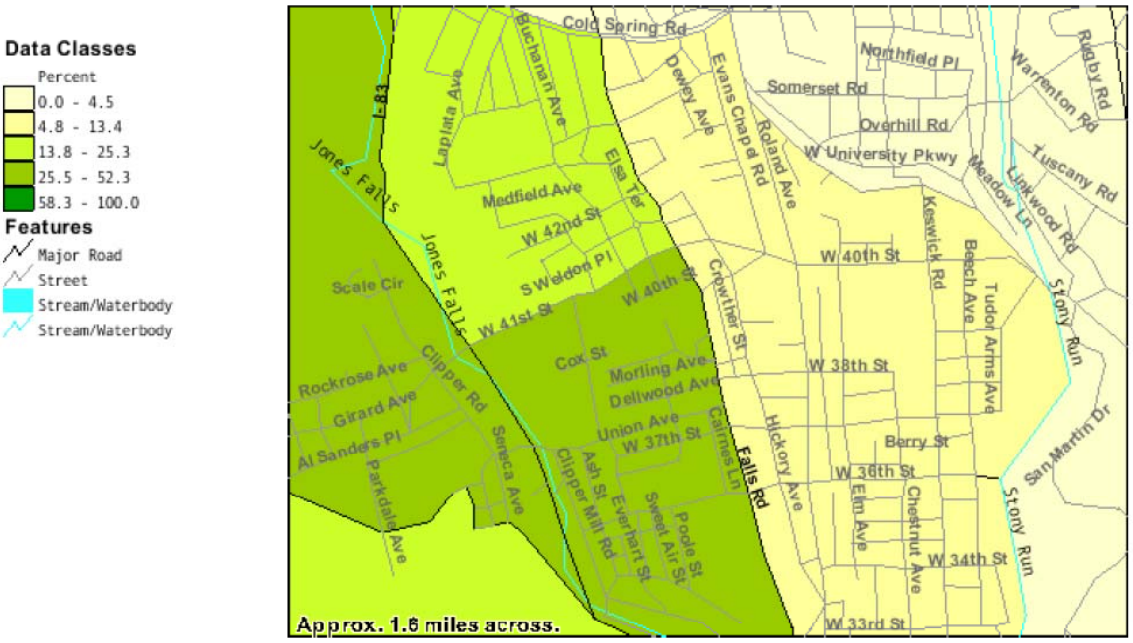


Figure 4: Hampden Dropout Rate By Census Tract. Source: United States Census Bureau

Thirdly, with the larger goal of creating a political economy of knowledge production that places communities as controllers and producers of their own history in mind, a major project goal involves the development of an ongoing, self-sustaining research program in Hampden that is responsible to the community. This will be accomplished over the course of several years first by creating a steering committee made up of community members who will eventually come to serve as the Board of Directors of a non-profit corporation dedicated to Hampden archaeology and heritage. This entity will seek endowment and operating funds from philanthropic organizations in order to further research about Hampden's past.

Objectives

Three main project objectives have been identified. They are as follows: to conduct high-quality archaeological fieldwork at worker housing sites around Hampden; engage the public(s) of Hampden in this research through public programs, site tours, and volunteerism; and to successfully foster a 6-week course of study in historical archaeology field methods for five to ten students from area high schools and universities.

Fieldwork will be conducted on three or more properties within Hampden. Rigorous and accepted field methods, outlined below, will ensure that the recovery of information from the archaeological record meets current standards.

Archaeology is a powerful tool for public engagement. The hands-on nature of archaeological practice combined with the recovery of tangible objects from the past help to make archaeology an interesting pursuit for community members. In order to ensure that communities are aware of the project, project personnel will conduct open house days and archaeological site tours, as well as soliciting volunteer involvement and maintaining a World Wide Web site that will give up-to-date online information about the digs.

Project Design

The Project will occur in at least eight phases. They consist of:

1) Preliminary Research

2) Public History Workshops

3) Research Design Statement

4) In-depth Historical Research

5) Public Archaeology Field Session

7) Artifact Processing and Analysis

8) Report Production and Public (Participatory) Interpretation

Preliminary Research

Gadsby conducted preliminary historical research on Hampden history in the spring of 2004. This research focused mainly on published histories of Hampden and on ascertaining the range of documentation available for more in-depth research.

Community History Workshops

In the summer of 2004, the Maryland Humanities Council awarded the Center for Heritage Resource Studies a $1200 Opportunity Grant to conduct three public history workshops in Hampden. The workshops were held on 9 September,, 7 October, and 20 November 2004. Over eighty members of the Hampden community participated in three videotaped discussions of Hampden heritage, airing their opinions not only about heritage issues, but about contemporary considerations as well. Some core themes have been extrapolated from those workshops and are incorporated into this research design.

Research Design Statement

The current stage in the design of this project is the creation and dissemination of this design statement. It will be posted on the Center website in January 2005 and will be available for public comment. In addition, a copy will be provided to the Hampden Branch of the Enoch Pratt Free Library. The document functions as an explicit statement

of research goals and methods, and also provides, through the process of public comments, a check to ensure that the research process serves the Hampden communities as best it can.

In-Depth Historical Research

Beginning in May 2005, project researchers will undertake in-depth research of primary historical materials at major area archives including the Archives of Maryland, the Maryland Historical Society, the Baltimore County Historical Society, the Enoch Pratt Free Library, and the Baltimore County Library. In addition to delineating the full range of primary historical sources relating to Hampden that are available, the research will focus on determining the extent of the archival record, establishing patterns of property ownership, ways of workingand on specific chain of title for archaeological research sites. Acquisition of reproduction historic photos will also be a major objective of this phase of work.

Public Archaeology Field Session

In early July 2005, researchers will begin a six-week intensive field excavation session, five days a week at worker housing sites around Hampden. We will strive to teach archaeological field techniques to session participants, who will include area high school and university students. In addition, participants will attend lectures by guest speakers and spend time learning about archaeological theory and analysis techniques. Site tours, volunteer opportunities, open houses, and public lectures will make the fieldwork accessible to the public. The field session will be directed by David Gadsby and Robert

Chidester with the assistance of a graduate student intern from the Masters of Applied Anthropology (MAA) program at the University of Maryland-College Park.

Artifact Processing and Analysis

Upon completion of fieldwork, archaeologists and volunteers will clean, label, and catalog all artifacts. The catalogs will be digitized into a computer database and analyzed using dating techniques, GIS mapping techniques, and quantitative tests. The goals of these analyses will be to establish time control over the excavations conducted, and to answer the research questions set out in the next section. New or refined research questions will be generated for subsequent excavations.

Both the Public Archaeology Field Session and the Artifact Processing and Analysis phases of the project will be the object of ethnographic observation and evaluation by a second graduate student intern from the MAA program at the University of Maryland. This intern will engage in standard ethnographic fieldwork practices, such as participant observation, interviews with residents of Hampden, and surveys of attitudes toward the project. The intern will use the information gathered to evaluate the success of the project and to make suggestions concerning how the program could be improved to better serve the Hampden community.

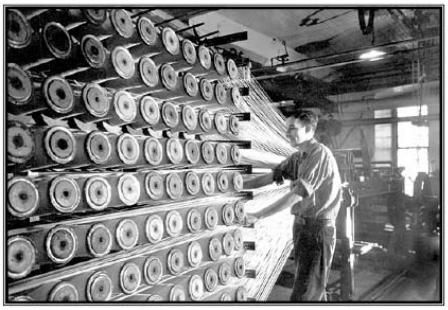
Report Production and Public (Participatory) Interpretation

A crucial stage in this process will be the dissemination of results. This includes the production of a formal, plain-language archaeological report, and the creation of an

exhibit, to be designed with the cooperation of community members and project participants, and placed in a prominent public place in Hampden, such as the Hampden Family Center or the Enoch Pratt Free Library. The report will include the ethnographic evaluation of the project as an appendix. It will be placed in public archives around the state, including the Maryland Historical Trust, the University of Maryland Library, and the Hampden branch of the Enoch Pratt Free Library. The exhibit will serve as a touchstone for the community part of the project, and will provide a venue for discussion, reinterpretation, and refinement of research goals.

Community History Workshops: Some Results and Implications for Archaeological Fieldwork in Hampden

Hampden Labor History!



A worker at Mt. Vernon Mills, 1938. Photo by A. Aubrey Bodine. Courtesy Baltimore County Public Library.

A Forum to Discuss Hampden's Heritage as a Working Community
Meet with historians, archaeologists, and neighbors for a lively conversation about the neighborhood's heritage. In the second of this series of three workshops, led by CCBC Labor Studies Professor, Bill Barry we will discuss Baltimore labor history and the creation of a local history program in Hampden.

Thursday, October 7, 2004
7:00 P.M. at the Community Learning for Life High School Program in the Portable Building
1300 West 36th Street

Sponsored by the University of Maryland Center for Heritage Resource Studies.
This project was made possible by a grant from the Maryland Humanities Council, through support from the National Endowment for the Humanities. Any views, findings, conclusions or recommendations of this program do not necessarily represent those of the National Endowment for the Humanities or the Marvland Humanities Council.

Figure 5:Hampden History Workshop Flier

The purpose of the Public History Workshops (phase 2) was to generate research questions based on statements and questions by Hampden community members. By reviewing videotaped workshops and classifying responses by general theme, researchers have identified four major research topics, or themes to be addressed by public archaeology. In other words, we have used these workshops, which we conceive of as community interviews, to build a research model for understanding Hampden on its own terms.

The chief components of this model are:

1) Gentrification, Stability and Social Change
2) Race and Racism on and off the Shop Floor
3) Class, Labor and Paternalism
4) Gender, Family and Work

Figure 6: Signs of Gentrification: The former Poole and Hunt Machine Shop, which burned in 1986, will be remodeled as a "Luxury Living Campus."

Gentrification, Stability, and Social Change

An important goal of community archaeology is to establish links between past and present – to explore ways in which contemporary conditions have been shaped by history. Taking the recent gentrification as an archaeological problem for Hampden provides an opportunity to do this. Gentrification is a form of change, and can be contrasted easily with the idea of stability, which has been an important historical construct since Beirne (1976) began to explore the concept in the 1970's. It will be important to explore ways that the archaeological record in times of change and instability contrasts with that of

times of stability.

In order to address the problem of gentrification, this research should include the most recent archaeological deposits, as well as standing structures in order to shed some light on what gentrification means in terms of a long, historical perspective, what gentrification is, and how it is happening.

Race and Racism

Hampden's character as a traditionally white community makes race a prominent feature of its history. Workshop participants frequently discussed whether or not Hampden was a racist place, how minorities were treated during the Jim Crow and segregation era, and the incipient diversity in the area. There was, however, no discussion of the black part of the neighborhood, known as Hoe's Heights.

Numerous historical archaeologists have researched issues of race and racialization, typically by employing a comparative method between the assemblages of the dominant and dominated race or ethnicity. Race and identity of African-Americans, as explored by archaeologists like Wilkie (2000), Ferguson (1992), Emerson (1998, 1999) and Leone and Fry (1999), has been a major focus of such studies. However, Hampden, which has been historically conceived of as a racially homogeneous community, presents a different problem because, in theory, there should not be race-based variation in the material culture. One solution may be to do some excavating in Hoe's Heights. Another may be to explore various theoretical frameworks in an attempt to explain how racial ideals are

constructed and maintained. "Whiteness theory," first applied archaeologically by Epperson (1999), may provide one such theoretical avenue.

Class, Labor and Paternalism

Figure 7: Worker Housing in Hampden, 1870

Class relations in company towns are of obvious importance, and were identified repeatedly by workshop participants, particularly in conjunction with statements about contemporary class relations. The social system in Hampden was structured around the mills, and was hierarchical, just as the mills were. Archaeologically, we can address this by exploring the housing patterns of members of various social classes (after Shackel 1996).

Additionally, the concept of paternalism and its decline in the early 20th century pose an opportunity for archaeological research. As workers transition from a system of paternalism to one of modern corporate capitalism, changes, such as increased diversity in consumer goods, should be evident in the material record.

Gender, Family and Work

A fourth subject of inquiry for workshop participants was that of the role of women in family life and in the workplace. They were surprised to learn that much of the mill workforce was composed of women and children, and wanted to know what roles women played in the workforce. Archaeological explorations of worker housing at Hampden should reveal artifacts and patterns related to family life and gender. Careful attention during the analysis phase of the project will be paid to any such artifacts and patterns. In addition, a mill girl housing complex, now dismantled, gives an opportunity to explore the archaeology of a living space composed mostly of young women.

Figure 8: Working Family: The Ray Family posing at 721 Bay Street in 1917.

Research Questions

Based on the research problems listed above, We have developed a series of research questions to be addressed during excavation and analysis.

- Can gentrification be located in the archaeological record?
- To what degree do historical concepts of residential stability agree with indicators of change through time in the archaeological record?
- How do concepts like stability and change, gentrification and paternalism aid our understanding of Hampden's class structure?
- To what extent was Hampden a racially homogenous community?

- How can any homogeneity or variation be detected in the material record?
- Is there a way that whiteness theory can contribute to our understanding of Hampden as a racial place?
- What changes can be detected in the archaeological record before and after the collapse of paternalism?
- What can we learn about workers' home lives from the archaeological record? What evidence for children's lives can be recovered?
- To what extent might the character of home life differ from other worker housing, such as miner housing, where men were the primary workers, and women more often acted as homemakers?
- How does Hampden compare to other mill towns that have been studied archaeologically, such as Lowell, Massachussetts (Mrozowski et al. 1996)?
- Were there health and dietary differences between workers and management, and are these manifested in the archaeological record?
- What kinds of connections did people maintain to their old homes in rural areas, and how can these connections be detected archaeologically?

Methods

One contribution of the processual archaeology of the 1960's and 1970's has been the advent of a series of generally accepted field and laboratory methods in archaeology. This has particularly been the case in historical archaeology, where the work of Stanley South (1977) has been particularly influential. While these methods, which include specifically prescribed ways of excavating sites, and processing and curating objects

recovered from them, make up a large part of this project's methodology, additional methodological considerations are necessary to accomplish the public outreach goals outlined above.

Field and Laboratory Methods

Excavation strategies will follow accepted field methods. Researchers will begin by laying out a grid using a theodolite, stadia rod, and measuring tapes. Because of the divided nature of the landscape in Hampden, each house site excavated will be placed on its own grid relative to extant buildings on the site. Each site grid will be tied to a main grid map onto which all excavation will be plotted. 

Excavations will focus on exterior yard areas of worker housing, using a random sampling strategy for unit excavation followed by judgmentally placed units. In other words, a random sample of units will be completed first, and further excavation will be opened up around those areas that yield interesting or important artifacts or features. Excavation units will be dug on the English engineering system because it corresponds closely with the system of measurement used by mill workers in the structuring of their landscapes. They will generally be 5x5-feet or 2.5x2.5-feet. Each excavation unit will be recorded on provenience cards, through black and white and color photographs, and by mapping soil stratigraphy onto graph paper. In addition, excavators will be asked to keep a journal recording their interpretations and recollections during the excavation process.

Excavation will follow natural soil stratigraphy, which will be identified by core samples taken throughout the site, and subsequently by visual inspection as excavation is underway. Excavated soils will be passed through 1/4”-mesh screen, with finer screen available for feature soils. A sample of all feature soils will be retained for later flotation and soil chemistry analysis.

Most artifacts recovered will be bagged in plastic field bags and returned to the laboratory for cleaning and inspection. Some artifacts may be discarded in the field after being weighed; these artifacts may include such objects as coal slag or brick fragments, which offer little to archaeological collections but take up a great deal of space.

Laboratory treatment procedures will follow the procedures laid out in *Technical Update No. 1 of the Standards and Guidelines for Archaeological Investigations in Maryland: Collections and Conservation Standards (*Siefert 1999). Artifacts will be carefully cleaned, usually with toothbrushes and water, allowed to dry, and labeled. An artifact catalog will list each item along with its appropriate provenience information. Those catalogs will be digitized and stored in a database program such as Access or Filemaker Pro. If funds and time allow, a GIS using either Grass GIS or ARCGIS will be used to link the data to map data. In the absence of a GIS, a surface-mapping program, such as Surfer will be used to generate distribution maps of artifacts. Additional analyses as appropriate will be identified and performed as research is conducted.

As artifacts complete processing, they will be stored by provenience in acid-free boxes and appropriately labeled plastic bags. Again, curation procedures will follow standards

laid out in Siefert (1999) so that the collection can eventually be submitted for long-term curation to the Maryland Historical Trust. Those artifacts deemed to be appropriate for public display or educational tools will be retained by the project.

Public Outreach Methods

Additional methods geared toward public outreach will include the establishment and maintenance of a field workers' web log or "blog" in which workers will record their thoughts and interpretations about the archaeology as it is underway. This blog will be public, and a link will be placed on the CHRS website to the blog.

Additionally, archaeologists will offer a series of site tours and open houses, as well as public lectures set to coincide with Hampden public events such as street festivals. These events will be designed to generate public awareness and interest to those not interested in hands-on participation. If honorarium funds are available, we will also enlist a series of guest speakers to speak on topics such as Baltimore history, labor archaeology, and community archaeology.

Final interpretation will be accomplished with community participation. Volunteers will be asked to help design and implement an exhibit based on the results of the archaeological and historical information available. Also, a steering commission made up of community members will be established to help guide future research efforts.

Conclusion

Prospects for a participatory archaeology in Hampden are quite high. The community values history and, as attendance at community history workshops shows, residents are willing to get involved in the production of their community heritage. Archaeological sites, in the form of worker housing, institutions (both of labor and paternalism), and industrial complexes abound.

Hampden is a neighborhood in possession of a rich heritage. It is also a place undergoing rapid change through gentrification. New members of the community aren't aware of the area's past, while people whose families have lived in the neighborhood for generations see a traditional way of life slipping away and feel powerless to stop it. Organizations such as the Hampden Family Center and the Hampden Community Council have offset the negative effects of the situation to some extent, but some program to bridge the gap between "Old Hampden" and "New Hampden" is needed if voices of the traditional community are to be heard. This program proposes to provide a link from present to past for all members of the Hampden area. It is hoped that through an understanding of a shared heritage, new residents of Hampden will become sensitive to the needs of the traditional community and those who feel powerless will find a voice.

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[1] The term, "The Bottom" refers to the Jones Falls River Valley, near Hampden. It refers not only to a geographic location, but hints at the way that social structure is inscribed on the landscape. The Bottom is not just the bottom of a hill. It is the economically poorest part of the Hampden community. It is also the oldest part of Hampden. The ridgetop that straddles the space between the Jones Falls Valley and Stony Run is the newest part, and also the part that is most affected by gentrification, particularly in the form of spiking property values.