ANNAPOLIS PASTS

Historical Archaeology in Annapolis, Maryland

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5 Maintenance Relationships in Early Colonial Annapolis

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Impermanent earthfast building techniques dominated Chesapeake architecture through most of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, although forms of permanent architecture are also found throughout the region, especially in urban centers.[1] Impermanent architecture consists of wood posts or wood blocks for a structure's foundation. These adequate, but somewhat temporary foundations were a relatively quick construction method which suited the immediate needs of Chesapeake planters who spent the majority of their time caring for their tobacco crops.[2] Foundation materials were continually exposed to environmental elements that accelerated decay. Since earthfast structures survived on the average of five to ten years before major repairs were needed—and in some cases even longer—planters regularly faced the decision to either abandon the structure or perform periodic maintenance. Repair sometimes included the replacement of foundation members in order to stabilize the building, an activity that may have involved several community participants, or specialists.

Neiman, Carson et al., and Kelso, among others, have convincingly shown the proliferation of impermanent architecture among the elite and

poor in the seventeenth-century Chesapeake.[3] Even those who had the means to build brick houses or frame houses with brick chimneys constructed post-in-the-ground structures with mud chimneys. Some of these earthfast structures lasted for over thirty years. Most of these long-term occupations were made possible by regular maintenance, including the replacement of posts and blocks. For instance, seventeenth-century earthfast structures at Hampton were occupied for thirty to forty years, and they were kept habitable by undergoing several repair episodes, including bracing and shoring. Neiman's work at Clifts Plantation indicates that the site was occupied for sixty years. He meticulously demonstrates that the building underwent four phases of repair, including the replacement of many of the posts. The lack of post or block repairs has often been interpreted as a short-term occupation; however, there are exceptions. Archaeological documentation from St. Mary's City and the Kingsmill Plantation show that major buildings existed for at least a couple of decades without repair.[4]

Alain Outlaw's observations of the general material culture patterning at the Governor's Land site, which contained first- and second-quarter seventeenth-century habitation sites, is worth noting. The site demonstrates the shift toward the building of community networks. The earlier sites contained mostly imported goods from England. Much like other contemporary second-quarter seventeenth-century sites, such as those found at Kingsmill Plantation and Carter's Grove, there is increasing evidence of a developing local economy. The presence of locally made ceramics and pipes indicate the development of a local economy and community networks. Some explain that the local economy developed in response to the tobacco depression in the 1630s and 1640s and the decreasing supply of expendable money among planters.[5] Also of importance is that this new economy also created new social and economic networks.

Similar to the findings at seventeenth-century Jamestown, impermanent architecture coexisted with permanent architecture in Annapolis, Maryland, until the early eighteenth century. Some evidence exists for the interrelationship between impermanent architecture and community maintenance relationship. Archaeology demonstrates that this architectural tradition did not uniformly disappear from all parts of the city at the same time. Rather, the disappearance of impermanent architecture is linked to a change in the town's maintenance relationships and shifting social and economic structures linked to the development of a consumer society.

Maintenance relationships were important in structuring the social relations in Annapolis and throughout the Chesapeake. One form of maintenance reciprocity relied on impermanent architecture for the persistence of community relationships and social relations.[6] Maintenance related tasks "insured a fundamental continuity in economic, as well as social, relations in communities. . . . [This allowed owners to] seek periodic contractual obligations with a local worker capable of mending the product."[7] St. George explores why craftsmen and builders would enter into maintenance relationships, especially when maintenance only accounted for about 5 percent or less of their total income. He reasons that such relationships probably existed for both economic profit and social reasons.

Socially, labor was at the center of the community relations and the development and maintenance of social relations. From this perspective, members of all wealth groups built earthfast buildings for over a century as a way of structuring social relations by maintenance relationships. People also purchased locally made wares which further aided in the development of community networks. The change to a more permanent and more maintenance-free architecture, and increasing participation in a consumer society, is understood more completely when considering the complexities of defining social relations.

Maintenance relationships may develop in three distinct forms. First, formal relationships are created where a laborer is hired to perform a task. These are explicit and created and characterize urban and industrial relations. Second, maintenance relationships may be established in the form of balanced or general reciprocity where neighbors or relatives may be called upon to aid in a task. These are implicit and expected relations and are typical of rural, agrarian communities. Third, work might be performed in-house either by the owner or servants and slaves. The latter two cases may have predominated during the early Chesapeake settlement. But as the native population increased and urban areas began to develop at the turn of the eighteenth century, settlers began to differentiate between social and economic exchange. Hiring labor to perform maintenance tasks became increasingly important.

St. George asserts that the "maintenance of material forms implies, perhaps is identical with, the maintenance of social forms."[8] An economy based on maintenance-related tasks would insure a continuation of economic and social relations as well as guarantee that contractual obligations of local workers were necessary. Maintenance relationships create

a form of reciprocity and may symbolically create a form of communality. As Glassie notes, vernacular technologies involve local materials and local labor. The actors are diverse and interlock their talents. When people start opting for more permanent architecture and consumer goods, they withdraw from the "local economic system/exchange relations,"[9] and there is a radical change in the existing social order. The change in house forms and material culture forms are associated with the reorganization of community social relations. No longer are people relying on the community to organize their social relations.[10] Instead, they take these responsibilities upon themselves. An appreciation of the changing maintenance relations, and the development of consumer society in Annapolis, may be gained via the examination of two contemporaneous tavern sites.

One tavern, known as the Sands House, was built around 1700 near Annapolis's waterfront (map 5.1). The remains of an earthfast structure that was underpinned with a stone foundation in the 1720s survives at the site. The second tavern, the Main Street site, was located in the social and political center of town, and it was originally built with a fieldstone foun-
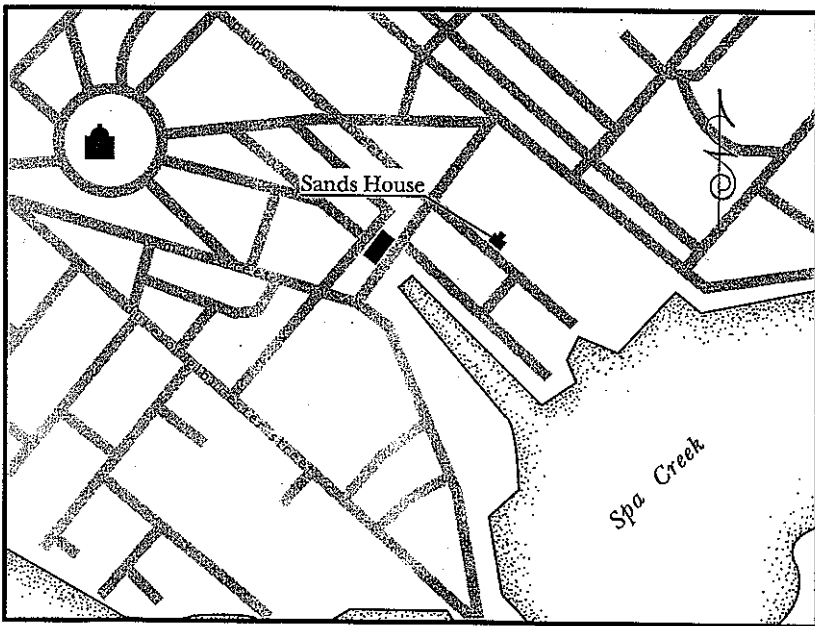
Map 5.1. Sands House, Annapolis.

dation around 1700. The two buildings stood only a few blocks from each other. As people in the center of town participated in new commercial and consumer activities in the early eighteenth century, people in the waterfront area continued to rely on maintenance activities and community relations. The disappearance of earthfast structures coincides with the social and economic restructuring of town. With the dramatic shifts in wealth in 1720s Chesapeake, along with the development of new commercial and consumer activities along the waterfront, material culture patterning in the Sands House neighborhood became similar to that found in the commercial district where the Main Street site lies. Architecture and material goods played a different role in community relations; they became symbols of power and economic wealth as well as an indication of the degree of participation in the rules of the new consumer society.

Early Annapolis and the Early Consumer Revolution

Many early-eighteenth-century Annapolitans were wealthy planter/merchants whose families resided in the surrounding countryside. Other settlers included merchants and craftsmen from St. Mary's City who relied on the government for a living. These included tavern keepers like Garrett Van Sweringen and the colonial printer Dinah Nuthead. The largest number of Annapolitans came from surrounding Anne Arundel County and were either planters establishing mercantile trades or craftsmen.[11]

By 1710, many of the original Annapolis landowners no longer lived in the town. Instead, four gentry members began to accumulate large quantities of land in the city.[12] In the early eighteenth century one citizen noticed that "most of the Lotts in the Said Town and Porte are ingrossed into three or four Peoples hands to the great Discouragement of the neighbors who would build and Inhabitt therein could they have the opportunity of taking up Lotts."[13] Landless Annapolitans were subjected to a leasehold system which persisted throughout the colonial period.[14]

By 1700 several craftsmen had established themselves in Annapolis, although the largest influx of craftsmen occurred after 1710. Many craftsmen and other service industries established themselves along West Street, Maryland Avenue, upper Main Street, and upper Duke of Gloucester Street, adjacent to the political (State Circle) and religious (Church Circle) centers of town. These newcomers included butchers, barbers, watermen, carpenters, tavern keepers, attorneys, luxury craftsmen, a portrait painter, and tanners. Many

were subject to a leasehold system by four of the major landholding families, Carroll, Garrett, Bordley, and Bladen, who owned about half of the city's real estate. While the wealthy and poor gained wealth during the 1710s and 1720s, the amount of wealth accumulated by the gentry far outpaced the town's laborers, craftsmen, and merchants.[15] The area developed into an economy that relied on commodity consumption activities.

As mercantile enterprises and crafts developed rapidly near the church and state house, the waterfront remained relatively undeveloped and unexploited by commercial activities. Residents, merchants, and craftsmen did not participate in the new economic order like other communities did elsewhere.[16] Shipbuilding developed slowly, although a boat yard existed along Shipwright Street (map 5.2). Several boatwrights worked in the area sporadically during the first several decades of the eighteenth century. The city dock area, where the Sands House site is located, developed its boat-building industry, although it remained void of craft and mercantile activities into the 1720s. In 1696 the assembly designated this area specifically for shipwrights. In 1719 Robert Johnson, a shipwright, petitioned the assembly to use lands along the harbor for his business. By 1735 shipbuilding along the Annapolis harbor became a competitive industry, and by 1740 other associated crafts (i.e., blockmaking, sailmaking, ropemaking) established themselves in the area.[17] With an increasing division of craft and labor, consumer activities probably became very much like those found in the established centers of town.

With the disintegration of the traditional order and the penetration of the effects of consumerism, a radical transformation occurred concerning the amount and type of goods used in Annapolis.[18] Material culture, including architecture and other artifacts, has symbolic meaning which actively shapes and creates society through the purchase, display, and usage by individuals and groups. Indeed, some scholars have argued that material objects are the most fundamental but unnoticed aspect of the socialization process. They not only play an important role in social reproduction, but also they can form a bridge between the mental and physical world and between the conscious and the unconscious.[19] Each tavern operator at the Sands and Main Street sites participated in community relationships in varying ways. They used material culture and the built environment in different ways. Their acquisition and use of goods reflect whether consumers, including owners and customers, chose to participate in or resist modernization.
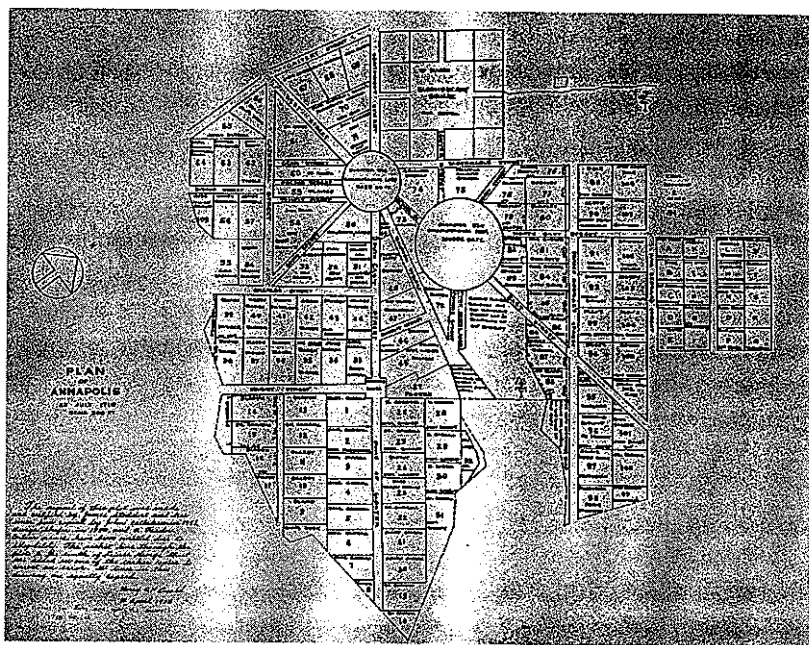
Map 5.2. The 1718 town plan of Annapolis. Courtesy Maryland State
Archives, MS SC-1427-4.

Goods which had relatively static symbolic meanings during times of
unquestioned hierarchy were more active in creating meanings and rein-
forcing social asymmetry in 1720s Annapolis. With the increased produc-
tion of consumer goods, emulation of the higher groups by those lower in
the social order became increasingly popular. Subaltern groups may have
also created alternative meanings from the dominant group in order to
create their own identity. Demand for goods increased with ambiguity of
the social hierarchy. New goods, new behaviors, and new social actions
were necessary for the elite to keep their social distance, a job that was
accomplished by controlling the access to knowledge about the goods.[20]

Probate inventory data documents this transformation in early-eigh-
teenth-century Annapolis consumerism. When probate data from the first
two decades of eighteenth-century Annapolis were analyzed, the upper and
lower wealth groups owned similar types of material goods. The primary
difference between the two groups is that the wealthiest people owned
more. During the 1710s and 1720s, however, the elite began to acquire

different types of goods. In the 1720s items related to formal, individualized dining and grooming and hygiene first appear among Annapolis's elite. For instance, probate data indicates that consumer goods such as sets of plates, sets of forks, and sets of knives were found in the majority of the wealthiest estates from the 1710s, while the lower wealth groups had a smaller proportion of these disciplining items.[21]

Behavioral guide books also first appear in probate inventories during the 1720s.[22] These etiquette books provided new rules of behavior associated with the influx of new consumer goods. These changing consumer patterns appear to be associated with the social and economic fluctuations in the city during the 1720s, such as demographic increase, tobacco depression, and wealth redistribution.

Maintenance Relationships at the Sands House

The Sands House was constructed along the sparsely developed Annapolis harbor about 1700. The original inhabitant of the Sands House was Evan Jones. In many ways Jones participated in a community maintenance relationship. He was a jack of all trades. He was involved in the community as a bookseller, innkeeper, and public servant.[23] Although he was not involved in a labor or craft maintenance job, he held many positions which allowed him to be in contact with many residents and easily participate in the maintenance of the community. For example, one of his jobs included warning all citizens twice nightly about their fires and making sure that public buildings were secure. Like the craftsmen who spent a small portion of time and received a small amount of their total income through maintenance relationships, this community service allowed Jones the chance to become part of the community network. Jones also held several other positions in Annapolis, including deputy collector of customs, clerk to the council, and assistant clerk to the assembly. In 1718 and 1719, he was commissioned to print the laws of the Maryland Assembly. Another printer was hired in 1720–21, but by the end of 1721 Jones was rehired to do public printing until his death in 1722. His wife and son may have continued to live in the house for a while, but how long is unknown. By 1739 the Joneses were living in Prince George County and had sold the Sands House and lot to Dr. Charles Carroll.[24] Jones's participation in many activities placed him in the center of the community network and community-based maintenance relationships. Archaeological and architectural

evidence also provide additional information about Jones's involvement in community-based maintenance relations, and these data show how these relationships changed with Carroll's ownership.

Architecture and Archaeology at the Sands House

Archaeological and architectural evidence suggest that, after the initial construction of the Sands House, some of the earthfast posts for the house fell into disrepair and had to be replaced. Jones may have relied on some type of maintenance relationship to repair the structure. Yet, by the 1720s or 1730s modifications to the house reflect the changing worldview of the household and their conformity to changing community social relations.

The Sands House, a frame building, was originally built as a hall-and-parlor design with an entrance lobby and an H-shaped central fireplace (fig. 5.1). The earliest section of the house measures 35 feet by 20 feet. Each of the rooms are 14 feet by 20 feet; the central lobby was originally 7 feet wide. These findings are an anomaly when compared to Neiman's study of 65 Chesapeake impermanent seventeenth-century structures found archaeologically. He notes that in the Chesapeake lobbies were often not centered and they disappeared in the 1680s.[25]

Four building phases can be described for the Sands House. First, the original construction of the house probably dates to about 1700. The main structural members, such as the corner posts, girts, the center post for the stairs, all measure 9 inches square, while the studs are 4 inches square. The 7-foot-by-5-foot central chimney sits on its original foundation. A chair rail in the hall possibly dates to this period as well. Between about 1720 and 1730 the house underwent a second renovation phase that coincides with the selling of the Sands House and the changing community relations in town. During this era the new architectural additions to the house included changes to the baseboards on the first floor, the door in the first-floor hall leading to the western room, and three window casings on the second floor, and the kitchen door was removed (and later reused in the twentieth-century addition). The third phase of alterations dates to the late eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries. New features included some flooring, a downstairs parlor mantle piece, and a western room addition. The fourth and final phase dating to the late nineteenth century includes the additions of the exterior doorway on the front of the house, the downstairs windows, and the mantle in the hall.[26] These phases of construction relate to the modernization, stabilization, and repair

to the structure and they coincide with noticeable changes in the archaeo-
logical record found directly beneath or adjacent to the house.

Test units were placed within the west wing or eighteenth-century exten-
sion of the house while additional testing was done in the backyard. Several
archaeological features were located that may reflect the persistence and
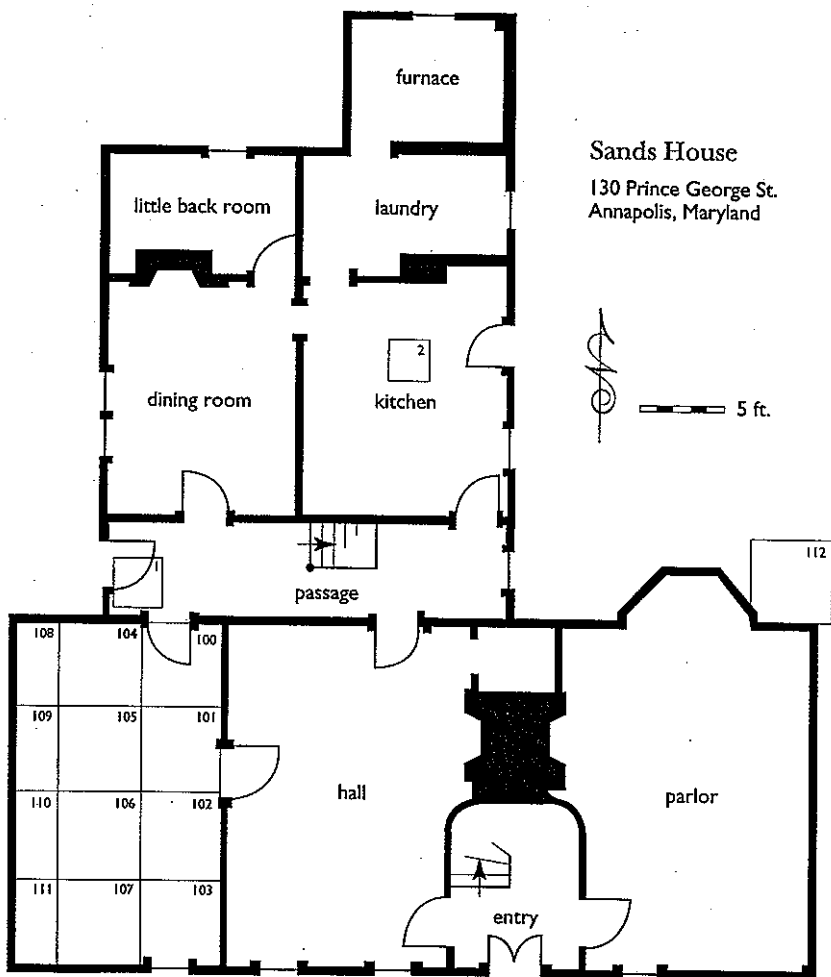eventual restructuring of social relations in Annapolis. First, post holes were

Fig. 5.1 Floor plan of the Sands House with original core and later addi-
tions

uncovered underneath the west wing floor (fig. 5.2). Several features which were contemporaneous were perpendicular and parallel to the main house and street plan. They were spaced about six feet apart and were probably the remains of a shed, an addition, or a porch related to the Sands House, or maybe even the remains of an earlier structure. These features were not simple post holes and molds, but rather consisted of at least two holes, indicating that the
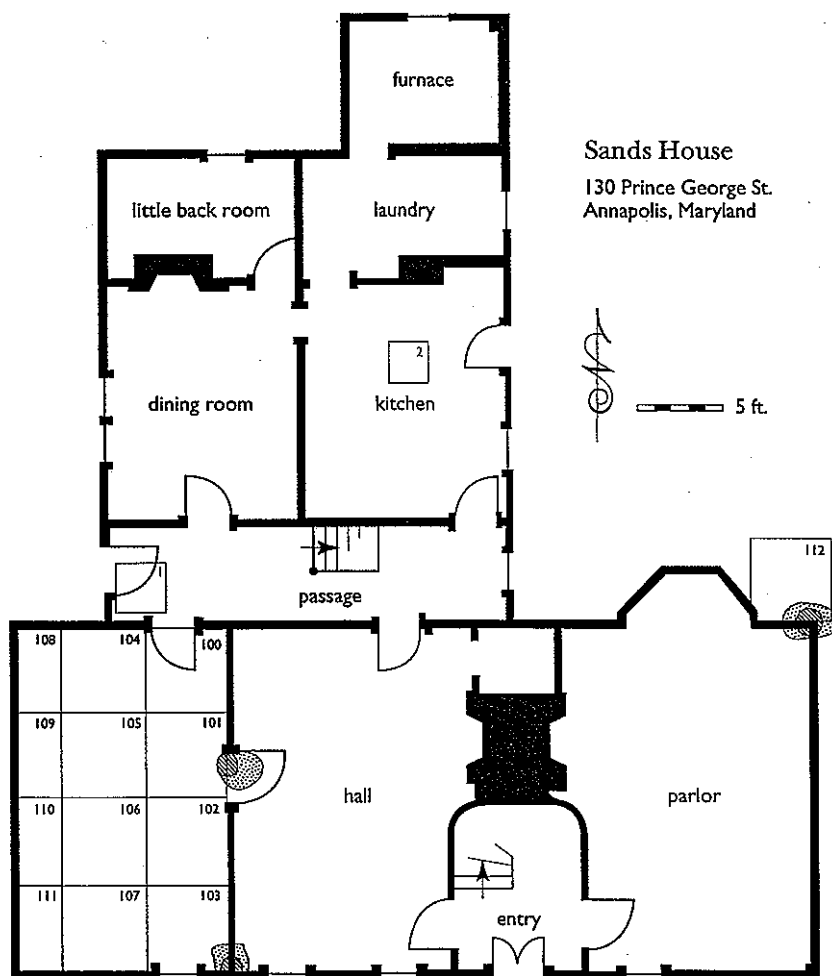

Fig. 5.2. Floor plan showing post holes in the west yard of the Sands House beneath the late-eighteenth-century addition.
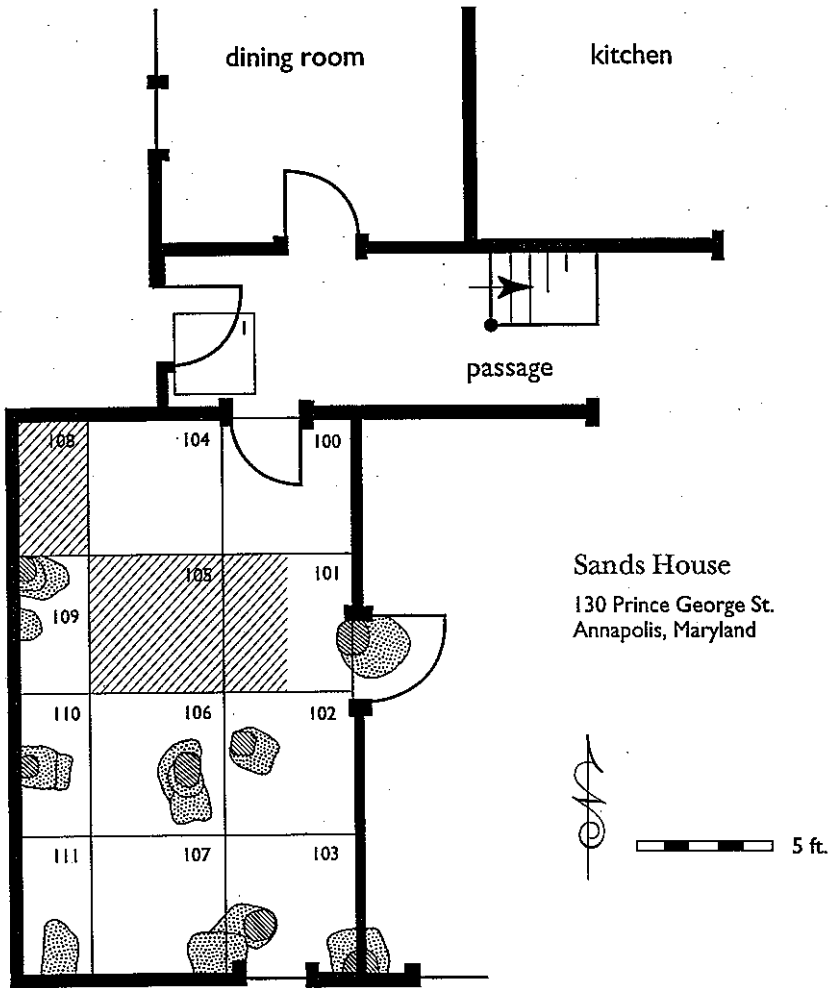
Fig. 5.3. Post holes in the west portion of the Sands House and the northeast corner that supported a block foundation.

post holes were redug and rotted posts were replaced, probably by a carpenter or other person knowledgeable in such matters. If this was the case, the residents of the Sands House may have participated in a maintenance relationship. Evan Jones required the short term but periodic services of a laborer with whom he may not otherwise have come into close contact. No firm date can be assigned to these features, because no artifacts were found within them.

However, the post holes underlaid a thin plow zone with numerous shovel scars, the remains of a kitchen garden. The stratigraphic layer overlying the post holes had a ceramic *terminus post quem (TPQ)* of 1650 and a mean ceramic date of 1713. Pipe stem diameters found in this layer yielded a manufacturing date that ranged between 1680 and 1710 (n = 15). Consequently, the garden layer probably was deposited between the last decade of the seventeenth century and the first decade of the eighteenth century; the post holes probably predate the early 1700s and must be earlier than about 1710.

The exposed western exterior of the hall wall indicates the displacement of studs for an additional doorway. Architects date the door design and molding to the 1720s.[27] A midden with a *TPQ* of 1720 was found adjacent to and north of the doorway within the west wing excavations. Therefore, the midden probably dates to the doorway construction that was placed in the hall to lead to house's west yard. The shed or the porch that produced the post holes under the west wing also may have been dismantled before or during this time, well in advance of construction of the house's westernmost addition.

The west wall of the eighteenth-century core is currently supported by brick piers. This feature allowed archaeologists to excavate under the structure as well as examine several architectural features. The original house sills were replaced during the nineteenth century, so clues to the original sill/stud and sill/post articulation with the frame were lost. The nineteenth-century brick piers overlaid a two-course fieldstone foundation. At first, it appeared that the fieldstone foundation was part of the original construction of the house. However, when the fieldstones were removed and excavations proceeded underneath them, at least two post holes were found directly underneath the sill of the westernmost part of the original structure (fig. 5.3). One was located in the southern corner underlying the raised corner post, the other was nine feet to the north in the center of the sill. The third post, expected in the northern corner, had been greatly disturbed by rodents, and was unfortunately destroyed.

To determine the function of the posts, an additional unit to the exterior of the northeastern corner of the main structure was excavated (fig. 5.3). Another post hole was found directly beneath the northeast corner. All the post holes relating to the main structure were originally dug to differing depths, varying as much as one foot. Therefore, from the limited excavations it is likely that the Sands House originally rested on hole-set blocks.

The Sands House was made "more permanent" when it was underpinned

with fieldstone during some of the earlier eighteenth-century renovations, with at least one block pulled and its hole filled with stone. Diagnostic artifacts were recovered from underneath the fieldstone and in a post hole in the northeast corner of the building. These artifacts had a *TPQ* of 1700 and a mean manufacturing date of 1738. The underpinning of the structure probably occurred some time around 1725, with the work probably dating to the same time as the renovations in the hall and the placement of the door in the 1720s. These renovations occurred at the same time that most of Annapolis was increasingly participating in a consumer society.

Although a substantial number of pipe stems and ceramics were found in the yard area underneath the house's west wing, trampling and fragmentation of the assemblage left few identifiable ceramic forms. Those recognizable from the early eighteenth century include mostly coarse earthenwares and stonewares such as Westerwald, which was generally used as utilitarian vessels. One porcelain fragment from a tea cup and part of a tin-glazed plate were also found. The very low occurrence of refined wares suggests that the early Sands House residents were not integrated into the new consumer culture.

Grant McCracken's work shows that lineage and patina are the main vehicles for displaying status in preconsumer western society. Older objects that have been with a family for many generations tend to have more value than newer objects. The lack of fashionable consumer goods at the Sands House is probably indicative of the resident's perception of status and place in preindustrial society.[28]

The Main Street Site and the Advent of Consumerism in Annapolis

Documenting the original 1700 construction at the Main Street site is difficult and uncertain. The lot is within one block of both the State House and the Anglican Church, in lot 48 of Annapolis's 1718 Stoddert survey and was owned by Philemon Lloyd. No formal transactions have been discovered that detail the lease and construction of buildings on the lot. A 1748 deed of sale noted the presence of several structures on the lot, but it is uncertain if these structures refer to the remains found at the site. Lloyd probably entered into an informal lease agreement with entrepreneurs. These businessmen probably contracted with masons, carpenters, and other craftsmen to build domestic and business structures. Archaeo-

logical evidence indicates the construction of a building with a stone foundation on the lot early in the first quarter of the eighteenth century, maybe as early as 1700. Nancy Baker's analysis of the town's development indicates that by the 1710s and definitely by the 1720s a tavern and a luxury craftsman operated on the property. The tavern continued to operate for most of the first half of the eighteenth century.[29]

Architectural and Archaeological Evidence

The 1700 foundation associated with the Main Street site consisted of a one-course-thick fieldstone foundation with yellowish, shell-tempered mortar. No evidence of earthfast structures or other earlier buildings was found on the site. Associated with the foundation were early-eighteenth-century ceramics that had a *TPQ* of 1700 and a mean ceramic date of 1715. Only a portion of its western wall survived subsequent construction on the lot. What can be detected from the partial remains is that the building's western wall was perpendicular to Main Street and was about sixteen feet in length and the northern end stood immediately adjacent to the current sidewalk.

Material evidence from the first half of the eighteenth century produced a comparatively larger quantity of vessel forms than the Sands House Site and included utilitarian as well as formal tewares. A minimum vessel analysis revealed at least one set (n = 4) of 3-inch Chinese Porcelain tea cups and 6-inch saucers as well as one 2 1/2-inch and one 4-inch tea cup. Also included in the assemblage of teawares were three 6-inch porcelain bowls that may have been slop bowls and a white salt-glazed teaware pot. The assemblage also included several white, salt-glazed stoneware serving vessels, including a plate, a twiffler, and a mug. Three other coarse earthenware mugs were also recovered. The remainder of the vessels were coarse utilitarian wares that included jugs, storage vessels, bowls, chamber pots, and a slipware plate.

Apparently, the household and tavern keepers at the Main Street site acquired goods that were becoming easily available in the new consumer society. They owned some of the most fashionable mass-produced objects of the time and acquired matched sets of teawares and dinner plates. While pewter and wooden dishes were replaced by new and fashionable ceramic plates, the occupants at the Main Street site also participated in the tea ceremony.[30] In the early eighteenth century the tea ceremony was a rather exclusive social event because of the elaborate assemblage needed (i.e., tea table, tea caddy,

silverware, tea cups, and saucers, tea pots, etc.), and few could afford all of the accoutrements. Taking tea also meant that the participants had leisure time and could afford time out from their daily activities.

Meanings of Material Culture and the Built Environment

The meanings of consumer goods can be controlled by interest groups, such as those influenced by class, gender, or ethnicity, in order to support their position in society. One way of achieving this domination is by making artificial phenomena and their meaning appear to be part of the natural order of things. Another strategy is to historicize the meaning, making it appear that historical precedent exists and that its meaning is inevitable. Interest groups at the center of control establish meanings for the purpose of domination over others.[31] These asymmetrical social relationships found in everyday power relations are continually being established and nego-tiated. Hodder, expanding on both Foucault and Miller and Tilley, explains that "[o]ne can argue that there is an unceasing struggle in which power relations are transformed, strengthened and sometimes reversed by the manipulation of symbolic and material capital. . . ."[32]

Even if there is equal access to the physical means of production, people tend to create groups and control specific types of information. Competition to acquire these goods will produce boundaries to exclude outsiders. Those within a group will synchronize their consumption activities with other mem-bers of the group who are being guided by similar circumstances. The con-sumption of goods allows for the classification of persons and events, and these meanings and classifications are continually defined and redefined. As in-formation becomes finely tuned by members of the group their behavior be-comes standardized within groups. Standardization usually occurs at the center of a competitive system while the underclass is more likely to subvert domi-nant symbolism of material culture.[33]

Intentions of mobility or permanency based on economic success and shifting from tobacco to grain crops, as suggested by Carson et al., are also recognized as factors in the development of permanent architecture.[34] The archaeology at the Sands House places this transition in the context of maintenance relationships. The building began its existence as an earthfast structure. Evan Jones, who originally owned and occupied the structure from at least the turn of the eighteenth century, relied on community-based maintenance relationships for the first several decades of the eighteenth

century. The early archaeological assemblage also indicates that the occupants relied upon premodern customs and did not integrate mass-produced consumer goods into their daily routines. By the 1720s residents began to reject community-based relationships. Most noticeable is the shift from impermanent, maintenance-reliant architecture to that which needed little architectural maintenance. The change from an earthfast construction technique, which lasted an average of ten years without upkeep, to a more permanent, maintenance-free architecture can also be understood as an ideological decision. By building a more permanent structure, the residents became more independent and opted out of one noticeable segment of a strong community relationship, i.e., the maintenance relationship. The restructuring of social relations through explicit uses of material culture occurred in Annapolis during the 1720s, at a time of social and economic realignment. Just as colonial craftsmen received a small percentage of their income from maintenance relationships, so did Evan Jones, urban entrepreneur and resident of an earthfast structure, by being involved in his community as innkeeper and public servant. The type of structure in which he resided and archaeological evidence of replaced earthfast blocks indicate that he was probably involved in a maintenance relationship, possibly including other members of the community, such as carpenters. Sometime during the 1720s, the owner of the house broke somewhat from this community network and remodeled the house to make it "more permanent." These changes included the replacement of the wood blocks upon which the house was originally framed with a permanent and maintenance-free foundation made of fieldstone.

The early 1700s tavern at the Main Street site is indicative of the development of many other crafts and small industries in the city. The tavern keeper, or tavern keepers, at the Main Street site was an unknown businessmen who participated in a lease hold system. While an intensely committed community-based entrepreneur of the Sands House site owned his own means of production (i.e., his inn), the entrepreneur at the Main Street site did not. The Main Street tavern was established when four landowners began to monopolize the lands within the municipality, and by the 1720s those landowners held over half of the city's real estate. We know much about Evan Jones, owner of the Sands House, and his commitment to community relations, but little is known about who operated the tavern at the Main Street site. By not owning the land and the means of production, since the tavern was legally owned by the leaser, the tavern keepers

(assuming there was more than one over a period of time) probably felt little commitment to the community and were therefore less inclined to participate in community activities, such as maintenance relationships. One way of decreasing their dependence upon other laborers and craftspeople for their daily survival was to build a permanent structure with a fieldstone foundation, a low-maintenance architectural feature.

The tavern keepers at the Main Street site were also committed to more intense consumption at a comparatively earlier date. While the social relations of the town changed dramatically during the 1720s in Annapolis, the tavern occupants purchased and used mass-produced consumer goods. The ceramic assemblage contrasted noticeably with the utilitarian-dominated assemblage found at the Sands House. Jones, at the Sands House, actively participated in maintenance relationships and may have consciously or unconsciously neglected to participate in the new economic order associated with consumerism. Sets of objects, such as plates and tea cups found at the Main Street site, replaced the few communal objects found in preindustrial society. One plate or one cup for one person reflects a new individuality associated with the development of the consumer revolution and changing social relations in western society. In a developing consumer society, labor and craft no longer created people's own identity. People increasingly used material consumption to define themselves outside the workplace. Work and consumption became polarized experiences where very different identities were constructed, and consumption became progressively more important.

Probate inventory analyses of the entire city also indicate the shift toward modern consumerism and the development of new individual identities. These data indicate that from the 1710s consumption changed drastically among Annapolitans, although this phenomenon was not universal. At this time the wealthy acquired new consumer goods that differentiated the elite from lower groups. While a small portion of the poorer segments of the population also purchased these goods, members of the elite adopted new behaviors and meanings that were exclusively known to their group.[35] The new consumer material, such as matched sets of plates and teaware, found at the Main Street site might indicate that tavern patrons participated in this new excluding behavior often found mostly among the elite in modern consumer societies. In contrast the early owners and clientele of the Sands House participated in a preindustrial tradition.

Early Annapolitans faced conflicting views of community relationships:

the communality and maintenance relationships of the preindustrial world versus the new ideals of consumerism in modern society. Both taverns performed similar basic functions but participated in the town's economy and social relations in very different ways. Both architectural and material remains reflect the contrasting worldviews of both tavern operators as well as the expectations of the their clientele.

Archaeology at Main Street and the Sands House is an example of diachronic documentation of the changing social relations in a community using archaeological and architectural materials. This analysis joins the growing literature that explains changing forms of architectural and everyday material culture to social, economic, and political phenomenon.[36] In this study, a trend is noted at the Sands House that is representative of the social relations of the rest of the city's residents. Specifically, there is a decrease through time in maintenance relationships and community involvement. From the 1720s urban entrepreneurs in Annapolis built substantial structures with permanent foundations and brick walls. It appears that only after some social and economic fluctuations in the city in the 1720s did a growing number of citizens participate in new mass consumer activities. Through the course of the eighteenth century, consumption and meanings of goods became more specialized and deeply rooted in a class structure based on negative reciprocity rather than balanced reciprocity found in the form of maintenance relationships.

Notes

Henry Miller, Paul Mullins, and Mark Warner all provided helpful comments on this manuscript.

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