A Model for Evaluating Archaeological Site Significance in Cities: A Case Study from Tampa, Florida



A report prepared for the Florida Department of Transportation, Central Environmental Management Office, Award no. BC353, RPWD #49

By: Brent R. Weisman, Ph.D., Principal Investigator and Lori D. Collins, M.A., with contributions by Matthew O'Brien

USF UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH FLORIDA

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16. Abstract

Urban archaeological sites often are severely impacted by transportation projects but, in Florida, have rarely been evaluated as significant cultural resources. Particularly in cities that have experienced extensive loss of the built environment through urban renewal, archaeological resources represent the only physical link to a city's past. Urban archaeology also provides great potential for community outreach and developing community history and heritage. This project proposed and tested a model for urban archaeological research that emphasized: (1) a focus on archaeological deposits rather than "sites" in the significance evaluation process, (2) development of archaeological research designs and methodology specific to the nature of the urban archaeological record and to research themes of urbanization, (3) a compressed phase survey and data recovery process, employing both close interval sampling and trench or block excavation when appropriate. Compliance archaeology done in conjunction with FDOT transportation projects can complement FDOT's overall objective of preserving quality of life in communities and make a major contribution to archaeological method and theory.

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Preface

This research project on urban archaeology in Florida was proposed by the Central Environmental Management Office of the Florida Department of Transportation and the funded by a grant from FDOT's Research Section to the Department of Anthropology at the University of South Florida. FDOT's willingness to fund this project reflects its commitment both to preserving Florida history and to enhancing community values through identifying and developing the cultural heritage of urban populations. This report is intended to serve as a template for future urban archaeology in Florida in the hope that the methods and recommendations offered here will advance the objectives of the Department's Cultural Resource Management Program.

The specific goals of this project were threefold: (1) to develop appropriate methodology for effective4, efficient urban archaeological research associated with transportation projects, (2) to develop a model of significance evaluation in urban archaeological contexts to improve and enhance the mandated evaluation process, and (3) to test methodology and significance models through archaeological fieldwork in a pilot study focused on urban Tampa, Florida. From its inception, and with FDOT's blessing and encouragement, this has been conducted as a project in public archaeology. This means that the project was designed to address archaeological practices that are dependent upon the expenditure of public funds while at the same time identifying means for greater public engagement with the goals and objectives of archaeological research.

All planning projections indicate that Florida's growth will expand at unprecedented rates over the next twenty years. The public will demand transportation improvements and FDOT will be expected to respond. Likewise, the public will demand that impacts to cultural resources be addressed and that significant cultural resources not be sacrificed without appropriate and meaningful mitigation. Recognizing the challenge that lies ahead, FDOT and the Central Environmental Management Office asked this research project to address the need for improved, proactive cultural resource planning in urban environments. This report is one response to the challenge and, we hope, will help shape future studies of Florida's urban past.

Disclaimer

The opinions, findings and conclusions expressed in this publication are those of the authors who are responsible for the facts and accuracy of the data presented therein. The contents do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of the Florida Department of Transportation or the Federal Highway Administration. This report does not constitute a standard, specification, or regulation.

The report is prepared in cooperation with the Florida Department of Transportation and the Federal Highway Administration.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Figures	vii
Chapter 1 - Toward an Archaeology of the Modern Florida City:	
Elements of a Research Design	
Why This Study	1
Why the Urban Archaeological Record is Unique	2
Problems in Urban Archaeology in Florida	3
Research Themes and Problem Domains in Urban Archaeology	4
In Urban Archaeology, What is a "Site?"	5
Bringing History and Archaeology Together	5
Urban Land Use: Toward a Deposit Model	6
Significance	7
Bioarchaeology and Reburial Issues. Disturbing the Dead:	
Benefits and Perils	8
Is There a Standard Artifact Classification System in Urban Archaeology?	8
Archaeology in the Community, Of the People	9
Urban Food Ways: Animal and Plant Remains	9
Industrial Archaeology: Developing an Anthropological Approach	10
Exemplary Case Studies	10
Summary of Our 2003 Project Activities	11
Chapter 2 - Going Into the Field: Strategies for Survey and Excavation	
A Model Field Research Plan for Significance Evaluation	15
Forming the Research Design: Players and Process	15
Identifying Research Targets	17
Excavation of First Stratigraphic Units	17
Placement of Second Phase Stratigraphic Units and Additional Units	17
The Evaluation Phase	18
Rapid Assessment Techniques	18
Archival Research	19
Field Reconnaissance	19
Back to the Research Design	22
Is Surface Collection a Valuable Activity in Urban Archaeology?	22
What is the Role of Posthole Testing, Coring, or Augering in the Site	
Discovery Phase?	22

Chapter 3 - Going to the Ground: The Urban Archaeology of	
Central Avenue, Tampa	
Summary of Historical Contexts for Central Avenue	25
Formulation of Research Questions	29
Results of Rapid Assessment	31
Defining the Targets	31
Stratigraphic Results	32
Evaluating the Deposits	36
The Archaeological Potential of Central Avenue in Perry Harvey Sr. Park	37
Public Archaeology in Perry Harvey Sr. Park	37
Is Central Avenue Unique?	37
Chapter 4 - Urban Archaeology Meets the Built Environment:	
Digging at Sulphur Springs Water Tower	
Historical Setting of Sulphur Springs Water Tower	39
The Tower Becomes a City Landmark	40
Developing the Archaeological Research Design	40
Forming the Research Questions	41
Evaluating the Significance of the Deposits	42
Generalizing to Other Cases	45
Chapter 5 - Where to go from Here? Conclusions and Recommendations	
For the Future of Urban Archaeology in Florida	47
References Cited	49
Appendix A: Selected References on Urban Archaeology in the U.S	
Appendix B: An Examination of the Usefulness of Posthole Digging	
in Archaeological Sampling Strategies: a case study	
from 8Hi4561	
Appendix C: Public Archaeology in the Media	

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1	Project Location Map for Sulphur Springs Water Tower, Tampa.	12
Figure 1.2	Project Area Map for Central Avenue, Tampa.	13
Figure 2.1	Urban Archaeology Research Plan.	16
Figure 2.2	Fort Brooke Urban Class Project Test Model.	20
Figure 2.3	Rapid Assessment Protocol	21
Figure 3.1	The Greater Bethel Baptist Church.	24
Figure 3.2	Central Avenue Sanborn Historical Sequence Map.	27
Figure 3.3	Map of 1915 and 1931 City Directory/Sanborn Information, Central Avenue.	28
Figure 3.4	Central Avenue Unit Placement Map	33
Figure 3.5	Planview Map, Unit 4, Perry Harvey Park, Central Avenue	34
Figure 3.6	Bottle Dump Associated with Unit 1 excavation, Central Avenue.	36
Figure 3.7	Unit 2 Excavation Showing Midden Deposit.	36
Figure 3.8	Public Archaeology at Central Avenue.	37
Figure 4.1	The Sulphur Springs Water Tower.	39
Figure 4.2	Sulphur Springs Historical Photo, 1920.	40
Figure 4.3	1931 Sanborn Insurance Map of the Water Tower at Sulphur Springs	41
Figure 4.4	Doorways between Buttresses at the Tower Base.	42
Figure 4.5	Sulphur Springs Unit Placement Map.	43
Figure 4.6	GPS at Sulphur Springs Water Tower	44
Figure 4.7	Unit 3 at the Sulphur Springs Water Tower,	44

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Chapter 1

Toward an Archaeology of the Modern Florida City: Elements of a Research Design

Why This Study?

Despite a long established tradition of compliance archaeology in urban Florida settings, urban archaeology as a distinctive subfield within Florida archaeology has not developed into a productive means of inquiry into the aspect of Florida's recent past. Many archaeological projects in urban environments have not taken the emergence of city life that might have uniquely Floridian characteristics as their primary focus of investigation, and have instead targeted more conventional concerns for the prehistoric archaeological record as it lies buried beneath modern city streets. Transportation archaeology in particular has not yielded significant new insights into the urban phenomenon, despite major mitigation projects associated with interstate highway construction in Tampa and other Florida cities which have had as their ultimate objective the evaluation of urban archaeological resources for significance according to National Register criteria. Few if any truly urban sites have received positive significance evaluations in the nearly forty-year history of compliance archaeology in Florida. In this respect, urban archaeology has not lived up to its potential. But why is this the case? Given that very productive archaeology has not been conducted in other U.S. cities in deposits dating to the same periods as those encountered in Florida, the shortcoming is not intrinsic to the archaeological record. That leaves only one alternative: the practice of archaeology itself.

The biggest problem in urban archaeology in Florida is the failure to connect research questions and themes with the appropriate methodology for extracting answers from the archaeological record. Simply put, urban archaeology in Florida is characterized by inadequate research design. It is in the research design that research problems residing within the larger discipline of anthropological archaeology are linked to the relevant means for their investigation. This failure is not the result of lack of technical skill or the inability to understand that urban archaeology is also informed by the historical record. Knowing how to excavate a precise and tidy 50 cm x 50 cm test unit is not enough. Nor is it enough to know that Sanborn Insurance maps can be used as historical documents. Recognizing that urban archaeological deposits contain the residue of human behavior is the first step in conducting productive archaeological investigations. The next step is figuring out what scale of behavior is represented—the individual or behavior in the aggregate at any one time, or behavior as repeated through time-and figuring out what scale of archaeological investigation is appropriate for the deposits under investigation. This process can be understood as forming a "deposit model" and should guide any subsequent pattern of archaeological testing. In a larger sense this process is situated within the archaeological concern for middle range theory or how the archaeological record reflects the behaviors that it is predicted to reflect. Integrity clearly becomes an issue here, therefore the process of forming a deposit model is integral for the significance evaluation process. Without a deposit model, the archaeologist simply won't know why s/he is digging here rather than there, or what to do with the things that s/he finds. As an element of the research design, the deposit model links the historical and archaeological records. Failing to make this linkage early in the research phase will condemn the archaeological project to simply an exercise in excavation technique. But the fact remains that this step rarely has been given proper consideration, even in projects where extensive historical research was conducted and the subsequent archaeological work was technically competent.

In Florida, our main concern is with developing a framework for postcolonial urban contexts, specifically from the beginning of the Territorial Period (1821) forward. Since many of the features associated with the emergence of the modern American city were not in place in Florida until after the Civil War, we can focus our thinking further on the years beginning in the 1870s or 1880s. This is when issues of work and labor, ethnicity and immigration, and health and sanitation, among others, become inescapably crucial to the archaeological research design. The field sites chosen for this study were selected for their ability to contribute to an investigative model for examining social historical processes in archaeological deposits dating to the late 19th and early-to-mid 20th centuries.

The objectives of this study are to provide the theoretical and methodological elements of an urban archaeological research design. We do not wish to prescribe a single way of doing archaeology in the city, but rather hope to provide the basic building blocks from which innovative approaches to specific problems and circumstances can be crafted.

Why the Urban Archaeological Record is Unique

What we recognize as the urban archaeological record results from the interaction between the great forces of intense urban land use and the material residues of human action embedded in the earth deriving either from building construction or demolition or trash disposal in some form. Some of what is found in the urban archaeological record is what archaeologists in other circumstances would identify as midden. Other urban deposits consist of thick fill layers intentionally moved from one location to another. This is often carried out with the purpose of preparing urban land for a new phase of construction, or exists as layers of rubble and unconsolidated building debris resulting from demolition, frequently prescribed in a desire to beautify, or "renew," the urban environment by removing the standing reminders of urban decay.

Whatever their origin, urban archaeological deposits speak to some dimension of the urban experience, and provide an independent form of cultural evidence about the nature and realities of city life. Even fill, often dismissed as having no interpretive value, has a role to play in urban archaeology, and in the words of the esteemed James Deetz, is "an artifact itself, and intelligent study of it can be most instructive (1996:23)."

The urban archaeological record represents a unique challenge to archaeological method and theory. Because it is shaped by intense site formation processes and given form by a modern world bewildering in its material complexity, the urban record requires its own conjunction of method and theory before meaningful interpretations of its significance can be made. Simply bringing in a prehistoric template won't do. A research design unique to the urban environment is first required. The purpose of the research design is to join the appropriate methodology to

research questions or themes that can feasibly be addressed using the archaeological record. The archaeological record can indeed be a cultural resource if the right questions are asked and the proper means to answer the questions are recognized. There are many documentary and historical sources available to the urban researcher. These sources—Sanborn Insurance maps, city directories, tax and census records, building permits, and photographs, to mention the most common—can be used both as tools of research and as inspirations for city-specific research questions. The challenge to the archaeologist is to connect historical models to the archaeological record, to use one as a means to interrogate the other. Until this is done, the "small things" of urban archaeology will continue to be considered insignificant.

Unlike prehistoric archaeology where sampling strategies target high probability areas as locations where artifacts are likely to be found, urban archaeology takes place on a landscape filled with artifacts. Finding artifacts in the city is not the problem. More important is predicting prior to excavation where certain types of deposits most relevant to your research design might occur, and assessing their potential for integrity based on knowledge of land use gained from the documentary sources. As is the case in all of archaeology, going into the field with some models to test is a good thing. But no plan long survives contact with the archaeological record. Once the investigation begins, the process of revision soon follows. It is at the "trowel's edge," as Ian Hodder argues, that decisions critical to the adequate interpretation of the archaeological record are made. The excavator immediately enters into a relationship with the archaeological record and must be competent to read the clues provided by artifacts in their depositional position. Context is everything. Relating what is being found in the ground to the sets of expectations derived from the documentary record must take place at the trowel's edge, at the moment of initial investigation. This process of relation then guides decision-making about what comes next, assuming the investigator is in search of deposits that are expected to be significant in the research design. If this is not what is taking place, the excavation will result in little more than an exercise in digging holes. Archaeologists thoroughly trained in the method and theory of urban research should be on the front lines. It is not sufficient to task technicians trained only in prehistoric stratigraphy with this responsibility, or excavators trained only to note the presence or absence of artifacts in a unit.

Problems in Urban Archaeology in Florida

Urban archaeology in Florida has not advanced because the emphasis in academic training and research (both in the academic and CRM sectors) has been on the rich prehistoric record. Shell middens, burial mounds, lithic sites, and aboriginal village locations have long attracted considerable attention. Historical archaeology in Florida to some extent has been simply the chronological extension of Florida prehistory, accomplished with only minor changes to method and theory to accommodate new data sources. The European contact period, comprising the decades of early contact and the century or so of missionization, has received most of the attention and has been the subject of some extremely well crafted research. To the extent that this time period is evident in the archaeological record of St. Augustine, its investigation can be considered urban archaeology. But in truth most of these projects are concerned with the early version of the city as a tableau for the interaction between Spaniard and Indian, and have little to say about the origins of the modern city.

Likewise, across Florida, while archaeology has taken place within cities, archaeology of the city is rare. This results both from a certain bias against the archaeological study of the recent past, for modern city life in Florida took shape only after the Civil War, and from a general inadequacy in dealing with artifacts and material remains dating from the late 19th century through the middle decades of the twentieth. Source materials for identifying and dating artifacts from this time range are often written by and produced for collectors and antique hounds. They can be difficult to find and often emphasize complete (unbroken) specimens, something the archaeologist only rarely deals with. Plus there is a certain stigma attached to using a literature produced by those who think nothing of plundering the archaeological record for a trove of bottles. Furthermore, there are few if any academic programs in the state where the historical study of this time period could be readily integrated into an archaeological research design, or would even be accessible to those seeking archaeological training. In short, Florida archaeologists are illequipped through shortcomings in both method and theory to address the archaeological record generated by post-Civil War through World War II activities. Add to this a general lack of urban orientation and a feeling that Tampa, Miami, Orlando, Jacksonville, and other urban centers are too recent to be subjects of legitimate archaeological research and you get a situation where impacts to the urban archaeological resource are not being mitigated appropriately.

There are many exemplars out there that can point the way and aid in the resolution of this problem. The federally-sponsored Five Points project in Manhattan, the National Park Service investigations at Boott Mills in Lowell, Massachusetts, and at Harper's Ferry in West Virginia, and CRM projects in Knoxville, Atlanta, and Washington, D.C. have all generated considerable comparative literature and contributed importantly to both scholarly and public understandings of the development of modern urban life in the United States. Many of the research questions and general domains of research and methodological approaches implemented in these studies can be readily adapted for use in Florida.

Research Themes and Problem Domains in Urban Archaeology

The following topics emerge from the literature as shared research themes or problem orientations for urban archaeological studies:

- Land Reclamation and Land Use History. This theme is used to generate questions about settlement pattern analysis, site function, formation of neighborhoods and districts.
- Health and Sanitation. One of the most important features of modern urban life (and perhaps the single most important obstacle to be overcome to allow urbanism), health and sanitation themes produce questions pertaining to issues of consumerism and transformations from domestic to public services and utilities.
- Immigration. As in historical archaeology in general, the issue of immigration opens up questions on ethnicity, assimilation and retention of identity, and the formation of class societies.
- Work. Through work themes, issues related to gender roles, labor systems, and social and family organization can be addressed. Urban archeologists pay particular attention to the

formation of the working class and how working class people create and define some sense of autonomy within the constraints of the labor system.

- Childrearing. This theme opens up concerns with gender roles, the effect of work on family life, and consumer emphasis on selling childhood products. In archaeological terms there is an interest in identifying toys in the archaeological record and correlating their occurrence with larger socioeconomic trends of the times.
- Consumer Choice. A very broad theme, consumer choice, consumerism, and theories of consumption emphasize a wide range of material culture issues, as can be studied through artifact analysis.

In Urban Archaeology, What is a "Site?"

Answering this question depends on viewing the archaeological site as a bounded area of human activity or as a bounded area of archaeological investigation. These two views are not necessarily mutually exclusive, but the latter is much more practical and appropriate for an urban investigation. If the entire city is one archaeological site expressing a network of human interactions through time, the question rather becomes "what part of it is the appropriate scale for the investigation's research goals?" Archaeologists have defined various context types suitable for comparative analysis, from conventional archaeological features such as wells, privies, cellars, and trash pits, to house lots, blocks, and neighborhoods. Any of these archaeological contexts can bear the numerical designation of a site number for record keeping purposes, but in practice sites designated in this manner carry a different connotation than the concept of "site" used by the prehistorian. To put it in terms of survey objectives, a landscape unit might be surveyed with the purpose of identifying and defining the range of prehistoric sites it contains, but having this objective alone would not lead to productive results in an urban environment. Instead, it should be taken as the premise of urban work that the entire city is a site, with differing scales of interaction and ranges of human response to urban life expressed in different archaeological contexts or in specific deposit types. In urban archaeology, it would be more preferable to develop a range of deposit types present in a city and an assessment of their abundance and condition than to develop an inventory of "archaeological sites."

Bringing History and Archaeology Together

Urban archaeology is properly a subfield of historical archaeology and as such reflects the dynamic interplay between historical documents and the archaeological record. The historical or documentary record can be the source to begin forming the research themes and questions, which are then taken to the archaeological record for answers. However, archaeology should not be the mere "handmaiden of history" and can also be a source of both questions and answers. When trying to understand site formation processes through stratigraphic analysis, the archaeologist is in essence developing an archaeological model of the relationship between human action and taphonomic process. In this respect, good solid archaeological reasoning (and training) is still required, and the archaeologist cannot simply be a historian who happens to like getting his hands dirty. However, few archaeologists will have the specific training necessary to make the fullest use of standard archival sources such as Sanborn maps and city directories. Ideally, study of these documents should be used to generate questions for the archaeological record. The spatial

analysis of Sanborn maps through time can yield a result similar to and comparable with archaeological settlement pattern analysis, but still is used most effectively when actually combined with archaeological fieldwork. Geographical Information Systems (GIS) approaches to combined spatial analysis of Sanborn and other map data with Global Positioning System (GPS) collected field points should become the standard baseline for future projects.

Oral histories comprise another source of valuable information for the urban archaeologist. Oral information can help account for and explain specific features or deposits in the usual "after the fact" type of questioning that often occurs as part of archaeological fieldwork. But talking to people first, before the project starts, can help identify areas or features of interest to the residents before fieldwork begins, and therefore is one way to target areas of potential archaeological significance quite apart from the archaeologist's own research agenda. Talking to people is not a skill always well developed among archaeologists, so we see here the need for another member of the emerging team: the cultural anthropologist.

Other documentary sources include aerial and life-scene photographs, building plans and construction permits, newspapers and commercial advertisements, and virtually every written source available to the historian. The archaeologist needs to know what kinds of documents are available and most appropriate for the type of archaeological problem being studied. This can be an extremely complex undertaking, as archaeologists in any given project must consider large scale issues such as alterations in land use (for which maps, aerials and photographs are useful) to the identification of specific artifacts for which advertisements, price lists, and catalogues would be needed. Historical sources are both a tool and an inspiration for the urban archaeologist, and require extensive familiarity and knowledge to be used to their maximum effectiveness.

Urban Land Use: Toward a Deposit Model

In formulating the research design you want to know as much as possible about the nature of the archaeological record and its ability to address the research questions you hope to bring to it. In practical terms, this means that you want to be able to predict what types of artifacts and features are going to be present in the actual deposits that are known or are predicted to be present across the project area. We will argue in Chapter 2 that using a Rapid Assessment Technique is an efficient way to gather preliminary information about the archaeological potential of the deposits and can certainly provide the basis for expectations to be tested in the fieldwork. It is also a good idea to be able to rapidly identify the type of deposit you are encountering as excavation begins, and then be able to predict the nature and type of archaeological material it is likely to contain.

Patricia Rubertone (1982) proposed a "model for the expected distribution of artifacts among depositional types" which proved in our own work to be a handy guide for deposit assessment. Rubertone describes five deposit types and the types, frequencies of occurrence, and probable condition of the artifacts they are likely to contain. The deposit types are: surface, structural debris, trash, fill, and midden. Examining the distribution of one artifact type, pottery, across the deposit types, we find that pottery occurrence is likely to be low in surface, structural debris, trash, and midden deposits but high in fill deposits. Glass bottles are likely to be low in surface, structural debris and midden deposits but high in trash and fill deposits. The model has

clear implications for the formation of hypotheses that are dependent on the recovery of specific artifact types. Also, very importantly, the model identifies the archaeological potential of fill, which is often too easily dismissed as having no research value. In urban contexts, fill is a cultural artifact, and, quite apart from the value of its artifact content, can be interpreted as an expression of changing land use values.

Significance

If the research design adequately defines both research questions and the requirements of the archaeological record necessary to answer the questions, then significance evaluation can proceed in the manner usually followed for Section 106 compliance. This process will result in some archaeological remains being considered for additional treatment (because they have the properties of significance) and others not. If the research questions have been carefully framed with prior knowledge (or prediction) of the nature and quality of the archaeological record, then the regular application of this process should result in some regular return of "significant" sites. In West Oakland, California, a survey of 48 city blocks resulted in the identification of 2,500 historic features, 120 of which were determined eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places (Praetzellis and Praetzellis 2004:1-1). The West Oakland study provides one benchmark for estimating an expected ratio of significant versus non-significant sites in a given project area. At its best, the significance evaluation process brings together themes of national or international relevance, the specific historical trajectory of the individual city (what makes it unique), and an archaeological deposit model in which the specific archaeological data requirements are identified.

Archaeologists from Sonoma State University working on the West Oakland project developed significance criteria for the Section 106 process (Praetzellis and Praetzellis 1994) that can be applied generally to urban archaeology. As summarized below, these are:

- Association: an archaeological deposit with reliable association to the historical record and good chronological control has higher research potential than a deposit lacking these qualities,
- Integrity: an archaeological deposit with good integrity has greater research potential than
 a deposit with compromised integrity,
- Materials: domestic archaeological features or deposits with a greater number and variety of materials (artifacts) have greater research potential than those features with fewer materials present,
- Stratigraphy: stratification can add to the research potential of a deposit, particularly if activity areas or a chronological sequence can be defined,
- Relative rarity: deposits that are rarely represented can have higher research value than common or well represented deposits.

The West Oakland archaeologists further argued that the application of the research design as an evaluation tool in the first stages of archaeological survey and testing allowed for a compressed and more efficient approach to the standard evaluation process in which identification, evaluation, and data recovery are treated as three distinct stages. To quote project director Jack McIlroy (cited in Praetzellis and Praetzellis 2004:1-16), "while the standard three-phased approach to Section 106 compliance can put archaeologists in the position of delaying major development projects, condensing the legally required identification, evaluation, and data recovery phases into a single operation proved successful: we feel that it set a benchmark for future urban projects."

Bioarchaeology and Reburial Issues. Disturbing the Dead: Benefits and Perils

The African Burial Ground fiasco in New York City demonstrates that human skeletal remains in urban settings carry tremendous power to galvanize community action. Although the eventual analysis of the excavated burials (just now being published) is yielding important information about one of history's lost populations, the cost in terms of negative public sentiment toward archaeology was very high. The African Burial Ground should serve as a cautionary tale for any proposed impact on human burials and the basic message is this: the dead will be brought back to life to serve modern political agendas. A minimal requirement for any excavation of human remains is an impeccable research design in which all stakeholders have been identified and given an opportunity to contribute.

Is There a Standard Artifact Classification System in Urban Archaeology?

Not unexpectedly, urban archaeologists have not agreed on a standard classification system for analyzing and interpreting artifacts. The sheer number and variety of artifacts recovered (one half million in the West Oakland project!) indicate both the challenge and necessity of developing a systematic approach to the artifact record. To some extent, the differences in classification systems can be traced to the different objectives of artifact analysis defined in the research design. Categories important to one investigator simply might not be important to another. The basic hope seems to be that if enough descriptive detail is provided about the artifacts, they can be taken into another classification system as needed for comparative purposes.

Most studies propose some variant of the "artifact group" system first presented by South (1977), and further define functional categories for specific types of artifacts. The Five Points project uses South's Artifact Groups for its Small Finds classification, but divides glass into 12 functional groups: Tableware, Teaware, Serving Pieces, Food Preparation, Food Storage, Wine/Liquor, Hygiene, Cosmetic, Medicinal, Activity, Furniture, Personal (and an unidentifiable category). This reflects the analytical emphasis on glass, which is quite justified given the quantities of glass typically found in urban sites and the robust interpretive value of glass. In this project, ceramics are divided into "ware types" (combining paste categories and decorative techniques) and further grouped by vessel form.

Most archaeologists are on familiar ground in dealing with ceramics and glass, but real difficulties arise in trying to make sense of the myriad fragmentary (and often miniscule) remains of late 19th and early-to-mid 20th century technology. Electrical components, car parts, the insides

of appliances and machines, all can have interpretive value when aggregated on a certain scale of analysis (trends in consumer behavior, for example) but can present a nightmare for both basic identification and classification. Careful thought needs to be given to how these items can be used in problem-oriented research. Certainly if their recovery can be anticipated in a given project, care should be directed at developing research questions that these artifacts are capable of answering. Lacking this, explicit discard policies can be developed and justified, although such policies usually apply to building materials. Curation commitments that come with holding thousands or hundreds of thousands of artifacts from single projects should be carefully considered in the research design phase.

Artifact classification systems should fit the research questions being asked and can be customized to the extent that one project's objectives differ from another's. Although urban archaeologists should not lose sight of the basic need to communicate results across the discipline, there is no need to be restricted to an existing system as a default option.

Archaeology in the Community, Of the People

All large urban archaeology projects should be conducted as public archaeology projects and should have provisions for both public input and involvement. In many respects, there is no better place than a city to bring archaeology to the public. This is particularly important given that many urban projects take place in economically disadvantaged communities among people who are in most ways virtually powerless in society. These people are not traveling to remote dig sites to hover over deep trenches cut through ancient burial mounds and certainly are not participating in *EarthWatch* expedition experiences. Ownership in the history of their communities often stays untold and is difficult to access. Archaeology can be an extremely dramatic and dynamic way for the past to touch the present. How the past is shaped, defined, and created by the interests of the present is what "heritage" is all about, and the urban archaeologist should be duly aware that archaeology in the service of the present can be a highly charged political activity. Archaeology can, however, be an activist enterprise, and can clearly share in the aims and goals of applied anthropology. A disengaged style of archaeology, although much more expeditious and easier to manage, ultimately avoids one of archaeology's great ethical responsibilities to help educate people about the value of studying the human past.

Urban Food Ways: Animal and Plant Remains

Historical archaeologists long ago established the analytical value of studying plant and animal remains from historic period deposits. Clearly one of the major gaps in the overall historical record is in the representation of lifeways, particularly of working and lower class populations. Many research questions dealing with ethnicity and class can be addressed in part through the recovery of plant and animal remains. Insights into health and sanitation issues can also come from various forms of micro analysis of soil deposits. Urban archaeologists should plan on taking soil samples for flotation and other analysis and can expect to encounter animal remains, primarily in the form of bones with various butcher marks. It is also expected that various species of wild fauna might be represented in urban deposits (fish for example, as perhaps the most common, and also shellfish) and sampling designs should include consideration of screen size and the collection of bulk samples from the appropriate deposit types.

Industrial Archaeology: Developing an Anthropological Approach

One of the major challenges remaining in urban archaeology is to include industrial sites within the framework of an anthropologically informed research design. Clearly, major industrial constructions are monuments to coordinated human effort and are essentially artifacts on a grand scale. Yet they seem to defy easy incorporation into the goals and objectives of archaeological research and stand apart from the anthropological mainstream. This would not be the case if they were the products of antiquity, but somehow their modernity is too familiar to our own experience and they are perhaps too close to be taken as serious subjects of study. To some degree, the field of urban archaeology in general falls victim to this same prejudice.

Although Florida is not usually thought of as a center of industrial development, certainly we have a major class of physical remains fitting an industrial description that have not been adequately studied through archaeological research. Factories (including Tampa's famous cigar factories), glass works, brickyards, kilns, and boatyards, water works and utilities, transportation depots, and other infrastructure features of modern life exist or did exist in cities across the state. Their information potential has not been explored, and appropriate means of investigation have not been identified. It is likely that conventional archaeological techniques might not yield significant rewards in every case, but here the archaeologist is challenged to discover other means for productively interpreting the material record, for example spatial analysis using GIS and GPS technology. Archaeologists with a materials science orientation might also examine the residues of technology for perspectives on how industrialism was uniquely expressed in Florida. Perhaps as importantly, archaeologists might find a collaborative role to play in efforts directed at preserving former industrial sites and industrial complexes. Converting some of these sites into recreational uses might provide yet another venue for conveying archaeological messages about the value of learning from the past.

Exemplary Case Studies

Several well-published case studies in urban archaeology can serve as useful models for Florida projects. References to these projects are provided in *Appendix A*. The *West Oakland Project* conducted by Sonoma State University for the California Department of Transportation is an excellent example of first-class research conducted in a compliance setting with a great deal of attention paid not only to evaluating significance and data analysis but also to public interpretive aspects of the project. The project resulted from the need to replace freeway sections damaged in a 1989 earthquake and took place as a contract between CALTRANS District 4 and the Anthropological Studies Center at Sonoma State University. The project began by developing a predictive model for the occurrence of significant archaeological remains. The model was based on predicting where intact deposits capable of answering research questions were likely to exist. This allowed the archaeologists to strongly target their efforts and to move into a data recovery phase early in the fieldwork.

The Five Points project conducted by John Milner Associates for the General Services Administration in New York City is another example of the application of a well-conceived research design and the use of the research design as an evaluative tool. This interdisciplinary study was published in a multi-volume series edited by Rebecca Yamin, and is a tour de force of archaeological method and theory and should be required reading for all archaeologists both for its analysis and presentation of artifact and excavation data, and for its masterful synthesis of the historical record and current anthropological theory.

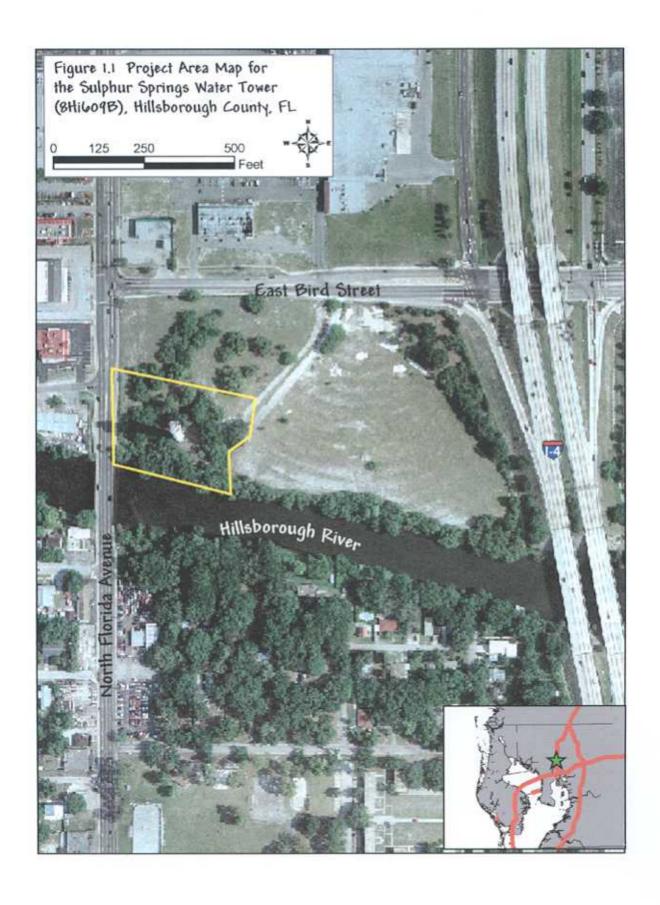
The excavation of deposits associated with the boarding houses at *Boott Mills* in Lowell, Massachusetts represents one of the first advancements in research-driven urban archaeology with its explicit interest in the working class and the use of urban space as a deliberate cultural strategy for expressing freedom within the constraints of the industrial mill system. The project was sponsored by the National Park Service for both compliance and interpretive purposes. The series of site reports edited by Mary Beaudry and Stephen Mrozowksi clearly present the research design, methodology, artifact analysis, and interpretation.

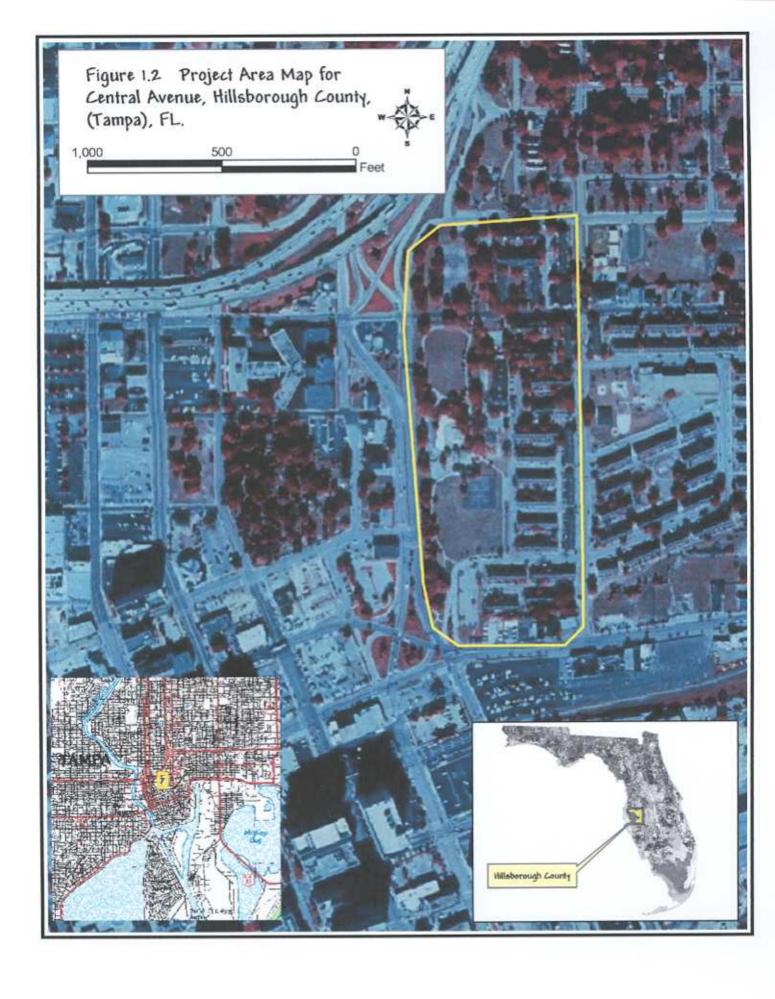
Summary of Our 2003 Project Activities

Archaeological field investigations during summer 2003 were designed to sample different site types in varying urban contexts to test and refine methods of site discovery and significance evaluation, with a focus on sites dating from the little-studied period from the 1880s through the 1940s.

Testing focused on two areas of the city, both of which have high historical visibility and strong levels of community involvement, but have been essentially archaeologically ignored and not subject to previous sustained archaeological research. We also wanted to study areas to be close to transportation facilities, in order to represent the types of resources that might typically be encountered in a transportation project. The first of these areas, Sulphur Springs, was founded in the early 20th century as a resort development on the banks of the Hillsborough River. The area has long since been subsumed within the city limits but retains a strong sense of neighborhood identity. Our testing focused on one of the city's most visible landmarks, the Sulphur Springs Water Tower (prominently visible west of I-275, north of downtown), specifically the area of the grounds where 1920s insurance maps show the location of the caretaker's residence (Figure 1.1). Although no visible traces of the residence survive, we were interested in discovering any buried archaeological remains associated with the 1920s-1930s occupation, especially midden or dump deposits that might reveal insights into the nature and quality of life on the urban fringe. An investigation of this sort had never been proposed or conceived, and when we relatively easily located a large riverbank dump deposit associated with this residence and subsequent occupations of the property, it became a locally newsworthy event. Systematic investigation of this dump using controlled archaeological recovery techniques revealed that archaeological information could indeed yield results pertinent to consumer choice issues, health and sanitation, land use, and a range of urban research themes.

The second focus was the area known as Central Avenue, often referred to as Tampa's "Harlem," and the traditional locus of Tampa's black community (Figure 1.2). First settled in the 1870s and 1880s on the edge of Tampa by former slaves and African-Americans looking for new opportunities, Central Avenue became a bustling business district in the 1930s and 1940s, eventually supporting night clubs, theaters, supper clubs, and numerous family businesses (a number of the still active elsewhere in Tampa today), including restaurants, saloons and taverns, grocery stores, pharmacies, barber shops, and bakeries. As pivotal as it was in launching a successful black community, Central Avenue fell into decline in the 1950s and 1960s and was





razed in Tampa's urban renewal effort in the early 1970s. The core of what once was Central Avenue today lies buried beneath the grounds of Perry Harvey Jr. Park, a city park primarily serving as a playground for the adjacent Central Park Village subsidized housing complex.

Using a defined methodology to be further illustrated and discussed in the next chapter, we identified a number of intact significant archaeological deposits associated with former activity areas of Central Avenue. This result is particularly important because a previous limited survey by a consulting company hired by the City of Tampa prior to some construction in the park, evaluated the archaeological resources of the park to be not significant. This previous survey design followed a strict prehistoric probability model, based on distance to water, and did not develop a historical model based on Sanborn maps and other documentary sources. Our investigations focused on sampling portions of three blocks, and uncovered deposits associated with an 1880s-1890s saloon, backyard bottle dumps and midden deposits associated with two different residential areas on the block, and deposits that accumulated behind several businesses on Central Avenue. Importantly, we were able to identify and stratigraphically define the "urban renewal layer" consisting of demolition rubble and fill material and show that it is consistently above intact deposits. This project generated considerable community involvement and press coverage including several articles in the Tampa Tribune, features on WFLA NewsChannel 8, BayNews 9 and WTSB Channel 10 newscasts in the Bay area, as well as being highlighted on a nationally syndicated radio talk show (see Appendix C).

The field project continued in fall 2003 under the auspices of a graduate seminar in urban archaeology, during which time we developed a sampling design and extended our coverage throughout the city. To accomplish this phase of the project, students were divided into teams and given the task of assessing the potential of discovering archaeologically significant deposits based on the nature of the built environment and other qualities of the above-ground setting. Essentially their job was to develop a deposit model based on observations of land use patterns. This phase also gave us further opportunities to evaluate the effectiveness of surface survey in an urban setting. Areas of the city covered in this project included two areas in Ybor City, an industrial-commercial area along the waterfront, the Fort Brooke area of the central city, an African-American residential area in midtown, and a cigar factory area with associated worker's houses in West Tampa. Methodologically, the purpose of this portion of the project was to examine the value of a "rapid assessment" approach as is typically used in social impact assessments for use in refining the sampling universe early in the research design phase or in conjunction with a mitigation plan in which subsurface archaeological data recovery has not been required.

Chapter 2

Going Into the Field: Strategies for Survey and Excavation

Our objectives in this chapter are to describe one approach to investigating the urban archaeological record from start to finish and to propose a Rapid Assessment method for gathering field information as part of the early research design phase. The fieldwork plan described here is essentially the one we put into practice in the archaeological investigation of Perry Harvey Sr. Park (Central Avenue) in downtown Tampa (more fully presented in Chapter 3). The Rapid Assessment method is a combination of different field exercises conducted by graduate students in Weisman's Fall 2003 graduate seminar in urban archaeology at locations throughout the city.

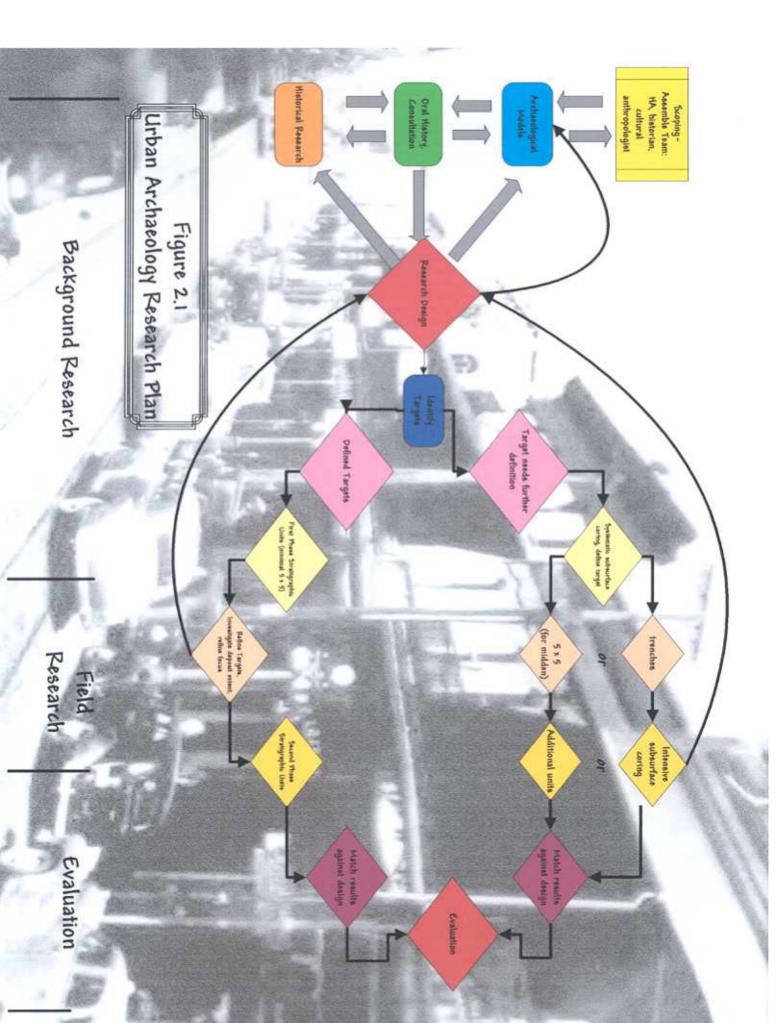
Although in the previous chapter we seriously implicated shortcomings in research design as one of the overall failings in Florida urban archaeology, in the fieldwork sense one of the problems comes down to the failure to match archaeological sampling and testing methods to the nature of the urban archaeological resource. A significance evaluation is not likely to emerge from the excavation of 50-cm shovel tests placed at wide-interval grid locations, and certainly will not result from a sampling pattern defined on the basis of prehistoric probability models, such as distance to water. Considering fill as evidence of disturbance (and therefore as evidence of lack of integrity) rather than as a cultural deposit will also rule out large areas for further investigation. In short, the archaeologist must specifically adapt research designs and strategies for work in the urban environment and cannot simply treat urban space as essentially prehistoric terrain encumbered by modern disturbance.

A Model Field Research Plan for Significance Evaluation

The research plan we describe below is graphically depicted in Figure 2.1 as a flow chart. Of particular importance are the places where the sequence loops back to connect with an earlier stage of work, as this indicates the dynamic nature of the research process. If there is one message we would like to convey about urban archeology it is this: a successful research process is both dynamic and flexible, and you (the investigator) must be ever vigilant to conditions as they emerge "at the trowel's edge." The following discussion describes each of the major steps shown in this figure.

Forming the Research Design: Players and Process

There are three major components to the research design: archaeological models, historical research, and "people" as accessed through oral histories and the consultation process. These components interact with one another as they are brought together by the research team. Archaeological models consist of expectations as derived from a review of comparable sites and a deposit model in which research questions are situated within physical archaeological deposits. Historical research can also result in the development of a historical model, a generalized expectation of what went on in the project area, for how long, and by whom. Through oral histories and various forms of formal and informal consultations, the research team learns what resources within the project area might have particular value or importance to the community.



How big and encompassing the research design is and what weight each of the variables has is determined by the research team, whose main responsibility at the outset is to "scope" the project for its viability, research potential, and ability to meet contractual or other project obligations. Minimally the team should consist of a qualified historical archaeologist (designated as HA in the scooping box of Figure 2.1), a historian specializing in the time period and uses of the appropriate types of documentary evidence, and a cultural anthropologist trained in qualitative research methods and with a background in community research.

What emerges from the interaction between the research team and their various specialties of expertise is the research design, in which the method and theory appropriate for one another are defined relative to project goals, and a means for involving all the stakeholders is identified. A tangible result of the research design is the identification of target areas, specific locations predicted to have archaeological potential as defined in the research design.

Identifying Research Targets

Surface inspection is the first step in investigating the target area. Even in areas where major impacts have occurred, surface features still might be evident and might be intact enough to guide the placement of test units. Sometimes portions of building foundations or vegetative patterns indicating the presence of shallow architectural features can be seen through close scrutiny and might give positive indication of your target location. If this is the case, your target might be sufficiently defined to begin to place and to excavate a first-phase stratigraphic unit, which should be no smaller than 5 feet by 5 feet. If the target lacks sufficient definition, then systematic subsurface coring is called for to sufficiently refine the target area.

Excavation of First Stratigraphic Units

Once the target area is defined, stratigraphic units should be excavated in the appropriate locations as defined in the research design. If you are attempting to define wall lines or deposits associated with the building perimeter, this first trench should be aimed at intersecting the building foundation. If you are looking for backyard midden deposits, the unit should be placed at a predicted distance from the back wall of the house. These first phase units should be at least 5 feet by 5 feet in size or excavated as trenches. You need to be able to see and understand the stratigraphy and you need to be able to get all the way through the deposit to non-cultural strata. Furthermore, if this operation is progressing simultaneously at several locations across the project area you will begin to get the stratigraphic information to connect deposits across the site and to start forming a site deposit model. You will now know how close you are to actually hitting your target and whether further definition is needed. It is unwise to complete your evaluation of the archaeological potential of your target location at this stage, however, as only slight further refinement might be needed for the placement of a second (and more productive) unit. This is the stage where you first revisit the research design and begin to anticipate possible changes in focus.

Placement of Second Phase Stratigraphic Units and Additional Units

Additional units can be excavated in the target area if further exploration is needed or if additional data recovery is required in a mitigation situation. In this case, excavation represents the compressed phase circumstance described in Chapter 1 for the West Oakland project, in which

significance evaluation and data recovery take place in the same step. This means that you have checked in once again with your research design and have matched the excavation results against the data requirements previously set forth. The application of a pre-set test pattern by minimally trained field technicians will not result in a satisfactory evaluation of archaeological potential in an urban setting.

The Evaluation Phase

Stratigraphic excavation now leads you to the evaluation phase. You are making decisions about the archaeological potential of deposits rather than sites. Did the deposit yield the information required to answer the research question? If yes, then it is deemed significant and is evaluated for the need of further data recovery. If not, then the deposit drops from further consideration. Since the unit of analysis is the deposit, you want to be able to see as much of it exposed across as much space as possible as quickly as possible. This is why it is advisable to have several excavation units underway simultaneously, placed closely enough together so that the linear extent of deposit types can be traced, or the presence of deposits extrapolated between them. Evaluating an entire "site," some arbitrarily defined larger piece of landscape, as being significant or insignificant is a relatively meaningless activity. For one thing, you have already targeted the test locations following the development of the archaeological, historical, and deposit models, and have predicted that the test locations will have some degree of archeological potential relative to the research design. The fact that you are excavating here rather than somewhere else already reflects a high degree of selectivity, so it is more likely than not that some deposit within the test universe will have the properties of archaeological significance.

As we will see in Chapter 3 on the Central Avenue project, this approach works best perhaps if the test universe is block-sized, that is, if your units can be placed to examine the functional and chronological variability within the limits of a city block or portions of adjacent blocks that might form an interaction unit. The early selection of the target area in the research design phase is an extremely important element in this model of significance evaluation. But how can you know which areas to focus on? This is where rapid assessment techniques come in. Their use occurs during the "archaeological models" phase of research design development.

Rapid Assessment Techniques

The goal of using a rapid assessment approach is to determine which areas within the larger study area are most likely to contain the types of deposits of greatest research interest, and, just as importantly, which areas are feasible locations for archaeological research. This process takes place during the early phase of developing the research design, and can influence the design by quickly feeding back information about the archaeological record that might cause adjustment or revision to the research questions. You want to feel that you have a good chance to answer the questions you are asking through an investigation of the archaeological record, so it is wise to get the best fit possible between question and answer at this stage. The immediate objective of a rapid assessment is to define "core areas" of high archaeological potential.

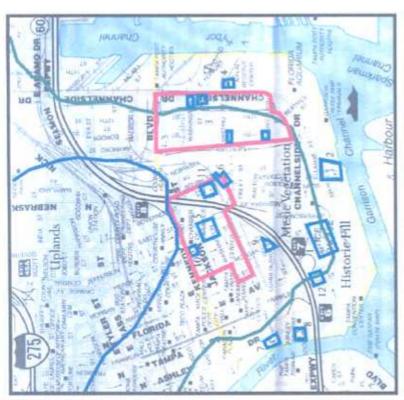
To test the logistical feasibility of rapid assessment in different types of urban environments, the city of Tampa was divided into large zones (mostly based on neighborhoods or industrial areas) and teams of students were sent out to produce assessments of archaeological potential within each of the zones. Some flexibility in method was allowed in order to provide a "trial and error" improvement of results. In most cases, the actual field reconnaissance even of the largest area (the 80-block or so area of downtown Tampa south of Kennedy Avenue to Garrison Channel) was completed within one day. Basic archival and historical research necessary at this preliminary stage took another day, and the subsequent analysis, map production (see Figure 2.2 showing the example Fort Brooke area), and write-up took no more than another full day. So, the rapid assessment process took no longer than three days for a team of 2-3 people for what might be considered a typical size survey area for an urban project. What follows below is a general plan and diagrammed example (Figure 2.3) for conducting a rapid assessment as synthesized from all of the teams.

Archival Research

At this stage, detailed primary research is not necessary if secondary sources are sufficient to gain an understanding of basic historical contexts. Review of the Florida Master Site File is a good starting point, followed by consulting general historical treatments. The Site File should also be checked for historic structures, as their presence becomes important in the field reconnaissance stage of the assessment. If GIS expertise is available, the FMSF can provide coverage data by county in ArcGIS 8.X format which will allow selective queries and visualization of the project areas. Layers of interest include historic structures, previous cultural surveys, historic cemeteries, historic bridges, and archaeological site occurrence. When information from these databases is combined with historic and archival references in a GIS, a detailed understanding of the project area's built environment and culture history emerges. Depending on the project locale, early topographic maps, General Land Office Survey maps, historic aerials and Sanborn Fire Insurance maps can also be georeferenced, with previous land use and modification shown in combination with present-day conditions in the developed GIS. This provides a useful understanding of land use changes, for example the presence of former shorelines or large areas of fill. Surveying the Sanborn maps and city directories can be helpful for general demographic and land use trends. The archival research should be guiding you toward certain locations that might have greater archaeological potential than others.

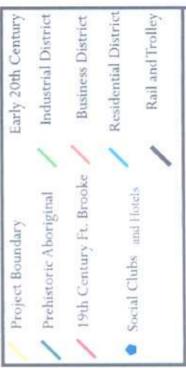
Field Reconnaissance

With maps and historical summaries in hand, field reconnaissance can begin. The main goal of the reconnaissance is to identify possible testing locations. In the example of downtown Tampa given above, 12 testing locations were identified as meeting criteria of feasibility (access) and likely archaeological potential based on archaeological and geophysical models. Of particular importance are vacant lots or groups of lots adjacent to standing historic structures. The structures provide an overall guide to the chronology of the historical contexts represented, the nature of land use (residential, commercial, industrial, public, and so on), and the general socioeconomic characteristics of the neighborhood. Large paved or bricked areas might also contain deposits of high archaeological potential if the deposits have been sealed and preserved by the paving. If the ground surface is exposed, surface inspection for architectural remains and artifacts might yield additional clues about historical contexts and site integrity. Site deposit patterns might also be observed, such as accumulation of backyard trash deposits against fence lines.









Land Use in Ft. Brooke Urban Archaeological Area

Figure 2.2 Fort Brooke Urban Class Project Test Model

Define Project Area 医不管病 美 研 90 Vacant Lots Obtained GIS data from FMSF on Historic Structures, Cemeteries, Bridges, and previous Standing structures and identified surveys historic structures as previously recorded in the FMSF Areas targeted for Future Development (Multiple Planned Units, Developments of Regional Check with Property Impact, zoning changes, etc.) Appraiser or State/Local agencies to obtain high quality aerial basemap (e.g. Hillsborough County I foot resolution) Ground Truth In GIS, query tabular he Dietze Construction Gro data for all previously recorded historic structures within the defined project area Use digital photography in conjunction with GPS to document, developing a customized GIS for project area Examine the previous surveys data in GIS and determine which are relevant to project area and request copies on the Decide on inclusion/ report PDF files from exclusion of adjacent historic structures for ground truthing, export data to Excel spreadsheet as well In the GIS, combine the present-day as create project area map conditions/reality examined with for use with groundtruthing historical documents including spatial Examine cultural data in and tabular data (historic aerials and relation to relevant maps, Sanborns, photographs, oral environmental and history information, etc.) planning data in the GIS (e.g. landuse, zoning, future development, hydrography, soils, etc.) Figure 2.3 Rapid Assessment Protocol To accomplish this task adequately, the field team must be trained in how to recognize diagnostic historical artifacts and in the basic architectural elements of dating and function associated with historic structures. In terms of graduate student preparation, the need for cross-training between cultural resource management (which academically usually focuses more narrowly on archaeological resources), historical archaeology, and historic preservation is strongly indicated. Mapping and data analysis through GIS and GPS techniques and a familiarity with the use and value of historical source materials is also strongly recommended.

Another benefit of field reconnaissance is the opportunity to meet local residents and people active in the neighborhood. This is a good way to gather information and to begin to acquaint people with the objectives of the overall project. Such encounters are not a substitute for more formal charrettes or public planning meetings, but can provide further points of contact in neighborhood networks. Team members should look upon themselves as ambassadors of the project, and should be confident and fully informed as to the scope and aims of the project. Even at this level, the opportunity for contact and communication should be welcomed if the opportunity presents itself.

Back to the Research Design

The purpose of the rapid assessment is to feed information to the research design about the core areas of high archeological potential. It is within the core areas that the actual target locations will be selected. Neither process—the selection of research questions and the identification of core and target areas—should proceed independently but should be interactive and mutually adjusting. It is possible for instance that a rapid assessment might result in the recognition of an area of high archaeological potential that was not adequately addressed by existing research questions, or the questions were not quite right to adequately address the archaeological resource. This too is a dynamic process and should require a great deal of thought. It is hard to imagine that a formula or boilerplate response would suffice. The need is particularly critical given the generally undeveloped status of urban archaeology in Florida.

Is Surface Collection a Valuable Activity in Urban Archaeology?

In the course of this study we used a combination of techniques to examine the following areas in urban Tampa:

- By rapid assessment only: Fort Brooke area of downtown, south Ybor City, La Quinta (Ybor Estate) in north Ybor City, West Tampa, south Tampa Heights.
- By assessment followed with targeted excavation: Central Avenue (Perry Harvey Sr. Park), and the Sulphur Springs Water Tower (River Tower parcel).

In all of these areas, surface inspection revealed temporally or functionally diagnostic artifacts, and surface architectural remains (masonry or brick foundations, slabs, piers) that had value for assessing the archaeological potential of the areas. Despite the high levels of disturbance typically thought to characterize most urban land surfaces, the basic technique of surface inspection and collection still has value in an initial reconnaissance of the property.

What is the Role of Posthole Testing, Coring, or Augering in the Site Discovery Process?

To answer this question, we designed a study of a sample area in Perry Harvey Park, which is reported in *Appendix B*. In summary, we can say that posthole testing (and by extension,

augering) can have a role in extending coverage of high potential areas and can provide supplemental information to be used in conjunction with excavation results. Close-interval testing on a ten-foot grid can reveal patterns of remains useful for refining target locations. Coring in conjunction with unit placement using a push-tube sampler or bucket auger is a useful way to quickly assess the nature and depth of deposits and can be used to guide unit placement. Using these sampling techniques as stand-alone treatments is more problematic but would have greater viability when time constraints are severe and large areas needed to be covered.

In conclusion, the field methods and plan of research recommended in this chapter might strike some readers as a conventional plan of archaeological research as might be used in a noncompliance setting. If so, this is the desired conclusion. For productive urban archaeology to occur, it cannot be business as usual. More thought needs to be given to developing research designs specific to the urban archaeological record, using the combined disciplines of history, archaeology, and anthropology. This does not mean that urban archaeology is beyond the reach of cultural resource management, as indeed this is not the case in other parts of the country. It does mean that practices and perspectives need to be revised and reformed, and expectations as to the yield of information and the productivity of the urban archeological record need to be raised. It can no longer be acceptable to simply dismiss as not significant the majority of sites tested in urban environments.

Chapter 3

Going to the Ground: The Urban Archaeology of Central Avenue, Tampa

In the previous chapters we proposed a model plan for research design and significance evaluation. But the question still remains: can archaeology be an effective means for learning about the recent urban past? Can urban archaeological deposits possess the properties of archaeological significance as defined by the National Register of Historic Places and the Section 106 compliance process? Examples from cities across the country demonstrate that major compliance-funded archaeological efforts have been undertaken in contexts dating from the mid 19th century forward. Why hadn't this occurred in Florida? Is there something intrinsic to the historical archaeological record of Florida's recent past that disqualifies it from sustained archaeological investigation?

In this chapter we put the research model to the test and attempt to find first answers to the questions above by describing our project at Central Avenue, a once-flourishing African-

American community whose fragmentary physical remains now lie buried beneath Tampa's infamous "Malfunction Junction" (the cloverleaf junction of Interstates 4 and 275) and the grass of Perry Harvey Sr. Park. After its commercial heyday in the 1940s and 1950s, Central Avenue slipped into economic decline in the post-integration era, ultimately suffering the onetwo punch of interstate construction and urban renewal (Baber 1998). Today the most visible reminders of an area once described as Tampa's Harlem are the Longshoreman's Hall, the Kid Mason Center (now sporting a large mural showing "Central Avenue Legacies" painted on its street-side wall) and the Bethel Baptist Church, built in 1893 (Figure 3.1). The memory of growing up on Central Avenue is a powerful touchstone for many prominent African American citizens of Tampa, including state representative Arthenia Joyner

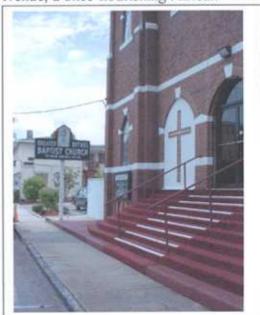


Figure 3.1 The Greater Bethel Baptist Church.

Avenue from the built environment and the many alterations brought on by highway construction

But given the near complete erasure of Central

and federal housing projects, the memory of Central Avenue had no means of physical expression and was rapidly slipping from the public mind. The loss of Central Avenue into the voids of history was temporarily checked by a major public heritage project developed by the anthropology department at the University of South Florida, the goals of which were to "resurrect this ghostly landscape, to make it part of the public heritage of Tampa, and to underscore its importance in the ongoing discourse about race relations and the historical contributions of African Americans" (Greenbaum 1998:2). Using skills of archival research, exhibit design, interviewing, and public programming, the USF anthropologists facilitated the discovery and rediscovery of the legacies of Central Avenue for today's residents of the community and for the citizens of Tampa.

During the development of the Central Avenue Legacies project, archaeology was waiting in the wings, eager to join the collaboration and show what it could contribute to the resurrection of this lost place. With the funding provided by this FDOT research grant, we were finally able to "go to the ground" at Central Avenue and search for the physical legacy of this now vanished community. What would happen if we developed a research design with the explicit goal of evaluating the archaeological potential and significance of the property? Could a piece of landscape with this much history also have archaeological significance? Archaeological potential aside, the former Central Avenue now buried beneath Perry Harvey Sr. Park had a very high cultural heritage value and had been the focus of a great deal of collaborative preservation effort on the part of scholars, community activities and residents, and city officials. Clearly, if there was one single place in the city of Tampa to effectively put urban archeology to the test, it was Perry Harvey Sr. Park (designated in a previous survey as site 8HI4561, see Panamerican Consultants 2001). The challenge was clear, and we got to work.

What follows in this chapter is a presentation of the research design for the Central Avenue project and how we developed and refined the model for evaluating archaeological significance as proposed in this report. This was not a compliance excavation, and this chapter is by no means a final report on the excavation results of our project. Research on various aspects of our archeological findings is ongoing in the form of student reports and theses (one completed study provided here as Appendix B) and in scholarly articles now in preparation. At this point we can safely say that a mere three weeks of archaeological investigation has generated considerable rewards in terms of new information and analytical opportunities. This carries a message, and a lesson, unto itself. But our emphasis here, properly we feel given the scope and intent of this research study, is on design and method rather than data presentation.

Summary of Historical Contexts for Central Avenue

African Americans began settling in the vicinity of what would become Central Avenue during and shortly after the Civil War, when this area was well beyond the bustle of white-dominated downtown. During this time the settlement known as the Scrub came into existence as blacks from the surrounding regions formed a community close to but separate from Tampa. Through time when Central Avenue thrived as the business district for black entrepreneurs, the Scrub maintained its identity as a home for working class or unemployed blacks and by the 1930s became the target of municipal reform initiatives.

Central Avenue first appears on the 1895 Sanborn map as an organized pattern of streets and buildings. It is a safe bet that serious development had begun here at least 10 years earlier, placing the emergence of the Central Avenue urban pattern at least in the mid to late 1880s. By 1899 the neighborhood was characterized by mixed residential and business use. Shops and houses fronted Central Avenue, Harrison Street, Emery Street, Scott Street and the other major streets in the area. Two churches served the religious needs of the new community: Beulah Baptist on Harrison (where the Longshoreman Hall now stands) and Bethel Baptist two blocks north on Jefferson (built between 1895 and 1899). The existence of the two churches indicates both a degree of stability already present at this time and perhaps that some fissioning of the

community had already occurred. This process too, hints at community origins ten years or more prior to the first Sanborn map. For our study, we are particularly interested in following the historical sequence of development at the intersection of Harrison and Central and on the adjacent block to the east with Central Avenue to the West, Emery to the north, Gladstone Alley to the east, and East Harrison to the south (Block 120, see Figure 3.2.). Overall the growth process is one of basic functional stability periods of growth and infilling through the 1950s. From Gladstone Alley east and northeast across Long Emery and Short Emery and past Governor Street was the Scrub. Much of this area is now occupied by the Central Park Village housing project, built with federal support in 1954 (Baber 1998:16). Also in this area still stands Meachem School on India Street, built in the 1930s as part of the effort to bring education to the marginalized population of the Scrub.

In 1899 the area of Harrison and Central contained a large livery stable (southwest corner of the intersection), William Fowler's Central Saloon on the northwest corner, and a restaurant, soda water shop, and houses facing them to the east across Central. Gladstone Alley contained seven shotgun style houses facing the street. By 1903 the same basic pattern holds except that the stable is gone, replaced by a row of houses. A smaller stable sat behind them. Between 1903 and 1915 activity in the area greatly intensified, and we can see the makings of the business district that would come fully into bloom during the 1940s and 1950s. By 1915 the famous Central Hotel was operating where the old livery stable stood, on the second and third floors above restaurants, shops, and a "moving picture show." Shoemakers, barbers, grocers, and restaurateurs opened businesses along the east side of Central. Cooks, laborers, and a bartender lived in houses on the block (now designated as Block 2, see Figure 3.3). Above the saloon was a dance hall, behind it a storehouse for wholesale liquor. Commercial development continued to intensify between 1915 and 1931, when the Sanborn map records the entire frontage of Block 2 along Central given over to small businesses. The City Directory for 1928 indicates the presence of barbershops, restaurants, shoe stores, soft drink shops, and one shop specializing in ladies wear.

By 1951, this area of Central Avenue was emerging as an entertainment district, and a number of the small businesses along Central were gone. Gone also were all but one of the houses on Gladstone Alley, replaced by a large movie theater that extended from Central Avenue to Gladstone along Long Emery. Another movie theater sat two blocks north on the corner of Short Emery. The Pyramid Hotel, which figures prominently today in the memories of many people who grew up on Central (Rodriguez 1998:14), was at the corner formerly occupied by the Central Hotel. These were times of great prosperity on Central Avenue, the sweet years growing up on Central remembered so fondly by middle-aged people today. Given the clear historical trends indicating economic development for the area between 1915 and the 1950s, during the times of segregation, Depression, and world war, the demise of Central Avenue is not easy to understand at first. In the end, the reasons for its success became the cause of its downfall.

By the 1950s, Tampa along with many other cities, was swept up in the movement toward "urban renewal," sets of policy initiatives backed by funding opportunities at various government levels to clean up poor and dilapidated areas of the city long neglected by municipal services and often existing as enclaves apart from the larger identity of the city. In Tampa, the area of the Scrub and other marginal African American neighborhoods east toward Ybor City came under

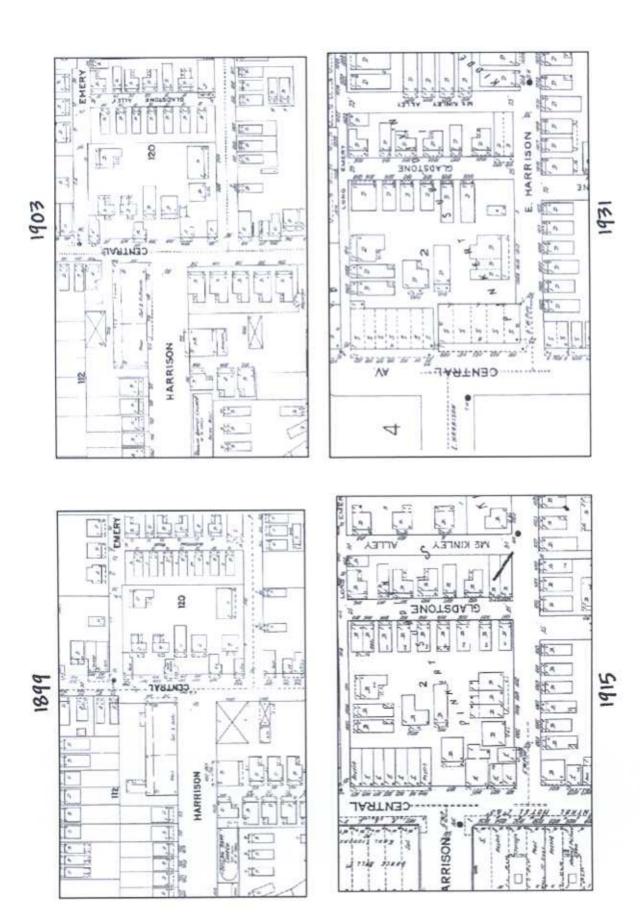
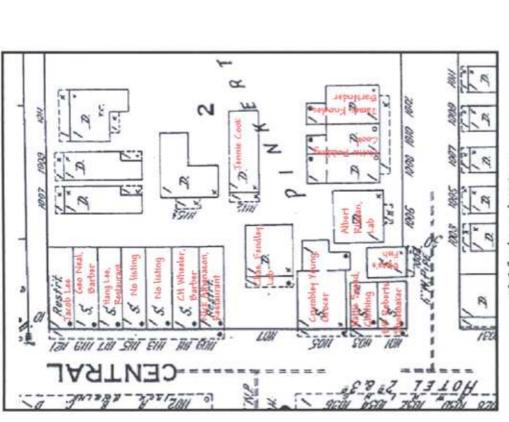


Figure 3.2 Central Avenue Sanborn Historical Sequence Map



2

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1915 Sanborn depicting 1915 City Directory Listing Information for Central Avenue Project Area

1931 Sanborn depicting 1928 City Directory Listing Information for Central Avenue Project Area

3

1008 1010 1012

W. Pilot

Flgure 3.3 Map of 1915 and 1931 City Directory/Sanborn Information, Central Avenue

close scrutiny. Often without community representation or without very good information about residents' needs and their ways of life, urban renewal policy makers condemned large tracts of land, demolishing all homes within broadly defined designated areas, scattering the former occupants across the city (Ybor City in particular) or relocating them into new project housing. By the early 1960s, urban renewal in and around Central Avenue had largely sheared the local businesses from their customer base. Once started, the process of economic decline was not to reverse, particularly without any governmental interest in doing so. The three-day "riot" of 1967 (Baber 1998:15) was a symptom of decay rather than its cause (contrary to the Central Avenue Redevelopment Plan, published by the City of Tampa Metropolitan development Agency in 1973). Interstate construction in the late 1960s furthered crippled a community already on its knees by disconnecting once-continuous streets (most prominently, Central Avenue itself), and disrupting the flow of neighborhood life. By 1974 what had been unthinkable only twenty years before became reality: much of Central Avenue lay in ruins. The City finished the job with bulldozers and wrecking balls, leaving Central Avenue a "moonscape of bricks, rock, sand and broken bottles" (quoted in Mohlman 1995:156). The Pyramid Hotel was reduced to a pile of twisted steel, shattered glass, and bricks (see Mohlman 1995:160). Soon Orange Avenue, a new street connecting downtown with the interstate, paved over what had been the west end of the old saloon and billiard hall and other buildings in its path. Kids now play in the park where the Pyramid Hotel once stood, watched over by the ghosts of Central Avenue.

Formulation of Research Questions

Given that Central Avenue was from the beginning an African American community in the segregated South that grew in economic and community importance through time and coexisted with the contemporary communities of Ybor City to the east and the city of Tampa to the west, the broad thematic framework for the specific research questions builds on issues of ethnicity and immigration, work, consumer behavior, and urban land use. When it became clear through the assessment process that it was feasible to investigate the southern half of Block 120 and the corners of Central and Harrison and therefore that a block-level scale of analysis could be used, research questions were derived from these themes relevant to the range of spatial, functional, and chronological diversity likely represented by the archaeological remains on Block 120 and the Central Avenue intersection. Previous oral histories and other information gathered by the USF applied anthropologists and our own contacts with community leaders and residents while designing the research also provided critical information about what the local people might find important and interesting to excavate.

We decided that the most effective and efficient way to evaluate the archaeological potential of the study area and to maximize the positive use of the variability of information that it represented was to pose specific questions to be answered through the excavation of specific locations. Further, we would set specific conditions that the archeological record would have to meet in each location for it to be considered significant. The result of this process would be a series of statements about the archeological potential and significance of specific deposits contained within the study area, rather than a blanket statement about the significance of the "site" as a whole (in this case, Block 120 and the study area rather than the entire Perry Harvey Park, defined by the previous survey as site 8HI4561). Had this been a compliance project using the compressed-phase process as described in Chapters 1 and 2, the significance determination would

result in a resetting of excavation priorities such that work in areas of low potential would be stopped in favor of increased attention to significant deposits.

With this premise in mind, we went to the field with the following questions:

- 1). Were the Central Avenue businesses in the 1880s and 1890s connected to a larger economic and commercial network extending from the Tampa area outward to regional, national, and international sources? Were the goods for sale essentially the same types of products available to other consumers in Tampa (and Ybor City)? Archaeological conditions: To answer these questions, excavations would be directed at finding the remains of the 1890s saloon and the (hopefully) durable glass bottles contained therein.
- 2). Were the residents of Block 120 participating fully in the consumer economy of Central Avenue, and to what extent? To what degree would the material record reflect their level of economic success and their membership in a middle class? Archaeological conditions: Midden, refuse, or dump deposits associated with a household along Central Avenue or East Harrison would need to be discovered and determined to have stratigraphic integrity.
- 3). Were economic or class distinctions present within the African American community? To what extent did the laboring or working class households of Gladstone Alley (and the Scrub) participate in the commerce of Central Avenue? To what extent did a subculture exist among residents of the Scrub, distinct from the Central Avenue community? Archaeological conditions: Backyard midden deposits associated with the Gladstone Alley houses would have to be discovered and compared to domestic deposits representing the range of house types and house position on the block. The recovery of faunal remains to indicate dietary practices would be particularly useful.
- 4). Did the intensification of land use on Central Avenue for commercial purposes fit with a pattern of conversion and incorporation (renovating, enlarging, adapting or including former structures within new buildings) or with a pattern of demolition? Were the sources and materials of capital improvements on Central Avenue similar or identical to capital improvements in other sections of Tampa (Ybor City, for example) and did construction techniques and architectural specifications differ from contemporaneous construction in other areas?
 Archaeological conditions: A stratigraphic sequence showing changing land use or a horizontal sequence of building construction would have to be identified. Evidence of buildings would have to be intact enough for interpretation and construction sequences must have good stratigraphic definition.

Clearly each of these research questions contains middle-range implications for interpreting the archaeological record, implications that must be recognized and tested while excavation is underway. It is simply not possible to provide a blueprint which takes into account all the ways conceivable in which the archaeological record will be intersected by excavation units. Anticipating the difficulties and challenges in actually taking research questions to the ground is one of the main objectives of archeological training, and to be successful at it requires a

great deal of skill and experience. This is also one of the reasons why fieldwork loops back to research design.

It is also certain that any given set of research questions asked of the archaeological record is not the only set of questions possible to ask. For now at least, specific question formulation should be reduced to a formula or selection from a predetermined menu of questions. There still is much intellectual exploration to be done, and it is the duty of each investigator to be creative and original in their thinking, all the while basing their approach on the strengths of their own experience. At this stage of development in Florida urban archaeology, thinking should be highly reflective and not routine. We still have a long way to go to even know what kinds of research questions best fit the nature of the urban record. We bring this up here to preempt any undue codification or standardization of the particular questions we proposed above. They reflect one way of thinking about the archaeological record of Central Avenue, and offer one means of evaluating the relationship between archaeological research questions and the material correlates on which they depend for answers.

Results of Rapid Assessment

Early in the Research Design phase several trips were made to the proposed project area to gain some expectation of field conditions and the feasibility of successfully finding the remains of Central Avenue buried beneath the ground. Armed with Sanborn maps, GIS locational data, a series of aerial photographs, and historical photographs of Central Avenue street scenes, we were able to determine that existing street patterns in the surrounding area and the existence of several historic buildings (including the Kid Mason Center and Longshoreman's Hall) together would allow for the reasonable extrapolation of the location of the now buried portions of Central Avenue. Surface inspection across the park indicated that considerable quantities of material were in fact coming to the surface from buried deposits, rather than simply being surface deposits. The assessment also indicated that given the likely public use of certain portions of the park for various summer programs and other recreational improvements, our best target area would be in the space at the south end of the park, south of the asphalt tennis courts. Through this process, we identified the desirability of bringing Gladstone Alley into the research design. We would also be able to investigate commercial establishments along Central Avenue, and sample variability among domestic deposits across the block. From the historical record, we had a solid sequence of Sanborn maps dating back to 1895 along with city directories, and we were in a several-block area that figured prominently in oral histories. After receiving permission from the city's Parks and Recreation Department, we were ready to begin. On May 29, 2003, a horde of University of South Florida archaeology field school students descended on Perry Harvey Park, excited even in their uncertainty about the prospects ahead.

Defining the Targets

Systematic surface inspection of the entire study area by the student crew revealed that although surface artifacts were present that might relate to earlier occupations of Central Avenue, no building remains (such as foundations walls or corners, brick piers, or even sidewalk sections) appeared to be intact in their original positions. At this point we were still uncertain about the depth and nature of fill that had been placed over Central Avenue to create Perry Harvey Park. Although there were some slight topographic undulations to the ground surface that might

correlate with the former road surface of Central Avenue, this was not sufficiently certain to justify the specific placement of excavation units in selected areas within the project boundaries. Therefore, we punched a quick row of intersecting north-south and east-west posthole tests, following the projected alignments of Central Avenue and East Harrison. Rapid analysis of the progressively removed soil indicated that a topsoil-like fill was uniformly but variably present across the site surface, that a demolition layer containing fairly consolidated brick rubble and debris was likely to be encountered at about the same depth across the site, particularly in the west half, that compacted fill was to be found in the former road beds of Central Avenue and Harrison at about the expected depth, and that the eastern half of the site contained unconsolidated and midden-rich soils. These results were plotted on a quick distribution map, compared against the Sanborns, and interpreted for the potential of there actually being archaeological remains that could be associated with documented locations on the block. We felt that our original pre-field projection of the study area's research potential had been basically sound, that we would find things essentially where we needed them to be to answer the research questions. We were now ready to stake out and excavate the units.

We wanted to be able to intersect the wall of the 1895 saloon (Research Question #1) and from there explore for a bottle dump or deposits of broken glass. Therefore two 3 ft. by 10 ft. units were opened perpendicular to each other (units #3 and 4), moving from the presumed corner of Central and Harrison north into the building area. A single 5 x 5 ft. unit (#1) was placed about midway along East Harrison at the south end of the study area, inset into the block to get behind the row of houses along the street (Research Question #2). Another 5 x 5 ft. unit (#2) was placed at the east end of the project, hoping to get into the backyard of a Gladstone Alley house (Research Question #3). Another unit (#6) was excavated in an attempt to define activity areas associated with a house in the center area of the block (Questions #2 and 3). A 5 x 5 ft. unit (#5) was also placed in the area of the stable/Central Hotel/Pyramid Hotel on Central Avenue south of Harrison (Research Question #4) (see Figure 3.4 for unit locations).

Opening up all of these units more or less simultaneously was an important part of the plan. This enabled the ready identification of strata across the site area, and allowed for the easy formulation of testable assumptions about correlations between strata as exposed in different units. This is part of the development of a deposit model for the site, and from this point forward the evaluation process has begun.

Stratigraphic Results

Standard stratigraphic excavations methods were used in all units, based on a Zone/Level system defined by observable differences in the soil matrix. Features were defined as intrusions in the surrounding matrix or as discrete elements covered by later fill. Unit profiles were recorded, and plan view maps of excavation surfaces within the units were drawn (see Figure 3.5 for example) making sure to note the elevation in feet above sea level (as determined from a site datum plane) for each mapped element. The following summary comments will be directed at general observations of deposit integrity across the project area as a prelude to the discussion of significance evaluation.

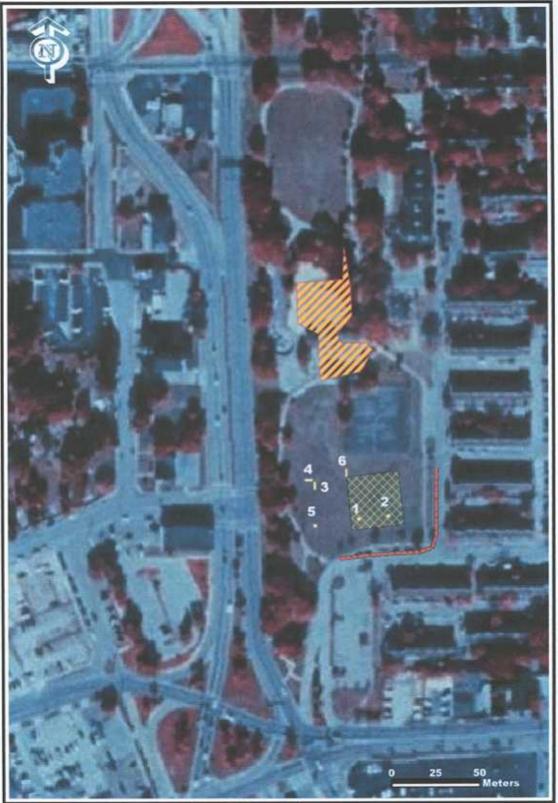


Figure 3.4 USF Unit Placement Map, Central Avenue, Hillsborough County, FL



Surface Collection Area



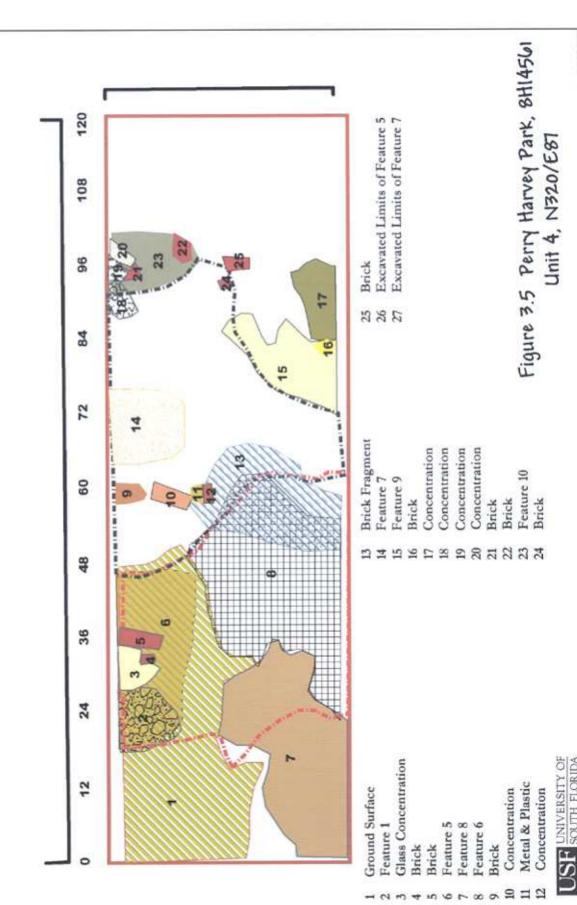
USF Test Units





Remnant of Harrison Ave.





All units showed a discernable demolition layer within 12" or so of the present surface. This layer dates to the 1974 destruction of the buildings along Central Avenue. The basal geological soils, three feet or less below the modern surface in most cases, are white to tan sands typical of pine forests or scrub vegetation. The area was almost certainly pine flatwood or scrub hammock prior to modern occupation and was not especially low-lying (unlike much of Ybor City). The demolition layer along Central Avenue and Harrison Street is particularly well developed stratigraphically, as this was the retail and commercial area of the block with the most substantial building construction. Standard CRM-sized 50 cm x 50 cm shovel test units would have a difficult time penetrating this layer. Thicker layers of fill were placed on top of the demolition remains in the southwest portion of the area (including the former location of the Pyramid Hotel), elevating this area into a gradual upward-sloping berm, on top of which is the modern sidewalk and some landscape plantings. The fill layer becomes thinner across the site to the north and east, again thickening as a base of the surfaced recreational courts. This means that the remains of the saloon on the west side of the site and the Gladstone Alley deposits to the east are relatively close to the modern surface.

Beneath the demolition zone and above the geological subsoil a number of different things happen across the site. Along Central Avenue (as evidenced in units 3 and 4) there has been intensive modification and reworking of surfaces through time. Water lines and water line trenches are evident beneath the road surface and where they "T" to enter buildings. Repeated grading for streets and sidewalks and resurfacing are also stratigraphically detectable. Pits that were dug by the demolition crews for the disposal of surface trash intruding through 1890s deposits are also noted. All in all, the stratigraphy is very complex and somewhat compressed in this area, and can only be interpreted through the use of excavation units large enough to trace out relationships between competing disturbances. Nonetheless, here in Unit 4, one of the most important discoveries of the project was made: a cache (actually two) of broken but easily identifiable beer, ale, wine, and soda water bottles dating to the early years of the saloon (manufacturing dates from base embossing ranging from 1880-1930). From these caches or from units 3 and 4 generally, no food, cosmetic, or medicine bottles were found. Tucked in and around fragmentary remains of several brick piers, these bottles provide conclusive evidence of the saloon. The bottle caches are intrusive as small pits into the natural white sand subsoil (even though they are also very close to the present surface), and must have been deposited along or underneath the front wall of the building, perhaps under a raised porch.

Moving south across Harrison to the 1895 stable location we find beneath the demolition layer a very hard packed layer of silty sand, then more building rubble and then subsoil. Artifacts are infrequent throughout and not particularly diagnostic. No artifacts or soil layers from this unit (#5) can be confidently attributed to the stable or to the two hotels which occupied this location. The observed strata in Unit 5 do not extend north into the saloon deposits or east into Block 120, suggesting that they are highly localized and indicative of some process or processes of site formation that were occurring specifically here. As suggestive as this might be that they do in fact relate to the changes in land use associated with the change from the stables to the hotel sequence, firm evidence of such is not easily readable from the archaeology, nor would additional evidence be easy to obtain given the layers of fill and the compaction of the soil. In a compliance

situation, some quick additional exploration might be warranted by means of a backhoe but this would not be justified otherwise.

Across Central Avenue east into Block 120 the deposits contain less evidence of architecture and building remains and more indication of domestic trash disposal activities,



Figure 3.6 Bottle dump associated with Unit 1 excavation at Central Avenue.

generally in a sandy matrix with several thick but discrete cultural layers on top of the basal sands. Along East Harrison there is some indication of graded or cemented surfaces over these midden deposits, perhaps resulting from patio or driveway slabs around the houses. But beneath such a surface in Unit # 1 is the clear presence of a bottle dump (see Figure 3.6), most likely dating to the 1940s, in association with household refuse deposits including an iron furniture spring, some

ceramics, and faunal material. Further east in Unit #2 there is a near-surface layer

of nails, rusted metal, and hardware marking the horizontal position of the former houses and a deep defined accumulation of dark midden containing ceramics, faunal material (pig, chicken, fish, and small mammal), glass, personal items like buttons (see Figure 3.7) and lenses of charcoal. This was defined as Zone 2 and was considered in part to be the result of burning trash in a backyard barrel or can. Near the center of the block, the excavation of Unit #6 revealed a stratum of thick construction debris (perhaps relating to the stores along Central

Avenue) with the relatively rapid and shallow transition to natural subsoil.



Figure 3.7 Unit 2 excavation showing midden deposit.

Evaluating the Deposits

As excavations in the six units came to a close, we were in a position to make decisions about the ability of the deposits to answer the research questions posed at the beginning of the project. This is the evaluation process, and is where the determination of significance occurs.

Based on the excavation results, we can conclude that the 19th century bottle-glass deposits in Unit 4 and the midden layers in Units 1 and 2 have the potential to answer archaeologically significant questions about the history and past cultural life in the Central Avenue community. Specifically, research questions # 1, 2, and 3 are feasible to answer and potentially answerable by the known archaeological record of Central Avenue in this portion of Perry Harvey Park

The Archaeological Potential of Central Avenue in Perry Harvey Sr. Park

Having established that there are archaeologically significant deposits in Perry Harvey Park as defined by the existing research design, future research following this same design could be productively directed at expanding excavations to the immediate north and west of the bottle cache locations in Unit 4 and in expanding excavation coverage in the areas of Units 1 and 2. Together, these excavations would result in the recovery of additional temporally diagnostic artifacts relating to the earlier (late 19th century) occupations of Central Avenue and the Scrub and add to the base of comparative artifact material from which more detailed analysis could take place to address research questions 2 and 3. In addition, now that the archaeological record has been explored and is understood to a degree greater than at the outset of the project, new research questions could be framed on the basis of its strengths.

Public Archeology in Perry Harvey Sr. Park

One of the main benefits in conducting archaeology in the city is the opportunity to bring archaeology right to the place where people live. From an anthropological point of view, all

urban archaeology projects should strive for a great deal of up-front community involvement and move toward a consensual research design win which community voices are given an active role in shaping the research agenda. The project in Perry Harvey Park gave us the chance to pilot such an effort, with community involvement occurring prior to, during, and after the actual field work (Figure 3.8). This turned out to be a great way to present the aims and goals of archaeology to a public not usually included in or having access to this information and provided an opportunity for "hands-on history" for local kids who knew very little about the history in their own backvard. We must stress that these efforts should be really "grass-root" and not only



Figure 3.8 USF Field school participant shows recovered Central Avenue artifacts to interested local children.

directed at producing brochures and booklets for public consumption. There is no substitute for people getting involved in the discovery of their own past, and perhaps no surer path to the archaeological goals of stewardship of the archaeological record. This approach also provides FDOT with the opportunity to engage the community in preserving the history of the state while also serving the transportation needs of the community.

Is Central Avenue Unique?

Although there is much about the history and cultural heritage of Central Avenue that gives it a unique position in the history of Tampa and in the history of race relations in our country, there is no reason to believe that the potential of its archaeological record is unique, that is, rare and not duplicated in other communities throughout Tampa. As we hope to have demonstrated in this chapter, archaeological potential is a matter of perspective and approach, and

results from the productive interaction between research questions and the particular qualities of archaeological deposits. Other urban communities in Tampa, and indeed across Florida, might find vital clues to their past hidden beneath the pavement, the surfaces of public spaces, or the empty lots of their neighborhoods. Archaeologists working in cities, truly doing archaeology of the people, must find the keys to unlock this buried past. By funding this research project, FDOT too shows that it shares these goals.

Chapter 4

Urban Archaeology Meets the Built Environment: Digging at the Sulphur Springs Water Tower

One of urban archeology's logical roles is as collaborator and partner in the much better developed efforts to preserve the built urban environment. With efforts directed at the neighborhood level, the level of the historic district, or with a focus on individual structures possessing historical significance, preservation advocates are often very effective in gaining recognition of the community benefits of taking care of standing structures. Historic structures are typically given value as the physical expression of some moment in the community's past, and exist as a historical resource connecting the present with the past in a tangible way. The stories that these buildings tell ideally are based on the intrinsic research potential contained within their walls and the footprint they have made in the earth, but more often are based on their representativeness in terms of state or national contexts. In the highly charged political atmosphere in which historical preservation operates, contested notions of integrity often are at center stage.

Does archaeology have a role in adding research value to historical structures by bringing to the story the kinds of data unique to archaeology? Does archaeology have a place at the historic preservation table? Can archeologists do the cause of archaeology some good by offering their services to historical preservation efforts? In a compliance project involving historic districts or designated structures, should the need for mitigation of effects on the archeological resource be given routine consideration? In short, on a property that has reached significance based on the qualities of its built environment, is there also a need to evaluate the archeological potential of the buried resource? This is the question that took us to the Sulphur Springs Water Tower, on the Hillsborough River in the Sulphur Springs neighborhood of Tampa.

Historical Setting of the Sulphur Springs Water Tower

Rising 214 feet above the gently curving, oak swathed banks of the Hillsborough River,

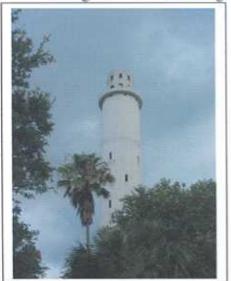


Figure 4.1 The Sulphur Springs Water Tower.

the Sulphur Springs Water Tower is one of Tampa's most visible landmarks (Figure 4.1). Its function cleverly disguised by the gothic style and crenellated parapet, the Tower has long since entered into myth and folklore among the city's residents, no doubt causing ponders of wonder among the many visitors and tourists speeding south toward Tampa on nearby Interstate 275. The Sulphur Springs Water Tower was constructed in 1927 to provide water for Josiah Richardson's new resort development at Sulphur Springs. The Water Tower held a 150,000 gallon storage tank, filled with spring water pumped up from its base (City of Tampa 1989).

Richardson had begun his operations in Sulphur Springs by leasing land from an earlier owner, who previously had started a small resort community along the river where bubbling springs boiled up from the depths. By the 1920s Sulphur Springs was a favorite recreational destination for Sunday picnics, and a small

land boom was on the way. As commercial and residential development increased through the 1920s, Richardson unveiled the famous Richardson Arcade, Bandstand, and Water Tower as the crowning achievements of his vision (Figure 4.2). Although Richardson's dream held for a few short years, by 1933 development had slowed and the economy was on hard times. After a major flood, Richardson sold his entire holdings and developed interests elsewhere. Sulphur Springs Park regained a measure of its popularity and continued on until the 1960s as a place to swim, picnic, and play the arcades. The destruction of the Arcade in 1976 signaled that an era had come to an end but the memories of what Sulphur



Figure 4.2 A large slide and diving platform at Sulphur Springs, pictured in 1920. Photo courtesy of the Florida Photographic Archives, Burgert Bros.

Springs once had been continues to refresh many old-time residents (Brown 2004:6). Today, the Water Tower is all that remains of Josiah Richardson's Eden, and has emerged as the beacon for the public memory of more peaceful times in what has now become a troubled and fragmented community.

The Tower Becomes a City Landmark

Recognizing the value of the Sulphur Springs Water Tower in city history and as an architectural monument, the City of Tampa's Architectural Review Commission conducted a study and a series of public hearings in 1989 to seek landmark status for the structure. Landmark status, in the ARC's view, would protect the Tower from destruction or inappropriate modification. Although the owners of the property at the time did not support the designation, by a vote of 6-1 City Council approved landmark status for the Sulphur Springs Tower and site (City of Tampa 1989:11). During that time and through the present the Tower has been the focus of community preservation efforts, and now, under recent city ownership a plan for limited restoration is underway. The ARC report provides a Statement of Significance describing the architectural elements and qualities of the property that meet National Register of Historic Places criteria but focuses entirely on the building itself.

Developing the Archaeological Research Design

Although we selected the Sulphur Springs Water Tower as a specific focus of archaeological research (site 8HI609B), we did so only as a pilot study or example of an archaeological investigation of a significant feature of the built urban environment. As a historic property sandwiched between two busy highways, I-275 to the immediate east, and Florida Avenue on the west, we hoped that this project would be particularly useful in generalizing to a compliance situation resulting from planned transportation impacts.

The research model followed the same steps described in chapters two and three. Early work focused on defining research problems that would be especially appropriate to the predicted nature of the archaeological record. No previous professional archaeological investigations had occurred on the property so there was minimal information to go on. An unpublished report by an amateur group provided some guidance, but they tested only upland portions of the land away from the river and Tower in their unsuccessful search for early prehistoric and paleontological materials. We were not interested in continuing the search for prehistoric remains or in conducting a comprehensive survey of the entire property. We were specifically interested in identifying and evaluating historical archaeological deposits directly associated with the water tower. We examined Sanborn maps, historical and aerial photographs, and reviewed oral testimonies gathered by community historians and researchers at the University of South Florida. From these, as combined with general archaeological models of site formation process and discard behavior, a deposit model began to emerge.

Forming the Research Questions

We noticed that the 1931 Sanborn map (the earliest for this area) showed two structures at the base of the tower (Figure 4.3). One of these, the pump house, was of substantial masonry construction and survived into the 1980s. The second, a much smaller block structure on the riverbank, disappeared from aerial photographs and topographic maps from 1956 forward. Oral

Vol 4, 1931-51, sheet 443
Hard Copy at USF library reads
"Not in use, Water TK, on Conc. Tower, 150' high"

Figure 4.3 A 1931 Sanborn Insurance Map of the Sulphur Springs Water Tower.

testimony confirmed what we suspected: this was the residence of the caretaker, whose job it was to maintain the routine servicing of the Tower and Arcade. We also learned that a caretaker and his family occupied the house through the 1930s.

It was observed during early visits that the land between the river and the tower formed a shallow but regular basin, surrounded by a low berm or ridge that also formed the riverbank. We understood from the historical study that the tower had been constructed directly on a spring, not now visible, and

reasoned that the spring had once connected to the river through a shallow channel or spring run.

Finally, we noticed that there were several doors between buttresses around the base of the tower (Figure 4.4), and reasoned that these doors might function as conduits for the disposal of artifacts reflecting activities taking place inside the building. By this time we had also heard numerous myths and legends about the function of the tower through the years (most having to



Figure 4.4 Several now-sealed doorways are seen between buttresses at the base of the tower.

do with eating, drinking, and games of chance), and noted that the ARC historical study also indicated that the tower never actually fulfilled all of the functions for which it was intended.

With reference to broad research themes and contexts, we saw the opportunity to investigate questions relating to work, consumer patterns, and processes of land transformation. Specifically, we asked the following research questions:

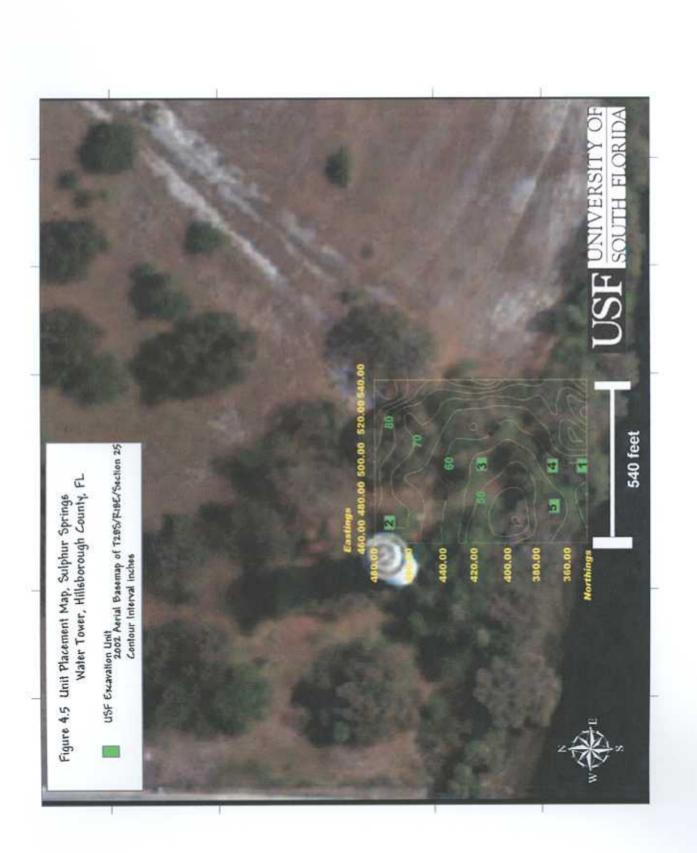
 Did the caretaker and his family participate in the mainstream consumer economy of the time, and to what extent, given their position on

the urban margin? Did gender roles and childrearing practices in this setting conform to social norms?

- 2). To what extent was the land around the tower modified to create a landscape? Should fill deposits, if identified, be considered part of the overall construction of the tower and share in its properties of significance?
- 3). Did activities inside the tower result in the patterned disposal of artifacts that could be compared to other patterns of artifact disposal? Could the archaeological record help reveal how the tower was used?

Evaluating the Significance of the Deposits

Fieldwork was begun after receiving permission from the City of Tampa Parks and Recreation Department. During the assessment phase we discovered a dump deposit along the riverbank in the vicinity of the projected location of the caretaker's house. Several crew members cleaned the riverbank exposure with trowels to get a better look at the depth of the deposit and what it consisted of, and the rest of the team began staking out a grid system to connect this portion of the site with the water tower. We decided to excavate a series of 5 ft. by 5 ft. units from the base of the tower to the dump, intersecting areas of the site relevant to answering the research questions and also providing us with a line of soil profiles useful for interpreting the history of site formation. Units # 1, 4, and 5 (Figure 4.5) were placed to sample deposits associated with dump. Unit # 3 was placed to examine the sequence of fill deposits associated with the in-fill of the spring, to look for evidence of flooding from the Hillsborough River, and to



see if the caretaker's residence (not evident on the surface) had created an archaeological signature. Unit # 2 was excavated at the base of the tower in front of a door entrance in the hope

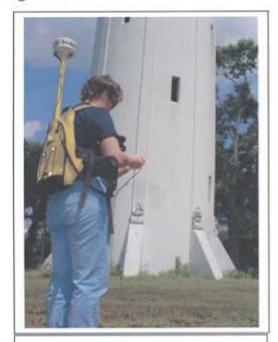


Figure 4.6 GPS is used to help make decisions on-site in real time.

of recovering artifacts discarded from inside the building. A zone-level method was used, with breaks between zones made on the basis of changes in the soil matrix. Features were defined and excavated separately. Excavated soil was dry-screened on the site using ¼" mesh screens, with unscreened samples kept from each provenience for additional lab processing. Unit placements were recorded using submeter mapping grade GPS, and locations were reviewed in relation to Sanborn and historic basemaps (Figure 4.6).

We were able to begin evaluating the archeological potential of the deposits relative to the research questions very early. By the third day we had a pretty good idea of which deposits were likely to yield important information, and if pressed, could have made decisions at that time about excavation priorities. Units 2 and 3 were showing stratified deposits, but lacked sufficient artifact content to confidently place these deposits within the cultural and historical

contexts necessary to test the activity model of the site. The contrasting bands of soil in Unit 3

(Figure 4.7) showed alternate events of filling on top of what had been a muck surface three feet or so below the present surface, but did not contain diagnostic artifacts or clear indication of the remains of the caretaker's house.

Without extensive further investigation, these deposits were not likely to yield interpretable information bearing specifically on research question #2. If further investigation could be efficiently extended at low cost through backhoe trenching, for example, the results might eventually prove worthwhile, but otherwise these deposits received a low ranking for additional work.



Figure 4.7 Unit 3 excavation at the Sulphur Springs Water Tower.

The results of Unit 2, outside the door of the tower, also were disappointing. Large quantities of broken glass, rusted metal, and concrete rubble were found in surface layers, much of it coming from recent vandalism and associated activity around the base of the tower. Slightly deeper stratigraphically, we uncovered a concrete footing for steps once leading to the door, and below this a copper water line angling from the tower southeast across the site in the direction of Unit 3 (but not present there). From here, it was relatively undifferentiated fill down to a clay

subsoil which undoubtedly had formed around the rim of the spring. Further excavation around the base of the tower was not warranted, especially if other high priority areas of the site were calling for greater attention. We focused our remaining effort on units 1, 4, and 5, where stratified dump deposits were being unearthed, abounding in glass bottles, tin cans, broken ceramic dishes, and other recognizable historic artifacts. Careful excavation revealed specific dump events evidenced by orientations of complete bottles and artifacts nested together. Pockets or lenses of ash were also defined and excavated separately.

We had historical evidence that the caretaker's house stood on the site from the late 1920s or early 1930s through the early 1950s at the latest. Did the dump deposits date to this time period? Although some of the deposit might have resulted from dumping from the adjacent drivein movie theater in the 1960s, much of what we were seeing dated from the 1950s and earlier. Glass bottles were our most important source of information for both dating and functional analysis. Many soft drink, beer, and whiskey bottles were found, but also some perfume, cosmetic, and canning jars with possible dates to the 1930s. A 1929 penny, 1944 penny, and 1948 nickel were also found in Unit 1. Unit 4 was on the edge of the deposit and had a large concrete stormwater pipe cutting cross its southern half. Units 1 and 5 were focused on as having the best possibilities for intact archaeological deposits relating to domestic life on the site (research question #1). These two units contained different types of materials (an extremely consolidated, nearly impenetrable mass of rusted tin cans at a depth of one foot below the surface in Unit 5 for example), both appeared to belong to the same basic deposit: a riverbank dump started by the early 1930s and continuing through the 1950s containing refuse discarded from onsite activities. Although the issue of deposit integrity was not completely resolved by the scope of our investigations, we can conclude that the dump deposit has the archaeological potential to vield information relevant to the research design. Had this been a compliance project we would be comfortable in recommending that impacts to the dump deposit would have to be mitigated by additional archaeological excavations.

Generalizing to Other Cases

Historical archaeology in general has not shied away from examining archaeological resources associated with industrial or commercial sites, particularly when domestic deposits might be present, but this use of the archaeological record has not been readily transferred into the urban environment. Likewise, many productive archaeological investigations have been carried out on properties whose significance originally was defined on architectural or historical criteria alone, but this does not seem to be the general practice in Florida cities like Tampa where historical preservation and the practice of archaeology are largely disconnected. Urban archaeology has the potential to bridge this gap, especially when the site has a recognized heritage value, high public visibility, and interesting unknowns about its history on which archaeological investigation might shed some light.

The Sulphur Springs Water Tower archaeological project provides the elements of an investigative model that can be further tested in sites throughout the city. One legitimate area of further funded research would be the testing of a model to expand and refine the uses of archaeology in conjunction with the preservation of sites such as cigar factories, warehouses, breweries, bottling plants, or public facilities like schools, hospitals, and theaters. Research

questions would have to be framed with the specific nature of the archaeological record in mind, and with careful consideration given to the potential contribution of archaeologically derived information to larger thematic contexts. This would also seem to be an opportunity for FDOT-funded archaeology to contribute considerably to the realm of middle range theory, with archaeological models of human behavior adding to and engaging with historical models of urban development in the recent past.

Chapter 5

Where To Go From Here?: Conclusions and Recommendations for the Future of Urban Archaeology in Florida

Our goal in this study was to present a plan for urban archaeological research in which the evaluation of the significance of the archaeological record would be the meaningful result of the research process. The need for the study is amply justified using Tampa as a case study. No previously identified urban archaeological sites in Tampa had been deemed significant by National Register criteria. A review of the status of urban archaeology statewide shows that these results are typical for Florida cities. The archaeology of the recent past has not made a contribution to understandings of the development of the modern Florida city. If we accept the premise as archaeologists that archaeology is a worthwhile means of gaining knowledge about the human past through the study of the material record of human behavior, then there should be nothing intrinsic to the remains of urban behavior of the recent past that would exclude it from legitimate archaeological study. Why then hasn't this occurred? Even more importantly, how can archaeology productively occur in the future? Given that the majority of urban archaeology will most likely result from compliance needs, it is particularly clear that agencies charged with ensuring that resources are responsibly addressed have a high stake in evaluating and improving the compliance process. Our work is designed as one tool in that process, and is offered here as a plan for moving ahead.

To accomplish the objectives of this study, we reviewed the status and condition of urban archaeology throughout Florida, with an emphasis on Tampa, through published sources, technical reports (Piper Archaeology/Janus Research 1992, Janus Research 1994), and Florida Site File listings. We also broadly surveyed urban archaeology at the national level both to place Florida in a larger comparative context and to identify the research themes and questions that are informing the practice of urban archaeology in different cities across the country. During this review we paid attention not only to the basic research and problem orientations but also to the connection between method and theory, which is an extremely critical link in the conduct of viable archaeological research. We also noted that many of the most innovative and technically competent projects were taking place in a Section 106 compliance setting, several of which were specifically as the result of transportation impacts. After this process of review and synthesis, we were ready to propose a model for research and take it to the ground in urban Tampa. The fieldwork portion of the project was a crucial and necessary step, but was not itself the culmination of the study. In a graduate seminar at the University of South Florida, students further critiqued, evaluated, and refined the model, placed it back in the context of urban archaeology nationwide, and continued to grapple with dilemmas of significance, site definition, artifact classification systems, and the relevance and value of urban archeology to the public. In this report, we have described a plan for urban archaeology in Florida in which both archaeological method and theory appropriately address the specific nature of the urban archaeological resource. We can also state that until archaeology "in the city" is truly thought of as archaeology "of the city" (Piper and Piper 1987) the status quo will be maintained.

We will conclude this report with a set of recommendations for a new approach to urban archaeology in Florida.

- 1. We must recognize that the urban archeological record is unique in its expression of both complex human cultural phenomena and the effects of intense modification of the archaeological resource. There is a great deal of specialized historical material that is essential both to research design and interpretation of results. In addition, urban archaeology takes places in a complex and sometimes conflictive environment of living humans, many of whom have some stake in the archaeological record. Together, this means that urban archaeology requires a team approach, integrating the skills and expertise of historians, historical archaeologists, and anthropologists. All of these people should be aware of and have connections to the historical preservation community. All urban archaeology is public archaeology, and all public archaeology is applied anthropology.
- Archaeologists should shift their focus away from "sites" as typically defined in prehistoric archaeology to "deposits" as spatially defined evidence of historicalbehavioral events within the larger context of the city.
- 3. The significance evaluation process is directed at deposits rather than sites, and is used to prioritize treatments and recovery plans within project constraints of time and money. A significance evaluation process focused on deposits and occurring as the result of a well conceived research design will result in the discovery and excavation of significant archaeological remains as defined in standard Section 106 terms.
- 4. A "compressed phase" survey and data recovery process of evaluation can be both efficient and very effective for targeting archaeological deposits with the potential to contain significant information, especially if coupled with rapid assessment techniques. The goal is to target significant deposits as early in the investigations as possible, and move toward an evaluation of these deposits. For many reasons, time is usually not a luxury in urban archaeology.
- Archaeological remains as recent as 50 years old can meet the criteria of significance if the relevant questions are being asked.
- 6. A city block can be an effective sampling unit in addressing many urban archaeological research questions. A close interval subsurface testing program, with intervals set at 20 feet for example, can be an effective means to sample deposit variability and to guide the placement of excavation units. Systematic posthole close-interval testing provides a rapid and efficient means for sampling urban deposits.
- 7. The collaborative development of a citywide archaeological research design would be a good investment of effort for all parties involved. This process would also be a good way to bring all stakeholders to the table.

Florida is blessed with an extremely rich archaeological record documenting 12,000 years of the human past. For most of its history, Florida archaeology has focused on the archaeology of peoples remote to us in both time and culture. Florida archaeology has taught us much about the ancient cultures who once lived and died in this place we now call home. But certainly the lessons of the past can also be found in the times and places only now fading from the memories of people still alive. Urban archaeology is one way to learn the lessons of this near experience. We can almost hear the whispers. Will urban archaeology in Florida heed the call?

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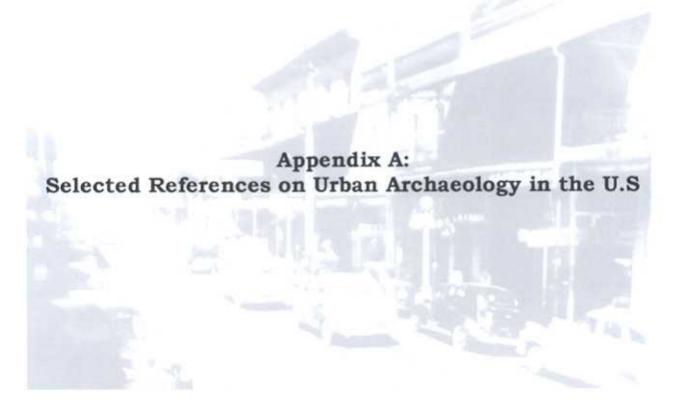
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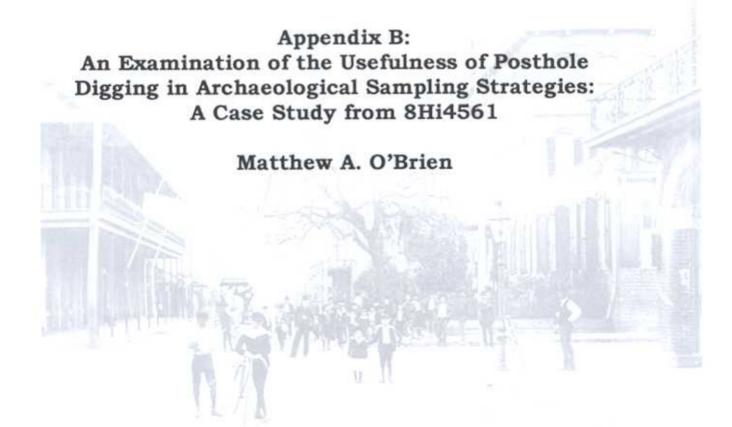
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Chapter 1

Introduction

Posthole sampling, as an archaeological sampling method, may provide an efficient and economical means of quickly achieving a broad coverage area in exploring potential new archaeological sites. This study will examine to what extent posthole sampling can be used to identify the entire temporal range of a site, and as a method of identifying specific activity areas within a site. An opportunity to test the utility of posthole sampling in an urban historical archaeological setting arose during recent archaeological work at Perry Harvey Sr. Park in Tampa, Florida. Using historical documentary sources and applying tight archaeological controls in close proximity to and overlapping the study area should provide good comparative data to test the accuracy of conclusions drawn from posthole sampling. The primary purpose of this study is to examine the validity of posthole sampling as a component of multiple sampling strategies on archaeological surveys and to establish preliminary parameters for determining what intervals should be used for this type of sampling method. The secondary purpose of the study is to determine if the entire known temporal range of the site can be identified through the material collected in posthole sampling, and to what extent the materials recovered reflect site activity.

The study was conducted independently from the main excavation of Perry Harvey Sr. Park; however, two units from the 2003 USF Field School in Urban Archaeology were located within the bounds of the sample study area, and another unit from the field school sat adjacent to the northern boundary of the study area. The decision to use standard American measurements was made to be consistent with all available historical resource materials. A transit was used to place a 100' x 100' study area; the origin was placed at 323N/160E, and a vinyl tape measure was used to measure the distance to stake out the remaining corners. The study area was then sub-divided into four quadrants. The quadrants were designated by roman numerals, with the northwest quadrant being I and then proceeding clockwise to southwest corner designated as IV. In quadrants I and III, postholes were placed at 10 foot intervals. In quadrants II and IV, postholes were placed at 20 foot intervals. A pair of standard posthole diggers was used to dig each of the postholes to a depth of 24 inches. Notes were made about the soil conditions and recovered artifacts for each six inch interval. Contents were passed through a 1/8th inch metal screen. Field specimen numbers were assigned and entered into a master log.

The recovered material was processed, given catalog numbers, and assigned to artifact categories. Once the artifacts have been assigned to a category, they will be weighed. The weights were recorded and shown as percentage of the total weight of material recovered from that posthole. The category weights will be used to compare each of the sampling units, and it is hoped that the varying weight percentages will provide some insight into the type of activity, and that the overall weight variations will provide insight into where further archaeological investigation will prove to be most beneficial. Diagnostic artifacts were used to provide a chronology of occupation when possible, and every attempt was made to analyze recovered artifacts by material composition, form, and function. Furthermore, efforts were made to place

the artifacts into larger groups as an attempt to find out the upper end limitations of posthole sampling in determining the historical use of a site. The artifact distribution densities were also plotted on a map of the study area, with an overlay transparency of the relevant Sanborn Fire Insurance maps. These transparencies are then used to compare the artifact distribution densities within the study area with that of the historical placement of structures.

Chapter 2 Archival Research The Physical Environment

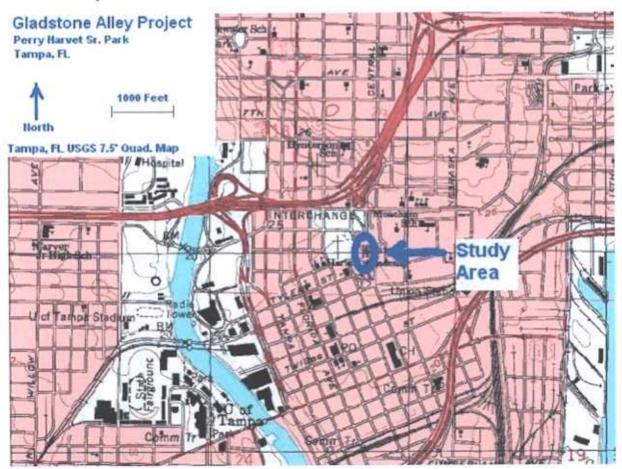


Figure 1. USGS map indicating the location of the study area within Tampa

The location of present day Perry Harvey Sr. Park is east of the Hillsborough River, and North of both Ybor City, and Tampa's Central Business District. "The parent material of the soils in Hillsborough County consists mostly of deposits of marine origin, [including] quartz sand, clay, and shell fragments (Doolittle et al. 1989: 89); the underlying relict marine terrace is visible in the stratigraphy starting at about ¾ of a meter. The Soil Survey of Hillsborough County indicates that the area is within the Urban Land-Myakka-Smyrna association, and the aerial map shows that the park is situated on Urban Land, meaning that greater than 85 percent of the area is covered by roads, parking lots and other structures (Doolittle et al. 1989: 48, Sheet 40). The park is landscaped with trees lining the perimeter, and grass covering the majority of

the interior. The park also has a small pavilion, a concrete tennis court area, and a skateboard area, as well as a paved sidewalk that runs along the western margin.

Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps and City Directories

The Sanborn Map Company prepared maps for use by fire insurance companies; these maps are an excellent source of information about the placement and material composition of structures within the city limits of many U.S. cities. The maps indicate not only the materials used in construction of a building, but also relative distance to highly flammable materials or sources of high heat. They also show nearby water sources and otherwise gauge risk of fire for any given structure within the boundaries of the city. Additionally, the maps show the position of structures, and give the street addresses.

City directories were produced for the purpose of listing the residents of a town and local businesses. Most provide an alphabetical list of the town's residents, a cross listing of residents based on the streets on which they live and a summary of local businesses. Additionally, the directories provide a reference for various government services and advertisements for local businesses. They also provide information about the occupation of each listed person. Until the 1930s, these listings also included an asterisk next to the names of African American residents who were so denoted as "colored."

Cultural History

The original town of Tampa grew up around the military Fort Brooke. The fort was constructed in 1824, and is often remembered as the point of origin for Major Dade's ill fated expedition to Fort King which touched off the Second Seminole War on December 28, 1835. By the end of the war, the fort would also serve as a temporary interment facility for Indians awaiting transport to Indian Territory in what is now Oklahoma. During the late 1830s, several lots including three on Tampa Street near Whiting, had been sold to private citizens and the stage was set for a burgeoning civilian population (Pizzo 1968: 7). The town of Tampa was finally incorporated in 1855, only 10 years after Florida was established as a state (Dunn 1977: 16). Tampa's growth progressed slowly through the next 30 years, hampered by an outbreak of Yellow Fever in 1858 that reduced the town's population by one quarter, and by the decommissioning of Fort Brooke in 1859. Some troops remained stationed there until 1882, but the numbers were much diminished over earlier figures (Panamerican Consultants Inc. 2001: 4; Pizzo 1968: 81).

The 1880 census records show Tampa's population to be 720 people. Within five years this number would more than triple, largely due to Vicente Martinez Ybor agreeing to move his cigar manufacturing industry to Tampa (Dunn 1977: 19, 21). One traveler described the unpainted houses and dirt roads of Tampa, calling particular attention to several dominant features of the town including two saloons and two lumber mills (Hewitt 2001: 23). It was in the vicinity of one of those lumber mills that one of the area's earliest recognized neighborhoods, the African American enclave known as the Scrub, sprang to life. This neighborhood, "bounded by Scott [Street] on the north, Cass [Street] on the south, Central Avenue on the west, and Nebraska [Avenue] on the east" housed the highest "concentration" of blacks in the Tampa area, and was described as 'impenetrable and serv[ing] to remind one of a walled city' (Panamerican Consultants Inc. 2001: 4; Howe 1998: 5). The neighborhood is also mentioned during an outbreak of Yellow Fever in 1887, when "the 'Scrub' and Ybor City were brought under the

supervision of the local Board of Health inspections" (Barker 1984: 48). The household organization of this period tended towards inclusion of the extended family, and perhaps boarders. In 1880, about half of Tampa's 178 African American run households were "maleheaded nuclear families" (Howe 1998: 6-7). In about 64 percent of those 178 households, a male was the sole money earner of the house. By the 1880 census, listed for the first time in Tampa was the profession of laundress (Howe 1998: 11-12). Although there had certainly been laundresses plying their trade in the area for quite some time, this new listing was likely in response to the emancipation of a woman named Dorcas Bryant who had "homesteaded a 60 acre tract" in Tampa, and supported herself by taking in laundry (Hewitt 2001: 26).

By 1900, there were 4,382 African Americans living in Tampa comprising almost 30 percent of the total population. Over the next 30 years, a disparity in population growth would



Photo Courtesy of USF Special Collections
Figure 2. A Tampa woman shown doing laundry outdoors.

lower this to 20 percent of the total population (Howard and Howard 1994: 2). Although oppressive laws at the state and local level continually curtailed participation in the larger community, the African American community thrived in some areas, evidenced by the numerous black owned businesses that grew up on Central Avenue. The strength of this neighborhood was in its cohesiveness and ability to mobilize as a community. Much of the daily life was organized

around family, school, and church, with a number of civic-minded enterprises and service organizations. Among those organizations the Tampa Urban League, founded in the 1920s, would be instrumental in the community. Also of importance were the Clara Frye Hospital for blacks, and a weekly periodical called the *Tampa Bulletin*, founded in 1910 and 1915 respectively. In 1880, county census records indicate that there were only "two black teachers" living in Hillsborough County, although they were not listed on any official county payrolls. Sufficient money was raised to open Tampa's Harlem Academy in 1889 (Howe 1998: 23). The first few decades of the 20th century saw the number of schools grow to "eight public and nine private institutions by the mid-twenties" (Howard and Howard 1994: 6). Churches also flourished during this time period. It was during this time that "the city's four oldest black churches" were dominant forces in the community. By 1926, a total of 42 black churches are listed in Tampa (Howard and Howard 1994: 5).

Stable family life is attributed as what "kept alive black culture and undoubtedly brought the city's African-American community needed psychological and economic support" (Howard and Howard 1994: 3). The census of 1900 records 75 percent of black families with children as being two-parent households, and divorce rates also seem to have been low. In 1930 for example, there were 2,010 married women between 25 and 34 years of age compared to only 103 divorced females in the same age range (Howard and Howard 1994: 3-4). Although the strength of the family was undeniable, few of these families could afford to own their homes, and "by the 1920s over 75 percent of the city's African Americans resided in rental housing units located in Tampa's black neighborhoods" (Howard and Howard 1994: 4).

A growing and prosperous Tampa was attracting an influx of predominantly unskilled workers, around 40 percent of whom were coming from outside Florida. These newcomers

inevitably found themselves crowded into neighborhoods like "The Scrub [which] stood out as a blighted collection of cheap rental units" (Howard and Howard 1994: 1,3). The cost of these rental units were disproportionately higher (averaging \$5.38 per week) than many other Southern urban centers, such as New Orleans (\$4.52 per week), Memphis (\$3.73 per week), Louisville (\$4.54 per week), Charleston (\$3.11 per week), and Richmond (\$4.46 per week). Still, Scrub rental prices were somewhat lower than those of Northern industrialized urban centers, such as New York-Harlem (\$7.16 per week), Dayton (\$6.00), Philadelphia (\$7.95 per week), and Indianapolis (\$5.48 per week). Wages



Figure 3. A photograph from 1954 showing 'the Scrub' neighborhood. Photo Courtesy of USF Special Collections

may have been correspondingly higher in the Northern areas as well (Mays et al. 1927: 18).

The residents of these neighborhoods could look forward to the assistance of their own community, but did not likely receive much help from offices of the larger city. A sense of a need for self-reliance helped to develop many service organizations that were initiated and maintained by Tampa's African American citizens. This community had a strong tradition of female activists such as Dorcas Bryant and Blanche Armwood, both of whom were active in their neighborhoods and in greater Tampa. A large number of women's organizations and "sororities rendered important civic services that include charity work, social improvement, building homes for orphans and single working women, and encouraging" appreciation of the fine arts, began to emerge (Howard and Howard 1994: 4). With strong community support, areas like Central Avenue began to prosper. By the mid-1920s, the black business community consisted of some 185 various African-American commercial establishments that employed about 400 men and women (Howard and Howard 1994: 8). Some of the notable businesses include the Central Life Insurance Company, which eventually became "one of the state's largest black enterprises," and the previously mentioned Tampa Bulletin, which was not just "blackowned and operated, [but also] employed only black typesetters and linotype operators" (Howard and Howard 1994: 8). The Tampa Urban League provided a number of services to Tampa's African American community including "two day-care nurseries for working mothers, alternative home placements for juvenile delinquents, family case work, the organization of clubs and recreation for black youth, and even employment placement (Howard and Howard 1994: 9)." In 1927, the Urban League commissioned a study of "Negro life in Tampa," which remains the authoritative source for information about Tampa's African American communities in the 1920s. The study was nominally conducted under the supervision of Arthur Raper, but the research was in actuality conducted and written by Dr. Benjamin E. Mays with the assistance of his wife Sadie

This study examined every aspect of African American life in Tampa including education, social services, religion, housing, employment, and population statistics. Officially the report was titled "A Study of Negro Life in Tampa: made at the request of the Tampa Welfare League, the Tampa Urban League, and the Tampa Young Men's Christian Association," however it has become colloquially known as the "Raper Report." The report included, under the description "Tampa Proper," both the upscale Central Avenue and the impoverished neighborhood referred to as "the 'Scrubbs;" however, the report also stated explicitly that the



Figure 4. Rent quarters in "The Scrub" circa 1927. Photo Courtesy of USF Special Collections

neighborhoods were "a unit only in that [they occupy] contiguous territory" (Mays et al. 1927: 5). This area was home to more than a third of Tampa's 23, 323 (Tampa's total population at the time was around 150,000) African Americans, with a population of 8,362 people. The majority

of structures in the neighborhood were white-owned rental properties consisting mostly of "1 story frame buildings," with the "'Shotgun' type [being] the most prevalent" (Mays et al. 1927: 5,11). The study evaluated the living conditions of 326 of these rental houses, reporting that 146 had "bad" interior conditions, and another 127 were listed as only "fair," additionally 259 of these structures had no bathing facilities, and only 114 had an indoor toilet (Mays et al. 1927: 11). Outdoor toilets serving multiple families accounted for another 136 properties, leaving 76 with only privies to serve one or more families. Only 144 of the houses had an indoor source of water; the remaining households were served by either an outdoor spigot (85), or a well (97) for their freshwater needs (Mays et al. 1927: 11). Although the City of Tampa claimed that these neighborhoods were served with refuse removal several times per week, (everyday in the case of some neighborhoods), many families reported receiving no refuse removal service, and were likely to have disposed of their own refuse by either burning or burying it in the backyard (Mays et al. 1927: 11). Each family averaged about 4.5 people living in an average of four rooms, and roughly half of those families had children under the age of 15. Many (31%) of those families subsidized the cost of rent by taking in "lodgers" (Mays et al. 1927: 11).

Quality of life was indeed problematic for the African Americans in Tampa. There was insufficient hospital space available for the size of the community, and during the 1920s the population was dwindling by sheer attrition. Fewer births were occurring compared to deaths (Mays et al. 1927: 23). Furthermore, due to the lack of hospital space expectant mothers had to rely on the skill of under-trained midwives to assist in childbirth. Recorded stillbirths in 1926 showed that about 47% were African Americans, while the black community only accounted for 20 percent of the total population (Mays et al. 1927: 22). Additionally, "50% of Negro deaths were individuals aged 15-44," and of the 534 deaths [in 1926] in this age group, 42 were directly caused by homicides (Mays et al. 1927: 23). Infants suffered from the squalid living conditions as well, with "81% of deaths caused by diarrhea and enteritis occurred between birth and 1 year of age" (Mays et al. 1927: 26). There was little available to Tampa's African Americans for recreation. Blacks were barred from enjoying the city's parks "except in the capacity of servants" (Mays et al. 1927: 27). There were two theatres on Central Avenue, but both had "extremely bad ventilation and sanitation; less wholesome entertainment was available in places like the Lafavette Dancing Academy." Some recreation was to be found at various pool halls located in the back of some of the neighborhood's barber shops (Mays et al. 1927: 27). Dr. Mays summed the situation up quite succinctly when he wrote:

For a colored population of 23,000, Tampa provides a Branch Library and a salaried playground supervisor. The City of Tampa provides no public park for Negroes: it provides no playgrounds, except unequipped school grounds: it provides no public pool or beach. The private recreation and amusements are of such a nature that the Negro public receives no benefit therefrom. The Commercial recreation and amusement is of such a nature and so poorly supervised, that it perchance is more harmful than beneficial" (1927: 32).

Despite being virtually ignored by the City of Tampa, these neighborhoods did thrive in some cases. For the most part there was work available and strong community ties to the churches and schools helped with community cohesion.

Large portions of Tampa's African Americans were employed in unskilled trades, such as laborer, janitor, maid, or bellboy. There were also professionals such as physicians, dentists, pharmacists, undertakers, and at least one lawyer, and also a number employed in skilled trades. Conditions varied for skilled workers. Some, like the "brick layers" were joined with fellow

white workers in a union, and received the same pay for the same work (Mays et al. 1927: 42). Other skilled workers such as the carpenters and painters, were not allowed admittance to the unions of the white workers. There were also non-union jobs where black workers could expect to be fairly compensated if not equally paid. These jobs included work for cigar making operations in Ybor City (Mays et al. 1927: 42-3).). Tampa's utility departments did employ many black workers, but in many cases, it was their policy to "lay off" black workers when whites were in need of employment (Mays et al. 1927: 46). Additionally, there was the Longshoreman's Local 1402, with one time leader Perry Harvey Sr., a prominent figure. Perry Harvey Sr. would later be given the honor of having his name given to the park where the current study is located (Howard and Howard 1994: 9).

At the time of the Tampa Urban League study conducted by Dr. Mays, there we "3,322 colored children enrolled in the public schools," and another 610 youths enrolled in various private institutions (Mays et al. 1927: 53). This meant that about a quarter of the school-aged children were not enrolled in any school and that on any given school day, fully 20 percent of students did not attend classes (Mays et al. 1927: 53). The schools that catered to African American students often lacked sufficient size or other accommodations for the size of their student body. There was also precious little space dedicated to recreation, and only the Harlem Academy had any type of playground equipment (Mays et al. 1927: 55). A 1925 study, conducted by Columbia University, determined that almost 85 percent of Tampa's African American students were "over age" for their grade level. Mays attributed this fact, in part, to irregular attendance and students who got a "late start" (1927: 55). The schoolteachers were poorly compensated for their efforts, with salary ranges from \$60 to \$100 for female teachers and \$65 to \$167 for male teachers. Out of those salaries, teachers were expected to keep themselves attired with "good clothes," to attend summer classes for self-improvement, and often felt compelled to provide supplies for their students (Mays et al. 1927: 55).

The church played a large part in the life of Tampa's African American citizens. Even during the late 19th century, Tampa's churches were "a major source of news and inspiration, [they] served as a kind of town hall with the minister as publicist and exhorter (Howard and Howard 1994: 5). Mays asserted that, "aside from the home, the church is the most important factor in the life of the Negro" (1927: 48). The churches took on a prominent role in uniting the communities, and a number of ministerial alliances provided a voice for African Americans in the political sphere of greater Tampa (Howard and Howard 1994: 5-6). Baptist and Methodist churches were among the most well attended, as well as "small storefront-like churches that sprang up in those years;" however, "lower income blacks" were more likely to become congregants in the Catholic and Episcopalian churches than middle-class or affluent African Americans (Howard and Howard 1994: 6). The churches also served as focal points for community action and social interaction and were supporters of education, sometimes directly sponsoring some private schools (Howard and Howard 1994: 6).

From the 1940s to the 1970s, Tampa aggressively pursued expansion, and various urban renewal projects. Going back to the 1930s, "the Scrub" neighborhood was targeted for clearance (Panamerican Consultants Inc. 2001: 6). The city annexed a significant portion of the suburbs surrounding old Tampa in 1953, and began acting on a 1952 ruling in the state legislation that allowed the city to pursue urban renewal projects (Kerstein 1998: 77-8). Many of Tampa's

impoverished neighborhoods were targeted for demolition. Private housing rather than public housing, was expected to cover almost all the residents that were displaced by these projects (Kerstein 1998: 79). A group of Tampa's prominent African American businessmen, including Perry Harvey Sr., did manage to bid successfully for a contract to build housing. Their organization, Tampa Park Apartments Inc., "developed about 370 subsidized rental units" (Kerstein 1998: 80). "The Scrub" neighborhood itself was partially cleared in 1954, and the 1968 "construction of the Jefferson Avenue approach to I-275," and other projects in 1970 and 1972, removed the last vestiges of the once prosperous Central Avenue, and the dilapidated structures of "the Scrub" (Panamerican Consultants 2001: 6).

Chapter 3 Previous Research

There is certainly nothing novel about the use of "scissor-style" manual posthole diggers on archaeological sites. Arthur Carswell Parker used them in his exploration of "an Erie Village and Burial Site as Ripley, Chatauqua Co. N.Y." (Fry 1972: 259). In the vast majority cases where posthole diggers have been used, they have been used as predictors for where it would be most profitable to place larger units. There is a general agreement among those that have used posthole sampling strategies in subsurface archaeological sampling that it is a useful technique for determining the lateral extent of a specific deposit within a site; however, there has been much less attention paid to whether or not the technique leads to a better understanding of the spatial distribution of artifacts within a site or deposit, or for the location, extent, and nature of deposits within a site, or in identifying the temporal range of artifacts found within a deposit. There have been some efforts to judge the overall effectiveness of using posthole diggers in archaeological subsurface sampling. For the most part, these efforts have been favorably inclined towards incorporating posthole diggers into an overall plan of combined survey and sampling techniques. Attempts to validate the use of posthole diggers have shown this technique to be useful as a means to rapidly deploy small teams of investigators and have been deemed efficient in regard to both time and money. There have been attempts to integrate the data recovered through archaeological subsurface sampling into a larger conceptual picture of activity at a site, but these efforts have largely been confined to rural areas rather that congested urban areas where there may be multiple episodes of disturbance to the archaeological context of a potential site.

The site in question, known locally as Perry Harvey Senior Park (8HI4561), has been the subjected to some prior archaeological investigation. A local contract archaeology firm conducted an archaeological and historical survey in the fall of 2001, and the University of South Florida conducted an investigation into the archaeological significance of the site as part of their 2003 Field School in Urban Archaeology. Panamerican Consultants, Inc. was conducted the 2001 survey, covering the entire area of Perry Harvey Senior Park. A final report was prepared and submitted to both Award Engineering, Inc. and the City of Tampa. The University of South Florida's Field School activities were confined to the extreme southern edge of the park. Both of the aforementioned archaeological investigations recorded an abundance of historical artifacts; however, the integrity of the site's context has yet to be fully ascertained. The 2001 survey did reach the conclusion that no further archaeological investigation was warranted due to the extreme disturbance at the site, but preliminary results from the 2003 USF fieldwork shows more encouraging results in terms of overall site integrity.

Efforts have also been made to address issues of identification of elements of ethnicity and socio-economic status in the archaeological record. Perry Harvey Senior Park (located in the neighborhood formerly known as "the Scrub") may yield artifact distribution patterns that contribute to an understanding of how ethnicity and socio-economic status make an impact on the archaeological record. The key to ascertaining how and to what extent ethnicity and socioeconomic status can be perceived from the material recovered from archaeological survey sampling, and excavation may lie in taking every opportunity to create a body of data for comparative analysis of sites throughout the urban environment. In short, urban studies should try to make a "distinction... between archaeology in the city and archaeology of the city" (Salwen 1973: 151). These studies have typically incorporated archival research, and input from the modern residents of the community. Furthermore, material culture recovered from sites can be compared across the site and to other sites throughout that urban environment to explore the possibility of revealing patterns that can be attributed to ethnicity and socio-economic status. There are questions as to how accurately the material recovered from archaeological exploration can be used to identify ethnicity, or the attempts by any ethnic group to either preserve its own folk culture or approximate full participation in the dominant culture.

Historic Use of Manual Posthole Diggers in Archaeological Subsurface Sampling

Robert Fry has outlined the use of manual posthole diggers at Tikal (a Mayan site in the Honduras). The investigators at Tikal were faced with both limited time and resources. They noticed that the number of datable potsherds was highest in household middens, and the location of household middens was known to be to the rear of or on the sides of where the structure had previously stood. Due to the variability in location of the midden, and because of the inherent variance of artifact density within the middens, it was decided to use posthole diggers to locate high densities of potsherds to use as determinants for placing larger test units (Fry 1972: 259-60). The investigators operated on the assumption that Mayans normally placed their structures on the tops of mounds. Mound groups were chosen at random, and postholes were dug to the bedrock or culturally sterile (devoid of artifacts) soil (Fry 1972: 260). "On the average, some 4 to 6 postholes were excavated before the area to be tested-pitted was chosen" (Fry 1972: 260). Since postholing had proved so useful in detecting high densities of artifacts in middens, it was incorporated into related research, in the same area, that sought to further investigate Mayan settlement patterns. As a part of the further investigation, posthole diggers were used in a 3500square meter area. This area had no surface indications of archaeological features, and was therefore considered a low probability area (Fry 1972: 261). The approach was systematic. Four rows of postholes were dug each at 5-meter intervals over 175 meters, with "approximately 95 percent of the post-holes [being] excavated to bedrock" (Fry 1972: 261). Any posthole that produced artifacts was further examined by placing postholes at the corners of a 5-meter square around the original posthole (Frv 1972: 261). The author concludes that posthole digging is useful as part of a larger multi-component research design, but the method is limited by such factors as "purpose of sampling, types of deposits, and depth of deposits below the surface (Fry 1972: 261).

Another example of posthole digging as part of an archaeological subsurface sampling regimen stems from Stanley South's work at Fort Johnson, South Carolina. The site had several occupation phases including prehistoric, colonial, Civil War era, and contemporary. For the purposes of data review the phases were considered as either historic, or prehistoric (South and Widmer 1977: 119-20). In this instance, the research design called for 30 randomly placed

postholes and 30 "interval aligned" postholes to be placed within a 500-foot by 650-foot study area. The interval for the systematically placed postholes was 100 feet (South and Widmer 1977: 128-29). Any posthole that yielded "Indian pottery" was examined further by placing postholes at a 10-foot interval radiating from the original posthole in each of the cardinal directions. This accounted for an additional 17 postholes (South and Widmer 1977: 129). Finally, three postholes were placed along the top of a ridge on the northern end of the study area for the purposes of comparison with the main body of postholes. There were 80 postholes taken in the entire study area (South and Widmer 1977: 129). The majority of the postholes were excavated to a depth of four feet; however, in a few cases dry, sandy soils limited the depth of excavation to three feet (South and Widmer 1977: 128). Furthermore, 17 "three-foot square" test units were dug within the boundaries of the study area. These were placed to investigate the "relationship between the subsurface core samples and the research universe as represented by three-foot squares (South and Widmer 1977: 129). The researchers then calculated an "ideal expected ratio" between the "three-foot test square and the 6-inch in diameter posthole digger core sample:" this ratio was asserted to be "45.8 to 1" (South and Widmer 1977: 130). The researchers then attempted to use the resulting quantitative data in comparison with larger conceptual patterns of artifact spatial distribution. They compared the relevant data to both the Carolina Pattern (a pattern generally associated with domestic settlements), and to the Frontier Pattern (a pattern generally associated with military occupations or occupations that are otherwise some distance from regular supply lines), which did correlate well with the data recovered from the Fort Johnson study area (South and Widmer 1977: 136-37). The researchers concluded that the method of subsurface sampling was extremely useful for identifying the spatial distribution of artifacts from all periods of occupation throughout the study area. Moreover, they also concluded that the resulting data could be compared to known patterns of artifact distribution (South and Widmer 1977: 147-48).

A third example of posthole sampling being used for archaeological subsurface testing can be drawn from Kit Wesler's work at Whitehaven mansion in the vicinity of Paducah, Kentucky. This site is a Civil War era mansion that was being archaeologically investigated prior to conversion of the property into a Welcome Center and Rest Area along Interstate 24. Wesler used postholes in subsurface sampling in order to establish where it would be most beneficial to place larger test units. The postholes were placed systematically at 5-meter intervals in a grid system that covered approximately 6000 square meters (Wesler 1984: 34-6). A total of 192 postholes were excavated to culturally sterile soil (Wesler 1984: 36). Wesler's hypothesis was that "formal-use areas" would be identified by a dearth of artifacts because there would have been "little refuse generating activity" in those areas (Wesler 1984: 36). Wesler did attempt to classify the resulting data into the larger conceptual categories of the Carolina Pattern and Frontier Pattern; however in this case, the data from the postholes tended to fall in between the expected percentages of those two patterns (Wesler 1984: 44). Overall, Wesler was favorably disposed towards using posthole sampling in archaeological subsurface testing particularly in determining the location and extent of deposits within a site. He also asserted that the method was a "quick and reliable method of gaining a preliminary picture of site patterning" (Wesler 1984: 46).

Finally, Larry Abbott and Craig Neidig have attempted an overall evaluation of using posthole diggers in archaeological subsurface sampling. They authored an article in the journal

Illinois Archaeology overviewing the method without regard to a specific site. They advocate a systematic placement of posthole tests at 20-meter intervals for initial phases of investigation, and 5-to-10 meter intervals where finer resolution is desired (Abbott and Neidig 1993: 41). They also suggest that the posthole be excavated in arbitrary levels, with a prior understanding of soil depth in the area, and taking into account possible levels of disturbance. This should allow the archaeologist to make an accurate determination of the extent and temporal range of archaeologically significant materials (Abbott and Neidig 1993: 41). Abbott and Neidig regard postholes as being "volumetrically systematic," therefore particularly applicable to statistical data analysis and "graphic representation" of data (Abbott and Neidig 1993: 41-2). Furthermore, they advocate the use of posthole diggers because the equipment involved is economical (including aftermarket maintenance) and widely available. They also make the claim that posthole sampling is time efficient and offers a high return of usable data. They go on to say that the method is also efficient in terms of transportability over difficult terrain, having a wide range of applications (Abbott and Neidig 1993: 42).

Prior Archaeological Exploration at Perry Harvey Senior Park

The 2001 archaeological and historical survey was undertaken prior to the refurbishment of structures within the park. The purpose for undertaking the survey was to determine whether or not the site was eligible for placement on the National Register of Historic Places (Panamerican Consultants, Inc. 2001: 2). The survey combined documentary research, "predictive modeling," and subsurface sampling in the form of shovel tests (Panamerican Consultants 2001: 8). The entire area of the survey was "visually inspected" prior to subsurface excavations; the shovel tests were placed at 25-meter or 50-meter intervals (reflecting two different probability zones) throughout the study area (Panamerican Consultants, Inc. 2001: 10). In total, there were 24 shovel tests placed in Perry Harvey Senior Park. These shovel tests were ½ meter in diameter, excavated to a "minimum depth of 1 meter," and the soil was passed through "1/4 inch hardware cloth screen" (Panamerican Consultants, Inc. 2001: 10). The study area yielded a great deal of historical artifacts (and some indications of low-density prehistoric lithic scatters), but the researchers concluded that there were "no culturally significant strata or soil features" and that the overall nature of the soil was highly disturbed (Panamerican Consultants, Inc. 2001: 13). The report's final recommendations were that the study did not contain any elements to be considered for addition to the NRHP, and that the site did not warrant "additional archaeological or historical investigation" (Panamerican Consultants, Inc. 2001: 20).

The University of South Florida's 2003 Field School in Urban Archaeology was conducted at the same time as the posthole sampling research, with the main field school portion of the study funded by the Florida Department of Transportation. The study area was confined to the southern portion of Perry Harvey Senior Park; however, there was an overlap between the study area of the field school and the study area of this paper. The field school conducted a surface inspection of the southern portion of the park, and placed 20-30 postholes that are unrelated to this study. The field school also placed several larger units, with a total of three 3-foot by 10-foot units, and three 5-foot by 5- foot units excavated. The study area of this paper was bounded on the northwest by one of the 3-foot by 10-foot units. Two of the 5-foot by 5-units were placed within the boundaries of the study area discussed in this paper. Standard American measurements were used throughout to remain consistent with historical documentary sources. In the main study area, the units of the field school were excavated at least two arbitrary 6-inch

levels into culturally sterile soil. There were some indications of in situ features uncovered, and an extensive collection of historical artifacts were recovered, processed and analyzed.

Identifying Elements of Ethnicity and Socio-Economic Status in the Archaeological Record

The borough of Brooklyn, New York engulfed the area formerly known as Weeksville. Archaeological exploration at Weeksville began in 1968, as part of a community based initiative named "Project Weeksville (Bridges and Salwen 1980: 38). Weeksville was a small African-American community that was inhabited after slavery "was prohibited" in New York in 1827. The community experienced an upsurge in population after the "draft riots of 1863" (Bridges and Salwen 1980: 38-9). Some historic documentary evidence of Weeksville survived, but the majority of buildings was found not to be considered eligible as historic structures and had been destroyed. Interest in preserving the history of Weeksville originated from a local historian who carried on his research with the help of various local organizations (Bridges and Salwen 1980: 40-1). This strong, community based interest eventually generated interest in academic circles, and lead to involvement by local community colleges, universities, and museums (Bridges and Salwen 1980: 41-2). Ultimately, the area was deemed too disturbed to be able to draw much interpretive data from the material recovered by excavation. Specifically, spatial distribution information could not be gleaned from the recovered artifacts (Bridges and Salwen 1980: 43-4). However, the recovered material did allow for some interpretation related to the fact that ceramic material tended to group into four "dating clusters." These clusters corresponded to date ranges when the population of Weeksville is known to have experienced notable population growth (Bridges and Salwen 1980: 43-4).

Several urban archaeological projects in Washington D.C. have also attempted to discern patterns in the archaeological record related to ethnicity and socio-economic differences between residences on main streets versus residences with alleyway facings. These studies call attention to the fact that ethnicity may not be readily apparent in the material culture recovered from sites. Additionally, the Washington D.C. alleyway sites were not necessarily ethnically homogenous throughout the entire period of habitation. Conclusions inferred from such techniques as ceramics or bottle glass dating must consider that some objects may have been purchased "second-hand," or that there may be a similar quality of artifacts from areas that had vastly different socio-economic realities due to freely available natural resources used as a supplement to regular income (Little and Kassner 2001: 62-3). The alleyways studied in Washington D.C. were inhabited from as early as the late 18th century to the middle of the 20th century. The residents of these alleys came from a variety of backgrounds, some from the surrounding countryside, some moving from the South, and some immigrants from distant lands. Some of these residents remained in the city their entire lives, and some remained only long enough to earn money to allow them to move out of the city to become landowners themselves. This may also impact the artifacts drawn from the archaeological record, as they may have limited expenditures on unnecessary items to save towards some future goal (Little and Kassner 2001: 63). At "Quander Place," there did not appear to be "any significant difference between alley and street in either cost or ceramic vessel form;" however, it did appear that the vessels from the alley-facing houses concentrated on more practical items such as "bowls and tumblers," while the street-facing houses utilized a wider variety of forms, including "plates, butter dishes, salts, wine glasses and pitchers" (Little and Kassner 2001: 62). At "Essex Court," archaeologists compared "mean ceramic dates" and bottle glass analysis data to comparable information

gleaned from a nearby "middle class neighborhood" with houses that weren't situated in alleys. A scaled economic analysis was applied to these ceramic sherds and this revealed little socio-economic variation between the neighborhoods, however when 269 "transition forms classified as ironstone" were removed, the alley houses indicated a lower socio-economic status (Little and Kassner 2001: 59-60). At "Slate Alley," both alley-facing and street-facing domiciles were investigated. A fence bisected the open space between these housing units. Investigators determined that ceramics found on both sides of the fence were of similar quality; however, the alley-facing houses showed a higher proportion of "serving vessels and food storage vessels" (Kassner and Little 2001: 60).

The "Ouander Alley Project," in particular, attempted to control for socio-economic factors in hopes of isolating those relating specifically to ethnicity. The archaeological record from the site indicated dates that ranged from prior to the Civil War to the 1940s. The significant deposits were from 1880 to 1940 (Cheek and Friedlander 1990: 40). During the early period of the neighborhood's development the alley houses were inhabited predominantly by African Americans, and the street houses were divided with predominantly African American residents on one street, and predominantly White inhabitants elsewhere. The study did not find any appreciable difference in socio-economic status indicators between alley-facing houses and street-facing house in such categories as cost of ceramics or relative nutritional and economic value of meat cuts (Cheek and Friedlander 1990: 52). There did appear to be a bias in number of glassware forms between the two areas, with the majority of glasswares in alley houses consisting of tumblers and bowls (Cheek and Friedlander 1990: 54). There were a few detectable biases in selection of meat cuts, with pig's feet and opossum appearing only in alleyway deposits, and alleyway deposited bones showing definite saw marks. This is in comparison to street deposited bones, which showed indications of being cut by a cleaver (Cheek and Friedlander 1990: 54-5). Finally, an abundance of buttons has been cited at other locations to be indicative of an African American presence; at "Quander Alley, only 13 buttons appeared in the street deposits compared to 55 for the alley (Cheek and Friedlander 1990: 55). Kassner and Little suggested that the high number of buttons in this setting might stem from the occupation of "rag picker" (2001: 62) but in the census data provided by Cheek and Friedlander, no permutation of "rag picker" appears as an occupation. There were however, at least four Black females, from four separate residences, listed as "laundress" for their occupation (1990: 46-8).

Chapter 4 Research Methods

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the subsurface sampling methods employed at Perry Harvey Senior Park, and the site-specific rationale behind the selection of the methods. Due to the abundance of historical records regarding the development of this Tampa neighborhood, and the fact that two archaeological excavations overlap this particular study area, this site provided an ideal opportunity to test manual "scissor-style" posthole diggers as a subsurface sampling tool in the investigation of urban archaeological sites. The potential for future comparison of the results of this study to the results or prior archaeological investigation should provide unique insights into the accuracy and applicability of the sampling method in the investigation of urban archaeological sites. This study directly addresses the applicability of manual "scissor-style" posthole diggers as a component of a comprehensive survey and sampling.

Present day Perry Harvey Senior Park is a relatively flat open space. The park is maintained by the City of Tampa, and has several amenities including sidewalks, a pavilion, restrooms, tennis courts, and a small skateboard park. A community recreation center sits opposite the park on the corner of Orange Avenue and E. Harrison Street. The Kid Mason



Figure 5. Photo showing the type of depositional environment existing in the 1950s. Photo Courtesy of the Tampa-Hillsborough Library

Center is a focal point for the neighborhood's children, and they travel through the park frequently. A tree-lined berm delineates the western boundary of the park. There is relatively little undergrowth throughout the entire area of the park, and no undergrowth in close proximity to the study area. The ground surface is predominantly covered with grass and weeds and these plants give the generally attractive appearance of "greenspace." The study area is bounded to the east and south by sidewalks, and bounded to the north by the tennis courts. Historically, the study area was bounded to the west by a row of commercial buildings including restaurants, clothing shops, and barbershops. The rest of the study area consisted of domestic structures, and a common area.

Field Methods

The 100x100 foot study area was judgmentally placed to include information from both the former commercial structures, and the former domestic structures. The study area was then further subdivided into four 50 x 50 foot quadrants, starting with the northwest quadrant designated as Quadrant I, and with the designations continuing clockwise as Quadrants II, III, and IV respectively. Postholes were placed in Quadrants I and III at 10 foot intervals, and in Quadrants II and IV at 20 foot intervals. Units from the USF field school interfered with the

placement of one posthole in Quadrant III, and one posthole in Quadrant IV. Thus, there were a total of 66 posthole tests placed throughout the four quadrants. There were 25 tests in Quadrant I, nine tests in Quadrant II, 24 tests in Quadrant III, and eight tests in Quadrant IV. The testing units themselves were placed on the same grid coordinate system as were all the units from the USF field school. Each testing unit was given a designation corresponding to its position on the grid system. A surveyor's transit and a 200 foot vinyl measuring tape were used to delineate the boundaries and the center point of the study area. Once the outline of the four quadrants was in place, 16 foot and 200 foot tape measures were used to locate the individual units in the study area. Each of those units was then demarcated with a multi-colored "pin" flag. The boundaries of the study area were also placed in a larger context, by taking GPS (global positioning system) coordinates; therefore, the exact position of the postholes can be located again in the future.

The units were excavated with a "scissor-style" posthole digger, and the soil was passed through a ¼" metal mesh screen into a white, plastic 5-gallon bucket. The units were excavated in arbitrary 6" inch levels, and notes were made at each level about the color and condition of the soil. All of the cultural material that was recovered from the units was recorded on a test record by level, however, given the disturbance noted in the site, the decision was made to bag all material from a unit together with one field specimen number per unit. The only material that was not collected was brick fragments, and charcoal. In each case, the presence of those materials was recorded when they occurred in the unit, and then those materials were returned to



Figure 6. Photo showing the present-day study area. Pin flags mark the location where postholes will be dug. Lori Collins pictured in the distance, is gathering GPS data.

Photo taken by Scott Butler

the unit with the rest of the backfill. There was an abundance of brick fragments and charcoal throughout the study area, probably related to the demolition of the formerly existing structures, but it was deemed unprofitable to attempt to coax meaningful information about the archaeological significance of the site out of such minute and widely distributed materials. The intent of the study was to distinguish between positive (containing cultural materials) and negative (containing no cultural materials), but there were no holes found that contained absolutely no cultural materials. Any soil anomalies seen in the profile of the unit, or indications of archaeological features (non-recoverable) were recorded on the Posthole Test Record sheets.

In an effort to gauge the volumetric consistency of the method, it was decided that each of the units would be dug to a depth of 2 feet. This depth was selected to ensure that the unit

would be entirely within cultural soil strata, as know from soil strata profiles from the units of the USF fieldwork and from prior archaeological investigations throughout the city of Tampa (Piper and Piper 1987: 264). In cases of "hole refusal" (impassibility) upon first strike, the unit was moved one width of the blade end of the posthole digger to the south. In cases where there was "hole refusal" at greater depth, depth measurements were made and the cause of "hole refusal" was noted on the Test Record forms. Measurements were also taken of the diameter of each unit at the ground surface and in cases where there was first strike "hole refusal" caused the hole to be moved, the full diameter included both holes because soil and cultural material from the first strike was screened and artifacts were saved.

Laboratory Methods

The first step in the laboratory was to record all of the field specimen numbered bags into a master log. The log accounted for all bags associated with each unit, and indicated why specific numbers had no corresponding sample bags (i.e. samples that were not taken because there was a unit from the USF field school at those coordinates). The artifacts were then sorted by material composition (recorded as Artifact Class). The glass, plastic, and ceramics were cleaned in a mild detergent solution, and the other materials were cleaned with a dry brush and dental picks. Once the artifacts were cleaned and allowed to air dry on racks, they were further subdivided into groups judgmentally according to Artifact Type (i.e. an artifact classed as a ceramic would be further subdivided into Artifact Types such as ironstone, earthenware, or porcelain). The poor condition of some of the recovered material made it difficult to assign some of the material (such as glass) to a type with absolute certainty. After the materials were sorted by type, they were assigned a catalog number together as a category; the catalog numbers were assigned by the year of excavation (03), the location of the study area (GA for Gladstone Alley), field specimen number (1-68), and finally by material grouping. Artifacts that were identified as being particularly diagnostic were assigned individual catalog numbers at the material grouping level. These artifacts were photographed for the purpose of being included in the final report. Every effort was made to detect the form and function of each artifact, but much of the material was in the form of very small fragments, which could not be assigned a form with reasonable accuracy (occasionally function was detectable even when form was not readily apparent). In cases where form and function were not able to be determined, the notations about condition reflect the fragmentary character of the artifacts in question. Any special characteristics or features that were not otherwise addressed were noted separately, and each catalog number was assigned to a larger conceptual category of artifacts. It was not expected that these larger conceptual categories would provide meaningful information about the overall site, but it was hoped that by comparing the resulting percentages assigned to each category in each of the units, that an understanding might gained about artifact patterns in the development of the site. The long-term goal in establishing artifact patterns at this site through results from postholing would be to compare those percentages to percentages arrived at through more intensive subsurface investigation. If the percentages were comparable at this specific site, then conceptual categories of artifact patterning might be arrived at in a multitude of sites throughout the City of Tampa.

Each artifact was visually inspected for features or characteristics that could indicate the date range of a specific artifact or artifact type in general. The entire contents of each posthole were weighed on an Ohaus (brand name) scientific balance that displayed the weight by half-

gram increments, and that weight was recorded on the artifact analysis sheet for that unit. Each Artifact Type was weighed in the same manner for each posthole, and that weight was recorded individually and also expressed as a percentage of the total weight of artifacts from that posthole. To compensate for the fact that the weight of any given material category might be indicative of the presence of one extremely large and heavy artifact, or a large number of extremely small artifacts, the number of individual artifacts comprising each material category was also recorded for comparison. The weight of material attributed to the larger conceptual categories of artifact patterning was also recorded for each category, and that weight was expressed as a percentage of the total weight of artifacts from each individual posthole.

Finally, transparencies were produced for the entire range of Sanborn Fire Insurance maps that included the study area and each map was adjusted to the same scale as a map of the study area that showed the position of the postholes within the study area's grid system. The purpose of the transparencies is to show the development of the study area diachronically, especially to indicate where there was spatial overlap of different structures through time. This series of transparencies was produced to be used as overlays and these transparencies indicated the spatial distribution of artifacts by total weight and by individual categories for each artifact type. The transparencies that show the spatial distribution of artifacts were used in conjunction with the transparencies that indicate the structures that formerly stood in the study area to demonstrate how the recovered artifacts related to the known historical development of the site; these transparencies were integral to addressing the issue of identifying land use differences in the study area. The distribution of artifact types through the study area was used to consider any

Hole Diamete	er
Count	65
Mean	7.91538
Std.Dev	0.998316
Min	6
Max	11
Range	5
Summary of Hole Depth	
Count	65
Mean	20.2462
Std.Dev	6.3812
Min	2.5
Max	24
Range	21.5
Summary of Hole Volume	
Count	65
Mean	1028.48
Std.Dev	454.763
Min	96.211
Max	2280.8

Summary of

Table 1. Volumetric Statistics

Range

2184.59

potential indicators of different socio-economic groups or ethnicities within the study area. Found to be of particular interest in this regard was the difference between the "shotgun" houses (long rectangular structures) on Gladstone Alley, and the larger houses (historically they did not have direct street access) in the center of the study area.

Chapter 5 Results

Excavation of the test units took place over two days on the 16th and 17th of June 2004. The excavations on the 16th involved only one team of three people (although several people rotated in and out throughout the day) one to dig, one to screen, and one to keep records. Over the course of four hours, the team managed to dig 20 holes (units 48-68, excluding unit 61). On the 17th, two teams of three people excavated the remaining 45 units (1-47, excluding 15 and 18), over the course of 5 ½ hours. Therefore, the first day's team averaged roughly one hole every 12 minutes, digging, screening, recording and backfilling each hole, and moving a sunshade to each new unit location, and the two teams on the second day averaged approximately one hole every 14 minutes and 40 seconds. The volume of soil removed from each unit did vary somewhat, mostly depending on the

individual manning the posthole diggers, the condition of the soil in the vicinity of the unit, and the presence of material in the ground that forced lateral movement of the posthole diggers. The diameters of the holes ranged from 6 to 11 inches, with a mean diameter of about 7.9 inches and a standard deviation of nearly 1 inch. The mean hole depth was about 20 ¼ inches due to hole refusal in some units. The total volume removed per unit averaged 1,028.5 cubic inches compared to the optimal volume of 1,181 cubic inches; moreover, there was a large variation,

Material	Material as Percent of Total Recovered Weight		
Bone	1.173%		
Button	0.014%		
Ceramic, Ironstone	4.439%		
Ceramic, Other	0.082%		
Construction Material	6.812%		
Glass, Bottle	30.197%		
Glass, Flat	2.707%		
Glass, Other	4.205%		
Metal, Construction	23.752%		
Metal, Domestic Use	1.631%		
Metal, Hardware	4.668%		
Metal, Other	17.549%		
Plastic	0.211%		
Personal Items, Misc.	0.270%		
Porcelain	1.200%		
Rubber	0.678%		
Textile	0.005%		

Table 2. Distribution of Material Categories

with a standard deviation of 454.8 cubic inches

As stated previously, every hole was "positive," in the sense that cultural material was recovered from every unit. Most of the recovered material was in extremely poor condition with the bulk of the recovered material consisting of small shards of glass, metal, and ceramics. In the lab, it became apparent that almost all the recovered artifacts would be assigned to the groups domestic. architecture, and personal. There was only one artifact, (a sparkplug from unit 48), assigned to the transportation group, and only one artifact, (a 1981 Lincoln Penny from unit 59) that was assigned to the commerce & industry group. In no case was an artifact assigned to the group services or group rituals groups. A total of 5,257 artifacts were recovered, however, given the fragmentary nature of the majority of the material it became preferable to deal with weight instead of counts. The total weight of recovered artifacts was 10,915 grams. The weights were used to calculate the expected

percentage for every material category. In theory, if the artifacts categories were evenly distributed throughout the study area, then each unit would contain the same percentage of each material category. The distribution of artifacts was not even throughout the study area, and the varying artifact distribution densities may correspond to places where deposition occurred during the sites period as a habitation site rather just being randomly redistributed through disturbances created by the demolition of the houses during urban renewal episodes.

Bottle glass represented the largest quantity of recovered material. As with most of the recovered material, the shards were for the most part to small and lacking in markings to positively identify. However, significant amounts of amethyst glass was found throughout the site, including a bottle finish (unit 59) with a smooth steep-sided lip, string rim, and irregular "cork seat" on the interior of the lip that is likely to be from a short-necked liquor bottle. A bottle finish with a flared lip and distinct patinization that may be from either a patent medicine or "toilet water" bottle was recovered from unit 29, along with another partial finish that is likely from a patent medicine bottle. This amethyst glass appears to be discolored from exposure to ultraviolet light. The coloration of these shards is likely to have resulted from a reaction between

sunlight and the manganese that was used as a decolorant. Manganese was used as a decolorant from the mid-1880s to the end of World War I (Sutton and Arkush 2002: 187). Given the morphology of the bottle finishes, it seems likely that these examples date from that period. Another brown glass bottle base had a manufacturer's mark (a capital "R" in a triangle) that could be traced to the Reed Glass Co. of Rochester, NY, and was in use by that company from 1927-56 (Toulouse 1971: 432). Several other shards of glass had embossing that proclaimed "Federal Law Prohibits Reuse or Resale of This Bottle." This message came into use after the repeal of Prohibition, and remained in use until the mid-1960s. One small glass shard appeared to be unmarked until it was held at an angle to a light source in the laboratory. In transparent letters it read "if it's Borden's, then it's got to be good," but it is not clear whether the writing was intended to be transparent or if it was perhaps "pyroglazing" that had worn off over time. Finally, three glass "club sauce style" bottle stoppers were recovered; these "were one of the most common glass bottle stopper styles of the late nineteenth / early twentieth" centuries (Panamerican Consultants Inc. 2001: 13).

Construction related metal and other construction materials combined, made up a little more than 40 percent of the total recovered weight. Most of the "Construction Metal" category was made up of nails and nail fragments. There were both cut nails and wire nails of various sizes. "Construction Materials" included pieces of roofing tiles, grooved wood or possibly asbestos molding that had been painted green, and chunks of concrete. Other related items, included a brass spigot manufactured by "Republic," and an approximately 8-inch segment of 3/4" diameter copper pipe; the spigot appears to be an outdoor type. Domestic metals were represented by many bottle caps for crown cap type bottles, and spoon stamped "Kensington Silver Plate" on the back of the handle.

Most of the flat glass recovered from the study area was determined to be window glass of some sort. It is probable that this glass is related to the windows of historic structures; however, some of it could be related to glass from picture frames, or furniture (all flat glass was assigned to the Architecture group). None of the flat glass appears to be related to automobiles. Several pieces of decorative cut class were recovered, including a shard with cross-hatching on the convex side, a shard of blue glass with etched designs of small flowers and vines, a shard with points on the convex side, and piece of iridescent "carnival glass" decorated with flowers that may be "depression era," but could not be positively identified as such.

A significant amount of bone (128 grams) was recovered from this relatively small area, and all of it was identifiable as faunal remains. There was good mix of species represented, with chicken or other poultry being the most common. There were also bones from larger domestic animals such as pigs or cows, and a number of fish vertebrae. Several of the larger bone fragments showed definite striations, indicating that they had been cut with a meat saw (rather than clean cuts such as might be seen if the meat were prepared with a cleaver).

The overwhelming majority of ceramics recovered from the study area were sherds of undecorated, white ironstone. Unit 58 yielded a large quantity of what appeared to be from a single large dinner or serving plate with several of the pieces cross mending. There were no identifying marks on any of these pieces. One sherd (unit 21), has a "flow blue" transfer print on a scalloped and beaded rim. This piece seems likely to be from the "late Victorian" period from

1885 to 1920 (Lenzer, http://alsnetbiz.com/acc/flowblue.html). Another sherd has a similar color transfer, but the paste is much harder and it is very thin (it appears to a more modern vessel, perhaps a vase). A few very thick-walled vessels also appear to be ironstone. One of these vessels (unit 24) shows definite blue "pooling" in the glaze, but it is most definitely not pearlware as evidenced by the well vitrified paste.

A wide variety of personal items were recovered from the study area. None of the artifacts were particularly datable. Included in this category were safety pins and other metal clothes fasteners. Especially interesting were a brass cufflink, two mother-of-pearl buttons, and a small ceramic button. Two expended .22 caliber shell casings (both rimfire), and one large caliber expended shell casing (centerfire) were also listed as personal items. An ornate piece of costume jewelry with a tri-leafed design, and set with yellowed, plastic gems, and several fragments of one or more LP records were also discovered. The site also yielded a number of items that were definitely children's toys. These included a metal jack, the "flip-up" part of the barrel from cap gun, a clear glass marble, and a soft metal finger ring that appeared to have a missing setting.



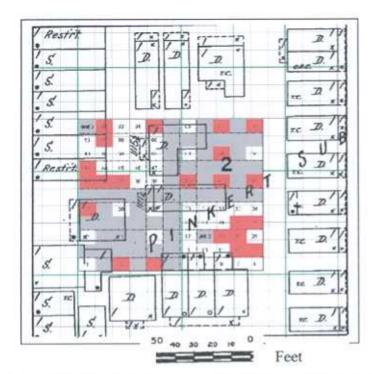


Figure 8.
1915 Sanborn map shown superimposed over the study area. The illustration shows units with higher than expected percentages of Bottle Glass.

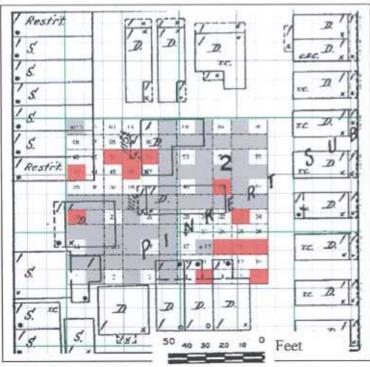


Figure 9.
1915 Sanborn map shown
superimposed over the study
area. The illustration shows
units with higher than
expected Flat Glass
percentages.

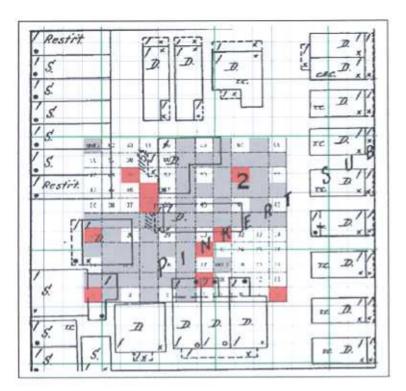


Figure 10.
1915 Sanborn map shown
superimposed over the study
area. The illustration shows
units with higher than
expected Bone percentages.

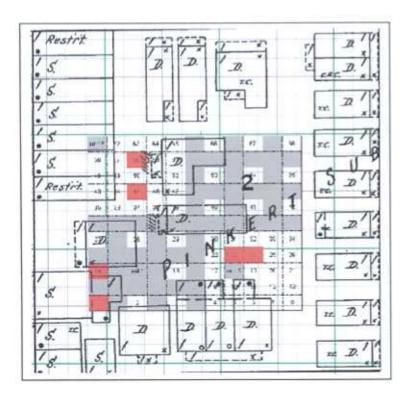


Figure 11.
1915 Sanborn map shown
superimposed over the study
area. The illustration shows
units with higher than
expected percentages of
Ceramics, Ironstone.

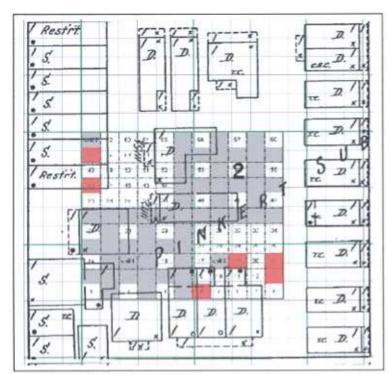


Figure 12.
1915 Sanborn map shown
superimposed over the study
area. The illustration shows
units with higher than
expected percentages of
Personal Items.



Quadran	it I							Quadrant	11
unit 5	62	63	64	65	66		67		68
56	57	58	59	60					
48	49	50	51	52	53		54		55
43	44	45	46	47					
35	36	37	38	39	40		41		42
27		28		29	30	31	32	33	34
-					22	23	24	25	26
14 unit 1	16	17	unit 2	19	20	21			
					9	10	11	12	13
1		2	chtaideid	3	4	5	6	7	8

Figure 13.
Planview showing the unit number/field specimen number for each test unit.

Quadrant IV

Quadrant III

Chapter 6 Discussion

Overall, the method was successfully applied to this particular research problem, and in this particular location. A much clearer picture of this site was obtained because of the intensive coverage of a small area. A few larger test units in the same area may be demonstrated to be more securely dated from recovered diagnostic artifacts, but the known date range for habitation at the site was shown as well in the posthole sampling strategy by the recovery of diagnostic bottle glass and by the "flow blue" ceramic sherd (although these items may have had "curational" value long after their period of manufacture). The more recent end of the date range is certainly indicated by the 1981 Lincoln Penny. The method is well suited to this environment, where the density of artifacts is extremely high, and cultural material is very close to the surface. There is definitely a point of diminishing returns where the posthole diggers will no longer function in bringing up soil and artifacts, but that point is much deeper than was attempted here (perhaps 3 1/2 to 4 feet below the surface is the deepest that is feasible with scissor-style posthole diggers). As might be expected, the 10-foot interval seems to provide a more complete picture of artifact distribution (Quadrants II and IV producing generally less material that Quadrants where a 10-foot interval was used). This method is also useful in that one person can rapidly carry out the survey method in the field, acting as digger, screener, and recorder.

The 1915 Sanborn maps were chosen for illustrative purposes, largely because they highlight the "built universe" at its maximal extent as far as number and diversity of structures. The patterns of distribution for the artifact categories shown in Figures 7-13 clearly show a relationship to the exteriors of historic structures. It was previously reported (2001 archaeological survey) that this site is "a diffuse, multi-use historic artifact scatter site...[without] significant research potential." This research now shows this site would be better interpreted as a predominantly domestic habitation site, densely packed with artifacts, and to exhibit some yet to be determined research potential. More subsurface sampling throughout the entire area of Perry Harvey Sr. Par would be quite beneficial. The north end of the park was covered only by a walking ground survey during the 2003 USF Field School in Urban Archaeology, and it would be interesting to get closer to the corner of Central Avenue and Scott Street (by many accounts the epicenter of daily life for most people during the heyday of Central Avenue). Additionally, the vacant lot area between the park and I-275 could provide more relevant data, although it seems likely that highway construction would create even more disturbance than seen in the present study.

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Strategies:
A Case Study from 8 Hi 4561
Appendices

Appendix A: Tables, Charts, and Graphs

1915 City Directory Listings For Structures in Study Area

Address	Bldg. Type	Name	Notes
1101 Central Ave.	S	B. B. Roberts*	
1103 Central Ave	S	Hattie Sneed*	Clothing Shop. Lives 1005 E. Harrison
1105 Central Ave	s	Crumley Young	Grocery. Lives Same
1107 Central Ave.	s	Chas Fendley*	Laborer
1109 Central Ave.	R	Nick Athanason	Restaurant. Lives same
1111 Central Ave.	S	C. H. Wheeler	Barber Shop. Lives same.
1111 1/2 Central Ave.	S	Jennie Cook	No Additional Notes
1113 Central Ave.	s	Not Listed	
1115 Central Ave.	s	Not Listed	
1115 1/2 Central Ave.	s	Not Listed	SASS SERVICE PROTESTING STATES AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE PROTESTING STATESTING STATES AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE PROTESTING STATESTING STATESTING AND ADMIN
1117 Central Ave.	s	Hang Lee	Restaurant. Also affiliated with laundry at 1210 Franklin St.
1119 Central Ave.	s	Geo Neal*	Barber Shop, Lives same.
1121 Central Ave.	R	Jacob Lee*	Restaurant. Lives 1325 1/2 Central Ave.
1004 E. Harrion St.	S	H. A. Blake	Fish Shop. Lives Palma Ceia Park
1006 E. Harrison St.	D	Albert Ritman*	Laborer
1008 E. Harrison St.	D	Not Listed	
1010 E. Harrison St.	D	Nettie Redding*	Cook
1012 E. Harrison St.	D	James Knowles*	Bartender

No Listings for Long Emory No listings for Gladstone Alley

^{*} Denotes "colored" resident

Appendix A (continued)

Hole Volume Excavated Per Unit

Test #	Hole Diameter	Hole Depth	Hole Volume	Test#	Hole Diameter	Hole Depth	Hole Volume
1	8.5	-	1361.88	35	7	23	885.144
2	8			36	7	24	923.628
3	8	24	1206.372	37	7.5	7	309.251
4	9			38	6		240.332
5	8	24	1206.372	39	7	24	923.628
6	11	24	2280.796	40	7	8	307.876
7	8.5	-	1361.88	41	8	15	753.982
8	8.5	24	1361.88	42	8	11	552.92
9	8.5	24		43	7.5	15	662.68
10	8	24	1206.372	44	7.5	24	1060.288
11	8	24	1206.372	45	7.5	18	795.216
12	8	24	1206.372	46	7	24	923.628
13	8	24	1206.372	47	7	24	923.628
14	8	24	1206.372	48	8	24	1206.372
15				49	7.5	7.5	331.34
16	8	24	1206.372	50	10.5		2078.164
17	9	24	1526.814	51	7.5		1060.288
18				52	7.5	24	1060.288
19	8	24	1206.372	53	9.5		1701.172
20	10	24	1884.956	54	7.5	14	618.501
21	8	24		55	8	24	1206.372
22	7.5	13	The second secon	56	7.5	8	353.429
23	8		1206.372	57	7	4.5	173.18
24	7		923.628	58	7.5	24	1060.288
25	7.5	21	927.752	59	8	24	1206.372
26	8		The second secon	60	7.5	24	1060.288
27	7	10	384.845	61			
28	1			62	8	24	1206.372
29	1		615.752	63	8	24	1206.372
30	7.5			64	7.5	24	1060.288
31			The second secon	65	7.5	24	1060.288
32	7.5				11		
33	7.5			67	11	•	570.199
34	7.5		A STATE OF THE PARTY OF THE PAR	100000	7	2.5	96.211

Appendix B: An Examination of the Usefulness of Posthole Digging in Archaeological Sampling Strategies: A Case Study from 8 Hi 4561

Artifact Photographs

Figure B1.	Bottle Glass
Figure B2.	Glass—Club Sauce Style Bottle Stoppers
Figure B3.	Personal Items—Children's Toys
Figure B4.	Metal Hardware and Spoon
Figure B5.	Spoon with Inset Showing Writing in Detail
Figure B6.	Personal Items-Clothing Fasteners, Spent Shell Casings, and Jewelry
Figure B7	Ceramics, Ironstone
Figure B8.	"Late Victorian" Flow Blue Ironstone Ceramic 1885-1920



Figure B1



Figure B2.



Figure B3.





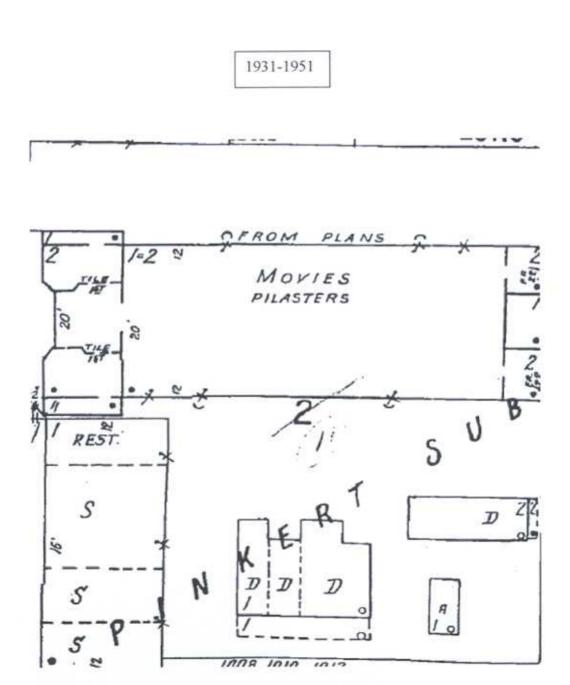


Figure B6.

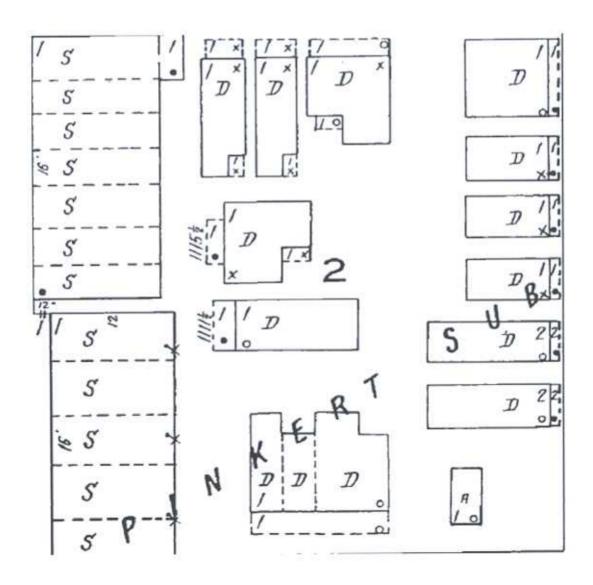


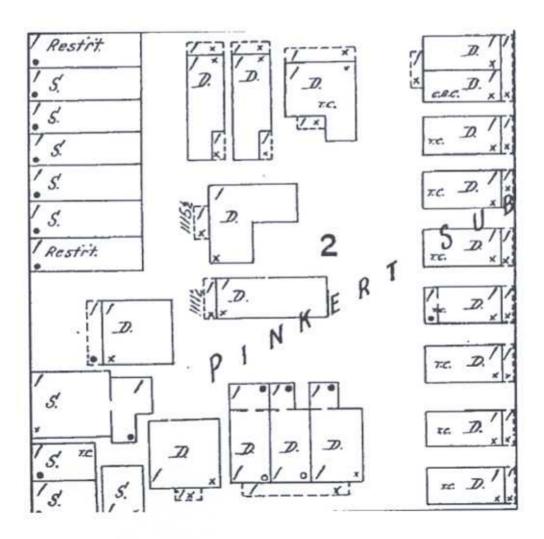
Figure B7.

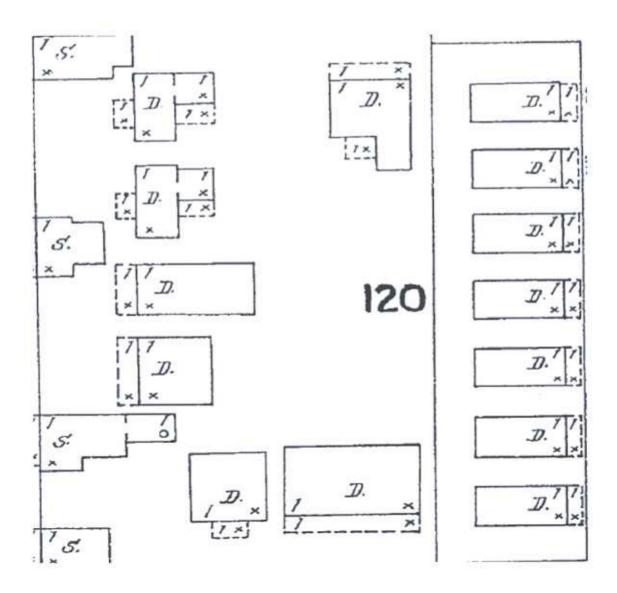
Appendix C: Sanborn Maps Through Time With Artifact Density

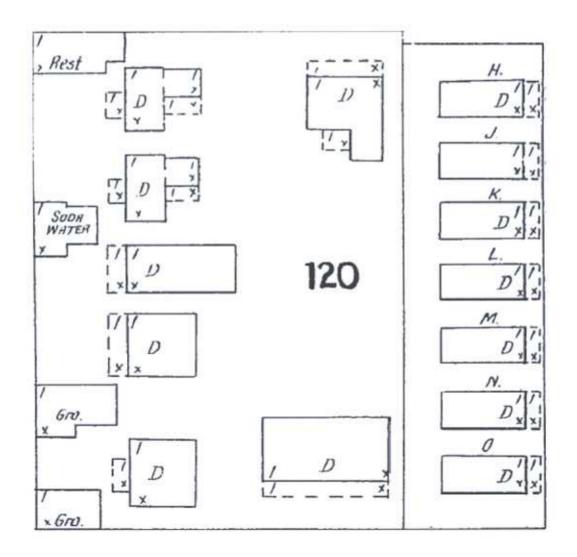


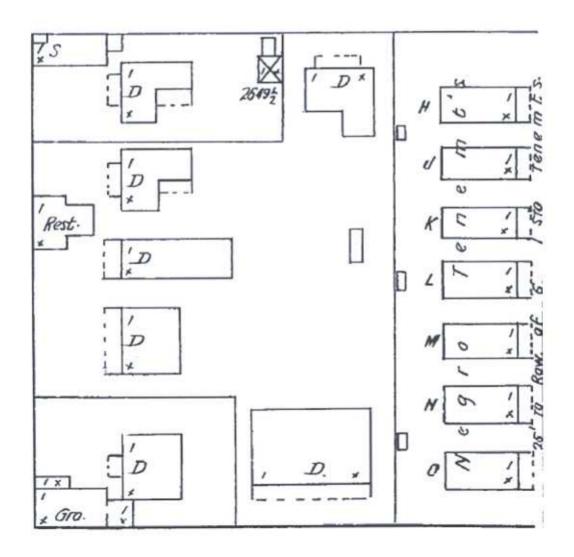
1931 v.1







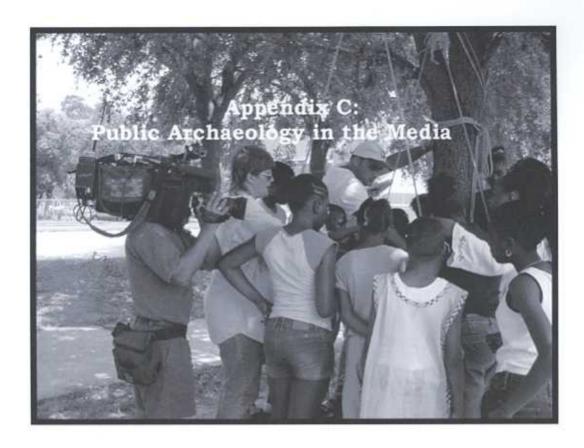




Test Unit Total Weights

Legend > in excess of 3 st. dev. within 3 st. dev. above within 2 st. dev. above withing 1 st. dev. above within 1 st. dev. below within 2 st. dev. below

unit 5	224.5	193	126	75	1015		27.5		
100		417.5	1125						
112	354	207	188.5	129.5	299.5		12		64
	502,5			180.5					
125	241.5		73	392,5	-		118		41
		16.5		268	235	174	579.5	765	till t
					261	241	1115	160.5	505
28		unit 1		308.5	364	unit 2	236.5	73	1325
					10	219	221.5	364	00
133		1		19	903	10	11	100	425



Urban archaeology provides ready-made opportunities for reaching the public directly with messages about the goals and objectives of your project. Because urban archaeology often takes place in neighborhoods where many people live and work, your project can quickly become a local attraction. Simple portable interpretive signs and brief handouts can provide enough information to satisfy most curious onlookers. However, project planning should take into account that youth groups or other interested parties might want more sustained involvement. Allowing more intense participation in the project by actually assisting in the fieldwork can pay off in great public relations and educational dividends, but time must be devoted to training and safety issues, and liability concerns need also be considered. Site security can also be a concern, and it never hurts to have friends in the community looking out for unauthorized after-hours activities in the project area.

The local media is likely to be attracted to your project, especially if you have involved the public in the fieldwork. TV and print media can be valuable allies in the goal to make your project and its results more accessible to a wider audience. You must always remember, however, that journalists and reporters have their own story to tell, and things might not always turn out the way you expected. It is wise to keep drama and hyperbole to a minimum during an interview otherwise you might have to live with a misstatement for a long time.



Stephanie Powell uses a large sifter to search for pieces of glass bottles, old building materials and other artifacts at Perry Harvey Sr. Park. Tampa's earliest black residents lived, worked and played in the area, starting in the 1800s.

The dig for historic gold 19

A professor is unearthing a downtown park where a black neighborhood thrived for over a century.

By TAMARA LUSH Times Staff Writer

TAMPA - Brent Weisman adjusted the brim of his canvas hat and pointed at a 4-foot deep hole in the ground.

"Here's where they burned trash," he said. The charred earth is pockmarked with broken bottles. He crouched down and touched something resembling a stick.

'And this is probably a pig bone." Dinner. Trash. Store-bought goods. All evidence of a lost civilization, right in downtown Tampa,

Weisman, a bearded, ruggedlooking professor of anthropology at the University of South Florida, is the leader of the architectural dig

For the past two weeks he and 12 of his students are scooping and sifting through Perry Harvey Sr. Park, a few blocks northeast of the city's commercial center. The work is expected to continue for another week. and they hope to return for further excavations next year,

It took five years for Weisman to obtain a \$50,000 grant to work on this



project. When he finally received the money and began to dig, his project accidentally became part of a broader Central Avenue revival this summer.

With shovels and trowels, oral history recordings, and art, the rich legacy of Central Avenue is being rediscovered.

This month, the city's Black History Committee announced that it will record the oral histories of people with stories or memories of Central Avenue. And on Tuesday night, a mural dedicated to Central Avenue's famous founders, business people and residents was unveiled. It overlooks the archaeological dig, the park

Please see DIG 78



State Rep. Arthenia Joyner speaks in front of a mural of her parents during Tuesday's dedication of the Historic Central Avenue mural. Her parents were leaders of the Central Avenue community. The six people denicted in the mural are inspirations, says Ernert Hooper. See column, 3B.

Anthropology Class, Children Dig Into City's Black History

By IANIS D. PROELICH Ifroelich@tampatrib.com TAMPA — Wearing a sweat-soaked ppy hat, University of South Florisanthropology Professor Brent elsman is excited to be in the center a downtown Tampa park. Here, the mains of another city are buried.

The "Central Avenue Business Disct," settled by former slaves in the 80s and demolished by urban rewal in the 1970s, rests in peace beath the earth at Perry Harvey Sr.

The once-bustling district with ore than 80 black-owned business-

rk, 1200 N. Orange Ave.

es covered seven blocks. Weisman and his team of 12 students hope this week's long dig for artifacts turns into an educational project in the park next summer.

"I did enough research; I was hopeful about what we'd find," said Weisman, who has been seeking grant money to dig on the site since joining USF in 1995.

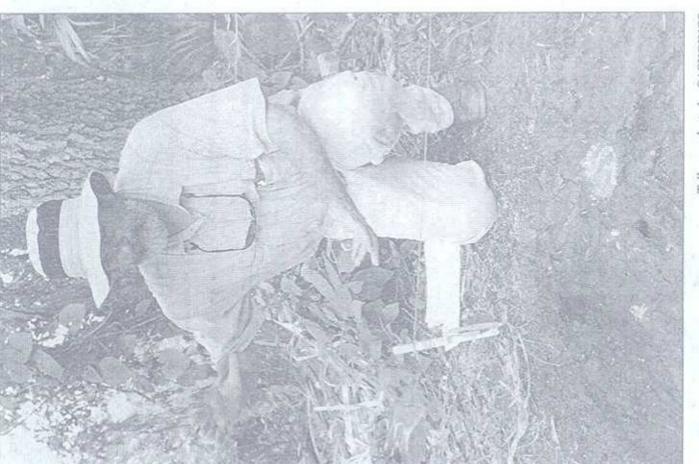
"But what I really didn't expect is the response from the community's children. They've been out here daily," he said as youngsters gathered

see CITY'S HISTORY, Page 9 ▶ 8.B. King, Ray Charles frequented area.



Tribune photo by GARY RINGS

USF anthropology student Stephanie Powell shows Quinton Girven, 8, right, and Donquel Smith, 9, artifacts unearthed at Perry Harvey Sr. Park.



Tribune photo by GARYRINGS

1SF anthropology Professor Brent Weisman explains how his eam uncovered a dump where several artifacts were found.

CITY'S HISTORY

Continued From Page 1

around a hole where a Central Avenue saloon once stood. There the team unearths perfume, ink, beer and wine bottles, as well as marbles, buttons and broken dishes from the 1880s, as they explore the bar's foundation.

Weisman is giving honorary certificates to the 60 children from nearby Kid Mason Recreation Center plus the neighborhood children from Central Park Village public housing who've offered help.

"He's been a great inspiration," said Gerry Continelli, a recreation center staffer. "The kids are seeing that there's something interesting in their own back yard." "The children are very curious," USF student Stephanie Powell said as she sifted dirt for glass shards and other pieces of the past. "To them this has been a big open park all their lives. Now it will mean there was once a meaningful community."

Clubs frequented by B.B. King and Ray Charles adjoined

doctors' offices, restaurants, a library and schools on Central Avenue. The self-contained community where blacks did business grew up largely because of segregation laws of the period.

"Through archaeology, we can try to bring some of this back physically," Weisman said. He hopes the effort supplements the recent oral history project begun for Central Avenue by the Tampa-Hillsborough County Public Library System and Tampa Bay History Center.

Fred Hearns, director of Tampa's Office of Human Rights and Community Services, said he hopes to see a permanent home for all the artifacts.

"Tampa is long overdue for a black history museum," he said. Donquel Smith, 9; Rykki Parks, 7; and Quinton Girven, 8, said they enjoy the excavations. Manning a shovel, Rykki said, "I like the digging and killing bugs."

Weisman's digs began at the Sulphur Springs water tower and will end at the Fort Brooke downtown area in a few weeks.

Reporter Janis D. Froelich can be reached at (813) 259-7143.

USF Team Digging Up leces Of Tampa's Past

BAN EXCAVATION YIELDS ES TO HOW PEOPLE LIVED

By SEANLENGELL.

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PHUR SPRINGS — Central Tampa
t seem an unlikely spot for an aralogical expedition, But a Temcreace man is leading a team of
nts on a series of urban digs to

about Tampa's recent past, e project, supervised by Univerf South Florida anthropologist Weisman, began last month on rounds of the Sulphur Springs tower along the north bank of illsborough River at Florida Aven trying to use archaeology to tell the history of Tampa," he cavations will continue this hat Perry Harvey Sr. Park, site of

the once-thriving Central Avenue business district that catered to black residents during the years of segregation. The digs will conclude at the Fort Brooke Park area downtown, site of the area's first substantial American settlement.

The project is funded in part by the Florida Department, of Transportation. The water tower dig centered on a long-demolished house believed to be a caretaker's residence. The house, built in the early 1900s and occupied for several decides, provides clues about the everyday lives of those who lived there, Weisman said.

The professor said he chose the sire because little is known about the caretakers. "They're invisible in the history books," he said. "The focus has been on the tower."

See TAMPA DIGGING, Page 3 In-Project preess into everyday (lives



Under the shadow of the Sulphur Springs water tower, University of South Florida anthropology Professor Brenc Weisman, right, calls out excavation measurements to USF senior tonathon MrMshon

"A lot of how we live, how we behave, is left behind — thrown out."

> BRENT WEISMAN USF anthropologist

TAMPA DIGGING

Continued From Page 1

The team has uncarthed bottles, kitchenware and coins in a spot probably used as a garbage dump.

"A lot of how we live, how we behave, is left behind thrown out," he said.

The city plans to develop the almost 13-acre site into a park. Weisman said his findings could be used to help educate parkgoers about the site's past.

Historians and anthropologists still have much to learn about lifestyles and consumer habits in the early and mid-20th century, he said.

For example, excavations can provide clues as to whether black and white residents in segregated Tampa shopped at the same stores and bought the same household products.

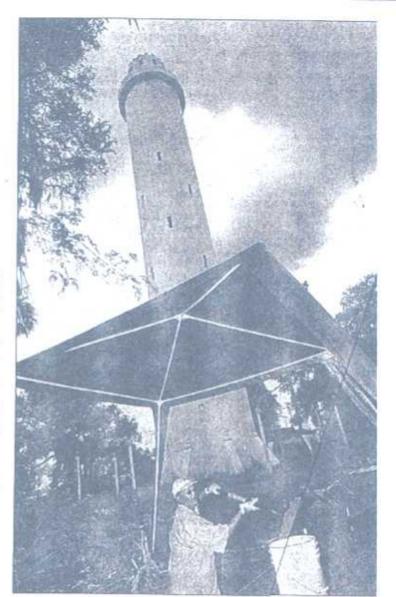
"There's a lot that we forget or didn't know" about the recent past, said Rodney Kite-Powell, curator of the Tampa Bay History Center. "Just because we knew our grandparents doesn't mean we know everything about how our grandparents lived."

Anthropologists only recently began using archaeology when studying the 20th century, Weisman said.

Details gleaned from such excavations aren't enough to tell a complete story. But, added to other available information — such as newspaper and magazine accounts, films, books and oral testimonies — a better understanding can be deduced about the recent past.

"The city is one big archaeological site," Weisman said.

Reporter Szan Lengeli can be reached at (813) 259-7145.



Tribung photos by GARY RING!

Anthropology graduate assistant Chris Bell, above, digs near the base of the Sulphur Springs water tower. Below, senior Lisa Hylton pores over rocks and gravel in sifter in her search of artifacts from the excavation site.



